The academization of art

A practice approach to the early histories of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca
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Chapter Four

Material Culture of the Art Academies

4.1. Sites and artifacts
Social practices always take place not only against the background, or in the midst, of material and spatial arrangements, but also with the help of material objects, instruments, and artifacts. Therefore, the reconstruction of the social practices that were carried out in the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca is aided by an analysis of the material culture of these institutions. Two forms of materiality can be distinguished. First, there are the objects and artifacts, including works of art, which play important roles in the practices of the art academies. These objects are typically produced in relation to the teleoffective structure of a social practice. That is to say, the function and meaning of the objects and artifacts depend on the goals that are pursued in a certain practice. In turn, material things offer affordances, i.e. facilitate certain activities and practices rather than others. Some of the objects and artifacts that were used in the art academies are enumerated in their inventories and recorded in their account books. Therefore, these documents, which themselves belonged of the academies’ material culture, can be used to reconstruct part of the material culture that played a role in the practices that were carried in the academies.

The other form of materiality is arguably even more important for the reconstruction of the social practices of the academies than their objects and artifacts. It consists of the sites or locations, i.e. the buildings or architectural structures, where the academicians employed their activities. They needed rooms for holding meetings, organizing religious celebrations, burying deceased members, and giving lectures and practical training to young students. One important and obvious

233 See sections 3.2 and 3.3 for Schatzki’s views on the relationship between practices and material arrangements.
234 It should be noted that practices are never completely determined by the intended functions of the artifacts, because people typically use the same objects in a variety of ways and occasionally even find previously unimagined applications for them. This is highlighted, for instance by Certeau’s notion of ‘tactics’. See section 3.4.
requirement for the headquarters of both academies was that they had to accommodate large groups of people. For instance, the Accademia del Disegno counted seventy-five members in its first year, and this number increased over the following years.\footnote{According to Barzman \((1989a, \text{460 and 462-463, n. 7}; \text{and 2000, 35}), \) of the first seventy-five members, forty-two were registered as painters, twenty-nine as sculptors, and of the remaining four no profession was indicated.} On average, about twenty-five artists were present at the meetings in the first years of the academy’s existence. During religious celebrations, for which the academy’s sites were highly suitable, this number often rose to fifty.

The structure, layout, and traditional functions of the buildings used by the art academies enabled certain practices and constrained others.\footnote{A famous example of relation between the buildings and the practices that are carried out in them can be found in Foucault’s \((1991a, \text{170-177})\) discussion of the material structure of hospitals, asylums, barracks, and prisons of the eighteenth century. Foucault argues that these buildings were not constructed to be seen or to observe the surrounding space such as palaces and fortresses, but permitted and facilitated internal views and detailed control of the people inside. An analogous point is made by the Belgian journalist David van Reybroeck in a recent series of articles about the functioning of democracy in contemporary Western society. In one of these articles \(\text{Van Reybroeck 2015}\) he argues that the semi-circular shape of most parliaments, which is modelled on that of the theater and which includes the stage and spotlights, predisposes the politicians to debate like actors, who deliver prefabricated and rehearsed monologues, rather than listening to and truly interacting with each other as representatives of their voters.} The main question to be answered in this chapter is ‘where did the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca gather in their early years and what were the important features of these buildings – including the objects and artifacts stored and used there – for the practices that were carried out in them? First, the sites and the artifacts of the Accademia del Disegno are discussed and then those of the Accademia di San Luca.

### 4.2. The material culture of the Accademia del Disegno\footnote{A concise version of the argument that is presented in this section will be published in \text{Jonker 2017}.}

#### 4.2.1. The early sites: a nomadic existence

The standard picture in the modern literature about the sites and buildings that belonged to the Accademia del Disegno in its early years is that whereas for its confraternal activities the nascent academy used the chapel of the Santissima Trinità in the cloister of Santissima Annunziata, it struggled to find a suitable headquarters for carrying out its administrative and educational activities. Moreover, it is said that between 1562 and 1567/68 the academicians gathered in different sites,
but for various reasons, none of these turned out to be convenient. According to the accepted picture, it was only with the acquisition of several rooms in the convent of Cestello in 1567 that the academy found a regular meeting place and headquarters.\textsuperscript{238} In the next sections it will become clear that this standard view about the buildings of the Accademia del Disegno has to be adjusted. This adjustment concerns especially the functions of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, which was \textit{de facto} – albeit not officially – the headquarters of the institution in the first sixteen years of its existence.

However, before addressing this issue, it is necessary to introduce the other buildings, to which the incipient academy was connected. Good starting points for this discussion are the first statutes of January 1563 and the addenda from July of the same year, because they describe several of the academy’s early sites and their intended or ideal functions. Nevertheless, these documents are not to be taken at face value – as has been done in the past – but should rather be compared with what is written in other sources such as the subsequent \textit{Libri del provveditore}, to determine to what extent these ideal functions were actually carried out.

The first of the academy’s locations that is mentioned in the statutes is the hospital and church of Santa Maria Nuova. The introductory section of the incorporating statutes states that already before the foundation of the academy, the members of its predecessor, the Compagnia di San Luca, gathered in the main chapel (\textit{cappella maggiore}) of the church ‘to praise the Lord, produce many pious works, and talk about all the things related to their art’.\textsuperscript{239} The members of this

\textsuperscript{238} This picture emerges especially from the works of Waźbiński (1987, I, 75-154 and 267-303), Barzman (2000, 46-56), and Pacini (2001 and 2015), authors who have paid most attention to the sites and buildings of the Accademia del Disegno. According to Waźbiński (1987, I, 303), ‘the school of Cestello was (…) the place where the academic life of the Accademia del Disegno concentrated, whereas, the chapel of the Most Holy Trinity in the convent of the Servites was nothing more than a renowned necropolis.’ (‘La scuola del Cestello era, dunque, il luogo dove si concentrava la vita dell’Accademia del Disegno, mentre la cappella della SS. Trinità nel convento dei Servi altro non era che una rinomata necropoli’). Barzman (2000, 47) agrees when she writes that ‘[f]rom its inception [the academy] performed many of its confraternal functions in its funerary chapel at Santissima Annunziata (…). The academy, however, had to find another space for its administrative office and meeting room, in addition to the classroom, library, and study collection that were projected in the incorporating statutes, for the Servites anticipated frequent meetings and opposed the academy’s expansion beyond the chapel itself.’ And Pacini (2001, 9) adds that in the chapel, which was donated by Montorsoli for religious purposes, it was ‘obviously impossible to study the nude or to discuss the controversies that are inherent to the art world.’ (‘… non si può ovviamente studiare il nudo e discutere le controversie inerenti al mondo dell’arte’). See Zangheri 2013, 89 for a reiteration of this view.

\textsuperscript{239} See Waźbiński 1987, II, 424: ‘(…) per lodare l’Iddio e per fare molte opere pie, e confabulare insieme tutte le cose dell’Arte loro (…)’. 95
organization are described as the ‘artisans of Design.’ It has been correctly recognized in the past that the terminology in this document, and especially the use of the term *Disegno* to describe the company and its members, is misleading, insofar as it projects back onto the company an academy-like structure that never existed. According to the incorporating statutes, the confraternity had been founded in 1239, when the heads of the art of design (*Capi dell’arte del Disegno*), the architect Arnolfo di Cambio, the painter Giotto, and sculptor Andrea Pisano, called together all the artisans of design (*tutti gl’Artefici del Disegno*) for this purpose. The dates of the artists mentioned—Arnolfo di Cambio (1240-1300/1310), Giotto (1266-1337), and Andrea Pisano (1290-1348)—preclude their involvement in a foundation of the company in 1239.

Vasari provided two different dates for the foundation of the company. In his ‘Life of Jacopo Casentino’ (Vasari 1966-1987, II, 274) he states that the organization was formed in 1350, whereas in the ‘life of Montorsoli’ (Vasari 1966-1987, V, 506) he gives the very global dating of ‘during Giotto’s life’. Reynolds (1974/1985, 32-40), Jack (1976, 6), and Ważbiński (1987, II, 417) all find the former option more plausible and place the founding date around 1339-1350. However, all three authors note that the founding date is uncertain. Besides the contradictory dating in the statutes of 1563, the qualification of the old company as one of *design* is anachronistic and misleading. Not only do the statutes of 1386, for example, clearly show that the confraternity was solely concerned with religious activities, also the term *disegno* is nowhere to be found. This entails that the use of the term in academy’s incorporating statutes is clearly a projection of a concept, which had gained a central place in art theoretical debates in Florence around the middle of the Cinquecento, on an earlier period, and that it is a mythologization intended to give the new institution more weight and prestige. See for instance Rossi 1984, 368-369. See, for the statutes of 1386, Reynolds 1974/1985, 213-218 and Ważbiński 1987, II, 417-420 (although Ważbiński dates them around 1349). These statutes contain the rules relating to the election of the officers. It is interesting to see that women were also allowed to become member and attend meetings. According to Rossi (1980, 164), this was completely new in the period. In his description of Jacopo da Casentino’s *predella* for the confraternity’s altar piece in Santa Maria Nuova, Vasari (1966-1987, II, 274) also states that both men and women were depicted, thereby suggesting that both could become member: ‘da un lato gl’uomini della Compagnia e dall’altro tutte le donne ginocchioni.’ However, in the surviving archival documents of this period no women are listed as members.

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According to sections 13 and 14 of the incorporating statutes, the chapel in Santa Maria Nuova was the site where the institution would carry out its confraternal practices. On the mornings of the feasts of San Luca and of the Quattro Santi Coronati (Four Crowned Saints) – the latter being the patron saints of the sculptors and architects – the academy was to go in procession and visit the chapel. In addition, a ceremony was to be held there on Good Friday. The addenda of July 1563 also ordered that the academy’s anatomical lessons were to take place in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova at least once a year – during the winter – for the benefit of young art students, thereby also making it the site of some of the institution’s educational practices. In the surviving sources there is no evidence that the chapel in Santa Maria Nuova ever actually functioned as site for the academy’s confraternal and educational practices. The feast of San Luca was held on other locations, as will be discussed below; the celebration of the feast of Quattro Santi Coronati is nowhere to be found in the remaining archival documents; and the sources are also silent on the anatomical dissections that were supposed to be conducted in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.

A second site that is mentioned in the incorporating statutes in connection to the Accademia del Disegno is the Oratorio (oratory) or Tempio (temple), which, in the sixteenth century, was still part of the complex of the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Since then, however, the monastery was demolished and only the oratory remains. The structure is a polygonal building, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) in 1434 by commission of the heirs of the famous Florentine condottiere Filippo Scolari (1369-1426), who was better known as Pippo Spano (‘general Pippo’). The building had been congregated for a period in the middle of the sixteenth century in Santa Maria Novella. This seems to be confirmed in one of the account books (ASF, AD 101, 101r), where, on May 13, 1563, a payment is recorded to two porters for ‘bringing the things that were in Santa Maria Novella and placed in the room of the Angeli’ (‘…avevano portate le robe ch’erono in Santa Maria Novella e poste nella stanza delli’Angeli’).
left unfinished due to insufficient funds in 1437. At that point, only the lower part of the structure was completed, that is, to the height of the pilasters of the chapels (ca. 6.60 m.), which was about one third of the provisioned total height, and it was covered by a relatively flat roof, instead of the dome that had been planned by Brunelleschi. If completed, the oratory’s large octagonal center space would have served as choir for the monks, and the eight smaller chapels surrounding it would have been used for private devotion for the laity.

The building was still unfinished in 1562 when it came into the possession of the academy. In this period, two of the monastery’s residents had close ties to the art institution. These men were the sculptor and art theoretician Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576) and the humanist and letterato Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565). Danti was an early and a very active member of the Accademia del Disegno, holding several offices, including that of consul, and contributing to the decoration of the academy’s buildings. Varchi lectured on the visual arts in the city’s literary academy, the Accademia Fiorentina, and he was a close friend of several academic artists, such as Montorsoli and Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571). In 1564 he gave the funeral oration at Michelangelo’s obsequies, which had been organized by the Accademia del Disegno. Moreover, in 1563, the academy was allowed to use one of his rooms in the monastery as storage space. Therefore, it is possible that one of requested the construction of Camaldolese monasteries in the vicinity of Florence. Spano petitioned the pope to combine these last wishes, as there was not enough money to finance two monasteries. However, he himself died before the project began. The guild of the cloth merchants (Calimala) became the new executor of the Scolari testaments and in the early 1430s it was decided to build an oratory adjacent to the garden wall of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. Initially, the oratory would have had an enclosed and separate choir for the monks in the middle of the octagon, in correspondence with their strict clausura. This is the reason why the chapels were connected to each other through passages through the piers. However, the clausura was already lifted in 1442, which would have made a separate choir unnecessary. See Saalman 1993, 380-409, esp. 384-388.

Barzman 2000, 50-51.
Saalman 1993, 390-391.
According to Vasari (1966-1987, VI, 250), in the convent Danti resided in the rooms that had been previously been used by Varchi. See also Barzman 2000, 49.
Danti was consul in 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 7r), treasurer in 1565 (ASF, AD 101, 10r), and councilor in 1566 (ASF, AD 24, 15r and 16r), consul in 1568 (ASF, AD 24, 22r) and in 1570 (ASF, AD 24, 27v), councilor in 1572 (ASF, AD 25, 21r), and worked on the figure for the funerary chapel of the academy in Santissima Annunziata in the early 1570s. See below for an elaborate discussion of this chapel and see figure 25 for a schematic overview of the official functions in the Accademia del Disegno.
See sections 7.4 and 9.2 for a discussion of Varchi’s lectures and his relations to visual artists.
See the inventory in ASF, AD 24, 4r, which is discussed below.
these men, or perhaps both, had something to do with the academy’s acquisition of the oratory.

The patron-client relationship between Cosimo I and Bernardo Scolari was more important in this respect. Scolari was a descendent of Pippo Spano and owned the unfinished oratory at that point in time. The incorporating statutes indicate that in July 1562 Scolari ceded the building to the duke, who, in turn, donated it to the academy. In return for Bernardo Scolari’s gift, the academicians had to pay for various artifacts and place them in the oratory. These artifacts consisted of a statue of Pippo Spano, his coat of arms, a burial tomb for the whole Scolari family, and statues of the Camaldolese Saints Anthony Abbot and Julian.

The statutes also specify that the oratory was supposed to be used as academic meeting place and studio. In the Libro del provveditore it is stated that between July 1562 and October 1563, the institution, indeed, gathered many times to carry out its administrative functions as well as to celebrate the feast of San Luca in 1562, but there is no archival evidence that the oratory was used as studio. The precise dates of these meetings are not mentioned by the provveditore. In the account book, however, there are monthly meetings (tornate) recorded from May until September 1563. Although the location of these meetings is not mentioned, the combined evidence suggests that they took place in the oratory in Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Finally, the incorporating statutes made provisions for how the building was to be finished by the academicians. The artists had to construct an altar in the main chapel of the oratory, which would have been isolated from the rest of the building and which would have divided the academy’s space from the convent’s oratory. In addition, other rooms were to be built next to the oratory for works of art and designs that the artists were supposed to donate to the academy and that were to be used as aids in the education of art students.

Between July 1562 and October 1563, the academicians made an effort to finish the oratory. However, the academy never completed the

253 See section 10.2 for a more elaborate discussion of the intricacies of this patron-client relation.
254 ASF, AD 24, 1r. See also Vasari 1966-1987, V, 508.
255 ASF, AD 101, 3v (May 23 and June 6), 4r (July 11), and 4v (August 8 and September 12).
256 Waźbiński 1987, II, 431: XXVII: ‘Ancora faccisi in testa del Tempio nella cappella maggiore isolato uno altare, il quale divida la Compagnia et l’Oratorio, et in su l’altare sieno tutte le figure di scoltura di marmo fatte da queste ecc.ti Scoltori (...)’
257 Waźbiński 1987, II, 432: XXX and XXXI.
258 See the letters by Vasari to Cosimo I and Michelangelo of February and March 1563. The construction of the oratory in Santa Maria degli Angeli is also mentioned in an
construction and renovation because, in the meantime, the monks of the convent had complained to Cosimo I about the disturbances resulting from the work. The problems with the Camaldolese monks had already started in the beginning of 1563. In a letter to the duke of February 1, that is, one day after the first official academic meeting was held in the oratory, Vasari pleaded to Cosimo I to help the academy to come to a resolution with the monks about the oratory – which, remarkably enough, is referred to here as ‘their’ instead of as ‘our’ temple. Apparently, Vasari’s efforts were to no avail because, several months later, the duke notified the academicians that another headquarters had to be found for the academy.

