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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 Five

Religious-Confraternal Practices in the Art Academies

5.1. 'The greatest display of wax and lights'

On February 15, 1571 the goldsmith and sculptor Benvenuto Cellini was buried in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata in Florence. The *provveditore* of the Accademia del Disegno, Giovanni Fedini, gave the following description of this event in the book of minutes:

I record today (...) how was buried mister Benvenuto Cellini, the sculptor; he was buried by his order in our chapterhouse of the Nunziata, with a great funeral pomp; our whole academy together with the company was there. Having gone to his house and seated with order when all brothers passed, the bier was taken by four academicians and brought with the usual rotations into the Nunziata. There the appropriate ceremonies of the Church were held, after which he was taken by the same academicians and brought into named chapterhouse, where the ceremonies of the divine cult were iterated. There appeared on the elevation a friar, who the previous evening had been given the task of making a public oration for named mister Benvenuto in praise and honor of his life and work, and of the good disposition of his soul and body; it was highly praised and with great satisfaction of the whole academy and of the people, who competed to enter in named chapterhouse, both for seeing and noting named mister Benvenuto, and also for hearing about his good qualities. And all was done with the greatest display of wax and lights, both in the church and also in named chapterhouse.⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ ASF, AD 24, 31r: 'Ricordo oggi questo di sopradetto come si sotterò Benvenuto Cellini schultore e fu sotterato per ordine suo nel nostro capitolo della Nunziata con una gran pompa funerale dove si trovò tutta la nostra accademia, insieme con la compagnia. Ed essendo andati a casa sua e fatti sedere con ordine quando fur[o]no passati tutti i frati e presto fu preso da 4 accademici il cataletto e portato con le solite mute sino nella nuziata [margin: esequie fatte a meser Benvenuto Cellini schultore]; e quivi fatto le debite cerimonie della Chiesa, fu dai medesimi accademici preso e portato nel detto capitolo, e quivi iterate le cerimonie del culto divino. Entrò in rialto un frate al quale fu dato la sera avanti che si sotterasse il carico di fare l'orazione a detto meser Benvenuto in lode e onor[e] della vita sua e opere d'esso, e buona disposizione della anima e del corpo publicamente; che fu molto commendata e con gran soddisfazione di tutta l'accademia e del popolo, che a gara si ingegnava di entrare in detto capitolo, sì per vedere e segnare detto meser Benvenuto, come anco per sentirle buone qualità sua. E tutto fu fatto con grandissimo apparecchio di cera e lumi sì in chiesa come ancora in detto capitolo. E non mancherò di notare la cera che fu data alla accademia e prima / Consoli una falcola per uno di una libra / Consiglieri una falcola per uno di oncie 8 / Scrivano e camarlingo oncie

Fedini concludes his description by recording the sizes of the candles (or 'wax') that was supplied by the academy to its officers and regular members. The consuls and the secretary carried candles of one pound (*libbra*), the councilors, the scribe and the treasurer candles of eight ounces (*oncie*), and the fifty other members held candles of four ounces (see fig. 25 for an overview of the organizational structure of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years).⁴²⁵

Fedini's account of Cellini's funeral is one of the most elaborate descriptions of an artist's burial in the academy's archive and it provides a lively image of how these events were organized.⁴²⁶ First, the academicians, who were arranged according to official function and seniority in the organization, collected the body of the deceased at his home. From there they went in procession around the city and into Santissima Annunziata, where a service was held. Next, the body was brought to the academy's chapel ('our chapterhouse'), where another ritual was performed and an oration was held. Finally, the deceased's remains were placed in the burial space beneath the chapel. The procession, the solemnity of the event, and the use of wax and candles are recurrent ingredients in the more succinct descriptions of other secretaries, which suggests that the academy's funerals were, indeed, organized alike. However, one probable exception is that in Cellini's case general public (*il popolo*) also participated in the event in large numbers.

8 per uno / Proveditore una di una libra / Tutti li altri ebbano una falchola per uno di oncie 4, che furno in numero di 50. E di tanto fu ricordo.'

⁴²⁵ One pound was equal to twelve ounces.

⁴²⁶ Only the description of Michelangelo's funeral, which was organized by the Accademia del Disegno in San Lorenzo in 1564, is more elaborate. See ASF, AD 24, 8r-v. However, these obsequies were atypical. Being generally recognized as the most accomplished artist of his time and having received the honorific title of head of the Florentine art academy, Michelangelo's funeral was much more ostentatious than that of other academicians. A contemporary even described it as befitting of royalty. Moreover, in contrast to most burials, which took place only a couple of days after an artist had died, the academy had four months to prepare for Michelangelo's funeral. See also Wittkower/Wittkower 1964. The first obsequies that were organized by the new institution was the second burial of Jacopo Pontormo, described by Vasari (1966/1987, V, 507): 'Finita dunque la Messa e l'orazione, andati tutti in chiesa, dove in una bara erano l'ossa del detto Puntormo, postolo sopra le spalle de' più giovani, con una falcola per uno et alcune torce, girando intorno la piazza, il portarono nel detto capitolo; il quale, dove prima era parato di panni d'oro, trovarono tutto nero e pieno di morti dipinti et altre cose simili. E così fu il detto Puntormo collocato nella nuova sepoltura.' The ingredients are the same as in Cellini's funeral: church, procession, chapterhouse, oration. However, the sequence is somewhat different, due to the fact that Pontormo had already been buried in the convent in 1557. For this reason, obviously, the academy did not make a stop at his home to collect the body. See descriptions of later funerals (1590-1599) ASF, AD 27, 30r-31r.

This was, no doubt, due to the sculptor's fame and it is unlikely that less renowned artists attracted the same public attention.

The descriptions of the funerals of artists constitute one of the various types of references to religious-confraternal practices in the archives of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. The account books of both institutions are full of records of payments to priests and monks for saying and singing masses, entries that document the charitable handing out of alms to poor artists, and expenses for materials used for decorating their headquarters during religious celebrations – especially wax and candles, on which the academies spent most of their money. This suggests that religious-confraternal practices stood at the heart of the art academies' activities in their early years.

The centrality of these activities is one reason for commencing the discussion of the social practices of the Italian art academies with a chapter on their religious and confraternal practices. Another reason is that the religious-confraternal dimension of the art academies has remained relatively underexposed in the literature. Although scholars have noted the above-mentioned activities in the sources, they have never been thoroughly analyzed. Because they were more interested in the academic-educational and cultural-political dimensions of these institutions, i.e. what they saw as the innovative aspects, historians have made only very general remarks as to the academies' confraternal practices. Therefore, the following questions have not been posed, let alone answered: 'How were these activities connected to general religious practices in sixteenth-century Italy, especially compared to the activities of other confraternities? What was the role of the academies in the Catholic reform movements that characterized the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? And how were the academies' religious-confraternal practices related to their other activities?' This chapter attempts to answer the first two questions and it lays the groundwork for the formulation of an answer to the third.

5.2. Religious-confraternal practices in sixteenth-century Italy

The religious activities of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca should be understood against the background of general religious-confraternal practices in sixteenth-century Italy. How were these practices organized? In other words, what the teleoaffective structure (hierarchically related goals and moods) practical understandings (skills, abilities), and rules that connected the religious 'doings and sayings' to each other in sixteenth-century Italy?

Concerning the teleoaffective structure of religious practices, in the first place, the glorification of God and the salvation of the participants' souls were the ultimate goals. Furthermore, the spiritual well-being of the believer during his or her time on earth was of the utmost importance.⁴²⁷ The various activities in contemporary religious practices were carried out for the sake of these goals. Examples are being baptized, celebrating mass, saying prayers, taking communion, but also assisting the less fortunate members of society through charity. Although these activities had traditionally been carried out in a parochial context, in the course of the sixteenth century more and more of these were performed by lay confraternities.

Religious lay confraternities – also named companies, sodalities, or societies – provided opportunities for people to work towards the salvation of their souls and lead a religious life in a community of like-minded people, while remaining part of the secular or commercial world, as they did not go as far as joining a canonically recognized order.⁴²⁸ These companies served various purposes. They strengthened religious belief of their members through singing and saying prayers together. They protected the brothers from eternal damnation by encouraging them to confess their sins, to take communion, and to perform good works, such as handing out charity to the sick, disabled, and poor including giving dowries for daughters and sisters of members. Some confraternities offered burials for their members, and most held annual services for the souls of deceased brethren.⁴²⁹ In addition, religious lay sodalities played important social functions, as members could profit from professional and patronage networks.⁴³⁰ Finally, membership of a confraternity could give people a precise identity and recognition of their social existence.⁴³¹

The practical understandings (skills or abilities) required of participants of religious practices were congruent with these goals and tasks. They consisted, among other things, of reciting prayers, chanting

⁴²⁷ It should be noted that although the ultimate goal of the religious practices, i.e. the salvation of the believer's soul, may have been identical in the Protestant north of Europe as that in the Catholics lands, the ways of reaching it, i.e. the hierarchized set of tasks and projects, differed greatly.

⁴²⁸ Black 1989, 23; O'Brien 2013, 369. However, it should be noted that the early lay confraternities in the Middle Ages often had connections to mendicant orders, taking over some of their statutes and exercises. Later mendicant orders also adopted element from confraternities. See Terpstra 2013, 268-9 and 272.

⁴²⁹ Black 1989, 270-271.

⁴³⁰ See Barzman (2000, 193) about the *Compagnia dei Bianchi* and O'Brien (2013, 371-377) about the *Compagnia dello Scalzo*.

⁴³¹ See Fiorani 1980, 90 and Fiorani 1984, 189. According to Terpstra (2013, 261-262), this also held for confraternities in other European countries.

psalms, knowing how to behave in mass and what to do when receiving the Eucharist. In addition, believers had to have theoretical and practical knowledge of the principal articles of the Catholic faith, such as the doctrine of the Transubstantiation, the cult of the saints. Finally, practitioners also needed to know how to respond to religious images in churches and other holy places; know which prayers were suitable for which occasion; and also know how, when, and to whom donate alms to.

The rules that were supposed to be observed in the religious-confraternal practices were based on biblical and ecclesiastical moral codes, such as the prohibition of blasphemy and respect for elders. More specifically, the official rules that were supposed to guide religious practices in Italy from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards were formulated during the Council of Trent (1545-1563). The canons and decrees issued by the council and published after 1563 were the official response of the Catholic Church to the criticism from the Protestants in northern Europe. Three theological issues are most pertinent to the argument in this chapter: the role of good works, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the veneration of relics and sacred images.

In contrast to the Protestant view that only faith (*sola fide*) and the truth of the Scriptures could lead the Christian to salvation, the Council of Trent confirmed and underscored the existing belief that outward signs of devotion, such as doing 'good works' (*opere pie*), could also further one's chances to be admitted into heaven.⁴³² Although not mentioned explicitly in the canons, it was implied that good works, buying indulgences, commissioning religious art, and giving charity, not only *could* but also *would* increase one's chances of Justification.⁴³³ This means that these activities played a central role in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious practices in Italy. Of course, handing out charity to unfortunate members of society also was a widely spread practice in the Protestant North. However, the theological disagreement entailed that the mood and expectance of a Catholic donor in giving alms was very different from a Protestant one.

In handing out charity, the salvation of the soul of the donor was usually deemed more important than that of the recipient.⁴³⁴ For some, one's neighbor (*il prossimo*) included all human beings, but others distinguished 'deserving' from 'undeserving' poor (depending on what

⁴³² Nussdorfer 1992, 21-22. Muraoka 2009, 2. Thus, in the sixth session of the Council of Trent (January 13, 1547), the Catholic Church condemned by anathema the Protestant view that Justification (absolution of one's sins) is a free gift from God and that it can be attained by faith alone. Waterworth 1848, 45.

⁴³³ Black 1989, 11.

⁴³⁴ Black 1989, 10 and 17.

was the cause of their misery), or even limited their charity to their own group (e.g. compatriots or fellow traders).⁴³⁵ Furthermore, the giving of alms, *elemosina*, was not limited to the material or physical well-being of the recipients. It could also consist of doing good spiritual works such as converting sinners, instructing the ignorant, and praying for the sick and moribund, as well as for their souls after death.⁴³⁶ Finally, frequent communion could also be interpreted as doing good work. Accordingly, the sixteenth century saw an increase of confraternities dedicated to the Eucharist sacrament.⁴³⁷

This last point is connected to the second important issue in the debate between Catholics and Protestants, the doctrine of the Transubstantiation. The central point in this argument was not whether the sacrament of the Eucharist should be administered or not. Catholics and Protestants agreed that it should. However, they disagreed about the status of the consecrated Host and wine. Protestants attacked the traditional view that body and blood of the Lord Jesus was really and totally present in the Eucharist but held, instead, that his presence was symbolical or spiritual and co-existed with the consecrated bread and wine.⁴³⁸ The Council of Trent rejected this symbolical interpretation of the sacrament and decided that after consecration the bread and wine mysteriously changed of substance and really and wholly become the body and blood of Christ. This is called the doctrine of Transubstantiation. What is more, precisely because of the Lord's real presence in the Host, the council decreed that the Eucharist was more excellent and holy than the other sacraments and that it should receive special veneration.⁴³⁹

The third and final issue in the debate between Catholics and Protestants that is relevant for understanding the religious practices of the Italian art academies concerns the use of sacred images and relics. Protestants attacked Catholics on this issue because they claimed that it distracted the believer from faith and from the truth of the Scriptures and, therefore, could lead to idolatry (second Commandment) or worshipping of false gods (first Commandment).⁴⁴⁰ The well-known Catholic

⁴³⁵ See Black 1989, 9-10.

⁴³⁶ It was thought that this would reduce the time that the soul of the deceased would have to spend in Purgatory and facilitate its progress to Paradise.

⁴³⁷ Black 1989, 13-14.

⁴³⁸ In fact, there were slightly different views on this issue among Protestants. See, for instance, Michalski 1993, 169-180.

⁴³⁹ This decision was made in the in the thirteenth session of the council in 1551. Waterworth 1848, 75-91.

⁴⁴⁰ It should be noted that Martin Luther (1483-1546) was far less radical in his stance on sacred images than other Protestant leaders such as John Calvin (1509-1564) Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). For instance, Zwingli wrote in a letter to Martin Bucer, dated June

response, going back to Gregory the Great (540-604), was that images functioned as a Bible for the illiterate, a *Biblia pauperum*, instructing them in, and reminding them of the most important events of the life of Christ.⁴⁴¹ The Council of Trent confirmed this view and stated that relics and images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, could be venerated, because altarpieces and relics played a central role in the instinctive devotions of ordinary people. In other words, according to the Catholic Church, sacred images could make up for regular (i.e. linguistic) and religious illiteracy.⁴⁴²

The question of religious illiteracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is an important one in this chapter because it shows that practices as they were actually carried out often differed considerably from those envisioned by the Church. The term ‘religious illiteracy’ (*analfabetismo religioso*) refers to the lack of theological and doctrinal knowledge among believers, especially the poor and uneducated, in this period. Instead of performing practices that were grounded in doctrine and intellectual or rational justification, the devotions of common believers frequently were instinctive and revolved around the altarpiece or a miraculous image or relic of a local saint in a superstitious way.⁴⁴³ What is more, not only the common believers, but also many parish priests were religiously illiterate, and thus ill-equipped to carry out their duties. Many priests simply did not teach Christian doctrine, and when they did, their level of practical and theoretical understanding was frequently deemed insufficient by the curia.⁴⁴⁴ The Church perceived religious illiteracy as a problem both because it could lead to heretic practices and because it was a source of criticism of Protestants. The

3, 1524 that ‘what you give to the senses you take away from the Spirit.’ See Michalski 1993, 29 and 56 and Lepage 2013, 378.

⁴⁴¹ This goes back to Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, according to which, the poet was supposed to delight (*delectare*), instruct (*docere*), and move (*commovere*) his public. See Muraoka 2009, 13. See also Freedberg 1989, 163-164.

