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

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Preface

While studying Philosophy and Art History at the University of Amsterdam and later during my time as an instructor at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies (2001-2009), I increasingly appreciated the added value of taking an interdisciplinary approach in scholarly research. I found that studying the same objects and phenomena from different perspectives, in my case a systematic-philosophical and a historico-empirical point of view, greatly extended my understanding of these objects and phenomena. For this reason I adopted interdisciplinary approaches for my research MA theses for Philosophy and Art Sciences.

In the former, which is titled *The Practice Turn in Art History* (2006), I analyzed the philosophical presuppositions of two central debates in Dutch art historiography, i.e. the iconological debate and the debate on the Rembrandt Research Project, with the help of a practice-theoretical approach, i.e. Theodore Schatzki's social ontology. My aim in this study was to introduce a 'practice turn' in art history by showing the relevance of practice-theoretical ideas – concerning the pluriform and dynamic nature of culture, the instability of the meaning of objects and the identity of individuals, and the social constitution of subjectivity – for clarifying the philosophical problems internal to these art historical debates.

In my second research MA thesis, *Guido Reni's 'Abduction of Helen'* (2009), I used the practice-theoretical concepts, discussed in my previous thesis, to analyze the meanings of a concrete work of art, i.e. Guido Reni's *Abduction of Helen* (1627-1629). Rejecting existing interpretations of this painting, which reduced its meaning to a single and essentialist function in seventeenth-century diplomatic relations, I argued that, immediately after its production, it simultaneously functioned in various social practices – i.e. diplomatic, painting, literary, and collection practices – and that its meaning varied accordingly.

The Academization of Art forms a next step in the interdisciplinary strategy I have been developing, insofar as it expands both the philosophical and the art (or culture) historical sides of my approach. From the philosophical point of view, this dissertation improves the interpretative framework that was based on Schatzki's work by confronting it with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, and especially his attention for power in social relations. Concerning the culture historical side, the empirical object that is analyzed with the help of the practice-theoretical interpretative framework is more complex than in my MA theses, as it deals with two composite institutions and with the larger

phenomenon of the academization of art in Italy, rather than with just a single work of art or a single artist.

Parts of this dissertation are based on papers that have been presented in conferences or published elsewhere. The general discussion about theories of practice in Chapter Two is based on a paper delivered at the philosophical symposium Drift in 2013 in Amsterdam and was subsequently published (Jonker 2014). Part of the comparison between Schatzki and Bourdieu was presented in papers at the conferences of the Dutch Research School of Philosophy in 2013 and 2014. An earlier version of the explanation of Schatzki's theory can be found in Jonker 2008. The argument about functions of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata in Florence, which is presented mainly in Chapter Four, but partly also in Chapters Five and Six, was delivered at the conference Presence and Visibility of Artists, Guilds, and Brotherhoods in the Pre-modern Era in Munich in 2016, and is in the process of being published (Jonker 2017). The discussion about the religious practices in the Accademia di San Luca in Chapter Five is based on a paper that was read at the Renaissance Society of America Conference in 2014 in New York. Part of the argument in Chapter Ten about the patronage practices that were performed by and in the art academies is based on a paper presented at the Renaissance Society of America Conference in 2015 in Berlin. Finally, the comparison of conceptions and practices of *disegno* of the Accademia di San Luca under Federico Zuccari's presidency and the Accademia dei Lincei of Federico Cesi in Chapter Nine was previously presented in papers at the 2013 annual section meeting of Italian Art Studies of the Dutch Postgraduate School for Art History (OSK), at the Early Modern Rome Conference in Rome in 2013, and at the Scientiae conference in 2015 in Toronto. I sincerely thank participants on these occasions for their constructive comments and questions.

More particularly, I would like to thank certain individuals and institutions without whom this dissertation would not have been written, or at least not in this form. First and foremost I am grateful to my three promotors, Bram Kempers, Martin Stokhof, and Arno Witte, who all three had previously been involved in the supervision of my master theses. I thank Bram for his support and his enthusiasm for this project from its inception until the end, as well as for his guidance and suggestions along the way. I am also very grateful to Arno and Martin for their criticism, which was always acute and constructive and which has immensely improved this book. In addition, I thank Arno for guiding me in my first steps in the intimidating world of the Italian archive and for taking the time to discuss my work in Florence, Rome, and Arezzo.

This dissertation would not have been realized without the support of the Royal Dutch Institute in Rome (KNIR), which awarded me the Hugenholz-stipendium in 2011 and afterwards functioned as an institutional partner of this research project by generously letting me stay in the institute for longer periods in 2013 and 2014. I am very grateful for this assistance. I also would like to thank the Dutch University Institute for Art History in Florence (NIKI) for supporting me with a GWO grant in 2014. Many thanks are due to the staff of both institutes for their help and for making these stays pleasant experiences, and especially to Marieke van den Doel, Thijs Weststeijn, Arthur Weststeijn, Jeremia Pelgrom, Gert Jan van der Sman, and Tjarda Vermeijden.

Most of the archival research for this project was carried out in the State Archive in Florence and the Archive of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. I am very grateful to the staff of both archives for their assistance, and especially to Angela Cipriani and Elisa Camboni.

Earlier versions of the some of the chapters of the manuscript have been read and commented on by Ellinoor Bergvelt, Elisa Goudriaan, Ruth Sonderegger, and Henk van Veen. I am very grateful for their many useful suggestions. I have also benefitted greatly from fruitful discussions with Bert Meijer, Laura Overpelt, Sanne Roefs, Stefania Ventra, Nicholas Turner, Rhoda Eitel-Porter, Vera Henkelmann, and Tamara van Kessel. I am grateful to Francesco Chiaravalloti for correcting some of my translations from the Italian and to Tom de Munck for helping me with the lay-out. Finally, I would like to thank my sister Sara, my mother Ellinoor and Maria for their unconditional support. It is unfortunate that my father, who was still with us when I started this research, is not able to see the finished product. His unconditional faith in me is what gave me the confidence to embark upon and finish something as daunting as a PhD project. I dedicate the dissertation to Maria.

For Maria

Introduction

Throughout their history academies of art have had an ambivalent reputation. On the one hand, they have been praised for their contributions to the elevation of the status of the visual arts, insofar as they underlined the theoretical foundations of the arts and the intellectual abilities of artists. The emphasis on theory was instrumental for transforming the image of these activities from mechanical crafts to fine arts (*belle arti*). Academies of art have also been credited for helping talented students to develop their artistic identity and to become creative and innovative artists by providing an education that is based on excellent craftsmanship, theoretical reflection, and tradition. On the other hand, in the wake of nineteenth- and twentieth-century avant-garde movements, art academies have been criticized precisely because they were thought to hamper artistic development and innovation. By teaching fixed rules and focusing on the paradigmatic examples of canonical artists they have been said to go against the creative nature of the artist and to lead to a uniform style that is pejoratively called 'academic art'. Adding to this negative view of academies of art are their financial and bureaucratic ties to the state, which supposedly lead to political and artistic conservatism and ensure that the works of academic artists reflects the ideology of the ruling class.

The above-mentioned characteristics were, to some extent, already present in the Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, which were founded in 1563 and 1593, respectively. Since Nikolaus Pevsner's seminal study on the phenomenon of the art academy, *Academies of Art: Past and Present*, first published in 1940, the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca have been commonly seen as the first official academies of art in Europe, functioning as models and sources of inspiration for all subsequent art schools.[1] In the scholarly literature published after Pevsner's book, especially two aspects of these academies are emphasized, the innovative approach to art education with the resulting rise in social standing and the institutions' representative or cultural-political function.

With regard to the first aspect, the foundation of the art academies at the end of the sixteenth century in Italy entailed that, for the first time in history, painters, sculptors, and architects received a theoretical education in addition to a practical training in an institutional

[1] Pevsner 1940/1973.

setting. This qualifies the term 'art' that is used in this context. The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were the first *art* academies insofar as they were founded specifically for practitioners of the three professional activities that would later become known as the 'visual' or 'fine' arts.[2] The idea that painting, sculpture, and architecture belong together was by no means evident at that time; their alliance was argued for in theoretical treatises that originated in the context of the art academies. In such texts, the common ground of these activities was found in the notion of *disegno*, which could stand both for a physical drawing or sketch and for a design in the artist's mind. Although in reality the union of the three visual arts was not as strong as articulated in the theoretical treatises – especially the role of architects in both institutions was meager – the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca constituted the institutionalization and legitimation of this idea of the unity of painting, sculpture, and architecture. As such, these institutions also stood at the basis of later, especially eighteenth-century, developments in art theory concerning the ideas of artistic progress and aesthetic autonomy.[3]

Turning to the cultural-political function, the second aspect that is emphasized in the scholarly literature, the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca constituted the first *official* academies of art insofar as they were sanctioned and supported by the political rulers, i.e. the Medici grand dukes in Florence and the popes in Rome. This official and public recognition was lacking in earlier artistic academies, such as those of Leonardo da Vinci in Milan and Baccio Bandinelli in Rome and Florence.[4] The Accademia del Disegno became an official institution of the Florentine state when its incorporating statutes were approved by Cosimo I de' Medici, who had been the second duke of Florence since 1537 and who would become the first grand duke of Tuscany in 1569. Popes Gregory XIII and Sixtus V sanctioned the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca in two bulls in 1577 and 1588, respectively. The Roman academy started to function under Clement VIII in the early 1590s. Because of the formal ties to the Medici family and the papacy, the art academies have been interpreted as state institutions, which served

[2] Unless explicitly indicated otherwise, in this dissertation the terms 'art' and 'artist' refer to the three visual arts and their practitioners. The critical discussions of the theorization of the arts of *disegno* in this dissertation are intended to balance and justify the anachronistic use of the term 'art'.

[3] See for these later developments, for instance, Doorman 2003 and Heumakers 2015.

[4] Besides some engravings attesting to the existence of these academies, very little is known of them. Leonardo's academy probably consisted of informal gatherings of professional and amateur scholars at the court of Milan around 1500. Bandinelli's academies probably refer to discussions among artists in his studio in Rome in the 1530s and in Florence around 1550.

the interest of the political rulers by helping them to develop and express an official ideology and a national or religious cultural identity.[5]

Before the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca, artists had occasionally belonged to earlier academies, such as the Accademia dei Rozzi in Siena (1531) and the Accademia degli Umidi in Florence (1540). Members of the latter type of organization studied and practiced literature, poetry, opera, theatre, visual art, and natural philosophy and natural history. Because of their broad interests, these latter organizations are referred to in this dissertation with the – admittedly anachronistic – name 'cultural academies'.[6] The foundations of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were part of the wider academic movement in Italy in the sixteenth century and they shared certain features with cultural academies. However, these institutions differed from each other in one important respect. Whereas the activities of the cultural academies were deployed as leisure for their members, the art academies were professional organizations that took over the functions previously carried out by the guilds, such as adjudicating in professional disputes and carrying out appraisals for works of art produced in the city. Therefore, in addition to constituting an institutionalization and theorization of art education and to serving the cultural-political interests of the rulers, the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca also entailed a professionalization of the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture.[7]

Although not completely ignored, this guild function of the art academies is generally obfuscated in the literature. The same holds for yet another function that the art academies assumed, namely that of a religious lay confraternity. The tasks performed by the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in this capacity included the organization and celebration of religious feasts – especially that of their patron, Saint Luke the Evangelist – and handing out charity to unfortunate members.

The manifold of purposes that was carried out by the art academies has been perceived both as the cause for the academies' limited effectiveness and as an obstacle to a clear and comprehensive understanding of their activities.[8] On the one hand, it is argued that in

[5] See for instance Rossi 1980 and 1984, Kempers 1992, Beltramme 1990, Salvagni 2008 and 2009, Barzman 2000, and Van Veen 2006.

[6] See for a similar use of the term 'cultural academy' Goudriaan 2015.

[7] See for the professionalization of the arts, especially painting, and the role of the Accademia del Disegno in this process Kempers 1992.

[8] According to Dempsey (1980, 553), already in the sixteenth century people were confused about the nature of the Accademia del Disegno. The reason for this was that it combined some of the traditional functions of confraternity and guild with the new one of an academy. See also Hughes 1986a. Rossi (1980, 161-162) points to a fundamental

their early years the academies' different branches – art school, guild, and confraternity – struggled for authority and that these conflicts hampered their development and efficacy.[9] On the other hand, historians lament that the functions are not always clearly distinguished in contemporary documents.[10] Thus, it remains unclear how the education of young artists, the professional and juridical protection of professional practitioners, and the confraternal activities should be understood in relation to each other. In addition, it is still to be determined how the activities of the Italian art academies were related to similar ones in other institutions, such as cultural academies, as well as in Florentine and Roman society at large.

This dissertation aims to elucidate these issues by conceiving the academies as crossing points of *social practices* that already existed in Florentine and Roman culture and that underwent transformations at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Is it possible to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca by conceiving their different functions and activities as social practices that came together, and sometimes conflicted with each other, within their walls? The main difference with existing studies about the early Italian art academies is precisely this emphasis on social practices. Placing social practices at the center of the interpretation – rather than, for instance, the

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contradiction in the very idea of an art academy, namely between its bureaucratic, administrative function and its role in the elaboration of the autonomous cultural ideals of the academicians. According to him, the Florentine academy did not succeed and became an artist's guild in part because of this internal contradiction. Rossi adds that the death of the two protagonists, i.e. Vasari and Cosimo I (both in 1574), was also important in this respect. Goldstein (1996, 25) argues that the Accademia del Disegno was an academy in name only, because just a handful of the incorporating statutes deal with the organization of teaching, and the rest with governance and confraternal activities. See, for a critical discussion of the views of the last two authors, the following chapters.

[9] See, for example, Pevsner (1940/1973, 50) about the contradiction between conceptions of academy and guild in the Accademia del Disegno and see Rossi (1984, 385), Roccasecca (2009, 138), and Cohen (2009) about the strife between the different branches of the Accademia di San Luca. The tripartite division of both institutions was expressed by their official names. The Florentine academy was called '*Università, Compagnia ed Accademia del Disegno*', referring to its functions as guild, religious confraternity, and art school, respectively. The same and similar terms – such as *arte* and *corporazione* for guild, *compagnia* and *societas* for confraternity, and *collegio* for academy – were also used to describe the Roman institution in official (and unofficial) documents. See, for example, ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. III, vol. 27, fol. 385r: '…Venerabilis societatis Sancti Lucae de Urbe Universitatis Pic[t][l]or[um]…' and ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1596, pt. II, vol. 38, fol. 96r: '…nel'academia de li pitori…'. *Universitas* was the medieval Latin word for a corporation or self-governing body of practitioners of the same trade or craft. See Grossi/Trani 2009, 24. Unless indicated otherwise, the translations in this dissertation are are from the author.

[10] See, for instance, Hughes 1986a, 4 and 9.

individuals involved, the institutions, or the whole culture or period in which they originated – entails the application of insights developed in 'theories of practice' to a cultural-historical research object. Therefore, this study can be seen as part of the so-called 'practice turn in contemporary theory' that has been underway in various scholarly and social science disciplines since the 1970s.[11]

The application of theories of practice entails adopting certain conceptions of culture, subjectivity and the meaning of objects and artifacts that together constitute a social ontological interpretative framework. From a practice-theoretical point of view, culture is conceived of as comprised of a plurality of smaller units – i.e. social practices – that have their own goals and logic, which can overlap but also conflict with each other. Moreover, culture is seen as fundamentally dynamic and in flux. The term 'academization' in the title of this dissertation underlines this processual aspect of culture and institutions.[12] Concerning subjectivity, individual agency and identity are related to the social practices, in which someone has been trained and in which she or he is currently participating. A similar view is adopted with regard to objectivity: the meaning of objects and artifacts depends on their role or function in a social practice.

Most importantly, the use of a practice approach to the early history of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca implies de-essentializing the art academy. By focusing mainly on the educational and cultural-political functions of the art academies, at the expense of the religious and guild activities, and by implicitly taking current art academies as models, previous scholars have employed reductionist and essentialist strategies in trying to understand the art academies. One of the central methodological imperatives of this study is to refrain from such totalizing interpretations and from ascribing fixed essences to the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. This means that, although this dissertation is about the first official art academies in their early years, it does not conceive these institutions as the source or origin of their successors in a metaphysical sense, i.e. as containing the essence and *telos* of the 'art academy'. Instead, the goal of this study is to offer a more comprehensive account of the activities performed during the first decades of their existence, which can function

[11] This is a reference to the title of a volume of essays on different aspects of theories of practice. See Schatzki/Knorr Cetina/ Savigny 2001.

[12] As such, it is comparable to Norbert Elias's conceptualization of 'civilization' as a process and to Anthony Giddens's notion of 'structuration', which is meant to convey the idea that social structures are not fixed but that they are always in flux. See Elias 1939/1969 and Giddens 1984.

as objects of comparison for later developments in academies of art, as well as for other cultural phenomena.

By applying the insights and concepts of theories of practice to a new type of research object and a new historical period – i.e. the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries in Italy – an attempt is made to further develop theories of practice. This is the second objective of this study, in addition to improving the understanding of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the early years of their existence.

The practice-theoretical interpretative framework that is adopted in this study is explicated and related to previous interpretations of the art academies in Chapters One to Three. The aim of these chapters is to provide a historiographical overview of the literature on the art academies and to give an initial justification of the application of a practice approach to the academization of art. Chapter one focuses on three methodological innovations in the literature that have been carried out since Pevsner's *Academies of Art* and it explains how the application of practice theory can be seen as a next step in this development. A more critical stance toward the past interpretations of the art academies is put forward in Chapter Two. Here, the general and common features of theories of practice, such as a pluralistic notion of culture and the deconstruction of the relationship between theory and practice, are contrasted with previous studies of the academies, especially with their essentialist and reductionist tendencies. Chapter Three presents in more detail the interpretative framework that is used in this dissertation by going into some of the major differences that exist between theories of practice. The main protagonists of this chapter are Pierre Bourdieu and Theodore Schatzki – and to a lesser extent Michel de Certeau and Michel Foucault. In this chapter, their conceptions of social space, the organization of practices, power and the process of modernization are compared to each other, and this comparison functions as the basis for the interpretative framework employed in this dissertation.

In order to achieve the first objective of this study, the social practices that were carried out within the walls of the art academies are reconstructed. This reconstruction is performed with the help of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century published and archival sources, such as artists' biographies, art theoretical treatises, the academies' statutes, minutes of meetings, and account books.[13] Most of the archival and

[13] The main body of the archival documents is housed in the Florentine State Archive (ASF), the National Library in Florence (BNCF), the Historical Archive of the Accademia di San Luca (AASL), and the Roman State Archive (ASR).

published sources that are analyzed in this dissertation have already been studied by other scholars. This means that the main contribution of this study does not consist in the discovery and analysis of new documents – although some new documents have been unearthed and others have been analyzed for the first time in relation to the Italian art academies. Rather, the main contribution of this study consists in a fresh reading of the known sources with the help of the questions and concepts of theories of practice. Instead of approaching the archive with preconceived notions of the academies and looking specifically for certain artists or for particular aspects of these institutions, which has been the strategy of past interpreters, this study takes a more open stance towards the archival material, by using it as the starting point and source for the selection and reconstruction of the practices that were carried out in the academies.

This approach has led to the identification and selection of religious-confraternal, guild, educational, patronage, and literary-theoretical practices as the relevant social practices performed by the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in their early years. The reconstruction and analysis of these practices is carried out in Chapters Four to Ten. Compared to previous studies, more attention is given to the religious and guild functions of these institutions. The analysis of these practices constitutes more than a simple addition to the repertoire of activities that have already been studied in the past, because it also shows how these practices were related to each other in the art academies. Therefore, it provides a different and more extensive understanding of these institutions. The practice-theoretical framework also proffers new interpretations of the academies' activities that have been traditionally studied. The focus on the relationship of theory and practice in the academies allows for a different understanding of the educational practices that were carried out in the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca, for instance by comparing these practices with those of cultural academies. For the analysis of the functions of the art academies in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patronage practices the practice-theoretical interpretative framework is augmented by concepts from literature on patronage studies. In particular, the notion of *cultural broker* makes it possible to analyze the fluidity of patronage relationships and the change of functions of the academies.[14]

In addition, this dissertation presents for the first time an elaborate and sustained comparison of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. This is possible because of the use of

[14] Since the 1980s, there has been growing attention for art and cultural patronage in patronage studies. See, for example, Kent/Simons/Eade 1987, Kempers 1992, Biagioli 1990 and 1993, Roeck 1999, Van Veen 2006, De Beer 2013, and Goudriaan 2015.

practice-theoretical concepts, which allow for a detailed analysis of the above-mentioned practices. Such an approach has repercussions for the geographical and temporal boundaries of this study. Given the level of detail required and desired for the reconstruction of the social practices that were carried out on their premises, only the Florentine and the Roman art academies are compared with each other. It has been unfeasible to include other sixteenth- or seventeenth-century art academies in the analysis, such as the Accademia del Disegno of Perugia (founded in 1573), the Accademia degli Incamminati of the Carracci family in Bologna (founded around 1582), or the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris (founded in 1648).[15]

With regard to the temporal demarcation, the first forty years of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca are analyzed. This means that about two generations of artists who frequented these academies are covered in this study. Such a time-span provides a substantial basis not only for determining the organization of the practices that were employed in these institutions but also for comparing these practices with those of other academies and cultural phenomena in future research projects. The Conclusion provides a methodological reflection on the use of the practice-theoretical framework in this study. In addition, it also offers suggestions for future investigations. To name just one example, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century practices that are reconstructed in this dissertation can be used as objects of comparison for the current academization of art and the debate surrounding it, i.e. the development that art academies and universities together offer PhD programs in artistic research for practicing artists.[16] Not only is the complexity of the debate, which deals, among other things, with the ontological, methodological, and epistemological status of artistic research comparable to the discussions that were carried out by the artists and humanists in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, but this also holds for the ambivalent status of art academies today.

[15] Moreover, the Perugian and Bolognese academies suffer from a lack of sources, which would have made for an unbalanced comparison with the Florentine and Roman institutions. See for the Carracci academy Dempsey 1989.
[16] A comprehensive study concerning this topic is Borgdorff 2012.

Chapter One

From Pevsner to Practice

1.1. Pevsner and Vasari

The first critical historiographical study of the phenomenon of the art academy is Nikolaus Pevsner's *Academies of Art: Past and Present* from 1940.[17] Although many of its basic assumptions and conclusions are by now rejected, this book remains a starting point for all scholars interested in this topic. Pevsner (1902-1983) identifies the Florentine Accademia del Disegno and the Roman Accademia di San Luca as the first official art academies. According to him, the artist and biographer of artists' lives Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) was almost single-handedly responsible for the birth of the Florentine academy. Furthermore, Pevsner ascribes a similar role to Federico Zuccari in the Roman Accademia di San Luca. He holds that together Vasari and Zuccari were the founders of the academic tradition, insofar as they laid down the model for future art academies by emphasizing their representational and educational functions.[18]

According to Pevsner, the first description of the birth of the Florentine art academy can be found in Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori et architettori* (*The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters,*

[17] Pevsner 1940/1973. In 1973 appeared a reprint of the 1940 edition with a new preface. Older 'histories' or 'memories' of the first academies of art exist: Alberti 1604/1961, Missirini 1823, and Arnaud 1886 for the Roman academy; and for the Florentine institution Vasari's *Vite* from 1568 (1966-1987), Cavallucci 1873, Ticciati 1876 (written in the 1730s). However, these publications lack the standards of modern objective historiography. In addition to some archival sources, Pevsner used Vasari's, Cavallucci's, and Ticciati's accounts, as well as Olschki 1919-1927 and Maylender 1926-30 as sources for his interpretation of the Accademia del Disegno. Olschki placed the Accademia del Disegno in the context of vulgarization and popularization of science that took place in other sixteenth-century academies, such as the Accademia Fiorentina and the Accademia della Virtù in Rome. According to him, the art academy was the only organization in Florence in the Cinquecento where mathematics was taught on a regular basis. Olschki's exclusive focus on the teaching of mathematics, at the expense of the other practices that were carried out in the Accademia del Disegno, and his identification of the institution as a 'technische Hochschule' makes his interpretation incomplete and anachronistic. See Barzman 2000, 15 for similar criticism. Maylender's monumental five-volume work about the Italian academies is impressive in terms of scope, but it contains very little information on each individual academy.

[18] Pevsner 1940/1973, 42, 51-52 and 59-66.

Sculptors, and Architects), and more specifically, in the biography of the sculptor and Servite friar Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli (1507-1563).[19] Vasari's narrative about the Accademia del Disegno starts in 1562 with Montorsoli's donation of his burial chapel in the church of Santissima Annunziata to the painters, sculptors, and architects of Florence. Montorsoli had acquired the chapel two years earlier for 170 *scudi* when he entered the convent of Santissima Annunziata. Through his donation, Montorsoli wanted to reinvigorate the old religious lay confraternity of the Florentine artists. This confraternity, which was called the Compagnia di San Luca in reference to the painters' patron saint, the Evangelist Saint Luke, had existed since at least the fourteenth century, but around 1550 it seems to have ceased to carry out its assistential and religious activities.

The confraternity's re-establishment and the chapel's inauguration took place on May 24, 1562, the day of the Most Holy Trinity (Santissima Trinità) – which is celebrated on the first Sunday after Pentecost (thus either in May or June). Vasari writes that on that day forty-eight artists gathered in the chapel to celebrate mass. Afterwards, the artists went in solemn procession around the square in front of the church while carrying the remains of the painter Jacopo Carrucci, better known as Jacopo da Pontormo (1494-1557), who had been one of the most celebrated artists of his generation and a member of the Compagnia di San Luca since 1525. In 1557 Pontormo had been buried in the *Chiostro dei morti* (Cloister of the Dead) in Santissima Annunziata. On the day of the Santissima Trinità in 1562 and after the procession, the painter's bones were placed in the tomb in Montorsoli's chapel. Pontormo's second burial at once inaugurated Montorsoli's burial chapel and re-established the artists' confraternity. The reasons for choosing Pontormo were probably that he had been recently buried in the same convent, that he had been an active member of the old Compagnia di San Luca, and that he had been one of the leading artists in Florence – together with Bronzino and, of course, Michelangelo.[20]

According to Vasari, this event not only marked the reinstitution of the confraternity but it also set in motion a process that would lead to the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno the following year. Vasari's narrative continues with how he himself talked to Cosimo I about the idea of forming an art academy. The duke immediately supported the project

[19] Ibidem, 44-45. See for Montorsoli's biography Vasari 1966-1987, V, 490-509.

[20] Barzman 2000, 26-27 and 33-34. Barzman presents an unconvincing argument of how the inauguration of the chapel by means of the second burial of Pontormo was connected to the painter's role in Medici cultural politics. This is an instance of overinterpretation and it is connected to Barzman's general tendency to reduce the meaning of the activities of the Accademia del Disegno to the political realm. See below for a more elaborate assessment of Barzman's methodology.

and even helped to the artists to find a suitable location for the academy. In January 1563 Cosimo I approved of the incorporating statutes, which officialized the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno.[21] Moreover, the duke became the academy's 'head, guide, and protector' (*capo, guida e protettore*) and he appointed the Benedictine monk, historian, and philologist Vincenzo Borghini as *luogotenente*, or his placeholder in the institution.

Ever since Pevsner's *Academies of Art*, Vasari's narrative about the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno has been a fundamental source for scholars, who were interested not only in the history of the Accademia del Disegno, but in that of the phenomenon of the art academy in general. The subsequent sections explicate the different ways in which scholars in the past seventy-five years have followed Pevsner's footsteps in their interpretation of the early Italian art academies and what methodological and conceptual innovations have taken place.

1.2. The Pevsnerian tradition

After a period of relative silence, renewed scholarly interest for academies of art started in the 1970s.[22] Reynolds, Goldstein and Jack published studies around the time of the reprint of Pevsner's *Academies of Art* in 1973.[23] These authors remained within the 'Pevsnerian framework' and only elaborated on and filled out in more detail his initial analyses of the first Italian academies. Furthermore, some of the publications of the last two decades of the twentieth century by Rossi, Ważbiński, Boschloo, and Goldstein can be seen as (partly) standing in the Pevsnerian tradition.[24]

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[21] The statutes had been drafted by a committee of six artists with the help of Vincenzo Borghini, who was the Prior of the orphanage of Florence, the Spedale degli Innocenti, which was located at the same square as Santissima Annunziata. The artists in the committee were Montorsoli, Francesco da San Gallo, Agnolo Bronzino, Vasari, Michele di Ridolfo, and Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Sandro Foschi. Zangheri 2013, 87.

[22] An exception is 1963 when two exhibitions in the Uffizi were held to celebrate the fourth centennial of the Accademia del Disegno. However, the accompanying catalogues (Nocentini 1963 and Barocchi 1963) follow Vasari's story of the foundation of the Florentine academy and do not present new interpretations.

[23] Reynolds 1974/1985, Goldstein 1975b, Jack 1976. Writing in 1975, Goldstein (1975a, 102) states that '[o]ne of the most striking developments in the history of art during the last few years has been a preoccupation with academic art.' It would be interesting to investigate the reason for this sudden outburst of popularity of the subject. For example, if it was related to reorganizations of art education in Western countries.

[24] See Rossi 1980 and 1984, Ważbiński 1978 and 1987, Boschloo et. al. 1989, and Goldstein 1996. There are some distinctions in the details of these 'Pevsnerian' interpretations of the academies. For example, whereas most of the authors in this group

The main themes in this 'Pevsnerian' interpretative framework are the social elevation of artists and the revolution in artistic education. Pevsner describes the evolution of the art academy from its Florentine origins to academies in his own day and age as a struggle of artists for freedom from the fetters of the medieval guilds and for a higher social status. The foundation of the Florentine and Roman art academies are presented as a crucial moment in the social history of art, because it institutionalized the existing claims of artists to higher social status. To be more precise, these institutions formalized or legitimized the social distinction between artisan and artist that had been expressed in contemporary art theoretical and biographical treatises.

Regarding the educational aims Pevsner and his followers bring forward that, although the sixteenth century had already seen informal gatherings of artists that were called 'academies', the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were the first organizations in which painters, sculptors, and architects came together in an institutional setting to study the theory and practice of their arts and to teach it to young students.[25] The first statutes of these academies prescribe the creation of institutions where art students could learn the theoretical and

credit the idea of the academy to Vasari, Waźbiński attributes a more important role to the first lieutenant of the institution, Vincenzo Borghini. Moreover, while the importance of Michelangelo's art for the Florentine artists in the foundational period of the academy is generally recognized, Waźbiński (1987, I, 80) goes a step further by suggesting that the assimilation of the style of the great master was the cause of the foundation of the art institution. More recent publications by Zangheri (2013), Scorza (2015), and Van Veen (2015) also belong to the Pevsnerian tradition insofar as they identify Vasari and/or Borghini as the initiators of the Accademia del Disegno and try to reconstruct their intentions in founding the institution. Zangheri (2013, 88-89), for instance, calls Vasari the 'soul of the academy' during the first decade of its existence. As evidence for this claim, Zangheri correctly points out that the artist helped to procure for the institution several temporary headquarters through his good rapport with Cosimo I, and that he held many official functions in the academy. However, Zangheri fails to mention that in the same period other academicians, such as Zanobi Lastricati, Alessandro Allori, and Domenico Poggini held a similar number of offices in the academy. The acknowledgement of this fact will lead to a more balanced view of the early life of the academy.

[25] These informal groups of artists were Leonardo da Vinci's (1452-1519) 'academy in Milan' and the two 'academies' (one in Rome in the 1530s and one in Florence in the 1540s) of Bartolomeo 'Baccio' Bandinelli's (1493-1560). See Pevsner 1940/1973, 25-42, Goldstein 1996, 10, and Barzman 2000, 4-7. Furthermore, the gatherings in Lorenzo de' Medici's garden – where promising young painters and sculptors were supposed to have copied antique sculptures under the guidance of Bertoldo di Giovanni (d. 1491) – are also sometimes seen as part of the pre-history of the phenomenon of the art academy. This is due to Vasari (1966-1987, VI, 9-12), who in his 'Life of Michelangelo' describes this garden as a proto-academy.

scientific principles of their trades and were taught by different masters.[26] This was a revolutionary idea in history of the education of artists, because before young artists were trained exclusively by a single master in his workshop.[27] Furthermore, mathematics, anatomy, and art theory had already been studied and developed by previous generations of artists, but the implementation of these subjects in a common curriculum for art students was completely new. In this context the use of the concept of *disegno* – which by mid-sixteenth century could stand for both the creative image in the artist's mind ('design') and the preparatory sketch on paper ('drawing') – as the common ground of painting, sculpture, and architecture is also emphasized in the Pevsnerian literature.[28]

The extent to which the social and educational revolutions were actually realized in the Accademia el Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in their early years is disputed in the Pevsnerian tradition. Some authors, including Pevsner himself, argue that it was not until the end of the seventeenth century in France that the social position of (the majority of the) artists substantially changed. Furthermore, concerning the educational innovations, scholars have pointed out that archival sources only bear sparse traces of theoretical and scientific lectures delivered in the early years of the academies.[29]

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[26] The first statutes of the Accademia del Disegno were approved by Duke Cosimo I de' Medici on January, 12 1563. See BNCF Magl. II.I. 399, 1r-8r (modern pagination), and for transcriptions Ważbiński 1987, II, 423-436, Adorno/Zangheri 1998, 3-16, and Barzman 2000, 221-231. In 1607 the first statutes of the Accademia di San Luca were approved by Pope Paul V. However, during the first academic meeting on 14 November 1593 a set of *ordini* ('rules') were proposed by Zuccari – which had probably been prepared earlier by a commission of six deputies, including Zuccari – and approved by the members of the institution. These 'Statuti dello Zuccari' were never officially approved and probably functioned as internal rules that guided the organization in the first years of its existence. See Salvagni 2008, who emphasizes the informal and unofficial status of these rules. See, for a brief and general, but useful comparison of the statutes of both art academies, Prinz 1997/1998.

[27] Pevsner (1940/1973, 46-48) correctly notes, however, that the academic education was not meant to replace the practical training in the workshops, but that it was to be offered to art students for their artistic perfection.

[28] Authors point especially to Benedetto Varchi's *Due lezzioni*, Vasari's 'Proemio' to his *Vite* and Zuccari's *L'Idea dei pittori, scultori et architettori*. See sections 9.2, 9.3, and 9.7 for discussions of these treatises.

[29] Therefore, Pevsner (1940/1973, 55) even openly questions his own analysis of the evolution of the academies and asks himself whether the 'Accademia del Disegno should not be regarded as part of the pre-history of the problem here in question rather than as its first chapter'. Reynolds (1974/1985), Rossi (1980), Ważbiński (1987) and Goldstein (1996) agree with Pevsner that the Academia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were not able to reach their goals until late in the seventeenth century. Rossi (1980, 180), for example, states that the Accademia del Disegno was unsuccessful as a center of artistic propulsion and even less as a didactic institution. Jack (1976) and Barzman (1989b) believe the Florentine institution to have been more successful. According to

Goldstein is most skeptical about the educational achievements of the Italian art academies in their early years. He even argues that the founders of the academies did not aim for a pedagogical revolution, because they conceived the production of art and having learned discussions about it as two completely different things.[30] Although not all scholars are convinced of the efficacy of the Italian academies in their early years, their importance as models for future art schools and their contribution to the elevation of the status and image of the artist in society are generally acknowledged.

1.3. Three methodological innovations

Three methodological innovations are discernable in the historiography of the first Italian art academies from the 1980s onwards. In the first place, the focus has shifted away from the artists to the political rulers of the cities in which the academies were founded. In addition to being the first *formal* art academies – with statutes in which the rules and regulations were specified – the Academia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca also were the first *official* art academies, which means that these rules were approved by the political authorities, i.e. the Medici (grand) dukes in Florence and the popes and cardinals in Rome. Second, some of the more recent publications about the early art academies are infused with social theory. This has to do, no doubt, with the perceived role of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the elevation of the social status of the artists. Third, recent studies make more, and more systematic, use of the archival sources. Some authors adopt one of these methodological innovations; others implement two or even all three of them.

1.3.1. The cultural-politics tradition

The official character of the first art academies was only visible in the margin of Pevsner's interpretation. Although he does note the connections between Cosimo I's cultural politics and the birth of the Accademia del Disegno, these relations are described by Pevsner only in a general way and couched in terms of artistic style. For example, Pevsner connects Cosimo I's centralization of the bureaucracy to

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Dempsey (1980, 554), the Accademia del Disegno, especially the assumption of the function of guild in 1571, meant 'a substantial change in the status of artists and their powers of self-determination'.

[30] Goldstein 1996, 23-25.

Mannerism, which was the dominant artistic style at the time of the academy's foundation:

> The academy is the obvious equivalent in art to the shapes which political organizations took in absolutist states. Mannerism as a style is on the other hand the aesthetic corollary to both absolutism and academic organization. Its rigid schemes of configurations, its distrust of the freedom of human movement, its coldness, its belief in certain teachable dogmas and certain canons discovered by a few divine artists of the past, all this goes well with absolutism and calls for an academy.[31]

In this passage Pevsner uses Mannerism clearly not just as a stylistic or aesthetic concept, but also as a political and moral category. This generalization of the notion is questionable because it presupposes unlikely close conceptual analogies between artistic style and political constitution, i.e. 'schematic', 'dogmatic', 'cold', 'distrust of human movement'.[32] What is more, the use of these concepts to characterize Mannerism as an artistic style is questionable in itself, because of their negative and subjective overtones. In fact, this interpretation of Mannerism was already criticized in Pevsner's time and by now it is generally rejected.[33]

In the studies that were carried out since the 1980s, the cultural-politics theme has become more and more prominent. It plays an important role in the publications of Rossi, Dempsey, Hughes, Kempers, Beltramme, Salvagni, and Lukehart, whereas Barzman and Van Veen even make it the focal point of their analyses.[34] Although this theme is

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[31] Pevsner 1940/1973, 54-55.

[32] By contrast, Pevsner (1940/1973, 7 and 12) associates the 'Renaissance', both the historical period and the stylistic concept, with unity, freedom, and audacity.

[33] See, for example, Weisbach 1921 and Shearman 1967. Furthermore, Pevsner (1940/1973, vii, 17, and 66) holds that the birth of the art academy under Mannerism not only determined the future and essence of academy *qua* institution, but also that it also helps to explain the crisis and illness of art in his own age. See Chapter Two for a critical discussion of this essentialist and teleological motive in Pevsner's interpretation. It should be noted that Pevsner's coupling of Mannerism and totalitarianism becomes more significant when one takes into account that, as a Jew, he was forced to leave his position at the university of Göttingen in 1933, and that he subsequently moved to Great Britain. This means that Pevsner was one of the many Jewish scholars who had to flee Germany in the 1930s. Other important art historians who left Germany for Great Britain and the United States are Erwin Panofsky and Edgar Wind. It has been argued that art history became an academic discipline in the 1930s in Great Britain partly because of the presence of German art historians (and by the transference of the Warburg Library – by Wind – from Germany to England). See Lloyd-Jones 1983. See, for a more general account of the Jewish exodus from Germany in the 1930s, Fleming/Bailyn 1968.

[34] Rossi 1980, Dempsey 1980, Hughes 1986a and 1986b, Kempers 1992, Beltramme 1990, Salvagni 2009, Lukehart 2009b, Barzman 2000 and Van Veen 2006.

also present in the publications dealing with the Accademia di San Luca, it is emphasized more strongly in the studies about the Accademia del Disegno.[35]

In this younger interpretative tradition the birth of the art academies in Italy is conceived of as an important moment in the history of state formation in the early modern period. Scholars who adopt this narrative argue that the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were used as instruments in the cultural politics of the Medici family in Florence and the popes in Rome. These rulers are said to have supported art academies in order to gain more control over the visual arts (and artists) and to ward off the potential subversive powers of artistic images and, instead, to use them in the development and expression of state (and Church) ideology and a national (Tuscan or Roman) or religious (Christian, counter-reformatory) cultural identity.

For instance, Barzman expresses this view when she writes that '[a]cademies in general, and art academies in particular, [played] an important role in the consolidation and representation of power in early modern absolutist states'.[36] Salvagni stresses the same point in relation to the Accademia di San Luca. According to her, the pope approved of the foundation of the academy and subjected it to the authority of the Counter-Reformation Church because the institution 'was responsible for the period's chief form of mass communication' and therefore 'potentially the most dangerous of professional organizations (…).'[37] In this view, art academies are seen as instruments of the state and, consequently, the artists that belonged to them are seen as state artists, who have little agency or autonomous artistic identity.

Van Veen interprets the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno as part of Cosimo I's general cultural-political strategy, which included religious, linguistic, and artistic forms of patronage. Moreover, Van Veen decries a development in Cosimo I's strategies. When the duke's position was still weak, at the beginning of his reign in the 1540s and 1550s, Cosimo I cultivated the image of an absolute ruler. However, when his position was more secure, and especially after his victory over Siena in 1559, when his absolute rule over Tuscany was virtually uncontested, the duke preferred to be represented as first among equals or

[35] See, for interpretations of the Roman art academy as an instrument in the cultural politics of the counter-reformatory Church, Rossi 1984, Salvagni 2008, and especially Beltramme 1990. Cohen (2009, 330-331), on the other hand, suggests that the lack of direct political interference in the Accademia di San Luca is one of the main differences between it and the Accademia del Disegno. However, it must be noted that as source for this statement she refers to Barzman's strong cultural-political interpretation of the latter organization. See also Lukehart (2009a, 12) in the same volume.
[36] Barzman 2000, 1. Kempers (1992) propagates a similar idea, albeit more tentatively.
[37] Salvagni 2009, 96.

confraternity elder. Cosimo I's power was confirmed and secured for future generations of the Medici family in August 1569, when Pope Pius V awarded him the title of grand duke.[38] According to Van Veen, it is in the context of his increased power and the related development in his patronage strategies that Cosimo I's seemingly contradictory actions towards to the art academy, such as formally but not financially supporting its foundation, should be understood.[39]

The Pevsnerian and the cultural-politics interpretations disagree about the active agent or efficient cause of the foundation and the main functions or purposes of the art academy. Whereas the former highlights the agency of the artists and the elevation of their social status, as well as the educational purpose of the academies, the latter gives the initiative to the rulers and foreground the political function of the institutions. The scholars in the cultural-politics tradition argue that because of their dominated position in the patron-client relations of sixteenth-century Italy, the artists' room for initiative was very limited and they were wholly dependent on the interests and agency of the Medici grand dukes and popes for the foundation and functioning of the art academies.[40]

It should be noted that this innovation not only constitutes a change of perspective – i.e. from the artists' to the rulers' point of view – but it also entails methodological and philosophical criticism of the assumptions of artistic autonomy and the conceptions of subjectivity in the Pevsnerian framework. According to the authors in the cultural-politics tradition, these assumptions and conceptions are modernist and anachronistic. Barzman is most explicit in her criticism on this aspect of the Pevsnerian tradition. She holds that '[n]otions of the artists' self-determination or autonomous agency, which derive from post-Enlightenment discourses, pervade scholarship on the academy, as do liberal assumptions about social mobility attained through schooling and through affiliations with institutions of "higher" education'.[41]

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[38] Hall 1979, 5-9. By the early 1560s Cosimo I was determined to obtain the title of grand duke in order to further augment his power and secure it for his family. In order to achieve this goal, he needed papal approval. The duke seemed to have won over the papacy by renovating Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce in accordance to counter-reformatory guidelines. In his autobiography published in the second edition of the *Vite* in 1568, Vasari discussed renovation project of the Florentine churches. He likens Cosimo I to King Solomon from the Old Testament, because both had taken it upon themselves to reconstruct and renew existing religious buildings. The connection between King Solomon and Cosimo I was also made by Gherardo Spini in his treatise on architecture from 1568 that was dedicated to the duke. Spini 1568/1980. See for a discussion Ważbiński 1987, I, 146-152.