Cosimo I aided the artists again by arranging for another temporary meeting place, this time in the complex of the church and convent of San Lorenzo. This was the third site to which the Academy was connected. According to Vasari, the duke had ordered the academy to hold their meetings in the Sagrestia Nuova (New Sacristy). This structure, designed by Michelangelo in the 1520s, in fact, never functioned as sacristy, nor was it intended as such. The name New Sacristy should be understood from its position in the church, namely as pendant of Brunelleschi’s Old Sacristy. The Old Sacristy had three functions, namely that of sacristy, chapel, and burial place for several members of the Medici family, who had lived in the first half of the fifteenth century. By contrast, Michelangelo’s structure was exclusively meant as a burial chapel for members of the Medici family, who had died more recently, i.e. two Lorenzo’s and two Giuliano’s. Therefore, it was (and is) also known as the Cappella Medicea (Medici Chapel).

On his departure from Florence in 1534, Michelangelo had left the building unfinished. Between 1545 and 1555 Tribolo, Vasari and Ammannati completed the constructional part of the New Sacristy and

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260 Vasari 1966-1987, V, 508. It appears that this decision was made, or at least communicated, after March 17, 1563, because this is the date of a letter from Vasari to Michelangelo, in which the tempio in Santa Maria degli Angeli is still described as the academy’s headquarters.
262 The term sacrestia is already mentioned in a document from 1534, in which the commissioning of the building by Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici (later Pope Clement VII) in 1519 is discussed. However, in the same document the building is also referred to as cappella for the Medici. See Ettlinger 1978, 288. According to Ettlinger (1978, 287), ‘the room can never have been used – or even been intended – as a sacristy, because there are no cupboards for vestments, nor is space available for them, and there is no table for laying out vestments, ready for the priests.’
263 Ettlinger 1978, 299.
put in place Michelangelo’s famous sculpted tomb monuments for Giuliano di Lorenzo and Lorenzo di Piero de’ Medici (figs. 1 and 2). In 1563 only the rest of the decorative work remained to be done. In the beginning of that year, around the time when quarrels with the Camaldolese monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli had begun – but apparently independent of the academy’s search for a new headquarters – Vasari designed an elaborate program for its decoration. Vasari sent his plans, which projected paintings, sculptures and stuccowork to be carried out by the academy, to Cosimo I in February and estimated the costs at a maximum of 2000 scudi. 264 Notwithstanding Vasari’s efforts, these decorative plans were never carried out.

Figures 1 and 2. Michelangelo, Tombs of Giuliano di Lorenzo de’ Medici (left) and Lorenzo di Pietro de’ Medici (right), marble, New Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence (Photos: author)

It has been argued that the academicians, and especially Vasari, viewed this location as perfect for carrying out their educational activities, not in the least part because of the presence of Michelangelo’s tomb monuments, which were already eagerly studied by artists in these years. 265 The painter Federico Zuccari, who worked in Florence in the first half of the 1560s as Vasari’s assistant, visually recorded other artists while they were copying Michelangelo’s statues (figs. 3 and 4). 266

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264 See Vasari’s letter to Cosimo I from February 16, 1563: Frey 1923-1940, I, 719-721. Whereas in this letter, Vasari states that the completion of the New Sacristy should be carried out either by academicians or by artists from the ducal domain (…quattro de più eccellenti picttori, cioè a tre di questi della accademia o del dominio;), in his letter to Michelangelo of March 17, 1563 (Frey 1923-1940, I, 736-740), he presents it exclusively as a project of the academy.


266 Ważbiński 1987, I, 75-95. Ważbiński argues that Michelangelo’s monuments were conceived by contemporary artists as a veritable school for the academicians, as well as the drawings on the walls beneath the chapel that were discovered in the 1970s. See also
Notwithstanding this graphical evidence of the artists’ use of the New Sacristy, it is highly unlikely that it was ever seriously considered as meeting place or studio for the Accademia del Disegno. The reason for this is that Pope Clement VII, who had been the commissioner (as Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici) of the building, issued a Bull in 1532, in which he ordered the clergy of San Lorenzo to perform uninterrupted services—during day and night—in the New Sacristy. The fact that in 1629 the nightly recitation of the psalter was abolished shows that continuous intercession was, indeed, performed there by the clergy, at least for a certain period of time.267

Figures 3 and 4. Federico Zuccari, Artists Drawing in the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo, 1560s, Louvre, inv. 4554 recto (left) and inv. 4555 recto (from: Meijer/Zangheri 2015, II, figs. 156a and 156b)

Apparently, the New Sacristy’s liturgical function, which has until now not been considered in the historiography of the academy, did not preclude the academy’s religious use of the room. The Libro del provveditore shows that at least on one occasion, in 1563, the feast of San Luca was celebrated in the New Sacristy.268 It should be noted, however, that there is very little evidence for the academy’s further appropriation

Vasari’s letters to Cosimo I from February 1 and 16, 1563 (Frey 1923-1940, I, 712-714 and 719-721), in which the author calls Michelangelo’s statues and the New Sacristy a scuola (school) of art. According to Giovanni Batista Cardi, the young painters Andrea Comodi and Lodovico Cardi ‘il Cigoli’ made clay models after Michelangelo’s sculptures in the New Sacristy in order to study drawing from different perspectives. Cardi 1913, 15.

267 According to Ettlinger (1978, 294-295), ‘three masses per day had to be said, and during the rest of the time, by day and night, the whole psalter was recited, each psalm being followed by a prayer. Such continuous intercession is unique in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Not surprisingly the clergy of San Lorenzo eventually found that they could not maintain praying at this rate. They got some relief from Urban VIII in 1629, who abolished the psalter recital at night, and a further reduction took place after the Medici had lost power in Florence, when in 1807 una sola recita dell’intero saltero per cada un mese was required.’

268 ASF, AD 24, 3r.
of this particular space in the convent of San Lorenzo. Archival documents reveal that in the mid-1560s the Accademia del Disegno held some of their meetings in other rooms of monastery. Between October 11, 1563 and July 1564, the academicians gathered a couple of times in the chapterhouse, which was located beneath Michelangelo’s Biblioteca Laurenziana (Laurentian Library). Finally, one of the most important events in the early history of the academy occurred in the church of San Lorenzo. This was the funeral celebration for Michelangelo, which took place on July 14, 1564.

At the end of 1566, it had become clear that San Lorenzo would not be the permanent headquarters of the academy. On December 31, the academy’s lieutenant, Agnolo Guicciardini, wrote a letter to Cosimo I, in which he asked the duke to help him find a suitable site for the academicians to meet, study, and teach young artists, as they currently lacked such a place. The Duke complied and this time a more permanent location was found. In March 1567 Guicciardini was able to tell the academicians, who were gathered in their chapel in Santissima Annunziata, that Cosimo I donated to the institution a tempio (‘temple’)
or chapel in the Cistercian convent of Cestello, in addition to 200 scudi for its completion. The tempio, which was designed by Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had belonged to Giulio Scala, who was a political client of the Medici. This means that, as previously with Bernardo Scolari, the duke used his patron-client relationship with Giulio Scala for handing out a favor to a third party, i.e. the Accademia del Disegno. On April 13, 1568 a contract was drawn up, by which Giuliano Scala’s donation of the tempio in Cestello to the academy was made official.

The tempio, or oratorium (oratory) as it is called in the contract, was the fourth site to which the academy was connected and its members would convene there until 1628, when Carmelitan nuns took over the monastery. Unfortunately, the building was completely demolished in 1865 and there are few visual or written sources that give an idea of what this structure looked like during the academy’s use. Only a detail from a map of Florence from the late sixteenth century and a plan and elevation of the chapel from 1865 provide some information (figs. 5-6).


275 Scala’s grandfather, Bartolomeo (1430–1497), had already been an agent of the Medici and chancellor of Florence in the previous century. See Brown 1979, 251.

276 See section 10.3.2 for further analysis of these patron-client relationships.

277 Pacini 2001, 10. See, for the contract, ASF, Conv. Sopp. 414 and ASF, Not. P166, 350-351, transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 478-480. Five days later, on April 18, 1568, the first academic meeting since November of the previous year is recorded in the Libro del provveditore (ASF, AD 24, 21v). This relatively long period of silence regarding the academy’s activities is reflected in the book by half a blank page. In this meeting, of which the location is not given, it was decided that the academy would absolve all, who were behind with their payments for the taxes for the confraternity, from this obligation and start with a clean slate.

278 See Pacini 2001, vi and 2015, 145-146. The academicians did not want to give up their headquarters and made objections to the Medici. However, because Pope Urban VIII supported the nuns, the Medici gave in and the academy’s quarters were sold in the 1620s for 1800 scudi.
In May 1567, a delegation of the academy visited Cestello for the first time to read the contract of the temple between Giulio Scala and the convent and to discuss it with the Cistercian monks. Two months later, on July 13, during a meeting in the chapterhouse in the Annunziata, the academicians discussed how to complete the temple, based on a design made by Alessandro Allori. However, great disputes (grandissime dispute) arose about Allori’s design and the luogotenente adjourned the meeting after having ordered a group of ten artists to meet four days later in Agnolo Bronzino’s house in order to come to an agreement about how to proceed with the temple. The resulting design was to be presented both to the duke and to the general public on the following Sunday (July 20) in the chapterhouse of the Santissima Annunziata. Unfortunately, neither the minutes of the meeting in Bronzino’s house, nor the designs have survived.\(^\text{279}\)

\(^{279}\) ASF, AD 24, 18v. The ten artists are: Domenico Poggini, Giovanbologna, Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, Zanobi Lastricati, Batista Lorenzi, Alessandro Allori, Giovanni Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), Vincenzo Danti, and Francesco Cammilliani. The luogotenente, Agnolo Guicciardini, even threatens to revoke the stipends of these artists if
The next meeting that is recorded by the provveditore was held on September 14, 1567 in the chapterhouse in Santissima Annunziata. Again, the academy’s new room in Cestello was the topic of the conversation and after much discussion two artists were elected to be in charge of the building process (la muraglia) in Cestello. These artists were Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati. In addition, a provveditore and a treasurer for the project were elected. These were Francesco da Sangallo (1494-1576), the son of the chapel’s architect, and Giajacopo Mattoncini, respectively. 280 The provveditore had to describe the progression of the project and the decisions made in relation to it in the Libro della fabbrica; the treasurer had to account for the expenses. Unfortunately, both books are lost.281

However, sporadic and general remarks about the construction work in the temple of Cestello can be found in the records of the academy’s regular books of the provveditori and in the account books.282 In the first place, one of the Libri del provveditore contains a copy of a report from September 1574 about a conflict between the academy and the tailor and cobbler Giuliano di Batista Gugliatini over a room in Cestello. Gugliatini, who had bought a small house (casino) that was located between the tempio and the monastery in 1571, accused the academy of illegally building on and confiscating a part of his property. The report, which was composed by the grand ducal auditore Fernando Mendes, states that Gugliatini’s claim was unjustified and that the academy would not have to pay him for damages.283

The report also mentions that the academicians had carried out the controversial construction work in 1567 and 1568. The resulting

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280 ASF, AD 24, 19r-v. 281 Cosimo’s gift of 200 scudi for the completion of the temple was probably recorded in these books. In any case, it is not mentioned in one of the regular Libri dei provveditori or account books.

282 According to Pacini (2001, 14), such remarks are difficult to interpret because of their generic character – e.g. ‘stones’, ‘wood’, and ‘sand’ is ‘bought for the wall’; because of the ‘elasticity’ of the terminology used – tempio, oratoria, and stanza sometimes refer to different spaces but on other occasions seem to be indications of one and the same room; and because the payments recorded not always refer to work done on the same date, but sometimes to (long) before.

283 ASF, AD 25, 39r-40r. See Pacini 2001, 13 and 107-108 for a discussion and a transcription of this document.
space, which appears to have been a room (stanza) adjacent to the tempio, had been used for a couple of meetings in 1569. In addition, this was the site where the young mathematician Pietro Antonio (or PierAntonio) Cataldi (1548/1552-1626) held weekly lectures on Euclid between November 1569 and September 1570. Furthermore, the documents show that the feast of Saint Luke was celebrated in Cestello from 1567 onwards, although it is not always specified whether the celebration took place in this room or in the tempio.

The report by the grand ducal auditore marked the end of the litigations that seemed to have started officially in July 1574. The controversy itself seems to have started earlier, possibly already in 1571, when Giuliano Gugliatini bought his house. This would explain the relatively sparse activity of the academy that is documented in Cestello in the first half of the 1570s. It is only after Mendes had finished his report, in which he ruled in favor of the academy, that the provveditore recorded payments to the builders for work in the academy’s rooms in Cestello. On October 10, 1574 a worker received a sum for supporting the roof, and on December 23, 1575 another builder was remunerated for work that he had carried out over a longer period of time.

Furthermore, the academy’s archive houses the so-called Libro del vanto. This book contains the names of the academicians, who gathered in the house of lieutenant Carlo Spini on July 22, 1576 and who promised to donate money for construction work in Cestello. The

284 On January 16 (ASF, AD 24, 23v), in this room a new provveditore is elected and the statutes are read out loud, and on August 14 (24v-25r), a new physician is chosen, and new officials are drawn.
285 ASF, AD 24, 25v and 92v. For more information on Cataldi and on the lectures in the Accademia del Disegno, see section 8.3.
286 See, for example, ASF, AD 24, 20v-21r (1567), 22v (1568), 27v-28r (1570), AD 25, 41r (1574), 43r (1575), AD 26, 9r.
287 ASF, AD 101, 124v and 125v; ASF, AD 25, 35v, 36r, 38r-39v, 40v, 56v-57v.
288 ASF, AD 25, 57v and 63r.
289 The Libro del vanto is categorized under ASF, AD 139. On page 1r it is stated that the meeting took place in the house of Carlo Spini on July 22, 1576, but that the first entry in the book dates from April 1, 1578. It also contains later additions, i.e. the names of artists who were not present at Spini’s house, but who did want to donate funds. In total, there are 109 names listed. Pacini (2001, 12) mistakenly takes over Ticciati’s chronology of the events, when he suggests that the meeting in Carlo Spini’s house took place right after the delegation of the tasks regarding the construction in 1567, instead of in 1576: ‘Il luogotenente ordinò che (…) concertassero un disegno per la terminazione di detto tempio, sopra la fabbrica del quale furono deputati Vincenzo Danti, Zanobi Lastricati e Francesco da S. Gallo, e tutti gli accademici adunatisi in casa del Luogotenente Carlo Spini si obbligarono molti di essi alla spesa, e nell’Archivio si trova un libro intitolato il Libro del vanto nel quale sono molte sottoscrizioni.’ This is a transcription from Ticciati’s manuscript from around 1740 in BNCF, Ms. II.I.432, 93. However, in the version of
account books show that work on the pavement of the academy’s rooms was carried out in 1576, 1577, and 1584; and in 1580, 1584, 1594, and 1613 the roof was redone.\footnote{See Pacini 2001, 14-15 and 2015, 144. See ASF, AD 101, 143r-145v for the work in Cestello in 1584.} In short, the remaining documents in the archive of the academy suggest that although the artists started immediately to complete their site in Cestello, the bulk of the construction work in the temple took place from 1575 onwards.