⁴⁴² Lepage 2013, 378-379. In the Christian Doctrine confraternities elementary religious instruction and learning to read and write went hand in hand, as children were taught how to read and write by singing and memorizing prayers. See Grendler 1989, 339. The company of the Christian Doctrine was founded in 1560 by Marco de Sadi a Milanese chaplain in Rome. See Fanucci 1601, 145. In 1611 the company already possessed 78 catechism schools with more than 10.000 children. See Fiorani 1980, 126.

⁴⁴³ Fiorani 1980, 103. Terpstra (2013, 264) expresses the same point when he writes that ‘the laity had a stronger commitment to certain fundamentals of ritual and practice than to the details of a particular ecclesiastical or theological structure (...)’ Although this phrase derives from a description of the situation in sixteenth-century England, for Terpstra it clearly has broader geographical implications, as his article deals with lay spirituality in Europe in general during the Counter-Reformation.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘Non si insegna dalli parocchiani la dottrina cristiana’ ASV, Misc. ARM. VII, 2, 87r-v; Quoted in Fiorani 1980, 107.

eneration of sacred images, which told the stories of the Bible in a clear visual language, was seen as the solution to this problem. However, it must be noted that this was an ambiguous solution, because it was difficult to draw a clear boundary in advance between the legitimate veneration of sacred images and relics and the transgressive worship of false idols. This situation made it possible for parishes and confraternities to negotiate with the Church about the possible undermining consequences of their religious practices.

Finally, the confraternities' relationship with the Counter-Reformation Church was ambivalent. On the one hand, lay confraternities underscored many of counter-reformatory stances on the doctrinal issues that had been under attack by the Protestants, such as the celebration of the Eucharist. More in general, confraternities and the Church agreed on the importance of the involvement of the layman in religious activities, for instance in the celebration of mass. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Church realized that lay sodalities could be an excellent instrument for implementing the religious practices it desired, because they were an integral part in the lives of many believers.⁴⁴⁵ On the other hand, however, they often opposed the supervision and control of their activities that was imposed by the Church after the Council of Trent. Their increased autonomy and economic and organizational self-sufficiency made the ecclesiastical authorities suspicious of possible transgression of canonical rules or doctrines. On occasion, it was even suspected that that heresy might be spread through these organizations.⁴⁴⁶ In the end, the curia found a half-hearted solution, which consisted of encouraging the confraternities while simultaneously placing them under much stricter episcopal supervision.⁴⁴⁷

5.3. Artists and artisans in Florentine and Roman confraternities

In Florence and Rome, the foundation of the art academies entailed the re-institution of craft-based lay confraternities, which were devoted to

⁴⁴⁵ Fiorani 1984, 158-159. According to Fiorani (1984, 189-190), 'the practicing, the doing, the performing of rituals takes a central place in confraternal life. The wide list of pious practices, moral and spiritual framing, the strict hierarchy of the organisms of the government and their possibility to intervene in the conduct of single members, gave the confraternities the extraordinary possibility to follow from up close, Sunday after Sunday, the private life of their members, to correct their weaknesses, to censure and to exclude.'

⁴⁴⁶ Black 1989, 62.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibidem*. The supervision of the confraternities included their affiliation to archconfraternities, usually based in Rome, with the same name and purpose. These archconfraternities had the responsibility to control aggregated confraternities and the whole process was supervised by the cardinal protector.

Saint Luke the Evangelist. Often craft-based confraternities developed out of, and belonged to a guild. Legally, these were distinct organizations, but the boundary between the professional, economic, and legal operations of the guild and the spiritual activities of the confraternity is not always clearly indicated. In addition, the same officials often governed both parts of the organization.⁴⁴⁸ The vague boundaries within the craft-based companies makes it somewhat more difficult to understand these institutions.

The membership of the Florentine Compagnia di San Luca, as the organization was called before 1563, consisted of painters, sculptors, miniature painters, wax figure makers, and masters working in glass and crystal. The old confraternity was, thus, open to practitioners of different occupations, and not just to the city's painters, who traditionally had Saint Luke as their patron saint. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the sculptors also belonged to this company.⁴⁴⁹ Professionally these artists had been separated from each other, as they belonged to different guilds. The painters, together with miniature painters and goldbeaters (*battilori*) had formed a group of minor members (*membri minori*) in the guild of doctors and apothecaries (*Arte dei medici e degli speziali*).⁴⁵⁰ The sculptors and architects were inscribed in the guild of the masters of stone and wood (*Arte dei maestri di pietra e legname*, which in 1534 had merged with various other guilds into the *Arte dei Fabbricanti*).⁴⁵¹ The foundation of the *Accademia del Disegno*, thus, meant that previously separated craftsmen were joined for the first time in the same professional organization. What is more, in 1571 the academy assumed the function of guild – with the official approval of the statutes in 1585.

In Rome, by contrast, the painter's confraternity had been connected to a guild already from at least the fifteenth century.⁴⁵² The

⁴⁴⁸ Black 1989, 24-25 and 39. Nussdorfer 1992, 128, where it is suggested that the increase in guilds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have been caused by the proliferation of confraternities in the same period, instead of the other way around. See also Mackenney 1987 chapter 5, for an example of how guild activities and religious practices overlapped in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century under influence of a stricter counter-reformatory spirit.

⁴⁴⁹ According to Ważbiński (1987, I, 130) also architects joined this confraternity and he argues that for this reason San Luca was seen as the patron saint of all artists.

⁴⁵⁰ Goldbeaters prepared gold for use in gilding by pounding it into very thin sheets.

⁴⁵¹ Jack 1976, 6.

⁴⁵² The oldest extant document of the Roman painters' guild is the statutes of 1478. The organization must have existed before this date because a passage in this document refers to earlier statutes that are lost. The next statutes date from 1546 and here the organization is referred to a 'Università dei pittori e compagnia di S. Luca', which shows that both guild and confraternity were, indeed, fused in a single organism. See Rossi 1984, Grossi/Trani 2009, and Salvagni 2012 for discussions of the development of the Roman Compagnia di San Luca into the *Accademia*. According to Rossi (1984, 370-374),

membership of this institution, which was called the Università (or arte or consolato) e Compagnia di San Luca, not only consisted of painters, but also miniature painters, goldbeaters, and banner and vestment makers. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Accademia di San Luca took over both the professional and the religious functions of this organization.⁴⁵³ However, unlike the earlier guild and confraternity, the academy also accepted sculptors and architects as members. Previously, the sculptors and architects, together with stonemasons, stonecutters, and marble workers, had belonged to the Università dei Marmorari ('guild of marble workers').⁴⁵⁴ The building of this guild was adjacent to the church of Santi Quattro Coronati (Four Crowned Saints), the patron saints of the sculptors and architects. In 1596, in connection to this church the confraternity of the Santi Quattro Coronati was founded for the artists and artisans belonging to the guild of the Marmorari. The architect and sculptor Giacomo della Porta (1533-1602) became the first head of the company. In 1621, confraternity translocated to the church of San Andrea in Vincis at the foot of the Capitoline Hill.⁴⁵⁵

The Florentine and Roman artists' confraternities expressed in their actions the conviction that salvation could be achieved through the veneration of relics and the cult of saints, as well as promoting the efficacy of religious images. In both cities the Compagnia di San Luca cultivated the cult of Saint Luke the Evangelist. Moreover, in Rome the members venerated the sacred image of the Virgin that was said to have been produced by the saint and on his feast day a relic of his arm was carried around in a procession. The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca continued to promote the cult of Saint Luke by celebrating his feast day. What is more, both institutions combined this

whereas the guild assumed the economic and professional functions, the company carried out the religious and charitable activities.

⁴⁵³ According to Rossi (1984, 383-4), the old institution was transformed into an academy, i.e. an organism absorbing all the functions of the old corporation but also assuming new tasks conform the changed social conditions of figurative artists. Moreover, Rossi holds that it became an organization that completely weakened the artisanal categories and finally united the painters and the sculptors (and with Zuccari also the architects) in a single institution. This is also shown by the fact that Alberti speaks of 'riformar gli ordini e statute del corpo tutto'. Alberti 1604/1961, 1. According to Rossi (1984, 385), between 1577 and 1593 the juridical framework of the organism became complicated because it was formally already transformed into the academy, even though in practice it continued to be a guild and corporation like before. From 1593 onwards, finally, the institution became the Accademia di San Luca in full effect. At that point, it encapsulated within it, as a subordinated organism, the 'confraternita o compagnia', which became the organization that united all the minor artists.

⁴⁵⁴ Rossi 1984, 369-370.

⁴⁵⁵ Pietrangeli 1974, 8.

with the veneration of sacred images as pictures of their patron saint were placed in a central location of their buildings (see figs. 11 and 17).

The religious veneration of sacred images was the model for the veneration of 'artistic relics' in the art academies. Especially the works of Michelangelo and Raphael were treated as such artistic relics. The artists' adoration of Michelangelo and Raphael went even further, as their tomb monuments in Santa Croce in Florence and in the Pantheon in Rome became artistic pilgrimage sites.⁴⁵⁶ Whereas Michelangelo was especially 'venerated' in Florence, Raphael was the favorite of the artists in the Roman art academy (although Michelangelo was also highly esteemed there). As discussed in the previous chapter, the academies possessed (copies of) works by their hands, such as Michelangelo's *Christ the Redeemer* (Florence and Rome) and his model for a *River God* (Florence), and the painting of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin in the Presence of Raphael* (Rome). These objects were not only used for practical training, as objects to imitate by students, but they also had symbolical meanings as they connected the artists in both institutions to their famous and dignified predecessors and thereby expressed the academicians' self-conception as practitioners of noble arts. Therefore, these artifacts were prize possessions for the institutions.

In 1622-1623, the Accademia di San Luca commissioned the painter Antiveduto Grammatica to execute a copy of the painting of *San Luca Painting the Virgin in the Presence of Raphael*, because of the damp conditions in the church of Santi Luca e Martina. The original was translocated to the academy's rooms.⁴⁵⁷ Grammatica's copy still hangs in Santi Luca e Martina. During Grammatica's presidency in 1624, the Accademia di San Luca decided in a secret meeting (*congregazione secreta*), to which only the officials of the institution were invited, to sell the painting attributed to Raphael. Some of the money from the sale was supposed to be used for two masses said each month for Raphael's soul. The rest was to be either invested in a *luogo del monte* or spent on the construction of the new church.⁴⁵⁸ However, the painting attributed to Raphael was never sold and it now hangs in the museum of the Accademia di San Luca in palazzo Carpegna.⁴⁵⁹ According to Baglione,

⁴⁵⁶ See Waga 1967-1969, I, 4, V, 1-4, and VII, 1-3.

⁴⁵⁷ Noehles 1970, 47 and Salvagni 2008, 60. See for the decision to copy the painting and the commission to Grammatica ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1622, pt. 4, vol. 94, fols. 512r-v and ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1623, pt. 3, vol. 97, fols. 339r-v, 340r-v, 359v.

⁴⁵⁸ ASR, Archivio del Conservatorio di S. Eufemia, Vol. 81, 42v, transcribed in Noehles 1970, 335-336 (doc. 16).

⁴⁵⁹ According to Salvagni (2008, 59 and 2012, 228) the academy had already offered the painting attributed to Raphael to Duke Gonzaga of Mantua in 1601, because of financial difficulties. However, also in this instance the painting, which was estimated at the substantial sum of 2000 *scudi*, was not sold.

the painting remained in the possession of the academy because other academicians protested against its sale and it even led to Grammatica's impeachment as president.⁴⁶⁰ Archival sources, indeed, suggest that Grammatica was forced to step down early as president of the academy, but also that this was due to irregularities in the account books and not because of his intention to sell the painting – although this certainly could have also played a role.⁴⁶¹

The confraternities dedicated to Saint Luke in Florence and Rome were not the only religious organizations to which artists and artisans belonged. For example, in Florence the Compagnia di San Giovanni Battista, also known as Compagnia dello Scalzo, was a *disciplinati* confraternity, which included in its membership people from many different professions, such as architects, engineers, sculptors, painters, candle makers, cobblers, furriers, cloth weavers, and other artisans.⁴⁶² Traditionally, the members of *disciplinati* companies practiced self-flagellation in processions as a way of doing penitence, to honor and glorify God, and to appeal to His mercy. However, in the second half of the sixteenth century in Florence self-mortification was not carried out as strictly and severely as in the preceding century.⁴⁶³ Some artists, such as Benvenuto Cellini, Zanobi Lastricati, and Stoldo and Antonio Lorenzi joined the Scalzo Company in the 1550s, the period when the Compagnia di San Luca had ceased to function and before the foundation of the academy.⁴⁶⁴ Several other artists, such as Tribolo, Tasso, Pontormo, Francesco da Sangallo, Alessandro Fei, and Bernardino Poccetti, were members of both this sodality and the Compagnia di San Luca.⁴⁶⁵ Reasons for participating in multiple religious companies include piety and the desire to worship certain saints that were popular in one's family, city, or for personal reasons. The Compagnia dello Scalzo, for instance, was devoted to Saint John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence. Joining two confraternities also meant that one benefitted from the assistance of both institutions when fallen ill or otherwise unable to

⁴⁶⁰ Baglione 1642/1995, 294. See also Missirini 1823, 92-93.

⁴⁶¹ Noehles 1970, 57, Lukehart 2009b, 178 and 189, n. 30; ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1624, pt. 4, vol. 102, fols. 163r-v.

⁴⁶² O'Brien 2013, 359-360.

⁴⁶³ Barzman 2000, 193.

⁴⁶⁴ The brothers Stoldo and Antonio Lorenzi joined in 1553 and Cellini and Lastricati in 1557. See O'Brien 2013, 376 and 399, appendix no. 110 and 111.

⁴⁶⁵ See O'Brien 2013, 370 and 378 for the connections between the Accademia del Disegno and the Compagnia dello Scalzo. Other artists who were member of both organizations were Ruberto Lippi, Gianjacopo Mattoncini, Valerio Cioli, and Pierfrancesco Foschi.

work and it meant enlarging one's social network – and thus creating more opportunities for meeting potential clients and commissioners.⁴⁶⁶

It is noteworthy that both the Accademia (and Compagnia) del Disegno and the Compagnia dello Scalzo had sepulchers in the monastery of Santissima Annunziata for burying their deceased members and that a friar from the monastery functioned as their *correttore*.⁴⁶⁷ The task of the *correttore* is described in the contract between the academy and the convent as administering all sacraments and providing spiritual services to the members of the confraternity.⁴⁶⁸ This last point is relevant in relation to the discussion about the Church's strategy of gaining more control over lay institutions by appointing clerics as heads. Although the *correttore* was not formally part of the organization, he was involved and could probably exercise some control.

Also in Rome, there already existed a religious lay confraternity before the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca, in which painters, sculptors, and architects – as well as other artisans – came together. This was the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta (Confraternity of Saint Joseph of the Holy Land), which was founded in 1542 by the Cistercian monk Desiderio D'Auditorio.⁴⁶⁹ As the name suggests, the company had two principle objectives: to promote the cult of Saint Joseph and to worship the two fists of soil that Desiderio had brought back from his visits to the Holy Land.⁴⁷⁰ This means that the activities of this

⁴⁶⁶ O'Brien 2013, 360 and 370.

⁴⁶⁷ It is interesting that the book of the funeral services (*Libro dei mortori*) of Santissima Annunziata mentions that Pontormo was a member of the Scalzo confraternity and not of Compagnia di San Luca. See O'Brien 2013, 366, n. 32 and 400 appendix no. 118. This suggests that Pontormo was buried in the sepulcher of the Scalzo and not in that of the San Luca. This could mean that by ceremoniously exhuming Pontormo's corpse and placing it in the burial chamber of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, the artists of the Compagnia di San Luca not only inaugurated the chapel and reincorporated their confraternity, but also appropriated the famous painter as a member of their organization and 'stealing' him from the Scalzo.

⁴⁶⁸ See for the passage in the contract Ważbiński 1987, II, 477. According to Ważbiński (1987, I, 115), *correttore* was a 'spiritual tutor'.