[39] Van Veen 2006, 160-184, esp. 175-176.

[40] Barzman 2000, 31-32.

[41] Ibidem, 32.

Notwithstanding these major differences, what the Pevsnerian tradition and the cultural-political interpretation have in common is that they see the birth of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca as an important moment in the transition of Western culture to Modernity. The idea here is that in the modern period artists enjoyed a relatively high social status for which they paid by a loss of creative freedom. This narrative typically continues with discussions and critiques of the generally depreciated 'academic art' of later centuries and of avant-garde movements such as French impressionism, which rebelled against it.[42]

1.3.2. Social theory

The second methodological development discernable in the literature after Pevsner concerns the infusion of social theoretical and social ontological conceptions in the interpretations of the academization of art. Since the 1980s, three studies have been based on the insights of social theorists. On the one hand, this can be seen as part of a more general development of the past four decades, in which studies in art and cultural history have been increasingly inspired by concepts and methods derived from the social sciences. On the background of this general development stands the rejection of the myth of the artist as genius and the conviction that artistic and cultural products have an intrinsic social dimension, which should be taken into account when interpreting them.[43]

On the other hand, the academization of art can be seen as a particularly suitable research object for applying social theory, because scholars deem the artists' social standing in society and their position in power relations crucial in understanding the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. Pevsner himself had already stated that with *Academies of Art* he intended to write part of a social history of art – namely the history of the education of artists – that could complement the formal or stylistic art history that dominated the

[42] In the Foreword to the reprint edition of his *Academies of Art*, Pevsner (1940/1973, VI-IX), for example, quotes several artists, such as Goya, Fuseli, Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, and William Morris, who criticized the art academy. It is interesting and telling that these quotes date from the period 1773 until 1890. Lukehart (2009a, 2) also emphasizes the negative stance against the academy by nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists: 'For several generations "the academy" has served as the foil to the avant-garde, an impediment rather than a spur to the arts.' See also Boime 1994, 203-204 and Goldstein 1975a.

[43] See, for instance, Burke 2008, 23-25, which describes the Marxist influences in cultural history of the 1960s and 1970s. The foundation of Cultural Studies (or Cultural Sciences) as a new field of research in this belongs to the same development.

discipline in his age.[44] However, in his interpretation of the academization of art Pevsner did not make use of concepts and questions from the social sciences and social theory. Instead, his concepts of subjectivity, social mobility, and culture seem to have been derived from common sense and ordinary experience. As mentioned, these notions have been criticized and rejected by other scholars for being modernist and anachronistic.

The first study that has made explicit use of social theory for the understanding of the academization of art is Sergio Rossi's *Dalle Botteghe alle accademie* from 1980. In this book, Rossi employs a Marxist framework for his interpretation of the foundation of the Italian art academies. On the one hand, Rossi describes the evolution of the social and economic position of artists and artisans in the context of the guild system in the city of Florence between 1400 and 1600. He gives an account of how in this period artisans came to stand in a subordinate position in relation to artists (painters, sculptors, and architects). On the other hand, Rossi describes the evolution of art theory in the same period in Tuscany, i.e. the treatises written by Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo, Benedetto Varchi, Michelangelo, Vincenzo Danti, and Vasari. According to Rossi, the central distinction in these treatises is that between *fatica di corpo* and *fatica di mente* (manual and intellectual work).[45]

Marxist terminology pervades Rossi's analysis. For, according to him, in sixteenth-century Florence the social-economic and the theoretical levels are related to each other as base (*struttura*) to superstructure (*sovrastruttura*). That is to say, Rossi argues that the theoretical writings of the artists were superstructural or ideological reflections on, and justifications of contemporary social and economic changes. Furthermore, according to Rossi, the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca – but this also holds for the later art academies – were created to subordinate the artisanal corporations.[46]

For the artisans the conditions deteriorated. Rossi describes this as the 'progressive proletarization' (*progressiva proletarizzazione*) and alienation of the artisan. Through the new division of labor in the workshops, the character of the work also changed. It became more abstract and the worker was ever less the owner of his product as before. Moreover, Rossi claims that to this economic and social expropriation of the medieval artist corresponded a growing intellectual expropriation.

[44] Pevsner (1940/1973, viii). According to him, in addition to the history of the education of artists, other parts of the social history of art that should be written, include the history of taste (which, in parenthesis, is a modernist term), of aesthetic theories, of exhibitions, of collections, and of art dealing.
[45] Rossi 1980, 15 *et passim*.
[46] Ibidem, 34.

The artisan-worker was also no longer the inventor of the products he made, but only executed products that were not thought up by him and that definitely not belonged to him, neither socially nor culturally.[47]

It should be noted that Rossi's analysis of the development of the socio-economic position of the artisan in premodern Italy is problematic. For, by arguing that the progressive proletarization of the artisan meant that he was no longer the inventor of his products, Rossi implies that before this development the artisan *was* the inventor. However, Rossi also admits that notions of 'artistic individuality' and 'creativity', which are closely connected to that of 'invention', only emerged in theoretical treatises in the period under discussion and in the context of the first academies of art.[48] Therefore, the extent to which artisans in previous ages can be conceived of as inventors of their produces is limited at best.

Rossi adheres to both sides of the methodological distinction discussed in the previous section, i.e. the perspective of the artists and that of the rulers. He belongs to the Pevsnerian tradition insofar as he makes social mobility the central issue in his interpretation of the academies. At the same time, Rossi belongs to the cultural-politics tradition because he holds that the interests of the artists and those of Duke Cosimo I coincided – which, according to him, explains why the Accademia del Disegno was founded when it was. In this context, Rossi points to a fundamental contradiction in the idea of academy, namely between its bureaucratic and administrative function on the one hand, and its role in the elaboration of the autonomous cultural ideals of the academicians, on the other.[49]

The second social theoretical interpretation of the academization of art is given by Bram Kempers in his *Painting, Power and Patronage* from 1987.[50] In this book, Kempers analyses the evolution of the profession of painting from 1250 until 1600 in Italy with the help of Norbert Elias' theory of *civilization* and the concept of *professionalization*.[51] This means that the academization of art and the foundation of the first art academies are not the main subjects of the

[47] Ibidem, 160.
[48] Ibidem, 22.
[49] Rossi 1980, 161-162. The coincidence of the interests of the artists and Cosimo I is also emphasized in Dempsey 1980, 555, Hughes 1986a, 6, and Kempers 1992, 275-298.
[50] For this dissertation is used Kempers 1992. This is the English translation of the original version that was published in Dutch under the title *Kunst, macht en mecenaat* in 1987.
[51] Within Italy Kempers focuses especially on Siena, Florence, Rome, and Urbino. See for a more recent interpretation of the academization of art with the help of the concept of the sociological concept of *professionalization*, Sciulli 2007. However, Sciulli focuses mainly on the French Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, rather than on the earlier Italian academies.

book, but these are placed in the larger process of professionalization of painting and painters. Kempers understands the emergence of the art academies as an expression of a professional ideal, partly based on antique literature.[52] Moreover, according to him, the term 'academy' was used as an indication of the theoretical study of art. The functions of academies consisted of maintaining a high level of craftsmanship, adducing historical examples and models to the practical training, and the dispersion of theoretical insights. In addition, Kempers holds that the emergence of the academies not only entailed the theorization of art but also the canonization certain great past masters and the institutionalization of the profession. This gave painters a more official recognition from the state than guilds did before.[53] Furthermore, he argues that the uplifting of social status of the artist was only possible because of external developments, such as the reorganization of state government, especially in Tuscany. Like Rossi, Kempers combines the Pevsnerian and the cultural-political tradition by discussing the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno both from the artists' and from the state's point of view.

The third and last interpretation of the early modern art academy that is based on social theoretical insights is Karen-Edis Barzman's *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State* from 2000. Barzman uses Michel Foucault's genealogical approach to describe how the Florentine academy evolved in its first 170 years, that is, until the end of Medici rule in Florence in 1737. The central theme in her book is the constitution of subjectivity through the mechanisms and techniques of power.[54] With the help of Foucault, Barzman comes to an alternative

[52] In this context Kempers refers to the *ut pictura poesis* analogy and the *paragone* debate.
[53] Kempers 1992, 286-293.
[54] In general, Barzman takes over from Foucault his genealogical method, which consists of the analysis of the effects of power on the production of knowledge and the constitution of subjectivity. More in particular, she is inspired by three of Foucault's publications. The first is his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1970 ('L'ordre du discours'), and she is specifically interested in the term 'fellowships of discourse' in this lecture. See Foucault 1981, 62-63. Second, this is Foucault's 'Two Lectures' from 1976, published in Foucault 1980. Finally, this is *Discipline and Punish* from 1975 (Foucault 1991a). To a lesser extent she makes use of Habermas' idea about the formation of a public space in the modern period. However, whereas both Foucault and Habermas let modernity begin in the eighteenth century in France, Germany or England, Barzman aims to show through her analysis of the Accademia del Disegno that this already started in the sixteenth (and seventeenth) century in Florence. This means that she borrows from Foucault (and Habermas) concepts, which were developed for understanding eighteenth-century culture and applies them to an earlier period. Whereas this is not forbidden in principle – it can even be fruitful and constructive if it enlarges the scope of a theoretical framework – it should, however, not be carried out without reflection, because it might lead to forms of anachronism. As argued below, this is precisely what happens when

interpretation of the foundation of the academy and the role of the artists in it: 'rather than reflecting subjective autonomy and self-determinating agency, the artists' participation in the founding of the academy may be seen as the disciplining effect of the subordination within relations of patronage on which they had come to depend.'[55] Thus, she holds that although superficially the initiative for the founding of the Accademia del Disegno, indeed, came from the artists, and Vasari in particular, on a more fundamental level, they were dependent, on and dominated by, the duke. Cosimo I was, therefore, the real active agent, even if he only waited for proposals to approve (or decline).

The concept of *disegno* played an instrumental role in this subjection. According to Barzman, it was through the 'discourse of *disegno*' – where 'discourse' is used in the Foucauldian sense that combines linguistic practices with power relations – that the different types of artists (painters, architects, and sculptors) were brought together in the same institution and that made them pledge their loyalty to the Medici family.[56] Barzman explains how the Medici's grip on the academy weakened in the course of the seventeenth century, as increasing numbers of amateurs and aristocrats joined the institution. Finally, she argues that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the academy had changed from an instrument of political control to a public forum where the modern subject, which had already started to emerge in the previous centuries, was completely developed, insofar as the academicians could freely discuss and negotiate the affairs of the state within its the walls.

In terms of the first methodological innovation Barzman clearly stands in the cultural-political tradition. Indeed, Barzman's publication contains the most explicit and ardent plea for such a cultural-political interpretation of the Florentine institute. In parenthesis, it should be noted that where Barzman emphasizes the power relations between the artists and the ruler only, Rossi also does this for the artisans in connection to the artists.

Barzman reduces the artistic, juridical, and religious functions of the institute to the cultural politics of the Medici family. See, for a similar point of criticism, Witte 2002.

[55] Barzman 2000, 16.

[56] Salvagni (2012, 145-146) adapts Barzman's interpretation of the Florentine academy to the Roman situation when she writes in her analysis of the Accademia di San Luca that the artists were placed under papal control and counter-reformatory dispositions through the 'discipline of disegno' (*disciplina del disegno*). See also Witcombe 2009.

1.3.3. The 'archival Turn'

The third and final methodological development discernable in the literature can be described as an 'archival turn'. Although all critical historiographical analyses of the first Italian art academies make use of, or at least refer to, archival documents pertaining to these institutions, before 2000 the Florentine and Roman archives were consulted unsystematically and only in order to confirm preconceived notions about the institutions.[57] Instead, previous scholars have tended to place more weight on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century published sources, in which the stories of the birth of the academies are told.[58] This is also the reason of the persistence of many preconceived notions. Interpretations especially relied heavily on Vasari's description of the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in his 'Life of Montorsoli', and on Romano Alberti's early history of the Accademia di San Luca, *Origine e progresso dell'accademia del disegno di Roma* published in 1604.[59] It is, no doubt, because Vasari and Zuccari take on such important roles in these publications that these men have been understood as the founding fathers of these organizations in a large part of the literature, and especially in the Pevsnerian tradition.[60] Although somewhat biased – Zuccari is unmistakably the hero of the book – Alberti's narrative is the

[57] See Barzman (2000, 215) for this criticism.

[58] Later publications used by twentieth-century scholars are Cavallucci 1873 and Ticciati 1876 for the Accademia del Disegno and Missirini 1823 for the Accademia di San Luca. However, lacking the standards of critical historiographical research and writing from within the walls of these institutions the authors of these nineteenth-century publications used only small parts of the archival documents for their narratives. Moreover, they are justly criticized for making errors in their interpretations.

[59] Vasari 1966-1987, V, 491-509 (with the part about the Accademia del Disegno on pages 506-509) and Alberti 1604/1961.

[60] Waźbiński (1987, I, 45-46) and Barzman (2000, 16) criticize Pevsner's interpretation of the Accademia del Disegno for almost exclusively using Vasari as source. However, they also claim that this was not entirely Pevsner's fault. Waźbiński holds that when Pevsner did his research in the 1930s a substantial part of the academy's archive had been lost. According to Waźbiński, it is very unfortunate that Cavallucci did not include an extensive discussion of archival documents in his study from 1873, because at that time a larger part of the sources was presumably present. On the other hand, according to Barzman, Pevsner's scant use of archival sources was due to the limited access to the archives in the 1930s. What is more, she also criticizes Waźbiński for his general neglect of the archival sources – especially those in which the expenditure related to artistic education was recorded. See Barzman 2000, 18). Contrary to Waźbiński and Barzman, Goldstein (1975b, 145) holds that Pevsner was able to go beyond the earlier publications on the Florentine academy precisely because of his discovery and use of archival sources, especially the first statutes, which he partly reprinted in the appendix of his book. Be that as it may, compared to the recent publications discussed below, Waźbiński and Barzman a correct in calling attention to Pevsner's meager use of archival material.

best account available of the early history of the Roman art academy, and the little independent evidence that exists corroborates his account.[61]

The motive behind the renewed attention for and appreciation of the archive should be sought in the desire to know what actually went on in these first academies. It is thought that the archive can balance the partial and biased sixteenth- and seventeenth-century published sources and, thus, correct the preconceptions about the art academy of modern scholars that are based on these sources. Archival documents can do this not because they are impartial or complete – in fact, they are neither – but because they often offer a different perspective and additional information that can throw new light on existing interpretations.

Archival research occupies a central position in four of the most recent publications. In the first place, Barzman monograph on the Accademia del Disegno should be mentioned again. More than the other authors, she has made systematic use of archival sources pertaining to the Florentine academy. She explicitly connects this methodological choice to her Foucauldian approach, which she characterizes as looking 'for evidence of power somewhere other than "at the level of conscious intention" or as "a phenomenon of one individual's consolidated and homogeneous domination over others"'. In Barzman's view, the evidence for this kind of power can be found in the archive because it helps to 'provide a picture of the operations and the *work* of the institution – "the continuous, uninterrupted processes" that subjected the bodies, governed the gestures, dictated the behaviours, and shaped the thought of those who moved within its walls'.[62] Barzman's book is unique in the extensive

[61] In the first place, four of the dates on which academy meetings were held, according to Alberti, correspond to documents in the ASR and AASL. These dates are November 28 (Alberti 1604/1961, 6 and AASL, 42 82v) and December 13, 1593 (Alberti 1604/1961, 11 and ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. III, vol. 27, fols. 385r-v, 398r); and April 3 and May 1, 1594 (both Alberti 1604/1961, 66 and AASL 42, 84r). Furthermore, Alberti writes that the room in which the academy was held was renovated and decorated before Zuccari's inaugural speech on November 14, 1593 (Alberti 1604/1961, 2). Between June and November there are indeed several entries in the account book that recorded the expenses for work done on the academy room (AASL 42, 81r). Also the list of members and the names of the subsequent *principi* in the back of Alberti's book correspond with the names in the other sources. However, it is remarkable that Alberti's name does not turn up in the archival sources of the academy. Moreover, the statutes of 1607 mention that a book should be written about the beginnings of the 'modern academy', starting in 1592, so that the history and true beginnings of the academy is recorded for posterity and for the benefit of the studies. Subsequently, this should be done every ten years. AASL, Statuti 1607, 28r-v. This is remarkable, because Alberti had just published his history of the academy three years earlier, although this only covered the period 1593-1599.

[62] Barzman 2000, 215-216. Barzman's quotes are from Foucault 1991b, 97-98. Indeed, the archive plays an important role in Foucault's work, both in the literal sense of doing archival research and in the specific meaning he attaches to it in the *Archaeology of*

use of the archival material that dates from the whole period of the Medici reign over Florence.

A second publication based on thorough and systematic archival research is Piero Pacini's *Le sedi dell'Accademia del Disegno al 'Cestello' e alla 'Crocetta'* (2001). Like Barzman's study, this book also deals with the Accademia del Disegno in the first two centuries of its existence (1563-1784). Pacini focuses exclusively on the physical or material reconstruction of its two official headquarters in this period, a subject that had been largely neglected in previous publications. However, the first two methodological developments seem to have passed Pacini by unnoticed, as he focuses exclusively on the agency of the artists (instead of on that of the grand dukes) and makes no use of social theoretical insights.[63]

The third and fourth publications that are based on extensive and systematic archival research deal with the Roman Accademia di San Luca. Isabella Salvagni's *Da Universitas ad Academia: La corporazione dei pittori nella chiesa di San Luca a Roma (1478-1588)* from 2012 covers the prehistory of the academy.[64] That is to say, she discusses the institution's predecessor, the painter's guild and confraternity. Although Salvagni's account stops before the 'official' foundation of the Accademia di San Luca in 1593, the book is useful, precisely because it presents a picture of the institution's prehistory, and also because of its detailed and extensive use of archival sources, which is visible in the 150-page chronological description (in tables) of the documents. Moreover, as Pacini, Salvagni focuses on the material possessions and especially on the academy's first church, the San Luca on the Esquiline Hill, which was demolished by order of Pope Sixtus V in 1588. In terms of the first methodological distinction, Salvagni belongs to the cultural-politics tradition insofar as she emphasizes the role of the papacy in the transformation of the guild-based confraternity into the academy. However, like Pacini she does not employ any social theoretical concepts in her interpretation.

The fourth and final publication that is part of this archival turn is the fruit of a series of seminars organized by the Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts in Washington and initiated by Peter Lukehart.

Knowledge, as systems of statements, events and things in a certain period. See Foucault 2002, 142-150.

[63] It is telling in this respect that in the historiographical overview in Pacini's book, both the Preface written by Detlef Heikamp and the Introduction written by the author, is limited to Italian publications, with the exception of Pevsner. See Heikamp 2001, v and Pacini 2001, 4. However, the 'essential bibliography' at the end of the book also contains some references to literature published in English.

[64] It should be noted that this is the first of two volumes about the Accademia di San Luca. The second volume, yet to appear, will cover the period from ca. 1590 until 1635.

Scholars from different national and disciplinary backgrounds participated in these seminars and contributed to *The Accademia Seminars: The Accademia di San Luca in Rome, c. 1590-1635* from 2009, which is the resulting volume of essays also edited by Lukehart. As the title suggests the essays cover the first five decades of the Roman Accademia di San Luca. The starting point of the seminars series was Lukehart's discovery (in 1998-1999) of a substantial number of previously unknown archival documents in the Archivio di Stato in Rome, concerning the early history of Accademia di San Luca.[65] The documents are notarial records from the *Trenta Notai Capitolini* ('thirty notaries of the Capitol') and, together with the documents in the archive of the Accademia di San Luca, they are the main sources of six of the twelve essays. Moreover, the Center for Advanced Studies in the Visual Arts has developed a website with scans and transcriptions of the notarial records in the Archivio di Stato in Rome. The archive of the Accademia di San Luca is also engaged in a digitalization process of their documents concerning its early history, which are consultable on their website.[66]

The *Accademia Seminars* contains important new information about the early history of the Roman art academy, and the database is an invaluable aid to the scholar. However, due to the different perspectives of the authors and because of the exclusively descriptive approach, the essays lack theoretical concepts that would enable the integration of the various contributions into a single and comprehensive interpretative framework.[67] Lukehart in his own contribution and Elizabeth Cohen in her epilogue to the volume, which is a summary of the other essays, both arrive at the conclusion that the activities of the Accademia di San Luca in its early years depended on the efforts and ideas of multiple men (artists, amateurs, and cardinals), who frequently disagreed and seem to have had different thoughts about what an art academy should be and do.[68]

Although justly correcting the earlier interpretations that were based on the 'great men models of history', this conclusion is somewhat superficial.[69] Why did these men have different thoughts about the Accademia di San Luca, and how were these thoughts shaped?

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[65] See Cropper 2009, vii.

[66] See the end of the Bibliography for the addresses of the websites of CASVA and the Accademia di San Luca.

[67] The same can be said of the volume of essays about European art academies from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, published twenty years earlier and edited by Anton Boschloo et. al. (1989).

[68] Lukehart 2009b, 185 and Cohen 2009, 327.

[69] The *great men model of history* is explicitly mentioned and rejected by Cohen in her essay (329-330).

Furthermore, although Cohen and Lukehart justly recognize the functions that the nascent academy fulfilled, it remains unclear how these functions can be understood in relation to each other. How were artistic education, religious activities, and political allegiances connected to each other in the Roman academy?

1.4. From Pevsner to practice

In this dissertation an attempt is made to answer such questions with the help of a practice theoretical approach. The following chapter explains in general what this approach consists of and how it is related to the methodological developments in the literature about the academization of art in Florence and Rome. In preparation to the discussion of these issues and in conclusion to this chapter, three things should be emphasized. In the first place, practice theorists would underwrite the thesis that the archive is a crucial – albeit not the only – place to find out what actually went on the academies and to reconstruct the everyday practices. Therefore, by applying a practice approach this dissertation partakes in the archival turn.

Second, practice theories are a type of social theory or social ontology. They express the view that not only in sociological research but also in cultural and art historiography scholars should work with an explicit social theoretical framework. The reason for this is that scholars, who do not use an explicit social theoretical framework, employ implicit conceptions of culture, subjectivity and meaning, which are possibly anachronistic and/or inconsistent with each other. In addition, making presuppositions explicit is what – or at least one of the things that – differentiates scholarly and scientific research from storytelling.[70] Therefore, this dissertation also partakes in the second methodological development discussed. Finally, like the authors in the cultural-politics tradition, practice theories reject modernist conceptions of subjectivity and culture. However, this does not mean that practice theorists agree on the role that the political dimension and power relations should play in analyses of culture and society. In the following two chapters these issues are addressed in more detail.

[70] See Hatt/Klonk 2006, 1, for a similar argument about the importance of explicating methodological presuppositions, and about the need for a theoretical and methodological framework for art historical interpretations. The only difference with the argument put forward in this dissertation is that they do specify this framework as necessarily based on *social* theory.

Chapter Two

Theories of Practice and the Academic Literature

2.1. Theories of practice

The first thing to be noted about the term 'theories of practice' is the plural. There is no single or unified theory of practice, but there exists a manifold of theories in which the concept of *practice* is foregrounded. This is due both to the various scholarly disciplines in which they are applied and to the different philosophical traditions from which theories of practice have emerged. The scholarly (sub)disciplines in which practice approaches are applied since the 1970s are anthropology, sociology, history, philosophy, science and technology studies, cultural studies, and most recently business and organization studies. [71] Philosophers such as Marx, Dilthey, Nietzsche, and especially early Heidegger and later Wittgenstein are most-often cited as forerunners or sources of inspiration for practice theorists.[72]

Notwithstanding the lack of a general or unified theory of practice, there are certain convictions that are shared by most, if not all, practice theorists.[73] Most importantly, they all place *social practices* at the center of their theories and empirical analyses. According to these

[71] Important publications in the practice-theoretical literature are: Ortner 1984 (Anthropology); Bourdieu 1979 and 1990, and Giddens 1984 (Sociology); Foucault 1991a (History); Taylor 1985 and Schatzki 1996 and 2002 (Philosophy); Pickering 1995 and Rouse 1996 (Science and Technology Studies); Certeau 1984 and 1998 (Cultural Studies); Feldman/Orlikofski 2011 and Nicolini 2012 (Business and Organization Studies).

[72] See Schatzki 2001, 1-3, Reckwitz 2002, 243-244, and Nicolini 2012, 8-11. One can think of Marx's 'Theses on Feuerbach' with the emphasis on *Praxis*. Dilthey and Nietzsche both focus in their work on life and processes instead of on things, substances and states. Heidegger and Wittgenstein can be read as successors to these 'life-philosophers' and they made decisive contributions of their own (See Schatzki 1993). For example, Heidegger distinguishes objects according to their way of being, or, in other words, to how they are used – as 'ready at hand' (*Zuhanden*) or 'present at hand' (*Vorhanden*) – instead of according to their measurable properties. With his notion of a 'language game', Wittgenstein focuses on the *use* of language instead of conceiving language as a (stable) system of signs. It should be noted that Nicolini conceives the 'family of practices theories' as substantially broader than the intellectual descendants of Marx, Heidegger, and Wittgenstein, also including activity theory from the early twentieth-century Soviet Union, ethno-methodology, and critical discourse analysis.

[73] According to Nicolini (2012, 9), the absence of a grand and unified theory of practice is not something that can or should be mended. He claims that 'a grand synthesis would run against the spirit of most practice approaches'.

theorists, the focus on *social practices* improves our understanding of a wide variety of themes, such as subjectivity, the body, the meaning of objects and artifacts, rationality, language, human and non-human activity, conceptions of culture and society, knowledge, and power.[74]

Although there is no definition of a *social practice* shared by all practice theorists – again due to their different theoretical scholarly backgrounds – it is possible to get a general idea of its meaning in the literature. In the first place, it is expedient to distinguish it from two common uses of the term 'practice'.[75] On the one hand, in everyday life 'practice' refers to the process of learning or training, as in 'soccer practice' or 'piano practice'. On the other hand, the term stands for a concrete action or for the whole of human activity. In this sense 'practice' is usually defined as the opposite of theory, reflection, and contemplation.

Both these common meanings of 'practice' play a role in theories of practice. For instance, concerning the first significance, practice theorists often focus on how neophytes become skilled practitioners through training and education. It is argued that much can be learned about a certain community by following how young members are educated, because this is one of the few situations in which the fundamental rules and goals of that community are made explicit. When expert practitioners are amongst themselves this – generally – does not happen because these fundamental presuppositions are taken for granted.[76] However, it should be noted that when observing the training of neophytes, practice theorists typically look at more than just the explicit rules and formulas. Also the examples, visual resources, and the situation in general are taken into account.[77]

In theories of practice, the second common meaning of practice as activity is visible in the conception of culture and society.[78] Practice theorists view culture as something that is always in flux, both in the reproduction and in the transformation of social relations and conditions. The emphasis lies on processes and relations, instead of on states and things. It is sometimes brought forward that this conception of culture is

[74] See for example Schatzki 2001 and 2014, Rouse 2007, and Nicolini 2012.
[75] See also Schatzki 1996, 90, for this distinction.
[76] See, for example, Schatzki 1996, 100-101. Furthermore, the importance of education in Bourdieu's publications is well-known. Wittgenstein typically rephrases the question 'what does this word or concept mean?' as 'How did we learn it?' In addition to learning situations, also when practices break down such as in severe disagreements the hidden rules and presuppositions of a community become visible. See, for the importance of breakdown experience for illumination of a practice's organization, Heidegger 2001.
[77] Again Wittgenstein can be taken as an example. In his philosophical – or what he calls 'grammatical' – analyses of language examples and contextualizations play a crucial role.
[78] In this dissertation, the terms 'culture' and 'society' are treated as synonyms. Thus, all social practices are also cultural practices.

especially attractive for understanding the modern world, where 'all that is solid melts into air' and people and things are increasingly connected to each other.[79] Indeed, theories of practice are often developed in relation to phenomena in the contemporary Western world. However, this must not be taken as a principle or as an intrinsic feature of theories of practice. On the contrary, the idea that practice is central to social life holds for all cultures and societies, whether they concern ancient Egypt, contemporary China, or sixteenth-century Italy.

Although both common significances of 'practice' are present in the practice-theoretical literature, its primary meaning is more technical and theoretical. Most generally, 'practice' in this sense refers to organized and routinized types of behavior, in which bodily and mental activity and conditions, things, and their use are interconnected.[80] Famous examples are ways of walking discussed by Mauss, the gift-exchanges among the Kabyle from Bourdieu's early work, and the penal practices in Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*.[81] But also cooking, reporting, and asking a question count as social practices in this sense, as well as more complex and institutionalized practices such as voting in political elections, practicing a religion, and the education of artists. The latter are, of course, two of the types of social practices that came together in the art academies in Florence and Rome, and that will be discussed extensively in the following chapters.

To some extent the practice turn in the social sciences has already resonated in the humanities. For instance, the historian Peter Burke identifies the focus on 'practices' as one of the determining features of New Cultural History, which, according to him, has dominated cultural historiography since the late 1980s. Instead of describing intentions, ideas, and systems of thought, cultural historians now emphasize practices, activities, and rituals.[82] To a certain extent this shift is also

[79] According to Nicolini (2012, 2), '[t]he attraction of the practice idiom stems in particular from its capacity to resonate with the contemporary experience that our world is increasingly in flux and interconnected, a world where social entities appear as the result of ongoing work and complex machinations, and in which boundaries around social entities are increasingly difficult to draw'. The phrase 'all that is solid melts into air' is the title of a 1982 book by Marshall Berman about modernity. It is ultimately derived from Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifest*.

[80] See Reckwitz 2002, 249 and Schatzki 2002, 71. A comparable definition can be found in Schatzki 2001, 2. According to Schatzki, practices are 'embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding.'

[81] Mauss 1934, which also contains the term *habitus* that would later be borrowed and made popular by Bourdieu; Bourdieu 1979; Foucault 1991a.

[82] See Burke 2008, 51-76 for a discussion of the history and theoretical background of New Cultural History. According to Burke, the four theorists who have contributed most to the development of the New Cultural History are Bakhtin, Elias, Foucault, and

visible in the historiography of the academization of art in Italy. Whereas authors such as Pevsner and Waźbiński were mainly interested in the *intentions and ideas* of the artists involved in the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and Accademia di San Luca, Barzman focuses on disciplinary practices in Florence, and several authors in *The Accademia Seminars* address artistic and pedagogical practices in Rome.[83]

However, from a practice-theoretical perspective the increased attention for activity and doing, and the use of the term 'practice' is not enough. A further step is necessary. This step is committing to a practice-based social ontology.[84] Practice theorists typically explain what this ontology entails by contrasting it to both poles of the structure-agency debate in the social sciences.[85] Arguably the most important proponents in the early days of the debate, which originated at the beginning of the twentieth century, were Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) on the structuralist side and Max Weber (1864-1920) on the agency side.[86]

Bourdieu. Furthermore, he holds that a paradox in New Cultural History is the theoretical attention for practices. This is an explicit theme in this dissertation.

[83] As already discussed, according to Pevsner (1940/1973, 42, 51-52, and 59-66), Vasari and Zuccari were the most important figures in the foundation and early functioning of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca and their intentions were leading in his interpretation. Barzman (2000), by contrast, discusses the 'disciplinary practices of *disegno*' by means of which the artists at the Florentine academy became subjected to the will of the Medici Grand Dukes in their cultural political strategies. The articles by Roccasecca (2009), Marciari (2009) and Brooks (2009) in *The Accademia Seminars* explain how existing artistic educational practices were taken over and transformed in the Roman Accademia di San Luca.

[84] Nicolini 2012, 12-14.

[85] See Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 7-11 and Schatzki 1996, 6 and 2003, 174-175, for discussions of this debate from a practice-theoretical perspective and for further references.

[86] See especially Durkheim 1895/1963, Saussure 1916/1982, and Weber 1922/1988. According to Saussure (1916/1982, 23-35), the object of linguistics should be language as a formal system of signs (*langue*), rather than the concrete and individual use of language or (*parole*). Furthermore, in structuralism the meaning of signs – including words, cultural artefacts, social actions, etc. – depends on their relations and oppositions to other signs. For Durkheim (1895/1963, 4) the objects to be studied by sociology are 'social facts' (*faits social*). Characteristic of social facts is that they are external to human consciousness, i.e. that they are objectively observable, and that they have a coercive power over individuals. Durkheim gives money and language as examples of social facts. Furthermore, according to Durkheim, although a social fact such as religion has individual mental aspects, its most important function is to guard and reproduce an existing social structure and order, which cannot be reduced to individual mental conditions or representations. Weber (1922/1988, 542) defines the object of sociology as 'social action' (*soziales Handeln*), whereby he understands 'action' as human behavior that is connected to a subjective meaning. Such behavior is 'social' when it is directed at someone else. It is the task of the sociologist to interpret 'social action'. The structure-agency debate was important for the status of the social sciences, since their relation to, and their place

From an ontological point of view, the central issue in this debate concerned the basic characteristics and building blocks of social life and action. Structuralists claimed that large-scale, objective, abstract, and theoretical structures such as 'whole cultures' or 'social systems' determine the social, including actions of individuals. Social scientists on the agency side held that social life and action transpire primarily and most importantly in and through the subjective, intentional and conscious mental conditions of individual actors. These different answers to the ontological question, obviously, had repercussions for the methodology of their respective social scientific research.

Practice theorists argue that both positions are inherently flawed. On the one hand, they criticize the proponents of individual agency for *reducing* social reality to interrelated individuals or features thereof, such as intentions and other mental states. On the other hand, they reprimand the structuralists for *reifying* conceptions of 'cultural systems' or 'social structures', that is, for treating these abstract and theoretical concepts as substantial realities. Furthermore, systems and structures deemed problematical because they are of a too large scale to explain and understand individual actions and too homogenous to make sense of the plurality within one culture or society.

Practice theorists attempt to go beyond the structure-agency debate by placing *social practices* at the center of social theory and by maintaining that most social phenomena occur within, and are aspects or components of social practices.[87] On the one hand, *social practices* are composed of concrete and empirically observable actions of individuals. This means that they are no reifications such as the structures and social systems of the structuralists. On the other hand, the actions composing a social practice are only intelligible, meaningful, and count as such actions against the background of other actions – and of actions of *others* – in that practice. This entails that the meaning of an action cannot be reduced to the intentions, desires, or beliefs of the individual actors involved, and therefore, the practice-based ontology avoids the problem of reductionism.

For instance, putting your thumb in the air and showing it to someone else counts as an encouragement to, or compliment for, that other person only insofar as there already exists a practice of encouraging and complementing people by giving them a 'thumbs up'. Furthermore, practices are inherently *social* – which implies, incidentally, that the term 'social practices' is redundant – because their existence and persistence

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between, the natural sciences on the one hand, and the humanities on the other, was at stake.

[87] Schatzki 2001, 2. See Rouse 2007, 645.

or transformation involves the interconnected activities of more than one person.[88] Finally, in terms of scale, social practices constitute a middle ground between (features of) individuals and wholistic structures.[89]

Applying this discussion to the literature on the academization of art, it becomes clear that individualist approaches have been more dominant in the interpretations of the academies, as in the humanities in general. An explanation for this is the popularity of the already mentioned 'great men models of history' in these disciplines.[90] Although in Pevsner there are some wholistic strains of thought, insofar as he uses the 'Renaissance' and 'Mannerism' as reifications that influenced Italian culture and society, he and his followers exemplify individualist approaches, insofar as they explain the foundation of the academies by reference to intentions and actions of individuals and the relationships between them. Most authors who analyze the academization of art from the perspective of the cultural politics of the rulers in Florence and Rome also adhere to individualist approaches. And finally, this also holds for the common sense conceptions of the authors of *The Accademia Seminars* when they explain the difficult beginnings of the Roman art academy by reference to the different and often contradictory intentions of the people involved.[91] A structuralist (or wholistic) approach is expressed by Rossi, insofar as he connects the emergence of the

[88] According to Nicolini (2012, 168), '[p]ractices, moreover, are by definition social phenomena, first because they keep participants together, and second because their organization and accomplishment depend on the working together of many people'. This point is derived from Wittgenstein's treatment of rule-following in the *Philosophical Investigations* (sections 198-202), where it is argued that it is only possible for someone to perform certain actions such as obeying a rule, following an order, or playing a particular game insofar as there exists a custom (*Gepflogenheit*) or practice (*Praxis*) of rule-following, the obeying of an order, or the playing of that game. Without these customs and practices those actions would not be *understood as*, and, *therefore, would not be* instances of obeying a rule, following an order, and playing a particular game. Wittgenstein 1953/2001, 68-69. See also Schatzki 2002, 134-135 and Williams 1999 for similar social interpretations of Wittgenstein's remarks on rule-following. The work of the later Wittgenstein and especially his remarks on rule-following are generally recognized as one of the major sources of inspiration for theories of practice. See Schatzki 1996, Rouse 2007, and Jonker 2014.

[89] See Nicolini 2012, 162, who talks about the 'meso' level of practice in this context. 'Wholism' should be distinguished from 'holism'. Although both terms refer to the a totality or a total perspective, the latter is mainly used in the context of process and systems of healing, in which the focus lies on the total entity, e.g. mind and body together. Wholism can be used in different contexts. Wholistic theories of social reality focus on the entire makeup or structure of society and usually postulate principles that are supposed to be valid for that society as a whole.

[90] Bourdieu used the term 'charismatic ideology' for the belief in the talents and brilliance of individual men, e.g. artists, scientists, and philosophers.

[91] See especially Cohen's (2009) concluding article of the book.

academies to the transition from a pre-capitalist to a capitalist economic system.[92]

Because of the predominance of individualist approaches in the literature on the first academies of art, the focus on 'practice' in this dissertation might seem more negative towards individuals and their intentions than it actually is. Therefore, it should be emphasized that a working wit a practice-based ontology does not entail that individuals, intentions, or ideas are deemed irrelevant for understanding cultural and social phenomena, only that these things are not the first and foremost objects of inquiry in scholarly research. Individuals and their intensions are discussed in this dissertation, but they are always related to, and understood from the point of view of the social practices, in which they originated and functioned.

2.2. Subjectivity and objectivity

A practice approach does not just shift the attention away from individuals toward social practices; it also entails a different conception of individuals and, more generally speaking, of subjectivity. According to practice theorists, the notion of *social practice* enables scholars to transcend three problematic conceptual dualisms related to subjectivity. These oppositions are that of self versus others, subject versus object, and mind versus body. Together these dualisms form the core of the so-called 'Cartesian metaphysical framework'.[93] According to Descartes, the certain foundation of our knowledge of the objective world is to be found in the mental realm of the individual subject (*cogito, sum*).[94] In the Cartesian framework this mental realm or thinking substance (*res cogitans*) is categorically separated from the external world of extended and measurable things (*res extensa*), to which the body also belongs.

This leads to the following image of the subject: a lone, almost solipsistic, individual, who is enclosed in his mind and separated from the

[92] Marx has justly been seen as a forerunner to contemporary practice theorists, insofar as he emphasizes the importance of practice (*Praxis*) and social relations instead of abstract ideas. However, his wholistic conception of society is generally not taken over by practice theorists.

[93] The term 'Cartesian (metaphysical) framework' is taken over from Bernstein (1971, 5) and others, who refrain from directing their critique specifically at Descartes. For, although certainly inspired by the French seventeenth-century philosopher, it is doubted whether all aspects of the position that is criticized converge exactly with his views. Critics also use this term because, according to them, these aspects are applicable to modern philosophy in general – or at least its main part – and not just to Descartes.

[94] Descartes 1996, 17.

external world, his body, and others.[95] Since Descartes, philosophers, scholars, and scientists have used this image of the subject as a basic presupposition in their research. One of the main challenges of modern philosophy has been to explain how the gaps related to subjectivity can be bridged. In particular, how can they be reconciled with the evident facts that man is both mind and body, often and in many ways intimately engaged with others, and at least on occasion truly seems to know the world and particular objects in it?

A radical new way of dealing with these problems was developed in the first half of the twentieth century by Heidegger and Wittgenstein.[96] These philosophers basically argued that there are no fundamental or categorical gaps to begin with. They forcefully rejected the Cartesian framework for being too intellectualistic and 'scholastic'.[97] Heidegger held that in this framework the subject is unjustly modeled on the individual philosopher, scholar, or scientist, who either reflects on the world, or rationally and consciously observes and measures objects in order to understand them. By contrast, in Heidegger's and Wittgenstein's accounts, man is first and foremost unreflectively engaged in ordinary practices, in which others, objects and artifacts, and his body are intrinsic parts.[98] In this alternative image of the subject, theory, science, and philosophy are secondary or derived modes of being. Or better yet, they should themselves be understood as social practices.[99]

The views of Heidegger and Wittgenstein have been fundamental for the work of later practice theorists. They entailed a different way of dealing with the three oppositions related to subjectivity. In the first place, concerning the mind/body relation practice theorists do not conceive the subject as primarily – let alone exclusively – a mental or thinking entity to which the body belongs as an instrument to be controlled and governed. Instead, the distinction between mind and body,

[95] See Bax (2009, 46-47 *et passim*) for a more elaborate discussion of the Cartesian picture of the subject.

[96] As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Heidegger and Wittgenstein were not the first to emphasize the importance of practice – Marx, Nietzsche, and Dilthey can be seen as predecessors in this respect – but their arguments are most often used and developed by practice theorists.