In the 1580s, the academy had disagreements with the Cistercian monks about the confines of their rooms. It is possible that these problems were due to the academy’s work in Cestello in that period. In March 1585, the monks even occupied a part of the oratory and in November of that year the academicians pleaded don Giovanni de’ Medici, Cosimo I’s natural son and himself a member of the Accademia del Disegno, to talk to the monks on behalf of the institution, as they ‘do not want listen to reason’ (\textit{non vogliono ascholtare ragione nessuna}). It seems that don Giovanni, indeed, successfully intervened because the issue is not mentioned in the sources afterwards.\footnote{ASF, AD 25, 71r and AD 26, 45v. See section 10.3.2 for a more elaborate discussion of this episode.}

The fifth and final site to which the Accademia del Disegno was connected in its early years – in addition to the Cappella della Santissima Trinità – is the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti (the guild of the builders), in Palazzo dell’arte dei Beccai (or del Beccaro), which is also the current seat of the organization.\footnote{The Palazzo del Beccaro has been the seat of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno since 1971. See Adorno/Zangheri 1998, vi. It should be noted in parenthesis that the current Accademia delle Arti del Disegno is the college of the professors of the arts of design and it is to be distinguished from the Accademia delle Belle Arti, where the students of the fine arts are taught.} The archival documents show that the academy convened there occasionally from September 1572 onwards, that is, after they took on the function of guild. Accordingly, the institution’s guild activities were carried out in this location, e.g. adjudicating disputes and electing appraisers for estimating the value of works of art that were produced in Tuscany. It should be noted, however, that the academy could convene there only on the days that the guild of the builders were not using it. In this period, this was on Wednesdays.\footnote{The civil cases handled by the magistrates in the \textit{audientia del arte dei fabbricanti} (hall of the guild of the builders) were recorded by the \textit{cancelliere} in the books of the \textit{Deliberazioni e partiti dell’Accademia del Disegno} (deliberations and decisions of the Accademia del Disegno). On the opening page of the first of these books the \textit{cancelliere} recorded that the consuls commenced on September 1, 1572. ASF, AD 7, n.p. The \textit{libri del provveditore} also contain occasional references to meetings in the building of the Art}
4.2.2. The Cappella della Santissima Trinità: restrictions and decorations

Although systematically undervalued in the literature, the most important site of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years was the Cappella della Santissima Trinità (chapel of the Most Holy Trinity) in Santissima Annunziata (fig. 7). This chapel was the former chapterhouse of the Servite friars, who lived – and still live – in the monastery adjacent to the church. As discussed in Chapter One, in his ‘Life of Montorsoli’ Vasari recounts how that the sculptor, Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, who also was a friar in the convent, donated the chapel to the artists of Florence in order to resuscitate the confraternity in 1562.294 According to Vasari, Montorsoli’s gift led to the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in the beginning of 1563. Two years later, after Montorsoli’s death, the friars officially conceded the chapel to the academy with a contract, which contained certain obligations and restrictions as to the artists’ use of the room.

Figure 7. Cappella della Santissima Trinità (seen from current entrance in the west wall), Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)
The contract between the Servite friars and the members of the academy about the use of the chapel was signed on June 25, 1565.²⁹⁵ It was partly a reiteration of the much shorter contract between Montorsoli and the convent from October 10, 1560. This first contract specified that the Servites conceded their chapterhouse (capitolo) to Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli to be used as his chapel (cappella) in exchange a gift of 170 scudi to the monastery. The conditions were that Montorsoli was obligated to have a lantern lit, to have a mass sung (high mass) each year on September 2, and to have a mass said (low mass) every day, both during his life and after his death.²⁹⁶

These conditions were confirmed in the agreement between the academy and the monastery, with the exception that instead of having a mass sung on September 2, this should take place on the day of the Santissima Trinità – which falls on the Sunday after Pentecost. Furthermore, the new contract specified that ‘the friars give the chapterhouse and tomb as a public chapel to all sculptors, painters, and architects, whether they be foreigners or citizens of this city.’²⁹⁷ The expenses for the offices, such as wax, alms, oil for the lamp, and payments for the masses, had to be provided by individual artists or their heirs.

The contract mentions several restrictions as to the use of the chapel by the academy. In the first place, the friars reserved the right to use the chapterhouse for their needs (occorrenze loro). The nature of these needs is specified in various sources, the most explicit and elaborate of which are the incorporating statutes. Section 16 of the statutes describes that the Servites could use the chapterhouse as meeting place before going to the choir, as starting point for processions, and as room

²⁹² Waźbiński 1987, II, 475-478. In one of the account books (ASF, AD 101, 106r) there is a record, without date but after April 8, 1565, which state that Giovanni Piero da Poppi is paid 3 lire, 13 soldi and 4 danari for drafting the contract for the chapterhouse of the Servites. The contract is also mentioned in the Libro del provveditore (ASF, 24, 12v-13r) on the day of the SS Trinità in 1565, when it is decided to discuss and sign it the following Monday, i.e. June 25, 1565.
²⁹⁶ ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), n. 53, Libro delle Ricordanze, c. 4v, ricordo del 10.IX.1560; transcription in Waźbiński 1987, II, 475: ‘Ricordo come fino a del X deceto mese [September 1560] si dette fra Gio[van] Angelo scultore el [proposed reading: ‘il’] capitolo dove si va in coro per sua cappella per dote di scudi centosettanta con obbligo tenerci la lampana al m.o della chiesa, cantarci ogni anno agli II del detto mese una messa solenne ed ogni di diri messa tanto mentre che vive quanto doppo la morte alcune messe appartate come tutto appare al libro di partiti segnato D. c. 150’.
²⁹⁷ Waźbiński 1987, II, 477: ‘...detti RR. Padre per pubblica Cappella e Sepoltura a tutti gli scultori, e pittori, e architettori, tanto oltramontani, e forestieri, quanto terrazzani, e cittadini di questa città’
for laying out deceased members.\textsuperscript{298} The chapterhouse was an obvious location for gathering before going to the choir, because these rooms were close to each other.

The use that the Servite friars made of this room, as discussed in the academy’s incorporating statutes, overlapped with those that were traditionally conducted in a chapterhouse. Since medieval times, the chapterhouse had been the focal point of monastic life. Second in importance only to the sacristy and the church, it was the site where the brothers divided the tasks for the week, where they read a chapter from the rule of the Order and a part of the necrology, where they prayed for the dead, and where transgressions against the rule were discussed and punishments decided on.\textsuperscript{299} At present it has been impossible to establish whether the Servites also carried out these other functions in their chapterhouse, but it is plausible to assume so.\textsuperscript{300} In any case these traditional functions of the chapterhouse converged with those of the Accademia del Disegno, insofar as the academicians also used the room as starting point for processions, as space to celebrate the memory of deceased members, and, as will be discussed below, as site where the important decisions pertaining to the organization were made. The only difference was that these things took place in a lay (religious) rather than in a monastic context. It should be noted that in the academy’s archival documents of the sixteenth century the terms that appear most frequently to designate the Cappella della Santissima Trinità are capitolo dei servi (chapterhouse of the Servites) and capitolo della Nunziata (chapterhouse of the Santissima Annunziata), which both refer to its function in the life of the monastery.\textsuperscript{301} Furthermore, it should be noted that the Cappella

\textsuperscript{298} Waźbiński 1987, II, 429. The other sources in which the use of the chapterhouse by the Servites is mentioned, are the 1560 contract between Montorsoli and the convent, and in the accounts of the expenses for the work in the chapterhouse of 1564-1565. However, in these documents only the function of meeting place before going to the choir is mentioned. See Waźbiński 1987, II, 475 (‘…dove si va in coro…’) and ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 183 (‘…spese si sono fatte in cap[itol]o dove si raguna all’andar in coro…’).

\textsuperscript{299} Saalman 1993, 234; See Stein-Kecks 2004, 11-12 and 26-30 for a more elaborate discussion of the functions of the chapterhouse. According to Stein-Kecks, the name of the chapterhouse, capitulum in Latin, is either derived from its function as place where a chapter of the rule of the order was read, or from its position as head of the buildings of the convent.

\textsuperscript{300} For this question to be answered, the archive of the Santissima Annunziata in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze has to be sifted through more systematically than has been possible for this research.

\textsuperscript{301} Waźbiński 1987, II, 476-477. See also the record of the contract in the Libro del provveditore (ASF, AD 24, 13r), where both the terms cappella and capitolo are used to describe this room. On the very first sheet of this book (which is not numbered) the provveditore refers to the room as ‘Cappella, ò vero Capitolo’, which can be translated either as ‘chapel or chapterhouse’ or as ‘chapel, or rather, chapterhouse’.
della Santissima Trinità’s combined function of chapterhouse and burial chapel had a famous predecessor in Brunelleschi’s Pazzi chapel in Santa Croce.  

A second restriction stipulated in the contract was that nobody of the academy was to have the keys of the chapel. Third, the academy could only meet there on the occasions mentioned above: the feast of the Santissima Trinità and funerals for artists. Fourth, it was explicitly forbidden for the academicians to carry out other confraternal activities (di far compagnia) or even to use that name. Instead, they should go under the name of ‘College of honored persons’ (sotto nome di Collegio di persons onorate). Finally, the contract stipulates that the academy, or rather the Collegio, had to complete the chapel’s ornaments.

The chapel was to be decorated with ten stucco statues in niches in the walls, three large history paintings, either on canvas or fresco; twelve smaller frescoes above the niches; and grotesques that were to be painted between the statues and the large frescoes. All this had to be completed within five years by artists, who were to be elected by secret vote by the lieutenant and the academicians. If the academy failed to achieve this within said term, the chapel and tomb with all the improvements and ornaments would return to the friars, who could then act as if the contract did not exist.

In his ‘Life of Montorsoli’, Vasari also explicitly mentions the restrictions that the friars placed on the academy’s use of the chapel. He writes that after being initially open to the idea of hosting the artists’ confraternity, the Servites changed their minds and communicated to the academy that the chapterhouse could only be used for specific feasts, offices and burials, and in no other way, such as for confraternal meetings. Apparently, the Servites were afraid that the artists would

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303 To this day, the chapel is locked and one has to ask the prior for permission to visit it. This permission is generously granted by the way.
304 The contract also mentions that the prior of the monastery is the correctore or spiritual tutor of this ‘honored college’ and that the ecclesiastical robes should be placed in the custody of the sagristano of the convent, just as the other robes. See Waźbiński 1987, I, 115, for the interpretation of correctore as ‘spiritual tutor’.
305 Summers (1969, 68, n. 1) notes that the statues are, in fact not made out of stucco but of painted clay, terra da Montelupo.
306 ASF, AD 156, 36r-40v. This is a notarial copy from 1723. Another copy of the same contract can be found in ASF, AD 157, n. 3. See for transcriptions Waźbiński 1987, II, 475-478.
307 Vasari 1966-1987, V, 507-508: ‘Dopo queste cose, avendo i frati de’ Servi meglio pensato al fatto, si risolverono, e lo fecero intendere alla Compagnia, di non volere che il detto capitolo servisse loro se non per farvi feste, uffici e seppellire, e che in niun altro modo volevano avere, mediante le loro tornate e ragnarsi, quella servitù nel loro convento.’
disturb their monastic life if they were given too many liberties and organize their confraternal meetings there.

The Servites probably had an additional motive for placing restrictions on the academy’s use of the chapel. This motive can be derived from a previously undiscussed document in the archive of the monastery, i.e. an account of the expenses for construction and renovation work that the friars carried out in their chapterhouse.\(^{308}\) According to this account, the work on the room started on or around August 14, 1564, which is the date of the first payment to a mason. The subsequent months many payments followed, the last one dating from June 23, 1565. This means that the work on the chapterhouse started almost exactly one year after Montorsoli’s death (August 31, 1563) and lasted until only two days before the contract with the academy was signed. During this period, the friars spent the substantial sum of 522 *scudi* for the renovation of the chapel. It is likely that after this investment, the Servites wanted to stay in control of their chapterhouse, and restrict its use for the Accademia del Disegno.

When the chapel was officially conceded to the Accademia del Disegno in 1565, it was already partly furnished and decorated by Montorsoli. There were two statues of painted terracotta (*terra di Montelupo*) representing Moses and Saint Paul, which the Servite friar had produced in the 1530s (figs. 8-9).\(^{309}\) Furthermore, in the early 1560s Montorsoli had designed the altar and the marble tombstone, which closed off the burial chamber beneath the chapel (fig. 10).\(^{310}\)

\(^{308}\) ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 183. The document is called ‘Conto di spese fatta in la fabbrica del capitolo cominciando addì 14 agosto, 1564’ (‘Account of the expenses for the building of the chapterhouse, beginning on August 14, 1564’).

\(^{309}\) Vasari 1966/1987, V, 495 and 506; Baroni/Meijer 2015, 155 and 157. For the material of the sculptures see Summers 1969, 68, n. 1.

\(^{310}\) Ważbiński 1987, I, 115-120 and Baroni/Meijer 2015, 153.
In November 1567, about two and a half years after the contract was signed, the academicians distributed the tasks concerning the rest of the sculptures and the paintings in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. Sources indicate that the artists followed Montorsoli’s designs for the decorative program, whereas the prior of the convent, Michelangelo Naldini, was responsible for the choice of the general iconographic theme, with scenes from the Old and New Testament, that governs the
chapel’s decoration, and possibly also for dedication of the chapel to the Santissima Trinità.\textsuperscript{311} 

A document from the archive of Santissima Annunziata contains more detailed information about the subjects of the decorations and the artists who were elected to produce them. The sculptures had to represent Abraham, David, Solomon, Melchizedek, Joshua, Saint Peter and the four evangelists. Together with Montorsoli’s Moses and Saint Paul, this would bring the total to twelve statues.\textsuperscript{312} The six figures from the Old Testament were meant for the niches to the right of the altar (for a viewer looking toward it from the entrance in the north wall), and those from the New Testament to its left.\textsuperscript{313} The altarpiece had to be a painting representing the Most Holy Trinity. The two remaining large frescoes on

\textsuperscript{311} See Summers 1969, 70 and Baroni/Meijer 2015, 155-156. In section 17 of the academy’s incorporating statutes from 1563 it is stated that the artists who wanted to contribute paintings or sculptures to the chapel had to follow Montorsoli’s design. Waźbiński 1987, II, 430: ‘Dettono licentia anchora a chi vi volessi fare pitture o sculture o altre memorie di suo, che possa farle in detto Capitolo, osservando quello che haveva cominciato fra Giovann’Angelo nel suo disegno.’ On November 30, 1567 the academy gathered in the chapel to distribute the tasks for the sculptures and paintings. The record from this meeting in the Libro del provveditore mentions a decree from the prior from November 25, in which the content of the decorations is described as from the Old and the New Testament. ASF, AD 24, 21r-v: ‘Ragunornosi in tornata straordinario nel capitolo de servi con cosetentemente del signor luogotenente per dare ordine e distribuire le statue che sono a fare in decto capitolo et piture come per contratto sono hoibrigati. E così le distribuirno per sorte con polize secondo un rescritto di maestro michelangelo del testamento vechio e del nuovo sotto di 25 di novembre 1567 e si ter[r]a conto di che a fare e di chi le fara.’ In a document from the archive of the monastery the same meeting is recorded. It is confirmed that prior Michelangelo Naldini’s involvement in the choice for the subject matter of the decorations and it also lists the artists who were to produce them. ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 214: ‘si vinse a viva voce nel collegio degli accademici del disegno, che le statue e pitture daffarsi nel capitolo de servi capitolo de servi con cosetemente del signor luogotenente per dare ordine e distribuire le statue che sono a fare in decto capitolo et piture come per contratto sono hoibrigati. E così le distribuirno per sorte con polize secondo un rescritto di maestro michelangelo del testamento vechio e del nuovo sotto di 25 di novembre 1567 e si ter[r]a conto di che a fare e di chi le fara.’