⁴⁶⁹ Desiderio was the Piombatore delle bolle pontificie (custodian of the official seal used for the papal bulls and letters) and stood in close contact with the Roman Curia, which made it easier to realize his project. Pope Paul III officially recognized the new confraternity with a bull dated October 5, 1542. See Tiberia 2000, 24.

⁴⁷⁰ Tiberia 2000, 19 and 30. The appellation 'Terrasanta' ('Holy land') was also to distinguish this company dedicated to Saint Joseph from another one that had been founded in 1540. This company was connected to the guild of the wood workers in Rome, and was therefore, called Compagnia di San Giuseppe dei Falegnami (Company of Saint Joseph of the Carpenters). The petition to Pope Paul III (1543) for the approval of the confraternity starts with Desiderio's visits to Jerusalem and Mount Sinai and the relics – earth, stones and other venerable relics ('terre e sassi ed altri venerabili reliquie') – he brought back with him. See Tiberia 2000, 225.

confraternity converged perfectly with the ideals of the counter-reformatory Church, in particular those of the veneration of relics and the cultivation of the cult of the saints.

Moreover, like many of the companies founded in the sixteenth century the *Compagnia di San Giuseppe del Terrasanta* also performed activities that were congruent with the Catholic Reform. Most importantly, these activities consisted of handing out of charity, especially assisting sick brothers and providing dowries for the daughters of poor members. Furthermore, the brothers celebrated mass together, said prayers for the living and the dead, organized processions and pilgrimages to the seven churches in Rome, and celebrated the feast of the Forty Hours. In 1597, they obtained the right to liberate a prisoner on the feast day of their patron saint.⁴⁷¹

The members of the company were also known as the *Virtuosi al Pantheon* (the virtuous men at the Pantheon). The term *virtuoso*, in this context, alludes to the artists and artisans that belonged to this sodality, and particularly to their high skill level. ‘Pantheon’, of course, refers to the church where they held their meetings and where, from 1580 onwards, they patronized a chapel.⁴⁷² From the start membership consisted of painters, sculptors, architects, engineers, and other artisans. This had occurred more or less by chance since Desiderio simply seemed to have asked the artists and artisans, who were at that time renovating the Pantheon, if they wanted to join a confraternity dedicated to Saint Joseph. Later also musicians, mathematicians, notaries, and physicians joined, as well as some women (probably relatives of the male members). However, due to the great number of artist members, the company became a symbol for the vitality and relevance of visual art as a means of praising God and arriving at eternal salvation.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ Tiberia 2000, 24, and 98-99.

⁴⁷² Tiberia 2000, 21. See Waga 1967-1969, I, 1 for the meaning of *virtuoso* as artist in the context of the *Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta*. The term ‘*Virtuosa compagnia*’ was already used in the book of meetings from 1572 (*Libro di Congregazioni*, f. 30), and Fanucci (1601, 400) uses it to refer to the members of the confraternity in his *Opere pie*. More in general, in this period the term *virtuoso* had connotations of both virtue and the high-skill level of certain artist-engineers. See for example Kwa 2005, 82-83 for the meaning of *virtuoso* as deriving from *virtù* and as artist-engineer in the Renaissance and the importance of this figure for the development of modern, i.e. experimental, science. The *Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta* held its meetings and celebrated mass in the Pantheon. Its archive is still housed there. In antiquity the Pantheon had been a temple dedicated to all the gods. In the seventh century it had become a Catholic church and was officially called *Santa Maria de Martyres*. Therefore, it was seen as a sign of the triumph of the Catholic faith over paganism, and by extension, over all heresy.

⁴⁷³ Tiberia 2000, 21-22, 24, and 30-34.

It has been suggested that the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta and the Compagnia di San Luca together evolved into the Accademia di San Luca.⁴⁷⁴ This is incorrect, because the former did not cease to exist when the academy was founded, but remained a religious organization parallel to it. It is interesting, however, that the decisive period in the foundational history of the academy coincided with a complete rupture in activities of the company at the Pantheon. From December 13, 1587 until June 11, 1595 the activities of the confraternity were suspended due to a crisis, the nature of which remains unknown.⁴⁷⁵ This was precisely the period in which the transformation of the craft-based confraternity of San Luca into the academy was completed.

Moreover, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century several artists were members or even officers of both institutions. For instance, the painter Scipione Pulzone (1544-1598) was head (*reggente*) of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta in 1582 and in 1593 he was present at a meeting in which the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca was discussed.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, the sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605) was head of the confraternity in 1596 and president of the academy in 1598-1599.⁴⁷⁷ In addition, it should be mentioned that the first notary of the Accademia di San Luca, Ottaviano Saravezzi, had been a member of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta since 1586.⁴⁷⁸

Most noteworthy is Federico Zuccari's role in both organizations. Before becoming the first president of the Accademia di San Luca in 1593, the painter had been head of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta on several occasions, and in 1572 he was even elected as 'perpetual regent' (*reggente perpetuo*). In exchange for this honor, which he shared only with the founder of the organization, Zuccari promised an annual donation of 18 *scudi* to the confraternity, to be continued after his death. However, in Zuccari's case perpetuity lasted only twelve years due

⁴⁷⁴ Black 1989, 40.

⁴⁷⁵ Tiberia 2000, 47 and Tiberia 2002, 15.

⁴⁷⁶ Tiberia 2000, 43 and 164; ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, fols. 425r-v-r, 426r-v, 427r-v.

⁴⁷⁷ Tiberia 2000, 47, 125-126; ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1598, pt. IV, vol. 40, fols. 415r-v and Alberti 1604/1961, 79.

⁴⁷⁸ Tiberia 2000, 214-215; Nussdorfer 2009, 60-63. Moreover, in 1584 Saravezzi had already joined the other Roman confraternity that had Saint Joseph as its patron saint, the Compagnia di San Giuseppe dei Falegnami, i.e. the carpenter's confraternity. Previously to the foundation of the academy, Saravezzi had also worked for the painters' company and guild.

to misunderstandings and disagreements over his financial obligations to the company, and in 1584 the honorific title was revoked.⁴⁷⁹

The account book of the Accademia di San Luca shows that on October 18, 1593 – that is, just one month before the first academic meeting is held under the presidency of Zuccari – the institution paid a porter for bringing (and later returning) to its church the coat of arms of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta.⁴⁸⁰ This means that the academy probably used the coat of arms as decoration during the celebration of the feast of its patron saint on that date. Therefore, members of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta might have participated in the celebrations. In later centuries, the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta and the Accademia di San Luca also occasionally had contact with each other. For instance, at the end of the eighteenth century, the Virtuosi al Pantheon transferred the skull of Desiderio to the academy, probably for conservation purposes. Subsequently the skull was mistakenly held for that of Raphael and until 1833 it almost became a sacred relic, attracting visitors from other countries to see it.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Tiberia 2000, 42-44 *ed passim*. Other artists who were member of both organizations were Durante Alberti, Pasquale Cati, Giuseppe Cesari, Pietro Fachetti, Orazio Gentileschi, Giovanni Guerra, Paolo Guidotti, Taddeo Landini, Ottaviano Mascherino, Giralomo Massei, Girolamo Muziano, Cesare Nebbia, and Tommaso della Porta. Furthermore, the *letterato* Camillo Ducci, who was a member of the household of Cardinal Giulio Santori also played a role in both institutions as friend of the painter Giuseppe Cesari, or Cavalier d'Arpino (1568-1640). Ducci had been de regent of the confraternity in 1584, when the discussions about Zuccari's donation took up a lot of time from the institution's meetings. In January 1586, Ducci proposed Cavalier d'Arpino as a new member of the Virtuosi al Pantheon. Even though he had not yet reached the age of thirty as mandated by the statutes – in fact, he was only seventeen years old at the time – Ducci thought that Cavalier d'Arpino was worthy of the membership of the confraternity because of his excellent manners (*ottimi costumi*) and his virtues as a painter. Just month earlier, Cavalier d'Arpino had been commissioned by Cardinal Santori to paint frescoes of the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the *Crucifixion* in the Church of Sant'Anastasio dei Greci. Several months later, in May 1586, Cavalier d'Arpino was indeed accepted as member of the confraternity in the Pantheon. As reason for the exception of the statutes it is stated that Cavalier d'Arpino had shown exceptional promise in his works. Moreover, he did not have to pay the golden ducat as admission fee, because he had offered to paint a picture of Saint Joseph in the oratorium of the confraternity for free. Tiberia 2000, 46-47, 207, n. 158, and 211. Several years later, in 1594, Ducci gave a lecture in the Accademia di San Luca, in the place of Cavalier d'Arpino. See Alberti 1604/1961, 57-58.

⁴⁸⁰ AASL, 42, 82r.

⁴⁸¹ Waga 1967-1969, V, 1-6.

5.4. *The confraternal practices of the Accademia del Disegno*

The Accademia del Disegno performed many of the activities of the other confraternities in the sixteenth century. For instance, the Florentine academy regularly provided alms to less fortunate members. In the archival documents the alms are called either *elemosine* or *benefizio*, which translates to ‘benefit’, ‘assistance’, or ‘relief’. The money was collected in a box that went around during the meetings and services.⁴⁸² Each six months, three medical assistants (*infermieri*) were chosen by lot from the members of the academy.⁴⁸³ They paid house visits to members in need and handed out the alms, which usually amounted to 2 *lire*. For instance, on March 3, 1563, the sculptor Valerio Cioli was given this sum because he had fallen ill.⁴⁸⁴ In 1568 the sculptor Zanobi Lastricati received repeated donations for the same reason.⁴⁸⁵

The Accademia del Disegno not only appointed infirmaries for its charitable activities but it also hired a physician for the same task. The first doctor who served in the institution was Alessandro Menchi from Montevarchi. From late 1563 until his death in 1569 Menchi was paid 14 *lire* per year for his services to the academy.⁴⁸⁶ His successor, Jacopo Marchesetti, was elected during a meeting of the institution in Cestello on August 14, 1569. The records state that the academicians chose Marchesetti unanimously not only because of his merit as a doctor but also because he was proposed by the grand duke. Like Menchi, Marchesetti received 14 *lire* per year and a candle for the celebration of Candlemas.⁴⁸⁷

Although all members of the Accademia del Disegno received a candle for this religious feast, those carried by the officers of the institution were larger than those of the ordinary members. The officers were also rewarded for their services with other fees *in natura*, which were called *mancie*, on the occasion of various religious celebrations. In the first place, for the feasts of the Holy Trinity and Saint Luke, the officers received several ounces of pepper.⁴⁸⁸ For the feast of Saint John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence, which was (and is) held annually on June 24, the officers received Trebbiano wine. The servant got one

⁴⁸² The account book shows that the academy spent 1 *lire* and 18 *soldi* on a box for alms at the end of 1562. Apparently, this box was replaced thirteen years later, because another one was bought on April 4, 1576. ASF, AD 101, 101r and 131r.

⁴⁸³ See for instance for the years 1572-1576, ASF, AD 25, 22r-22v and 46r.

⁴⁸⁴ ASF, AD 101, 103v.

⁴⁸⁵ The account book shows that Lastricati received alms on three occasions between August and October of that year. ASF, AD 101, 112v and 113r.

⁴⁸⁶ See for the election of Menchi on November 14, 1563, ASF, AD 24, 2v.

⁴⁸⁷ *ibidem*, 24v.

⁴⁸⁸ See, for example, ASF, AD 24, 75r-75v, 86r; ASF, AD 25, 4r, 5r, 11r.

flask, the consuls and the secretary two, and the lieutenant four. Moreover, on All Saints day the academy remunerated the officers with *pane inepato* ('peppered bread') of different weights, again according to their function.⁴⁸⁹

The most important event of the year for the Accademia del Disegno was the celebration of the feast of Saint Luke. In the first years the festivities took place in various sites, but from 1567 onward the convent of Cestello was the standard location for this celebration, with one exception. Like the feast of the Holy Trinity, it marked the change of officers in the Accademia del Disegno. However, the feast of Saint Luke was celebrated more elaborately than that of the Trinity. More money was spent on wax for candles and for the decorations, and the preparations started earlier. Usually eight *festaiuoli* or organizers of the feast were drawn and several young artists (*giovani festaiuoli*) selected for producing ephemeral works of art.

The *festaiuoli* had to cover the expenses for the feast from their own pocket and decorate the room with tapestries, works of art, and other artifacts. They also delivered orations during the feast.⁴⁹⁰ The young artists were supplied with materials for their paintings and statues, but they were not paid for their labor. Moreover, after the feast ended, the artworks produced for the feast of Saint Luke remained in the possession of the academy. As has been argued in the past, the participation of young artists in the festivities by contributing works of art was part of the academy's educational program. The pupils could demonstrate their skills and good results aided their future election as academicians.⁴⁹¹

Some of the subjects of the works of young artists are mentioned in the sources. It is interesting that these were not always of a religious nature, but sometimes also pagan and mythical. For instance, for the feast of Saint Luke of 1578, six paintings and one statue were made by *giovani festaiuoli*. Four of the paintings represented scenes from the Old Testament: *The Creation of Man*, *Cain Slaying Abel*, and two scenes from the story of Noah. The other two paintings represented the artistic competition between the ancient painters Apelles and Zeuxis and what seems to have been a personification of *disegno*.⁴⁹² Although probably not lascivious, these paintings obviously also did not count as sacred images as understood by the Council of Trent.

The painting of *Cain Slaying Abel*, which had been made by the young artist Lodovico Cardi da Cigoli (1559-1613), was donated by the

⁴⁸⁹ See, for example, ASF, AD 25, 8r and 31v-32r.

⁴⁹⁰ This happened, for example, in 1578. See ASF, AD 26, 9v and below.

⁴⁹¹ Ważbiński 1978. See also sections 4.2.4 and 8.3.

⁴⁹² ASF, AD 26, 9r.

academy to its lieutenant, Jacopo Pitti.⁴⁹³ Other works by young artists were placed in the academy's 'archive' or sold to art collectors and other artists.⁴⁹⁴ Selling the work of young artists happened more frequently towards the end of the sixteenth century. For instance, in 1581 the academy sold four paintings by young artists from the preceding year to Giulio d'Antonio de Nobili for 84 *lire* in total; and in May 1584, a painting representing the *Tribulation of Job* by Andrea Boscoli (c. 1560 - c. 1606), which he had made for the feast of Saint Luke of 1583, was sold for 28 *lire* to a certain Vincenzo Caisati from Nice.⁴⁹⁵

Selling the work of young artists to cover the academy's expenses also occurred after the elaborate obsequies that were held for Michelangelo in San Lorenzo on July 14, 1564. Two days later, sixteen young artists who had contributed work such as Domenico Poggini, Santi di Tito, and Valerio Cioli, were rewarded with the title of academician.⁴⁹⁶ In October of that same year the academy decided to sell the paintings that had adorned the catafalque and that had been stored afterwards in the refectory of the Ospedale degli Innocenti, where the lieutenant of the academy, Vincenzo Borghini, was the prior. Several works of art were indeed sold. For example, on June 8, 1567, three of the paintings that had been created by the young artists were sold to the weaver Francesco di Carlo for 35 *lire*.⁴⁹⁷

The main venue for the academy's religious-confraternal practices was the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata. However, the feast of Saint Luke was usually celebrated elsewhere.⁴⁹⁸ Only on one occasion, in 1585, did the academy organize the feast in the former chapterhouse of the Servites. The account book shows that in that year the academy paid the friars of Santissima Annunziata for saying masses on the day of Saint Luke.⁴⁹⁹ The reason for this deviation was almost certainly that Cistercian monks of Cestello in that year had occupied a part of the rooms of the academy. The documents show that the problem was not yet resolved in November, which means that the feast of Saint Luke on October 18, indeed, had to be celebrated elsewhere.

⁴⁹³ The academy voted on this decision and it was accepted by 25 black against 1 white bean. ASF, AD 26, 9r-9v.

⁴⁹⁴ See ASF, AD 24, 24v.

⁴⁹⁵ ASF, AD 101, 62v and 77r.

⁴⁹⁶ ASF, AD 24, 9r.

⁴⁹⁷ ASF, AD 101, 14r.