[97] See especially Heidegger 2001, §13. Wittgenstein would agree with the critical remark of his student and translator G.E.M. Anscombe (quoted in Bernstein 1971, 6), that '(…) in modern philosophy we have an incorrigible contemplative conception of knowledge'.

[98] See, for instance, Heidegger's (2001, §15) famous example of hammering and Wittgenstein's (2001) many examples of languages games. The argument that unreflective action had been unjustly ignored in modern philosophy was also central to Marx's early philosophy. See, for example, the 'Theses on Feuerbach' (Marx/Engels 1969).

[99] This insight occupies a central place in practice approaches in Science and Technology Studies. See, for instance, Pickering 1995 and Rouse 1996.

as well as that between mental and bodily actions is blurred. Practice theorists hold that the body carries out most actions unreflectively, routinely, or habitually.[100] This view goes against the long-standing conviction that each bodily movement is causally initiated by the mind, often after a process of deliberation – even though that process can be hidden from our consciousness.[101] Consequently, actors' conscious intentions, ideas, and propositional knowledge are no longer leading in interpreting their actions, products and themselves.[102] For the interpretation of the academization of art in this study it means that the actors' intentions – whether intentions of the artists or rulers – are but one factor among many.

Secondly, the social embeddedness of the individual is an important theme in theories of practice. According to practice theorists, we become who we are, form our identities, in the exposure to and especially the participation in social practices. Both our bodily routines and what we believe, know, feel, hope, etcetera are shaped in the practices in which we have been raised and in which we continue to participate.[103] This entails that identity is neither an intrinsic property that one possesses, nor is it somehow mysteriously located in the mind or soul, but it depends in a fundamental way on what one does. For instance, what one does in the context of existing family practices, religious

[100] It should be noted that this does not mean that these actions lack knowledge or understanding. Rather, this knowledge of a different type: 'tacit knowledge', 'practical understanding', 'know how', and 'skillful coping' are terms used in the practice-theoretical literature. Practice theory shares this view with theories of embodied and inactive cognition in cognitive science. See, for a seminal study in the latter discipline, Varela/Thompson/Rosch 1993. Moreover, these 'bodily habits' are acquired in the same practices, which they subsequently reproduce by carrying out actions of the same kind, or transform by carrying out actions of a slightly different type.

[101] Nicolini (2012, 24) retraces this conviction to Plato, for whom '[e]very action would in fact be conceived as the application of general, calculable, precise, and truthful principles, while reference to universals, such as to the universal pure idea of 'good', would make it always possible to choose the best course of action. In this way, Plato established an intellectualistic prejudice at the very core of his philosophy and most of the Western tradition. This was the notion that good practice derives from the application of general and eternal principles.' See also Dreyfus 1991, 3-8. Practice-theoretical approaches completely overturn the hierarchy in the theory/practice opposition. Whereas in the traditional view action is the result of theoretical reflection and deliberation, in theories of practice, theoretical reflection is itself seen as a form of practice. This conception, of course, ties in with the above-mentioned idea that philosophy and science should be understood as social practices.

[102] This is one of the central points of Loïc Wacquant's (2004) book on the habitus of the boxer and of Hubert Dreyfus' (2008) essay on skill acquisition.

[103] This practice-theoretical insight goes against the long-standing (again Cartesian) conviction that our mind (or soul) is essentially closed off and that it develops itself without influences from the outside world. See Bax (2009, esp. 77-79) and Schatzki (1996, 55-87) for further interpretations of this theme from a Wittgensteinian perspective.

practices, or business practices is equally, if not more, important for being a good daughter, catholic, or entrepreneur than the thoughts one has about one's parents, God, or starting a business.

What is more, because people usually participate in several practices, most practice theorists underwrite the thesis that 'the individual is the unique crossing point of practices, of bodily mental routines'.[104] This implies that scholars should refrain from ascribing a singular identity to a person. Moreover, what holds for individuals also holds for the identities (or meanings) of institutions. The identity of sixteenth-century artists *and* academies changed as they participated in different practices at (roughly) the same time, but also over time as these practices themselves changed. This means that a practice approach can offer an antidote against the subject-centered interpretations that have determined art historical research, including that on the academization of art, in the past.

Thirdly and finally, in theories of practice the relation of the subject to the world and to specific objects or artifacts in it is also conceptualized in a different manner. According to most practice theorists, material things, animals, and artifacts are intrinsic to practices. Moreover, these non-human entities possess their own kind of agency. Although practice theorists disagree about the exact nature and status of this agency, they concur with each other that artifacts, objects, and animals *do* something that contributes to the nature, form and reproduction or change of social life.[105]

Furthermore, what holds for personal identity, by analogy, also holds for the meaning of objects and artifacts: what something is depends on its position and on its function in a social practice. As its function varies from one practice to the next, its meaning differs accordingly. This means that meaning, like identity, is not an essential characteristic that inherently belongs to an entity. It also entails that the meanings of the

[104] Reckwitz 2002, 256. See also Certeau 1984, xi: '… each individual is a locus in which an incoherent (and often contradictory) plurality of such relations [i.e. with other individuals] interact.'

[105] See Schatzki 2002, 105-122 for a discussion of the disagreement among practice theorists on this point. It would be interesting to connect the practice theoretical insights concerning the agency of objects and artifacts to the philosophical theory of *affordances*. See, for example, Rietveld/Kiverstein 2014. A central question in this theory is how objects and the environment in general provide the possibilities for action. Objects 'invite' or 'seduce' people to certain actions. From the practice-theoretical point of view it can be said that what affordances an object has depends on in what practice it is used. For instance, a glass on a table can invite someone to take a coffee break (office practices), to drink a portion of her/his daily two liters of water (modern health practices), or to water the plants (in gardening practices).

objects and works of art that originated in the context of the academies should be related to the different practices in which they functioned, e.g. educational, patronage, and religious practices.

2.3. Pluralism

Thus far, two aspects of the practice-theoretical conception of culture have been discussed, i.e. its dynamic nature and the fact that it consists of relatively small and local practices. One more aspect should be added and explained. This is the pluralism of practices within society. The fundamental observation at the basis of this idea is that within a society or culture there exist communities or groups of people (e.g. 'subcultures') that carry out widely divergent activities and as a result do not (fully) understand each other.

As a consequence, practice theorists conceive of culture as consisting of a variety practices, which each have their own organization or logic. Although these practices can partially overlap, they can neither be reduced to each other nor to a single set of underlying principles.[106] To name just one example, in contemporary society amateur sports practices and educational practices overlap in gym class, but these practices are organized differently and cannot be reduced to each other. This means that practice theorists reject reductionist and essentialist conceptions of culture and society. Instead of conceiving of cultures as unified and reified wholes, they see them as heterogeneous entities. Moreover, a manifold of practices can meet and intersect in a single institution, without any of them being the dominant or essential one. For example,

[106] An analogy with Wittgenstein's notion of 'family resemblance' is expedient here. Wittgenstein (2001, 27-28, i.e. §§65-67) famously argued that certain concepts cannot be defined in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions, i.e. their essence cannot be determined. His example is the concept of 'game'. There are many different sorts of games, but there is not one essential characteristic that they all share. Most, but not all games are played by more than one person; in most, but not all games there are winners and losers; most, but not all games have clearly defined rules, etc. Wittgenstein argued that there exist 'family resemblances' between the different activities that we call games: some games have certain characteristics in common, while other games share other traits with each other. According to Wittgenstein, family resemblances also exist between what he calls 'language games', a notion that expresses the conviction that language and activity are intimately connected. The concept of 'language games' has been of central importance for later practice theorists as they modeled the notion of social (or cultural) practice on it. For instance, both Bourdieu and Schatzki are deeply influenced by Wittgenstein's work in this respect. See Schatzki 1996, 95-96. Bourdieu's conception of culture or society as consisting of different games takes the analogy even further, as it includes stakes, strategies, and winners and losers.

this is the case in modern universities, where research and teaching practices come together.

By contrast, the literature on the Italian art academies contains essentialist interpretations throughout all methodological developments. For example, as already mentioned, in Pevsner's view the main goal of the academization of art was for the artists to liberate themselves from the constraining guild-system. According to him, the concept of the art academy is antithetical to that of the guild. He argued that the Accademia del Disegno betrayed Vasari's original intentions when it assumed the function of a guild in 1571.[107] Because Pevsner held that it is impossible for a guild and an academy to co-exist in a singly institution, he failed to notice, let alone give a satisfactory explanation of the fact that it were the academic artists themselves who petitioned Cosimo I to be released from their respective guilds and to form their own *Arte et Università* in connection to the academy. At least for the artists in question, there was no fundamental opposition between the educational and the guild functions of their institution. Pevsner's presuppositions about the contrary essences of the art academy and the guild prevent him from asking relevant questions about what actually happened in the early years of the institution.

Another example of this essentialist tendency is present in Goldstein's assessment of the status of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years. For Goldstein the crucial question is whether the Florentine academy only offered drawing instruction to its members, or whether it also taught theoretical dogmas and heralded certain artists as canonical figures. According to him, in the former case the Florentine academy 'would have been a drawing "school" masquerading as an academy'; in the latter 'it would have been an academy of a whole new type, the Ur-academy of the Renaissance tradition'.[108] Apparently, for Goldstein dogmatism and canonization belong to the essence of the art academy. This is confirmed when he claims that the French Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, founded in 1648 in Paris, was the 'Ur-academy' because there at last emerged the doctrine 'conspicuously lacking in

[107] Pevsner 1940/1973, 49-51. Pevsner suggests that the incorporation of the guild was the reason why Vasari almost completely retired from the academy in the last three years of his life. Goldstein (1996, 19), clearly agrees with Pevsner's conviction that academy and guild are mutually exclusive when he writes that 'the whole concept of an academy of disegno is inimical to a guild workshop.' See Reynolds (1974/1985, 184 and 196) and Kempers (1992, 287 and 292) for similar views. The notion that art – or at least great art – is antithetical to the guild is also to be found in Panofsky (1952, 89), according to whom 'the idea that Michelangelo and Raphael should have belonged to a guild at all is almost ludicrous.'

[108] Goldstein 1996, 16. See also Goldstein 1975a.

earlier academies'.[109] This means that Goldstein judges the early years of the Accademia del Disegno – as well as those of the Accademia di San Luca – by his conception of the essential academy, which in his view was the Académie Royale in Paris.[110] Incidentally, this means that there is also a teleological motive in Pevsner's and Goldstein's conception of the academization of art, since 'the artist' and 'the academy' are presented as slowly realizing their potential and manifesting their essence, from the sixteenth century onwards.

The tendency of measuring the first academies against the achievements of later ones is justly criticized by Hughes. He argues that this methodological fallacy is not only present in Pevsner's account of the early Accademia del Disegno, but also in that of Dempsey, even though both authors arrive at opposite conclusions. Whereas Pevsner holds that the Florentine institutions belongs to the pre-history of real art academies because it turned into a guild, Dempsey maintains that it was, in fact the first true academy of art, because it (occasionally) organized mathematical lectures and other educational activities. According to Hughes, instead of using later academies, such as the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, as a yardstick to measure the early Accademia del Disegno and Accademia di San Luca, the Italian institutions they should be understood against the background of other contemporary

[109] Goldstein 1996, 43. According to Goldstein, this doctrine was brought forward in Andre Félibien's preface to his *Conférences de l'Academie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, pendent l'année 1667*, published in 1668 and Henri Testelin's 1680 *Sentiments des plus habiles peintres sur la pratique de la peinture et sculpture, mis en tables de préceptes*.

[110] It should be noted that Académie Royale was the subject of Goldstein's dissertation from 1966. Goldstein's essentialism is perhaps even clearer in his 1975 article 'Towards a Definition of Academic Art'. Although the title of this article suggests that Goldstein will reflect on academic art in general, he only discusses the French Académie Royale and the English Royal Academy from the last quarter of the seventeenth until the first quarter of the nineteenth centuries. Apparently, earlier and later academies do not qualify as academies in Goldstein's sense. See Goldstein 1975a, 102, where he makes this point explicitly in relation to the Florentine academy: 'Although the first major academy was created by Vasari in 1563, it was some time before academies accepted the responsibility for teaching art students; early academies were either more or less exclusively concerned with material and moral conditions of the artist or they were convinced that art is a matter of inspiration that cannot be taught.' Both parts of this quote, i.e. that early Italian academies did not assume responsibility for teaching young artists because they believed that art cannot be taught and that they were exclusively interested in promoting the material and moral conditions of artists, are problematic. Subsequent publications have shown that early art academies did teach young art students, even if only irregularly. See Barzman 2000 and Roccasecca 2009 and Chapter Eight of this dissertation. Moreover, it is not clear which academies, if any, held the conviction that art cannot be taught. In any case, there is no evidence that the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca entertained such an idea and there is ample evidence that they believed the contrary. See chapters Eight and Nine of this dissertation.

organizations and developments, such as reformation of the guild system in Florence in the sixteenth century.[111]

The essentialist tendency is also present in Barzman's Foucauldian analysis of the Accademia del Disegno. For, notwithstanding her discussion of the various activities that were carried out in the Florentine academy, such as religious and funerary celebrations, mathematical and drawing instruction, and the settling of professional disputes, in the end she reduces them all to the political dimension.[112] And therefore, instead of discussing these different functions in their own right, she conceives of them as working together to produce an art academy that is 'an extension of the disciplinary power of the Medici state and as an instrument of the family's cultural politics at home and abroad'.[113] That is to say, Barzman reduces the academy's meanings to its function in the cultural politics of the Medici. Furthermore, even though Barzman does pay attention to the changes in the Accademia del Disegno in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in terms of subjectivity and the creation of a public sphere, she highlights the institution's political significance, at the expense of its religious, professional, and artistic-educational functions.

Barzman's essentialism, reductionism, and strong focus on the person of the duke (and how he is represented in and by the academy) might seem at odds with her choice for Foucault as social theoretical guide. Foucault has always presented himself as a pluralist and he sees his historiographical work as a critique of, and alternative to, subject-centered accounts of the past. Moreover, because of his focus on 'discursive practices' in his later work he can be seen as partaking in the 'practice turn'.[114] These points come together in an interview that is

[111] Hughes 1986a, 3-5.

[112] In the light of Barzman's detailed account of the various activities that were carried out in the Accademia del Disegno it is surprising that she did not attempt to 'document the organizations daily activities', because 'this undertaking would have been futile, as the secretaries kept records only of business-meetings, sometimes merely stating that the officers and members had convened.' Moreover, she seems to use this lack of archival material as a justification for her application of a Foucauldian theoretical framework, in which all activities are reduced to the disciplinary powers of the discourse of *disegno*. See Barzman 2000, 7. Although it might be literally correct that it is impossible to reconstruct the institution's activities from day to day, it is certainly possible, on the basis of the archival sources such as those discussed by Barzman, to identify and distinguish the different social practices that the academicians performed in the academy and how these were related to the existing practices outside of it. See Chapters Four to Ten.

[113] Barzman 2000, 1. See Witte's (2002) review of Barzman's book for similar criticism.

[114] The term 'practice theorist' is, however, not readily applicable to Foucault, because he does not develop a theory about practice (nor is this his goal). This becomes especially clear when comparing his work to that of Bourdieu and Schatzki. Furthermore, it should be noted, that Foucault saw the analysis of practices as a characterization of his work in

published under the title 'Politics and the Study of Discourse'. In this interview Foucault states that his aim is not to compose 'a global history – which would regroup all its elements around one principle or one form – but rather of opening out a field of general history within one could describe the singularity of practices, the play of their relations, the form of their dependencies.'[115] Moreover, he also claims that '[n]othing … is more foreign to me than the quest for a sovereign unique form' and the discourse should not be related 'to a thought, mind or subject which engendered it, but to the practical field in which it is deployed.'[116] This means that Barzman's emphasis on the person of the duke and his lieutenants can be criticized from a Foucauldian point of view.

On the other hand, Barzman's focus on the constitution of modern subjectivity in power relations and political practices, and especially through the 'discipline of disegno', do have a genuine Foucauldian ring to it. For, Foucault also writes that it is his goal 'to define how, to what extent, at what level discourses, particularly scientific discourses can be objects of a political practice, and in what system of dependence they can exist in relation to it.'[117] Indeed, the discourses Foucault is especially interested in and most often describes in his books are scientific ones with political implications. In other words, his analyses focus specifically on knowledge practices in connection with practices of power – or on 'power/knowledge' – at the expense of other social practices. This lack of balance is taken over by Barzman in her book about the Florentine academy.[118]

In a sense, the method adopted in this dissertation is the opposite of Foucault's genealogical approach in *Discipline and Punish*. Whereas Foucault sets out to determine how the 'micro-physics of power' in modern society works by analyzing a single type of practices, i.e. punitive practices, in various institutions – prisons, hospitals, schools, the

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general. See the brief overview of his work from 1980, which Foucault co-authored and which was published under the pseudonym 'Maurice Florence' (1994).

[115] Foucault 1991b, 64.

[116] Foucault 1991b, 55 and 61. In addition, concerning his concept of the 'episteme' Foucault states that this is not determined by 'the sum of its knowledge, nor the general style of its research, but the divergence, the distances, the oppositions, the differences, the relations of its various scientific discourses: the episteme is not a sort of grand underlying theory, it is a space of dispersion, it is an open and doubtless indefinitely describable field of relationships.'

[117] Foucault 1991b, 69.

[118] See, for Foucault's emphasis on scientific practices his inaugural lecture for the Collège de France from 1970, in which he laid out his upcoming projects. Foucault 1981, esp. 55-56. It should be noted that although in Foucault's later work, e.g. the project of the *History of Sexuality*, he moves beyond the interpretation of practices that are connected to the human sciences, his main interest remains to analyze how the subject is constituted in relations of power and in 'games of truth'. See 'Florence' (1994).

army – the goal of this study is to understand how a variety of practices came together and overlapped in a single type of institution, i.e. the sixteenth-century art academy.[119]

2.4. Disegno*: The 'demotion of practice' and the promotion of the artist*

The opposition of the terms 'theory' and 'practice' frequently plays a role in the practice-theoretical literature. The main body of this literature consists of systematic arguments, often developed in opposition to or extending those of other authors. However, occasionally, the argumentation is accompanied by (elements of) a history of how the hierarchical opposition between the terms 'practice' and 'theory' has governed the dominant currents in Western intellectual history.[120] This opposition is usually traced back to Plato and Aristotle. Notwithstanding some important differences in their philosophical systems – especially concerning the status of the Ideas (or Forms) and the question of the uniformity or multiformity of reality – both philosophers postulated a fundamental gap between theory and practice, a gap that had epistemological, socio-political, and psychological aspects.

Epistemologically, the distinction between theory and practice was the distinction between sciences that were concerned with obtaining knowledge for their own sake and activities that desired knowledge for more mundane goals such as money and fame.[121] Whereas theory (*episteme*) concerned the first causes and divine/eternal things, moral practice (*praxis*) and productive practice (*poiesis*) dealt with particulars and changeable things. While in Plato's philosophy these latter activities did not count as real sciences and only produced opinions, Aristotle did conceive of their products as legitimate and worthy forms of knowledge.[122] However, for both philosophers *praxis* and *poieis* had a substantially lower status than *episteme*.

Socially and politically, Plato's and Aristotle's hierarchical conceptions of domains of knowledge were connected to their conceptions of the ideal state, in which philosophers, theologians, and scientists enjoyed higher social positions than cobblers, blacksmiths and

[119] For Foucault's description of the method adopted in *Discipline and Punish* see Foucault 1991a, 26.
[120] Nicolini (2012, 23-43) is most explicit in developing the place of 'practice' in Western intellectual history. See also Bourdieu 1990, 27-28 and Jonker 2014.
[121] See Bernstein 1971, ix-x.
[122] For this reason practice theorists generally have a more positive attitude towards Aristotle than towards Plato. See, for instance, Nicolini 2012, 25-28 and Dreyfus 2008, 15.

sculptors. Finally, psychologically, this was also connected to a hierarchical conception of the human soul, which was divided into higher and lower parts.[123] The higher parts of the soul were more developed in philosophers and scientists, and the lower parts in cobblers and soldiers. In this context, Plato's famous ban of painters (and tragic poets) from his ideal state is relevant. According to him, painters are dangerous because their products are directed at the passionate and low part of the soul, which enable them to manipulate people, and especially the masses. Another reason why Plato excommunicated painters from his ideal state is that their art is an imitation of an imitation and, therefore, twice removed from the truth of the Ideas.[124]

The hierarchized distinction between theory and practice was reflected in the ancient and medieval educational system in Europe. In Antiquity the *artes liberales* referred to a varying group of scientific and scholarly disciplines that were deemed fit only for free men. They were contrasted to the *artes illiberales* or, later, the *artes mechanicae* ('mechanical arts'), which were practiced by slaves (*servus*) or freed men (*libertus*). The Latin word *ars*, and its Greek equivalent *techne* – which forms the basis for the modern word 'technology' – had a broad meaning and referred to more than just arts and crafts. The term comprised a body of knowledge or rule system that was based on true reason.[125]

In late Antiquity a more or less stable system of the seven liberal arts was established. It was divided into the *quadrivium*, to which belonged the mathematical disciplines of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and musical theory, and the *trivium*, which consisted of the

[123] See for Plato's ideas about the hierarchy of knowledge domains and of the role of the philosopher in society especially Book 7 of *The Republic*. See Plato 2003, 226 (520b-d) and 233-241 (525b-533a). Although Aristotle distances himself from Plato by conceiving *phronesis* ('practical wisdom') and *techne* ('art', 'craft', or 'skill') as legitimate and independent forms of knowledge in addition to *episteme* (scientific knowledge), he concurs with his former teacher by clearly deeming the latter more worthy than the former two. Furthermore, action and production (*praxis* and *poiesis*) have a lower social status, because they deal with concrete and particular things, whereas theory (*episteme*) takes the highest position because it deals with universals and first causes. See Book 6 of the *Ethica Nicomachea* (Aristotle 1997, 189, (1139a26-30)). Aristotle also agrees with Plato in that the philosopher should be a leader rather than a follower in the ideal state. For example, an important prerequisite for becoming a philosopher, according to Aristotle, is that one is born a free man, thereby excluding not only slaves, but also freed men. See Aristotle 2003, 23 (982a18-19).

[124] Plato 2003, 314-318 (596-598) and 326-327 (605).

[125] On the meaning of the term *artes liberales* see Wittkower 1952, 4 and Dempsey 2009, 47. See Wagner 1983 for a discussion of the development of the system of the *artes liberales* and the *artes mechanicae* in the Middle Ages and see Kristeller 1951 and 1952 and Wittkower 1952 for a global overview of how the visual arts were related to this pedagogical system in European history from Antiquity until first half of the twentieth century.

linguistic disciplines of rhetoric, grammar, and dialectics (i.e. logic).[126] These disciplines formed the cornerstone of education in medieval Europe and they were turned into preliminary sciences at the first universities, and later also into core subjects. In the twelfth century, a corresponding scheme of seven mechanical arts was formulated, which consisted of tailoring (or weaving), hunting, armature, agriculture, medicine, navigation, and theater. Architecture and some forms of painting and sculpture belonged to armature.[127] The lower status of the mechanical arts was justified by the fact that they were mostly manual and productive, whereas the liberal arts boasted intellectual and theoretical foundations.

According to practice theorists, this 'demotion of practice' continued to govern Western intellectual history under influence of the Christian tradition.[128] For instance, the hierarchical opposition between theory and practice was central to the medieval universities and this remained the case in the early modern period.[129] The Cartesian metaphysical system – which was already discussed and criticized from a practice-theoretical perspective above – constituted another important moment in this history of the dominance of theory over practice. Finally, in the modern social sciences and humanities the 'demotion of practice' has taken the form either of the over-intellectualization or of the neglect of activity and concrete practice.[130] That is to say, either practice was misrepresented as (a form of) theory, or only ideas (or theories, philosophical systems) and finished works/products (*opus operatum*) were studied – at the expense of the investigation of how ideas are related to concrete actions and of the way the products were made (*modus operandi*).[131]

[126] In the sixteenth century, the *letterato* Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565) divides these seven *artes liberales* into the three arts of talking (*favellare*) and the arts of quantity (*quantità*). Varchi 1550/1960, 15. Varchi's distinction derives from a lecture on the arts delivered for the Accademia Fiorentina in 1547. The role of this lecture in the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno is discussed in section 9.2.

[127] Martianus Capella, who lived in the fifth century, is credited with formulating the final version of the seven liberal arts, whereas Hugo of St. Victor (c. 1096-1141) was probably responsible for establishing the corresponding scheme of seven mechanical arts. See Wagner 1983, 15-16 and Kristeller 1951, 504-508.

[128] See Nicolini (2012, 28-29), from whom also the phrase 'demotion of practice' is borrowed.

[129] However, from the sixteenth century onward, the universities slowly and gradually started to display a greater appreciation for practice. See section 7.2.

[130] See, for example, Dreyfus 1991, 3-8.

[131] See for this criticism especially Bourdieu 1979 and 1990.

However, since the nineteenth century philosophers such as Marx, Dilthey, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Wittgenstein have formed what might be called a 'counter-tradition' to this demotion of practice. They did this by forcefully and convincingly arguing for a theoretical reorientation towards conceptualization of practice (and activity) in its own right.[132] This implied a rethinking of the hierarchical relation between theory and practice, in which the traditional dichotomy has been replaced by a new picture. In this picture, practice and theory interpenetrate each other and stand on the same level. For instance, theorizing and thinking are not conceived of as separated from the realm of practice, but they are seen as (social) activities themselves.[133] As a consequence, the 'practice turn in contemporary theory' can be used for achieving emancipatory objectives, especially for those authors standing in the Marxist tradition or otherwise combining it with a normative perspective.[134]

This brief and general sketch of the history of Western thought as it occurs in (some) theories of practice can be filled out in more detail by connecting it to the standard view of the academization of art in terms of the social elevation of the arts and the artist. According to historians of the art academies, in the sixteenth century the term 'accademia' alluded to groups and gatherings of people who discussed and debated theoretical and intellectual subjects and issues. The term, it is argued, was almost synonymous with theoretical or intellectual learning. Therefore, modern scholars argue that by calling their institutions 'academies', painters, sculptors, and architects attempted to elevate the social status of their trades.[135]

For instance, according to Rossi, traditionally these trades belonged to the mechanical instead of the liberal arts (*artes mecanicae* vs *artes liberales*), because they were thought to involve little or no intellectual effort on the part of the producer. From the fifteenth century onward this categorization slowly started to shift under influence of humanist treatises, in which the theoretical foundations – mostly of a mathematical and anatomical nature – of these arts were discussed. In addition, according to Rossi, the opposition between *fatica di corpo* (physical toil) and *fatica di mente* (mental toil) is one of the central

[132] It should be noted that some contemporary practice theorists point out that the practice turn is, in fact, a *return* to practice, insofar as some of the abovementioned philosophers were inspired by Aristotle's discussions about practice and production. See, for a discussion of this point, Nicolini 2012, 25-29.
[133] Schatzki 1996, 90.
[134] On the emancipatory objectives in theories of practice see section 3.4.
[135] See section 7.3 for a discussion of the term 'accademia' in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy.

conceptual distinctions in the work of the art theorists. According to him, the nobility of an art form was measured on the balance of intellectual and manual work. The better one was able to downplay the manual or productive aspects of painting and sculpture, the more one could claim to practice a liberal art or science.[136] Therefore, the argument goes, in the course of the sixteenth century, art theorists in the context of the art academies, such as Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565), Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576), and Federico Zuccari, developed a concept of *disegno*, which not only justified the grouping together of painting, sculpture and architecture as 'sister arts', but also foregrounded the intellectual aspects of these professions in the creative process.[137]

This means that, according to this interpretation, the academicians appealed to exactly the same theoretical and conceptual framework as before, i.e. the framework developed by Plato and Aristotle, in which theory and theoreticians occupied a higher position than practice and practitioners. In other words, whereas the status of these arts and their relationships to other trades changed under the influence of the writings of artists and the academization (and institutionalization) of art, this did not happen with the relative status of practice and theory. Therefore, from a practice-theoretical perspective the academization of art would not be a major turning point in history at all, because it works with the same conceptual framework, according to which intellectual activity (theorization) is fundamentally opposed to and more worthy than physical labor (practice). This means that the social elevation of the artist can be seen as part of the 'demotion of practice' that has dominated Western intellectual history.

However, a closer scrutiny of the theoretical treatises that originated in the context of the art academies shows that theory and intellection were less emphasized than often thought by interpreters, and that it was not simply and instance of the 'demotion of practice'. When connecting these treatises to the educational practices that were performed in the academies, it becomes clear that there was a more complex interplay between theory and practice than hitherto

[136] Rossi (1980, 83-85, 108, and 152) refers in this context especially to the writings of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Benedetto Varchi and Giorgio Vasari. It should be noted that the fact *that* artists wrote and published art theoretical treatises about the principles of their arts, regardless of the content thereof, *eo ipso* proved the point they wanted to make, namely that they were intellectuals and their professions intellectual activities.

[137] See Williams 1997, 29-57 and 136-150, Barzman 2000, 145-151, and Dempsey 2009, 43-44.

considered.[138] The analysis of the theoretical arguments of sixteenth-century humanists and artists gives a more detailed account of the genealogy of the relation between theory and practice, which leads to nuancing some of the received opinions about this genealogy in the practice theoretical literature. Furthermore, the different conceptions and interpretations of *disegno* in the treatises of the academicians can be taken as evidence of disagreements about the future of educational and artistic practices.[139]

2.5. A practice approach to the academization of art in early modern Italy

The previous discussions about the literature of the Accademia del Disegno and Accademia di San Luca and about the common features of theories of practice have several consequences for the interpretation of the academization of art in this dissertation. A first consequence has already been stipulated in the last paragraphs, where it was outlined how rethinking the relation between theory and practice can be relevant for understanding the academization of art; and how, in turn, the analysis of theoretical treatises that were written in the academic context can improve our understanding of the relation between theory and practice.

Second, the application of a practice approach to the academization of art can been seen as a philosophical grounding of, or as a next step in, developments that have already been underway in research on the art academies (and in cultural historical research in general). This approach fully acknowledges the social dimension of art and artists by placing them in a social ontological framework, in which social practices occupy the central position. Furthermore, the turn to practices implies the application of a range of conceptions – of culture, subjectivity, objectivity, and meaning – that are convincing alternatives to outdated and modernist ones that have been used in the past, including those discussed above in relation to the literature on the academization of art.

Finally, the focus on social practices in a practice approach can help to answer questions that have been left unanswered in the literature on the academization of art. Most importantly, it remains unclear how the

[138] This is not meant to suggest that the way in which the academicians conceived of the theory-practice relation in the arts is correct. Rather, the aim is to nuance the standard picture of the history of the theory versus practice. An exception to the standard interpretation in the modern literature of sixteenth-century artistic treatises as essentially downplaying the mechanical aspects of artistic production and highlighting the intellectual dimension is provided by Mendelsohn (1982, 45) in her discussion of Varchi's lectures about art for the Accademia Fiorentina. See for Varchi's lectures section 9.2.

[139] See Chapter Nine.

different functions of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca can be related to each other. For example, how, if at all, are their didactic and representational functions related to their political strategic functions? And how are these, in turn, related to the religious and juridical functions of the institutions, which have been neglected in the literature? As suggested, the reason for this neglect is that the authors work with preconceived, fixed, and essentialist ideas about what an art academy is, for example when the academy is called a failure because it took on the function of a guild or because it carried out charitable works for the poor members. In these cases the sixteenth-century art academy is measured against its later counterparts.

In the practice-theoretical approach that is taken in this study, the essentialist conception of the art academy is rejected. Instead, the academy is conceived as the crossing point of various social practices. In other words, what the academy is depends on the practices that are carried out in it. As these practices change, so does the (identity or meaning of the) academy. Thus, in order to understand the academization of art, the relevant practices should be analyzed. Especially, the pluralist notion of culture is important here because it does more justice to complex and composite reality of the art academies than previous interpretations have. By conceiving the Florentine and Roman art academies as the crossing points of artistic-educational, guild, literary-theoretical, political or patronage, and religious practices, which, moreover, all underwent transformations at the end of the sixteenth century, this study attempts to disentangle the various activities that were carried out in them. Thereby, it provides a new and comprehensive understanding of the early history of these art institutions.

Chapter Three

Bourdieu and Schatzki on social reality, practices, and modernity

3.1. Bourdieu and Schatzki

A reinterpretation of the relation between theory and practice, a dynamic and pluralistic notion of culture, and a different notion of subjectivity are the general and common features of theories of practice. However, these elements do not yet constitute a specific conceptual framework that can be used for interpreting the academization of art in sixteenth-century Italy. In order to construct such an interpretative framework it is necessary to examine theories of practice in more detail. In this chapter, mainly two of such theories are discussed and compared with each other, those of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and Theodore Schatzki (b. 1956). Their practice theories are the most elaborate and comprehensive ones available, in the sense that they place the notion of practice in in a more general conceptual framework that serves to analyze social reality and social phenomena.[140] This makes their theories highly suitable for the construction of a conceptual framework for studying the academization of art. However, as will become clear, their theories differ on essential points. This means that choices have to be made as to what parts of their work can be used for reconstructing the social practices of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca.

Bourdieu's work contains several distinguishing characteristics, the most important of which are: the disregard of disciplinary boundaries – both between scientific and scholarly disciplines (e.g. anthropology, sociology, philosophy, art history, aesthetics) and between traditional academic divisions of labor (e.g. theory and methodology vs empirical research); his plea for reflexivity in science; his embellishment of the vocabulary of the human sciences with concepts such as 'habitus', 'field', and 'cultural capital'; and, finally and most importantly in the context of this dissertation, his development of a general theory of practice, which

[140] Although employed by other scholars, the notion of practice is usually less developed and defined itself, and also not explicitly related to a more general account or theory of social reality – or at least not to the extent that Schatzki and Bourdieu have done this. Foucault and Certeau, whose ideas are discussed at the end of this chapter, are examples of scholars who use the notion of practice in their analyses of culture and society, without placing it in an elaborate and explicit framework or theory.

he carried out most explicitly in *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (1972) and *Le sens pratique* (1980).[141] These four points not only bind his work together but they are also intimately connected to each other.

Schatzki's research interest lies in the field of social ontology, i.e. the investigation of the nature of social reality. He bases his theory mainly on the insights of Wittgenstein and Heidegger and, to a lesser extent, on those of Foucault, and his social ontology can be seen as a systematic elaboration of their views on social life.[142] His main theoretical ideas are spelled out in two books, *Social Practices* (1996) and *The Site of the Social* (2002). In the first, he places social practices at the center of social life, and he gives an account of the social nature of individuals. With regard to this last theme Schatzki occupies a more radical position than most social theorists by holding the view that even such intuitively private and individual phenomena as emotions and thoughts are socially constituted. His second book is an extension of *Social Practices* on two main points. It gives an account of the role of non-human entities, such as organisms, artifacts (e.g. works of art) and things, in social life. Moreover, it discusses more elaborately the theme of social change and evolution.

In this chapter, Bourdieu's and Schatzki's theories are compared with each other on three main points: their general conception of social reality and the place of social practices in it; their views on the organization of practices, as well as on how personal identity and the meaning of objects are formed in practices; and their ideas about, and criticism of, the process of modernization. In the discussion of this last theme, the views of Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau are also brought into play because they shed more light on the views of Bourdieu and Schatzki. Foucault has an additional relevance here since, as discussed above, Barzman uses his genealogical approach in her analysis of the Accademia del Disegno.

As a preface to the comparison between Bourdieu and Schatzki, some general remarks about their different academic backgrounds are in order, because they illuminate the theoretical disagreements between them. As a philosopher, Schatzki is mainly interested in the nature and constitution of social reality in general and *in abstracto*. He presents his

[141] In 1977 Bourdieu published an English translation (with revisions) of *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* under the title *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Bourdieu 1979) and in 1990 *Le Sens pratique* was translated as *The Logic of Practice*. See for a good systematical introduction of Bourdieu's work Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 1-60. The first part of this book is written by Loïc Wacquant and can be seen as an authorized explication of Bourdieu's theory.

[142] To be precise, Schatzki uses the insights of the early Heidegger, the later Wittgenstein, and the later Foucault.

social ontological views in discussion with other theorists, making meticulous conceptual distinctions and thereby he places himself in a well-organized theoretical field. Bourdieu is one of the authors, who Schatzki frequently criticizes in his publications.[143] As he himself admits, Schatzki does not show how his theory can be implemented in concrete empirical research, although the case studies that he develops in *The Site of the Social* are more elaborate illustrations of his theory than the examples in his first book.[144]

Unlike Schatzki, Bourdieu does not develop an explicit social ontology. However, as will become clear below, it is possible to derive his ideas on the nature and basic elements of social reality from his theory. [145] As a sociologist, Bourdieu is chiefly interested in understanding and explaining concrete social phenomena and problems. In his theoretical work he mainly deals with epistemological and methodological issues and he attempts to show how his concepts can be applied and made operational.[146] This entails that his concepts are not as clearly defined as Schatzki's and that he does not relate them as explicitly

[143] See especially Schatzki 1987, 1996 (133-167), 1997, and 2003. However, it should be noted that Schatzki's critique of Bourdieu does not – nor is it meant to – hide the fact that there are profound similarities between their theories, most importantly, of course, the focus on practice. Anthony Giddens' structuration theory plays a similar role in Schatzki's work. Other theorists he discusses in his publications are Bruno Latour, Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault, and Charles Taylor.

[144] Schatzki (2002, xvi-xvii) distinguishes three ways in which a social ontology can by justified as superior to others: 'through arguments against its rivals, through demonstrations of its compatibility with the social world, and through its ability to underwrite first-rate social investigation.' Schatzki admits that he mainly employs the first two strategies and the third one only in a very limited way. According to Nicolini (2012, 179-180), the lack of empirical and practical application of Schatzki's concepts is a serious weakness of his theory. Moreover, Nicolini holds that this is a common feature of practice theorists working in the Heideggerian or Wittgensteinian tradition, such as Charles Taylor, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Joseph Rouse, Barry Barns, and Andrew Pickering. Nicolini favors pragmatic approaches such as Latour's actor-network theory.

[145] It should be noted that Bourdieu would not characterize his work as (social) ontology, because of the connotations of this term to traditional and old-fashioned metaphysics. This also holds for Foucault and Certeau. However, social ontologies can be derived from their works, insofar as they deal with the nature and basic building blocks of social reality. Moreover, Schatzki's work also does not fall in the category of traditional (social) ontology, as the inspiration for his ontological ideas are the anti-metaphysical insights of Wittgenstein and Heidegger.

[146] See, for example, Bourdieu 1998, 2: 'my entire scientific enterprise is indeed based on the belief that the deepest logic of the social world can be grasped only if one plunges into the particularity of an empirical reality, historically located and dated, but with the objective of constructing it as a "special case of what is possible", as Bachelard puts it, that is, as an exemplary case in a finite world of possible configurations.' See also Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 5.

as Schatzki to those of other theorists.[147] For this reason, the interpretative framework that is to be used to analyze the activities of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in their early years is constructed mainly with Schatzki's concepts. Bourdieu, in turn, contributes the focus on relations of power, which is missing from Schatzki's theory.

3.2. Social reality and social practices

Bourdieu and Schatzki are ardent advocates of the view, discussed in the previous chapter, that the structure-agency debate can be dissolved by a turn to social practices.[148] This means that on a basic ontological level they both attribute a crucial role to social practices in social reality. However, beyond this important point of agreement their conceptions of social reality diverge considerably.

Bourdieu employs geographical metaphors to illuminate his conception of social reality. In the first place and on the most general level, in his account social reality is a *social space* of objectively and hierarchically related positions. According to Bourdieu, 'social space is constructed in such a way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their position in statistical distributions based on the *two principles of differentiation* which, in the most advanced societies (…) are undoubtedly the most efficient: economic capital and cultural capital.'[149] In parenthesis, it should be noted that Bourdieu's distribution of entities in social space according to two dimensions entails criticism of the Marxist tradition, in which the position in economic relations of

[147] For example, in his publications he never responded to Schatzki's criticisms on his theory of practice. According to Bourdieu, theoretical concepts have a better chance of improving through a confrontation with new objects than through an intellectual polemic, a comparison, or a history of ideas, which, according to him, does not result in more than a 'theoretical theory', that is, an empty meta-theoretical discourse. Schatzki's work, no doubt, falls into Bourdieu's category of 'theoretical theory'. Bourdieu contrasts 'theoretical theory' with 'scientific theory', which is 'a program of perception and of action – a scientific habitus, if you wish – which is disclosed in the empirical work which actualizes it.' See Wacquant's (1989, 50) interview with Bourdieu. See, for criticism on Bourdieu's lack of interest for 'pure' conceptual clarification, Pels 1989, 11-12.

[148] Bourdieu and Schatzki have their own – slightly differing – categorizations of this debate. Bourdieu either uses the terms objectivism vs subjectivism or social physics vs social phenomenology, whereas Schatzki speaks about wholism vs individualism.

[149] According to Bourdieu (1998, 6), the United States, Japan, and France are examples of such most advanced societies.

productions determines everything. Moreover, in his later work Bourdieu distinguishes even more dimensions within social reality and more forms of capital – e.g. social, scientific, religious, although he sometimes generalizes these as symbolic capital.

In any case, the central idea in Bourdieu's conception of social space, the one that also forms the fundamental thesis of his *La distinction* (1979), is that to exist in social space means to differ or to be different.[150] This entails that Bourdieu adheres to a structuralist conception of meaning and identity: what something is or who someone is depends on, or is determined by, the differences with, and relations to, other objects or persons.[151] Not only individuals, groups (or social classes), institutions, and goods (including cultural products such as works of art), are hierarchically positioned in a field, but this also holds for practices. According to Bourdieu, 'at every moment in each society, one has to deal with a set of social positions which is bound by a relation of homology to a set of activities (the practice of golf or piano) or of goods (a second home or an old master painting) that are themselves characterized relationally'.[152]

According to Bourdieu, practices are intimately related to objective social conditions, such as price curves, income curves, chances of access to higher education, laws of the matrimonial market, employment rates, and the frequency of holidays.[153] Practices and objective social conditions produce (and reproduce) each other. Bourdieu claims that these conditions can be gathered from regularities provided by statistical analysis, which is based on empirical investigations, i.e. questionnaires, polls, etcetera.[154] With the help of these social science methods Bourdieu reconstructs the hierarchically related positions in social space, and this also explains his use of the term 'objective' to describe social space.