\textsuperscript{312} See, for this document in the archive of Santissima Annunziata, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 214. The document is discussed in Summers 1969, 70-71; Waźbiński, I, 113; Baroni/Meijer 2015, 156. The artists mentioned are: Antonio and Stoldo Lorenzi, Vincenzo Danti, Giovanni Bologna, Giovanni Vincenzo Casali, Battista Lorenzi, Francesco Cammilliani, Zanobi Lastricati, Domenico Poggini, Giovanni Balducci, and Valerio Cioli. These artists had probably been elected by the committee that was installed on February 10, 1566. The members of this committee were Francesco da Sangallo, Angolo Bronzino, Giorgio Vasari, Pierfrancesco di Iacopo, Michele di Ridolfo, Benvenuto Cellini, Bartolomeo Ammannati, Vincenzo De Rossi, and Vincenzo Danti. ASF, AD 24, 15r.

\textsuperscript{313} See, for the significance of the choice for these figures, Summers 1969, 69, n. 5; Waźbiński 1987, I, 120-124; Baroni/Meijer 2015, 159-161.
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the sidewalls had to depict unspecified scenes from the Old and the New Testament.\(^{314}\)

The actual work on the decorations started almost two years later, around October 18, 1569. This is the date on which the first payments for materials for the artworks are recorded in the academy’s account book.\(^{315}\) The sources are silent as to why the artists waited until this moment, but an obvious reason for starting at the end of 1569 was that the five-year deadline, which the friars had set for the academicians to finish the decorations, was approaching.

The documents show that most of the work was carried out in 1570 and 1571. In this period the academicians completed the three large frescoes: Giorgio Vasari’s *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, Santi di Tito’s *Solomon Building the Temple in Jerusalem*, and Alessandro Allori’s altarpiece representing the *Most Holy Trinity* (figs. 11-13). Furthermore, at the end of 1571 were finished seven of the ten additional clay sculptures, the grotesques, and probably also the smaller frescoes above the niches. The remaining three statues were placed in their niches between 1573 and 1575.\(^{316}\)

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\(^{314}\) The painters Agnolo Bronzino and Alessandro Allori had to produce the altarpiece representing the Holy Trinity and Vasari and Santi di Tito were allotted the scenes from the Old and the New Testament, respectively. ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 214.

\(^{315}\) ASF, AD 101, 114r.

\(^{316}\) See section 5.4 for an iconographic interpretation of the decorations of the Cappella della Santissimà Trinità from the point of view of religious practices and see Jonker 2017 for an interpretation of these decorations from the perspective of guild practices (as well as that of religious practices). It should be noted that the work did not proceed as planned in 1567. Vasari and Tito exchanged subjects: the former painted the scene of the New and the latter that of the Old Testament. Furthermore, Allori appears to have carried out the altarpiece without the aid of Bronzino. The sculptors deviated even more from the original list, because only four of the ten statues were produced by the artist to which they had been allotted. Summers 1969, 71-72. Unlike Allori and Tito, who received materials from the academy to carry out their paintings, Vasari’s name does not occur in the sources after the meeting of November 1567, in which the tasks were divided. Notwithstanding this lack of documentary evidence, scholars unanimously attribute the *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* to Vasari on stylistic grounds. However, some believe that he was aided by an assistant. For instance, Barocchi (1964, 267) also recognizes the hand of Allori in this painting. Waźbiński (1987, I, 131, n. 117), on the other hand, suggests that the Flemish painter Pietro Candido (Peter de Witte) might have executed the fresco after Vasari’s design. Candido is, indeed, mentioned in the account book as one of the first artists to work in the chapel in October 1569. ASF, AD 101, 114r: ‘Adi 18 d’ottobre 1569 (…) Al opera di Santa Maria del fiore pro calcina per intonacare al chapitolo de la notiata per la storia di piero candido fiamigo (…)’ However, according to other scholars, this passage refers to one of the smaller frescoes above the niches. Baroni/Meijer 2015, 156-157, n. 21 (with further references). The documents disclose very little information about the smaller frescoes above the niches. In fact, in addition to Pietro Candido, only Giovanni Fedini and
Figure 11. Giorgio Vasari, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1569-1570, fresco, 320 x 293 cm, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

Figure 12. Santi di Tito, *Solomon Building the Temple in Jerusalem*, 1571, fresco, 320 x 285 cm, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

Alessandro Fei (del Barbiere) are mentioned in the account book as possible authors of these paintings. ASF, AD 101, 115v.
Although the academicians missed the deadline of June 1570, the Servite friars allowed them to continue to use the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. In fact, to this this day, the academy celebrates the feast of Saint Luke here on October 18. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the chapel was re-dedicated to Saint Luke after extensive renovations, which included the transferal of the entrance from the north to the west wall and the replacement of the altar to Vasari’s *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*.317

4.2.3. From convent’s chapterhouse to academy’s headquarters

Missing the deadline of the completion of the decorations of the chapel was not the only restriction from the contract that the academicians ignored and that the Servite friars let them get away with. For, notwithstanding the stipulation that the academy could not convene there for meetings concerning their institution, the chapel did become the regular meeting place of the Accademia del Disegno during first sixteen

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317 The reason for the renovations, which took place in 1812/13, was to facilitate access for the bishop Nancy, who used the room as a private chapel. Baroni/Meijer 2015, 158, n. 28. It is because of this rededication that in the modern literature the room is mainly referred to as Cappella di San Luca (Chapel of Saint Luke), in addition to Cappella dei Pittori or degli Accademici (Chapel of the painters or of the academicians), which all refer to its use by the art academy.
years of its existence. This becomes clear when carefully reading the academy’s subsequent *Libri del provveditore*, in which the meetings were recorded. In these books 130 meetings are described between October 11, 1563 and April 13, 1579. In the descriptions of 84 of these meetings a location is mentioned. In 52 of these 84 descriptions the chapterhouse (or chapel) in Santissima Annunziata is identified as the location of the meeting. In the same period Cestello, i.e. the ‘official’ headquarters, is named only ten times as meeting place; the *arte dei fabbricanti* is mentioned eight times as meeting place from January 1573 onwards. San Lorenzo is mentioned seven times; five times a meeting in the house or chamber of the *luogotenente* is recorded; and, finally, toward the very end of this period, twice an artist’s workshop was used for the drawing of the *festaioli* (or *festaiuoli*), i.e. the artists who were in charge of the organization of the celebrations for the feast of San Luca and that of the Santissima Trinità (Table 2).  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Number of meetings</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cappella della SS Trinità</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cestello</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arte dei Fabbricanti</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Lorenzo</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room of lieutenant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workshop artist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Number of meetings of the Accademia del Disegno at its different sites between 1563-1579

That the chapterhouse in the Santissima Annunziata was by far the most popular location for the meetings of the academy in this early period becomes clear not just from the high number of records, in which the room is identified as the meeting place, but also from the content of some of these descriptions. For example, in his entry on the meeting of April 9, 1570, *provveditore* Domenico Poggini names the chapel in

318 The three *Libri del provveditore*, on which these numbers are based, are categorized as ASF, AD 24, 25, and 26. Included in the table are only those meetings, of which the secretary explicitly mentioned the location. There is no reason to believe that the ratio of the sites of the remaining the 46 meetings (of the 130 in total) of which no place name was recorded in the books, would have been different. These meetings dealt with the same kind of subjects as those of which the location was specified, so it seems that the *provveditori* omitted the names for no particular reason. The records of the meetings before October 11, 1563, a number of which must have been held in the temple of Pippo Spano in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, are lost. In April 1579 the academy finally relocated to Cestello for its professional and organizational activities.
Santissima Annunziata the academy’s regular meeting place: ‘I record today on named day that the usual meeting is held, which is held every second Sunday of the month in the chapterhouse of the [An]nunziata (…).’ And nine months later, on January 14, 1571, the record of the Poggini’s successor as provveditore, Giovanni Fedini, reads: ‘I record today on this day 14 of January how our usual meeting is held in the chapterhouse of the Servites (…).’

Another example of the importance of the chapel of the Annunziata can be found in the records of two subsequent meetings in September and October 1567. The first entry describes a meeting in the chapel on September 14, during which the officials overseeing the construction and decoration of the temple in Cestello were chosen in the usual way, namely through secret vote with the help of black and white beans. In accordance with general voting practices in early modern Florence, the academicians placed a black or white bean in a bag for every man who was nominated for a certain office. He who received the most black beans would get the function. As already mentioned above, the record states that the sculptors Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati received the most black beans and were thus elected as officers in charge of overseeing the work in Cestello.

The next meeting that is described in the Libro del provveditore took place a month later, on St Luke’s day (October 18), in Cestello. During this meeting the scribe, treasurer and provveditore were confirmed in their office. However, this was done by spoken vote and not with the help of black and white beans. The provveditore, Ruberto di Filippo Lippi, states that the reason for this deviation of normal administrative procedure was simply that the beans were not present, as this was the first meeting in Cestello. Although not explicitly stated by the provveditore, this episode strongly suggests that the beans were stored...
in their chapel – or in another room – in Santissima Annunziata. The records of earlier meetings provide corroborating evidence for this conclusion. For, in all entries, in which the location is specified and which describe administrative activities – such as drawing of officials and voting on new members – the chapel in Santissima Annunziata is named as the meeting place.

A final piece of evidence confirming that the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata was the academy’s – unofficial – headquarters in its early years is provided by Federico Zuccari. While working in Florence in the second half of the 1570s, the painter was solicited by the academy to write a proposal for the institution’s curriculum in order to reinvigorate its educational activities.

The beans could also have been stored in the sacristy of Santissima Annunziata, because the contract specifies that the vestments used in the chapel were to be housed there together with the other liturgical objects of the church. See Waźbiński 1987, II, 477: ‘E che i paramenti, che per alcun tempo si facessino per uso di questa Cappella, debbino stare nella custodia del Sagrestano maggiore della sagrestia del convento di detti Padri, come stanno tutti gli altri parimenti di detta chiesa.’

The following administrative activities in the chapel of Santissima Annunziata are recorded in the Libri del provveditore in the 1560s and 1570s: election festaiuoli for the feast of Santissima Trinità of 1564, no date (ASF, AD 24, 7v); elevation to the rank of academician of the young artists who contributed to the catafalque of Michelangelo, July 16, 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 9r); election of a scribe and a servant, August 13, 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 9v); drawing of festaiuoli for the feast of San Luca, September 10, 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 9v); drawing of officials, October 10, 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 10r); signing of the contract of the chapel of the Santissima Annunziata with the friars, June 25, 1565; election of reformers and assistants for the decoration of the chapel in SS Annunziata, February 10, 1566 (ASF, AD 24, 15r); drawing of officials on April 6, 1567 (ASF, AD 24, 18r); voting on the officials overseeing the construction of the chapel in Cestello, September 14, 1567 (ASF, AD 24, 19r-v). Records of administrative activities without mention of place: drawing of officials, May 9, 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 7r); drawing of officials, April 1565 (ASF, AD 24, 12r-v); election of eight new academicians, October 14, 1565 (ASF, AD 24, 13v). It should be noted that three of the eight new academicians were elected to this rank on October 18, 1565, i.e. the day of the feast of San Luca, which was held in San Lorenzo, but the record shows that the decision had already been made four days earlier; electing new academicians, January 7, 1566 (ASF, AD 24, 1566); drawing of officials, May 1665 (ASF, AD 24, 15v); drawing of officials, October 27, 1566 (ASF, AD 24, 16r-v); making public the name of the new lieutenant, September 13, 1573 (ASF, AD 25, 27v); moderating the fee for the officials, creating new academicians, and confirming and making public new statutes, April 18, 1574 (ASF, AD 25, 31r-34v); new statutes and upcoming change of lieutenant, August 8, 1574 (ASF, AD 25, 36v-37r); electing academician, January 8, 1576 (ASF, AD 25, 44r); new rules, March 11, 1576 (ASF, AD 25, 44v); new secretary, April 8, 1576 (ASF, AD 25, 45v); selecting candidate lieutenants, January 1, 1577 (ASF, AD 25, 47v); electing secretary, February 9, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 1v); electing scribe, March 9, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 1v); drawing treasurer, April 13, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 3r); drawing medical assistants (infermieri), September 14, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 5v); electing reformers of the statutes, September 21, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 7r); electing syndics for reviewing the accounts of the treasurer, December 28, 1578 (ASF, AD 26, 11r).
activities. ³²⁶ Zuccari’s resulting draft contains fourteen points, in which he discusses the various exercises that the young students should undertake as well as the manner in which the teachers should instruct them. ³²⁷ The final point deals with the site on which these activities should take place. Zuccari writes:

I do not want to remain silent [and want to] offer for consideration that the meetings that are held in the chapterhouse of the Annunziata until we have a better place, should be completely directed to the business of study and not mixed with such activities that pertain to the magistracy as drawing consuls, electing officials, and other things that do not pertain to study (…). Thus I suggest that it would be better, even necessary, if we want to organize it well, to do those things in the magistracy, since they are offices of the magistracy, and academic studies in the academy. ³²⁸

In this passage Zuccari not only clearly states that at the end of the 1570s the academy did not yet have a better meeting place than the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata but also that this was the venue for the administrative and professional practices. He even envisions the chapel as the site for the academy’s educational activities. However, there is no evidence that artistic instruction was ever carried out in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. The archival documents indicate that drawing lessons and mathematical instruction took place in Cestello.

The source material discussed in this section makes it possible, rather necessary, to correct the generally accepted but partially mistaken picture about the early sites of the Accademia del Disegno. According to

³²⁶ Zuccari’s proposal can be found in BNCF Cod. II. IV. 311, 134r-136v. It is partially transcribed in Pevsner 1940/1973, 51-52, n. 2, and completely in Barzman 2000, 243-246, and Waźbiński 1987, II, 489-493. The passage, in which Zuccari claims to have been commissioned by the academy to reinvigorate its educational activities, reads: ‘(…)  vi è piaciuto darmi carico, per rimettere in piedi li studii di questa nostra accademia (…).’ It is certain that this draft dates from Zuccari’s second period in Florence, rather than his first in the 1560s, because in the program he discusses the academy’s function as magistracy, which it only assumed after 1571. The book of the debtors and creditors of the taxes shows that Zuccari paid the academy’s taxes from November 1, 1575 until 1578. ASF, AD 123, 45v-46r. Zuccari’s name also appears in the book of the matricole (‘entrance fees’) dealing with the period 1576-1591. ASF, AD 56, 25v and 51v.

³²⁷ See section 8.2.

³²⁸ Zuccari’s proposal is transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 489-493 and Barzman 2000, 243-246: ‘Non voglio ancor tacere et metterli in considerazione, che le tornate che si fanno nel capitolo dell’Annunziata sino a che altro luogo migliore non habbiamo, fussero tutte indirizzate a questo negozio di studio ne mescolarvi li negozii che appartenano al Magistrato, come il trarre Consoli, eleggere Ufficiali (…). Dico addunque che sia bene, anzi necessario, se ben ci vogliamo ordinare, che tal negozii si faccino nel Magistrato, essendo Uffici di Magistrato, et nell’Accademia studii academici.’ Italics MJ.
this picture, the academy used the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata exclusively for religious purposes, whereas its rooms in Cestello were its official headquarters from 1567 onwards. This picture was composed on the basis of the more formal archival documents, i.e. the academy’s incorporating statutes, the contract of the institutions with the monastery of friars of Santissima Annunziata, and Vasari’s ‘Life of Montorsoli’. Such documents typically express the intended and ideal functions of an institution and the activities that are to be carried out in its buildings. However, as is well known, things do not always work out as planned.

It has become clear that it is possible to provide a more realistic reconstruction of the activities that were carried out in the buildings of the academy by paying more attention to relatively informal sources, such as Zuccari’s outline for the academy’s educational program and especially the descriptions of the meetings in the Libri dei provveditori. These sources have made clear that notwithstanding Vasari’s narrative and the stipulations of the contract between the friars and the academy about the restrictions concerning the activities that could be conducted in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, the artists used the convent’s chapterhouse as their headquarters until the end of the 1570s.