⁴⁹⁸ In the early years of the academy's existence, the feast of Saint Luke was celebrated in the oratory of the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo, and from 1567 onward in the convent of Cestello.

⁴⁹⁹ This happened, for example, in 1585. See ASF, AD 101, 149v.

As indicated another important ingredient of the confraternal practices performed by the Accademia del Disegno in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità was the organization of funerals. Although the most elaborate funeral arranged by the academy took place in San Lorenzo, i.e. Michelangelo's obsequies in 1564, the chapel in Santissima Annunziata was the institution's principal burial site. As mentioned, Pontormo was the first to be buried there. Until the end of the century at least ten artists followed, including Montorsoli in 1563 and Cellini in 1571, as discussed in the introduction of the chapter.⁵⁰⁰ However, only a small percentage of the artists who lived and died in Florence in the decades of the sixteenth century was buried in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. Many academicians preferred to be buried elsewhere, either in family tombs or, if they were members of other confraternities as well, in the chapels of these organizations.⁵⁰¹ In these cases, the academicians often participated in the funerals by carrying the body of the deceased for part of the procession.⁵⁰²

Although this was acceptable by the academy in principle, in 1574 it twice formulated new rules concerning the burying of the dead.⁵⁰³ As reason the secretary noted that 'disorder arises on a daily basis in the burying of the dead of our academy and company'.⁵⁰⁴ Apparently, either the incorporating statutes and the addenda were not clear enough on this point or the rules were constantly transgressed. The new rules, which were recorded by the *provveditore*, included the reiteration that the official academic funerals could only be held in the chapterhouse of the Servites or in the oratorium of Cestello; that members of the academy could attend funerals in other sites, but not in the capacity of officers of the academy or in official attire; that the works of art that were produced for the obsequies, would afterwards belong to the academy; that all members must attend the official academic funerals; and that the

⁵⁰⁰ See, for the funeral of Montorsoli, Vasari 1966-1987, V, 509.

⁵⁰¹ See Baroni / Meijer 2015, 154, n. 11 for a list of the names of the artists buried in the chapel throughout the years. This list contains nineteen names. Barzman (Barzman 2000, 192-193 and 196) comes to thirty-one artists, because she also counts the names of those for whom a service was held in the chapel, but were buried elsewhere. However, according to her, it is highly likely that more funerals took place there. In any case, it is obvious that the number of funerals is much lower than the number of artists who lived and died in Florence in this period.

⁵⁰² See, for example, the description of the funeral for a pupil of Bernardo Buontalenti in 1591, ASF, AD 27, 30r. The painter Alessandro Fei was buried on December 28, 1592 in the sepulcher of the Compagnia dello Scalzo, which was also located in Santissima Annunziata. See ASF, AD 27, 30v. See O'Brien 2013, 370 for a discussion of Fei's funeral and the complete article for information on the Scalzo company.

⁵⁰³ ASF, AD 25, 31r-34v and 36v-37r.

⁵⁰⁴ ASF, AD 25, 36v: '... disordini che giornalmente naschano nel seppellire i morti di nostra accademia et compagnia ...'.

members of the institution had to walk in the procession according to a specific order: first the members of the company, then the academicians, and finally the officers of the institution. Moreover, within the first two groups the young would precede the old.

Furthermore, the archival documents indicate that funerary services were occasionally held for artists, who were not buried in the chapel.⁵⁰⁵ In 1571 the academy even decided to organize obsequies for an artist who, although born in Florence, had worked for most of his career in Venice, and was buried there as well. On January 14 of that year, a letter from the heirs of the sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570) was read during a meeting of the academy in the Cappella delle Santissima Trinità. The heirs requested the academicians to honor the memory of Sansovino with a funerary service. After discussing the matter the academy decided to grant the request. The sculptors Vincenzo Danti and Giambologna and the painters Alessandro Allori and Tommaso di San Friano were elected to organize the obsequies and appoint the artists who had to carry out statues and paintings in honor of Sansovino.⁵⁰⁶

The archival sources disclose no other information in relation to these obsequies, which suggests that they were not carried out. However, it has been noted that the academy found a more permanent way to honor Sansovino's memory in the chapel. Precisely in this period Santi di Tito started to work on his fresco of *Solomon Building the Temple in Jerusalem*. The painter integrated several contemporary artists into the scene (fig. 21). One of these artists has been identified as Sansovino. He is the man in the white beard and black hat in the right of the painting.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁵ On one occasion, the academy even organized obsequies on an other location. This was, of course, the famous funeral for Michelangelo in 1564 in San Lorenzo.

⁵⁰⁶ ASF, AD 24, 29v. This decision was accepted with seventeen black beans against two white.

⁵⁰⁷ Barzman 2000, 197. It seems that Baldinucci (1681-1728, IV, 113) was the first to recognize Sansovino in Tito's fresco. He also identified Tito in the painting as a middle-aged man with black hair, long face, and pink hue. On December 10, 1570, the academy urged Tito to start on his painting. ASF, AD 24, 29r. The academy's account book lists various payments for materials for the fresco in March 1571. On May 12 of that year workers are paid for placing a scaffold or bridge (*ponte*) for Tito, so that he could retouch his history *a secco*. This means that the painting was probably finished in May 1571. ASF, AD 101, 117r-118r. Most of the payments are also recorded in the book of the secretary. ASF, AD 24, 61v, 62v-63r. On Tito's fresco see also Langedijk 1981, 139-165.



Figure 21. Santi di Tito, *Solomon Building the Temple in Jerusalem* (detail), 1571, fresco, 320 x 285 cm, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

The academy also regularly paid the Servite friars for masses for the souls of deceased members, including those who were buried elsewhere. For instance, in 1576 the institution paid the sacristan of Santissima Annunziata for saying twenty-one masses for as many souls.⁵⁰⁸ Nine years later, in 1585, the Servites received money for thirty-one masses, which means that, in the meantime, ten members of the art academy had died.⁵⁰⁹ On these occasions, the academy also supplied the candles that were used. For example, on September 19, 1567, the academy paid the apothecary for four pounds of yellow wax, which was used for 6 tapers (*falcole*), for the Office of the Dead for the academician Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro, who was buried in Santo Spirito.⁵¹⁰

In addition, the celebration of Candlemas (*Candellaia*) took place in part in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. With this feast the academy commemorated the Purification of Mary, prior to the presentation of Jesus to the temple. It was held forty days after Christmas, and thus on February 2. The most important part of the celebration consisted of a nightly procession with candles. The Accademia del Disegno provided its members with candles of different sizes and painted

⁵⁰⁸ ASF, AD 101, 131r. In the *Libro del provveditore*, however, the number of masses is said to have been twenty-three for as many deceased members. ASF, AD 25, 66v.

⁵⁰⁹ ASF, AD 101, 149v. See for the masses for the dead also ASF, AD 101, 104r, 110r, 110v, and 132v.

⁵¹⁰ ASF, AD 24, 78v.

with the symbol of Saint Luke (the winged ox) and the Medici coat of arms (the famous *palle*).⁵¹¹ The officers received longer candles than the other members, and the lieutenant carried the largest one. In this way the status of each member in the procession, in which also other confraternities participated, was readily distinguishable.⁵¹²

Before the procession started, one of the Servite friars, usually the sacristan, said mass in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, in which he blessed the candles.⁵¹³ On at least one occasion, in February 1571 a painting representing the *Virgin* was brought into the chapel for the celebration of this feast. Although, at this time the academicians were busy with the chapel's decorations, Allori had not yet started on his altarpiece.⁵¹⁴ Therefore, the painting of the *Virgin* was probably hung above the altar for the duration of the feast.⁵¹⁵

Finally, as noted in the discussion of the contract, the Cappella della Santissima Trinità also was the venue for the celebration of the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, which is held on the first Sunday after Pentecost, and falls therefore either in May or June. The documents show that the academy, indeed, organized this feast annually. However, the celebrations were much less elaborate than those for the feast of Saint Luke. Not only were there less *festaiuoli* elected – four instead of eight – but they also had less time to prepare.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, although sources indicate that young artists on occasion also created works of art for this feast, this does not seem to have happened always.⁵¹⁷ However, the chapel was decorated with candles, tapestries (*panni di razzo*), and towards the end of the century also with flowers.⁵¹⁸

The decorations in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità functioned in the academy's religious practices. As discussed, the counter-reformatory Church advocated the devotion of the Eucharist. The

⁵¹¹ See, for example, ASF, AD 24, 72r-73v.

⁵¹² The participation of other confraternities in the procession is suggested by a remark in the *Libro del provveditore* from 1568, which states that the academy paid the same price for the white wax for the candles as the other companies. ASF, AD 24, 78v.

⁵¹³ ASF, AD 24, 15v; ASF, AD 101, 103r.

⁵¹⁴ The academy paid for materials for Allori's fresco for the first time on March 21, 1571. ASF, AD 24, 62r.

⁵¹⁵ ASF, AD 101, 116v.

⁵¹⁶ For example, in 1573 the *festaiuoli* were drawn only one week before the celebration. ASF, AD 25, 26v.

⁵¹⁷ ASF, AD 24, 24v, where it is recorded that during a meeting on August 14, 1569, it was decided that the paintings produced for the catafalque of Michelangelo and the celebrations of the feasts of Saint Luke and the Trinity should be sold for the benefit of the academy and the company. See also ASF, AD 24, 28r, where it was ordered that the secretary was to be rewarded after his term with a painting or statue that had been produced during the feast of Saint Luke or the Trinity.

⁵¹⁸ ASF, AD 24, 7v, 63v, 64r; ASF, AD 101, 104r, 118v, 120r, 126v, and 143v.

theme of the Trinity was closely connected to the celebration of the Eucharist, because by taking this Sacrament one would partake in the divine life that is mysteriously expressed in the Trinity. As altarpiece, Allori's *Trinity* would have functioned in the ritual devotion of the Eucharist because it shows God and the angels almost literally presenting the body of Christ to the academicians when receiving the Host (see fig. 13). Due to its large size and position of the left foot, Christ almost seems to break through the picture plane. In addition, Francesco Cammilliani's Melchizedek also alluded to the sacrament of the Eucharist by offering the bread and wine in his left hand to the artists during religious ceremonies (fig. 22).⁵¹⁹



Figure 22. Francesco Cammilliani, *Melchizedek*, 1570, painted clay, Capella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

Furthermore, Montorsoli's tombstone and Allori's altarpiece played important roles in the funeral services (see figs. 10 and 13). The tombstone consists of two parts: a rectangular frame with skulls and bones in the four corners and an oval-shaped slab in the middle, on which are represented a mirror, an hourglass, a burning lamp, and various instruments that were used by painters, sculptors, and architects, such as brushes, chisels, a compass, and a square ruler. Furthermore, the tombstone contains two inscriptions. The first is an adaptation of a phrase from a passage in Saint Paul's letter to the Colossians, which deals with the resurrection. It reads *Mortuis sumus / et vita nostra / abscondita / est cum Cristo in Deo* ('We are dead / and our life / is hidden with Christ in God'). The other inscription is *Floreat semper vel invita morte* ('That he

⁵¹⁹ Waźbiński 1987, I, 122, and 126-127. According to Genesis 14, Melchizedek had brought bread and wine to Abraham after his victory over the kings of the East.

may always flourish even despite death’).⁵²⁰ Both inscriptions express the idea that faith in God leads to the salvation of one’s soul and an eternal life after death.⁵²¹ This idea was reinforced during the funerary services by Allori’s altarpiece, which confronted the artists with the dead body of Christ.

The academy also found a more permanent way to honor the memory of certain deceased members. The three large frescoes by Vasari, Tito and Allori in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità contain the portraits of various artists, who had died in the preceding period. For instance, the two figures in the right foreground of Vasari’s *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* have been identified as Montorsoli and his pupil Martino, who was the second artist to be buried in the chapel after Pontormo (fig. 23).⁵²² Pontormo himself was represented together with Agnolo Bronzino in the lower corners of Allori’s fresco (fig. 24). In addition to Sansovino, Tito’s fresco is said to contain the portraits of other artists such as Michelangelo (fig. 21).⁵²³



Figure 23. Giorgio Vasari, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (detail), 1569-1570, fresco, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

⁵²⁰ The term *floreat* both expresses the hope that artistic fame will conquer death and it contains an allusion to Florence. Ważbiński 1987, I, 118-120.

⁵²¹ Ważbiński 1987, I, 116.

⁵²² See, for this identification, Ważbiński 1987, I, 132-134. Moreover, according to Ważbiński, Saint Luke bears the likeness of Vasari. See, for Martino’s funeral, ASF, AD 101, 101r.

⁵²³ In his *Il Riposo*, Raffaello Borghini (1584/1807, IV, 203) stated that Tito’s fresco contained many portraits of artists, without, however, mentioning their names. See also Ważbiński 1987, I, 143. According to Paatz and Paatz, in addition to Tito and Sansovino, are represented Michelangelo and Vasari. Paatz/Paatz 1940-1954, I, 118.



Figure 24. Alessandro Allori, *Most Holy Trinity* (details with the portraits of Pontormo (left) and Bronzino (right)), 1571, fresco, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

5.5. *Hierarchy within the Accademia di San Luca*

The Gregorian brief of 1577 and the Sistine bull of 1588, discussed in the previous chapter, can be (and have been) seen as the official starting points for the Roman art academy. To reiterate, whereas the first document declares the establishment of an academy for the painters and sculptors of Rome, the second confirms and elaborates on this declaration. Both documents specify that the new organization should be governed by the most excellent men (*uomini peristissimi*) of painting and sculpture – the architects are not yet mentioned. The purpose of the academy, according to the papal bulls, was to teach young art students their trade: the youths would ‘study and imitate the best and rarest examples of their arts.’ However, the new institution also had another important function, namely to instruct young students in Christian doctrine, piety, and good customs.⁵²⁴ In other words, Gregory XIII and Sixtus V meant for the academy to be both an artistic *and* a catholic educational center.⁵²⁵ By contrast, there is no evidence that the Accademia del Disegno in Florence was ever considered to perform this latter function.

In the context of the discussion about the ambivalent relationship between the Church and many lay confraternities, it should be noted that the Roman artists explicitly sought the approval of the papacy for founding the new institution. The papal bulls of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V both mention that the request came from the artists. One of the reasons given for the necessity of the establishment of an academy is the current

⁵²⁴ Missirini 1823, 20: ‘... che gli studiosi giovani venissero diligentemente instrutti nella dottrina Cristiana, nella pietà, ne’ buoni costumi, e ... grado a grado si proponessero a studio, ed imitazione loro gli ottimi, e più rari esemplari della Arti stesse...’

⁵²⁵ It should be noted that the function of a guild was not explicitly mentioned in the papal documents.

deterioration of the arts due ‘to the lack of a good school and Christian charity’.⁵²⁶

In addition to an academy, the new organization consisted of a *congregazione* to be founded by the artists. The term *congregazione* could mean roughly two things in that period: on the one hand, it signified a religious congregation (almost synonymous with *confraternità*); on the other and more generally, it meant a gathering of a group of people or an assembly.⁵²⁷ In the papal documents the term clearly refers to a confraternity. This is evident from the fact that the documents specify that the *congregazione* would be erected under the invocation of Saint Luke (*sotto l’invocazione di S. Luca*), for the glory of God, for the health of the artists’ souls – and, as in Florence – in honor of the Most Holy Trinity.⁵²⁸ Moreover, that the term *congregazione* here meant ‘confraternity’ is also clear from the fact that the congregation was responsible for the maintenance of a church, where their meetings would be held. As mentioned, in the Gregorian brief, the church is not specified, but in Sixtus V’s bull the parish church of Santa Martina at the Forum Romanum is named as the seat of the new organization.⁵²⁹

Sixtus V’s cession of the church to the artists entailed that the parish (and parishioners) of Santa Martina were redistributed to neighboring churches. The previous chapter discussed this event from the point of the urban renewal projects of the Catholic Church. However, it can also be understood from the context of the diminishing importance of the parish as a structuring element of religious life – and of the city itself.⁵³⁰ Because of the weak financial situation of a great number of Roman parishes and the religious illiteracy of their priests, many of the religious tasks formerly carried out in the context of the parish, were now relegated to (lay) confraternities. The cession of the church of Santa Martina to the artists can, therefore, also be seen from this perspective.