For his analyses of modern societies Bourdieu uses another (but related) geographical metaphor, that of the 'field'. According to him, fields are 'relatively autonomous spheres of "play" that cannot be collapsed under an overall societal logic, be it that of capitalism, modernity, or postmodernity'.[155] Modern society or culture is an ensemble of such 'spheres of play' or fields, which have different and sometimes contrary logics and forms of capital. In other words, fields are subsets of social space with their own regulative principles. This makes

[150] Ibidem, 9.
[151] See Saussure 1916/1982, 23-35.
[152] Bourdieu 1998, 4-5.
[153] See Bourdieu 1979, 21 and 85-86.
[154] See for criticism Certeau 1984, 56-57.
[155] Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 16-17.

Bourdieu's theory of practice more pluralistic than most structuralist theories.

The concept of 'field' has two connotations for Bourdieu. It is simultaneously a field of objective forces and a field of struggles. Bourdieu uses the analogy of the magnetic field to illuminate the first connotation, because the 'value' or meaning of the objects, practices and actors are determined by their position in the field. Each field wields certain forces on the positions in it. This entails that the actors' intentions and strategies depend on their positions within the field. Actors occupying dominant positions employ different, i.e. defensive, strategies than those in dominated positions.

For the second connotation Bourdieu uses the analogy with a battlefield. Actors struggle with each other for certain overall goods in a certain field, i.e. stakes or specific forms of capital. For example, in the artistic field this capital is cultural authority; it is scientific authority in the scientific field, and sacerdotal authority in the religious field.[156] However, in the struggles not only the distribution of capital is at stake, but also what counts as capital in a field and, thereby, the location of its boundaries. Dominant actors have the advantage of enforcing the correct and legitimate ways of participating in a field and of determining what are the relevant qualities and resources of practitioners. Of course, their representations of the legitimate moves and relevant resources are congruent with their own actions and qualities. Dominated actors challenge these dominant representations and attempt to change the

[156] Ibidem, 17. Like economic (or material) capital, other forms of capital, which Bourdieu (1979, 171-183 and 1990, 112-121) sometimes generalizes as symbolic capital, are scarce and sought after goods. According to Bourdieu, modern economic theory misrepresents these material and symbolic forms of capital as strictly separated, that is, as the result of acts of 'naked-self interest' and 'disinterested interest' (e.g. cultural or aesthetic interest), respectively. He pleas for a 'general theory of the economics of practice', which treats as equal material (economic) and symbolic (cultural) exchanges without reducing them to one another. Instead of relegating symbolic interests, such as honor, the spiritual, and art to the realm of the economically irrational and incalculable, Bourdieu wants to 'extend economic calculation to *all* the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction'. The equality of material and symbolic capital is expressed by their interconvertability. For instance, the accumulation of cultural capital (in the form of knowledge or education) is transformed economic capital, because the time necessary for in order to acquire it – prolonged schooling and delay into the labor market – is bought by economic capital. Cultural capital can be converted back into economic capital, but usually only in the long run. According to Bourdieu, the work that it cost to convert one type of capital into another and the different logics, according to which they are accumulated, means that they are not entirely reducible to economic capital, although economic capital 'is at the root of all the other forms of capital'. Moreover, Bourdieu stresses that the work that goes into the conversion of economic capital to the other forms is necessarily concealed for it to function. Bourdieu 1986, 252-253 *et passim*.

structure and boundaries of the field.[157] Finally, actors also struggle to determine the hierarchy and the 'conversion rates' of all forms of capital in the field of power. This can be seen as a 'meta-field', which partly encompasses the other fields (literary, economic, religious, scientific, etc.) as it consists of the dominant actors in those fields.[158]

There are various practices carried out in a single field. For example, in the field of cultural consumption, people visit museums, listen to music, and go to the cinema. However, there is only one overall type of profit, one form of capital, which actors try to maximize in that field, namely cultural capital. The practices are homologously related to each other within the field. A certain taste in music, usually goes hand in hand with a predilection for a certain type of art and a certain type of movies. For example, people who like classical music also tend to watch art house films, whereas lovers of pop music favor blockbuster movies.[159] Moreover, the expression and cultivation of these tastes distinguishes a person from others. According to Bourdieu, there exist a hierarchy of tastes, which is also based on the ability to make pertinent distinctions between works of art, composers, and movies.[160] The goal in the field of cultural consumption is to accumulate cultural capital through the participation in these practices and through developing the abilities to make such distinctions.

Schatzki has a different view of social reality. According to him, social reality, or what he calls the 'site of the social', is composed of a 'mesh of social practices and social orders'.[161] The following section deals with his views on social practices. Social orders are material arrangements, that is, arrangements of entities, such as human beings,

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[157] See, for example, Bourdieu 2004, 34-36.

[158] Bourdieu 1977, 29 and Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, 17-18, n. 32.

[159] Bourdieu (1998, 3-6) stresses that these relations themselves are relative to a given culture and should not be generalized. For instance, in another country, the same people might favor pop music and art house films. The important thing is that these relations exist within and even across fields of a certain social universe or society and that they are dependent on the objective positions of these art forms in social space. However, recent studies suggest that Bourdieu's theses of the homologies between, and the hierarchies of the various practices within the field of cultural consumption are limited to France in the 1960s, when he carried out his empirical research. For, it is argued that cultural consumption in contemporary western societies is characterized by the figure of the 'cultural omnivore', i.e. someone who rejects the traditional categorical boundaries between types of cultural goods and participates in a wide variety of cultural practices. See, for instance, Bennett/Emmison/Frow 1999.

[160] See Bourdieu 1968.

[161] Schatzki (2003) characterizes both his own and Bourdieu's theory of practice as 'site ontologies'. Site ontologies share the fundamental thesis that social life is inherently connected to a type of context in which it occurs. This is also what distinguishes them from agency and structuralist approaches, or, in his terminology, individualist and non-individualist approaches.

non-human organisms, artifacts, and things. Schatzki's distinction between practices and orders is analytical, that is to say, it is a theoretical distinction that is made to facilitate understanding. In reality, practices and orders are always intertwined, because practices are carried out by human beings with the help of, and in relation to, other entities. According to Schatzki, social orders do not exist self-standing or self-propagating but only in the encompassing context of social practices. It is only in social practices that entities are related to each other and have meaning.[162]

According to Schatzki, Bourdieu's characterization of fields as self-propagating homologous bounded realms that consist of practices, in which a single overall type goal is pursued – i.e. the maximization of a certain form of capital – resembles the notion of society in wholist and structuralist ontologies. Schatzki argues that Bourdieu's theory is not pluralistic enough, because the scope and scale of the fields are too large. This leads to the overunification of social reality.[163] Schatzki favors a more pluralistic picture of social reality, in which practices are not 'organized into large-scale united parcels' that are essentially self-propagating. Instead, Schatzki's social practices are relatively small and continuously evolving units of organized activity, which, although sometimes partially overlapping, can be distinguished from each other because different goals are pursued in them.[164]

This means that from Schatzki's perspective social scientific and scholarly research should consist mainly (if not exclusively) of the reconstruction and analysis of social practices. Although social practices and activity play important roles in Bourdieu's (post)structuralist conception of social reality, they ultimately depend upon objective social positions – that can be determined by statistical and sociological research.[165] Therefore, in his analyses, the emphasis lies on the reconstruction of the fields and practices play a less prominent role than

[162] Schatzki 2002, 59-60. See also Schatzki 2014, 21-22 where he uses art worlds or 'art bundles' as illustrations of the mesh of practices and arrangements.
[163] Schatzki 2003, 191 and 196.
[164] In this respect he is, as he himself acknowledges, a follower of the later Foucault, who conceptualized the social site as a convoluted, variegated and shifting mesh of practices and orders, which can neither be adequately theorized in reference to a overall unity as it is traditionally done (e.g. society or state), nor to general principles. Schatzki (2002, 153) even claims that one of the objectives of *The Site of the Social* is to ground these insights of Foucault. In this context he refers to Foucault 1991b.
[165] An important question, that unfortunately cannot be answered here, is to what extent the results obtained by sociological research are really objective. Furthermore the sociologist's claim to objectivity is also a strategy to appear more like the natural sciences and, thus, more scientific.

in Schatzki's theory. This distinction has implications for their respective notions of social practices itself.

3.3. The organization of social practices

Bourdieu and Schatzki would both underwrite the definition of a social practice, presented in the previous chapter, as 'an organized unit of routinized bodily and mental actions'. However, they disagree about what the organization of social practices consists of. According to Schatzki, organization is the different ways in which actions or, what he calls 'bodily doings and sayings', are linked to each other in a social practice. He holds three of these linkages to be most pertinent.[166]

The first way in which actions are linked to each other in a social practice is through *practical understandings*. It is expedient to start the explanation of this term by distinguishing it from the common conception of understanding. In general, understanding is conceived in the sense of theoretical or propositional knowledge. Examples are '*I know that* snow is white, 2 + 2 = 4, or "paard" in Dutch means "horse" in English'.[167] Schatzki's practical understandings, on the other hand, are certain *abilities* (or skills) that pertain to the actions composing the practice. Most relevant are three such abilities: knowing how to perform an action; knowing how to identify an action of others; and knowing how to prompt or respond to an action.[168] Examples are *knowing how to* ride a bike or knowing how to make a drawing of a nude model.[169]

Moreover, this should not be understood as a reversal of the primacy of practice and theory, but rather as a different conception of understanding in general. For, practical understanding (ability, skill) is implied in every so-called 'theoretical understanding'. For instance, understanding that 'snow is white', '2 + 2 = 4', or '"paard" in Dutch means "horse" in English' does not only entail the possession (and availability) of these propositions (in the mind), but also the abilities to identify snow, to calculate and to translate from Dutch to English.[170] This

[166] Schatzki's fourth type of linkage, 'general understanding', is not directly relevant in this context.
[167] This is also the type of understanding that expressed in axiom's, definitions, and formula's.
[168] Schatzki 2002, 77-78.
[169] Other examples from the practice-theoretical literature that express (roughly) the same phenomenon as practical understanding are Michael Polanyi's 'tacit knowledge', Hubert Dreyfus's 'skilled coping', and Bourdieu's 'habitus'. See for this last concept below.
[170] According to Schatzki (1996, 93), '[p]ropositional understanding is an inferior stand-in for, and thus not equivalent to, the nonpropositional conceptual understanding living in the practice.'

is an example of the interpenetration of practice and theory that was discussed at the end of the previous chapter in the context of the 'demotion of practice' in Western intellectual history.[171]

Schatzki emphasizes that although we do attribute understanding to individuals, it is not an intrinsic property they possess, but one they have as participants of a social practice.[172] Recall the 'thumbs up' example from the previous chapter. Only within and against the background of the practice of giving someone a 'thumbs up' can it be said that someone practically understands, that is, knows how to give, to identify, and to evoke or respond to a 'thumbs up'.[173] To take an example from the world of art, the ability to draw a 'realistic' human figure on paper or canvas is not something an individual can acquire nor sustain without the existence of a social practice of drawing 'realistic' nudes, for the simple reason that without the existence of this practice what the artist would draw would not count as, i.e. would not be understood as, a realistically rendered human figure, nor would it make sense to him to draw it in the first place.[174]

The second way in which actions are linked together in social practices, according to Schatzki, is through *rules*. According to Schatzki, rules are 'explicit formulations, principles, precepts and instructions that enjoin, direct, or remonstrate people to perform specific actions'. Rules link the doings and sayings of a practice because people take account of and follow (or break) the same rules in that practice.[175] Examples of rules in sixteenth-century artistic practices in Florence are the guild rules that specify how and when an artist could open his own workshop. But also the recipes for mixing pigments would count as rules in Schatzki's sense.

Thirdly, according to Schatzki, actions are connected through *teleoaffective structures*. This composite term means that our actions and our emotions (in the broad sense of 'affects') are normatively and hierarchically ordered towards certain goals and ends (teleology) that are

[171] See section 2.4.
[172] Schatzki 2002, 134-135.
[173] See Schatzki 1996, 92.
[174] Incidentally, this raises questions about the origins and the transformation of a social practice. How do new practical understanding or skills emerge in a practice and how do they get recognized by the participants as part of the practice? Three ways in which this might happen are 1. Through the example of a participant with outstanding skills (e.g. Michelangelo in artistic practices, Federer in tennis practices, and Bourdieu in social scientific practices); 2. Through the overlap or combination of practices (e.g. artistic and anatomical practices in the sixteenth century: anatomists needed realistically drawn human figures and artists needed real corpses, for educational purposes) 3. By coincidence or accident (e.g. natural disasters or wars destroying the infrastructure of society, leading to new practices) – or through a combination of the above.
[175] Schatzki 2002, 79.

pursued in a social practice.[176] Furthermore, a practice exhibits a set of projects and tasks that should or may be carried out for the sake of these ends. For example, one of the goals of sixteenth-century artistic practices was to make a living through the production and sale of art. In order to reach this goal, pigments were grinded, canvases prepared, and preliminary sketches made. These tasks could be carried out in different ways, but the goal itself should be pursued and the tasks performed if one was to be a participant in the practice.

According to Schatzki, the participants in a social practice have different degrees of mastery of its teleoaffective structure. That is to say, the ends, task and affectivities are unevenly distributed in the minds and actions of the practitioners. For example, in the sixteenth-century painting practice not every participant carried out and practically understood all tasks. Pupils and some assistants grinded colors and prepared canvases, whereas masters (and some advanced students) made preliminary sketches. Moreover, Schatzki holds that the teleoaffective structure of a social practice can be, and often is, the subject of controversy amongst participants.[177] Participants argue about the goals of their practice and about how these should be pursued. An example from the artistic practice in sixteenth-century Italy is the disagreement among practitioners about the question whether artists should be content with just producing works of art or also engage in theoretical and philosophical debates about their professions.[178]

It should be emphasized that, according to Schatzki, like practical understanding and rules, ends and goals are not properties of individual actors but features of a social practice. Therefore, our habit of ascribing understanding, the following (or breaking) of rules and the pursuit of goals to individuals should be qualified by the realization that these understandings, rules and goals are principally features of social practices, namely of their organization and that their ascription to an individual only makes sense in so far as that individual partakes in the relevant practice(s).[179] Moreover, for the interpretation of artistic and cultural phenomena this entails that the researcher should try to reconstruct the organization of a practice and relate it to the actions, intentions and products of individual actors.

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[176] See Schatzki 2002, 80-85. In the notion of 'teleoaffective structure' he combines the ends, projects or tasks (the teleological aspect) with emotions and moods (the affective aspect).

[177] Ibidem, 80-83.

[178] See Hughes 1986b, 51 on this disagreement in the Accademia del Disegno and other academies. See also Chapter Nine for a discussion of this point.

[179] It should also be emphasized that these practical understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures are expressed by bodily doings and sayings, instead of existing as essences alongside these doings and sayings, e.g. in an abstract and ideal world.

Schatzki distinguishes two kinds of social practices: dispersed and integrative practices. As the term suggests, dispersed practices are widely dispersed among different sectors of social life. The examples Schatzki gives of dispersed practices are describing, ordering, explaining, questioning, reporting, examining, and imagining.[180] According to Schatzki, dispersed practices are organized by practical understanding alone. Integrative practices, on the other hand, are more complex. Their organization consists of all three types of linkages: practical understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure. Instances of integrative practices are farming practices, business practices, voting practices, teaching practices, celebration practices, cooking practices, recreational practices, industrial practices, religious practices, and banking practices.[181]

Compared to Schatzki, Bourdieu has a far less developed and detailed concept of social practice and its organization. For instance, he never formulated a definition of the term. However, as mentioned, Bourdieu would probably underwrite the general definition that a practice is 'an organized unit of routinized bodily and mental actions'.[182] In order to learn more about his understanding of practice it is expedient to turn to his famous concept of 'habitus'. According to Bourdieu, habitus is an embodied system of socially acquired dispositions – a sort of 'second nature' – that governs human activity in such a way that the objective conditions established by social practices are sustained and perpetuated. Or, in Bourdieu's own words, habitus is

> the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, [it] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus.[183]

Thus, habitus is the medium through which the objective dimension of the social world is interdependently connected to the

[180] Schatzki 1996, 92.
[181] Schatzki 1996, 98. Schatzki (1996, 99) notes that '[i]ntegrative practices are not assemblages of dispersed practices because dispersed practices can be transformed through their incorporation in integrative practices and some simple practices in integrative practices do not exist outside of these (such as the marking of ballots in voting practices).'
[182] According to Nicolini (2012, 53), Bourdieu conceives of practice even more generally and straightforwardly as 'what people do in everyday life'.
[183] Bourdieu 1979, 78.

subjective, individual dimension (mentality and activity).[184] Habitus, which entails both the ability and the disposition to carry out a certain action, is produced in individuals in and through their participation in practices. For example, visits to museums (i.e. participating in museum going practices) at an early age shapes both the child's ability to identify and understand works of art and her disposition to return to the museum at a later age. In this way the practices are reproduced through the habitus. As mentioned in the previous section, according to Bourdieu, the practices, in turn, are related to objective social conditions. For example, parents who take their children to the museum almost all belong to the same social class and have similar levels of education and professions.[185]

Bourdieu's 'habitus' is similar to Schatzki's 'practical understanding' insofar as both concepts emphasize the reproduction of social practices through socialization. Moreover, they also concur that these concepts designate forms of embodied 'know how'. Bourdieu's 'habitus' differs, however, from Schatzki's 'practical understanding' insofar as habitus is determined by (and reproduces) the objective social conditions. This entails that someone's habitus expresses her (class) position in social space. According to Schatzki, however, someone's practical understandings only indicate in which social practices she was trained and is currently participating in. Schatzki does not relate practical understandings to objective social conditions. This also means that traditionally distinctive features of social reality such as class play no role in a Schatzkian analysis social or cultural phenomena.

Schatzki points out that it is not clear how the objective conditions can determine the habitus.[186] He argues that social scientific research might reveal that, *de facto*, there is a correlation between objective conditions and the reproduction of practices through the habitus, as in Bourdieu's example of the love of art, but this should not be confused with a causal relation. However, Bourdieu sometimes suggests the latter in his writings. In addition, he can be – and has been – criticized for his too strong focus on the reproduction of social relations and practices, whereby social change is obfuscated.[187]

A second difference with Bourdieu's 'habitus' is that Schatzki's 'practical understanding' does not determine what action to perform (disposition) or what action makes sense to an actor to perform. In his

[184] For this reason Bourdieu (1979, 72) calls habitus simultaneously the 'internalization of externality' and the 'externalization of internality'. The objective social conditions are, for example, the 'material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition'.
[185] See Bourdieu/Darbel 1969/1991 and Bourdieu 1968 for analyses of the museum going public in France in the 1960s.
[186] See Schatzki 1996, 226, n. 16 and Schatzki 1997, 289.
[187] See, for example, Shusterman 1990 and King 2000.

theory this function is carried out by *practical intelligibility*. Practical intelligibility should be distinguished from the organization of a practice because it governs and induces actions rather than linking them, and because it is an individual phenomenon – instead of a feature of social practices:

> Practical intelligibility is what makes sense to a person to do. It governs action by specifying what an actor does next in the continuous flow of activity. It also causes activity in the senses of formal and final – but not efficient – causality: it specifies what a person does; and the specification of what to do is usually orientated toward specific ends. (…) It is always to an individual that a specific action makes sense. Moreover, features of individuals, such as her ends, tasks, projects, mental conditions, and affectivity, are what principally determine what makes sense to her to do.[188]

According to Schatzki, practical intelligibility is non-individual only to the extent that those features of individuals are molded in and through practices. For example, through someone's training as a professional painter, in which he has internalized the goals of the painting practice, it makes sense for him to make a sketch of a building, rather than a photo, which on the basis of his abilities (practical understandings) he could have also done. Making sketches is a task in the larger project of making a painting for the purpose (goal) of selling it.

What this means in the context of Schatzki's theory is that Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' fulfills the functions of both practical understanding and practical intelligibility. It resembles practical understanding in that it is a bodily skill or capacity that underlies activity. It differs from practical understanding, and, for the same reason, resembles practical intelligibility, in that it determines what makes sense for people to do on particular occasions, i.e. governs activity or singles out which action to perform. In other words, Schatzki distinguishes the two functions that Bourdieu has brought together in his notion of habitus: whereas practical intelligibility singles out which actions to perform (governing), practical understanding executes them and, thereby, linking them to other actions in a particular practice (organization).

As far as the conceptualization of the organization of practices is concerned, in Bourdieu's account it is habitus alone that organizes practices. In Bourdieu's theory there are no counterparts to Schatzki's explicit rules and teleoaffective structure. This means that Bourdieu reduces the organization of practices to the structure of habitus.[189] According to Schatzki, by neglecting explicit rules and teleoaffective

[188] Schatzki 2002, 74-5.
[189] Schatzki 2002, 152.

structures Bourdieu's habitus lacks explanatory power, since it does not explain why an actor, on a given occasion, performs one sensible action rather than another.[190] Only in reference to practical understanding *and* explicit rules *and* an actor's tasks projects, ends, emotions and moods, carried in the teleoaffective structure of a practice, particular actions can be explained. Furthermore, whereas for Bourdieu habitus is what unites different practices, for Schatzki practical understanding is one of the criteria – in addition to rules and teleoaffectivity – by which they can be distinguished from each other.[191]

Schatzki holds that normative and hierarchically ordered goals are features of a social practice, and that participants can and often do disagree about these goals. On Bourdieu's account, the controversies over the goals of the practice are due to different social positions of the participants in social space in general, or in a certain field. The goals themselves are not features of a practice but of the larger fields. This should be related to the distinction discussed in the previous section, namely that between Bourdieu's objective social reality with hierarchically related fields and Schatzki's site of the social consisting of the mesh of social practices and material arrangements. The fact that Schatzki places more weight on social practices in his conception of social reality corresponds to his more developed and detailed discussion of the organization of social practices. Moreover, where Bourdieu places the ends and goals of practices outside of them, namely in the larger fields, Schatzki conceives these as part of their organization.

Bourdieu's and Schatzki's diverging conceptions of (the organization of) social practices also has implications for their views personal identity and the meaning of objects and artifacts.[192] For Schatzki human beings and inanimate objects alike have the meaning they have by virtue of their participation and function in a social practice. Who someone is depends what she does; and what she does depends, in turn, on the practices, in which she participates.[193] Schatzki uses the same argument for the meaning of artifacts: what something is – its meaning – depends on how it is understood; how it is understood depends, in turn, on its function in a social practice. Therefore, Schatzki argues that

[190] Schatzki 1996, 226 n. 16.
[191] See Bourdieu 1998, 8, for the notion of habitus as unifying principle.
[192] See, for an explanation of how the conceptions of the meaning of objects and artifacts and of subjectivity or personal identity are conceived in theories of practices in general, section 2.2.
[193] Of course, there is much more to say about Schatzki's conception of identity. See Schatzki 2002, 47-53 and for a short summary of Schatzki's views, Jonker 2008, 149-150.

personal identity and the meaning of artifacts is plural and changeable, because people participate and artifacts function in different practices.[194]

Compared to Schatzki, Bourdieu works with singular and static notions of identity and meaning. This is a consequence of his conception of the habitus as essentially homogeneous as it unites various practices.[195] Furthermore, as discussed, in Bourdieu's account people and artifacts receive their identity and meaning through their objective positions and their relations to each other in social space. This means that Bourdieu's concept of identity is more uniform than that of Schatzki.

3.4. Social critique, power, and modernization

Another important difference between the practice theories of Bourdieu and Schatzki concerns their conceptions of power relations and the process of modernization. These issues are relevant for the study of the academization of art because they are closely connected to the question to what extent modern institutions such as art academies act in the interests of the economic and political elite, rather than being the politically neutral and meritocratic organizations they claim to be.[196] Moreover, this question is also related to the discussion of the 'demotion of practice' in Western history and to the emancipatory objectives of practice theorists, insofar as practice theorists have argued that the primacy of theory over practice has hindered the emancipation of certain professions and groups in modern societies.[197]

Schatzki's position on these issues is easy to describe. His theory of practice does not have a social critical or emancipatory objective.[198] It also does not contain conceptions of the process of modernization or of power relations in social life. Schatzki's aim is to 'to develop key elements of a general conception of social life that is equal to the interwoven complexity and lack of totality emphasized by recent writers (…)'.[199] His social ontology is not developed in relation to a certain

[194] Schatzki 2002, 54.
[195] Bourdieu 1979, 80-84.
[196] See section 1.3.1.
[197] See section 2.4.
[198] The Wittgensteinian background of Schatzki's theory is manifested here. Like Wittgenstein, Schatzki's aim is primarily to describe – or to make descriptions possible – and not to explain and criticize social practices. The latter approach is adopted by Bourdieu, who in this respect is primarily a social scientist rather than a philosopher.
[199] Schatzki 1996, 10. It should be noted that Schatzki (ibidem, 11) places himself in a group of practice theorists (such as Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, and Charles Taylor), who 'agree that practices are (…) pivotal objects of analysis in an account of contemporary Western society'. However, as mentioned, with his theory of practice Schatzki does not just want to give an account of contemporary Western society but of the social in general.

historical period or with a historical process in mind. Indeed, Schatzki's examples of integrative practices (farming, religion, cooking, business, celebration, etc.) are universal in the sense that in one form or another they are carried on in all cultures and societies.[200] Of course, homonymous practices in different cultures can vary substantially, i.e. have different organizations. Moreover, this can occur to the extent that it would be better to speak of different practices, and even of cultural-specific ones. However, it should be noted that from Schatzki's point of view such practices would be only *contingently* specific to a culture, in the sense that empirical research shows that they were only carried out in this culture (or in this region or era). They are not *principally* culturally specific, in the sense that they could have only been carried out in this culture, for example because of the general principles governing the culture.

Furthermore, Schatzki's theory aims to be politically neutral. It is only indirectly and in a very general way that his advocacy for a practice turn in contemporary scientific and scholarly research can be related to a political and social agenda. That is to say, only if his plea for a different understanding of the relation between practice and theory is placed in the context of the criticism of the philosophical tradition of the 'demotion of practice', can his theory be seen as attempt to rehabilitate professions that are traditionally categorized as practical or mechanical over and against so-called intellectual professions.

Bourdieu's theory of practice, however, is intimately related to conceptions of the process of modernization and of relations of domination in modern societies. Some of his key concepts such as 'field' and 'cultural capital' are developed in his empirical research on nineteenth- and twentieth-century societies, and especially France and Algeria. For example, in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Bourdieu makes a distinction between primitive or pre-capitalist and advanced or capitalist societies. In contrast to modern Western cultures, in primitive and pre-capitalist societies, such as Kabylia (in Algeria), there are no strict distinctions between economy, religion, law, etc. In other words, there are not yet distinct fields.

The process of modernization entails, among other things, the autonomization of the economic field through the development of

[200] In *The Site of the Social* Schatzki (2002) works out in more detail two examples of social practices from the perspective of his theory: nineteenth-century herbal industry and contemporary day trading practices. However, these examples serve as illustrations for his theoretical concepts and are not meant to understand the culture from which they are drawn. Bourdieu, on the other hand, develops his theoretical concepts in direct relation to concrete sociological research problems. This difference is related to their respective academic disciplines (or practices).

capitalism. Subsequently, other fields are formed in reaction and in opposition to economic field and to the field of power.[201] According to Bourdieu, a field is autonomous when it is 'capable of formulating and imposing its own ends against external demands'.[202] This means that the agents in the field struggle for a different type of capital. For instance, in the artistic field the agents struggle for cultural instead of economic capital, and cultural capital is (often) accumulated according to a logic that is contrary to that of the economic field. Authors and artists whose work is in high demand (i.e. appreciated by the general public) typically have a low position in the cultural field, i.e. they possess relatively little cultural capital. However, they have more economic capital than authors and artists whose products are esteemed by connoisseurs. Ultimately, the new field always remains in a relation of dependence to the economic field and to the field of power, which means that its autonomy is always relative to those fields.[203] Moreover, different forms of capital are interconvertible, although this costs time and energy.[204]

According to Bourdieu, there also are different modes of domination in primitive and advanced societies. In primitive societies, relations of domination are reproduced and transformed through the direct and personal interactions between individuals. For instance, it is in direct and personal contact that strategies are played out in marriage practices in Kabyle society. In modern cultures, however, the relations of domination are 'mediated by objective, institutionalized mechanisms, such as those producing and guaranteeing the distribution of "titles" (titles of nobility, deeds of possession, academic degrees, etc.)'. This means that in capitalist societies institutions (universities, academies, law courts, the Church, etc.) mediate personal relations, and make it possible for people to '*dispense with* strategies aimed *expressly* (which does not mean manifestly) and directly (i.e. without being mediated by the mechanisms) at the domination of individuals.'[205] This means that for Bourdieu institutions are inherently conservative as to the relations of power and domination within a field. However, it should be noted that they are not necessarily conservative as to products and actions that are

[201] See Robbins 1991, 115.
[202] Bourdieu 1989, 149. According to Bourdieu, this is also the moment when an aesthetic mode of perception comes into being. It is the condition for both the pure gaze of the consumer and the pure artistic intention of the producer. Although Bourdieu nowhere explicitly states when this autonomization of the artistic field occurred in Western culture – and he occasionally suggests that his notion of field could be applied to Quattrocento Florentine painting (Bourdieu 1983, 312) – his empirical studies seem to pinpoint this event in nineteenth-century Europe. See, for instance, Bourdieu 1993 and 1996.
[203] See Bourdieu 1979, 183-197.
[204] Bourdieu 1986.
[205] Bourdieu 1979, 184 (original emphasis).

rewarded by them. For example, in the fields of science and fashion institutions stimulate permanent innovation, albeit in the manner that is stipulated by the dominant actors.[206]

According to Bourdieu, through the foundation of such institutions both energy and time is saved because the '[o]bjectification guarantees the permanence and cumulativity of material and symbolic acquisitions which can then subsist without agents having to recreate them continuously and in their entirety by deliberate action'.[207] However, this also means that the unequal conditions (social origins, level of education and job of parents, etc.) and the domination of individuals are reproduced. An important difference with pre-capitalist societies is that in modern cultures this reproduced domination is more concealed. For, according to Bourdieu, the process of modernization is accompanied by the emergence of charismatic and meritocratic ideologies that give false suggestions about the equality of rights and chances. No longer based on a personal 'practical reason' or a 'feel for the game', relations of domination are sustained by institutions, through high criteria for access and the distribution of titles.

According to Bourdieu, the field of art and culture is one of the most important places where the dominant ideologies mask and cover up the inequality of the social conditions. Whereas in primitive societies relations of power are euphemized through the denial of economy and economic interest – even within economic transactions – in the modern world these negations of economy can be found in the fields of art and culture.[208] For example, one of the fundamental distinctions in the artistic field is that between commercial art and 'real' or 'high' art, i.e. art that is produced for art's sake. The more commercial a product is, the more likely it will be disqualified as a work of art. It should be noted that this holds especially in that part of the field where works of contemporary artists are sold. The dominant actors in the field, i.e. the gatekeepers such as museums, important galleries, art critics, and academies accept or reject a something as a work of art. These apparently neutral and objective decisions are ultimately related to the actor's or the institution's position in the economic field and the field of power.[209] Therefore, Bourdieu argues that the social scientist and historian of culture have to

[206] See, for example, Bourdieu 2004, 35.
[207] Bourdieu 1979, 184.
[208] According to Bourdieu, in primitive societies purely economic, artistic, or religious acts are not possible, because the respective fields do not exist.
[209] See, for example, Bourdieu's (1996, 121-125) analysis of the literary field in Paris at the middle of the nineteenth century. It should be noted that in the part of the artistic field where works from established masters of the past reenters the market, or where books from classical authors are republished, the commercial and artistic value often coincides.

'include an analysis of the corresponding institutional mechanism' in the 'analysis of ideologies, in the narrow sense of "legitimating discourses" if they want to do more than 'contribute to the efficacy of those ideologies'. For this reason he criticizes all 'internal (semiological) analyses of political, educational, religious, or aesthetic ideologies' because they succumb to a 'complicitous silence'.[210]

Bourdieu's account of the modernization process overlaps with those of Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau. A brief digression into the views of these scholars – who also place practices at the center of their analyses, albeit not in a theoretical fashion – is expedient because it throws into sharper relief the differences between Bourdieu and Schatzki. The common ingredient in Bourdieu's and Foucault's work is the fundamental thesis that in modern Western societies calculative, instrumental, or strategic forms of reason have become increasingly dominant at the expense of practical knowledge and expertise.[211] Moreover, this calculative rationality has been employed in and by modern institutions and practices – e.g. prisons, universities and academies, and scientific, penal and pedagogical practices – through which a new, modern type of subject is created.

Although the reigning ideologies describe this subject as freer and happier than ever, Foucault holds that it is an objectified, analyzed, and fixed individual, i.e. someone who through disciplinary technology (or disciplinary power) has become a 'mute and docile body'.[212] Disciplinary technology creates these individuals 'not by crushing them or lecturing them, but by "humble" procedures of training and distribution. It operates through a combination of hierarchical observation, and normalizing judgment'.[213] Moreover, according to Foucault, this disciplinary technology is the common ingredient of modern penal practices and human sciences such as criminology and psychology.[214]

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[210] Bourdieu 1979, 188-189. Moreover, in modern societies objectivist thinking has won from practical logic. According to Robbins (1991, 116), Bourdieu wants to revolutionize thinking and bring about a revival of practical logic against the tyranny of distinction.

[211] Incidentally, members of the Frankfurther Schule share this view of Bourdieu and Foucault.

[212] According to Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983, 160), Foucault's modern individual is 'the product of the complex strategic development in the field of power and the multiple developments in the human sciences.'

[213] Foucault 1991a, 170.

[214] See, for example, Gutting's (2005, 94) interpretation of the parallels between Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and his *History of Sexuality*: 'Just as the modern sciences of criminology define categories of social dysfunction (juvenile delinquent, kleptomaniac, drug addict, serial killer, etc.) that are simultaneously sources of knowledge and of control regarding their 'subjects', so the modern sciences of sexuality define

The previous explication of Bourdieu's theory has shown that he has a similar conception of how modern institutions create and manipulate individuals by molding their habitus, while at the same time mask their true functions of reproducing the unequal *status quo* in society with the help of meritocratic ideologies. Moreover, like Foucault, Bourdieu also attributes an important role in this process to the modern social sciences and humanities. His theory of practice is explicitly developed against existing approaches in the social sciences – both on the agency and on the structuralist side – because, according to him, they contribute to this reproduction. Bourdieu's remark, quoted above, about the 'complicitous silence' of most scientific and scholarly research on both contemporary and past ideologies should be recalled here. This means that from Bourdieu and Foucault's point of view, scholarly research that lacks explicit analyses of power relations is not neutral, but reaffirms the *status quo*. This critique would apply to interpretations of society that are based Schatzki's theory.[215]

Schatzki could respond to such a reproach by criticizing Bourdieu's and Foucault's analyses of culture and modernity. This counter-critique could follow the argumentation of Certeau. Although Certeau starts from the same fundamental presupposition as Bourdieu and Foucault, he criticizes their scientific approaches to cultural and historical phenomena. To reiterate, this presupposition is the thesis that modernity and modernization are synonymous with an ever-growing dominance of instrumental and strategic reason over and against technical-utilitarian activity and everyday practices.[216] According to Certeau, modern institutions such as the mass media, the Church, education, and politics have become more and more independent of the everyday life-world. Or rather, they increasingly colonize, influence and control this world of everyday practices. Moreover, Certeau agrees with Bourdieu and Foucualt that modern science is one of these institutions, and therefore, part of the problem.

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categories of sexual dysfunction (homosexual, nymphomaniac, fetishist, etc.) that have a parallel role as power/knowledge.'

[215] This is not surprising since Schatzki is mainly inspired by Wittgenstein and Heidegger, philosophers who have been criticized for similar reasons. See for critical charges against Wittgenstein's alleged conservatism and quietism Shusterman 1990 and Bax 2009, 149-155.

[216] Laermans 1996, 43-44. According to Laermans (ibidem, 63), Certeau here also implicitly follows the diagnoses of modernity of Weber, Adorno and Marcuse, in which the history of modern culture is described as a triumph of instrumental reason and the increase of power of bureaucracy and the culture industry, rather than the usually positive interpretations in terms of progress, e.g. more hygiene, higher wages, better nourishment, and more leisure time.

However, and here is where his critique comes in, Certeau argues that Foucault's and Bourdieu's analyses of culture do not escape this progressive colonization of the lifeworld and the control over individual subjects by strategic and instrumental reason. According to Certeau, both Foucault's analyses of the procedures that are hidden in prisons, schools, factories, hospitals, and barracks and Bourdieu's studies of different ways of spending leisure time and of consuming cultural goods among the different classes always have the same result or determinant: disciplinary power for Foucault and the habitus for Bourdieu.[217] The problem lies in the fact that theories – even these social critical theories of practice – construct models of reality and thereby reduce different practices to these constructs or simulacra.[218] According to Certeau, this is a problem that lies not only in the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, but also in the modern scientific enterprise in general, because it necessarily makes use of instrumentalist reason and disciplinary technology.[219] It is for this reason that Certeau explores alternative, literary forms of writing in his scholarly work.

Furthermore, Certeau argues that Bourdieu's and Foucault's analyses lead to fatalist and cynic conclusions, because they ignore the various forms of resistance that are always already carried out. Therefore, his solution is to reveal how this silent and almost hidden resistance of the common man is present in ordinary practices such as walking in the city, reading a book, and shopping for groceries.[220] Certeau attempts to show how in these activities an alternative and creative form of rationality is employed that resists and undermines the neatly arranged paths, which had been constructed by architects and city planners, authors and publishers, advertisers and supermarkets for common users. Against the 'strategies' of the official and dominant institutions, he places the creative and undermining 'tactics' of common consumers.[221]

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[217] Certeau 1984, 62-63.
[218] Laermans 1996, 57.
[219] Certeau's criticism of Bourdieu is more severe than that of Foucault, although he does approve of the former's anthropological field work in Algeria from the 1950s and 1960s.
[220] These examples are from *The Practice of Everyday Life*, the first two from volume 1 (Certeau 1984) and the last from volume 2 (Certeau 1998).
[221] According to Certeau (1988, 38), 'strategies are actions which, thanks to the establishment of a place of power (the property of a proper), elaborate theoretical places (systems and totalizing discourses) capable of articulating an ensemble of physical places in which forces are distributed. (…) [t]hey (…) privilege spatial relationships. (…) Tactics are procedures that gain validity in relation to the pertinence they lend to time – to the circumstances which the precise instant of an intervention transforms into a favorable situation, to the rapidity of the movements that change the organization of a space, to the relations among successive moments in an action, to the possible intersections of durations and heterogeneous rhythms, etc.'

Certeau's critical analysis of modern culture and science can be connected to what Rowan Williams calls 'totalizing interpretations' in a discussion of Wittgenstein's reading of Freud. Williams writes that

> [s]pecific interpretations are always exercises in ignoring difference and uncontrollable converse; their danger lies in their potential for ignoring the fact of their ignoring. In principle, the critique is applicable to any totalizing interpretation, Marxist, sociobiological, religious schemes of some kinds; and it is important to realize that Wittgenstein is not rejecting interpretation as such in favor of a passive reception of what presents itself but is rather defending the pluriform vitality of interpretation.[222]

What Certeau seems to be after in his analyses of everyday practices is this 'pluriform vitality of interpretation'. Indeed, Certeau's relentless search for the ordinary inventiveness of common users shows that social and cultural practices are heterogeneous and multiform, rather than confirming the ever-increasing domination of calculative rationality in more and more sectors of society, as is expressed by critical scholars such as Bourdieu and Foucault.

Schatzki's practice approach is better suited for the type of cultural and historical research that is advocated by Certeau than the work of Bourdieu and Foucault, because it acknowledges Williams' 'pluriform vitality of interpretation'. Schatzki's social ontology does not lead to an all-encompassing, all-consuming interpretation that ignores others, but it provides a broad interpretative framework, within which objects, phenomena, actions, and people can be interpreted from different perspectives, i.e. different social practices. Indeed, Schatzki's ontology provides a conceptual framework that is neutral as to any specific theses about the course of history, the fundamental characteristic of a particular culture, or the defining features of a period. This *framework* can be contrasted with Bourdieu's *theory*, which does take more detailed positions on these issues. The fact that Schatzki omits discussions of the relations of power and domination from his 'theory' of practice does not necessarily mean that it serves to sanction the *status quo*. Rather, it entails that the types of power and its functions in a culture have to be analyzed one practice at a time. The work of Bourdieu, Foucault, and Certeau can offer inspiration and even serve as models for such analyses, as long as they are not generalized to stand for a whole period, culture, or even an institution.

[222] Williams 1988, 40. Williams' examples show that by 'totalizing interpretations' he does not exclusively refer to scientistic approaches (sociobiology), but also certain historical (Marxist) or religious analyses.

3.5. Bourdieu, Schatzki, and the academization of art

As leading proponents of the 'practice turn', Bourdieu and Schatzki share certain conceptions concerning the relationship between theory and practice, the dynamic and pluralistic nature of society, and the social constitution of the subject with each other, as well as with other practice theorists. However, the comparison of their work in this chapter has made clear that there also exist fundamental differences between their views on social reality, practices, the meaning of objects and artifacts, and the process of modernization and relations of power. These differences can be summarized schematically (table 1). They can also be concretized by outlining what the analyses of the academization of art would look like from their perspectives.

	General conception of social reality	**Organization of practices**	**Conception of meaning of artifacts (and personal identity)**	**Modernization and power relations**	**General characterization of theory**
Bourdieu	Social space, fields	Habitus	Positions	Differentiation of social space: emergence of fields and hidden power relations	Theory
Schatzki	Mesh of social practices and material arrangements	Practical understanding, rules, and teleoaffective structure	Functions	No account of modernization process or power relations	Conceptual framework

Table 1. General features of Bourdieu's and Schatzki's theories of practice

Although a Bourdieusian analysis of the academization of art would have certain merits, it would also run into similar problems as some of the studies discussed in earlier chapters. More specifically, to get an idea of what the interpretation of the academization of art would look like from Bourdieu's perspective it is expedient to consult his publications on art and artists, even though these studies deal mainly with the nineteenth-century literary and painterly world in France.[223] From these texts it becomes clear that the key element in a Bourdieusian analysis of art is the reconstruction of the 'field of artistic practices'.[224] In order to understand the art of a historical period, it has to be determined to what extent the artistic field is autonomous over and against the economic field and the field of power. This entails that the main question

[223] See Bourdieu 1983, 1993 and 1996.

[224] Bourdieu introduces his notion of the 'artistic field' to go beyond, on the one hand, the reduction of the 'magical' powers of art to something base as money or power (traditional sociology) and, on the other, of art as something intrinsically valuable and transcendent (charismatic ideology).

in an investigation of the academization of art from Bourdieu's perspective would be whether the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca can be described in terms of the emergence of an artistic field and, thus, as an important moment in the autonomization of art (and the process of modernization).