Two things remain to be explained: why did the academicians use the Cappella della Santissima Trinità as their main meeting place, when they had an official headquarters in Cestello? And why did the Servite friars lend their facilities for administrative and confraternal purposes, given the fact that the contract contained clear and explicit conditions precluding such activities? An answer to the first question can be found in the previous section. The reason why the chapterhouse of the Santissima Annunziata was used until the very end of the 1570s, instead of the academy’s rooms in Cestello, probably was that the latter site was not yet finished. Although the academy came into the possession of the rooms in Cestello in 1567/8, and held several meetings and lectures there not long after, the remaining sources suggest that the bulk of the construction work started in the second half of the 1570s. As discussed, one reason for the delay was probably the disputes over the boundaries with a neighbor.

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329 It must be reiterated that the academy’s rooms in Cestello were, in fact, used already shortly after their concession to the institutions. Pacini (2001, 22) refers in this context to the Libro del provveditore of 1563-1571, in which meetings were recorded on October 18, 1567 and January 1569 (ASF, AD 24, 21r and 23v). However, as argued, the total amount of recorded meetings in Cestello until 1579 is very small compared to those in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità.

330 It is noteworthy in this respect that between November 1569 and September 1570, lectures on Euclid were given in Cestello, that is, at the time when the decorative work on the chapterhouse in Santissima Annunziata started and was probably most invasive. This
CHAPTER FOUR: MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE ART ACADEMIES

It is more difficult to find a conclusive answer to the second question in the sources about why the friars let the academy gather in their chapterhouse. However, two reasons come to mind. On the one hand, the fact that the academy possessed an official headquarters since 1567 must have convinced the Servites that the disturbances would only be of a temporary nature. On the other hand, and more importantly, several of the academy’s members were friars residing in the monastery. One of them was Giovanni Vincenzo Casali, who compiled the list of artists to contribute to the sculptural program of the chapel and who also recorded the expenses for renovation of the chapterhouse in the year before the contract with the academy was signed. Furthermore, the painter Zanobi Pitti and the sculptor Giovanni Angelo Lottini were also residents in the convent. Moreover, Lottini produced the statue of David in the chapterhouse in 1575 (which was replaced in the eighteenth century).

In this context, also Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli’s role must have been crucial. The fact that Montorsoli had been a Servite friar in the monastery when he donated the chapel to the academy must have placed the institution in a stronger position than in the instances when the room had belonged to an outsider, such as in the cases of Bernardo Scolari and the Santa Maria degli Angeli and Giulio Scala and Cestello. Incidentally, this also suggests that Cosimo I’s power in Florence was not as absolute as often portrayed by scholars working in the cultural-politics tradition of the interpretations of the Accademia del Disegno, insofar as the academy’s relationship to the various monasteries was a more important indicator for the friars acceptance of the institution on their premises than the fact that the duke ordered so.

It is only after April 1579 that the academy definitely seems to have relocated to Cestello for their meetings, and not as has always been assumed, immediately after the date of the concession in 1567/1568. Furthermore, the period 1579-1582 seems to have been a transitional one for the Florentine art academy. Not only did they transfer to Cestello...
occur in this time-span, but there also were rapid changes of lieutenants and important reforms in the statutes, which now had to include rules about the guild. Finally, as mentioned, in 1585 the academy had some disagreements with the monks of Cestello about the confines of their rooms. It is likely that, as in the case of the Camaldolese monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli earlier, these conflicts had to do with the increased activity of the art institution in the preceding period, as the account book shows that the academy carried out renovations in Cestello for a large part of 1584.

4.2.4. Objects and artifacts in the inventories of the Accademia del Disegno

The Libri del provveditore of the sixteenth century contain various inventories of the goods of the academy. The first of these inventories was written by provveditore Ruberto di Filippo Lippi. It dates from the winter of 1563-1564 and it describes the objects that were temporarily stored in one of Benedetto Varchi’s rooms in the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli after the academy no longer was allowed to use the oratory of Pippo Spano in the same complex. The provenance of part of the goods on the inventory must have been the church of Santa Maria Novella, because a record in the account book states that certain objects had been transferred from there to Santa Maria degli Angeli in May 1563.

The artifacts in the inventory could have been used in at least three different practices. In the first place and most predominantly, these were religious confraternal practices. Of several objects in the inventory it is explicitly mentioned that they had a function in relation to the altar.

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334 For example, on January 10, 1582 the small table, which was previously used in the chapterhouse of SS Annunziata, is brought to Cestello, after it had been stored for some time in the house of the envoy (tavolacino). See ASF, AD 26, 26r: ‘Addì detto [January 10, 1582] feci portare un tavolino nella nostra compagnia cestello, il quale serviva nel capitoli dela nuntiaza et ceseri nostro tavolacino l’aveva protago a casa sua, rie[b]ilo dalla sua moglie perché ceseri era morto.’ A note in the left margin reads: ‘Tavolino rea[y]uto.’

335 ASF, AD 26, 28v: ‘Ricordo come addì 8 di maggio [1582] detti le scritture de capituli [sic] del magistrato a ser Persio per ordine del s[igno]r luogotenente e de s[igno]ri consoli, perché le vedesse et fusse nostro aiutore a finire.’

336 ASF, AD 101, 143r-145v. On the disagreements see sections 4.2.1 and especially 10.3.2.

337 ASF, AD 24, 4r-5r. See, for a transcription of a part of this inventory, Ważbiński 1987, II, 480-481.

338 ASF, AD 101, 101r-101v.
These objects were an altar step or platform (*predella*), three pieces of cloth (two *tovaglie* and a *paliotto*), two benches (*panche*), a board (*asse*), and a brass basin (*bacino di ottone*). Lippi noted that on one of the pieces of cloth were depicted two children (*bambini*) – probably angels – holding a round image of San Luca.\(^\text{339}\) Furthermore, there were two round pictures with representations of an ox (*2 tondi con dua buoi*). These images obviously referred to San Luca, the patron saint of the institution, because the ox was his symbol.

Secondly, the inventory lists various pieces of furniture that were used in the professional (or guild) practices of the academy. These objects are several benches, two tables, a chest (*cassapancha*), a box (*cassa*), and two casings (*bos[s]oli*). Of the benches and the tables it is explicitly mentioned that they were used by the officers of the institution, i.e. the scribe (*scrivano*), consuls (*capitani*), and the councilors (*consiglieri*).\(^\text{340}\) The officers sat on the benches and wrote at the tables during academic meetings. The box and chest presumably served for storing smaller items, such as the two casings that were used for casting the votes and a small box for alms (*cassetta per lemosina*), which had been bought in 1562.\(^\text{341}\) It should be noted that some pieces of furniture, especially the benches, were probably not exclusively used for the academy’s guild practices, but could have also functioned in the confraternal practices, e.g. during religious celebrations.

Finally, in addition to the two round pictures already mentioned, there also appear six other paintings on Lippi’s inventory of the things that were stored in Varchi’s room in Santa Maria degli Angeli. Unfortunately, the subjects of these paintings are not described. This makes it somewhat more difficult to determine in which practices they functioned. However, it is likely that they functioned in two practices simultaneously. On the one hand, these are, again, the religious confraternal practices of the institution. Each year the organization commissioned works of art from young artists for adorning the academy’s rooms with an *apparato* (ephemeral decorations) during the feast of San Luca. The young art students were not remunerated for their works, which after the celebrations were sold in order to pay for the

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\(^{339}\) ASF, AD 24, 4v. Ważbiński 1987, II, 481: ‘Una predella da latare e un paliotto da latare dipinto in su la tela entrovi 2 bambini che tengono un tondo che vè Santo Luca (…) 2 tovaglie da latare che l’ho io in casa per lavare.’ The *provveditore* stated that the board had been returned to Giorgio Vasari, because it belonged to him.

\(^{340}\) Ibidem: ‘(…) un descho di b[racia] 3 che servia a lo scrivano. (…) un descho per i capitani.’ *Capitano* was the old name for the consul. See rules of the company of 1386 in Reynolds (1974/1985, 214-218) and Vasari’s (1966-1987, V, 274) ‘Life of Casentino’.

\(^{341}\) See for the box for alms ASF, AD 101, 101r. See the inventory of 1571 (ASF, AD 25, 68v), where one wooden casing is mentioned for voting: ‘Un bossolo di legno da ricorre i partiti.’
institution’s expenses. On the other hand, in this manner these works of art also functioned in the educational practices of the Accademia del Disegno, because it gave the young and aspiring academicians an opportunity to demonstrate their progress.

This interpretation is supported by a marginal note in Lippi’s inventory. There it is written that the paintings were transferred to the Ospedale degli Innocenti, the foundling hospital, of which the academy’s luogotenente, Vincenzo Borghini, was the prior. In October 1564 these paintings were joined by other pictures, which had been produced by young aspiring academicians for the catafalque at Michelangelo’s funeral on July 14 of that same year. These paintings were hung on the walls of the refectory of the Ospedale degli Innocenti. One of the purposes of this exhibition was to sell the paintings so that the accounts with the frame makers could be settled. For this reason the paintings were appraised by members of the academy. 342 However, it has been argued that this exhibition should also be understood in relation to sections 30 and 31 of the incorporating statutes, which envisioned the creation of an exhibition space and a library for the works of art, drawings, plans and designs that the artists would donate to the academy for the education of future generations of artists. 343 The purpose of these works of art was to aid the young art students in learning the craft. This means that the paintings in the Ospedale degli Innocenti had a function in academic educational practices.

Below the inventory of the goods in Santa Maria degli Angeli, Lippi listed two other possessions of the academy. These were some lands at San Colombano, near Florence, which were rented to a man named Tadeo del Conte, and a luogo del monte (public loan for which the academy received annual interest). 344 For these possessions, the academy received the modest annual sums of five and about fourteen lire respectively. 345 The account books contain numerous entries, in which

342 ASF, AD 24, 11r. The prices of the paintings varied between four and twelve scudi, which were normal prices for works of young art students. However, there does not seem to have been a lot of interest from the general public, because after five years only three had been sold to an outsider of the academy, the weaver Francesco di Carlo. Four pictures had been sold to their authors for less than the appraised amount. Three pictures were donated to members of the academy as thanks for their work as officers. The rest was transferred to Cestello, where in 1571 another exposition space was designated. See ASF, AD 101, 14r and Waźbiński 1978, 52.
343 Waźbiński 1978, 47.
344 See Vocabulario della Crusca 1612 (http://vocabolario.sns.it/html/_s_index2.html), visited October 26, 2016: ‘Monte diciamo a quel luogo pubblico, dove si piglia, o si pon danari a interesse’.
345 See ASF, AD 24, 5r, 13r, 19r, and 93v-94r.
these revenues were recorded. 346 Both of these possessions had previously belonged to the Compagnia di San Luca. Incidentally, this shows that not only in terms of the religious celebrations but also legally academy was a continuation of the confraternity.

The objects mentioned in Lippi’s inventory were probably transferred to the other locations of the academy over the years. However, due to a lack of sources it is impossible to retrace their trajectories in a detailed fashion. The following inventory dates from 1571. It is, however, very short and incomplete, and the location of the objects is not specified. Listed are canvases painted by ‘various artists’ (Tele depinte di varij pittori) and cloths (tovaglie) for the altar. However, in both cases the provveditore has left the number of items blank. Furthermore, the inventory contains the same (and similar) objects as the first one: a small brass basin and a small bell (campanuzzo) for the altar; and wooden box that was used for casting the votes (bossolo di legno da ricorre i partiti). Finally, there was a small box with bags that contained the names of the members, who had been scrutinized and were eligible for one of the official functions in the academy.347

The following inventory dates from January 5, 1579 and it was composed by the provveditore Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli (1551-1640) for his successor Luca Geri. In this inventory, for the first time, the academy’s books and papers are recorded. Listed are three libri del provveditore (including the one in which the inventory was written), one account book, two books with debtors and creditors – one concerning the construction work in Cestello (Libro del vanto) and the other for recording the entrance fees – a journal, and two small books in which were written the results of the draws for the official functions. Furthermore, in this part of the inventory is recorded the small box with three bags, which contained the names of the academicians who were eligible for being appointed as appraiser.348

Above the second part of the inventory – on the following page of the Libro del provveditore – is written that the objects were housed in Cestello. Although no place is mentioned in the first part of the list, this suggests that the above-mentioned items were located somewhere else, probably in the chapterhouse of Santissima Annunziata, since this was the

346 See, for example, ASF, AD 101 6r, 9r, 12v, and 22v for the revenues from the lands, and ASF, AD 101, 3v, 6v, 9v, 11r, 13r, 16v, and 22r for those from the monte.
347 ASF, AD 25, 68v: ‘Una cassetta di noce con sua chiave serve per tenervi le borse delli uffitiali.’
348 ASF, AD 26, 12r. These books are recorded again in an inventory that bears the date November 6, 1581. See ASF, AD 26, 24v. In this inventory only the books are recorded. It is somewhat more specific in its descriptions of the content of the documents.
only other site of the academy in this period. The second part of the inventory contains some of the items that had been present in Santa Maria degli Angeli, such as the furniture for the altar and the two round paintings with the oxen. Also the small box with the leather bags with the names of the officials and the casing that was used for casting the votes were stored here. The fact that these objects were present in Cestello at this time can be seen as additional evidence that the academy was in the process of relocating there in this period. It is even conceivable that the inventory was made at this moment because the academy was transferring its goods to its official headquarters.

In addition, various works of art are mentioned in this part of the inventory. Listed are five oil paintings. Three of these pictures represented a scene of the Old Testament: one with Adam, and two with Noah. Although the subjects of the other two paintings are not mentioned, the names of the artists are: Giovanmaria Casini and a certain Palaio. There were, furthermore, four paintings in chiaroscuro and a terracotta figure made by a certain sculptor named Giovanni. The paintings probably originated in the context of the academy’s celebrations of the religious feasts. For example, Casini had been elected as festaiolo on May 11, 1578, that is, the year before the inventory was made.

The next inventory in the Libro del provveditore dates from July 13, 1586. It was composed by provveditore Cristofano di Papi dell’Altissimo when his successor, Giovanni Brini, took office. Dell’Altissimo’s inventory contains the same and similar objects that had been recorded in previous listings. For example, there are various pieces of furniture, such as the altar step, benches, and the two round pictures with oxen, which were used in the academy’s confraternal practices. Also belonging to this category were two small boxes for alms and a gilded and painted cross on a plaster cast standing for the altar. Furthermore, as in the previous inventory, the secretary also describes the books and papers of the institution. To the list of these documents that had already been recorded, Dell’Altissimo added a book of the statutes with the sign of the Trinity (Un libro de capitoli con segnio della Trinità). These statutes were approved by Grand Duke Francesco I on April 6, 1585, and they contain the rules pertaining to the academy as guild.

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349 See Zuccari’s remark in section 4.2.3.
350 ASF, AD 26, 12r.
351 ASF, AD 26, 3r.
352 The original statutes are missing. However, the academy’s archive houses two copies, one from the eighteenth (ASF, AD 5, 1-20v) and one from the seventeenth century (ASF, AD 6, 1-38). See for transcriptions Reynolds 1974/1985, 252-293, Waźbiński 1987, II, 445-470, Adorno/Zangheri 1998 (copy of Waźbiński’s transcription), and Barzman 2000, 246-268. See section 6.2.1. for a discussion of these statutes.
In Dell’Altissimo’s inventory there are three other items that were directly connected to the guild function of the art institution and the new statutes. In the first place, there was a small wooden box containing the bags with the names of the members who were eligible for adjudicating cases. The box was located in the academy’s magistracy, that is, in the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti. 353 Second, the inventory mentions writings, which had been copied from the statutes of the guild of the builders (Fabbricanti) and that of the physicians and apothecaries (Medici e Speziali), which were the corporations to which the artists had previously belonged. 354 The committee that was in charge of drafting the new statutes, undoubtedly, had used these writings to carry out its task. Finally, the list mentions 120 marks of painters and sculptors, with which they had to sign their works. 355 Traditionally, the guilds had used these maker’s marks, or trademarks, as an instrument to control the market. 356

Furthermore, there were items that functioned both in the confraternal and the academic-educational practices of the academy. For instance, again four paintings are listed. This time, however, all subjects of the paintings are described. They were the Transfiguration, Adam and Eve, Moses Receiving the Laws from God, and Moses Striking Water from the Rock. 357 Like the paintings mentioned in earlier inventories, these pictures had probably been made by the young festaioli for the feast of San Luca and, thus, functioned both in religious and academic-educational practices.