In this case, the parish priest of Santa Martina, Michele Timotei, does not seem to have been a problem in the eyes of the Church. In the

⁵²⁶ See the Gregorian bull, transcribed in Lukehart 2009, 348: ‘(...) l’arti del pingere, scolpire, e disegnare andavano giorno in giorno a perdere della loro bellezza (...) per mancanza di buona scuola, et di charità Cristiana (...).’

⁵²⁷ See for the meaning of contemporary terms relating to the academy, the glossary of Lukehart 2009. The meaning of *congregazione* can be found on page 398.

⁵²⁸ Missirini 1823, 20 (Gregory XIII) and 24 (Sixtus V).

⁵²⁹ Missirini 1823, 24.

⁵³⁰ The difference is already visible from the number of parishes in Rome: 130 in 1565 against 86 in 1625. This meant that each parish held more souls: about 300-400 in 1565 against 1200 in 1625. Fiorani 1980, 90. According to Nussdorfer (1992, 24), this was an immediate consequence of the strategies that the counter-reformatory Church employed after the Council of Trent in order to reestablish the importance of the clergy and confirm the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Sistine bull, Timotei is called ‘dear son’ (*caro figlio*), and the pope later granted him the fruits and revenues of the church and its assets. Furthermore, also the artists continued to support the priest, because after the concession of the church, they paid him for saying masses.⁵³¹ The financial state of the parish seems to have been more problematic. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the church itself was almost in ruins in 1588 and had to be reconstructed. Moreover, like in other churches at that time, there was no strict separation between religious, dwelling and commercial practices.⁵³² Archival documents show that the academy had several tenants, who lived in the rooms above the academy, which was itself located in a former hayloft (referred to as *fenile* or *granaro*), adjacent to the church (see fig. 18).⁵³³ Although this was apparently acceptable for the Church officials, they could not have thought it to be an ideal situation.

Notwithstanding the two papal documents of 1577 and 1588 declaring the establishment of the Roman art academy, still in in the

⁵³¹ From October 1592 until Easter 1593 Michele Timotei appears to have said several masses in his former church. See the note by his hand in the AASL 72, 67. And in 1597 he received 0,30 *scudi* for masses said. AASL 42, 95v. The artists also hired other priests and monks for their services. For instance, priests of the San Adriano were paid for masses in November 1602, 1603, and 1604 (AASL 42, 99r and 104v, 111r) and the monks of the Santa Maria in Aracoeli in October and December 1593 (AASL 42, 82r and 83r). Although Sixtus V’s bull states that the parish priest of the Santa Martina, Michele Timotei, had freely and spontaneously resigned his post, a notarial deed, dated December 21st, 1588, in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, reveals that the former rector of the church laid claim to all the fruits and revenues of the Santa Martina. ASR, TNC, iff. 11 (Ottaviano Saravezzi), 1588, September-December, vol. 11, fols. 855r and 856r. This document is discussed by Roccasecca 2009, 138. Timotei’s claim was based on an act that Sixtus V had issued several months earlier, and in which the fruits of the church were, indeed, conceded to the ex-parish priest until his death. According to Roccasecca, Timotei died in December 1619 or January 1620, which meant that for over thirty years the academy had to organize the cult and maintain the church of Santa Martina without profiting from its revenues. Roccasecca 2009, 139. The annual payment to Timotei amounted to 20,5 *scudi*: 16 *scudi* for the rent of the room of the academy, 2,5 *scudi* for the rent of the tavern (‘osteria’) and 2 *scudi* for the rent of the garden (‘orto’ or ‘scoperto’) behind the church. The account books show that the income from the rent of the various rooms and sites belonging to the academy was substantially higher, namely about one hundred *scudi* per year. However, this includes the rent - ca. 35 *scudi* per year - received from the houses that were left to the academy by Girolamo Muziano.

⁵³² For instance, in the 1560s, one observer noted that in the Ponte neighborhood ‘...many churches have houses above where there live laity and women and shops at the doors of the church. Many churches serve for passages to the houses. They do not have the book of the goods of the church, nor of the sick, poor or orphans.’ ASV, Misc. ARm. VII, 2, ff. 87r-87v, quoted in Fiorani 1980, 107: ‘... Molte chiese hanno sopra l’habitazione dove stanno laici e donne et cosi botteghe a le porte de la chiesa. Molte chiese servono per passaggio ad ogni casa. Non si tien libro delli beni della chiesa, nè dell parochiani infermi poveri e massive orfanelle....’

⁵³³ See, for example, AASL 42, 8v and 9r.

beginning of 1593 this institution not yet existed. This is suggested by a notarial document, dated March 7 of that year, in which the results of a meeting of twenty-eight Roman painters are recorded. The notary Ottaviano Saravezzi states that during the meeting it was decided unanimously that a congregation was to be formed in accordance with the statutes that had been handed to him.⁵³⁴ This is confirmed by a passage from the second part of the notarial document, which is a written statement that was read out loud during the meeting by one of the six deputies (*deputati*). The deputies had apparently been appointed earlier, as it is mentioned that they had met on many occasions (*siamo più, et più volte raunate insieme*).⁵³⁵ The only artist mentioned in this statement as one of the deputies is the painter Tommaso Laureti (c. 1530-1602). His name is the second one on the list of the twenty-eight painters that forms the first part of the document. Therefore, it is likely that the other five deputies are also among the first names on this list. These were Giovanni de' Vecchi (1536-1615), Scipione Pulzone (1544-1598), Federico Zuccari (1542/43-1609), Nicolò Martinelli da Pesaro (1540-1610), and Jacopo Rocchetti.⁵³⁶

The second part of the document states that in order to keep the art of painting noble and honorable an assembly (*adunanza*) should be formed. This assembly is called 'the congregation of chosen painters' (*la*

⁵³⁴ ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, fols. 425r-v-r, 426r-v, 427r-v: 'Che si habbi da fare una Congregatione delli Pittori di Roma conforme alli Capitoli dati à me Notaro (...).' Unfortunately these statutes are now lost, but the fact that they are mentioned here suggests that there had been meetings before in which they were formed. The meeting took place in the monastery of S. Maria in Aracoeli and in the chapel of San Luca. Possibly because the church of Santa Martina was not accessible due to renovations. The documents indeed show that there was a lot of travertine quarried from the church between February 2 and December 19, 1593: 216 *scudi* and 17 *baiocchi*. This is considerably more than the 75 *scudi* and 44 *baiocchi* sold between February 19 and December 12 in 1594, and the 58 *scudi* and 60 *baiocchi* sold in 1595 (and which included a wooden door and mosaics). Also the money spent on the work in the church and adjacent buildings between February 2 and November 28, 1593 was much higher than in the following years: more than 245 against 74 *scudi* in 1594 and the almost 100 *scudi* in 1595. What is more, the first time the 'academy' is mentioned in the ledger books, is June 8, 1593, when a porter is paid for bringing a piece of cornice for the academy. And 12 days later Michele Timotei is paid for the rent of the room where the academy and congregation is held for one year (AASL vol. 42, 80v). And in July of the same year people are paid for making a peephole ('occhietto') and a lock for the door of the academy (AASL vol. 42, 81r). At the very end of June money is collected for the 'sovenimento' (?) of the academy. And in the document of the meeting of March 7, the following meetings are planned in the monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva 'per modum provisionis'. This also suggests that the meeting room in the church of Santa Martina was not ready yet.

⁵³⁵ ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, fols. 426r.

⁵³⁶ Lukehart 2009b, 169-170.

congregazione de Pettori eletti [sic]).⁵³⁷ Furthermore, of these chosen painters another ‘eight or ten’ were to be selected to form an academy for the benefit of and instruction of the young and for all who wish to walk on the good path of painting.⁵³⁸ Finally, the academy and congregation were to be distinguished from the Compagnia di San Luca. To this latter part of the institution would belong all artists, who held a shop (*tutti quelli che fanno bottega*) and those who were not admitted into the congregation of ‘chosen painters’. Their task was to take care of the church. And ‘they would be helped, favored, and embraced by the congregation, on which they will depend’.⁵³⁹ It should be noted that the term *congregazione* is here used in the sense of ‘meeting’ or ‘assembly’ and not in that of ‘confraternity’. Furthermore, the distinction between a general body, i.e. the confraternity, and a select group of chosen artists, who were to govern the institution and coordinate the educational activities for the young students, was almost a literal copy of the organizational structure of the Accademia del Disegno (figs. 25 and 26).

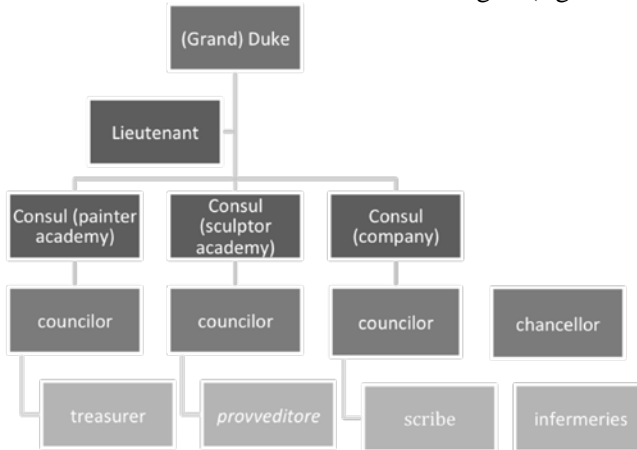


Figure 25. Organogram of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years

⁵³⁷ Ibidem.

⁵³⁸ ‘...si farà un’altra scelta di otto, ò, dieci, i quali possano essere atti a formare una Accademia, per beneficio et instrutione de Giovanni, et de tutti quelli che saranno desiderosi d’incaminarse per la buona strada dello studio della Pittura.’ ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, fol. 426v.

⁵³⁹ ‘Et di piu s’è anco stabilito che tutti quelli che fanno bottega, insieme con gl’altri, che non seranno aggregati nella sudetta congregazione di pittori s’habbino da chiamare della compagnia di S. Luca, con questo però, ch’habino d’havere particular cura della Chiesa, et saranno aiutati, favoriti, et abbracciati dalla medesima congregazione, come dependenti da lei.’ ASR, TNC, uf. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, fol. 427r.

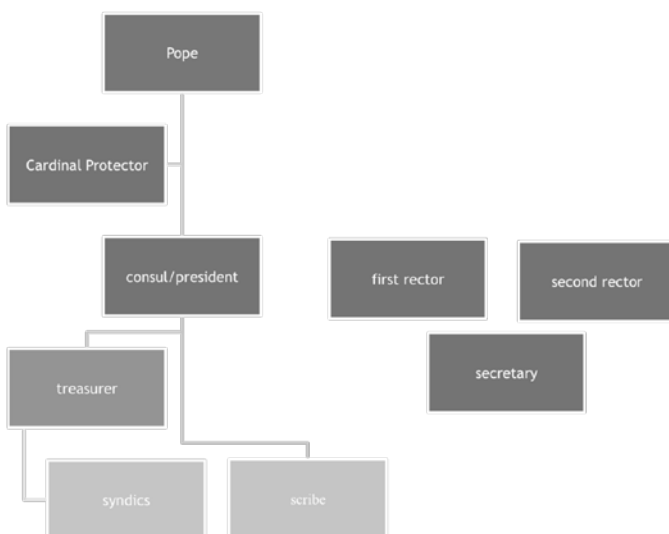


Figure 26. Organogram of Accademia di San Luca in its early years

The papal documents and the record of the meeting of March 1593 show that the Church and the artists entertained divergent ideas concerning to the structure of the new organization. In the bulls, the company is identified with the congregation, and there is no hierarchy between both branches of the organization. In the notarial record of the first meeting of March 7, 1593 the academy is placed above the congregation, which in turn, is placed above the company. This entails that the artists envisioned the new organization to have a hierarchical structure, in which the religious branch occupied the lowest position. Obviously, this was not the Church's interpretation of the academy. Another difference between the papal documents and the record of the meeting in March 1593 is that whereas in the notarial document the academy would be one for painters only – as they are the only ones mentioned – the former also included sculptors in the new organization.⁵⁴⁰

5.6. Teaching Christian Doctrine, piety and good customs

The papal bulls of 1577 and 1588 ordered that the academy should teach Christian doctrine, piety, and good customs. In other words, from the

⁵⁴⁰ In section 8.4 the relationship between painters and sculptors in the academy is discussed.

Church's point of view the institution's religious activities should not have been limited to the confraternity, but were also to be carried out in and by the academy. This means that the Church desired the academy to have the same integral counter-reformatory approach to education as the other schools that were founded in this period. Examples are the schools of the confraternity of Christian Doctrine, those of the Jesuits, and later the Scuole Pie.⁵⁴¹ In these schools, religious instruction of the basic rituals and articles of the Catholic faith (sign of the cross, Ten Commandments, Our Father, etc.) went hand in hand with elementary (reading, writing, Latin grammar) or more advanced (humanities, *abbaco*) education.⁵⁴² Apparently, popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V meant for the Accademia di San Luca to fulfill a similar double task, with the difference that instead of reading, writing, and grammar, the students were to learn *disegno*, painting, and sculpture.

There is no evidence in the archive or in the published sources that the academy implemented the instruction of the basic principles of Catholicism in its educational activities, or that it intended to do so. For instance, the teaching of Christian doctrine is mentioned neither in the 'statutes' that were proposed by Zuccari and accepted by the other members in 1593 (and published by Alberti in 1604), nor the first official statutes approved by Pope Paul V in 1607.⁵⁴³ However, although the academy probably did not instruct the principles of Christian doctrine, it did teach some of the general rules of conduct, morals, and piety that were desired by the Church. Already during the first meeting that is described by Alberti, on November 14, 1593, Zuccari emphasized the importance of good morals and customs (virtue, respect for teachers,

⁵⁴¹ The Order of the Jesuits was founded in 1537 by Saint Ignatius of Loyola (c. 1493-1556) and confirmed by Pope Paul III in 1540. The two main objectives of this order were (free) education for children of the higher classes and converting pagans through missions in backward areas in Europa, as well as in Africa, America, and especially Asia. As to the educational aspect, the Jesuits provided a curriculum in Latin, consisting of grammar, humanistic disciplines (e.g. Greek, history, poetry, moral philosophy), rhetoric, and catechetical instruction. In addition, the Jesuits educated priests in the Roman Seminary. For the people from the lower classes the Jesuits held regular street sermons. In 1560 in Rome the lay company of Christian Doctrine (Compagnia della Dottrina Christiana) was founded in order to improve the knowledge of the basic articles of Catholicism among the middle and lower classes of society. See Fanucci 1601, 145-146 and Nussdorfer 1992, 23. In Florence, the schools became popular slightly later, under the leadership of Ippolito Galantini (1565-1619). See Grendler 1989, 335-337. The Scuole Pie were founded by the Spanish nobleman José de Calasanz (1556-1648) after being shocked by the religious ignorance of the people in Rome, when he visited the city at the end of the sixteenth century. Grendler 1989, 381-386; Nussdorfer 1992, 174-175.

⁵⁴² Grendler 1989, 383.

⁵⁴³ See for Zuccari's statutes and curriculum Alberti 1604/1961, 6-15 and for the statutes of 1607, AASL, 4a and, for a discussion of the latter statutes, Grassi/Trani 2009, 31-35.

etc.), in addition to his exhortation to undertake continuous studies in their arts.⁵⁴⁴ Furthermore, the *principe* ordered that the meetings should take place on all feast days, or in any case on all Sundays. Each Sunday morning, before addressing the subjects related to the arts, all members should gather, ‘as Christians’ (*come Christiani*), to hear, ‘our mass and our devotions’.⁵⁴⁵ Finally, Zuccari ordered that each month new teachers should start by inciting the fear of God in the young students.⁵⁴⁶ Exactly how they were supposed to do this is not specified, but it shows that the president wanted that the students would be educated in piety and good morals, as stated in the papal bulls.