In his studies on Manet and Flaubert, Bourdieu discusses several key elements in the emergence of the artistic field in nineteenth-century France that are also applicable to sixteenth-century Italy. In the first place, the formation of a field implies the formalization and objectification of social positions and relations. It is possible to describe the foundation of the Italian academies in these terms. For example, in Florence the Accademia del Disegno formalized and institutionalized the previously direct and personal patron-client relations between the duke and the artists in the city.[225] Other signs of the autonomization of the artistic field, according to Bourdieu, are the development of the theory and the history of the field and of its practitioners, the canonization of great masters and their works, the emergence of art-critical journals and magazines, galleries and museums, and, finally, the foundation of art schools such as academies.[226]

With the exception of art journals, all these phenomena can and have been found in the context of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the first years of their existence. Vasari wrote the first elaborate history of the profession and the biographies of its practitioners. Several academic artists composed theoretical treatises about their arts, in which they reflected on the essence of their arts and on how these should be taught. The incorporation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca also meant that future generations of artists were trained with the help of these theoretical guidelines. These institutions canonized certain artists, most importantly, but not exclusively, Michelangelo and Raphael. Finally, it has been argued that the ephemeral works of art that were produced by young academicians on the occasions of the funeral of Michelangelo in 1564 and the wedding of Francesco I de' Medici in 1565 not only had pedagogical functions but were also temporary public exhibitions and, thus, examples for future museums and art galleries.[227]

Notwithstanding the similarities between the points discussed by Bourdieu about the autonomization of the artistic field and the academization of art in Italy at the end of the sixteenth century, there are also reasons why the application of his theory of practice in this study is

[225] See section 10.3.1.
[226] See, for example, Bourdieu 1977, 38 and 1983, 318-319.
[227] See Ważbiński 1978.

problematic. The phenomena just mentioned were only starting to emerge and were not yet fully developed. This means that the autonomy of the artistic field in relation to the economic field and the field of power was very limited. (The economic field itself, as Bourdieu understands it, was not fully developed.) In most cases, art was still a commodity like others and did not have a special consecrated or charismatic quality (in the modern sense of the term). What is more, the struggle between actors (persons and institutions) for the monopoly to determine the legitimate categories of perception and appreciation – or to determine what counts as good art and what as bad – was not an important feature of the 'artistic field' in Florence and Rome in this period. In any case, it was not as pervasive as Bourdieu describes it in his analyses of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century artistic fields in France. More in general, there was no noticeable struggle between generations of artists (dominant versus newcomers), which also is a characteristic of Bourdieu's artistic field.[228]

If carried out, the Bourdieusian analysis of the academization of art would overlap with existing interpretations, insofar as they work with similar conceptions of the process of modernization. For instance, as discussed, ideas about the process of modernization are present in the Pevsnerian and the cultural-politics tradition. However, such ideas are more explicit in studies that make use of social theories for understanding of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. To reiterate, in Rossi's conception the academization of art, the capitalization of economic relations and culture play an important role. Moreover, he sees the theoretical treatises that were written by (academic) artists in this period as ideological reflections of these transformations in the base.[229] Therefore, Rossi argues that the analysis of these texts should include a critique of the political function of the aesthetic ideology of the academies. Bourdieu would agree, but he also would take one step further by arguing that scholars, who do not include an analysis of the relations of power that existed within the academies and between them and the state bureaucracy, contribute to the efficacy of the academic ideology.[230]

However, the Bourdieusian analysis of the academization of art would come closest to Barzman's interpretation, in which Foucault's conceptions of the birth of the modern subject and disciplinary technology in modern cultures are applied to early modern Florence and the Accademia del Disegno. Like Barzman's interpretation, a

[228] Bourdieu 1977.
[229] See Rossi 1980, 94.
[230] See Boime 1994 for such a criticial stance towards the art academy. Although briefly referring to the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, his main targets are the Académie Royale in Paris and the contemporary American Academy in Rome.

Bourdieusian analysis would highlight the position of the academicians with respect to that of the duke in Florence and the pope in Rome in the relations of power. In this context, it would also show how the artists, as dominated subjects, comply with their domination, which severely limits their agency.

This means that a Bourdieusian analysis would run the danger construing an essentialist understanding of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. Although, compared to other social theories, social space is more differentiated in Bourdieu's work, because it consists of multiple fields having their own logics and goals, ultimately a Bourdieusian analysis of cultural practices and products reduces their meaning to power relations. This holds even more for the cultural practices and products of pre-modern societies, such as sixteenth-century Florence and Rome, where there did not yet exist an (relatively) autonomic artistic field, but where this field was only just starting to emerge and emancipate itself from the field of power.

There are, thus, two problems with the Bourdieusian analysis of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely the application of the notions of artistic field and cultural capital to sixteenth-century Florence and Rome and the risk of reducing the art academies to their role in power relations. A possible way out of this form of anachronism is to turn the tables and instead of disqualifying the notions of field and cultural capital in an investigation of a premodern society because they are thought to be applicable only to modern, capitalist cultures, one could examine whether their application to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy is possible and, if so, argue that the process of modernization started earlier than expected by Bourdieu. Barzman uses precisely this strategy in relation to Foucault when she attempts to show that the modern subject was already born in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Florence in the context of the Accademia del Disegno, instead of around 1800 in France, England, and Germany. However, such attempts of antedating modernity make explicit the more general problem at the background these arguments. This is the problem of the teleological interpretation of history. By categorizing a culture as modern or premodern scholars apply a preconceived idea of the course of history to it, rather than analyzing it on its own terms. In addition, the labels 'modern' and 'premodern' also lead to homogenization because they reduce cultures to just a couple of underlying principles.

A Schatzkian analysis of the academization of art circumvents these problems. On the one hand, Schatzki's social ontology is more difficult to apply to concrete social or cultural historical research problems, because more 'translation' has to be carried out from his

abstract concepts to the phenomena under investigation. On the other hand, since his theory is not constructed in relation to a particular society or culture, it is applicable to different historical epochs and cultures. From Schatzki's perspective, the academization of art will not be (directly) linked to a modernization process. Instead, it would be seen as the result of, and at the same time catalyst for, transformations in various social practices. Any link with a process of modernization needs to be argued for independently, as it does not follow from the application of his interpretive framework.

Applying Schatzki's social ontology as an interpretative framework has the following consequence for the study of the academization of art. Instead of looking for the artistic field, habitus and objective social conditions, the aim is to reconstruct the practices through finding out which practical understandings (or skills) were required from the participants of contemporary political-patronage, literary-theoretical, guild, educational, and religious-confraternal practices, which rules were observed (or transgressed), and what goals were pursued by the participants. This also has implications for the interpretations of artifacts and works of art. As mentioned, in Schatzki's practice approach the meaning of an artifact is not conceived as related to its position in a certain field but as related to its function in a social practice. From Schatzki's point of view objects can have different functions and thus different meanings in various practices at the same time.

3.6. Interpretative framework

The comparison between Schatzki's and Bourdieu's theories of practice has clarified the specific features of the practice approach that is adopted in this dissertation. The interpretative framework that is used for analyzing the early histories of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca consists mainly of Schatzki's conceptions of social reality and the organization of social practices. One reason for this is that they are more coherent than Bourdieu's comparable notions. The latter's attempt to combine his theory of practice with poststructural conceptions of social space, personal identity, and the meaning of artifacts is problematic. In addition, Bourdieu's notion of social space with homologuously bounded realms has wholistic and unificatory characteristics, which have been justly criticized by proponents of agency. By contrast, Schatzki's conception of social reality with smaller and overlapping social practices is more pluralistic and, therefore, better suited for multi-causal explanations for actions, and for polysemantic analyses of actors, objects, and institutions.

Moreover, there are specific problems with the Bourdieusian analysis of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These problems are that of the anachronistic application of the notions of artistic field and cultural capital to sixteenth-century Florence and Rome and, thereby, the placement of these institutions in a preconceived idea of the process of modernization; and that of the risk of reducing the art academies to their role in power relations with the political rulers. Although this means that Bourdieu's theory of practice is not suited to provide the general conceptual framework for this study, it can be used for understanding specific phenomena such as the employment of contrary logics and strategies for selling works of art as an example of the mechanism of distinction.[231]

Since Schatzki's theory is not constructed in relation to a particular society or culture, it is applicable to different historical epochs and cultures, and thus also to the academization of art in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Florence and Rome. From Schatzki's perspective, the academization of art will not be (directly) linked to a modernization process. The interpretative framework that is based on Schatzki's concepts helps to organize the material and provides the perspective for describing and analyzing the social practices that were carried out in and by the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca. This entails that the reconstruction of the social practices of the art academies takes place by identifying which practical understandings (or skills) were required from the participants of contemporary political-patronage, literary-theoretical, guild, educational, and religious-confraternal practices, which rules were observed (or transgressed), and what goals were pursued by the participants. The main questions in each of the following chapters is 'what was the function of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca in the practices that were carried out within their walls, and how, if at all, were these practices transformed as they were carried out within these institutions?' This means that the role of these institutions and of the artist-academicians in these practices is highlighted.

However, this interpretative framework is completed by adding an element that is missing from Schatzki's work, but that plays a central role in Bourdieu's theory of practice. This is Bourdieu's attention for power. Instead of reducing the meaning of practices and cultural products to power relations, paying attention to power here implies realizing that although it may play a role in all social practices, where and how it actually functions can be determined only after analyzing these practices.

[231] See sections 6.4 and 10.2.

Thus, although power relations are obviously present in political-patronage practices, and the analysis of the functions of the art academies in these practices has to take these power relations into account, it is also possible that power plays an important role in religious-confraternal, guild, and educational practices. Furthermore, power can take different forms and should not only be conceived as a top-down relation. Instead of focusing only on how relations of power are reproduced through the internalization and reproduction of social practices by actors, who, thereby, contribute to their domination by others, also the ways in which they contest existing practices and attempt to change them should be taken into account. In general, in order to analyze and understand power, it is expedient to look for signs of resistance, struggle, and disagreement.[232]

[232] This approach toward the interpretation of power is partly based on Bourdieu's analyses of the different strategies that are employed by dominant and dominated actors in various fields – although applied more locally to practices instead of fields – and partly on Foucault's method of analyzing power. See for instance Foucault 2000.

Chapter Four

Material Culture of the Art Academies

4.1. Sites and artifacts

Social practices always take place not only against the background, or in the midst, of material and spatial arrangements, but also with the help of material objects, instruments, and artifacts.[233] Therefore, the reconstruction of the social practices that were carried out in the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca is aided by an analysis of the material culture of these institutions. Two forms of materiality can be distinguished. First, there are the objects and artifacts, including works of art, which play important roles in the practices of the art academies. These objects are typically produced in relation to the teleoaffective structure of a social practice. That is to say, the function and meaning of the objects and artifacts depend on the goals that are pursued in a certain practice. In turn, material things offer affordances, i.e. facilitate certain activities and practices rather than others.[234] Some of the objects and artifacts that were used in the art academies are enumerated in their inventories and recorded in their account books. Therefore, these documents, which themselves belonged of the academies' material culture, can be used to reconstruct part of the material culture that played a role in the practices that were carried in the academies.

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

[233] See sections 3.2 and 3.3 for Schatzki's views on the relationship between practices and material arrangements.

[234] It should be noted that practices are never completely determined by the intended functions of the artifacts, because people typically use the same objects in a variety of ways and occasionally even find previously unimagined applications for them. This is highlighted, for instance by Certeau's notion of 'tactics'. See section 3.4.

requirement for the headquarters of both academies was that they had to accommodate large groups of people. For instance, the Accademia del Disegno counted seventy-five members in its first year, and this number increased over the following years.[235] On average, about twenty-five artists were present at the meetings in the first years of the academy's existence. During religious celebrations, for which the academy's sites were highly suitable, this number often rose to fifty.

The structure, layout, and traditional functions of the buildings used by the art academies enabled certain practices and constrained others.[236] The main question to be answered in this chapter is 'where did the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca gather in their early years and what were the important features of these buildings – including the objects and artifacts stored and used there – for the practices that were carried out in them? First, the sites and the artifacts of the Accademia del Disegno are discussed and then those of the Accademia di San Luca.

4.2. The material culture of the Accademia del Disegno[237]

4.2.1. The early sites: a nomadic existence

The standard picture in the modern literature about the sites and buildings that belonged to the Accademia del Disegno in its early years is that whereas for its confraternal activities the nascent academy used the chapel of the Santissima Trinità in the cloister of Santissima Annunziata, it struggled to find a suitable headquarters for carrying out its administrative and educational activities. Moreover, it is said that between 1562 and 1567/68 the academicians gathered in different sites,

[235] According to Barzman (1989a, 460 and 462-463, n. 7; and 2000, 35), of the first seventy-five members, forty-two were registered as painters, twenty-nine as sculptors, and of the remaining four no profession was indicated.

[236] A famous example of relation between the buildings and the practices that are carried out in them can be found in Foucault's (1991a, 170-177) discussion of the material structure of hospitals, asylums, barracks, and prisons of the eighteenth century. Foucault argues that these buildings were not constructed to be seen or to observe the surrounding space such as palaces and fortresses, but permitted and facilitated internal views and detailed control of the people inside. An analogous point is made by the Belgian journalist David van Reybrouck in a recent series of articles about the functioning of democracy in contemporary Western society. In one of these articles (Van Reybrouck 2015) he argues that the semi-circular shape of most parliaments, which is modelled on that of the theater and which includes the stage and spotlights, predisposes the politicians to debate like actors, who deliver prefabricated and rehearsed monologues, rather than listening to and truly interacting with each other as representatives of their voters.

[237] A concise version of the argument that is presented in this section will be published in Jonker 2017.

but for various reasons, none of these turned out to be convenient. According to the accepted picture, it was only with the acquisition of several rooms in the convent of Cestello in 1567 that the academy found a regular meeting place and headquarters.[238] In the next sections it will become clear that this standard view about the buildings of the Accademia del Disegno has to be adjusted. This adjustment concerns especially the functions of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, which was *de facto* – albeit not officially – the headquarters of the institution in the first sixteen years of its existence

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

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

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

[239] See Waźbiński 1987, II, 424: '(…) per lodare Iddio e per fare molte opere pie, e confabulare insieme tutte le cose dell'Arte loro (…).'

organization are described as the 'artisans of Design.' It has been correctly recognized in the past that the terminology in this document, and especially the use of the term *Disegno* to describe the company and its members, is misleading, insofar as it projects back onto the company an academy-like structure that never existed.[240] However, there is evidence that previous to the academy's foundation, in the years around 1500, the lay brothers congregated in the chapel of Santa Maria Nuova and in two rooms in the adjacent hospital.[241]

[240] According to the incorporating statutes, the confraternity had been founded in 1239, when the heads of the art of design (*Capi dell'arte del Disegno*), the architect Arnolfo di Cambio, the painter Giotto, and sculptor Andrea Pisano, called together all the artisans of design (*tutti gl'Artefici del Disegno*) for this purpose. The dates of the artists mentioned – Arnolfo di Cambio (1240-1300/1310), Giotto (1266-1337), and Andrea Pisano (1290-1348) – preclude their involvement in a foundation of the company in 1239. Vasari provided two different dates for the foundation of the company. In his 'Life of Jacopo Casentino' **(**Vasari 1966-1987, II, 274) he states that the organization was formed in 1350, whereas in the 'life of Montorsoli' (Vasari 1966-1987, V, 506) he gives the very global dating of 'during Giotto's life'. Reynolds (1974/1985, 32-40), Jack (1976, 6), and Waźbiński (1987, II, 417) all find the former option more plausible and place the formation of the company around 1339-1350. However, all three authors note that the founding date is uncertain. Besides the contradictory dating in the statutes of 1563, the qualification of the old company as one of *design* is anachronistic and misleading. Not only do the statutes of 1386, for example, clearly show that the confraternity was solely concerned with religious activities, also the term *disegno* is nowhere to be found. This entails that the use of the term in academy's incorporating statutes is clearly a projection of a concept, which had gained a central place in art theoretical debates in Florence around the middle of the *Cinquecento*, on an earlier period, and that it is a mythologization intended to give the new institution more weight and prestige. See for instance Rossi 1984, 368-369. See, for the statutes of 1386, Reynolds 1974/1985, 213-218 and Waźbiński 1987, II, 417-420 (although Waźbiński dates them around 1349). These statutes contain the rules relating to the election of the officers. It is interesting to see that women were also allowed to become member and attend meetings. According to Rossi (1980, 164), this was completely new in the period. In his description of Jacopo da Casentino's *predella* for the confraternity's altar piece in Santa Maria Nuova, Vasari (1966-1987, II, 274) also states that both men and women were depicted, thereby suggesting that both could become member: 'da un lato gl'uomini della Compagnia e dall'altro tutte le donne ginocchioni.' However, in the surviving archival documents of this period no women are listed as members.

[241] See the company's *Libro dei debitori e creditori e ricordi* ('Book of the Debtors and Creditors and records') of the period 1472-1520 categorized as ASF, AD 2. Extracts of this book, which is also known as the *Libro rosso* (Red book), can be found in an eighteenth-century archival piece, which is called *Miscellanea di documenti importanti* (1472-1764) ('Miscellaneous important documents, 1472-1764'): ASF, AD 156, 1r-2v. See Pacini 2001, 87-88 for transcriptions and Pacini 2015 for a discussion. See also Vasari 1966-1987, II, 274 about the confraternity's presence in the main chapel in Santa Maria Nuova. Vasari states that Jacopo da Casentino had executed for the altar a painting representing *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*. The *Libro rosso* and the eighteenth-century extracts indicate that the confraternity congregated in at least two other sites at the beginning of the sixteenth century, namely Sant'Antonio alla porta a Faenza and San Michele delle Trombe. Furthermore, Ticciati (1876, 283-284) holds that the company

According to sections 13 and 14 of the incorporating statutes, the chapel in Santa Maria Nuova was the site where the institution would carry out its confraternal practices. On the mornings of the feasts of San Luca and of the Quattro Santi Coronati (Four Crowned Saints) – the latter being the patron saints of the sculptors and architects – the academy was to go in procession and visit the chapel. In addition, a ceremony was to be held there on Good Friday.[242] The addenda of July 1563 also ordered that the academy's anatomical lessons were to take place in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova at least once a year – during the winter – for the benefit of young art students, thereby also making it the site of some of the institution's educational practices.[243] In the surviving sources there is no evidence that the chapel in Santa Maria Nuova ever actually functioned as site for the academy's confraternal and educational practices. The feast of San Luca was held on other locations, as will be discussed below; the celebration of the feast of Quattro Santi Coronati is nowhere to be found in the remaining archival documents; and the sources are also silent on the anatomical dissections that were supposed to be conducted in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.[244]

A second site that is mentioned in the incorporating statutes in connection to the Accademia del Disegno is the *Oratorio* (oratory) or *Tempio* (temple), which, in the sixteenth century, was still part of the complex of the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli. Since then, however, the monastery was demolished and only the oratory remains.[245] The structure is a polygonal building, designed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) in 1434 by commission of the heirs of the famous Florentine *condottiere* Filippo Scolari (1369-1426), who was better known as Pippo Spano ('general Pippo').[246] The building had been

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congregated for a period in the middle of the sixteenth century in Santa Maria Novella. This seems to be confirmed in one of the account books (ASF, AD 101, 101r), where, on May 13, 1563, a payment is recorded to two porters for 'bringing the things that were in Santa Maria Novella and placed in the room of the Angeli' ('…avevano portate le robe ch'erono in Santa Maria Novella e poste nella stanza delli'Angeli').

[242] Waźbiński 1987, II, 429.

[243] See the Addenda of the Statutes of July 1563, capitolo secondo, transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 438: 'Vogliamo etiamdio che que' Consoli che saranno in ufficio nel tempo del Verno siano tenuti e debbano procurare che si faccia in Santa Maria Nuova una anathomia a beneficio de giovani dell'Arte del Dissegno, alla quale debono tutti esser chiamati per ordine d'essi Consoli.'

[244] However, is has been argued that there is some indirect evidence for the academy's use of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in the biography of the painter Lodovico Cigoli, written by his nephew, Giovanni Battista Cardi. See for a discussion of this claim section 9.9.

[245] Waźbiński 1987, II, 426.

[246] Pippo Spano himself had been the executor of the last testaments of two of his family members, his brother Matteo and his cousin Andrea di Filippo Scolari, both of whom had

left unfinished due to insufficient funds in 1437. At that point, only the lower part of the structure was completed, that is, to the height of the pilasters of the chapels (ca. 6.60 m.), which was about one third of the provisioned total height, and it was covered by a relatively flat roof, instead of the dome that had been planned by Brunelleschi.[247] If completed, the oratory's large octagonal center space would have served as choir for the monks, and the eight smaller chapels surrounding it would have been used for private devotion for the laity.[248]

The building was still unfinished in 1562 when it came into the possession of the academy. In this period, two of the monastery's residents had close ties to the art institution. These men were the sculptor and art theoretician Vincenzo Danti (1530-1576) and the humanist and *letterato* Benedetto Varchi (1503-1565).[249] Danti was an early and a very active member of the Accademia del Disegno, holding several offices, including that of consul, and contributing to the decoration of the academy's buildings.[250] Varchi lectured on the visual arts in the city's literary academy, the Accademia Fiorentina, and he was a close friend of several academic artists, such as Montorsoli and Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571).[251] In 1564 he gave the funeral oration at Michelangelo's obsequies, which had been organized by the Accademia del Disegno. Moreover, in 1563, the academy was allowed to use one of his rooms in the monastery as storage space.[252] Therefore, it is possible that one of

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requested the construction of Camaldolese monasteries in the vicinity of Florence. Spano petitioned the pope to combine these last wishes, as there was not enough money to finance two monasteries. However, he himself died before the project began. The guild of the cloth merchants (Calimala) became the new executor of the Scolari testaments and in the early 1430s it was decided to build an oratory adjacent to the garden wall of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. Initially, the oratory would have had an enclosed and separate choir for the monks in the middle of the octagon, in correspondence with their strict *clausura*. This is the reason why the chapels were connected to each other through passages through the piers. However, the *clausura* was already lifted in 1442, which would have made a separate choir unnecessary. See Saalman 1993, 380-409, esp. 384-388.

[247] Barzman 2000, 50-51.

[248] Saalman 1993, 390-391.

[249] According to Vasari (1966-1987, VI, 250), in the convent Danti resided in the rooms that had been previously been used by Varchi. See also Barzman 2000, 49.

[250] Danti was consul in 1564 (ASF, AD 24, 7r), treasurer in 1565 (ASF, AD 101, 10r), and councilor in 1566 (ASF, AD 24, 15r and 16r), consul in 1568 (ASF, AD 24, 22r) and in 1570 (ASF, AD 24, 27v), councilor in 1572 (ASF, AD 25, 21r), and worked on the figure for the funerary chapel of the academy in Santissima Annunziata in the early 1570s. See below for an elaborate discussion of this chapel and see figure 25 for a schematic overview of the official functions in the Accademia del Disegno.

[251] See sections 7.4 and 9.2 for a discussion of Varchi's lectures and his relations to visual artists.

[252] See the inventory in ASF, AD 24, 4r, which is discussed below.

these men, or perhaps both, had something to do with the academy's acquisition of the oratory.

The patron-client relationship between Cosimo I and Bernardo Scolari was more important in this respect. Scolari was a descendent of Pippo Spano and owned the unfinished oratory at that point in time. The incorporating statutes indicate that in July 1562 Scolari ceded the building to the duke, who, in turn, donated it to the academy.[253] In return for Bernardo Scolari's gift, the academicians had to pay for various artifacts and place them in the oratory. These artifacts consisted of a statue of Pippo Spano, his coat of arms, a burial tomb for the whole Scolari family, and statues of the Camaldolese Saints Anthony Abbot and Julian.

The statutes also specify that the oratory was supposed to be used as academic meeting place and studio. In the *Libro del provveditore* it is stated that between July 1562 and October 1563, the institution, indeed, gathered there many times to carry out its administrative functions as well as to celebrate the feast of San Luca in 1562, but there is no archival evidence that the oratory was used as studio.[254] The precise dates of these meetings are not mentioned by the *provveditore*. In the account book, however, there are monthly meetings (*tornate*) recorded from May until September 1563.[255] Although the location of these meetings is not mentioned, the combined evidence suggests that they took place in the oratory in Santa Maria degli Angeli.

Finally, the incorporating statutes made provisions for how the building was to be finished by the academicians. The artists had to construct an altar in the main chapel of the oratory, which would have been isolated from the rest of the building and which would have divided the academy's space from the convent's oratory.[256] In addition, other rooms were to be built next to the oratory for works of art and designs that the artists were supposed to donate to the academy and that were to be used as aids in the education of art students.[257]

Between July 1562 and October 1563, the academicians made an effort to finish the oratory.[258] However, the academy never completed the

[253] See section 10.2 for a more elaborate discussion of the intricacies of this patron-client relation.
[254] ASF, AD 24, 1r. See also Vasari 1966-1987, V, 508.
[255] ASF, AD 101, 3v (May 23 and June 6), 4r (July 11), and 4v (August 8 and September 12).
[256] Waźbiński 1987, II, 431: XXVII: 'Ancora faccisi in testa del Tempio nella cappella maggiore isolato uno altare, il quale divida la Compagnia et l'Oratorio, et in su l'altare sieno tutte le figure di scoltura di marmo fatte da queste ecc.ti Scoltori (…).'
[257] Waźbiński 1987, II, 432: XXX and XXXI.
[258] See the letters by Vasari to Cosimo I and Michelangelo of February and March 1563. The construction of the oratory in Santa Maria degli Angeli is also mentioned in an

construction and renovation because, in the meantime, the monks of the convent had complained to Cosimo I about the disturbances resulting from the work. The problems with the Camaldolese monks had already started in the beginning of 1563. In a letter to the duke of February 1, that is, one day after the first official academic meeting was held in the oratory, Vasari pleaded to Cosimo I to help the academy to come to a resolution with the monks about the oratory – which, remarkably enough, is referred to here as 'their' instead of as 'our' temple.[259] Apparently, Vasari's efforts were to no avail because, several months later, the duke notified the academicians that another headquarters had to be found for the academy.[260]

Cosimo I aided the artists again by arranging for another temporary meeting place, this time in the complex of the church and convent of San Lorenzo. This was the third site to which the Academy was connected. According to Vasari, the duke had ordered the academy to hold their meetings in the Sagrestia Nuova (New Sacristy).[261] This structure, designed by Michelangelo in the 1520s, in fact, never functioned as sacristy, nor was it intended as such. The name New Sacristy should be understood from its position in the church, namely as pendant of Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy.[262] The Old Sacristy had three functions, namely that of sacristy, chapel, and burial place for several members of the Medici family, who had lived in the first half of the fifteenth century. By contrast, Michelangelo's structure was exclusively meant as a burial chapel for members of the Medici family, who had died more recently, i.e. two Lorenzo's and two Giuliano's. Therefore, it was (and is) also known as the Cappella Medicea (Medici Chapel).[263]

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

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exchange of poems between Varchi and Montorsoli. See Gamberini 2015, 144. And see the section 7.4 for a discussion of these poems.

[259] Frey 1923-1940, I, 712-714.

[260] Vasari 1966-1987, V, 508. It appears that this decision was made, or at least communicated, after March 17, 1563, because this is the date of a letter from Vasari to Michelangelo, in which the *tempio* in Santa Maria degli Angeli is still described as the academy's headquarters.

[261] Vasari 1966-1987, V, 509.

[262] The term *sacrestia* is already mentioned in a document from 1534, in which the commissioning of the building by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (later Pope Clement VII) in 1519 is discussed. However, in the same document the building is also referred to as *cappella* for the Medici. See Ettlinger 1978, 288. According to Ettlinger (1978, 287), 'the room can never have been used – or even been intended – as a sacristy, because there are no cupboards for vestments, nor is space available for them, and there is no table for laying out vestments, ready for the priests.'

[263] Ettlinger 1978, 299.

put in place Michelangelo's famous sculpted tomb monuments for Giuliano di Lorenzo and Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici (figs. 1 and 2). In 1563 only the rest of the decorative work remained to be done. In the beginning of that year, around the time when quarrels with the Camaldolese monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli had begun – but apparently independent of the academy's search for a new headquarters – Vasari designed an elaborate program for its decoration. Vasari sent his plans, which projected paintings, sculptures and stuccowork to be carried out by the academy, to Cosimo I in February and estimated the costs at a maximum of 2000 *scudi*.[264] Notwithstanding Vasari's efforts, these decorative plans were never carried out.

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

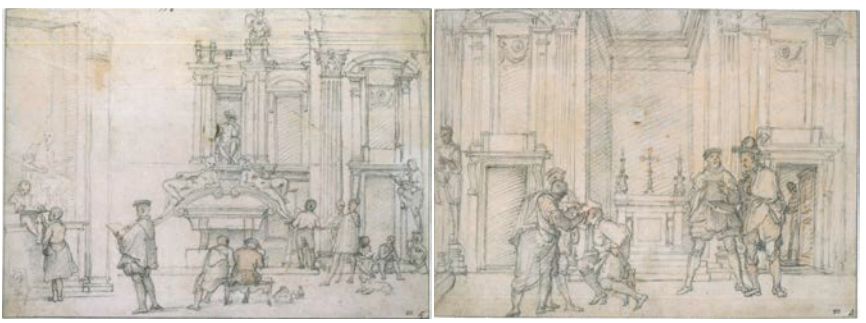
It has been argued that the academicians, and especially Vasari, viewed this location as perfect for carrying out their educational activities, not in the least part because of the presence of Michelangelo's tomb monuments, which were already eagerly studied by artists in these years.[265] The painter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

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

[265] See for instance Van Veen 2015, 27-29.

[266] Waźbiński 1987, I, 75-95. Waźbiński argues that Michelangelo's monuments were conceived by contemporary artists as a veritable school for the academicians, as well as the drawings on the walls beneath the chapel that were discovered in the 1970s. See also

Notwithstanding this graphical evidence of the artists' use of the New Sacristy, it is highly unlikely that it was ever seriously considered as meeting place or studio for the Accademia del Disegno. The reason for this is that Pope Clement VII, who had been the commissioner (as Cardinal Giulio de' Medici) of the building, issued a Bull in 1532, in which he ordered the clergy of San Lorenzo to perform uninterrupted services – during day *and* night – in the New Sacristy. The fact that in 1629 the nightly recitation of the psalter was abolished shows that continuous intercession was, indeed, performed there by the clergy, at least for a certain period of time.[267]



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

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

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

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

[268] ASF, AD 24, 3r.

of this particular space in the convent of San Lorenzo.[269] Archival documents reveal that in the mid-1560s the Accademia del Disegno held some of their meetings in other rooms of monastery. Between October 11, 1563 and July 1564, the academicians gathered a couple of times in the chapterhouse, which was located beneath Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana (Laurentian Library).[270] This room also functioned as the site of the feast of Saint Luke on two or three occasions, that is, until 1565 or 1566.[271] Finally, one of the most important events in the early history of the academy occurred in the church of San Lorenzo. This was the funeral celebration for Michelangelo, which took place on July 14, 1564.[272]

At the end of 1566, it had become clear that San Lorenzo would not be the permanent headquarters of the academy. On December 31, the academy's lieutenant, Agnolo Guicciardini, wrote a letter to Cosimo I, in which he asked the duke to help him find a suitable site for the academicians to meet, study, and teach young artists, as they currently lacked such a place.[273] The Duke complied and this time a more permanent location was found. In March 1567 Guicciardini was able to tell the academicians, who were gathered in their chapel in Santissima Annunziata, that Cosimo I donated to the institution a *tempio* ('temple')

[269] The claim that the New Sacristy functioned as chapel and academic meeting place is made, for instance, by Vasari and Pacini. Vasari 1966-1987, V, 509: '(…) signor Duca Cosimo e di suo ordine si raguna in San Lorenzo nella Sagrestia Nuova (…).' Pacini 2015, 142: '(…) grazie a un nuovo intervento del Vasari, nel febbraio del 1563 possono utilizzare la Sagrestia Nuova di San Lorenzo per uso di cappella e la Libreria Laurenziana per le tornate accademiche.' In this context it is relevant to note that the addenda to the academy's incorporating statutes from July 1563 only state very generally that the feast of Saint Luke was to be celebrated in San Lorenzo, 'or somewhere else as the Duke will order'. Waźbiński 1987, II, 438: 'Debbasi la Compagnia, et Accademia, radunare (…) il giorno della Festa di Santo Luca in San Lorenzo, o dove da S.E. Ill.ma sarà ordinato che debbiamo stare.' The precise location within the complex of San Lorenzo is not mentioned here.

[270] See, for the meetings in the chapterhouse, ASF, AD 24, 1r, 3v-4r, 10v-12r, and 14r. See, for the location of the chapterhouse, Saalman 1993, 183 and 186 (plate 119).

[271] See ASF, AD 24, 1r-v, for the first academic meeting in the chapterhouse of San Lorenzo, when new officers were elected. The same record mentions that the duke allowed the academicians to use the (New) Sacristy: '(…) è parso a sua ecele[n]tia di traci di quivi darci la sacrestia di S Lorenzo e prometer minaci in luogo da ragunarci.' See for the celebrations of the feast of Saint Luke ASF, AD 24, 10v-12r (1564) and 14r (1565).

[272] See Wittkower/Wittkower 1964 and ASF, AD 24, 8r.

[273] See Appendix 2 **(**Letter from Agnolo Guicciardini to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, December 31, 1566, with reply by Tommaso de' Medici on February 7, 1567): '…è quasi impossibile mantenere più insieme questi Accademici, se da V[ostra] E[ccellenza] Ill[ustrissi]ma non è fatto loro gratia d'un luogo, dove possino ragunarsi, et insieme dare ordine a qualche sorte di studio, et esercitatione per i giovani dell'arte, dove che non havendo hoggi luogo fermo, né dependente da loro è molto difficile il fargli trovare insieme, et stari uniti in proposio di conservare, et accrescere la loro Accademia.'

or chapel in the Cistercian convent of Cestello, in addition to 200 *scudi* for its completion.[274] The *tempio*, which was designed by Giuliano da Sangallo (1445-1516) in the beginning of the sixteenth century, had belonged to Giulio Scala, who was a political client of the Medici.[275] This means that, as previously with Bernardo Scolari, the duke used his patron-client relationship with Giulio Scala for handing out a favor to a third party, i.e. the Accademia del Disegno.[276] On April 13, 1568 a contract was drawn up, by which Giuliano Scala's donation of the *tempio* in Cestello to the academy was made official.[277]

The *tempio*, or *oratorium* (oratory) as it is called in the contract, was the fourth site to which the academy was connected and its members would convene there until 1628, when Carmelitan nuns took over the monastery.[278] Unfortunately, the building was completely demolished in 1865 and there are few visual or written sources that give an idea of what this structure looked like during the academy's use. Only a detail from a map of Florence from the late sixteenth century and a plan and elevation of the chapel from 1865 provide some information (figs. 5-6).

[274] ASF, AD 24, 17v: 'il sig[nore] m[ese]r Ag[n]olo Gu[i]cc[i]ardini sotto dì … [sic] di marzo in tornata nel capitolo de servi disse in presenza di consoli e altri come Sua Eccele[n]tia aveva dato e donato e consenato alla academia li [proposed reading: il] tempio di Giulio Scali che è in Cestello con scudi 200 che li academici li finisino [sic] secondo che è principiato e e [sic] secondo che dice rescritto che l'[h]a in mano il sig[nore] luogotenente.'

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

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

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

[278] See Pacini 2001, vi and 2015, 145-146. The academicians did not want to give up their headquarters and made objections to the Medici. However, because Pope Urban VIII supported the nuns, the Medici gave in and the academy's quarters were sold in the 1620s for 1800 *scudi*.

Figure 5. Buonsignori Map of Florence, detail with Giuliano da Sangallo's (or Bartolomeo Scala's) *Tempio* at Cestello (no. 39), 1584 (from: Sailko wiki commons)

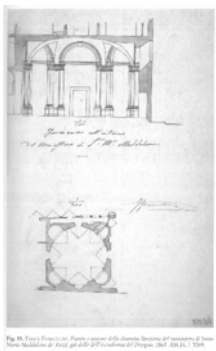

Figure 6. Felice Francolini, *Elevation and Plan of the chapel in Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi* (previously belonging to the Accademia del Disegno, now destroyed), 1865, ASCFi, f. 5269 (from: Meijer/Zangheri 2015, II, fig. 55)

In May 1567, a delegation of the academy visited Cestello for the first time to read the contract of the temple between Giulio Scala and the convent and to discuss it with the Cistercian monks. Two months later, on July 13, during a meeting in the chapterhouse in the Annunziata, the academicians discussed how to complete the temple, based on a design made by Alessandro Allori. However, great disputes (*grandissime dispute*) arose about Allori's design and the *luogotenente* adjourned the meeting after having ordered a group of ten artists to meet four days later in Agnolo Bronzino's house in order to come to an agreement about how to proceed with the temple. The resulting design was to be presented both to the duke and to the general public on the following Sunday (July 20) in the chapterhouse of the Santissima Annunziata. Unfortunately, neither the minutes of the meeting in Bronzino's house, nor the designs have survived.[279]

[279] ASF, AD 24, 18v. The ten artists are: Domenico Poggini, Giovanbologna, Giorgio Vasari, Agnolo Bronzino, Zanobi Lastricati, Batista Lorenzi, Alessandro Allori, Giovanni Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), Vincenzo Danti, and Francesco Cammilliani. The *luogotenente*, Agnolo Guicciardini, even threatens to revoke the stipends of these artists if

The next meeting that is recorded by the *provveditore* was held on September 14, 1567 in the chapterhouse in Santissima Annunziata. Again, the academy's new room in Cestello was the topic of the conversation and after much discussion two artists were elected to be in charge of the building process (*la muraglia*) in Cestello. These artists were Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati. In addition, a *provveditore* and a treasurer for the project were elected. These were Francesco da Sangallo (1494-1576), the son of the chapel's architect, and Giajacopo Mattoncini, respectively. [280] The *provveditore* had to describe the progression of the project and the decisions made in relation to it in the *Libro della fabbrica*; the treasurer had to account for the expenses. Unfortunately, both books are lost.[281]

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

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

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they do not comply. ASF, AD 24, 18v: 'E che la domenica vegnente lo recaino nel capitolo de servi a mostrali in pubricho [sic] e dise con sua bocha che per la a[u]turità che lui ave da sua e[ccelenza] d'eser luogotenente a tucti quello che erano i stipendati da sua ecelentia che fare tor la provisione se non oservavamo al a suo volere così volle che io ne facesei memoria e quelli tucti presenti e consoli prima un consolo cioè che l[']a[l]te ciese licentia.' The severe tone of Guicciardini's order, as recorded by the *provveditore*, makes it fairly certain that the meeting was held. See for a discussion of this episode section 10.3.2.

[280] ASF, AD 24, 19r-v.

[281] Cosimo's gift of 200 *scudi* for the completion of the temple was probable recorded in these books. In any case, it is not mentioned in one of the regular *Libri dei provveditori* or account books.

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

[283] ASF, AD 25, 39r-40r. See Pacini 2001, 13 and 107-108 for a discussion and a transcription of this document.

space, which appears to have been a room (*stanza*) adjacent to the *tempio*, had been used for a couple of meetings in 1569.[284] In addition, this was the site where the young mathematician Pietro Antonio (or PierAntonio) Cataldi (1548/1552-1626) held weekly lectures on Euclid between November 1569 and September 1570.[285] Furthermore, the documents show that the feast of Saint Luke was celebrated in Cestello from 1567 onwards, although it is not always specified whether the celebration took place in this room or in the *tempio*.[286]

The report by the grand ducal *auditore* marked the end of the litigations that seemed to have started officially in July 1574.[287] The controversy itself seems to have started earlier, possibly already in 1571, when Giuliano Gugliatini bought his house. This would explain the relatively sparse activity of the academy that is documented in Cestello in the first half of the 1570s. It is only after Mendes had finished his report, in which he ruled in favor of the academy, that the *provveditore* recorded payments to the builders for work in the academy's rooms in Cestello. On October 10, 1574 a worker received a sum for supporting the roof, and on December 23, 1575 another builder was remunerated for work that he had carried out over a longer period of time.[288]

Furthermore, the academy's archive houses the so-called *Libro del vanto*. This book contains the names of the academicians, who gathered in the house of lieutenant Carlo Spini on July 22, 1576 and who promised to donate money for construction work in Cestello.[289] The

[284] On January 16 (ASF, AD 24, 23v), in this room a new *provveditore* is elected and the statutes are read out loud, and on August 14 (24v-25r), a new physician is chosen, and new officials are drawn.

[285] ASF, AD 24, 25v and 92v. For more information on Cataldi and on the lectures in the Accademia del Disegno, see section 8.3.

[286] See, for example, ASF, AD 24, 20v-21r (1567), 22v (1568), 27v-28r (1570), AD 25, 41r (1574), 43r (1575), AD 26, 9r.

[287] ASF, AD 101, 124v and 125v; ASF, AD 25, 35v, 36r, 38r-39v, 40v, 56v-57v.

[288] ASF, AD 25, 57v and 63r.

[289] The *Libro del vanto* is categorized under ASF, AD 139. On page 1r it is stated that the meeting took place in the house of Carlo Spini on July 22, 1576, but that the first entry in the book dates from April 1, 1578. It also contains later additions, i.e. the names of artists who were not present at Spini's house, but who did want to donate funds. In total, there are 109 names listed. Pacini (2001, 12) mistakenly takes over Ticciati's chronology of the events, when he suggests that the meeting in Carlo Spini's house took place right after the delegation of the tasks regarding the construction in 1567, instead of in 1576: 'Il luogotenente ordinò che (…) concertassero un disegno per la terminazione di detto tempio, sopra la fabbrica del quale furono deputati Vincenzo Danti, Zanobi Lastricati e Francesco da S. Gallo, e tutti gli accademici adunatisi in casa del Luogotenente Carlo Spini si obbligarono molti di essi alla spesa, e nell'Archivio si trova un libro intitolato il *Libro del vanto* nel quale sono molte sottoscrizioni.' This is a transcription from Ticciati's manuscript from around 1740 in BNCF, Ms. II.I.432, 93. However, in the version of

account books show that work on the pavement of the academy's rooms was carried out in 1576, 1577, and 1584; and in 1580, 1584, 1594, and 1613 the roof was redone.[290] In short, the remaining documents in the archive of the academy suggest that although the artists started immediately to complete their site in Cestello, the bulk of the construction work in the temple took place from 1575 onwards.