Furthermore, Dell’Altissimo mentions for the first time a plaster cast representing Christ that was ‘made by Michelangelo’. The provveditore writes that this statue was placed on the altar and that it included a piece of wood, which functioned as a cross. 358 A later inventory specifies that this was, in fact, a copy of Michelangelo’s Christ the Redeemer (1521) in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (fig. 14). 359 The academy’s account book shows that this copy had been made by the

353 ASF, AD 26, 49r: ‘cassetta pichola dalbero fatta verde con sue serature che sta al magistrato dove stanno le borse (…)’
354 ASF, AD 26, 49v: ‘scritte cavato delli statuti de fabricanti e speziali (…)’
355 Ibidem: ‘120 segni o marche di pittori et scultori che servono per segniare i lavori che faranno secondo lo statuto.’
356 See for a more elaborate discussion of these items and the new statutes section 6.2.1.
357 ASF, AD 26, 49r.
358 ASF, AD 26, 49v: ‘un cristo di gesso ch’è posto in sul’altare di mano di michelangiolo / un pezzo di croce di legnio per detto cristo.’
359 ASF, AD 27, 131v. See below for a discussion of this inventory.
sculptor Giovanni Garzolli in 1583. The place of this statue on the academy’s altar in Cestello indicates that it had a function in the organization’s confraternal practices. However, given the status that Michelangelo’s work enjoyed in Florence at that time, as the summum of the arts and the prime example for young artists, this sculpture was most probably also used as a model in the academic-educational practices.

Finally, the 1586 inventory contains three items that were probably used exclusively in the academy’s educational practices. The first of these artifacts was a large clay model (modello di terra cruda grande) by Michelangelo, which had been donated to the academy by the sculptor, architect, and academician Bartolomeo Ammannati in 1583. This sculpture was a model for one of the River Gods that were supposed to be placed on Michelangelo’s monument Lorenzo de’ Medici in the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo (fig. 15). The artist never produced the actual statue. That his model was a prize possession of the academy is clear from the fact that it still belongs to the institution and is nowadays on display in the Museo di Casa Buonarroti in Florence. Like the tombs in the New Sacristy, the model must have been frequently copied by other artists, and it is highly likely that it was used in the education of young art students in the academy for learning how to draw after a sculpted figure. It also appears on Domenico Passignano’s Saint Luke Painting the Virgin that hung in the academy’s chapel in Cestello (fig. 16).

360 Gargioli received two payments on November 14, 1583 and June 26, 1584, for a total of 77 lire. On October 19, 1584, the academy paid for a wooden cross to accompany the Christ. ASF, AD 101, 142v, 143v, and 145v.
361 ASF, AD 26, 49v: ‘Un modello di terra cruda grande di mano di Michelagniolo Buonarroti scultore.’
The second artifact that was used exclusively in the academy’s educational practices, was a piece of an ancient marble capital, which had also been donated to the academy by Ammannati in 1583 for study purposes. It reappears in later inventories. Thirdly and finally, there were two screened windows (2 finestre impannate). It has been suggested that the academy used these windows for controlling the light in the teaching room – in addition to reducing the drafts. The screens allowed the art students to continue to draw after the model for longer periods of time without having to deal with the problem of alterations in the

362 Ibidem: ‘Un pez[z]o di capitello di marmo antico.’ See for Ammannati’s gift ibidem, 32v: ‘meser Bartolomeo d’antonio amanati scultore et architetto donò all’achademia un pezzo di capitello di marmo antico (…) et questo fece in beneficio pubrico acio i giovani e altri della professione potessino inparare (...).’

363 Barzman 2000, 174. Barzman points out that the use of screened windows for rooms, in which figure drawing took place, had been recommended by Leonardo in his treatise.
intensity and angle of the light. In the 1590s the academy bought new cloth for these windows.\textsuperscript{364}

The final inventory to be discussed here can be found in the subsequent \textit{Libro del provveditore}, which deals with the years 1586-1595.\textsuperscript{365} It was started by Jacopo da Empoli in 1591 and supplemented by his successors until 1595. Consisting of around 125 items, it is much more elaborate than the previous inventory, which had 50 entries. Of course, many objects are recorded in both inventories. For example, the new one begins with the two artifacts that were related to Michelangelo, i.e. the plaster cast copy of the \textit{Christ} in Santa Maria sopra Minerva and the model for the River God by the master’s own hand, which is described here as \textit{torso di terra cruda}. Furthermore, many of the pieces of furniture and adornment for the altar, the furniture that was used for the academy’s professional and administrative activities, and the academy’s books return in the new inventory.

Although there are some additions in these categories of items, the most important sources for the expansion of the inventory were works of art and the vestments that were used by the priest, who was hired by the academy to say mass. Whereas the previous inventories there were recorded around five paintings, in the one that was composed in the 1590s there are listed almost fifty. Fourteen of these new paintings were portraits of the \textit{luogotenenti}. This must have been the complete collection, because in 1594 – i.e. the date of this entry – \textit{luogotenente} number fourteen, Ridolfo de’ Bardi, was in office.\textsuperscript{366}

In this same period, the academy commissioned Jacopo da Empoli to paint the grand-ducal coat of arms above the entrance in Cestello. Subsequently, the institution also paid for a roof that was placed above the painting in order to protect it from the rain. Although these artifacts are not listed in the inventory, they are described in the same \textit{Libro del provveditore}, and they merit noting in this context because, like the portraits of the lieutenants, the grand-ducal coat of arms play a role in contemporary patronage practices. With the placement of the Medici coat of arms above the entrance of their headquarters the academicians honored the relationship to their patron and they paid homage to their founder.\textsuperscript{367}

364 ASF, AD 102, 88v.
365 ASF, AD 27, 131v-134r (1591-1592), 28r-29v (1594), and 88r-v (specifically the things that are in the sacristy 1594). These inventories are partly transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 482-487.
367 ASF, AD 27, 9v-12v, 93v-94r, and 95v, and ASF, AD 102, 91r-91v and 92v. See section 10.3.1 for a more elaborate discussion of the role of the academy as client in contemporary patronage practices.
To return to the inventory, another large portion of the paintings were produced by the young festaioli for the apparato for feast of San Luca, and therefore, had a function in both confraternal and academic-educational practices. In contrast to previous inventories, here most of the subjects of the pictures are described. Many of them depicted scenes from the Bible, but there also were personifications of disegno, Painting, Decorum, and Color. Furthermore, besides the two sculptures that were connected to Michelangelo, the inventory contains six clay figures, representing the four elements – fire, water, earth, and air – and personifications of Sculpture and Painting.

The vestments (parimenti) that were stored in the sacristy – that of Cestello, presumably – composed a new category in the inventory. Written on separate pages in the Libro del provveditore, it consists of seventeen items such as cloths (tovaglie), the priest’s surplice (camice), and a stole (stola) but also a chalice (calice), a corporal (corporale) and gloves (un paio di guanti).368 The fact that the paramenti are listed for the first time in this inventory from the 1580s and 1590s, suggests that, previously, the academy did not possess their own liturgical vestments and artifacts and that it borrowed these things from the convents, to which they were connected.

Finally, the inventory contains several items that are noteworthy, not for their quantity but because they indicate a transformation in existing practices. On the one hand, there were various new artifacts that that were used in the academy’s educational practices: a wooden lectern (cattedra) with steps for reading Euclid; two shelves that could be attached to the lectern, and on which two spheric globes could be placed; and a blackboard that was used for drawing the figures of Euclid. Besides these educational paraphernalia, in this context also the names of two mathematics teachers appear in the list. These men are the geographer and cosmographer Antonio Santucci dalle Pomerancie (d. 1613) and Ostilio Ricci (1540-1603). Both this new furniture and the fact that the academicians had two lecturers teaching simultaneously in their institution is evidence of a growing commitment to mathematical instruction as well as of an increase in the perceived importance of this science for the arts of disegno in the academy.369

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368 ASF, AD 27, 88r-v.
369 Barzman 2000, 156-7. See section 8.3 for a discussion of the mathematical instruction in the Accademia del Disegno.
On the other hand, there were listed a handful of objects and artifacts that were used for the celebration of the Forty Hours devotion in 1594 in Cestello: several chiaroscuro cartoons with painted columns, prophets, and apostles, which covered the walls of the chapel, and a large disk of wood covered with polished metal for holding the Host and the name of Christ. The Forty Hours devotion in 1594 was the first time that this feast was celebrated in the academy. At that time Catholic forces were fighting the Turks at the Hungarian front. This battle had extra relevance for the members of the Accademia del Disegno, because two of its patrons, don Giovanni and don Antonio de’ Medici, led the Tuscan troops during the fights. The academicians hoped that their celebration of the Forty Hours devotions would precipitate the Catholic victory. This means that the artifacts that are mentioned in the inventory had functions in both religious-confraternal and political-patronage practices.

4.3. The material culture of the Accademia di San Luca

It takes fewer words to describe the history of the early sites and material culture of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome than that of the Accademia del Disegno. There are two reasons for this. In its early history, the Roman art institution was formally connected to only two buildings – although occasionally the artists held meetings in other locations. Until 1585, the artists gathered in the small church of San Luca, which was located near Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill. In 1588 the academy relocated to the church of Santa Martina and adjacent properties at the Forum Romanum. This church, which was subsequently renamed Santi Luca e Martina, remained the seat of the organization until the 1930s, when it moved to the current headquarters in the seventeenth-century Palazzo Carpegna near the Trevi fountain.

Moreover, compared to the early period of the Florentine academy, there is a lot less archival material to go on. A number of documents pertaining to the Accademia di San Luca in the sixteenth century have been lost. These documents include the Libri dei consoli (books of the consuls), archival pieces about the church of Santa Martina, and the minutes of the academic meetings (congregazioni), which, as

370 Barzman 2000, 204.
371 The Libro del provveditore states that on October 9, 1594 consul Jacopo Ligozzi proposed the idea of holding this devotion on the day of Saint Luke by way of asking God for the victory over the Turks, and especially for their patrons don Giovanni and don Antonio. ASF, AD 27, 112: ‘…pregare il sig.or Iddio per la vitoria contra i turchi e in particolare per li ill[ustrissi]mi et ecc[elentissi]mi sig[n][o]ri patroni l’uno l’ill[ustrissi]mo et eccel[entissi]mo sig[n][o]r don Giovanni nostro academico e protetore e l’altro il sig[n][o]r don Antonio medici…’
discussed, in the case of the Florentine institution have survived. Yet, whereas Accademia del Disegno’s account book for the construction work in Cestello (the *Libro della fabbrica*) has been lost, in Rome the academy does not seem to have had a separate book for the work on its headquarters. Instead, all expenses concerning the (re)construction of its church at the Forum Romanum are recorded in the account books. This means that there is more information available about the construction work that the Roman academy carried out on their church than about the Florentine institution’s renovation of Cestello. In addition to the account books, there are other sources that aid the reconstruction of the early sites of the Accademia di San Luca. First, there are two papal documents from the last quarter of the sixteenth century in which official approval is given for the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca. Second, Romano Alberti made succinct statements about the academy’s headquarters in his description of the early history of the institution. Finally, some visual source material helps to reconstruct the early sites of the Roman art academy.

4.3.1. The early sites: continuous reconstruction

Before translocating to Santi Luca e Martina at the Foro Romano in 1588 the artists of the guild and confraternity of San Luca were allowed to use the small church of San Luca on the Esquiline Hill for their religious celebrations. This church had been under the control of the chapter of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, located next to it, since the end of the fourteenth century. The connection between both churches was a logical one. According to a popular legend, which had originated in Byzantium in the eight century, Saint Luke had produced the first Christian icon by painting the Virgin, who had miraculously appeared before him. The church of Santa Maria Maggiore not only possessed an image of the Virgin that was attributed to Saint Luke, but also a reliquary of the arm with which he supposed to have painted it.

The small church became the headquarters of the guild and confraternity of the painters (Università e Compagnia di San Luca) in 1534. Disputes arose between the artists and the chapter of the Santa Maria Maggiore. These disputes were concluded in 1546 with a notarial

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373 The following discussion about the early sites of the Accademia di San Luca is based mainly on Salvagni 2008, 2009, and 2012. Noehles 1970 also goes into the early history of the church of Santi Luca e Martina, but he was mostly interested in the completely rebuilt edifice that was designed by Pietro da Cortona after 1634.
374 Salvagni 2009, 77-78. See also Rossi 1984, 382.
deed, which specified that the church would belong to the guild. The revenues, however, would go to the clerics of the Santa Maria Maggiore. Moreover, the contract stipulated that the guild should celebrate a high mass on the feast of San Luca, as well as eight low masses on other holy days. The painters were free to renovate and decorate the church as they pleased.

From 1555 until 1582, the guild renovated the church. During this time, only the masses on the feast day of Saint Luke were said in the church. Most meetings were held in other locations, especially the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva at the Pantheon (1548-1571) and the Sapienza (1576-1581). On October 18, 1582 the church was finally declared finished, and many religious rituals were performed to celebrate its inauguration. The renovated edifice, which was admired by contemporary visitors, consisted of a large nave with a vaulted ceiling, furnished with wooden benches and illuminated by torches in stanchions. Its walls were probably covered with frescoes by the members of the Università and a painting of Saint Luke Painting the Virgin in the Presence of Raphael hung above the altar. A contemporary antiquarian, named Pompeo Ugonio, included the small church in his survey of the important religious monuments of Rome before 1585 (the year of the church’s demolition). According to Ugonio, this painting had been made by Raphael (1483-1520) and it had recently been restored or renovated (rinovato) by Scipione Pulzone (1544-1598), who was a member of the Università e Confraternità di San Luca – and later of the academy as well (fig. 17).

Raphael’s authorship of this painting is, however, disputed in the modern literature, partly because Raphael’s name is connected to it for the first time only in the 1580s by Ugonio, that is, more than sixty years after the artist’s death. It is suggested that the picture was painted by a member of the confraternity and guild of San Luca in the style of Raphael in order to symbolically connect the institution to this man, who was seen not only as an excellent, but also an intellectual and noble artist. This link would, then, have enforced the artists’ claim about the nobility of their profession and legitimated their request to the pope to found an academy. However, a definitive answer about the painting’s author cannot be given due the scarcity and vagueness of the written sources. Moreover, because of the current condition of the work, which, after various damaging restorations, and especially after the transportation of the painting from

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375 Salvagni 2009, 78. Furthermore, the artists had to pay the chapter of the Santa Maria Maggiore an annual rent of 1 pound of pepper, a candle, and 1 scudo on the feast day of Saint Luke.
376 Salvagni 2009, 79-80. For Ugonio’s account see BAV, Barb. Lat. 2160, 126r.
panel to canvas in 1857, is detrimental, it is also impossible to either confirm or deny this attribution to Raphael on stylistic grounds.377

Figure 17. Raphael (attr.), Saint Luke Painting the Virgin, oil on canvas, Galleria Nazionale di San Luca, Rome (from: Lukehart 2009b, 175)

Only three years after the reopening of the church of San Luca, in 1585, the newly elected Pope Sixtus V decided that it had to be demolished. Immediately after his election, the pope started various urban renewal projects in the neighborhood of Santa Maria Maggiore as part of a larger plan to confirm the status of Rome as capital of the Christian world. The church of San Luca, the renovation of which had been a great

377 See Salvagni 2012, 227-235 and Ventra 2015 for recent discussions about the authorship of the painting. Salvagni’s tentative conclusion is that the painting was started by Raphael and finished by one of his students, and that Pulzone restored the painting between 1571 and 1585. Waźbiński (1985), on the other hand, attributes the painting to Zuccari, who would have produced the work, with help from Pulzone, shortly before the start of his presidency of the academy in 1593. One of the reasons for his conviction is that Baglione (1642/1995, 124) claims that the painting was donated by Zuccari to the academy. This interpretation is rejected by Salvagni (2012, 233-234 and 2008, 58-59), because Waźbiński wrongly assumes that the painting is mentioned for the first time in Alberti’s (1604/1961, 2) description of the academy’s meetings in 1593, whereas she argues that the same picture is already recorded in archival sources of the confraternity and guild of San Luca in the 1570s (and possibly in 1550). Moreover, contrary to what Waźbiński holds, the attribution to Raphael dates not from after Zuccari’s ‘donation’ but already occurs in Ugonio’s manuscript discussed above. Ventra’s (2015) more recent and thorough analysis of the complex restoration history of the painting shows that any attempt to attribute it to a painter on stylistic grounds is futile because of the many interventions and because of its current condition.
financial burden for the artists’ association over the past decades, was sacrificed to these papal plans.\textsuperscript{378} This means that the artists were left without a headquarters. However, another three years later Sixtus V made up for this loss. On May 24, 1588 the pope issued a bull in which he named the parish church of Santa Martina at the Forum Romanum as the seat of the new organization.\textsuperscript{379}

To a large extent Sixtus V’s papal bull was a reiteration of a brief that had been issued by his predecessor Gregory XIII on October 13, 1577.\textsuperscript{380} In this document Gregory XIII gave his approval for the foundation of an academy and confraternity of the arts of painting, sculpture and drawing, which, as the document specifies, had been requested by the Roman artists. The brief further mentions that the artists proposed to carry out the confraternal activities under the invocation of San Luca ‘in one of the less frequented churches in Rome’ (\textit{in una delle chiese di Roma meno frequentate}). The name of this church is not mentioned. This is surprising because, as discussed, since 1546 the guild and confraternity of painters had the church of San Luca on the Esquiline Hill at their disposal.\textsuperscript{381} This omission could mean that the church of San Luca was already up for demolition at the end of the 1570s, instead of in 1585 as has been argued; or it could mean that the artists’ future presence in the small church near Santa Maria Maggiore was not foreseen for some another reason. It should be reiterated that at that time the artists gathered in the Sapienza.