That these religious rituals were performed as conceived by Zuccari, is clear from Alberti’s descriptions of later meetings, and by the entries of the treasurer in the account book. Alberti begins almost all of his descriptions of the meetings by mentioning that the usual orations (*le solite orationi*) were made in front of the altar in the meeting place, i.e. the hayloft above the church of Santi Luca e Martina, and he ends most of his descriptions with the saying of grace (*rese le gratie*).⁵⁴⁷ In his account of the first meeting, Alberti identifies the content of the orations as the *Veni Sancta Spiritus* and that of the saying of grace as the *Confirma hoc Deus, quod operatu en nobis*.⁵⁴⁸ The often-repeated phrase ‘the usual orations’ (*le solite orationi*) suggests that these religious formulae were the same in later meetings.⁵⁴⁹ By celebrating mass at the beginning and saying grace at the end of each meeting, the theoretical and artistic-educational practices were firmly embedded in a religious context; in other words, they were encapsulated in religious practices. By contrast, the minutes of the meetings of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno do not include references to religious orations or rituals. However, this does not mean that the gatherings of the Florentine academy were not embedded in religious practices. It is possible that religious rituals were also performed in the Accademia del Disegno, but that the secretaries of the institution did not record these activities, because they saw them as common and, thus, not noteworthy. In this context it should also be noted that the accounts in the *Libri del provveditore* are more general and

⁵⁴⁴ Alberti 1604/1961, 3-4.

⁵⁴⁵ See Alberti 1604/1961, 4-5.

⁵⁴⁶ Alberti 1604/1961, 7.

⁵⁴⁷ According to Salvagni (2009, 108), the hayloft (‘fienile’) was probably located ‘on the upper floor of one of the houses listed among the church’s properties, overlooking the piazza of the Campo Vaccino’.

⁵⁴⁸ Alberti 1604/1961, 2 and 6. The *Confirma hoc Deus* comes from Psalm 67:29b-30 (Vulgate).

⁵⁴⁹ See, for example, *Origine*, 10: ‘Appressi si ordina, fatta l’elettione del Sig. Principe, e rese le debite gratie al Sig. Iddio, con l’orationi solite nel principio, e fine delle congregazioni (...)’ Italics, M.J.

factual than Alberti's descriptions of the meetings in the Roman art institution.

In his first speech for the Accademia di San Luca, Zuccari also states that on the last Sunday of the month all should gather to receive the Most Holy Sacrament and that nobody will be excused, 'so that our Lord will expand and augment his holy grace to all in all our actions'.⁵⁵⁰ Zuccari refers here to the sacrament of the Eucharist. By promoting it, the president of the academy adhered to the ideology of the counter-reformatory Church, which supported the foundation of lay companies of the Holy Sacrament. These confraternities organized the various elements of the cult of the Eucharist, such as the Forty Hours' Devotion, nocturnal adoration, processions, and administering the Eucharist to a person who is dying (viaticum).⁵⁵¹ As discussed, in Florence the ritual of the Eucharist was performed in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in front of Allori's altarpiece and the Forty Hours' Devotion was celebrated in Cestello in 1594. The Forty Hours devotion is organized for the first time in the Accademia di San Luca in 1597 and again in 1604.⁵⁵²

A final indication that the academy complied with some of the wishes of the counter-reformatory Church can be found towards the end of Alberti's descriptions about the early years of the academy. He writes that at the beginning of the presidency of his uncle, Durante Alberti (1597-1598), Church officials (*i Superiori*) had ordered the *principe* to invite a Jesuit priest to address the academy about decorum in painting. In his lecture, delivered on Sunday January 1, 1598, the priest exhorted the artists to produce only 'honest and praiseworthy things' (*cose honeste e laudabili*) and to stay away from all dishonesty and lasciviousness. As a negative example, the Jesuit father elaborately discussed a painting representing Cleopatra reading a letter, which, according to him, was 'rendered with little honesty' (*figurata poco honestamente*), that is to say, with little dignity or decorum. According to Romano Alberti, the lecture was appreciated by many of the artists present.⁵⁵³ The speech of the Jesuit

⁵⁵⁰ Ibidem, 5: '(...) acciò che il Sig. Iddio ci habbi a prosperare, & aumentare le sue sante gratie, a tutti in ogni nostra attione'

⁵⁵¹ Fiorani 1980, 120.

⁵⁵² See Salvagni 2012, 234-235 and 253, n. 121 and AASL, 42, 111r.

⁵⁵³ Alberti 1604/1961, 79: 'il detto M. Durante capo dell'Accademia, che così volsero i Superiori che si nominasse, condusse nell'Accademia per prima sua tornata un'Rever. Padre ... [sic] della Compagnia del Giesù, a fare un'essortatione a tutti li fratelli Academici ad essere avertiti al depingere cose honeste, e laudabili, e fuggire ogni lascivia, e dishonestà, e sopra ciò prese soggetto di leggere una lettera in materia d'una Cleopatra, vista già figurata poco honestamente'

priest, described by Alberti, is the only time in which the Church seems to have intervened directly in the academy in this period.⁵⁵⁴

The theme of ‘honesty’ (*decorum*) and lasciviousness in art was an important one at that time, because it played a role in debates between Catholics and Protestants about the acceptability of using sacred images in religious practices. The concern with honesty also becomes clear from the statutes of 1607, in which the academicians are ordered to refrain from using dishonest words and producing dishonest images.⁵⁵⁵ Furthermore, these statutes also prescribe the installment of three officers, who would be charged with keeping order and making sure that moral rules were observed. Two censors (*censori*) had to correct the others not only with regard to matters of the profession – i.e. they had to edit the academy’s texts before publication – but also in matters of ‘living and speaking’. The *paciere* (‘mediator’ or ‘peace maker’) had to make sure that life in the academy was lived ‘quietly and Christian like’.⁵⁵⁶

Besides these rules, however, there are few indications in the archival sources that the academicians were preoccupied with religious matters. It is only twenty years later, in the rules of 1627, that the decrees of the Council of Trent are explicitly mentioned. There it is ordered that

at least in sacred paintings and sculptures one has to observe ... the decree of the Sacred Council of Trent, and ... one should not paint things that contain false dogma’s or repulse the Sacred Scriptures or the traditions of the Holy Church. One should avoid anything profane, ugly, or obscene; one should not render the portraits of persons of bad fame, but should make sure that the decorum of the body and the ornament of the costume correspond to the dignity and sanctity of the prototype.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ However, in 1563, the year of the conclusion of the Council of Trent, the consul of the predecessor of the Roman academy, the Compagnia e Università di San Luca, Domenico Zaga, admonished the artists of the organization on behalf of the cardinal vicar (Giacomo Savelli) and Monsignor Cesarini in similar terms as the Jesuit priest more than thirty years later. ASR, CNC, 38, 1562-1564, D. Jo. Bapt.ta de Amadeis, 308v-309r and Lukehart 2013, 161-162. See also section 10.3.4.

⁵⁵⁵ AASL, Statuti 1607, 20r, 25v, and 31v.

⁵⁵⁶ AASL, Statuti 1607, 7v. The statutes of 1617, furthermore, ordered to academicians to control the decency of religious works in public around Rome. See Grossi/Trani 2009, 36.

⁵⁵⁷ AASL Statuti 1627 (13A), 33-34: ‘Almeno nelle Pitture, Scolture sagre, s’osservi inviolabilmente il decreto del Sacro Concilio di Trento, e però non si dipinga cosa la quale contenga falsi dogmi, o repugni alla Sacra Scrittura, o alle traditioni di S. Chiesa. Si fuga ogni cosa profana, brutta, o oscena, non si esprimino in esse l’effigie di persone di mala fama, ma si procutri che il decoro del corpo, et ornamento del vestito corresponda alla dignità e santità del prototipo.’

5.7. *Conflicting practices in Paleotti's Discorso and Alberti's Trattato*

Unlike the Accademia del Disegno, the Roman art academy had a special relationship to the Curia, because at its head stood cardinal protectors (*cardinale protettori*). The three cardinals, who protected the academy between 1593 and 1626, Federico Borromeo (1593-95), Gabriele Paleotti (1595-97), and Francesco Maria del Monte (1595-1626), were all closely involved in the reformation of the Church, in accordance with the Tridentine decrees. For instance, Paleotti's friend and Federico Borromeo's uncle, Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), who was later canonized, did the same in Milan.⁵⁵⁸ As archbishop of Bologna, Paleotti implemented one of the most all-inclusive educational programs in post-Tridentine Europa. This educational program made knowledge – particularly of Christian doctrine – accessible to persons of all social classes.⁵⁵⁹

Paleotti's presence in the academy is relevant here, because in 1582 he published the first two books of the *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane* (*Discourse on sacred and profane images*), which would later be seen as the official position of the Church on religious works of art.⁵⁶⁰ Although three more books were planned, these were never published. Paleotti's *Discorso* had great influence on Romano Alberti's *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura* from 1585. However, a detailed analysis of the connections between these texts is yet to be carried out.⁵⁶¹ There are three reasons for going into these connections

⁵⁵⁸ As Archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo organized several influential provincial and diocesan councils, which dealt with the practical implementation and application of the Tridentine decrees and canons. Moreover, in his *Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilium ecclesiasticae* from 1577, Borromeo provided detailed directions in Tridentine spirit for how churches should be designed and equipped. In this treatise a fundamental importance was given to the Eucharist. Ditchfield 2013, 29-30.

⁵⁵⁹ Grendler 1989, 360 and Jones 1995, 137. Paleotti also attempted to implement the decrees in his diocese in the 1560s and 1570s. However, according to Prodi (1987, 123-156) the archbishop met with serious difficulties because subsequent popes were afraid that he would become too powerful in Bologna, which at that time belonged to the Papal States.

⁵⁶⁰ Furthermore, before becoming Pope Clement VIII, Ippolito Aldobrandini had been a student of Paleotti's in Bologna, and they remained close friends ever since. See Beltramme 1990, 202. Beltramme further notes that, due to the small number of copies that were initially printed of Paleotti's discourse, it only started to have wider influence in the 1600s. This means that Alberti's use of the treatise in 1585 is exceptionally early. In his article, Beltramme does not go into the relation between these treatises, but interprets the events in the Accademia di San Luca in the 1590s – as described by Alberti in his other book (*Origine*) – only from the point of view of Paleotti's precepts. This means that Beltramme completely misses the artists' perspective on the issues discussed in Paleotti's book.

⁵⁶¹ Paola Barocchi's notes to Alberti's (1585/1962) text are very useful in constructing a more detailed interpretation, but are not such an interpretation by themselves.

here. First, as mentioned, Romano Alberti became the secretary of the Accademia di San Luca some years later. As secretary, he recorded what went on during the academy meetings from 1593-1599 in *Origine*.

Second, the frontispiece of Alberti's treatise from 1585 states that it was composed 'ad instantia', so 'at the request (or the behest) of the venerable company and *noble academy* of the painters of Rome'.⁵⁶² The use of the term 'academy' is noteworthy because, as discussed, the first academic meeting did not take place until seven or eight years later. It is probably not a coincidence that it was published in the same year that Pope Sixtus V decided to demolish church of San Luca on the Esquiline and the institution was, thus, left without a headquarters. As the title suggests, Alberti's treatise advocates the nobility of painting. Therefore, its publication in 1585 can probably best be understood as a justification *and* stimulus for the planned foundation of the art academy.⁵⁶³ Furthermore, it should also be noted that although the title of Alberti's treatise only refers to painting, the frontispiece suggests that the arguments about the nobility of the art also apply to sculpture and architecture. This becomes clear from the image, in the center of which there are three arrows, alluding to the three arts of *disegno*, that are bound together by a ribbon. Alberti dedicated his treatise to Cardinal Alfonso Gesualdo (1540-1603), who was at that time the protector of the institution and Cardinal of the Kingdom of Naples, as well as the brother-in-law of Carlo Borromeo.

Third, in the early years of the academy's existence, sixteen copies of a book about the nobility of painting (e.g. *un libro de la nob[ili]ta della Pittura*) were sold to artists and gentlemen. The account book shows that fourteen of these were sold between August 1592 and Fall of 1595. And on 28 December 1604 two more books were sold to the painter Antiveduto Grammatica and an otherwise unknown Benedetto Cusano.⁵⁶⁴ The name of the author is not mentioned in the ledger book.

⁵⁶² Alberti 1585/1962, frontispiece: 'Composto ad instantia della venerabil compagnia di S. Luca, et nobil'academia delli pittori di Roma'. Muraoka (2009, 111) and Gage (2009, 247) also discuss the reference to the institution on Alberti's frontispiece. Muraoka, however, translates 'ad instantia' with 'in tribute to', instead of as 'at the request of' or 'at the behest of'. Gage fails to mention the part about the 'noble academy', making it seem as if the request came from the company alone.

⁵⁶³ Muraoka (2009, 111) also interprets the publication of Alberti's treatise as a stimulus for the establishment of the academy, and she connects it to the death of Pope Gregory XIII (1585), whose Brief from 1577 granted the artists permission to found the new institution.

⁵⁶⁴ AASL vol. 41, 28r and AASL vol. 42, 1r, 1v, 5r, 6r, 10v, and 27r. Only in five cases the buyer is mentioned: Francesco Spagnolo, Sig. Ferrari, Riccio Bianchini, Mutio Ceccharone, and Gironimo Mazzei. The references to the selling of Alberti's *Trattato* in the Libro del Camerlengo has also been noted by Frances Gage (2009, 262). According to

However, because the description of the books correspond (almost) literally to Alberti's work and because of Alberti's connection to the academy, it is very likely that these entries refer to his treatise.⁵⁶⁵

The question arises why only sixteen books were sold and why did it only start seven years after its publication. Part of the answer might be that not all copies were sold. According to the academy's inventory of 1624, the institution owned various copies of a book about the nobility of painting, which were regularly handed out by the *principe*.⁵⁶⁶ It is highly likely that the book referred in this inventory was Alberti's *Trattato*. If this is the case, then it is possible that donating copies of this work was already an established and regular practice much earlier, even before 1592. It is also possible that not all sales made it into the ledger books. In any case, the fact that the books were sold in the period between 1592 and 1595 might be an indication both of the difficult financial situation of the institution at that time – as the artists were busy rebuilding their church – and to the renewed interest in founding the academy. This would mean that preparatory meetings, in which the artists discussed the foundation and rules of the academy, were already taking place in the summer of 1592.⁵⁶⁷ This is certainly possible because, as discussed above, during the meeting of March 7, 1593, the deputies stated that they had already met many times before.

Looking more closely at the content of Alberti's treatise it is immediately clear not only that he quoted extensively from Paleotti's *Discorso* but also that both authors cited the same passages from ancient texts, such as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, Seneca's *Epistles*, and Aristotle.⁵⁶⁸ However, more importantly, also the general structure of Alberti's text is modelled on the *Discorso*.⁵⁶⁹ Alberti's division of his

her, the first entry dates from 1593 (AASL 42, 1r). However, the ledger book shows that on August 30, 1592 already three books were sold in the congregation.

⁵⁶⁵ Especially since he composed the book at the request of the company and academy and because no other book with that name seems to have been published. It should be noted that whereas in the *Libro del Camarlengo* this book is described as 'de la nobiltà della Pittura' (or simply, 'de N.P.ra'), on the receipts the same book is described as 'libro del'arte' or 'della nobiltà dell'arte'. See AASL G1, 14 and 77.

⁵⁶⁶ Lukehart 2009, 370: 'Diversi libri sciolti della nobiltà della pittura che giornalmente si sogliono donare dal Prencipe.' Handing out books was not uncommon in the Accademia di San Luca in later periods, according to Angela Cipriani, who is the head of the archive of the academy. Verbal communication, October 2013.

⁵⁶⁷ See Salvagni 2009, 99-100, for a discussion of the difficult financial situation of the institution in the late 1580s and early 1590s. The obtainment of the monopoly on all appraisals of paintings above 25 *scudi* in 1595 gave them a little bit more room, financially. This means that after this date the treatise might have been given away to new members or interested amateurs.