In the 1580s, the academy had disagreements with the Cistercian monks about the confines of their rooms. It is possible that these problems were due to the academy's work in Cestello in that period. In March 1585, the monks even occupied a part of the oratory and in November of that year the academicians pleaded don Giovanni de' Medici, Cosimo I's natural son and himself a member of the Accademia del Disegno, to talk to the monks on behalf of the institution, as they 'do not want listen to reason' (*non voglione ascholtare ragione nessuna*). It seems that don Giovanni, indeed, successfully intervened because the issue is not mentioned in the sources afterwards.[291]

The fifth and final site to which the Accademia del Disegno was connected in its early years – in addition to the Cappella della Santissima Trinità – is the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti (the guild of the builders), in Palazzo dell'arte dei Beccai (or del Beccaro), which is also the current seat of the organization.[292] The archival documents show that the academy convened there occasionally from September 1572 onwards, that is, after they took on the function of guild. Accordingly, the institution's guild activities were carried out in this location, e.g. adjudicating disputes and electing appraisers for estimating the value of works of art that were produced in Tuscany. It should be noted, however, that the academy could convene there only on the days that the guild of the builders were not using it. In this period, this was on Wednesdays.[293]

Ticciati's narrative that was published by Fanfani in 1876 the part about the meeting in Carlo Spini's house and the *Libro del vanto* is not included. Ticciati 1876, 287.

[290] See Pacini 2001, 14-15 and 2015, 144. See ASF, AD 101, 143r-145v for the work in Cestello in 1584.

[291] ASF, AD 25, 71r and AD 26, 45v. See section 10.3.2 for a more elaborate discussion of this episode.

[292] The Palazzo del Beccaro has been the seat of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno since 1971. See Adorno/Zangheri 1998, vi. It should be noted in parenthesis that the current Accademia delle Arti del Disegno is the college of the professors of the arts of design and it is to be distinguished from the Accademia delle Belle Arti, where the students of the fine arts are taught.

[293] The civil cases handled by the magistrates in the *audientia del arte dei fabbricanti* (hall of the guild of the builders) were recorded by the *cancelliere* in the books of the *Deliberazioni e partiti dell'Accademia del Disegno* (deliberations and decisions of the Accademia del Disegno). On the opening page of the first of these books the *cancelliere* recorded that the consuls commenced on September 1, 1572. ASF, AD 7, n.p. The *libri del provveditore* also contain occasional references to meetings in the building of the Art

4.2.2. The Cappella della Santissima Trinità: restrictions and decorations

Although systematically undervalued in the literature, the most important site of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years was the Cappella della Santissima Trinità (chapel of the Most Holy Trinity) in Santissima Annunziata (fig. 7). This chapel was the former chapterhouse of the Servite friars, who lived – and still live – in the monastery adjacent to the church. As discussed in Chapter One, in his 'Life of Montorsoli' Vasari recounts how that the sculptor, Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, who also was a friar in the convent, donated the chapel to the artists of Florence in order to resuscitate the confraternity in 1562.[294] According to Vasari, Montorsoli's gift led to the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in the beginning of 1563. Two years later, after Montorsoli's death, the friars officially conceded the chapel to the academy with a contract, which contained certain obligations and restrictions as to the artists' use of the room.

Figure 7. Cappella della Santissima Trinità (seen from current entrance in the west wall), Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

dei Fabbricanti. See ASF, AD 25, 22v, 27r, 30v, and ASF, AD 26, 6r, 7v, and 13v. See section 6.2.2 for a more elaborate discussion of the guild practices employed by the Accademia del Disegno in this building.

[294] See section 1.1.

The contract between the Servite friars and the members of the academy about the use of the chapel was signed on June 25, 1565.[295] It was partly a reiteration of the much shorter contract between Montorsoli and the convent from October 10, 1560. This first contract specified that the Servites conceded their chapterhouse (*capitolo*) to Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli to be used as his chapel (*cappella*) in exchange a gift of 170 *scudi* to the monastery. The conditions were that Montorsoli was obligated to have a lantern lit, to have a mass sung (high mass) each year on September 2, and to have a mass said (low mass) every day, both during his life and after his death.[296]

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

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

[295] Waźbiński 1987, II, 475-478. In one of the account books (ASF, AD 101, 106r) there is a record, without date but after April 8, 1565, which state that Giovanni Piero da Poppi is paid 3 *lire*, 13 *soldi* and 4 *danari* for drafting the contract for the chapterhouse of the Servites. The contract is also mentioned in the *Libro del provveditore* (ASF, 24, 12v-13r) on the day of the SS Trinità in 1565, when it is decided to discuss and sign it the following Monday, i.e. June 25, 1565.

[296] ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), n. 53, *Libro delle Ricordanze*, c. 4v, ricordo del 10.IX.1560; transcription in Waźbiński 1987, II, 475: 'Ricordo come fino a del X decto mese [September 1560] si dette fra Gio[van] Angelo scultore el [proposed reading: 'il'] cap[itol]o dove si va in coro per sua cappella per dote di scudi centosettanta con obligo tenerci la lampana al m.o della chiesa, cantarci ogni anno agli II del detto mese una messa solenne ed ogni di dicri messa tanto mentre che vive quanto doppo la morte alcune messe appartate come tutto appare al libro di partiti segnato D. c. 150'.

[297] Waźbiński 1987, II, 477: '…detti RR. Padre per pubblica Cappella e Sepoltura a tutti gli scultori, e pittori, e architettori, tanto oltramontani, e forestieri, quanto terrazzani, e cittadini di questa città'

for laying out deceased members.[298] The chapterhouse was an obvious location for gathering before going to the choir, because these rooms were close to each other.

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

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

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

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

[301] Waźbiński 1987, II, 476-477. See also the record of the contract in the *Libro del provveditore* (ASF, AD 24, 13r), where both the terms *cappella* and *capitolo* are used to describe this room. On the very first sheet of this book (which is not numbered) the *provveditore* refers to the room as 'Cappella, ò vero Capitolo', which can be translated either as 'chapel or chapterhouse' or as 'chapel, or rather, chapterhouse'.

della Santissima Trinità's combined function of chapterhouse and burial chapel had a famous predecessor in Brunelleschi's Pazzi chapel in Santa Croce.[302]

A second restriction stipulated in the contract was that nobody of the academy was to have the keys of the chapel.[303] Third, the academy could only meet there on the occasions mentioned above: the feast of the Santissima Trinità and funerals for artists. Fourth, it was explicitly forbidden for the academicians to carry out other confraternal activities (*di far compagnia*) or even to use that name. Instead, they should go under the name of 'College of honored persons' (*sotto nome di Collegio di persons onorate*).[304] Finally, the contract stipulates that the academy, or rather the *Collegio*, had to complete the chapel's ornaments.

The chapel was to be decorated with ten stucco statues in niches in the walls;[305] three large history paintings, either on canvas or fresco; twelve smaller frescoes above the niches; and grotesques that were to be painted between the statues and the large frescoes. All this had to be completed within five years by artists, who were to be elected by secret vote by the lieutenant and the academicians. If the academy failed to achieve this within said term, the chapel and tomb with all the improvements and ornaments would return to the friars, who could then act as if the contract did not exist.[306]

In his 'Life of Montorsoli', Vasari also explicitly mentions the restrictions that the friars placed on the academy's use of the chapel. He writes that after being initially open to the idea of hosting the artists' confraternity, the Servites changed their minds and communicated to the academy that the chapterhouse could only be used for specific feasts, offices and burials, and in no other way, such as for confraternal meetings.[307] Apparently, the Servites were afraid that the artists would

[302] Saalman 1993, 210-285; Stein-Kecks 2004, 14.
[303] To this day, the chapel is locked and one has to ask the prior for permission to visit it. This permission is generously granted by the way.
[304] The contract also mentions that the prior of the monastery is the *correctore* or spiritual tutor of this 'honored college' and that the ecclesiastical robes should be placed in the custody of the *sagristano* of the convent, just as the other robes. See Waźbiński 1987, I, 115, for the interpretation of *correttore* as 'spiritual tutor'.
[305] Summers (1969, 68, n. 1) notes that the statues are, in fact not made out of stucco but of painted clay, *terra da Montelupo*.
[306] ASF, AD 156, 36r-40v. This is a notarial copy from 1723. Another copy of the same contract can be found in ASF, AD 157, n. 3. See for transcriptions Waźbiński 1987, II, 475-478.
[307] Vasari 1966-1987, V, 507-508: 'Dopo queste cose, avendo i frati de' Servi meglio pensato al fatto, si risolverono, e lo fecero intendere alla Compagnia, di non volere che il detto capitolo servisse loro se non per farvi feste, uffici e seppellire, e che in niun altro modo volevano avere, mediante le loro tornate e ragunarsi, quella servitù nel loro convento.'

disturb their monastic life if they were given too many liberties and organize their confraternal meetings there.

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

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

[308] ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 183. The document is called 'Conto di spese fatta in la fabbrica del capitolo cominciando addì 14 agosto, 1564' ('Account of the expenses for the building of the chapterhouse, beginning on August 14, 1564').
[309] Vasari 1966/1987, V, 495 and 506; Baroni/Meijer 2015, 155 and 157. For the material of the sculptures see Summers 1969, 68, n. 1.
[310] Ważbiński 1987, I, 115-120 and Baroni/Meijer 2015, 153.

Figures 8 and 9. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, *St. Paul* (left) and *Moses* (right), painted clay, 1530s, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photos: author)

Figure 10. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, Tombstone, 1560-1562, marble, 109 x 92 cm, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

In November 1567, about two and a half years after the contract was signed, the academicians distributed the tasks concerning the rest of the sculptures and the paintings in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. Sources indicate that the artists followed Montorsoli's designs for the decorative program, whereas the prior of the convent, Michelangelo Naldini, was responsible for the choice of the general iconographic theme, with scenes from the Old and New Testament, that governs the

chapel's decoration, and possibly also for dedication of the chapel to the Santissima Trinità.[311]

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

[311] See Summers 1969, 70 and Baroni/Meijer 2015, 155-156. In section 17 of the academy's incorporating statutes from 1563 it is stated that the artists who wanted to contribute paintings or sculptures to the chapel had to follow Montorsoli's design. Waźbiński 1987, II, 430: 'Dettono licentia anchora a chi vi volessi fare pitture o sculture o altre memorie di suo, che possa farle in detto Capitolo, osservando quello che haveva cominciato fra Giovann'Angelo nel suo disegno.' On November 30, 1567 the academy gathered in the chapel to distribute the tasks for the sculptures and paintings. The record from this meeting in the *Libro del provveditore* mentions a decree from the prior from November 25, in which the content of the decorations is described as from the Old and the New Testament. ASF, AD 24, 21r-v: 'Ragunornosi in tornata straordinario nel [marginal note: statue e pitture per il capitolo de servi] capitolo de servi con cosetemente del signor luogotenente per dare ordine e distribuire le statue che sono a fare in decto capitolo e piture come per contratto sono hobrigati. E così le distribuirno per sortte con polize secondo un rescritto di maestro michelangelo del testamento vechio e del nuovo sotto dì 25 di novembre 1567 e si ter[r]a conto di che a fare e di chi le fara.' In a document from the archive of the monastery the same meeting is recorded. It is confirmed that prior Michelangelo Naldini's involvement in the choice for the subject matter of the decorations and it also lists the artists who were to produce them. ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 214: 'si vinse a viva voce nel collegio degli accademici del disegno, che le statue e pitture daffarsi nel capito[lo] della nunziata, fussero secondo il primo modo et ordine dato dal Reverendo Pre. Michelangelo de Servi, e si [crossed out: trasse] fece la eletione degli huomini, che havevano daffarle, e si trasse di poi per poliza le statue e la nichie loro fatto detto ricordo da fra Gio. Vincenzo, per commessione de M.ci sr. Consoli.' It should be noted that in these documents the chapel is referred to as the 'chapterhouse' of the Santissima Annunziata.

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

[313] See, for the significance of the choice for these figures, Summers 1969, 69, n. 5; Waźbiński 1987, I, 120-124; Baroni/Meijer 2015, 159-161.

the sidewalls had to depict unspecified scenes from the Old and the New Testament.[314]

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

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

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

[315] ASF, AD 101, 114r.

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

Figure 11. Giorgio Vasari, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1569-1570, fresco, 320 x 293 cm, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

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

Alessandro Fei (del Barbiere) are mentioned in the account book as possible authors of these paintings. ASF, AD 101, 115v.

Figure 13. Alessandro Allori, *Most Holy Trinity*, 1571, fresco, Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

Although the academicians missed the deadline of June 1570, the Servite friars allowed them to continue to use the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. In fact, to this this day, the academy celebrates the feast of Saint Luke here on October 18. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the chapel was re-dedicated to Saint Luke after extensive renovations, which included the transferal of the entrance from the north to the west wall and the replacement of the altar to Vasari's *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*.[317]

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

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

[317] The reason for the renovations, which took place in 1812/13, was to facilitate access for the bishop Nancy, who used the room as a private chapel. Baroni/Meijer 2015, 158, n. 28. It is because of this rededication that in the modern literature the room is mainly referred to as Cappella di San Luca (Chapel of Saint Luke), in addition to Cappella dei Pittori or degli Accademici (Chapel of the painters or of the academicians), which all refer to its use by the art academy.

years of its existence. This becomes clear when carefully reading the academy's subsequent *Libri del provveditore*, in which the meetings were recorded. In these books 130 meetings are described between October 11, 1563 and April 13, 1579. In the descriptions of 84 of these meetings a location is mentioned. In 52 of these 84 descriptions the chapterhouse (or chapel) in Santissima Annunziata is identified as the location of the meeting. In the same period Cestello, i.e. the 'official' headquarters, is named only ten times as meeting place; the *arte dei fabbricanti* is mentioned eight times as meeting place from January 1573 onwards. San Lorenzo is mentioned seven times; five times a meeting in the house or chamber of the *luogotenente* is recorded; and, finally, toward the very end of this period, twice an artist's workshop was used for the drawing of the *festaioli* (or *festaiuoli*), i.e. the artists who were in charge of the organization of the celebrations for the feast of San Luca and that of the Santissima Trinità (Table 2).[318]

Site	Number of meetings	Percentage
Cappella della SS Trinità	52	62%
Cestello	10	12%
Arte dei Fabbricanti	8	10%
San Lorenzo	7	8%
Room of lieutenant	5	6%
Workshop artist	2	2%
Total	84	100%

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

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

[318] The three *Libri del provveditore*, on which these numbers are based, are categorized as ASF, AD 24, 25, and 26. Included in the table are only those meetings, of which the secretary explicitly mentioned the location. There is no reason to believe that the ratio of the sites of the remaining the 46 meetings (of the 130 in total) of which no place name was recorded in the books, would have been different. These meetings dealt with the same kind of subjects as those of which the location was specified, so it seems that the *provveditori* omitted the names for no particular reason. The records of the meetings before October 11, 1563, a number of which must have been held in the temple of Pippo Spano in the convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, are lost. In April 1579 the academy finally relocated to Cestello for its professional and organizational activities.

Santissima Annunziata the academy's regular meeting place: 'I record today on named day that the usual meeting is held, which is held every second Sunday of the month in the chapterhouse of the [An]nunziata (…).'[319] And nine months later, on January 14, 1571, the record of the Poggini's successor as *provveditore*, Giovanni Fedini, reads: 'I record today on this day 14 of January how our usual meeting is held in the chapterhouse of the Servites (…).'[320]

Another example of the importance of the chapel of the Annunziata can be found in the records of two subsequent meetings in September and October 1567. The first entry describes a meeting in the chapel on September 14, during which the officials overseeing the construction and decoration of the temple in Cestello were chosen in the usual way, namely through secret vote with the help of black and white beans. In accordance with general voting practices in early modern Florence, the academicians placed a black or white bean in a bag for every man who was nominated for a certain office. He who received the most black beans would get the function.[321] As already mentioned above, the record states that the sculptors Vincenzo Danti and Zanobi Lastricati received the most black beans and were thus elected as officers in charge of overseeing the work in Cestello.[322]

The next meeting that is described in the *Libro del provveditore* took place a month later, on St Luke's day (October 18), in Cestello. During this meeting the scribe, treasurer and *provveditore* were confirmed in their office. However, this was done by spoken vote and not with the help of black and white beans. The *provveditore*, Ruberto di Filippo Lippi, states that the reason for this deviation of normal administrative procedure was simply that the beans were not present, as this was the first meeting in Cestello.[323] Although not explicitly stated by the *provveditore*, this episode strongly suggests that the beans were stored

[319] ASF, AD 24, 26r: 'Ricordo oggi questo dì detto come si è fatto la tornata solita che si fa ogni seconda domenica del mese, nel capitolo della nunziata (…).' Incidentally, Poggini finished his statue of *Saint Peter* for the chapel later that month, on April 30, 1570.

[320] ASF, AD 24, 29v: 'Ricordo oggi questo dì 14 di gennaio come si è fatta la nostra solita tornata nel capitolo de servi (…).' Giovanni Fedini produced one of the small frescoes above the niches in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità.

[321] Jack 1976, 12.

[322] ASF, AD 24, 19r-v: '…per partito dele più fave rimasano i sopra nominati [i.e. Vicentio danti da perugia scultore e Zanobi di bernardo lastricati scultore].'

[323] ASF, AD 24, 20v-21r: 'Detano a viva voce la raferma a questi tre ufitiali cioè scrivano, camarlingo, proveditore e servo perché non v[i] era[no] fave per esere la prima volta che si son ragunati nel luogo nuovo ed erano in numera da 28 a sedere che si fecie la festa con messe cantando e piane e stette benissimo. (…) che fu la prima volta che si ragunorno in Cestello nel luogo dello schala e conceduto da S[ua] E[ccellenza] con susidio di danari per finire decto luogo.'

in their chapel – or in another room – in Santissima Annunziata.[324] The records of earlier meetings provide corroborating evidence for this conclusion. For, in all entries, in which the location is specified and which describe administrative activities – such as drawing of officials and voting on new members – the chapel in Santissima Annunziata is named as the meeting place.[325]

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

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

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

activities.[326] Zuccari's resulting draft contains fourteen points, in which he discusses the various exercises that the young students should undertake as well as the manner in which the teachers should instruct them.[327] The final point deals with the site on which these activities should take place. Zuccari writes:

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

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

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

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

[327] See section 8.2.

[328] Zuccari's proposal is transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 489-493 and Barzman 2000, 243-246: 'Non voglio ancor tacere et metterli in considerazione, che le tornate che si fanno nel capitolo dell'Annunziata *sino a che altro luogo migliore non habbiamo*, fussero tutte indirizzate a questo negozio di studio ne mescolarvi li negozii che appartengano al Magistrato, come il trarre Consoli, eleggere Ufficiali (…). Dico addunque che saria bene, anzi necessario, se ben ci vogliamo ordinare, che tal negozii si faccino nel Magistrato, essendo Ufficii di Magistrato, *et nell'Accademia studii accademici*.' Italics MJ.

this picture, the academy used the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata exclusively for religious purposes, whereas its rooms in Cestello were its official headquarters from 1567 onwards. This picture was composed on the basis of the more formal archival documents, i.e. the academy's incorporating statutes, the contract of the institutions with the monastery of friars of Santissima Annunziata, and Vasari's 'Life of Montorsoli'. Such documents typically express the intended and ideal functions of an institution and the activities that are to be carried out in its buildings. However, as is well known, things do not always work out as planned.

It has become clear that it is possible to provide a more realistic reconstruction of the activities that were carried out in the buildings of the academy by paying more attention to relatively informal sources, such as Zuccari's outline for the academy's educational program and especially the descriptions of the meetings in the *Libri dei provveditori*.[329] These sources have made clear that notwithstanding Vasari's narrative and the stipulations of the contract between the friars and the academy about the restrictions concerning the activities that could be conducted in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, the artists used the convent's chapterhouse as their headquarters until the end of the 1570s.

Two things remain to be explained: why did the academicians use the Cappella della Santissima Trinità as their main meeting place, when they had an official headquarters in Cestello? And why did the Servite friars lend their facilities for administrative and confraternal purposes, given the fact that the contract contained clear and explicit conditions precluding such activities? An answer to the first question can be found in the previous section. The reason why the chapterhouse of the Santissima Annunziata was used until the very end of the 1570s, instead of the academy's rooms in Cestello, probably was that the latter site was not yet finished. Although the academy came into the possession of the rooms in Cestello in 1567/8, and held several meetings and lectures there not long after, the remaining sources suggest that the bulk of the construction work started in the second half of the 1570s. As discussed, one reason for the delay was probably the disputes over the boundaries with a neighbor.[330]

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

[330] It is noteworthy in this respect that between November 1569 and September 1570, lectures on Euclid were given in Cestello, that is, at the time when the decorative work on the chapterhouse in Santissima Annunziata started and was probably most invasive. This

It is more difficult to find a conclusive answer to the second question in the sources about why the friars let the academy gather in their chapterhouse. However, two reasons come to mind. On the one hand, the fact that the academy possessed an official headquarters since 1567 must have convinced the Servites that the disturbances would only be of a temporary nature. On the other hand, and more importantly, several of the academy's members were friars residing in the monastery. One of them was Giovanni Vincenzo Casali, who compiled the list of artists to contribute to the sculptural program of the chapel and who also recorded the expenses for renovation of the chapterhouse in the year before the contract with the academy was signed.[331] Furthermore, the painter Zanobi Pitti and the sculptor Giovanni Angelo Lottini were also residents in the convent.[332] Moreover, Lottini produced the statue of David in the chapterhouse in 1575 (which was replaced in the eighteenth century).[333]

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

It is only after April 1579 that the academy definitely seems to have relocated to Cestello for their meetings, and not as has always been assumed, immediately after the date of the concession in 1567/1568. Furthermore, the period 1579-1582 seems to have been a transitional one for the Florentine art academy. Not only did they transfer to Cestello

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suggests that a temporary exchange of headquarters took place in 1569-1570. In this context it should also be mentioned that during the renovation of the chapterhouse in Santissima Annunziata, which was carried out by the friars between August 1564 and June 1565, only two academic meetings are held in the chapel, whereas between December 1563 and August 1564 there are six meetings recorded there.

[331] ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, 183: 'Io fra Gio. Vinc. De Servi fo fede di mia mano come la sopra detta spese sono stata fatta et aministrate per me, nel modo che stanno di sopra e per fede del vero ho fatto la sottoscritione di mia mano.'

[332] See, for Pitti, ASF, Conv. Sopp. 119 (SS Annunziata), pezzo 122, c. 57 and ASF, AD 24, 16r.

[333] ASF, AD 25, 61r.

occur in this time-span,[334] but there also were rapid changes of lieutenants and important reforms in the statutes, which now had to include rules about the guild.[335] Finally, as mentioned, in 1585 the academy had some disagreements with the monks of Cestello about the confines of their rooms. It is likely that, as in the case of the Camaldolese monks of Santa Maria degli Angeli earlier, these conflicts had to do with the increased activity of the art institution in the preceding period, as the account book shows that the academy carried out renovations in Cestello for a large part of 1584.[336]

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

The *Libri del provveditore* of the sixteenth century contain various inventories of the goods of the academy. The first of these inventories was written by *provveditore* Ruberto di Filippo Lippi. It dates from the winter of 1563-1564 and it describes the objects that were temporarily stored in one of Benedetto Varchi's rooms in the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli after the academy no longer was allowed to use the oratory of Pippo Spano in the same complex.[337] The provenance of part of the goods on the inventory must have been the church of Santa Maria Novella, because a record in the account book states that certain objects had been transferred from there to Santa Maria degli Angeli in May 1563.[338]

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

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

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

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

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

[338] ASF, AD 101, 101r-101v.

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

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

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

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

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

[341] See for the box for alms ASF, AD 101, 101r. See the inventory of 1571 (ASF, AD 25, 68v), where one wooden casing is mentioned for voting: 'Un bossolo di legno da ricorre i partiti.'

institution's expenses. On the other hand, in this manner these works of art also functioned in the educational practices of the Accademia del Disegno, because it gave the young and aspiring academicians an opportunity to demonstrate their progress.

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

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

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

these revenues were recorded.[346] Both of these possessions had previously belonged to the Compagnia di San Luca. Incidentally, this shows that not only in terms of the religious celebrations but also legally academy was a continuation of the confraternity.

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

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

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

[346] See, for example, ASF, AD 101 6r, 9r, 12v, and 22v for the revenues from the lands, and ASF, AD 101, 3v, 6v, 9v, 11r, 13r, 16v, and 22r for those from the *monte.*

[347] ASF, AD 25, 68v: 'Una cassetta di noce con sua chiave serve per tenervi le borse delli uffitiali.'

[348] ASF, AD 26, 12r. These books are recorded again in an inventory that bears the date November 6, 1581. See ASF, AD 26, 24v. In this inventory only the books are recorded. It is somewhat more specific in its descriptions of the content of the documents.

only other site of the academy in this period.[349] The second part of the inventory contains some of the items that had been present in Santa Maria degli Angeli, such as the furniture for the altar and the two round paintings with the oxen. Also the small box with the leather bags with the names of the officials and the casing that was used for casting the votes were stored here. The fact that these objects were present in Cestello at this time can be seen as additional evidence that the academy was in the process of relocating there in this period. It is even conceivable that the inventory was made at this moment because the academy was transferring its goods to its official headquarters.

In addition, various works of art are mentioned in this part of the inventory. Listed are five oil paintings. Three of these pictures represented a scene of the Old Testament: one with Adam, and two with Noah. Although the subjects of the other two paintings are not mentioned, the names of the artists are: Giovanmaria Casini and a certain Palaio. There were, furthermore, four paintings in *chiaroscuro* and a *terracotta* figure made by a certain sculptor named Giovanni.[350] The paintings probably originated in the context of the academy's celebrations of the religious feasts. For example, Casini had been elected as *festaiolo* on May 11, 1578, that is, the year before the inventory was made.[351]

The next inventory in the *Libro del provveditore* dates from July 13, 1586. It was composed by *provveditore* Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo when his successor, Giovanni Brini, took office. Dell'Altissimo's inventory contains the same and similar objects that had been recorded in previous listings. For example, there are various pieces of furniture, such as the altar step, benches, and the two round pictures with oxen, which were used in the academy's confraternal practices. Also belonging to this category were two small boxes for alms and a gilded and painted cross on a plaster cast standing for the altar. Furthermore, as in the previous inventory, the secretary also describes the books and papers of the institution. To the list of these documents that had already been recorded, Dell'Altissimo added a book of the statutes with the sign of the Trinity (*Un libro de capitoli con segnio della Trinità*). These statutes were approved by Grand Duke Francesco I on April 6, 1585, and they contain the rules pertaining to the academy as guild.[352]

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[349] See Zuccari's remark in section 4.2.3.
[350] ASF, AD 26, 12r.
[351] ASF, AD 26, 3r.
[352] The original statutes are missing. However, the academy's archive houses two copies, one from the eighteenth (ASF, AD 5, 1-20v) and one from the seventeenth century (ASF, AD 6, 1-38). See for transcriptions Reynolds 1974/1985, 252-293, Waźbiński 1987, II, 445-470, Adorno/Zangheri 1998 (copy of Waźbiński's transcription), and Barzman 2000, 246-268. See section 6.2.1. for a discussion of these statutes.

In Dell'Altissimo's inventory there are three other items that were directly connected to the guild function of the art institution and the new statutes. In the first place, there was a small wooden box containing the bags with the names of the members who were eligible for adjudicating cases. The box was located in the academy's magistracy, that is, in the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti.[353] Second, the inventory mentions writings, which had been copied from the statutes of the guild of the builders (Fabbricanti) and that of the physicians and apothecaries (Medici e Speziali), which were the corporations to which the artists had previously belonged.[354] The committee that was in charge of drafting the new statutes, undoubtedly, had used these writings to carry out its task. Finally, the list mentions 120 marks of painters and sculptors, with which they had to sign their works.[355] Traditionally, the guilds had used these maker's marks, or trademarks, as an instrument to control the market.[356]

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

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

[353] ASF, AD 26, 49r: 'cassetta pichola dalbero fatta verde con sue serature che sta al magistrato dove stanno le borse (…).'
[354] ASF, AD 26, 49v: 'scritture cavato delli statuti de fabricanti e speziali (…).'
[355] Ibidem: '120 segni o marche di pittori et scultori che servono per segniare i lavori che faranno secondo lo statuto.'
[356] See for a more elaborate discussion of these items and the new statutes section 6.2.1.
[357] ASF, AD 26, 49r.
[358] ASF, AD 26, 49v: 'un cristo di gesso ch'è posto in sul'altare di mano di michelangiolo / un pezzo di croce di legnio per detto cristo.'
[359] ASF, AD 27, 131v. See below for a discussion of this inventory.

sculptor Giovanni Garzolli in 1583.[360] The place of this statue on the academy's altar in Cestello indicates that it had a function in the organization's confraternal practices. However, given the status that Michelangelo's work enjoyed in Florence at that time, as the summum of the arts and the prime example for young artists, this sculpture was most probably also used as a model in the academic-educational practices.

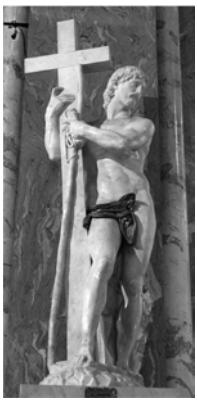

Figure 14. Michelangelo, *Christ the Redeemer*, 1521, marble, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, (photo: Ricardo André Frantz, Wiki Commons)

Finally, the 1586 inventory contains three items that were probably used exclusively in the academy's educational practices. The first of these artifacts was a large clay model (*modello di terra cruda grande*) by Michelangelo, which had been donated to the academy by the sculptor, architect, and academician Bartolomeo Ammannati in 1583.[361] This sculpture was a model for one of the River Gods that were supposed to be placed on Michelangelo's monument Lorenzo de' Medici in the New Sacristy in San Lorenzo (fig. 15). The artist never produced the actual statue. That his model was a prize possession of the academy is clear from the fact that it still belongs to the institution and is nowadays on display in the Museo di Casa Buonarroti in Florence. Like the tombs in the New Sacristy, the model must have been frequently copied by other artists, and it is highly likely that it was used in the education of young art students in the academy for learning how to draw after a sculpted figure. It also appears on Domenico Passignano's *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* that hung in the academy's chapel in Cestello (fig. 16).

[360] Gargiolli received two payments on November 14, 1583 and June 26, 1584, for a total of 77 lire. On October 19, 1584, the academy paid for a wooden cross to accompany the Christ. ASF, AD 101, 142v, 143v, and 145v.

[361] ASF, AD 26, 49v: 'Un modello di terra cruda grande di mano di Michelagniolo Buonarroti scultore.'

Figure 15. Michelangelo, *River God*, ca. 1524-1527, clay, sand, animal hair, vegetal fibre, wood, iron and metal, 65 x 40 x 70 cm, Casa Buonarroti (photo: author)

Figure 16. Domenico Passignano, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1602-1604, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (Meijer/Zangheri 2015, II, fig. 13)

The second artifact that was used exclusively in the academy's educational practices, was a piece of an ancient marble capital, which had also been donated to the academy by Ammannati in 1583 for study purposes.[362] It reappears in later inventories. Thirdly and finally, there were two screened windows (*2 finestre impannate*). It has been suggested that the academy used these windows for controlling the light in the teaching room – in addition to reducing the drafts.[363] The screens allowed the art students to continue to draw after the model for longer periods of time without having to deal with the problem of alterations in the

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

[363] Barzman 2000, 174. Barzman points out that the use of screened windows for rooms, in which figure drawing took place, had been recommended by Leonardo in his treatise.

intensity and angle of the light. In the 1590s the academy bought new cloth for these windows.[364]

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

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

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

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[364] ASF, AD 102, 88v.

[365] ASF, AD 27, 131v-134r (1591-1592), 28r-29v (1594), and 88r-v (specifically the things that are in the sacristy 1594). These inventories are partly transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 482-487.

[366] Accademia delle Arti del Disegno 2000, 13.

[367] ASF, AD 27, 9v-12v, 93v-94r, and 95v, and ASF, AD 102, 91r-91v and 92v. See section 10.3.1 for a more elaborate discussion of the role of the academy as client in contemporary patronage practices.

To return to the inventory, another large portion of the paintings were produced by the young *festaioli* for the *apparato* for feast of San Luca, and therefore, had a function in both confraternal and academic-educational practices. In contrast to previous inventories, here most of the subjects of the pictures are described. Many of them depicted scenes from the Bible, but there also were personifications of *disegno*, Painting, Decorum, and Color. Furthermore, besides the two sculptures that were connected to Michelangelo, the inventory contains six clay figures, representing the four elements – fire, water, earth, and air – and personifications of Sculpture and Painting.

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

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

[368] ASF, AD 27, 88r-v.
[369] Barzman 2000, 156-7. See section 8.3 for a discussion of the mathematical instruction in the Accademia del Disegno.

On the other hand, there were listed a handful of objects and artifacts that were used for the celebration of the Forty Hours devotion in 1594 in Cestello: several *chiaroscuro* cartoons with painted columns, prophets, and apostles, which covered the walls of the chapel, and a large disk of wood covered with polished metal for holding the Host and the name of Christ.[370] The Forty Hours devotion in 1594 was the first time that this feast was celebrated in the academy. At that time Catholic forces were fighting the Turks at the Hungarian front. This battle had extra relevance for the members of the Accademia del Disegno, because two of its patrons, don Giovanni and don Antonio de' Medici, led the Tuscan troops during the fights.[371] The academicians hoped that their celebration of the Forty Hours devotions would precipitate the Catholic victory. This means that the artifacts that are mentioned in the inventory had functions in both religious-confraternal and political-patronage practices.

4.3. The material culture of the Accademia di San Luca

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

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

[370] Barzman 2000, 204.

[371] The *Libro del provveditore* states that on October 9, 1594 consul Jacopo Ligozzi proposed the idea of holding this devotion on the day of Saint Luke by way of asking God for the victory over the Turks, and especially for their patrons don Giovanni and don Antonio. ASF, AD 27, 112: '…pregare il sig.or Iddio per la vitoria contra i turchi e in particulare per li ill[ustrissi]mi et ecc[elentissi]mi sig[no]ri patroni l'uno l'ill[ustrissi]mo et eccel[entissi]mo sig[n]or don Giovanni nostro academico e protetore e l'altro il sig[n]or don Antonio medici…'

discussed, in the case of the Florentine institution have survived.[372] Yet, whereas Accademia del Disegno's account book for the construction work in Cestello (the *Libro della fabbrica*) has been lost, in Rome the academy does not seem to have had a separate book for the work on its headquarters. Instead, all expenses concerning the (re)construction of its church at the Forum Romanum are recorded in the account books. This means that there is more information available about the construction work that the Roman academy carried out on their church than about the Florentine institution's renovation of Cestello. In addition to the account books, there are other sources that aid the reconstruction of the early sites of the Accademia di San Luca. First, there are two papal documents from the last quarter of the sixteenth century in which official approval is given for the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca. Second, Romano Alberti made succinct statements about the academy's headquarters in his description of the early history of the institution. Finally, some visual source material helps to reconstruct the early sites of the Roman art academy.

4.3.1. The early sites: continuous reconstruction

Before translocating to Santi Luca e Martina at the Foro Romano in 1588 the artists of the guild and confraternity of San Luca were allowed to use the small church of San Luca on the Esquiline Hill for their religious celebrations.[373] This church had been under the control of the chapter of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, located next to it, since the end of the fourteenth century. The connection between both churches was a logical one. According to a popular legend, which had originated in Byzantium in the eight century, Saint Luke had produced the first Christian icon by painting the Virgin, who had miraculously appeared before him. The church of Santa Maria Maggiore not only possessed an image of the Virgin that was attributed to Saint Luke, but also a reliquary of the arm with which he supposed to have painted it.[374]

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

[372] Salvagni 2009, 74-76 and 113, n. 10-12.
[373] The following discussion about the early sites of the Accademia di San Luca is based mainly on Salvagni 2008, 2009, and 2012. Noehles 1970 also goes into the early history of the church of Santi Luca e Martina, but he was mostly interested in the completely rebuilt edifice that was designed by Pietro da Cortona after 1634.
[374] Salvagni 2009, 77-78. See also Rossi 1984, 382.

deed, which specified that the church would belong to the guild. The revenues, however, would go to the clerics of the Santa Maria Maggiore. Moreover, the contract stipulated that the guild should celebrate a high mass on the feast of San Luca, as well as eight low masses on other holy days.[375] The painters were free to renovate and decorate the church as they pleased.

From 1555 until 1582, the guild renovated the church. During this time, only the masses on the feast day of Saint Luke were said in the church. Most meetings were held in other locations, especially the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva at the Pantheon (1548-1571) and the Sapienza (1576-1581). On October 18, 1582 the church was finally declared finished, and many religious rituals were performed to celebrate its inauguration. The renovated edifice, which was admired by contemporary visitors, consisted of a large nave with a vaulted ceiling, furnished with wooden benches and illuminated by torches in stanchions. Its walls were probably covered with frescoes by the members of the Università and a painting of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin in the Presence of Raphael* hung above the altar. A contemporary antiquarian, named Pompeo Ugonio, included the small church in his survey of the important religious monuments of Rome before 1585 (the year of the church's demolition). According to Ugonio, this painting had been made by Raphael (1483-1520) and it had recently been restored or renovated (*rinovato*) by Scipione Pulzone (1544-1598), who was a member of the Università e Confraternità di San Luca – and later of the academy as well (fig. 17).[376]

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

[375] Salvagni 2009, 78. Furthermore, the artists had to pay the chapter of the Santa Maria Maggiore an annual rent of 1 pound of pepper, a candle, and 1 *scudo* on the feast day of Saint Luke.
[376] Salvagni 2009, 79-80. For Ugonio's account see BAV, Barb. Lat. 2160, 126r.

panel to canvas in 1857, is detrimental, it is also impossible to either confirm or deny this attribution to Raphael on stylistic grounds.[377]

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

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

[377] See Salvagni 2012, 227-235 and Ventra 2015 for recent discussions about the authorship of the painting. Salvagni's tentative conclusion is that the painting was started by Raphael and finished by one of his students, and that Pulzone restored the painting between 1571 and 1585. Waźbiński (1985), on the other hand, attributes the painting to Zuccari, who would have produced the work, with help from Pulzone, shortly before the start of his presidency of the academy in 1593. One of the reasons for his conviction is that Baglione (1642/1995, 124) claims that the painting was donated by Zuccari to the academy. This interpretation is rejected by Salvagni (2012, 233-234 and 2008, 58-59), because Waźbiński wrongly assumes that the painting is mentioned for the first time in Alberti's (1604/1961, 2) description of the academy's meetings in 1593, whereas she argues that the same picture is already recorded in archival sources of the confraternity and guild of San Luca in the 1570s (and possibly in 1550). Moreover, contrary to what Waźbiński holds, the attribution to Raphael dates not from after Zuccari's 'donation' but already occurs in Ugonio's manuscript discussed above. Ventra's (2015) more recent and thorough analysis of the complex restoration history of the painting shows that any attempt to attribute it to a painter on stylistic grounds is futile because of the many interventions and because of its current condition.

financial burden for the artists' association over the past decades, was sacrificed to these papal plans.[378] This means that the artists were left without a headquarters. However, another three years later Sixtus V made up for this loss. On May 24, 1588 the pope issued a bull in which he named the parish church of Santa Martina at the Forum Romanum as the seat of the new organization.[379]

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

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

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[378] Salvagni 2009, 82.

[379] Missirini 1823, 24. Actually, the bull specifies the location of the Santa Martina as Foro Boario ('cow/cattle field'), as it was known since the Middle Ages.

[380] The original copies of these papal documents can no longer be found in the archive of the academy. Their contents are known through transcriptions. See the transcriptions in Missirini 1823, 20-21 (Gregory XIII's brief) and 23-26 (Sixtus V's bull). See also the appendices 1 and 2 of Lukehart 2009 (348-352).

[381] Salvagni gives no explanation for this omission in the brief.

[382] Missirini 1823, 24.

[383] See, for example, Romano Alberti's (1604/1961, 2) beginning of the description of the first academic meeting on November 14th, 1593, in which he mentions that at that time 'our new church of San Luca Evangelista' was already begun in the place of Santa Martina.

Since the Middle Ages it was referred to as *Macello* (slaughterhouse), *Foro Boario* or *Campo Vaccino* (cow or cattle field) because it was the site of one of the most important cattle and meat markets of the city. In addition, the Conservatori of Rome had their seat in the adjacent Capitol ('Campidoglio'). Here several guilds held their offices and professional disagreements were adjudicated.

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

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

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[384] Salvagni 2009, 89-91.

[385] Missirini 1823, 24. On January 29th, 1589, a consensus is reached between Timotei and the confraternity of Saint Luke about the consignation of the church of Santa Martina to the latter. See ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1589, pt. I, vol.12, fols. 241r–v.

[386] The latter church was demolished in the 1930s when Mussolini built the via dei Fori Imperiali.

[387] Missirini 1823, 25-26.

[388] According to the bull, this amounted to 60 *scudi* annually, of which 12 *scudi* was to be paid to each of the above-mentioned churches (San Nicola and San Lorenzuolo) for taking over its parish. Roccasecca (2009, 138) claims that church and its assets were given to the Università or guild of the painters and not to the academy, because the latter was not officially incorporated until 1593. He basis this claim on the papal bulls of Sixtus V. However, this is not convincing for two reasons. On the one hand, the papal bull only refers to the new organization as academy ('accademia') and congregation ('congregazione'), and *not* as guild ('università'). And on the other hand, the fact that the

However, other documents show that Timotei continued to receive revenues from the church, to which he had been previously entitled, until his death in 1619 or 1620. Timotei, while residing in the palace of Cardinal Colonna, had petitioned the pope in June 1588 for the persistence of the endowment.[389] In December of the same year, that is, the month in which the academy took possession of the church, his request was granted.[390] Moreover, on April 8, 1589 Timotei dictated the inventory of the revenues and the movable goods of the church to a notary in the presence of the painter Girolamo Muziano.[391]

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

academy did not start its activities until 1593 does not mean that the bull could not assign to it the revenues of the Santa Martina. In fact, this is precisely what the bull does. That the academy was not in function until the 1593 only entails that the revenues would *de facto* be collected by the previous institution, i.e. the guild of painters. Although Salvagni (2009, n. 63, 118-119) strongly disagrees with other parts of Roccasecca's interpretation of the bull, in her article in the same volume, she also writes that Sixtus V conceded the revenues to the *Università* dei Pittori instead of to the academy of painters and sculptors.