In any case, in 1588 the parish church of Santa Martina at the Forum Romanum was conceded to the academy.\textsuperscript{382} Not much later the church was renamed Santi Luca e Martina.\textsuperscript{383} It has been argued that Sixtus V’s cession of the church of Santa Martina to the art academy in 1588 was part of a larger campaign of the Catholic Church, started after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), to gain control of those parts of the city that had remained (or become again) mostly secular. The economically and socially backward forum area was one of these parts.

\begin{flushright}
378 Salvagni 2009, 82.
379 Missirini 1823, 24. Actually, the bull specifies the location of the Santa Martina as Foro Boario (‘cow/cattle field’), as it was known since the Middle Ages.
380 The original copies of these papal documents can no longer be found in the archive of the academy. Their contents are known through transcriptions. See the transcriptions in Missirini 1823, 20-21 (Gregory XIII’s brief) and 23-26 (Sixtus V’s bull). See also the appendices 1 and 2 of Lukehart 2009 (348-352).
381 Salvagni gives no explanation for this omission in the brief.
382 Missirini 1823, 24.
383 See, for example, Romano Alberti’s (1604/1961, 2) beginning of the description of the first academic meeting on November 14th, 1593, in which he mentions that at that time ‘our new church of San Luca Evangelista’ was already begun in the place of Santa Martina.
\end{flushright}
Since the Middle Ages it was referred to as *Macello* (slaughterhouse), *Foro Boario* or *Campo Vaccino* (cow or cattle field) because it was the site of one of the most important cattle and meat markets of the city. In addition, the Conservatori of Rome had their seat in the adjacent Capitol (‘Campidoglio’). Here several guilds held their offices and professional disagreements were adjudicated.

The urban renewal projects that were carried out by the popes in the last two decades of the sixteenth century consisted of the construction of new roads and houses that were meant to connect the Esquiline and the Forum area with the city center, laying to the west. The workers participating in these projects were offered leases of land there instead of wages. As a consequence, many of the new residents of the forum area were active in construction work. In 1585 the Università dei Falegnami, or carpenters’ guild was installed just across the street from the church of Santa Martina. It has been argued that, therefore, it made perfect sense for Sixtus V to assign this church to the painters, sculptors and architects.384 By giving control of the Santa Martina to the artists of Rome, Sixtus V hoped that they would make it representable again, without the papacy having to pay for it.

The papal bull mentions that the church was freely and spontaneously given by the parish priest and rector of the church Michele Timotei.385 The parish and, thus, the care for the souls (*la cura delle anime*) of the parishioners were transferred to two other churches in the neighborhood, i.e. San Nicola in Carcere and San Lorenzuolo ai Monti.386 This means that the church of Santi Luca e Martina would belong solely to the new organization, and the artists would be responsible for the maintenance of the church and of the divine cults of Santa Martina and San Luca.387 In addition, the bull specifies that all the assets, goods, and revenues of the church and its properties, i.e. gardens and buildings, were assigned to the painters and sculptors.388

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384 Salvagni 2009, 89-91.
386 The latter church was demolished in the 1930s when Mussolini built the via dei Fori Imperiali.
388 According to the bull, this amounted to 60 scudi annually, of which 12 scudi was to be paid to each of the above-mentioned churches (San Nicola and San Lorenzuolo) for taking over its parish. Roccasecca (2009, 138) claims that church and its assets were given to the Università or guild of the painters and not to the academy, because the latter was not officially incorporated until 1593. He basis this claim on the papal bulls of Sixtus V. However, this is not convincing for two reasons. On the one hand, the papal bull only refers to the new organization as academy (‘accademia’) and congregation (‘congregazione’), and *not* as guild (‘università’). And on the other hand, the fact that the
However, other documents show that Timotei continued to receive revenues from the church, to which he had been previously entitled, until his death in 1619 or 1620. Timotei, while residing in the palace of Cardinal Colonna, had petitioned the pope in June 1588 for the persistence of the endowment.389 In December of the same year, that is, the month in which the academy took possession of the church, his request was granted.390 Moreover, on April 8, 1589 Timotei dictated the inventory of the revenues and the movable goods of the church to a notary in the presence of the painter Girolamo Muziano.391

The sources indicate that Timotei received rent for various sites near the church from the academy. The academicians paid the former rector of Santa Martina 16 scudi for a room above the church, in which the academic meetings were held. He further collected 2,5 scudi for the tavern (osteria), and 2 scudi for the garden (orto or scoperta) behind the church of Santa Martina. The academy sublet these latter two sites to other tenants.392 For the osteria they received 30 scudi per year and for the garden 1 scudo. Furthermore, the academy collected rent for other sites near the church. It has been suggested that the academy had reached an agreement with Timotei about the revenues of the church.393 These other sites included a room above the academy and a bottega behind the church.394 Furthermore, Muziano left a house in Borgo Sant’Agatha to

academy did not start its activities until 1593 does not mean that the bull could not assign to it the revenues of the Santa Martina. In fact, this is precisely what the bull does. That the academy was not in function until the 1593 only entails that the revenues would de facto be collected by the previous institution, i.e. the guild of painters. Although Salvagni (2009, n. 63, 118-119) strongly disagrees with other parts of Roccasecca’s interpretation of the bull, in her article in the same volume, she also writes that Sixtus V conceded the revenues to the Università dei Pittori instead of to the academy of painters and sculptors. 389 AASL 3. According to Salvagni (2009, 99), ‘the fact that the academy had no claims to these revenues was confirmed during the congregazione held on December 21, 1588, when it took possession of the property, and formally acknowledged in the notarial deed signed by all parties on July 22, 1589.’ 390 Roccasecca 2009, 138-9. 391 ASR, TNC, uff. 11 (Ottaviano Saravezzi), 1589, vol. 12, fols. 741r-742r. See Salvagni 2009, 99-100 for a discussion. 392 Roccasecca 2009, 138-9. 393 Salvagni 2009, 108. 394 The various tenants were Mariano de Orti (Borga Sant’Agata, 20 scudi per year, later 16 scudi per year); Marta di Ruttilio (no property mentioned, 9 scudi per year); Francesco Oste and later Simone Peroti Oste (osteria, 30 scudi per year); Vittorio Bencivenne, later Ansidonia de Vittorio (Borgo Sant’Agata?, 16 scudi per year?); Madalena di Biagio Cocchiero (the room above the academy, 4 or 6 scudi per year?); Guido Senese (garden, 1 scudo); Francesco scarpellino (bottega or site behind Santi Martina e Santo Luca, no amount specified); Catarina (room above the academy, 12 scudi per year?).
the academy after his death in 1592. The institution collected 20 *scudi* per year from tenants living there from 1593 onwards.  

Figure 18. Étienne Dupérac, The Old Church of Santa Martina (building with the bell tower between the Arch of Septimus Severus and the Church of San Adriano), engraving, in Pietro Ferrerio, *Palazzi di Roma de piu celebri Archittetti*, vol. 1, Rome 1655, NGA Washington (orig. publ. in *I vestigi dell’antichita di Roma* 1575) (from: Salvagni 2009, 109)  

The church itself was almost in ruins in 1588 and had to be reconstructed, as can be seen from an engraving of the church form ca. 1575 (fig. 18).  

The rebuilding of the church was a great financial burden for the nascent organization, but the artists were able to pay for it in part dismantling the original stonework (travertine blocks and marble reliefs), dating from Roman times, and selling it to various building sites in the city. Other sources of income were the rents from the various tenants; the fees that were generated from devotion and from the cult, which the institution was allowed to collect after October 15, 1592, when Pope Clement VIII granted plenary indulgences to those who visited the church of San Luca on the feasts of the Assumption and of Saint Luke; and from a two percent tax on all appraisals of works of art (above 25

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395 According to Salvagni (2009, 102), Muziano already mortgaged his property in the Borgo Sant’Agata already in January 1589 in order to raise money for the academy.’


397 See Salvagni 2009, 100-102.
scudi), which the papacy approved in 1595.398 It has been estimated that combined these revenues amounted to many thousands of scudi. However, the account books of the period suggest that this is an exaggeration. For example, in the period 1588-1594 the academy’s total income amounted to no more than 1500 scudi (Tables 3-5).399

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>32,40 (3,6%)</td>
<td>Rent, censi</td>
<td>68,50 (7,7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alms, boxes</td>
<td>12,70 (1,4%)</td>
<td>Mass, priest, wax, etc.</td>
<td>39,93 (4,5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travertine/marble/work</td>
<td>439,26 (49,0%)</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>241,92 (27,3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisals</td>
<td>102 (11,4%)</td>
<td>Envoy</td>
<td>16,65 (1,9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book sales</td>
<td>0,30 (0,03%)</td>
<td>Legal work, copying</td>
<td>16,41 (1,9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes painters</td>
<td>39 (4,4%)</td>
<td>Buying the tavern</td>
<td>273,66 (30,9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alms for sending the bull</td>
<td>271,27 (30,2%)</td>
<td>Sending the bull of the Santa Martina (Aug-Dec 1588)</td>
<td>230 (25,9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>897 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>887,07 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Income from 15/7/1588-31/1/1593 and expenditure from 26/6/1588-31/1/1593 of the Accademia di San Luca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>74,95 (21,1%)</td>
<td>Rent, censi</td>
<td>50,25 (13,9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alms, boxes</td>
<td>32,59 (9,2%)</td>
<td>Mass, priest, wax, etc.</td>
<td>41,88 (11,6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travertine/marble/work</td>
<td>230,88 (65,1%)</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>257,05 (71,0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisals</td>
<td>3,4 (1%)</td>
<td>Envoy</td>
<td>8 (2,2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book sales</td>
<td>1,2 (0,3%)</td>
<td>Legal work, copying</td>
<td>4,25 (1,2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes academy</td>
<td>11,75 (3,3%)</td>
<td>Work academy</td>
<td>0,69 (0,2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>354,77 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>362,11 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Income from 31/1/1593-30/1/1594 and expenditure from 1/2/1593-2/2/1594 of the Accademia di San Luca

399 See for the years 1588-92 AASL 41, 27v-29r (income), 96v-98v (expenses) and for 1593-94 AASL 42, 1r-6v (income), 80r-86r (expenses).
CHAPTER FOUR: MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE ART ACADEMIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Scudi (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>90,02 (41.8%)</td>
<td>Rent, <em>censi</em></td>
<td>64,05 (29.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alms, boxes</td>
<td>20,62 (9.6%)</td>
<td>Mass, priest, wax, etc.</td>
<td>39,63 (18.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travertine/marble/work</td>
<td>90,69 (42.1%)</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>86,26 (39.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appraisals</td>
<td>9,62 (4.5%)</td>
<td>Envoy</td>
<td>5,5 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book sales</td>
<td>0,3 (0.1%)</td>
<td>Legal work, copying</td>
<td>3,25 (1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes academy</td>
<td>4,1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>Work academy</td>
<td>19,02 (8.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>215,34 (100%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>217,71 (100%)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Income from 2/2/1594-5/3/1595 and expenditure from 12/2/1594-26/2/1595 of the Accademia di San Luca

At first, the church of Santa Martina was used for the academy’s meetings, but from October 1591 onwards the members convened in a room in an adjacent ‘house’ belonging to the church, for which it paid Michele Timotei an annual rent. In the sources, this is referred to as one of the ‘upper rooms’ (stanze ad alto) and as a ‘hayloft’ (fenile or granaro), overlooking piazza of the Campo Vaccino. An altar was set up in this room and in 1591 two columns were brought there to adorn it. On October 30, 1593 the painting of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* that was attributed to Raphael was hung there. Two weeks later, on November 14, the meeting that has been traditionally marked as the birth of the academy was held in this room. On the frontispiece of Romano Alberti’s book that describes the meetings during the first years of the academy’s existence one of these gatherings – probably the first – is represented (figs. 19 and 20). The altar with the columns can be seen in the middle of the image. However, the altarpiece itself is not represented.

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401 AASL G1, 70.
402 AASL G1, 70v: ‘A fare porturare [sic] nelle stanze ad alto le doi colonne dell’ornamento dell’altare baicocchi 6.’ For the feast of San Luca of 1591 two large round paintings with coat of arms were brought from the Pantheon to the church or this room by the envoy of the company of Saint Joseph. AASL G1, 70r: ‘a fare portare le tondi grandi della arme dalla retonda a campo vacina li porto el mandataro di S.a iosepp…’ Also a reliquary was brought to the church for this occasion.
403 AASL 42, 82v.
404 According to Salvagni (2009, 108), on this day ‘the academy was officially and rhetorically, but not in reality, constituted by its members (…).’ The distinction between ‘officially’ and ‘in reality’ is not clear, but with the latter term she probably means that there were not yet statutes that were approved by the church, because she stresses this point earlier in the article and in other publications. The statutes were approved in 1607, thus precisely 30 years after the Gregorian brief. In this dissertation, the term ‘official’ is used precisely for the approval of the foundation and statutes by the political rulers. For the Accademia di San Luca, this means that it was officially approved in 1577 (and again in 1588), and its statutes in 1607. In ‘reality’, however, it started to function only – or already – in 1593.
As mentioned, the church of Santa Martina was in a bad state in 1588, and for many years the academy was occupied with its reconstruction. In 1592, the academy started negotiations to acquire land around the church so that the edifice could be expanded. In August 1592 a model of the new building, constructed in wood by Giovanni Battista Montano, was paid for; it is known that twice before June 1591 negotations were held with the Della Valle family, after the entered into the possession of Muziano’s legacy on July 27, 1592. See, for the legacy, also AASL 72, 67.
this model was carried from Montano’s workshop, which was near the Pantheon, to the church of Santa Martina.406

However, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, new plans were being contemplated for the complete reconstruction of the church and the academy’s headquarters. In 1617 the academy began acquiring property and land adjacent to the church in preparation for the monumental reconstruction of the edifice. 407 This turned out to be difficult to realize. During the Apostolic Visitation of 1625 it was observed that the church was still unfinished and in bad condition.408 Only in 1634, the architect Pietro da Cortona, who was at that time president of the academy, started a complete reconstruction process, which would lead to the current edifice.409

4.3.2. Objects and artifacts in the inventories of the Accademia di San Luca

The material possessions of the Accademia di San Luca in the first decades of its existence are recorded in four inventories. The first of these documents is housed in the academy’s archive and dates from 1594. It consists of one single sheet of paper (recto and verso), on which are listed the names of eighteen artists and the drawings, engravings, and plaster casts that they had previously donated to the academy.410 The text makes clear that this inventory was supposed to be the start of a book, in which new gifts were to be added later.411 However, it seems that either no additions to this document were made or they were subsequently lost. Later donations of works of have been recorded in the three later inventories that were composed by notaries and that are housed in the Archivio di Stato di Roma.