⁵⁶⁸ Paleotti 1582/1961, 150-151 and Alberti 1585/1961, 204-205 and 207-208.

⁵⁶⁹ See especially Book I, chapters 6-7.

treatise in two chapters, the first dealing with the so-called 'civil nobility' and the second with the 'theological nobility' of painting, is taken over from Paleotti's *Discorso*, Book I, chapter 6.⁵⁷⁰

The 'civil nobility' is that according to learned and wise men, and the 'theological nobility' is that according to Christian doctrine. Furthermore, also Alberti's distinction within the category of 'civil nobility' is taken over from Paleotti. This is the distinction between the extrinsic or accidental and intrinsic or natural nobility.⁵⁷¹ The extrinsic nobility is argued for by reference to noble men from the past. These men have not only judged painting as excellent, but they have also practiced it themselves. Paleotti and Alberti list the same examples of emperors and philosophers such as Hadrian (76-138), Marc Antony (83-30 BC), Alexander Severus (209-235), Constantine VIII (960-1028), Plato (429-347 BC), and Metrodorus (331/0-278/7 BC).⁵⁷²

The 'intrinsic nobility' has to do with the inherent characteristics of an entity. Both authors agree that that painting is intrinsically noble, because the painter has to use his intellect; because painting is acquired with the help of other sciences and intellectual activities; and because it is closely related to poetry, which already is a noble art.⁵⁷³ However, Alberti's discussion of the intrinsic nobility of painting is much more elaborate than Paleotti's and it shows an important shift of emphasis. Whereas Paleotti simply mentions these things and refers to passages from other (mostly ancient) authors to buttress it, Alberti goes deeper into the cognitive aspects of painting.⁵⁷⁴

Alberti argues that in order to produce a good picture, the painter should not only have acute senses, but also various intellectual abilities, such as apprehension, judgement, and reason. Furthermore, Alberti agrees with Aristotle, who wrote in the *Politics* that the painters can use these skills to contemplate the beauty that is found in 'natural bodies'.⁵⁷⁵ Alberti also discusses the artistic process. This begins with the apprehension of external objects via the senses, continues with an internal discourse that leads to a mental image, and concludes with the

⁵⁷⁰ Paleotti 1582/1961, 153.

⁵⁷¹ And what Alberti writes about the extrinsic and the theological nobility of painting clearly follow Paleotti's *Discorso*, also in references and quotations.

⁵⁷² Paleotti 1582/1961, 156 and Alberti 1585/1961, 201-202.

⁵⁷³ See Alberti 1585/1961, 205-223. And cf. Paleotti 1582/1961, 156-158.

⁵⁷⁴ According to Barocchi (1960-1962, II, 510-511, n. 1), he also foregrounds the technical aspects of painting, to which the Counter-Reformists were indifferent.

⁵⁷⁵ Alberti 1585/1961, 207-208, referring to Aristotle's *Politics* VIII, 3. According to Barocchi (1960-1962, II, 506, n. 1), although Alberti derives the Aristotle quote from Paleotti, he does not use it in the counter-reformatory social and pedagogical sense, but to reevaluate the cognitive property of painting.

exteriorization of this image with the help of the artist's instruments.⁵⁷⁶ In his academic lectures of 1593-94, Zuccari further elaborated and deepened this philosophical theme.⁵⁷⁷

In the past, another difference between Alberti and Paleotti (and other counter-reformatory authors, such as Gilio) has been pointed out. Whereas the latter is indifferent towards the technical and cognitive aspects of producing art, Alberti discusses the 'speculative sciences' such as perspective and geometry as parts of painting. Hereby, Alberti reinvoles pre-Tridentine technical problems of proportion and anatomy discussed by earlier authors, such as Paolo Pino (1534-1565). However, unlike such authors, after this discussion about perspective Alberti immediately gives a theological citation about the perfect proportions of Adam and Christ, which clarifies why it is important to understand proportion and anatomy, namely in order to accurately represent these figures. This passage shows Alberti's hybrid interests in artistic and theological issues.⁵⁷⁸

In this context, it is illuminating to compare what Paleotti and Alberti have to say about the theological (or Christian or spiritual) nobility of painting. For both authors this type of nobility is derived from the ultimate goal of sacred images. Here Alberti almost literally follows Paleotti in writing that painting is theologically noble because its ultimate goal is to unite men with God (*unire gli uomini con Dio*). Both authors add that because this is also the goal of charity, it follows that the act of producing religious images in general (Paleotti), and paintings in particular (Alberti), is a form of charity; and that, therefore, it becomes a most worthy and noble virtue.⁵⁷⁹

The phrase to 'unite people with God' means to persuade people to piety and to obedience and subjection to God.⁵⁸⁰ Both Paleotti and Alberti discuss three ways, in which painting can achieve this goal. These are also called the three effects (*effetti*) of painting and they correspond with the three faculties of the soul, i.e. the intellect, will, and memory. First, painting unites men with God by training or instructing the intellect. Compared to books, pictures are much better tools to instruct the intellect, because they are 'written' in a universal language. Sacred images can be

⁵⁷⁶ Alberti 1585/1961, 208.

⁵⁷⁷ Alberti 1604/1961, 21-22. See section 9.7 for a discussion of Zuccari's lectures.

⁵⁷⁸ Barocchi 1960-1962, II, 510-511, nn. 1 and 3.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. Paleotti 1582/1961, 162 and Alberti 1585/1961, 229-230. Paleotti: '...unire gli uomini con Dio, che è il fine della carità: ne segue manifestamente che l'essercizio del formare immagini si ridurrà alla carità, e perciò diverrà virtù dignissima e nobilissima'. Alberti: 'unir gli uomini con Dio, che è il fine della carità, virtù teologica; ne segue manifestamente che l'essercizio della pittura si ridurrà alla carità, di dove serà virtù dignissima e nobilissima.'

⁵⁸⁰ Paleotti 1582/1961, 215.

immediately understood by everyone, instead of only by erudite men, who happen to know Greek or Latin. In other words sacred images can make up for both regular and religious illiteracy.⁵⁸¹ Second, pictures help to unite men with God through exciting the will. Viewing representations of piety produces excitement and joy to the will, and increases the desire to imitate the lives of the saints, and they make people abhor sins. Third, sacred images, crucifixes, and the like, aid and refresh the memory of the believer and give occasion to discuss pious things.⁵⁸²

These three ways of uniting men with God through sacred images is reminiscent not only of Gregory the Great's *Biblia pauperum* but also of Cicero's discussion of the powers of the rhetorician. In his *De Inventione* Cicero states that a good speech should delight (*delectare*), instruct (*docere*), and move (*movere*) the audience. Indeed, both Paleotti and Alberti refer explicitly to Cicero's triad when discussing the goal of painting. According to them, painting should teach (*insegnare*), give delight (*dare diletto*), and move (*movere*) the viewer.⁵⁸³ This reference to Cicero also connects the art of painting with that of rhetoric, which traditionally had the status of a liberal art.

The ultimate goal of uniting men with God was also seen as the goal of charity by the counter-reformatory Church. According to Paleotti and Alberti, the three elements of charity also play a role in painting. These elements are God (*Dio*), our neighbor (*il prossimo*), and we ourselves (*noi stessi*). With respect to the first element, the authors argue that painting was introduced in antiquity to serve the glory of God. Second, the usefulness of painting for others (i.e. our neighbors) is that it can help in their edification or instruction. According to Paleotti, this is the main function of religious painting. Furthermore, it is closely related to Cicero's triad, Gregory the Great's *Biblia pauperum*, and the Tridentine decrees. Alberti closely follows Paleotti in the explication of these first two similarities between charity and painting.⁵⁸⁴

In discussing the third aspect of the resemblance, 'we ourselves' (*noi stessi*), Alberti makes a small but significant amendment to Paleotti's text. Although he follows the latter in saying that both painting and charity are part of the exterior cult and help to profess the interior affects to God, Alberti has a different 'we' in mind. Paleotti does not specify

⁵⁸¹ At least pictures provoke questions of the ignorant multitude to the wiser part of the populace, who can subsequently explain their meaning. The primacy of images over words - and of the eye over the ear - was commonly used trope in art theory before the Counter-Reformation. For example, in his writings on art, Leonardo da Vinci presents a similar argument.

⁵⁸² Paleotti 1582/1961, 208 and Alberti 1585/1961, 225-229.

⁵⁸³ Paleotti 1582/1961, 214-216. And see also 148, 217-224 and 227-229. Alberti 1585/1961, 212-216.

⁵⁸⁴ Paleotti 1582/1961, 212-214 and Alberti 1585/1961, 230-231.

who *noi stessi* are, but the fact that he contrasts them with the ‘neighbors’ (*i prossimi*), who should be educated with the help of sacred images, suggests that his ‘we’ are learned men or, more specifically, maybe even church officials and theologians.

Alberti, on the other hand, is very clear to whom he refers. Rather than writing generally about *noi stessi* he uses the term *stessi pittori*. So, for Alberti, ‘we’ refers to the painters. This becomes even more evident, because he immediately continues to give examples of pious painters, who were inspired to express their inner devotional affects with the help of painting sacred images.⁵⁸⁵ One of the examples of pious painters mentioned by Alberti is Saint Luke, ‘our advocate’, who was ‘clear and illustrious in painting.’ As mentioned, Santa Maria Maggiore, the basilica to which the artist’s church of San Luca on the Esquiline belonged before its demolition, possessed a painting of the Virgin that was thought to have been made by the Saint Luke, and a relic of his arm, with which he was said to have painted it. Furthermore, both the Florentine and the Roman art academies possessed pictures representing the *Evangelist Painting the Virgin* in central places in their buildings.

Alberti’s specification of ‘we’ as *stessi pittori* makes sense because his treatise was meant to demonstrate the nobility of painters. A substantial part of his intended audience probably consisted of artists. This is confirmed by the entries of the sold copies of the treatise. Furthermore, the connection between painting and charity becomes even more interesting, because, as mentioned, handing out charity was one of the main functions of confraternities, including the Compagnia di San Luca. The implication is that painting sacred images was a form of charity.

The most important difference between Paleotti and Alberti is that whereas the latter devotes a whole book – and also the planned but never published books Three until Five – to the abuses and errors of paintings and painters, the latter is completely silent on this topic. As discussed, the abuses and errors of artists were important themes in the Tridentine decrees and in the work of other counter-reformatory authors such as Gilio because of the controversies with the Protestants.⁵⁸⁶

It is significant that Alberti pays tribute to a text that expressed the official standpoint of the Catholic Church on artistic images, while selecting only those parts that focus on the positive aspects of painting,

⁵⁸⁵ Alberti 1585/1962, 231-233. Cfr. Paleotti 1582/1961, 213-214, where there are no references to pious painters.

⁵⁸⁶ See, for example, Hecht 1997.

namely the arguments showing that it is a noble art. Whereas Alberti takes up the viewpoint of the artists or producers of sacred images, Paleotti is more interested in the perspective of the (ordinary) Christian viewer or consumer of these images.⁵⁸⁷ The shift in emphasis from the intellectual abilities of the artist to the religious function of images is evidence that the treatises should be understood from different but overlapping social practices. The texts express the different goals of these practices: attempting to elevate the social status of the artist versus attempting to reduce the mistakes or errors against Christian doctrine. This confirms the earlier qualification of Alberti's *Trattato* as a hybrid book. It simultaneously functioned in religious and artistic practices. By commissioning, selling, and handing out Alberti's treatise, the Accademia di San Luca actively promoted the integration of these practices within its walls.

5.8. *Charity and other religious practices in the Accademia di San Luca*

Other evidence for the integration of religious and artistic practices in the Accademia di San Luca can be found in the institution's archives. Like the Accademia del Disegno, the Roman art academy regularly handed out alms to unfortunate artists.⁵⁸⁸ These alms consisted either of sugar bread or of a small sum of money – usually three *giuli*. The archive of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome contains many receipts for alms. For instance, on Sunday November 21, 1593, the young painter Mariano Ingrassia received three *giuli* of alms from the Compagnia di San Luca, the Roman confraternity of the painters, sculptors, and architects. Originally from Palermo, Ingrassia was one of the many sixteenth-century *artisti forestieri* who were drawn to the eternal city hoping to find employment.⁵⁸⁹ However, times were difficult for artists in Rome and many struggled to survive. Given the fact that he received alms, this must have also held for Ingrassia. With the three *giuli* the painter would have been able to buy bread or rent a modest dwelling for about ten days.⁵⁹⁰ A

⁵⁸⁷ According to Jones (1995, 134 and 139), this interest is not fueled by a benevolent desire to make art interesting for the masses, but by a conservative worldview in which God's preordained social hierarchy should be respected. Hereby, she criticizes Anton Boschloo's (1974) interpretation of Paleotti as an enlightened reformer, who was sincerely concerned with the wellbeing and education of the masses.

⁵⁸⁸ See, for instance, AASL 42, 80r, 81v, 82v, 83r, 85r, 85v, and 102v.

⁵⁸⁹ At that time, the term *forestiero* ('foreigner') was applied to all people from outside the city.

⁵⁹⁰ For discussions about the hardships of foreign (and local) artists in Rome, see Cavazzini 2008, Williams 2007 and Lukehart 2007. See Cavazzini (2008, 2) for an indication of what three *giuli* could buy around 1600 in Rome.

receipt of the donation is preserved in the archive of the organization (fig. 27).⁵⁹¹ The receipt is similar to many others in the archive insofar as it is signed (on the recto side) by the two rectors and the secretary of the confraternity and (on the verso) by Ingrassia himself.⁵⁹² This document stands out from most other receipts in the archive, because the verso side also contains two small drawings. These simple sketches, executed in red chalk, represent an eye and a male torso.

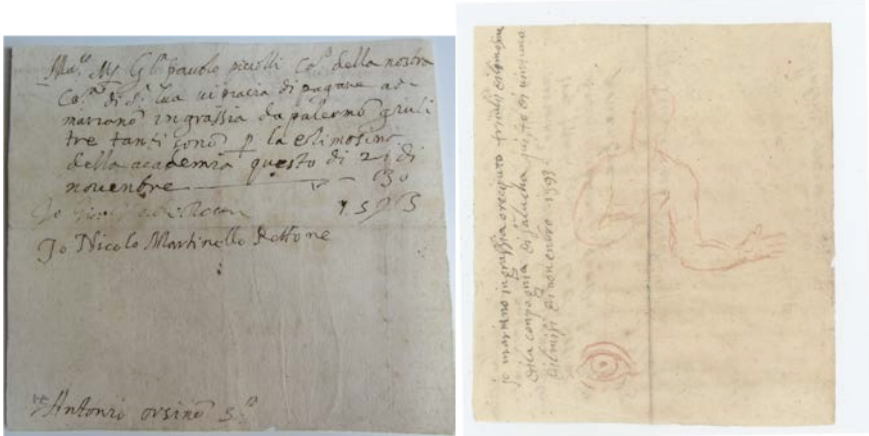


Figure 27. Receipt of the alms to Mariano Ingrassia (left) and basic drawings of a male torso and a human eye (right), AASL 72, 71r and 71v (Photos: author)⁵⁹³

The same box (*scatola*) with miscellaneous documents from the sixteenth until the eighteenth centuries that holds this document also contains another receipt that was also used for a sketch. This drawing, which is much more elaborate and professional than the sketches on the back of Ingrassia's receipt, represents a disabled but standing figure with

⁵⁹¹ AASL 72, 71. AASL 72 refers to a box ('*scatola*') with miscellaneous documents originating in the academy from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century. The current archival categorization dates from the beginning of the twentieth century, when Giuseppe Tomassetti (1848-1911) reorganized the documents. These alms are also written in the ledger book (*Libro del Camarlengo*), AASL 42, 82v. In this document Ingrassia's profession is mentioned by the *camarlengo* or treasurer of the institution, Giovanni Paolo Picciolli, who also wrote the receipt: 'a di 21 detto [: Novembre] ho dato a un giovane pittore b[aiocchi] trenta ...' ('On the 21st of said [month: November] I have given to a young painter thirty b[aiocchi]'). Thirty *baiocchi* is the equivalent of three *giuli*.