[389] AASL 3. According to Salvagni (2009, 99), 'the fact that the academy had no claims to these revenues was confirmed during the congregazione held on December 21, 1588, when it took possession of the property, and formally acknowledged in the notarial deed signed by all parties on July 22, 1589.'

[390] Roccasecca 2009, 138-9.

[391] ASR, TNC, uff. 11 (Ottaviano Saravezzi), 1589, vol. 12, fols. 741r-742r. See Salvagni 2009, 99-100 for a discussion.

[392] Roccasecca 2009, 138-9.

[393] Salvagni 2009, 108.

[394] The various tenants were Mariano de Orti (Borga Sant'Agata, 20 *scudi* per year, later 16 *scudi* per year); Marta di Ruttilio (no property mentioned, 9 *scudi* per year); Francesco Oste and later Simone Peroti Oste (*osteria*, 30 *scudi* per year); Vittorio Bencivenne, later Ansidonia de Vittorio (Borgo Sant'Agata?, 16 *scudi* per year?); Madalena di Biagio Cocchiero (the room above the academy, 4 or 6 *scudi* per year?); Guido Senese (garden, 1 *scudo*); Francesco scarpellino (bottega or site behind Santi Martina e Santo Luca, no amount specified); Catarina (room above the academy, 12 *scudi* per year?).

the academy after his death in 1592. The institution collected 20 *scudi* per year from tenants living there from 1593 onwards.[395]

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

The church itself was almost in ruins in 1588 and had to be reconstructed, as can be seen from an engraving of the church form ca. 1575 (fig. 18).[396] The rebuilding of the church was a great financial burden for the nascent organization, but the artists were able to pay for it in part dismantling the original stonework (travertine blocks and marble reliefs), dating from Roman times, and selling it to various building sites in the city.[397] Other sources of income were the rents form the various tenants; the fees that were generated from devotion and from the cult, which the institution was allowed to collect after October 15, 1592, when Pope Clement VIII granted plenary indulgences to those who visited the church of San Luca on the feasts of the Assumption and of Saint Luke; and from a two percent tax on all appraisals of works of art (above 25

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

[396] The inscription below the engraving reads: 'Vestigij del'arco di Settimo Severo, quale fu d'opera composta, et dall'una et l'altra parte vi si veggono sculpite i simulachri delle suoi vittorie, et di sopra nel segno A vi si legge un titolo in honor' suo. Nel segno B si vede il tempio di Saturno qual' fu dalla parte di fuori ornato di stucchi, et di dentro di varie pietre mischie. Vogliono alcuni che in questo tempio fusse l' erario [?]: hoggi è dedicato a santo Adriano. Nel segno C è la chiesa di Santa Martina nella quale si vede un tempio molto rovinato quale fu il tempio di Marte, come ivi si vede in certe marmi scolpite diverse insigne militari, tutti li sopradetti luochi terminavano il foro Romano.'

[397] See Salvagni 2009, 100-102.

scudi), which the papacy approved in 1595.[398] It has been estimated that combined these revenues amounted to many thousands of *scudi*. However, the account books of the period suggest that this is an exaggeration. For example, in the period 1588-1594 the academy's total income amounted to no more than 1500 *scudi* (Tables 3-5).[399]

Income	**Scudi (%)**	**Expenditure**	**Scudi (%)**
Rent	32,40 (3,6%)	Rent, *censi*	68,50 (7,7%)
Alms, boxes	12,70 (1,4%)	Mass, priest, wax, etc.	39,93 (4,5%)
Travertine/marble/work (5/5/1590-26/9/1592)	439,26 (49,0%)	Work	241,92 (27,3%)
Appraisals	102 (11,4%)	Envoy	16,65 (1,9%)
Book sales	0,30 (0,03%)	Legal work, copying	16,41 (1,9%)
Taxes painters	39 (4,4%)	Buying the tavern	273,66 (30,9%)
Alms for sending the bull	271,27 (30,2%)	Sending the bull of the Santa Martina (Aug-Dec 1588)	230 (25,9%)
Total	**897 (100%)**	**Total**	**887,07 (100%)**

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

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

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

[398] Salvagni 2009, 99-100.
[399] See for the years 1588-92 AASL 41, 27v-29r (income), 96v-98v (expenses) and for 1593-94 AASL 42, 1r-6v (income), 80r-86r (expenses).

Income	**Scudi (%)**	**Expenditure**	**Scudi (%)**
Rent	90,02 (41,8%)	Rent, *censi*	64,05 (29,4%)
Alms, boxes	20,62 (9,6%)	Mass, priest, wax, etc.	39,63 (18,2%)
Travertine/marble/work	90,69 (42,1%)	Work	86,26 (39,6%)
Appraisals	9,62 (4,5%)	Envoy	5,5 (2,5%)
Book sales	0,3 (0,1%)	Legal work, copying	3,25 (1,5%)
Taxes academy	4,1 (1,9%)	Work academy	19,02 (8,7%)
Total	**215,34 (100%)**	**Total**	**217,71 (100%)**

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

At first, the church of Santa Martina was used for the academy's meetings, but from October 1591 onwards the members convened in a room in an adjacent 'house' belonging to the church, for which it paid Michele Timotei an annual rent.[400] In the sources, this is referred to as one of the 'upper rooms' (*stanze ad alto*) and as a 'hayloft' (*fenile* or *granaro*), overlooking piazza of the Campo Vaccino.[401] An altar was set up in this room and in 1591 two columns were brought there to adorn it.[402] On October 30, 1593 the painting of *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* that was attributed to Raphael was hung there.[403] Two weeks later, on November 14, the meeting that has been traditionally marked as the birth of the academy was held in in this room.[404] On the frontispiece of Romano Alberti's book that describes the meetings during the first years of the academy's existence one of these gatherings – probably the first – is represented (figs. 19 and 20). The altar with the columns can be seen in the middle of the image. However, the altarpiece itself is not represented.

[400] Salvagni 2009, 108-109.
[401] AASL G1, 70.
[402] AASL G1, 70v: 'A fare porturare [sic] nelle stanze ad alto le doi colonne dell'ornamento dell'altare baiocchi 6.' For the feast of San Luca of 1591 two large round paintings with coat of arms were brought from the Pantheon to the church or this room by the envoy of the company of Saint Joseph. AASL G1, 70r: 'a fare portare le tondi grandi della arme dalla retonda a campo vacina li porto el mandataro di S.a iosepp…' Also a reliquary was brought to the church for this occasion.
[403] AASL 42, 82v.
[404] According to Salvagni (2009, 108), on this day 'the academy was officially and rhetorically, but not in reality, constituted by its members (…).' The distinction between 'officially' and 'in reality' is not clear, but with the latter term she probably means that there were not yet statutes that were approved by the church, because she stresses this point earlier in the article and in other publications. The statutes were approved in 1607, thus precisely 30 years after the Gregorian brief. In this dissertation, the term 'official' is used precisely for the approval of the foundation and statutes by the political rulers. For the Accademia di San Luca, this means that it was officially approved in 1577 (and again in 1588), and its statutes in 1607. In 'reality', however, it started to function only – or already – in 1593.

Figure 19. Romano Alberti, *Frontispiece of Origine, et progresso dell'Accademia del Dissegno de Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti di Roma*, 1604, Pietro Bartoli, Pavia (from: Lukehart 2009, frontispiece)

Figure 20. detail of fig. 19

As mentioned, the church of Santa Martina was in a bad state in 1588, and for many years the academy was occupied with its reconstruction. In 1592, the academy started negotiations to acquire land around the church so that the edifice could be expanded.[405] In August 1592 a model of the new building, constructed in wood by Giovanni Battista Montano, was paid for; it is known that twice before June 1591

[405] According to Salvagni (2009, 102-104**)**, these negotiations were held with the Della Valle family, after the entered into the possession of Muziano's legacy on July 27, 1592. See, for the legacy, also AASL 72, 67.

this model was carried from Montano's workshop, which was near the Pantheon, to the church of Santa Martina.[406]

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

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

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

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[406] AASL G1, 70: 'A fare portare el modello della chiesa da botiga di meser Giam. Batista e campo Vacina doi volte.' See also Salvagni 2009, 102-104.
[407] Salvagni 2009, 108.
[408] According to the visitor, 'the walls of the church are rough, and the windows lack frames, the roof needs repairing' ('Muri ecclesiae sunt rudes, et fenestre sine telarijs, ac tecta revisione indigent'). ASV, Misc. Arm. VII. Vol. 113, fol. 278 ff. See Noehles 1970, 336-337 (doc. 18) for a transcription of the *verbale* of the visit to the church.
[409] See Noehles 1970 for an elaborate discussion of the construction of the new church. On Cortona's death in 1669 the essential parts of the church were ready, but it took another ten years to complete the decorations.
[410] AASL Inventari 1, 1. See, for a transcription, Lukehart 2009, 368 .The document is titled 'Cose donate all'Accademia 1594'.
[411] 'Libro dove sono notate tutte le robbe che sono state date et donate all'Accademia di S[an]to Luca di Roma et da chi sono state donate questo anno 1594 et si notaranno di giorno in giorno seco[n]do sara[n]no date et da chi (…).'

The items that are listed in the first inventory functioned, no doubt, in artistic-educational practices, as they would have served as models to be copied by young art students. This is made clear by Romano Alberti. According to him, Zuccari stated in his speech during the second academic meeting, which was held on November 28, 1593, that the art students would exercise their skills by 'copying cartoons and reliefs' (*ritrare cartoni e relievi*). He added that there already existed a good collection of these in the academy.[412]

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

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

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

[412] Alberti 1604/1961, 11. And Zuccari reiterates this statement on the first Sunday of July 1594, when he said that the academy's room, which had previously been a hayloft (*fenile*), was full of drawings, cartoons and reliefs (*piena ancora di dissegni, di cartoni, e di relievi*). See Alberti 1604/1961, 71.

first of these notarial inventories dates from October 25, 1624 and was commissioned by the French painter Simon Vouet (1590-1649), who at that time was the *principe* of the academy. The opening sentence of the inventory, which was composed by the notary Erasto Spannocchia, states that it contains the goods that are housed in the large cupboard (*Armario o vero Credenzone*) and the room of the academy above the Church of San Luca.[413]

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

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

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

[413] Lukehart 2009, 369-372.
[414] See section 5.7 for a discussion of Alberti's treatise.
[415] Roccasecca 2009, 142.
[416] Lukehart 2009, 371.

like in Florence, decisions in the Roman art academy were made with the help of black and white beans.

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

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

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

[417] Lukehart 2009, 370-371.
[418] Lukehart 2009, 372 and 379.

suspects: Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Baccio Bandinelli. It also contains the names of other canonical artists, who like these four, never had a formal connection to the Accademia di San Luca, such as Leonardo, Mantegna, Dürer, Goltzius, and Caravaggio. However, many other names on the list belong to deceased artists who had been members of the Roman art academy, such Antiveduto Grammatica, Tommaso Laureti, Prospero Orso, Giovanni Vecchi, and Federico Zuccari.[419]

There are, however, a couple of new items on the inventories of 1627 and 1633 that were more than simply additions to already existing categories. In the first place, the 1627 inventory records two benches, where the nude model could be positioned when 'an academy was held'.[420] This entry is interesting for two reasons. It suggests that drawing after the nude – or, in general, the live – model started quite late in the academy's history, even though this activity is prescribed by Zuccari in his curriculum from 1593-1594. This is confirmed by the institution's account books, in which the first record of a payment made to a model is recorded in 1628 – and after that in 1629, 1632, and subsequent years.[421] Moreover, this entry is interesting because the term 'academy' in the phrase 'to hold or organize an academy' ('se fa l'accademia') is used here in the specific and narrow sense of drawing after a nude model. This suggests that in this period this activity came to be seen as the epitome of academic practices.

The 1633 inventory also contains some noteworthy changes compared to the earlier documents. Most importantly, it mentions for the first time that the academy has two rooms adjacent to the church of Santi Luca e Martina, rather than one. In the first room are recorded various pieces of furniture for the officials – which had not yet been mentioned in earlier inventories – tables with the statutes and the bull of Pope Gregory XIII – which presumably hung on the wall – and the aforementioned portraits of past masters.[422] The second room, which was located behind the first (*la stanza dietro la sopradetta*), held all the artifacts that had been donated by artists for the academy's educational practices. It also contained several objects that were used for religious services, such as wooden candlesticks and torches, cloths for the altar, and a silver-plated crucifixion. [423] This means that whereas the first room had a representative

[419] Lukehart 2009, 377-379.
[420] Lukehart 2009, 375: 'Item due banchi dove se spoglia il modello quando se fa l'accademia.'
[421] Roccasecca 2009, 233-234.
[422] Lukehart 2009, 376-379.
[423] Lukehart 2009, 379-380.

function and it served as site for the official meetings, the second room was used as storage space and probably also as studio for the education of artists.

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

4.4. Material culture and social practices

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

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

poems, respectively. This shows the importance of Michelangelo for both academies and it attests to his academic canonization in both cities.

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

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

Finally, the discussion of the buildings and objects belonging to the art academies attest to their performance of religious-confraternal activities. In fact, if the reconstruction of their practices would be based solely on the interpretation of their material culture, then the religious-confraternal activities would probably be seen as most important. Many of the items that were listed in the inventories had a function in their religious-confraternal practices. Some of these artifacts, such as the paintings and sculptures made by the young artists for the feast of San Luca, had an additional function in the academies' educational practices. Other objects, such as cloths for the altars, candlesticks, and crosses, were used exclusively for religious services and rituals. As argued, the reason why the inventories of the Accademia del Disegno contain more of these

items is probably not that these practices were more important in Florence, but that the inventories of the Roman institution do not describe the goods of its church (Santi Luca e Martina).

Almost all of the edifices in which the academies gathered either had religious functions themselves or they were connected to religious buildings. The early sites of the Accademia del Disegno at Santa Maria Nuova, Santa Maria degli Angeli, San Lorenzo, Santissima Annunziata, and Cestello were all consecrated areas in Florence. Relatively few meetings were held on lay locations: the Arte dei Fabbricanti, the house of the lieutenant, and the workshop of an artist are mentioned only a couple of times in the archival documents. The obvious reason for gathering in religious buildings was that they were made to accommodate large number of people. This was especially necessary for the religious celebrations organized by the academies such as the feast of San Luca, but also important meetings concerning the institutions attracted many members.

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

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

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 dì 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 dispozione 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.

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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 (delettare), 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.

veneration 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 Waźbiński (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' to 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 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 Pierfrancescho 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 Waźbiński 1987, II, 477. According to Waźbiński (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 Scipiono 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 (*infirmieri*) 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 Marchessetti unanimously not only because of his merit as a doctor but also because he was proposed by the grand duke. Like Menchi, Marchessetti 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 inpepato* ('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.

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[493] The academy voted on this decision and it was accepted by 25 black againt 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 by 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] Ważbiński 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. Waźbiński 1987, I, 118-120.
[521] Waźbiński 1987, I, 116.
[522] See, for this identification, Waźbiński 1987, I, 132-134. Moreover, according to Waźbiński, 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 Waźbiński 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 così 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 modem 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.

congregatione de Pettori elletti [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).

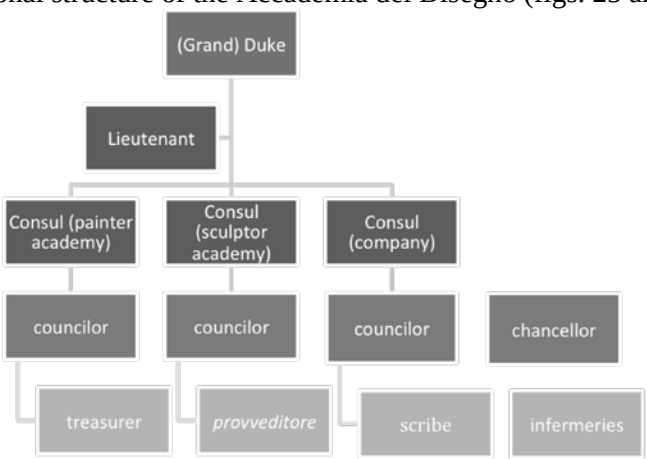

Figure 25. Organogram of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years

[537] Ibidem.

[538] '…si farà un'altra scelta di otto, ò, dieci, i quali possano essere atti a formare una Academia, per benefitio 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 congregatione 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 congregatione, come dependenti da lei.' ASR, TNC, uf. 11, 1593, pt. 1, vol. 25, fol. 427r.

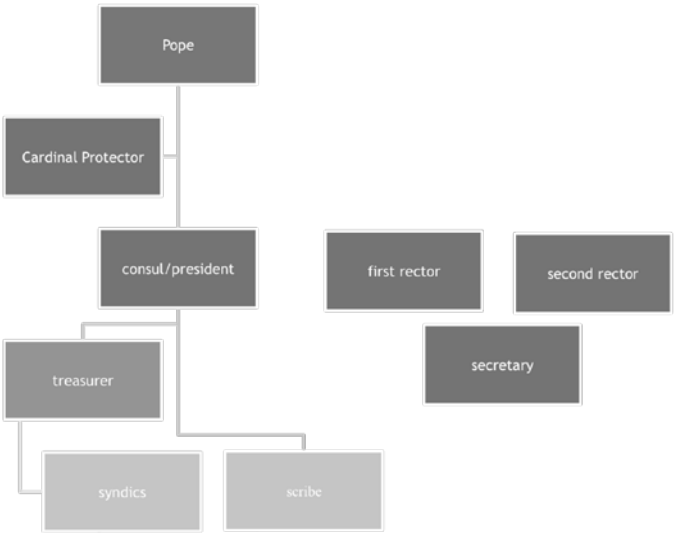

Figure 26. Organogram of Accademia di San Luca in its early years

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 recorded 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 congregationi* (...).' 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, & augmentare 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'Academia 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 suppellectilies 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.

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[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 Biancchini, 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

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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 reinvokes 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 ridurà 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 dì 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 Pauolo Picciolli Camerlengo della nostra Compagnia di San Luca vi piaccia di pagare a […] Mariano Ingrassia da Palermo gigli tre. Tanti sono per la elemosina della academia questo dì 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[l]la compagnia di San Lucha questo dì 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 dì 27 detto [dicembre] ad un un povero giovine per elimosina 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 Pauolo Picciolli 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 Pauolo 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 Natione* (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.

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 statures 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 Academia 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.

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.

Chapter Six

Guild Practices in the Art Academies

6.1. Academy versus guild?

By the end of the sixteenth century guilds organized professional practices in most Italian towns and cities. Originating in de Middle Ages, guilds were associations of merchants or craftsmen of the same trade that protected the market through the control of price and quality. This also held for the corporations that regulated professional artistic practices. For instance, artists' guilds guaranteed high and reliable standards of quality through a system, in which practitioners appraised the work of colleagues.[620] Furthermore, they functioned as magistracies, adjudicating in civil cases that involved artists, such as disputes about contracts with commissioners.[621] Finally, guilds also played a central role in the achievement of another goal in professional artistic practices, namely the education of pupils. Without the continuous education of new generations of artists, the practice would soon die out. Guilds contributed to this activity through regulating and controlling the manner in which students and apprentices were trained and taught, and the way in which a studio was organized.

For a long time, scholars of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca entertained the idea – which, incidentally, still persists in common opinion – that the artists who founded these institutions did so in order to release themselves from the legal and symbolic fetters of the guilds. More specifically, it was thought that painters, sculptors, and architects founded the academies because they wanted to be seen as liberal artists that performed their arts freely and no longer be subjected to the corporate system. In the eyes of contemporaries, this system was inextricably connected to retail-workshop commerce and manual activities, i.e. to the lower mechanical arts rather than to the liberal arts.[622] Some scholars even argued that the academy as institution is antithetical to the guild.[623] This essentialist view

[620] Hoogewerff 1912, 60 and 1926, 122, and Matthew 2003, 16.
[621] See Jack 1976, 6.
[622] Sciulli 2007, 123.
[623] See especially Pevsner 1940/1973, 50 and Rossi 1980, 161-162.

is based on the preconception that whereas guilds are typical medieval organizations, academies belong to the modern era.[624]

Recent studies have made clear that rather than doing away with the guild structure, the artists wanted the newly founded academies to assume the functions that had previously been fulfilled by the guilds. In other words, the academicians used the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca as instruments for controlling the profession and the art market. However, the precise nature and character of the guild activities of the academies and the relationship to the other practices carried out within their walls has until now received very little scholarly attention. Historians who included a discussion of the guild function in their interpretation of the academies have done so in a very brief and abstract way, simply mentioning the new rules and the tasks of the officers, without providing detailed interpretations of their guild activities.[625] Therefore, a more detailed and thorough analysis of the guild practices is warranted. Such an analysis has implications for the conception of the modernization process and the role of the academization of art in Italy in it, because it reveals a more gradual transition from medieval organizations (guilds) to modern ones (academies) than hitherto thought by most historians of the art academies.

Due to the quantity of the remaining archival sources, the guild practices of the Accademia del Disegno can be more fully reconstructed than those of the Accademia di San Luca. Nevertheless, the material clearly reveals that guilds practices were carried out somewhat differently in these institutions, especially with regard to the function of magistracy. These differences can be related to the different features of the art markets in both cities.

6.2. The Florentine guilds and the formation of the Arte del Disegno

In Florence, as elsewhere in Italy and Europe, merchants and craftsmen were organized professionally in guilds since the twelfth century.[626] Around the middle of the thirteenth century there existed in Florence twenty-one corporations: seven *arti maggiori* (major guilds) and fourteen *arti minori* (minor guilds). The guilds, and especially the *arti maggiori*,

[624] Hughes 1986a, 5.

[625] See, for instance Barzman (2000, 207-214) and Hughes (1986a) on the guild function of the Accademia del Disegno. Although Hughes gives a useful description of the transformations in the Florentine guild system in the sixteenth century, he discusses no examples of guild activities of the Accademia del Disegno at all. Barzman is mainly interested in the transformation of the offices and provides only a couple of examples from lawsuits from the third and fourth decade of the seventeenth century.

[626] Grossi/Trani 2009, 24.

had important functions in the state government, as the *priori* of the Signoria were elected from their membership.[627] The *arti maggiori* also governed the Mercanzia, which was the city's highest commercial court, the court of appeal for civil lawsuits, and the superintendent of all corporations.[628]

At the beginning of the Medici principate in 1530, the Florentine guilds were weakened due to decades of economic decline. However, instead of suppressing the guilds as symbols from Florence's republican past – which should have been possible given their state – subsequent Medici dukes reformed and revitalized the corporative system in order to revive the economy. As part of the reforms, in 1534 the seven *arti maggiori* were reduced to six and the fourteen minor guilds merged into four larger corporations, called *università*. In 1556, under Cosimo I's rule, a new round of guild reforms started with the guild of the Medici e Speziali receiving new statutes. Furthermore, in 1560 all corporations were required to contribute to the construction of the city's new administrative building, the Uffizi designed by Vasari, which would accommodate their magistracies. Revised regulations of the Mercanzia appeared in 1577, and in 1584 Grand Duke Francesco I brought the guilds under the control of the Pratica Segreta, the council of advisors to the Medici state.[629]

It was in the middle of these reforms and against this background that the Accademia del Disegno was founded in 1563 and that eight years later the artists petitioned Cosimo I to form their own guild. Until then, the painters had belonged, as minor members (*membri minori*), to the guild of physicians and apothecaries (Arte dei Medici e degli Speziali) and the sculptors and architects to the guild of the builders (Arte dei Fabbricanti).[630] In the petition, copies of which can be found in the *Libro del provveditore*, the academicians had requested to be released from the

[627] The Signoria was the governing body consisting of nine magistrates, i.e. eight *priori* and the *gonfaloniere di giustizia*. See Goudriaan 2015, 393.

[628] According to Zanré (2004, 9-10), Florentine society was roughly divided into three social strata: 1. The *plebe*, who worked in menial jobs, did not pay taxes and were denied citizenship; 2. The *popolo grasso* (fat or wealthy people) and 3. The *popolo minuto* (the thin or lower people). This latter distinction corresponded roughly to the division within the guild system of the major and minor guilds. The former consisted of merchants and patricians and were also referred to by contemporaries as *grandi*, *ottimati*, or *nobili*. The latter consisted of artisans and craftsmen. Both groups consisted of Florentine citizens who paid taxes.

[629] Hughes 1986a, 6-8 and Goudriaan 2015, 28.

[630] Previously the sculptors and architects belonged to the guild of the masters of stone and wood (Arte dei Maestri di Pietra e di Legname). In 1534 this guild had merged with various other guilds into the Arte dei Fabbricanti. Jack 1976, 6. Hughes 1986a, 7. According to Jack (1976, 10), after 1571, not one painter paid the annual fee to the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, because in that year the academy took on the function of guild.

obligations to their respective guilds and to form their own corporation.[631] For the academy, the assumption of the function of guild meant an increase in status and official recognition, as well as greater autonomy. It also entailed an expansion of its activities. In the capacity of guild, the institution could adjudicate civil cases that involved its members.[632]

On December 10, 1571 the grand duke gave his approval for the incorporation of a new guild for painters, sculptors, and architects. A week later, during a meeting in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, the academicians discussed the formation of their guild and elected six reformers (*riformatori*) and four assistants (*arruoti*). This committee was responsible for screening the artists eligible to hold office in the new institution and for transforming the statutes so to include rules pertaining to the function of guild.[633]

The implementation of the new function in the existing organization became a recurrent topic in the academic meetings in the months and years following Cosimo I's approval. In January 1572, the artists elected a *cancelliere* ('chancellor' or 'clerk') who would be responsible for the book of the *Deliberazioni e partiti* ('deliberations and decisions'), in which the affairs pertaining to the guild were recorded.[634] In the same month the Mercanzia also ratified the foundation of the new guild. In a letter, which is copied in the academy's *Libro del provveditore*, the Mercanzia specified that it would oversee the scrutiny and sortition of the academy's candidate consuls, who would adjudicate the cases brought to the guild's tribunal. The letter emphasizes that the artists desired to have the same rights and obligations as the other

[631] See ASF, AD 25, 18v-19r and 69r, for copies of the petition and the grand ducal response, signed by Tommaso dei Medici, Cosimo I's *Tesauriere maggiore*. It should be noted that from the second half of 1569 onward, the terms 'academy' (*accademia*) and *disegno* are used more frequently in the *libri del provveditore*. The more frequent use of these terms can be seen both as an expression of a growing confidence of the academicians and, in the case of the request for their own guild, as a justification of their autonomy as an organization. It is interesting that the secretaries of the academy referred more frequently to their institution with these terms in their descriptions of the meetings that were held in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. Moreover, this occurred when the academicians started to decorate the chapel. See Jonker 2017 for an iconographic interpretation of the decorations in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità from the perspective of guild practices, as well as from the perspective of religious practices. See for the latter point of view also section 5.4.

[632] Ticciati 1876, 234-235; Jack 1976, 17; Dempsey 1980, 553-554; Barzman 2000, 207-208.

[633] ASF, AD 25, 15v-16r. See also Barzman 2000, 208.

[634] This *cancelliere* was Giovanni da Falgano. ASF, AD 25, 18r. See, for the rule in the academy's statutes of 1585, in which the chancellor's function is described, Waźbiński 1987, II, 456-459. Falgano was already succeeded in August of that same year by Persio Compagni, who would play an important role in the drafting of the new statutes and who would remain in office until 1587.

Florentine corporations, which included being subjected to the Mercanzia.[635] This means that the academicians wanted to be seen and function as a normal guild.[636] The subjection to the Mercanzia entailed, among other things, that it would serve as the court of appeals for the cases handled by the academy's magistracy.[637]

Still in January 1572, the officers of the academy held an extraordinary meeting in the house of lieutenant Jacopo Pitti, in which they discussed the site for their tribunal. The record of the meeting shows that, in accordance with their desire to function as a regular corporation, the academicians considered petitioning the grand duke to grant them access to a building of one of the other guilds. The document mentions two suitable locations: the *audientia* of the guild of the moneychangers and merchants of precious stones and metals (Arte di Cambio) or the *audientia* of the guild of the cloth merchants (Arte dei Mercatanti or Arte di Calimala).[638] During the following months, the artists apparently reconsidered the matter, because in the copy of the petition that was finally sent to the grand duke in August 1572, two other sites are suggested: the *audientia* of the guild of the physicians and pharmacists (Arte dei Medici e Speziali) and that of the builders (Arte dei Fabbricanti). As mentioned, these were the guilds to which the artists had previously belonged. The grand ducal response, dated August 27, 1572, granted the artists access to the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti when it was not in use. This turned out to be on Wednesdays.[639] From that moment on, the Arte dei Fabbricanti is regularly mentioned in the archival documents as venue for the tribunal and, on occasion, also as site for the academy's meetings.[640]

The reason why the artists changed their minds about the location for their guild activities is unknown. Two possibilities come to mind. On the one hand, in the course of 1572 the academicians might have discovered that their first choices were unfeasible for practical reasons.

[635] ASF, AD 25, 19r. For instance, the passage states that 'si contentano et vogliono esser soggetti a detta università della mercantia, nel modo che sono soggetti le altre arti.'
[636] See also the petition from August 1572 to the grand duke, in which the site for the tribunal is discussed. ASF, AD 25, 70r.
[637] The Mercanzia later reviewed the statutes of the academy to make sure that they were in accordance with those of the other guilds. See for a copy of the decision of the Mercanzia, ASF, AD 25, 18v-19r. See also Barzman 2000, 208, Zangheri, 2013, 90 and Sartoni 2015b, 188-189.
[638] ASF, AD 25, 16v.
[639] ASF, AD 25, 70r.
[640] For instance, in 1573 and 1574 the *festaioli* and the *provveditore* were elected in the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti. ASF, AD 25, 27r and 30v. However, as discussed in section 4.2.3 the Cappella della Santissima Trinità remained the most popular meeting place throughout the 1570s.

On the other hand, however, their change of heart might have had something to do with the status of the locations in question. The Arte di Cambio and the Arte dei Mercatanti were two of the oldest and most prestigious guilds of Florence. Therefore, the academy's desire to set up its tribunal in one of their buildings attests to the artists' ambition and self-confidence. The Arte dei Medici e Speziali and the Arte dei Fabbricanti were less powerful.[641] The actual request to perform their function of guild in the buildings of these corporations, therefore, might suggest that the artists came to view their initial options as immodest and arrogant, or that these suggestions would have been perceived as such by the grand duke. It is possible that Cosimo I's decision to grant them access to the *audientia* of the Arte dei Fabbricanti, rather than to that of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali, points in the same direction, as the former was less prestigious than the latter.

The academy's use of the building of the Art dei Fabbricanti meant that the institution's guild practices were not only spatially separated from the educational and religious ones, but also temporally. Whereas the meetings of the academy and company in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità – and later also in Cestello – usually took place on Sundays, the sittings of the magistracy in the building of the Arte dei Fabbricanti were held on Wednesdays. However, the artists attempted to guarantee the unity of the institution by having its officers govern all three branches (academy, company, guild).

On February 2, 1572 the academicians gathered at the house of lieutenant Jacopo Pitti for another extraordinary meeting concerning the guild. On this occasion were preselected the artists, whose names would be placed in the bags for the scrutiny and sortition in the Mercanzia. The entry in the *Libro del provveditore* specifies that about 140 artists were screened in Pitti's house.[642] The secretary does not mention, however, how many of these were approved. The first time that the academy's magistrates were drawn from the bag in the Mercanzia (in the presence of the *cancelliere* and a notary) was on August 19 of that year.[643] From that moment, the sortition took place every four months.

In the first half of 1572 the academicians also held two extraordinary meetings about the seal of the organization. The seal would appear on official documents and was supposed to symbolize the essence of the academy, as perceived by the artists and the grand duke. The old seal of the confraternity represented a winged reclining ox, the symbol of

[641] Although like that of the Cambio and Mercatanti the Arte dei Medici e Speziali was one of the seven major guilds (*arti maggiori*), it was less prestigious. As one of the minor guilds (*arti minori*), the Arte dei Fabbricanti was even less important.
[642] ASF, AD 25, 19v.
[643] ASF, AD 25, 21v. See also ASF, AD 101, 120v.

Saint Luke. Traditionally, the evangelist was the patron saint of the painters, whereas the Four Crowned Saints (Santi Quattro Coronati) were the heavenly advocates for the sculptors and architects. The academicians must have deemed the image of the winged bull inappropriate for an organization that included sculptors and architects as members and, therefore decided to create a new seal. Unfortunately, the outcome of the discussions about design for the new seal in 1572 is unknown.[644] In any case, at least from 1597 onwards – and possibly already at the end of the 1570s – the academy used a more inclusive image as seal. It consists of three intertwining garlands, which conveys the idea that the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting are inextricably connected and equivalent (see fig. 32). To this day, this image is the emblem of the Accademia del Disegno.[645]

The archive of the Accademia del Disegno contains another petition about the magistracy that was probably written in the second half of the 1570s. Although the lack of a date and grand ducal response makes it unlikely that it was dispatched, it is interesting for what it discloses about the condition of the academy and about the ideas of the academicians concerning the magistracy in this period. Its author is the painter Domenico di Francesco Schiena, who fulfilled the function of *provveditore* of the institution in 1576 and that of consul in 1578. In his letter Schiena asked Grand Duke Francesco I to decree that all artisans, who in some form or another can be called painters or sculptors, are obliged to be inscribed in the new guild. The artist adds that this measure is supposed to ensure that the institution flourishes and to prevent it from deteriorating, 'like it presently is'.[646] The negative tone of the last remark shows that in this period the academy was not functioning as it supposed to in the eyes of its members.[647]

Furthermore, Schiena also emphasized that the academy desired to be 'like all the other magistracies'.[648] To ensure that it did, the author included, on the reverse of the petition, a watercolor drawing with the designs for the formal attire of the academy's magistrates (fig. 30). These robes, which clearly differentiated the status of each officer in the academy, were supposed to be worn during public processions and

[644] ASF, AD 25, 16v-17r and 20v.
[645] See section 7.5.1 for a more elaborate discussion and iconographic analysis of the academy's seal.
[646] ASF, AD 157, ins. 3 (n.p.): '(…) che tal magistrato et Accademia si inalzi, et non vadi al basso si come al presente fa (…).'
[647] This picture is confirmed by other sources, such as Zuccari's proposal for the educational program of the Accademia del Disegno from the second half of the 1570s. See Ważbiński 1987, II, 493 and section 4.2.3.
[648] ASF, AD 157, ins. 3 (n.p.).

official occasions such as the change of officers and funeral services.[649] The subscript explains which officers are visible in the drawing: the lieutenant (A), the consuls (B), the *cancelliere* and *proveditore* (C), a child (*putto*) holding a staff with the grand ducal crown, which represents the dignity of the magistracy (D), the envoy conceded by the grand ducal palace (E), and two messengers (*donzelli*), who like the envoy (and the *putto*) were not members of the academy.[650] Together with the other archival documents discussed in this section, Schiena's petition and drawing are evidence of the academy's preoccupation with the assumption of the function of the guild in this period.

Figure 30. Domenico di Francesco Schiena, *Design for the costumes for the officers of the Accademia del Disegno*, 1576-80, Florence, ASF, AD 157, ins. 3 (with permission of the Ministero dei Beni e delle attività culturali e del Turismo, prohibition of further reproduction or duplication by any means; photo GAP s.r.l. ASF)

6.2.1. New statutes

In order to regulate the activities pertaining to the academy as guild, the artists had to formulate a new set of statutes.[651] The process of drafting

[649] ASF, AD 157, 16r. Barzman 2000, 209.
[650] See for the tasks of the *donzelli* the statutes of 1585, Ważbiński 1987, II, 458-459.
[651] See the preamble of the statutes of 1585 transcribed in Ważbiński 1987, II, 447.

and ratifying the new rules lasted for over a decade. Records show that in the late 1570s and early 1580s, the academicians obtained copies of the statutes of the Arte dei Medici e Speziali of the Art dei Fabbricanti.[652] The committee that was in charge of drafting the new statutes, undoubtedly, used these writings as guidelines and as source of inspiration. It was only in August 1582 that the new regulations, consisting of eleven *Rubriche* (sections), were read out loud and approved by the academicians in an extraordinary academic meeting in Cestello.[653] It took almost three more years for the rules to be ratified by Grand Duke Francesco I and the Mercanzia, by which the academy obtained the official status as a minor guild.[654] This happened on April 6, 1585 and these statutes would remain valid until 1784, when Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo transformed the institution into the Accademia di Belle Arti.[655]

Both in content and form, the new statutes of the Accademia del Disegno followed regulations of the guilds, to which the artists had previously belonged.[656] Compared to the incorporating statutes and the addenda – of January and July 1563, respectively – the rules of 1585 are far more explicit and detailed about financial issues, such as the height of taxes, deposits, and fines, and the prices of services like appraisals and lawsuits. This shows the academy's concern for economic sustainability.[657] The new rules are also more formal and bureaucratic. For instance, the consuls, who were now drawn every four months instead of six, had to live in the city and had to be inscribed in the institution as academician for at least a year; they could not fulfill official functions in the city or have been condemned by the commune for a crime, have an outstanding debt or have worked in the past as servant.[658]

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[652] ASF, AD 101, 134r (copies in 1579) and ASF, AD 26, 49v (inventory of 1586): 'scritture cavato delli statuti de fabricanti e speziali (…).'

[653] ASF, AD 26, 29r. The new statutes were read by Persio di Bastiano Compagni, who was a jurist and the academy's *cancelliere* from 1572-1587. Together with Santi di Tito, Tommaso Feltrini, and Cristofano di Papi dell'Altissimo, who formed the committee of reformers of the statutes in 1580, Compagni played an important role in the drafting of the new statutes. Sartoni 2015a, 73, n. 92.

[654] ASF, AD 25, 71v.

[655] Sartoni 2015a, 84. The reason why the artists had to wait so long for grand ducal approval is not clear. It is noteworthy that the new statutes were ratified only six weeks after the academy had donated a painting – which had been made by a young artist for one of the religious celebrations – to the secretary of the grand duke, Jacopo Dani. See Barzman 2000, 62-63.

[656] See, for instance, Reynolds 1974/1985, 71-72 and Jack 1976, 6, according to whom Accademia del Disegno took over from the guilds the regular meetings, the election of officers, and the regulation of business relationships between artists.

[657] Sartoni 2015a, 76.

[658] Ważbiński 1987, II, 448.

Furthermore, in order to prevent disorder, only the lieutenant, the three consuls, the four councilors, and the four *conservadori* ('guardians') – a new office created after the formation of the guild – would screen the candidates for the official functions. Previously, all academicians were allowed to participate in this activity.[659] The new statutes also explain what archival procedures and bookkeeping techniques should be used by the *camarlingo*. For instance, one rule prescribes in detailed fashion how the ledger book was to be structured (e.g. of how many parts it was supposed to consist).[660]

The new functions of the academy as guild are regulated in the statutes about appraisals (*Rubrica quinta*), civil lawsuits (*Rubrica ottava*), and professional relationships within and between workshops (*Rubrica decima*). Each year, four appraisers were to be drawn, two from the bag of the academicians and two from the bag of the company. Academic appraisers had to judge the work of academicians, appraisers of the company the work of non-academic artists. Both the institution and the appraisers would receive a fee for each appraisal from both parties, i.e. the artist who produced the work and the commissioner. Moreover, both parties had to pay a deposit before the appraisers commenced their work.[661] Down payments also had to be made by artists who wanted to start a lawsuit. The height of the deposit depended on the amount for which the plaintiff sued. In order for his arguments to be heard by the tribunal, the defendant had to make a deposit of half of that of the plaintiff. Furthermore, this rule specifies the timeframe and price of each part of the judicial process, as well as the authority of the lieutenant and consuls in the cases.[662]

The statute regulating workshop practices contains several prohibitions. Artists were not allowed to take over pupils or assistants from other masters before the end of the contract; pupils or assistants could not start a workshop within 200 arms-lengths of the studio of their former master; the subletting of studios was forbidden, as well as the use of the designs and models of other masters or the completion of their works of art without their explicit consent or that of the consuls of the

[659] Ibidem, 451.
[660] Ibidem, 452-454.
[661] Ibidem, 454-455. The academy's incorporating statutes of 1563 also contain two short passages about appraisals. Section XXXVIII states that when disagreements arise about houses or about the estimates of their value, architects of the academy are to arbitrate. *Capitolo* XXXX (sic) stipulates that the academy could appoint appraisers in financial disputes about works of art. Ważbiński 1987, II, 434-435 and see Hughes 1986a, 8. There is no evidence, however, that the academy carried out appraisals of works of art in the first eight years of its existence other than of the artworks produced for Michelangelo's funeral.
[662] Ważbiński 1987, II, 460-466.

academy. These rules were supposed to protect masters from fraud and theft of their work and of their labor by other artists. Furthermore, they enabled the guild to control the market.

This also holds for the final rule in the *Rubrica* about the workshops, which states that each artist had to sign his works with a maker's mark (*segno*), an example of which was to be conceded to the academy.[663] According to the statutes, the artists had to sign their works with their mark. Failure to do so would result in a 20 *lire* fine, a quarter of which would go to the person who brought the transgression to the attention of the academy, and three-quarters to the institution itself.[664] Signing one's work with a mark had been a common practice in the guild systems of European cities since the twelfth century. Artists and artisans such as painters and stonemasons placed these makers' marks or 'trademarks' on their products for two reasons. On the one hand, the maker's marks assured buyers that the products were of a certain quality. On the other hand, the marks enabled the guilds to control the market, because they made it easier to distinguish the products of members from those of non-members.[665] The fact that one year after the official approval of the statutes – and four years after the final version had been drafted – already 120 painters and sculptors had consigned their mark to the academy, shows that the artists took the guild function of the institution seriously.[666] Unfortunately, the *segni* of the artists in the academy's collection are now lost.

The statutes of 1585 are not only interesting because of what they say, but also because of what they leave out. For instance, there is no longer a rule about the educational practices of the academy. The only thing that is mentioned about young artists is that, in order to be eligible for elevation to the rank of academician, they had to produce a work for the celebration of either the feast the Santissima Trinità or of that of San Luca and that they subsequently had to donate their work to the institution.[667] The corresponding rule from the incorporating statutes of

[663] Waźbiński 1987, II, 468-470.
[664] ASF, AD 26, 49v, transcribed in Waźbiński 1987, II, 482: '120 segni o marche di pittori et scultori che servono per segniare i lavori che faranno secondo lo statuto.' And section 10 of the 1585 statutes in Waźbiński 1987, II, 470.
[665] The traditional maker's mark consisted of three features: 1. a personal sign of the maker, 2. a sign identifying the city and 3. a sign identifying the year. In the Netherlands, the function of the maker's mark shifted in the seventeenth century from controlling the material qualities of paintings to serving as a sign for their aesthetic or stylistic dimensions. And, the mark itself changed into the artist's signature. See Adams 1993, 582-583.
[666] These marks were recorded in one of the academy's inventories. See ASF, AD 26, 49v and section 4.2.4.
[667] Waźbiński 1987, II, 467.