408 According to the visitor, ‘the walls of the church are rough, and the windows lack frames, the roof needs repairing’ (‘Muri ecclesiae sunt rudes, et fenestre sine telarijs, ac tecta revisione indigent’). ASV, Misc. Arm. VII. Vol. 113, fol. 278 ff. See Noehles 1970, 336-337 (doc. 18) for a transcription of the verbale of the visit to the church.
409 See Noehles 1970 for an elaborate discussion of the construction of the new church. On Cortona’s death in 1669 the essential parts of the church were ready, but it took another ten years to complete the decorations.
410 AASL Inventari 1, 1. See, for a transcription, Lukehart 2009, 368 .The document is titled ‘Cose donate all’Accademia 1594’.
411 ‘Libro dove sono note tutte le robe che sono state date et donate all’Accademia di S[an]to Luca di Roma et da chi sono state donate questo anno 1594 et si notaranno di giorno in giorno seco[n]do sara[n]no date et da chi (…)’.
The items that are listed in the first inventory functioned, no doubt, in artistic-educational practices, as they would have served as models to be copied by young art students. This is made clear by Romano Alberti. According to him, Zuccari stated in his speech during the second academic meeting, which was held on November 28, 1593, that the art students would exercise their skills by ‘copying cartoons and reliefs’ (ritrare cartoni e relievi). He added that there already existed a good collection of these in the academy.\textsuperscript{412}

The first name on the inventory is that of Federico Zuccari. The \textit{principe} donated four cartoons, three with unspecified figures and one with a representation of a story from the life of Saint Paul. The following names on the list belong to two future presidents of the academy. Giovanni de Vecchi left a cartoon of Saint Lawrence’s martyrdom on the gridiron and three pieces of plaster of the Column of Trajan, whereas Durante Alberti donated a plaster cast of the torso of the Laocoon, now in the Vatican Museums. Jacomo Rocchetti gave various plaster casts, one of a thigh of a kneeling figure, one of a satyr larger than life, and one of the two legs of the Christ of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. This means that, like the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, the Roman art academy possessed a copy of (part of) Michelangelo’s \textit{Christ the Redeemer} in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (see fig. 14).

The rest of the list contains references to similar objects: plaster casts of body parts and copies after ancient sculptures or after religious paintings by modern masters. For instance, Girolamo Muziano, who had died in 1592, had left more than thirty plaster cast fragments to the academy, amongst which a foot, a hand, two legs, and the head of a ram; Pietro Facchetti left an engraving of eight sheets of the \textit{Last Judgment} – presumably a copy of Michelangelo’s fresco of that subject in the Sistine Chapel – and another of a \textit{Lamentation of Christ} after Albert Dürer; Orazio Gentileschi donated an almost life-size plaster cast of a female torso (gesso una femina cioe il torso quasi al naturale); and Riccio Bianchini donated a terracotta figure representing one of the giants at Monte Cavallo, that is, one of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in front of the Quirinal Palace.

The three other extant inventories with the goods possessed by the Accademia di San Luca in its early years are more formal than the first. This has to do with the fact that they were written by notaries. For instance, the opening and closing paragraphs are written in Latin and they were composed in the presence of witnesses, who co-signed them. The

\textsuperscript{412} Alberti 1604/1961, 11. And Zuccari reiterates this statement on the first Sunday of July 1594, when he said that the academy’s room, which had previously been a hayloft (fenile), was full of drawings, cartoons and reliefs (piena ancora di disegni, di cartoni, e di relievi). See Alberti 1604/1961, 71.
first of these notarial inventories dates from October 25, 1624 and was commissioned by the French painter Simon Vouet (1590-1649), who at that time was the principe of the academy. The opening sentence of the inventory, which was composed by the notary Erasto Spannocchia, states that it contains the goods that are housed in the large cupboard (Armario o vero Credenzone) and the room of the academy above the Church of San Luca.\textsuperscript{413}

The first item on the list is a large book that is said to hold various important public documents and decrees. Without a doubt, these documents concerned the academy, and they presumably included the papal bulls. What follows is a list of about three dozen books that must have been used in the academy’s educational practices. This small library includes a relatively large number of works on architecture, ballistics, and fortifications, which is surprising since the role of architects in the academy seems to have been minimal. Examples are treatises by Sebastiano Serlio, Flavio Renato Vegelio, Nicolò Tartaglia (La nova scientia), Girolamo Maggi, and Leon Battista Alberti. Another group consists of mathematical works, such as Tartaglia’s translation of Euclides, Arithmetica e geometria by Giovanni Francesco Peverone, and Albrecht Dürer’s Simetria (probably his Four Books on Human Proportions) can also be placed in this category.

There were also various historical works by famous scholars such as Flavio Biondo and Appiano Alessandrino (Roman History, in three copies). Finally, it it merits noting that the academy owned a copy of Baldassare Castiglione’s Il cortegiano, two copies of Cesare Ripa’s Iconologia, a work by the painter Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, which is described as Architettura, pittura e scultura, and several copies of a book on the nobility of painting, which probably corresponds to Romano Alberti’s treatise with that name from 1585.\textsuperscript{414} It has been argued that because a large part of these books dealt with technical subjects, rather than painting or sculpture, the academy’s library was intended more for advanced students who wanted to complete their education than for beginners.\textsuperscript{415}

Surprisingly few pieces of furniture are recorded in the 1624 inventory, especially compared to the later ones. For instance, no benches or tables are described. Only one cupboard is mentioned. It contains two books, in which the goods and possessions of the academy are written, a bell, four designs for the new church, and two boxes for the beans.\textsuperscript{416} For,

\textsuperscript{413} Lukehart 2009, 369-372.
\textsuperscript{414} See section 5.7 for a discussion of Alberti’s treatise.
\textsuperscript{415} Roccasecca 2009, 142.
\textsuperscript{416} Lukehart 2009, 371.
like in Florence, decisions in the Roman art academy were made with the help of black and white beans.

Like the 1594 inventory, the one from 1624 contains artifacts that were used in the academy’s practical instruction program: designs, cartoons, engravings, and plaster casts. However, it is difficult to compare both documents on this point, because the items are no longer recorded individually – neither are the names of their donors mentioned – but they are grouped together and described as ‘forty pieces of relief, both broken and complete, of plaster and wax’ or as ‘a large carton with various drawings’. However, one new type of artifact seems to have been added to this part of the academy’s collection. The new inventory mentions various architectural plans and designs, for instance, from the hand of Ottaviano Mascherino, who was involved in the reconstruction of the church and the academy’s headquarters.417

Also new in the 1624 inventory is a list with paintings that were present in the room of the Accademia di San Luca next to the church. This list includes pictures with religious subjects, such as a Maria Magdalena and a Crucifixion, but also a portrait of the academy’s protector, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, a painting with the coat of arms of Pope Paul V, and a landscape by Paul Bril – who had been president of the institution in 1620-1621 – and sixty-two portraits of ancient painters (nine) and modern masters (fifty-three). These works of art were probably not used in the academy’s educational practices like the above-mentioned artifacts. Instead, they had different functions: the religious paintings confirmed the institution’s self-conception as a religious-confraternal institution; the portrait of Del Monte and the coat of arms of Pope Paul V were homages to the academy’s patrons, as well as visual reminders to the academicians of their protection; and the portraits of famous artists of the past placed the artists of the academy in a long and noble tradition.

The following inventories date from 1627 and 1633. They are very similar to the one from 1624 and for the most part simply seem to add items to the already existing categories. For instance, the list of artifacts used for educational purposes was expanded with an ‘anatomia’ of plaster, as well as a copy of the arm and back of Michelangelo’s Christ the Redeemer of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.418 One of the additions to the library was a book with poetry from Michelangelo. Finally, the number of portraits of illustrious artists from the past grew from fifty-three to seventy and, more importantly, the 1633 inventory mentions their names for the first time. This list commences with four of the usual

418 Lukehart 2009, 372 and 379.
suspects: Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Baccio Bandinelli. It also contains the names of other canonical artists, who like these four, never had a formal connection to the Accademia di San Luca, such as Leonardo, Mantegna, Dürrer, Goltzius, and Caravaggio. However, many other names on the list belong to deceased artists who had been members of the Roman art academy, such Antiveduto Grammatica, Tommaso Laureti, Prospero Orso, Giovanni Vecchi, and Federico Zuccari.  

There are, however, a couple of new items on the inventories of 1627 and 1633 that were more than simply additions to already existing categories. In the first place, the 1627 inventory records two benches, where the nude model could be positioned when ‘an academy was held’. This entry is interesting for two reasons. It suggests that drawing after the nude – or, in general, the live – model started quite late in the academy’s history, even though this activity is prescribed by Zuccari in his curriculum from 1593-1594. This is confirmed by the institution’s account books, in which the first record of a payment made to a model is recorded in 1628 – and after that in 1629, 1632, and subsequent years.

Moreover, this entry is interesting because the term ‘academy’ in the phrase ‘to hold or organize an academy’ (‘se fa l’accademia’) is used here in the specific and narrow sense of drawing after a nude model. This suggests that in this period this activity came to be seen as the epitome of academic practices.

The 1633 inventory also contains some noteworthy changes compared to the earlier documents. Most importantly, it mentions for the first time that the academy has two rooms adjacent to the church of Santi Luca e Martina, rather than one. In the first room are recorded various pieces of furniture for the officials – which had not yet been mentioned in earlier inventories – tables with the statutes and the bull of Pope Gregory XIII – which presumably hung on the wall – and the aforementioned portraits of past masters. The second room, which was located behind the first (la stanza dietro la sopradetta), held all the artifacts that had been donated by artists for the academy’s educational practices. It also contained several objects that were used for religious services, such as wooden candlesticks and torches, cloths for the altar, and a silver-plated crucifixion. This means that whereas the first room had a representative

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420 Lukehart 2009, 375: ‘Item due banchi dove se spoglia il modello quando se fa l’accademia.’
421 Roccasecca 2009, 233-234.
422 Lukehart 2009, 376-379.
function and it served as site for the official meetings, the second room was used as storage space and probably also as studio for the education of artists.

Compared to the inventories of the Accademia del Disegno, those of the Accademia di San Luca record relatively few items that were used for religious practices. The probable reason for this is that the inventories of the Roman academy record only the objects in the rooms adjacent to their church, and not the artifacts in the church itself. It is likely that most of the religious paraphernalia owned by the Accademia di San Luca would have been located in the church. This also holds for the painting representing *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin in the Presence of Raphael*, which was attributed to Raphael and which is not mentioned in any of the inventories.

### 4.4. Material culture and social practices

The discussion of the sites and the artifacts of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca revealed a large amount of overlap between the practices that were performed within their walls. The recorded items in the inventories can be divided into at least four categories, which correspond with four practices that were carried out in these institutions in their early years.

In the first place, the inventories list artifacts and books used in educational practices. Although the parallelism of these objects in both academies make it probable that educational activities were carried out in similar fashion in both institutions, a comparison of the inventories also suggests that there must have existed certain differences. For instance, the titles of the books in the Accademia di San Luca imply that learning mathematics was deemed necessary for becoming a professional artist. However, the lecterns, spheric globes, and the blackboard that were used by the two professional mathematics teachers employed by the Accademia del Disegno in the 1590s suggest that this discipline was held to be even more important for artists in Florence. Conversely, the larger amount of plaster casts and reliefs in the Accademia di San Luca shows that drawing after such objects played a greater role in the academic curriculum in Rome than in Florence. (Of course, the fact that the classical works of art that served as the originals for these casts were located in Rome made it much easier to amass a large collection). It is noteworthy, in this context, that both academies possessed not only plaster casts of (part of) Michelangelo’s *Christ the Redeemer* in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, but also other items that were linked to this artist, i.e. the model of a river god for the New Sacristy and a book with his
poems, respectively. This shows the importance of Michelangelo for both academies and it attests to his academic canonization in both cities.

Second, from the manner in which the academies acquired their headquarters it has become clear that these institutions also participated in contemporary political-patronage practices. Cosimo I aided the Accademia del Disegno several times in its search for a suitable location for its meetings and organizational activities. In Rome, Pope Sixtus V arranged the church of Santi Luca e Martina as seat of the Accademia di San Luca, although he had evicted the artists from their previous headquarters. Furthermore, the inventories contain objects and artifacts that emphasize the institutions’ relationships to their powerful patrons, such as portraits of the luogotenenti and the cardinal protectors, and the coat of arms of the Medici and the popes. It merits noting that these artifacts symbolically express that the academies, in fact, maintained two distinct relationships, namely an impersonal and abstract one with the political rulers of their cities, expressed by the coat of arms, and a more direct and personal one with the placeholders of these rulers, embodied by the portraits of the cardinals and the lieutenants. Furthermore, although the structure of the patronage relation was similar in both cities, insofar as it consisted of an institution, a ruler, and a mediator, the fact that in Rome the patron was both a secular and a spiritual ruler, might have led to a different dynamic with the academy, especially since it also had a religious-confraternal function.

Third, the institutions carried out professional or guild activities, which is attested to by some artifacts such as the bags with the names of eligible candidates and the makers’ marks, and by the fact that some of the meetings of the Florentine academy were held in the building of the Art dei Fabbricanti. The inventories of the Accademia del Disegno list many more items that belong to this category than those of the Roman art academy. This suggests that professional or guild practices played a greater role in the activities of the Florentine institution.

Finally, the discussion of the buildings and objects belonging to the art academies attest to their performance of religious-confraternal activities. In fact, if the reconstruction of their practices would be based solely on the interpretation of their material culture, then the religious-confraternal activities would probably be seen as most important. Many of the items that were listed in the inventories had a function in their religious-confraternal practices. Some of these artifacts, such as the paintings and sculptures made by the young artists for the feast of San Luca, had an additional function in the academies’ educational practices. Other objects, such as cloths for the altars, candlesticks, and crosses, were used exclusively for religious services and rituals. As argued, the reason why the inventories of the Accademia del Disegno contain more of these
Almost all of the edifices in which the academies gathered either had religious functions themselves or they were connected to religious buildings. The early sites of the Accademia del Disegno at Santa Maria Nuova, Santa Maria degli Angeli, San Lorenzo, Santissima Annunziata, and Cestello were all consecrated areas in Florence. Relatively few meetings were held on lay locations: the Arte dei Fabbricanti, the house of the lieutenant, and the workshop of an artist are mentioned only a couple of times in the archival documents. The obvious reason for gathering in religious buildings was that they were made to accommodate large number of people. This was especially necessary for the religious celebrations organized by the academies such as the feast of San Luca, but also important meetings concerning the institutions attracted many members.

At the same time, however, religious buildings were not ideal locations for the academies. In Florence, this is attested to by the frequent changes of the headquarters. One important reason for this was that the monks often complained that the artists intruded in and disturbed the monastic life. This happened in the convents of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Cestello and Santissima Annunziata. In Rome, the artists fought with the chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore and they were completely dependent on the pope, who suddenly evicted them from their old church after decades of costly renovations, and who three years later ceded the church of Santi Luca e Martina to them, which again led to decades of construction and maintenance work, and finally, to the decision to completely reconstruct it, another project that took decades to realize.

The discussion of the material culture of the art academies has suggested that the following social practices were carried out in these institutions and, thus, constituted their identity: religious-confraternal, professional-guild, educational, and patronage practices. Therefore, these practices are reconstructed in the following chapters. The academies’ roles in contemporary religious practices and the confraternal activities that they carried out are elaborated on first, because this aspect of the history of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca has unjustly been neglected in the literature.