⁵⁹² The rectors were Giovanni de' Vecchi (1536-1614) and Nicolò Martinelli (1540-1611); and Antonio Orsino (no dates known) was the secretary at this time.

⁵⁹³ The text on 71r reads: 'Magnifico meter Giovanni Paulo Picciolli Camarlengo della nostra Compagnia di San Luca vi piaccia di pagare a [...] Mariano Ingrassia da Palermo gli tre. Tanti sono per la elemosina della academia questo di 21 di novembre — scudi - 30 / 1593 / Io Giovanni Vechi Rettore / Io Nicolo Martinelli Rettore / Io Antonio Orsino Segretario.' The text on 71v reads: 'Io Mariano Ingrassia [h]o ricevuto tre iulii di limosina de[ll]a compagnia di San Lucha questo di ventuno del mese di novembre 1593.'

crutches and a stilt, apparently made out of a table-leg (figs. 28-29). This figure is drawn on one of two large folded sheets of paper. The same sheet of paper contains a receipt for alms given to a young artist.⁵⁹⁴ The receipt specifies that on December 27, 1593 a certain Valerio Valentino received four *giuli* at his home from the painter Giovanni Paolo Picciolli (or Piccioni) (d. 1602), who was the treasurer of Accademia di San Luca at that time (and the same person who delivered the alms to Ingrassia). This donation is also recorded in the account book of the academy, where Valentino is described as a poor young man (*povero giovine*).⁵⁹⁵ These reused sheets of paper show that religious and artistic-educational practices overlapped in the academy. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of either Valentino or Picciolli that could help to interpret the meaning and purpose of the drawing of the disabled man. On the other large sheet are written declarations of four clerics of Santa Martina and other churches in its vicinity about the masses that were said in the academy's church between 1592 and 1594.⁵⁹⁶ In archive of the Accademia di San Luca, these wages for the priests and monks who said the masses, were also called *elemosine* ('alms').

⁵⁹⁴ Because the sheet is folded, it contains four sides, which are numbered (with a modern hand and pencil) 68r-v and 72r-v. The receipt is located on 68r and the drawing on 72v. The other two sides are empty.

⁵⁹⁵ See AASL, 42, 83r: 'a di 27 detto [dicembre] ad un un povero giovine per elemosina ho dato baiocchi quaranta con il mandato.' Although the name of the artist is not mentioned here, the date and amount confirms that this entry refers to the same transaction as the receipt.

⁵⁹⁶ AASL 72, 67r-v. The first of these clerics is Michele Timotei, the former chaplain of the Santa Martina. He stated that he said masses in the church from October 18, 1592 until Easter 1593. Next, a certain fra Giusto, the sacristan of Santo Apostolo – probable the church of Santi Dodici Apostoli located at 700 meters from the Santa Martina – declared that the brothers of his convent held offices in the academy's church from May 1 until November 3, 1593. The third cleric is fra Bernardo di Varga from Santo Adriano, which was the church located next to Santa Martina. He stated that from April until July 1593 he said mass in 'the church of Saint Luke of the painters'. Finally, the sacristan of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, fra Paolo di Carafina, declared that he said masses in the 'church of San Luca in Santa Martina' from May until November 1594. Santa Maria in Aracoeli is located on the top of the Capitol and is thus only a stone's throw away from the academy's church.



Figure 28. Receipt of alms to Valerio Valentino (left), December 27, 1593, AASL 72, 68r (Photo: author).⁵⁹⁷ Figure 29. Cesare Rossetti (?), *Disabled Man* (right), AASL 72, 72v (scan: AASL)

Together, both large folded sheets hold three smaller pieces of paper, on which receipts of payments by the academy are written. One of these receipts records the donation to Ingrassia. A second receipt is barely legible due to ink stains, but the word *candele* ('candles') and the date 'October 1593' can be made out.⁵⁹⁸ The academy's account book confirms that on October 20 of that year a druggist was paid for candles and a torch that had been used on the feast day of San Luca.⁵⁹⁹ The third receipt records the gift of three *giuli* to a Francesco Pappone on September 11, 1594.⁶⁰⁰ The account book of the institution shows that Pappone not only received alms on this date but also in August and October of the same year, and that the reason for these donations was that he was poor and sick.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁷ The texts on the receipt reads: 'Magnifico Meser Giovanni Paulo Piccioli Camerlengo della nostra Compagnia di San Luca vi piaccia di pagare giuli quattro ad Valerio di Luca Valentino, tanti sono per la elemosina e ne piliarete ricevuta di casa questo dì 27 di dicembre 1593 scudi - 40 / Giovanni Vechi Rettore / Antonio Orsino Secretario / Adì 27 di dicembre 1593 / Io Valerio di Lodovico Valentino ho da forzi [?] ricevuto giuli quattro da meser Giovanni Paulo per elemosina il dì sopraddetto scudi - 40'

⁵⁹⁸ AASL 72, 70r-v.

⁵⁹⁹ AASL 42, 82r.

⁶⁰⁰ AASL 72, 69v.

⁶⁰¹ AASL 42, 85r-v.

What can be concluded from the discussion so far is that the sketches most probably originated in an academic context at the end of 1593 (the date of the alms to Ingrassia and Valentino). Furthermore, it is noteworthy that all archival documents surrounding the drawings are records of confraternal activities that were carried out by the academy in the first half of the 1590s. This does not entail that the sketches itself necessarily functioned in the institution's confraternal practices. It is more likely that they originated in the academy's educational practices.⁶⁰² It is more likely that the drawings were made before the receipts than the other way around, because the receipts would have been placed in the academy's archive as soon as possible, so that they later could be written in the account book.

In addition to handing out alms to poor and sick members, another charitable activity that was projected in the new institution was to provide shelter for 'pilgrims'. Taking care of pilgrims, who visited Rome in large numbers, especially during Jubilee Years, was one of the many tasks that confraternities had taken upon themselves. Both the Gregorian bull and the Sistine brief state that one of the functions of the *congregazione* in the academy would be to provide a hospice for young foreign students, who would come from other Italian cities or abroad to study the arts in Rome. Although such a hospice was never realized, despite the attempts by Girolamo Muziano and Federico Zuccari, it would have constituted an adaptation of the confraternal activity of sheltering pilgrims.⁶⁰³ After all, these young foreigners were *artistic* pilgrims, who aimed to study and be inspired by the 'relics' of the great masters of antiquity and of more recent history. The statutes of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno also stated that foreign artists would be welcome to the institution.⁶⁰⁴

Another form of charity administered by confraternities in this period was the liberation of a limited number of prisoners, usually one each year. For instance, as already mentioned, the Virtuosi al Pantheon started to carry out this practice in 1597.⁶⁰⁵ In 1606, the Accademia di San Luca followed when it obtained from Pope Paul V the privilege to each year liberate from prison one man condemned to death.⁶⁰⁶ Furthermore, the statutes of 1607 ordered that the visitors (*i visitatori*) of

⁶⁰² See section 8.5.

⁶⁰³ See for Muziano's testament Como 1930, app. 8 no. 4 and for that of Zuccari AASL int. 11, and see for a discussion of their plans to create lodgings for young artists Lukehart 2009b, 168 and 178-179.

⁶⁰⁴ The fourth section of the incorporating statutes specifies that the academy should consist of the most excellent artists *tanto Fiorentini, quanto forestieri d'ogni Nazione* (Adorno/Zangheri 1998, 7-8). Sections One and Three contain similar phrases.

⁶⁰⁵ See section 5.3.

⁶⁰⁶ Pietrangeli 1974, 14.

the academy should make sure, not only that academicians who were ill received the proper treatment from a doctor, but they also had to visit incarcerated academicians and plea for their release with the judges.⁶⁰⁷

Like the Accademia del Disegno, the Roman academy celebrated masses and offices for deceased artists. For instance, on October 23, 1594 a monk from the convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli was paid for saying several masses on the day of the feast of Saint Luke, including masses for the dead.⁶⁰⁸ However, this seems to have occurred less frequently in Rome. Receipts and entries in the account books occasionally mention that masses were celebrated for the souls of deceased members. For instance, in the 1590s, masses were regularly said for the soul of Geronimo Muziano, who on his death in 1592 had left a substantial sum of money to the academy.⁶⁰⁹ And an undated receipt from the 1620s states that masses were said for Pietro Paolo Rossetti and four others.⁶¹⁰

Finally, as in Florence, the feast day of Saint Luke on October 18 was the central moment of the year for the Accademia di San Luca. In Rome, it was ordered that the new *principe*, who was elected on the first Sunday of October, should make his entrance and elect his officers on the Sunday after the feast of Saint Luke.⁶¹¹ Not only did the day of Saint Luke mark the beginning of the academic year, but the members also participated in the preparations and celebrations.⁶¹² *Festaiuoli* made *festoni* and *apparati* to adorn the church of Santi Luca e Martina on the day of the feast.⁶¹³ Moreover, other artifacts such as paintings and silk curtains were borrowed from other churches, members of the academy, and even from the palaces of cardinals, in order to adorn the church for

⁶⁰⁷ AASL, Statuti 1607, 32v.

⁶⁰⁸ AASL 42, 85v.

⁶⁰⁹ AASL 42, 85v, 86r, 87r, and 87v: '...schudi uno et b[aiocchi] ottanta che sono per l'animo di m[esser] Geronimo Muziano.' In the testament of Federico Zuccari it was ordered that masses should be held each year to pray for his soul. AASL int. 11, 5r. See also AASL int. 13 Visitata Apostolica 1728, which contains a list of names of people for whose souls masses are to be said annually. For example, Muziano, Alessandro Algardi and Girolamo Rainaldi.

⁶¹⁰ AASL G1, 406. See also AASL G1, 363, which is a list of expenses, dated September 18th, 1620. One of the expenses is for the soul of Agabito Visconti.

⁶¹¹ Alberti 1604/1961, 10.

⁶¹² This is in contrast with the beginning of the financial year, which, according to the book of the treasurer, started on February 1.

⁶¹³ See, for example, AASL 42, 83r, which record the acquisition of paper to be used for the cartoons of the feast of Saint Luke in 1594. In 1597, Lorenzo *festarolo* was paid one *scudo* for having made the festoons for the academy and in 1603 and 1604 Mauro *festarolo* received similar amounts for the same reason. Ibidem, 96r, 105v and 107r.

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the festivities.⁶¹⁴ However, it seems to have been less an artistic-educational event than in Florence, because the documents of the Accademia di San Luca do not mention the production of elaborate decorative programs consisting of the works of young artists.⁶¹⁵ The account books also show that, at least occasionally, musicians were hired and a procession of the Holy Sacrament was organized on this day.⁶¹⁶

In 1592, Pope Clement VIII granted plenary indulgences to those who visited Santi Martina e Luca during the feasts of the Assumption and of Saint Luke.⁶¹⁷ This means that during these feasts the academy's church was open to the general public. In 1604, the academy paid for the printing of one hundred indulgences, which were to be sold to visitors during the feast of Saint Luke. The statutes of 1607 give an additional reason for opening up of the church to the general public on the day of San Luca, namely in order to show how well-ordered it was and to inspire artists to join the academy as aggregate members.⁶¹⁸

5.9. Conclusion

In general, the religious activities of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca corresponded to those of other sixteenth-century lay confraternities. For instance, handing out charity was one of the main tasks of Italian confraternities in the early modern period. This also holds for the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. The account books show that both institutions regularly collected money for alms during their meetings and, subsequently, distributed it to poor, ill, or disabled members. However, compared to other confraternities these donations were less frequent and less variable. For instance, the academies did not provide dowries for the daughters of disadvantaged members.

Furthermore, by celebrating the feasts of their patron saint and of the Trinity (in Florence) the academies participated in contemporary religious-confraternal practices. In doing so the academicians in both cities also adhered to the tenets of and the counter-reformatory Church. The celebration of the feast of their patron combined the promotion of the

⁶¹⁴ For instance, in 1595 silk drapes were brought into the church from the palace of Cardinal Colonna. AASL 42, 90r. See for other artifacts, *ibidem*, 85v, 88r, 89v, and 95v.

⁶¹⁵ In 1581, the company decorated the church of Santa Maria Maggiore on the day of San Luca. This was during the consulate of Zuccari. See AASL 41, 90r: 'A dui homini intervenuti la matina della festa a scopare et atacare panni et il cartone della Porta della Virtù per ornato di essa festa – 22 [: 22 baiocchi].'

⁶¹⁶ AASL, 42, 90v, 107r, and 110v-111r.

⁶¹⁷ See Salvagni 2008, 45 and 2009, 102.

⁶¹⁸ AASL, Statuti 1607, 19v.

cult of saints with the veneration of sacred images, because Saint Luke was worshipped for having produced portraits of the Virgin, who had miraculously appeared before him.

In addition, the sacrament of the Eucharist, which also was an important issue for the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent, played a role in both academies. In the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata the Eucharist was connected to Allori's altarpiece representing the *Holy Trinity*, in which the enlarged body of Christ was almost literally and physically presented to the artists during academic meetings and confraternal services. In Rome, the first president of the academy, Zuccari, ordered that all members should receive the sacrament of the Eucharist each month in their church.

Furthermore, it has become clear how the religious-confraternal practices of the academies overlapped or conflicted with some of their secular activities. The Accademia del Disegno used the feast of Saint Luke to employ some of its artistic-educational activities by having young artists contribute ephemeral works of art. In this case, the intersection of different practices seems to have occurred harmoniously. In general, it can be said that the overlap between religious and secular practices in the Florentine academy was peaceful. The only exceptions were the encounters with the monks from Santa Maria degli Angeli and Cestello, discussed in the previous chapter. The academy's relation to the friars of Santissima Annunziata seemed to have been more harmonious, which is suggested by the fact that the Servites allowed the academicians to use their chapel to discuss secular matters until 1579.

In the Accademia di San Luca, the overlap of religious-confraternal and secular practices is even more clearly visible. It is also more incongruous. In the papal bulls, the new institution was conceived as the locus of overlapping practices, i.e. artistic and religious education. Hitherto these practices had been separated. Whereas art education had been carried out by masters in their workshops, religious instruction was provided by parish priests or, since the second half of the Cinquecento, increasingly by other organizations, such as Christian Doctrine confraternities. Indeed, term *dottrina Cristiana* in both papal documents probably refers to this confraternity.⁶¹⁹ Apparently, the papacy envisioned the art academy to fulfill the same function as the Compagnia della Dottrina Cristiana. However, the fact that there is no evidence that the academy actually taught the specific articles of faith to the young art students, suggests that the Church and the artists had different views concerning the function of the new institution.

⁶¹⁹ Missirini 1823, 20 and 24.

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Indeed, in the archival and published sources there is evidence that the academy contested papal authority. For instance, this is suggested by the distinction between the papal documents and the description of the artists' meeting of March 7, 1593 about the organizational structure of the new institution. Whereas the artists envisioned a hierarchically ordered organization, in which the academy was placed above the confraternity, the popes foresaw no such distinction in authority between the two branches of the institution. This difference in the understandings of the structure of the organization is related to alternative views concerning the functions of the institution. Whereas, the papal documents emphasized the religious functions of *both* branches, by stating that the academy was to teach Christian Doctrine to its members and by conferring the care for the divine cult and the maintenance of the church to the confraternity, the academicians highlighted artistic education in the academy, which they thereby separated from the activities of the confraternity.

Finally, these conflicting perspectives on the Accademia di San Luca entertained by the Church and the artists are also apparent by the different emphases placed by Paleotti and Alberti in their treatises on painting. Although both authors agree that painting – and by extension, visual art in general – could be a useful instrument in bringing believers, and especially the illiterate populace, closer to God, in their texts they approached painting from the perspective of different social practices. Paleotti clearly underwrites the objective of sixteenth-century Catholic, and more specifically, counter-reformatory practices through his extensive warnings for the errors and abuses of painters and painting. By focusing more on the cognitive aspects of painting and the intellectual skills of the painter, Alberti voices a dissenting view and adheres first and foremost to the goals of contemporary artistic and theoretical practices.