1563 was more elaborate and detailed. It stated that young artists were obliged to bring an example of their work to the academy four times per year, to be reviewed by the consuls. The best of the students would be commissioned to produce a work for the celebrations of the feasts.[668]

The description of how the religious feasts should be celebrated by the academy is also much shorter than in the incorporating statutes. In one small paragraph of the ninth statute (*Rubrica nona*) it is mentioned that the lieutenant had to make sure that the *festaiuoli* were drawn by lot, so that they could organize celebrations of the Santissima Trinità and of San Luca. By contrast, the statutes of 1563 had ordered the academicians to celebrate other religious feasts as well (e.g. Easter) and they were more detailed as to what should be done and how much money should be spent by the *festaiuoli*.[669] Moreover, unlike the incorporating statutes, those of 1585 contain no rules about the funeral services for deceased members. A final important difference in the rules of the 1585 concerns the patron of the academy. Whereas Duke Cosimo I is mentioned in almost a third of the incorporating statutes, he and his son Francesco I are only referred to – and praised – in the preamble of the 1585 statutes.[670]

The relatively little attention for the patron(s) and the religious activities of the academy, and complete absence of educational activities in the new rules in favor of a greater focus on bureaucratic and economic issues, might be seen as a reflection of changing practices in the academy. Moreover, scholars have been tempted to interpret these changes with the help of the concepts 'pre-modern' and 'modern'. However, the use of these terms is problematic because they allow for contradictory interpretations. For, on the one hand, it can be argued, as Pevsner did, that with the new rules the academy moved away from the initial – Vasarian – goal of the institution, which, according to him, was to guarantee the preeminent position of Florence in the future in the realm of the visual arts through the education of new generations of artists.[671] In

[668] This is described in chapter XXXIV of the incorporating statutes. Ibidem, 433.
[669] See chapters IX-XVI (Ibidem, 428-430).
[670] Ibidem, 447.
[671] In a recent article, Sartoni (2015a, 76-79) argues, in the spirit of Pevsner, that the rules of 1585 meant the end of the Vasarian academy. According to Pevsner (1940/1973, 50), the incorporation of the guild was the reason why Vasari seems to have withdrawn from the academy in de early 1570s. In a passage from a letter of Vasari to Borghini dated March 1, 1573, quoted by Pevsner, the artist claims to be annoyed by the *baie e coglionerie di nostri academici* ('foolishness and stupidities of our academicians'). However, Vasari here most probably refers to the personal disputes among the academicians, rather than to the incorporation of the guild. See, for the letter, Frey 1923-1940, II, 651-652. What is more, there is another good reason for Vasari's lack of academic participation in the early 1570s. In this period, Vasari travelled a lot and worked in different places in Italy (Orvieto, Arezzo, Perugia and Rome), which made it difficult for him to actively participate in the academy. See Jack Ward 1972, 225. For instance, in

other words, the assumption of the function of the guild meant that the academy regressed in time and became a 'pre-modern' institution. On the other hand, however, it can be argued that the new rules indicate that the academy was on its way of becoming a 'modern' institution, in which impersonal and bureaucratic rules about studios and workshops mediated and replaced direct and personal ties between the artists themselves, and between the artists and the patrons.[672]

Instead of forcing the Accademia del Disegno into a pre-conceived model of the development of western history towards modernity, it is better to analyze and reconstruct the practices that were performed within its walls for their own sake. This can be done with the help of the records in the *Libri del provveditore*. The first thing to be noted when studying the archival documents of this period is not only that existing religious celebrations were continued as before and that the educational activities even expanded in the last decade of the sixteenth century, but also that the academy formulated new rules regarding these practices. As discussed in Chapter Five, the secretary recorded that on April 18 and August 8, 1574 the artists discussed and approved new rules concerning the religious feasts and funeral services of deceased members of the academy.[673] Furthermore, also already mentioned is Zuccari's proposal for the rules concerning the institution's educational activities, which he formulated in response to a request from the academy in the second half of the 1570s.[674]

Therefore, the fact that the 1585 statutes are almost completely silent about the institution's educational and religious activities does not imply that these practices were no longer performed in the academy. Rather, it means that these practices were regulated by internal rules that, unlike those concerning function of the guild, did not have to be officially and explicitly approved by the grand duke and the Mercanzia.[675] Moreover, during the meeting of April 18, 1574 the academicians had decided to separate the rules of the magistracy from those of the academy

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the record of the artists' petition to the duke to form their own guild, it is stated that Vasari is one of the six reformers of the institution, but that he could not fulfill the function because he had to work for the pope in Rome.

[672] This is the argument advanced by Barzman about the development of the Accademia del Disegno in seventeenth century. Moreover, it is in line with Bourdieu's (1979, 183-184) conception of the process of modernization. See section 3.4.

[673] ASF, AD 25, 31r-34v and 36v-37r. See section 5.4. for a discussion.

[674] BNCF Cod. II. IV. 311, transcription in Barzman 2000, 243-246. See section 4.2.3 for a discussion of what Zuccari's proposal discloses about the sites of the Accademia del Disegno and see sections 8.5 and 9.7 for a discussion of Zuccari's suggestions for the educational program.

[675] Ważbiński 1987, II, 472-473, n. 1.

and company.[676] On the basis of the archival evidence it can be concluded that this is indeed what happened.

The answer to the question about the grand ducal relationship to the Accademia del Disegno is more complex. On the one hand, as is well known, Francesco I was less interested in the visual arts than his father.[677] This might explain why his involvement in the art academy was minimal and why it took almost three years for the new statutes to be approved. From the academy's side, after securing a more permanent headquarters in Cestello and especially after the assumption of the function of the guild, a direct and vibrant relationship with their powerful patron was no longer urgent. On the other hand, Francesco I's attitude towards the Accademia del Disegno was not that different from that of this father. Although Cosimo I supported its foundation and was of great assistance to the artists by arranging several (temporary) headquarters, he provided very little financial assistance and did not seem to have been very interested in the academy's affairs. For instance, he was never present at one of its meetings and did not attend the funeral for Michelangelo, which had been organized by the academy. Instead, Cosimo I let himself be represented by a lieutenant, i.e. his placeholder as head of the institution. After the formation of the guild, the responsibilities of the lieutenant were extended to include the presidency over the tribunal. Furthermore, it is worth noting that according to the new rules, the *cancelliere*, who fulfilled an important function in the new branch of the organization, was to be elected directly by the grand duke. Before, the *cancelliere* had been elected by the academicians.[678]

6.2.2. Guild practices: appraisals and litigations

As mentioned, already before the approval of the new statutes in 1585, the academy started to carry out its function as artists' guild. The activities of the magistracy were recorded in various documents, most notably in the books of the *deliberazioni e partiti dell'Accademia del Disegno* ('deliberations and decisions'), the *Libri de cause* ('books of the cases'), and the *Filze de atti e sentenze* ('bound documents of acts and sentences'). The *cancelliere* kept the books of the *deliberazioni e partiti dell'Accademia del Disegno*, in which he recorded the drawing of the

[676] ASF, AD 25, 34r.

[677] Instead, Francesco I was more interested in natural curiosities, alchemical investigations, and arts that were deemed 'minor' and 'mechanical' even by members of the academy, such as glass blowing. Barzman 2000, 60 and Alberts 2015.

[678] Ważbiński 1987, II, 457. The first *cancelliere* of the academy, Giovanni da Falgano, was elected by the academicians. ASF, AD 25, 18r.

consuls and appraisers, copied the petitions to the grand duke and the appraisal reports, and described the cases handled by the tribunal.[679] The first of these books was commenced by Persio Compagni on September 1, 1572, just two weeks after the consuls were drawn for the first time in the Mercanzia.[680] Compagni's notarial training is apparent from the formal legal shorthand in Latin at the beginning of most entries. The descriptions of the cases themselves are, however, mostly in the vernacular.

Some of the lawsuits concerned disagreements between an artist and a commissioner or buyer of a works of art. For instance, on August 25, 1574 the tribunal of the academy handled a case brought before the tribunal by the painter Giovanni Batista Fiammeri (1530-1606) against a certain Pierlorenzo Vigiemini (or Vijemini) from the town of San Gimignano.[681] Fiammeri had made two paintings – one representing a scene from the story of Noah and the other a Virgin – that were currently in Vigiemini's house, but for which he had not received payment. The consuls decided in favor of the artist and Vigiemini had to return the two paintings to Fiammeri or pay him 25 *scudi*. The records of the *cancelliere* show that the case dragged on for two months because Vigiemini refused to yield to the order of the tribunal. Therefore, on October 13 the academy's magistrates commanded Vigiemini to be incarcerated in Bargello (Florence's prison) and that he had to pay an extra 25 *scudi* to be released.[682]

Lawsuits and appraisal reports were also recorded in the *Libri de cause* and the *Filze de atti e sentenze*.[683] These documents show that lawsuits were a common phenomenon in the academy. In the last two decades of the sixteenth century the magistracy handled more than fifty cases per year. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, lawsuits were held so frequently that the institution even used printed forms, on which only the date, names of the people involved, and sentence of the tribunal had to be filled out.[684] Often, the disputes concerned the price of works of art. In October 1588, the painter Jacopo da Empoli started a lawsuit about two paintings he had produced for the provision-dealer (*pizzicagnolo*)

[679] ASF, AD 7-23.
[680] ASF, AD 7. In the same month, the Accademia del Disegno acquired a wooden table for the magistracy. ASF, AD 101, 121r.
[681] This Fiammeri is possibly the same as the *sculptor* who complained about the list of the first artists admitted to the academy and who was one of its first consuls in 1563. On this issue see section 10.3.2.
[682] ASF, AD 7, 8v-11r.
[683] These documents are categorized as ASF, AD 63-79. These books also contain lists of artists who had to pay the entrance fees and taxes for the guild, as well as lists of debtors. See, for instance, ASF, AD 63, 19v-21v and 33r-38v.
[684] ASF, AD 27, 150r-167r and see Appendix 3 for a transcription of the form.

Luca di Francesco Salesi. According to Empoli, the paintings, representing a nativity and a baptism of Christ, were finished and worth thirty *scudi* or the amount to be estimated by the 'experts', i.e. the appraisers appointed by the academy. However, when Salesi appeared before the tribunal two weeks later he argued that the paintings were not of Empoli's usual quality and invention and that he, therefore, was not obliged to buy them at that price.[685] Apparently, Empoli realized that his initial price had been too steep, because on the two subsequent occasions that he appeared before the magistrates he demanded a price of 140 *lire* (i.e. 20 *scudi*). Salesi also refused to buy the paintings for this sum and in March 1589 the painters Francesco Morandini 'il Poppi' (1544-1597), and Giovanni Batista Isabelli were drawn by lot to carry out an appraisal.[686] Although Morandini and Isabelli's decision is not recorded in the *Libro de cause*, an entry in the ledger book from December 1589 indicates that they appraised the two paintings at almost 140 *lire*, i.e. the (second) price asked by Empoli.[687]

Appraisal reports with the decisions from the appraisers can be found in the books that are comprised of bound sheets and documents (*filze*) with the *atti e sentenze* ('acts and sentences') in the academy's archive. [688] The reports show that the academy not only appointed appraisers for estimating the work of acclaimed masters and academicians, such as Jacopo da Empoli, but also for lesser artists. For instance, the lieutenant and the consuls of the academy recorded that on September 2, 1602 the academic painters Alessandro Pieroni (1550-1607) and Giovanni Maria Butteri (1540-1606) presented their report about three paintings that had been copied by a certain Achille di Baldassare. Pieroni and Butteri estimated the copies as follows: 18 *soldi* for a large Madonna, 10 *soldi* for a small Madonna, and 8 *soldi* for a painting representing San Giovanni. [689] Compared to the works of Empoli mentioned above, these paintings were very cheap.

In addition to the sources mentioned, the academy's ledger books also contain numerous references to citations or subpoenas (*citazioni*) and civil lawsuits (*liti*). The reason for this is that the academy received fees

[685] ASF, AD 63, 10v: '(…) non esser della qualità et invenzione che conviene con detto Jacopo (…).'
[686] ASF, AD 63, 10r-10v and 13v-14v.
[687] ASF, AD 102, 77v. The treasurer recorded that he received 5 lire, 10 soldi, and 4 danari from the appraisers. According to the statutes of 1585 (Waźbiński 1987, II, 455), the academy would receive 12 *danari* for each appraised *lire* until 70 *lire*, and 8 *danari* for each appraised *lire* above 70 *lire*. This means that for an appraisal of 140 *lire*, the academy would receive 5 *lire*, 10 *soldi*, and 80 *danari*. See Appendix 1 for the units of currency in Florence in this period.
[688] ASF, AD 64-79.
[689] ASF, AD 64, 99r. The appraisers signed the report at the bottom.

for adjudicating these cases and because it occasionally was a party in them. The money was brought into the academy by the *cancelliere*. For example, on March 5, 1582 Persio Compagni handed over to the *camarlingo* of the institution 42 *lire* for multiple citations.[690] The account books also contain various entries for sums received for appraisals. For instance, on October 6, 1596, the painter Giovanni Maria Casini (1546/1555-1617) deposited 3 *lire* and 10 *soldi* in the academy for the appraisal of a portrait he made for a baker named Giovanni. The portrait was appraised by the painters Domenico Passignano (1559-1638) and Francesco Mati (1561-1623) at 28 *lire*.[691] As stipulated in the statutes, a percentage of the money would go to the appraisers. For instance, the painters Francesco Morandini (1544-1597) and Giovanni Batista Isabelli received 5 *lire* for the appraisal of the above-mentioned paintings by Jacopo da Empoli for Luca Salesi.[692] The academy also occasionally received a sum from an artist when he was bailed out of jail. On October 29, 1595, for instance, a Flemish artists named Bastiano paid the academy 27 *lire* for this reason.[693]

The archival documents disclose that disagreements arose not only between artists and individual buyers, but also between artists and religious companies, such as the Compagnia di San Lorenzo of the Tuscan town of Figline and the Compagnia di San Francesco of Cortona.[694] Furthermore, other artisans besides painters, sculptors, and architects appeared before the tribunal of the academy. For instance, the *Libro de cause* contains numerous records of lawsuits involving goldsmiths, gilders, and stucco-workers.[695] This shows that these artisans were, indeed, subjected to the magistracy of the Accademia del Disegno, as requested by Domenico Schiena in his petition of the late 1570s.[696] However, the vast majority of the cases brought before the academy's tribunal concerned painters. Two – non-mutually exclusive – reasons can be given for this fact. On the one hand, the art of painting might have been more susceptible to disagreements than sculpture and architecture. Contracts between sculptors (and architects) and their commissioners were, in general, probably much more elaborate and detailed due to the high cost of the materials with they worked. On the other hand, it might be an indication that notwithstanding its ambition of being an inclusive

[690] ASF, AD 101, 70r. See for more examples ASF, AD 101, 70v, 87v, and 127r.
[691] ASF, AD 102, 128v-129r. The appraisers usually had the academy deduct the fee from the sum they owed the institution in taxes.
[692] ASF, AD 102, 77v.
[693] ASF, AD 102, 41v.
[694] ASF, AD 102, 128v-130v.
[695] See, for instance, ASF, AD 63, 2v, 9v, and 13r.
[696] See section 6.2.

academy of *disegno*, to which sculptors and architects could also belong, it primarily was an institution for painters.

Finally, the Accademia del Disegno was itself occasionally plaintiff in the cases handled by its tribunal. For instance, in 1590 the painter Donato di Matteo Mascagni (ca. 1570-1637) was chosen to contribute a painting to the celebrations of the feast of San Luca. As becomes clear from the *Libro de cause*, Mascagni was reluctant to accept this 'honor'. Therefore, the magistrates ordered him to produce the painting and if he failed to comply he would have to pay a fine of 10 florins.[697] This episode shows how educational and religious practices – i.e. having a young artist display his progress in a work produced for the feast of the institution's patron saint – could overlap with the academy's guild activities – i.e. Mascagni's reluctance provoked a reaction from the magistracy.

In 1598 the institution's magistrates admonished the painter Jacopo Ligozzi (1547-1627) in a similar fashion. Five years earlier, in December 1593, he had received the most votes, out of eleven candidates, in the election of the painter of the academy's altarpiece in Cestello. As usual, the academy supplied the materials, i.e. the canvas and the pigments, and Ligozzi was supposed to produce the painting, representing *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, without remuneration. Seven months later, in July 1594, the lieutenant and the consuls urged the artist to begin with his painting, probably because they wanted it completed for the feast of San Luca for that year.[698] Being himself the secretary of the institution at this time, Ligozzi recorded this command in the *Libro del provveditore*. However, the order did not have the desired effect because the lieutenant and the consuls had to reiterate it in July 1598. This time, the admonition was recorded in the *Libro de cause* and it specified that Ligozzi was to have the picture completed and consigned to the academy by October 17, the day before the feast of San Luca. Otherwise the commission would go to someone else. A marginal note states that Ligozzi appeared before the tribunal to promise that, although he was very busy with works for the grand duke, he would finish the altarpiece.[699] The more severe tone of the second admonition, together with the fact it was recorded in the *Libro de cause* – rather than in the *Libro del provveditore*, as before – shows that the lieutenant and the consuls started to lose their patience and wanted to lay more pressure on Ligozzi. However, this was to no avail because again the artist failed to

[697] ASF, AD 63, 26v.
[698] ASF, AD 29, 110r-110v.
[699] ASF, AD 63, 141v. It is not unlikely that Ligozzi's role a court artist of the grand duke helped him to obtain the commission for the altarpiece in Cestello, as well as his election as *provveditore* of the academy. Barzman 2000, 205.

keep his promise and the altarpiece was finally painted by Domenico Passignano (1559-1638) in the early 1600s (see fig. 16).

Archival documents reveal that, occasionally, the academy's practices overlapped and sometimes it is not clear to what practice an event belonged. For instance, on January 13, 1574 the magistrates ordered Santi di Tito to appear before them the following week. It had come to their attention that Tito wanted to erase or retouch (*guastare o ritochare*) some parts of the fresco that he had made in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, i.e. the *Solomon Building the Temple in Jerusalem* (see fig. 12). The reason why he wished to do so is not mentioned. Apparently, Tito was no longer satisfied with parts of his fresco. The magistrates wanted to give him the opportunity to present his reasons, and they decided that in the meantime Tito was forbidden to make any changes to his painting without their explicit permission.[700]

Records show that the artist failed to appear before court twice. It is not clear how this episode ended and whether he was allowed retouch his fresco or not. The reason why the officers discussed this matter during a session of the magistracy, instead of during a regular academic meeting in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità – which would have been more suitable, as it was the location of the painting – was without doubt Tito's earlier behavior with regard to this commission. In December 1570, the academy had urged him to finally start the fresco and to finish it within two months. Although Tito promised to do so, the documents show that he completed the painting around the middle of 1571.[701] Moreover, in February 1573 he already retouched the fresco for the first time.[702] Therefore, Tito's desire to retouch it again must have made the officers anxious and it led to their decision to discuss the case in the magistracy.

6.3. Rome: two artistic practices

As mentioned in the previous chapter, before the foundation of the Accademia di San Luca, the professional organization of the artists in Rome was slightly different from that in Florence. Like Florence, in the fifteenth century, and for most of the sixteenth, the painters, sculptors, and architects in Rome belonged to different organizations. Whereas the sculptors and architects, together with stonemasons and marble workers, were part of the Università dei Marmorari ('guild of marble workers'), the painters were professionally organized in the Università e Compagnia

[700] ASF, AD 7, 7r-v.
[701] ASF, AD 24, 29r, 61r and 62r-v.
[702] Ważbiński 1987, I, 141, n. 164, with references to ASF, AD 24, 91r and ASF, AD 25, 7r.

di San Luca, together with miniature painters, goldbeaters, and banner and vestment makers.[703] The name of the latter institution shows the difference with the situation in Florence. Whereas in Florence the confraternity and guild of the painters – and related arts – were separate institutions (Compagnia di San Luca and Arte dei Medici e Speziali), in Rome these functions were combined in a single organization.

The old Università e Compagnia di San Luca had been a guild like many others in Rome and elsewhere. Practitioners of the arts subsumed under its rule were obliged to become a member of the institution. The annual membership fees allowed them to practice their profession and to carry out appraisals of works in Rome.[704] Moreover, like the other guilds, the Università di San Luca was subjected to the municipal authorities. This means that the sentences of the civil cases handled by the guild were spoken in the palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill (*Campidoglio*) – although the consuls could hear the cases in the rooms of the institution.[705] The palace of the Conservatori was the site where were professional disagreements of the Roman tradesmen and merchants were adjudicated and it housed the offices of several of the Roman guilds.[706]

The old guild of San Luca was numerically and formally dominated by the painters and illuminators guild. Within the institution, they belonged to the *arti principali* ('principal arts'), whereas the vestment makers, gilders, and embroiderers formed the *arti aggregati* ('associated arts'), which occupied a lower position. What is more, although the four consuls of the guild were to be elected from the various groups of artists – painters and illuminators, embroiderers, vestment makers, and gold beaters – the consul of the painters always preceded over the others. This hierarchy within the organization was formally arranged in the statutes of 1478 and 1546, which are preserved in the academy's archive.[707]

The foundation of the Accademia di San Luca in the last quarter of the sixteenth century entailed several important transformations of the old painters' organization. In the first place, the function of school was added to its activities. Secondly, membership of the new institution was to consist not only of painters and practitioners of related minor arts; it now opened up to sculptors and architects as well. This means that, like its Florentine predecessor, the Roman academy was supposed to be an

[703] Rossi 1984, 369-370.
[704] Grossi/Trani 2009, 26.
[705] Rossi 1984, 373.
[706] Lukehart 2013, 162.
[707] Rossi 1984, 374-375 and Grossi/Trani 2009, 25-27.

accademia del disegno, in which the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were united by the theoretical concept of 'design'.[708]

A third transformation of the old painters' organization, in addition to the assumption of the function of school and the entry of other types of artists, was that the new institution no longer fell under municipal jurisdiction. Instead, it was now answerable to the Catholic Church through the pope's vicar general.[709] As discussed in the previous chapter, this change in authority did not imply a major break as to the religious-confraternal activities in the institution. Although the papacy and the artists did not exactly see eye to eye as to how the religious functions were to be carried out in the academy, they agreed *that* these activities were to be continued in some form or another.

The perseverance of the guild activities in the new institution, however, was a more ambiguous matter. In the first place, there is not a single reference in the papal bulls to guild practices that were to be carried out by the academy.[710] On the one hand, the omission of references to professional and economic activities of the academy in the papal bulls is not surprising, because the governance of the corporate system and the guilds in the city was the responsibility of the municipal authorities. On the other hand, however, as most powerful institution in Rome, the Church could trump the commune and, as discussed below, it did so on two occasions in the early history of the academy.[711]

The stance of the artists with regard to the question of the continuation of the guild activities under the new institution was equivocal. On the one hand, in the notarial document that recorded the meeting in March 1593 during which twenty-eight painters discussed the foundation of the academy, the new institution seems to be clearly dissociated from the guild system. It is stated that the 'practice of a profession that is so noble and worthy of free men should be free of any imposition, such as paying an entrance fee for the guild or other

[708] However, the status of the sculptors and, especially, that of the architects in the new institution was ambiguous. See section 8.4.

[709] Grossi/Trani 2009, 29, Salvagni 2008, 43. The Gregorian brief of 1577 (Lukehart 2009, 349) states that the artists could create new statutes and alter them later, but that the cardinal vicar has to approve them.

[710] As discussed in the previous chapter, the bulls envision the new organization as consisting of two branches: a school for teaching young artists the principles of the arts and Christian doctrine, and a confraternity for devotion, for the maintenance of the cults of San Luca and Santa Martina, and for handing out charity – including a hospice for foreign or impoverished students of the arts.

[711] See Nussdorfer 1992 for the intricacies of the relationship between the papacy and the municipal government of Rome in the seventeenth century.

mechanical and servile obligations'.[712] Instead, in was asserted that donations to the institution should be given spontaneously and liberally. This is a clear indication that, according to the artists in question, the nobility of painting, which had been demonstrated by Romano Alberti in his 1585 treatise on behalf of the academy and company, excluded this profession from the guild system. In 1601, Pope Clement VIII officially underwrote this standpoint – at least partially – by exempting the academy from paying a tax, *la tassa del quattrino*, which had to be paid by the guilds. His reason for doing so, moreover, was an echo of the argument brought forward by the artists in the above-mentioned sources. According to Clement VIII, 'painting is a noble profession' and should not be subsumed under the 'mechanical arts'.[713]

On the other hand, other sources indicate that the academy absorbed the *università* and that the new institution carried out the functions that had previously been performed by the guild. For instance, Zuccari's rules ordered that all painters working in Rome and who had carried out 'praiseworthy works in public' should become members of the new institution.[714] This means that in principle, only the painters, sculptors, and architects that had achieved public commissions could become a member of the academy proper, which was responsible for teaching and for governing the institution as a whole. Other artists and those practicing the 'minor arts' belonged to the large body of the company.[715] In this way, the academy attempted to exercise control over the professions that fell under it.

In accordance with this strategy, the 1607 statutes of the Accademia di San Luca contained several rules that were supposed to control the production and sale of paintings in Rome. For instance, 'in order to distinguish the learned from the ignorant', academicians received a gratis privilege from the institution, which allowed them to work in the city. By contrast, artists who were a member neither of the academy nor of the company had to obtain a temporary license from the *capo* ('head') – the new name for the *principe* – of the institution to carry out their

[712] ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. I, vol. 25, 426v: 'S'è stabilito ancora che havendosi gli Aggregati da essercitare in una professione che in se è tanto nobile, et degna de persone libere, però ineritamente habbino da essere sempre libere d'ogni impositione come di pagare introito dell'arte, et altri oblighi mechanici, et servili.'
[713] Salvagni 2008, 43, and 64 note 11: 'comae dicta Pictura sit profession nobilis, et sub nomine mecanicar[um] Artium non veniat.' See AASL, Statuti 1675, 57v-58r. According to Baglione (1642/1995, 73), it had been the painter Tommaso Laureti, who pleaded and argued with clerics, cardinals, and finally with Pope Clement VIII himself that the artists of the noble Roman academy should be exempt from paying the tax of the *quattrino*.
[714] Alberti 1604/1961, 6-7.
[715] Rossi 1984, 385.

profession.[716] Non-academic artists could only produce works of art of a value of more than three *scudi* if they had a written permit from the head of the institution.[717] Furthermore, it was forbidden for painters and sculptors to receive direct commissions from other types of artisans, such as frame makers, and merchants. The reason given in the statutes was that this was a practice that belonged to the mechanical arts and it encouraged the production of cheap and inferior works.[718] For similar reasons it was forbidden to retouch the works of other masters without the consent of the head of the academy.[719]

The statutes also limited the number of workshops that were allowed to sell paintings or sculptures in the city to 'four or six'. These studios were subjected to controls by the academy with regard to the prices and the percentage they were allowed to keep on sales.[720] Furthermore, all works of painting and sculpture commissioned by the pope or the people of Rome, i.e. the Capitoline Government, had to be supervised by the *capo* of the academy, who was to carry out this task without remuneration.[721] This means that the rules established the Accademia di San Luca as the official authority of artistic matters in Rome.

The 1607 statutes show that the institution assumed the function of guild. More specifically, the control over the profession was the task of the academy proper. The other branch of the institution, the company, was responsible for organizing the religious activities and for the maintenance of the church. Some of the money for carrying out these tasks came from the fines that were collected for transgressions of the rules, as the statutes earmarked these for the confraternity. Most of the fines for transgressions of the rules went to the company. Although the functions of the two branches of the institution were subdivided more clearly than before, the criteria for membership of each branch were not specified.[722] It is stated very generally that painters and sculptors could join the academy. Also women could become a member, but they had no voting rights.[723] The statutes are completely silent as to who should belong to the confraternity.

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[716] The statutes of 1607 contain templates for the privilege and the license. See AASL, Statuti 1607, 34r-v and 35v-36v.
[717] AASL, Statuti 1607, 30r; Cavazzini 2008, 45.
[718] AASL, Statuti 1607, 20v and 36r.
[719] Ibidem, 24r.
[720] AASL, Statuti 1607, 20v; Grossi/Trani 2009, 34.
[721] AASL, Statuti 1607, 31v; Cavazzini 2008, 45.
[722] For instance, the statutes also order that the meetings of the academy and the company should be held in distinct rooms in order to avoid confusion. AASL, Statuti 1607, 28r.
[723] The statutes of the old guild and company of San Luca of 1478 had also mentioned women as potential members. See Grossi/Trani 2009, 31.

Zuccari's rule about the distinction between the academy consisting of major artists, who carried out public commissions, and the company, to which belonged minor artists and artisans, who owned shops and worked for the market, seems to have been upheld. However, there are notable exceptions. One of the founding members of the academy, the painter Antonio Orsino, owned a shop. The painter Agostino Tassi only belonged to the company, while some of his apprentices joined the academy. And some major artists such as Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci seem to have belonged to neither branch of the institution.[724]

A final way in which the academy attempted to gain control over the production and sale of art in Rome was through monopolizing the execution of appraisals of the products of their practitioners. The archival documents of the Accademia di San Luca show that the academicians petitioned the cardinal vicar and the cardinal protector of their institution on various occasions in the late 1580s and early 1590s to procure such a monopoly.[725] In 1595, the academy, indeed, obtained from Cardinal Vicar Girolamo Rusticucci the right to impose a tax of 2% on all appraisals of works of art (above 25 *scudi*) in and around Rome. The appraisers were to be appointed by the academy and two-thirds of the tax would go to the academy, whereas one-third was reserved for the appraiser.[726] Therefore, in addition to exercising control over the profession, the decree also meant additional income for the academy. The 1607 statutes confirm the right of the academy to carry out or organize appraisals in Rome and they even contain a form or template, according to which the appraisals had to be recorded.[727] Unlike the form used by the Florentine academy in the

[724] Cavazzini 2008, 48; Grossi/Trani 2009, 32.

[725] See AASL 69, 317 for the drafts of the petitions to the cardinal vicar (1589) and cardinal protector (1592-1593). These petitions are not dated but do contain some evidence as to their dates. In the first petition it is mentioned that the artists met on July 22, 1589 to discuss the tax ('li fratelli di essa confraternità… il dì 22 di luglio 1589 congregati insieme secondo il solito, con intervento et conseglio anco di Mons. Sacrista Prefetto dell'Accademia de Pitori, statuirno, et ordinorno che nessun pittor o miniator, o indoratore [crossed out: o stuccadore], qual non sia approvato dalla detta confraternità o deputati da essa possa estimar alcuna opera spettante all'arte di pittura…'); the second draft states that they have been meeting in the church for four years ('… quattro anni congregati insieme con l'intervento et presenza di Mons Sacrista Prefetto di essa compagnia et Accademia.'). Since the church of San Martina came in the possession of the confraternity in December 1588, this means that the draft dates from 1592-1593. The account book shows that other petitions for obtaining the right to carry out appraisals were drafted in the beginning of 1594. AASL, 42, 83v.

[726] For example, on October 20, 1624, the following artists were elected as appraiser: Tomasso Salina, Bartholomeo Balducci, Stefano Maderna, Cristofaro Coscietti, Bartholomeo Lavarozza, Paolo Venetiano, Silvio Capio, and Crispino Tomassino. ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1624, pt. IV, vol. 102, 198r.

[727] AASL, Statuti 1607, 35r-v.

beginning of the seventeenth century for the lawsuits, however, this one was not printed.

The account books show that, in anticipation of the approval from the cardinal vicar, the academy already started to appoint appraisers and collect the tax of 2% from the beginning of 1593.[728] Although the documentation is not complete, the sources suggest that this activity was carried out more frequently after 1595, the date of the decree. The amounts received by the academy for the appraisals generally fluctuated between half a *scudo* and four *scudi*. This means that the value of the works of art had been estimated between 25 and 200 *scudi*, which are mid-range to high prices. However, it should be noted that the records in the account books are generally not very specific and sometimes it is mentioned that the amount was an accumulation of appraisals of various works of art over a longer period of time.[729] On the few occasions that the records are somewhat more specific, they give an idea of the type of work carried out by academicians in Rome. For example, on July 20, 1604, the painters Pietro Riera and Pietro Contini both paid the academy nine *scudi* and twenty *baiocchi* for work carried out on the gilded ceiling of the Hall of the Consistory in the Vatican Palace, after it had been appraised by Annibale Corradini.[730] This means that gilding of the ceiling was valued at more than nine hundred scudi, a substantial amount. Moreover, this example shows that, like the Florentine academy, the Accademia di San Luca not only attempted to control figurative works of art, but also what was conceived as the more mechanical products of artists, such as gilding.

As discussed above, in general guilds also functioned as tribunals or magistracies where professional disputes were adjudicated. However, in contrast to the Florentine art academy, the Accademia di San Luca did not perform this function itself in the period under discussion. Instead, before the foundations of the academy, the litigations were handled by the Conservatori, and afterwards by the tribunal of the cardinal vicar.[731] Unfortunately, the records of this tribunal are now lost.[732] However, the account books of the Accademia di San Luca occasionally mention expenses for envoys for delivering subpoenas (*citazioni*) to persons who, supposedly, were summoned to appear before the tribunal. Like the descriptions of the appraisals, these records are not very specific and typically do not state to whom the subpoena was delivered or for what

[728] See, for example, AASL 42, 1r, 3v, 4v, 5r, and 5v.
[729] For instance, on February 2, 1604, Annibale Corradini paid the academy one *scudo* and ten *baiocchi* for appraisals carried out during the past years. AASL 42, 17r.
[730] AASL 42, 21r.
[731] AASL Statuti 1627 (13A), 37.
[732] Cavazzini 2008, 47.

reason.[733] Furthermore, the documents show that the academy appointed professional lawyers as procurators to handle civil and criminal cases in which it was itself a party.[734]

It has been argued that the academy's attempts to control the professions that belonged to it were ineffective and that it met with resistance from the subordinated artists and artisans, who were members of the company or who worked outside of the institution entirely. The frequent renewal of the statutes after 1607, i.e. in 1617, 1619, and 1627, is an indication of such disagreements. Moreover, the content of the new rules shows that the academy attempted to deal with the objections posed by subordinated artists. Some rules were more liberal than the ones of 1607. For instance, in 1617 the number of shops was no longer regulated and, more importantly, it was no longer necessary to practice the profession independently as a master in one's own studio to be admitted to the academy. It was enough to demonstrate one's ability by presenting a work of art.[735] Furthermore, the statutes of 1627 proclaimed that the members of the company would have the same privileges as the academicians.[736]

Although exact numbers cannot be given, it is certain that many more painters worked in Rome than those that joined the academy or company. For instance, in the 1634 census, 190 persons were registered as painter, whereas only 50 of them belonged to the Accademia di San Luca. In Florence by contrast, about half of the 68 painters recorded in the 1632 census were members of the Accademia del Disegno.[737] The artists' profession and the art market seems to have been more closed in Florence than in Rome, where the remains of classical art, the examples of recent masters such as Raphael and Michelangelo, and the possibility of finding employment – not only at the large papal court, but also in the households of the many other wealthy prelates and aristocrats – attracted many foreign artists, both Italians and from the north of the alps.[738]

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[733] See for instance, AASL 42, 80r-v, 89v, and 109v.

[734] ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1595, pt. I, vol. 30, fols. 941r–v, See also ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1596, pt. III, vol. 33, fol. 53r, ASR, TNC, uff. 11. 1598, pt. I, vol. 37, fols. 4r–v, and ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1603, pt. I, fols. 49r–v. The academy also appointed procurators to handle the financial affairs of the institution with third parties, such as the tenants of the houses or the exploiter of the tavern owned by the academy. In the academy's early years this function was carried out by painter Giovanni Paolo Picciolli (or Piccioni). ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. III, vol. 27, fols. 168r–v, 169r–v and ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1598, pt. IV, vol. 40, fols. 415r–v.

[735] Cavazzini 2008, 46.

[736] Pietrangeli 1974, 15.

[737] Sohm 2010, 7-8, Spear 2010, 40. See also Cavazzini 2008.

[738] Cavazzini 2008, 43. See on the Florentine situation Fumagalli 2010.

The account books of the Accademia di San Luca show that, in the first two decades of the seventeenth century, non-academic artists regularly paid their taxes to the academy. For instance, in 1602, the *fiamminghi* (which included Dutch and German artists) paid 12 *scudi* and 27 *baiocchi*, the Italians 3 *scudi* and 50 *baiocchi*, and the French 6 *scudi* and 53 *baiocchi*.[739] Until the beginning of the 1620s, the amounts are comparable. However, the contributions of the Flemish artists dropped considerably in 1625 and 1626.[740] This was precisely the period when a group of Dutch and Flemish painters formed an informal society, which they called the Bentvueghels ('birds of a feather').[741] Archival sources suggest that after repeated unsuccessful attempts to collect the tax from the *fiamminghi* in the 1630s, the academy gave up and allowed the Bentvueghels to opt out of the institution.[742]

Contrary to what had been assumed for a long time on the basis of the biographies of artists' lives, originating in the same period, only a small percentage of the painters in Rome seem to have worked on commission. Most painters earned modest wages in the workshops of others as assistant, or they sold mediocre works on the art market, either directly or through dealers and the shops of gilders, shoemakers, barbers, tailors, and second-hand clothes salesmen (*rigattieri*).[743] Such paintings were often produced in series and they could represent Madonna's, saints, the ruling pope or important cardinals.[744] The producers of these works, whose names are generally unknown, were described as *pittori grossi* ('coarse painters') or the *infimi* (the 'lowest'). At the other end of the socio-economic spectrum were the *valenthuomini* ('men of value'), who (mainly) worked on commission.[745]

Although occasionally working together – for instance, in the execution of copies – these types of painters often opposed each other. In fact, the differences between these artists were so great that it can be said that they participated in two distinct practices. Whereas the *pittori grossi* were conceived and treated as manual laborers or craftsmen, the *valenthuomini* presented themselves as practitioners of a liberal art and were often recognized as such by others. For this reason, the practice of the first can be called the 'painting-as-craft practice' and the second, the 'painting-as-art practice'.[746] Although the main goal in both practices was

[739] AASL 42, 97v.
[740] Hoogewerff 1912, 61-62 and 1926, 123-124.
[741] Hoogewerff 1912 and 1926, and Sohm 2010, 12.
[742] Hoogewerff 1912, 70-75 and 1926, 130-143, Sohm 2010, 12, and Spear 2010, 110.
[743] Pietrangeli 1974, 15.
[744] Sohm 2010, 8.
[745] Cavazzini 2008, Sohm 2010, and Spear 2010.
[746] Jonker 2010, 155. In Bourdieu's terminology, these artists would be working in different and specialized sub-fields within the field of painting. See Bourdieu 1977, 30.

the same, i.e. making a profit, the strategies in reaching it were very different: working on commission versus working directly for the market. The selling of cheap canvases on markets by mediocre painters damaged the *valentuomini* in financial and social terms.[747] It conflicted with their ambition to uplift the social status of the profession, i.e. the aim of elevating painting to a liberal art. The skills required in the painting-as-art practice differed accordingly. Unlike the *pittori grossi*, artists who aimed to participate in this practice had to know some poetry, history, art theory, and they had to be able to converse about these things with (potential) patrons. In Florence, a similar distinction was made between figure painters (*pittori*) and decorative painters (*dipintori*), but the fissure seems to have been smaller than in Rome.[748]

The ambiguous relation of the Roman academicians to the guild function of their institution can be understood from the existence of the different art practices in Rome. It seems that the academy's rules were a reflection of these two artistic practices in Rome around the turn of the century. What the academicians, and especially the painters attempted to do was to formalize the already existing distinction between the painting-as-art and painting-as-craft practices. They used the academy as an instrument both for liberating themselves, through a self-conception as *valenthuomini*, and for subjugating other artists, through placing them under stricter rules and regulations.

6.4. Conclusion

It has become clear that categories of 'modern' and 'pre-modern', which occupy prominent positions in past studies of the art academies, are not readily applicable to the academies' assumption of the functions of guild in their early years. The foundation of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca was certainly not an attempt to leave the guild system. But it also did not entail a 'regression' into medieval times. Instead, academic artists used existing guild structures and practices to augment their autonomy and agency. It can be said, in Bourdieu's words, that in doing so, there was created a field of artistic production, in which oppositional strategies were employed and relations of domination transformed. By employing an anti-market logic, i.e. emphasizing the liberal nature of their profession, for instance, by giving away their works

[747] Cavazzini 2008, p. 5.
[748] Sohm 2010, 7.

to patrons with the expectation of receiving higher rewards and by making the contributions to the institutions voluntary, the artists who founded the academies proper attempted to differentiate their practices from those of their (former) colleagues, who they came to describe as *dipintori* or *pittori grossi*.

The guild practices employed by the art academies were similar as those of the other guilds. Concerning the teleoaffective structure of these practices, their main goal was to protect and control the profession and the art market. It should be noted, however, that although in Florence and Rome there was, indeed, a market where artistic products were sold, this was not really an 'art' market, but a site where a variety of goods were sold and where the distinct category of art did not yet exist. This makes is somewhat difficult to uphold the Bourdieusian interpretation of this development as the differentiation and autonomization of the artistic field.

More than the other practices carried out by the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca, their guild practices were rule-governed. The statutes contained explicit rules and instructions about appraisals, contracts, the organization of workshops and retailers, and working permits for artists falling under its jurisdiction. The frequency of the lawsuits in Florence and the difficulty the Roman academy had in collecting the annual taxes shows that these rules were often contested, mostly by subordinated artists and artisans such as banner makers and stucco workers. However, the fact that the rules were regularly broken does not mean that they, in general, did not guide the guild practices of the Florentine and Roman art academies. In both cities, the academy as guild had to be reckoned with by the artists subsumed under it.

Finally, with regard to the practical understandings of the guild practices, the above-mentioned goals and rules entail that the academicians had to possess the following skills. In order to carry out appraisals, the artists not only had to be expert artists themselves, but they also needed a complete overview of the 'art' markets in their cities. What is more, because the system of appraising each other's products was prone to fraud – for instance, by overvaluing the work of colleagues, one's own paintings and sculptures would also fetch higher prices – the character and moral qualities of the appraisers became important issues. For this reason, the academies regularly screened the appraisers to make sure that they were honest, incorruptible, and of the highest moral standards. Furthermore, at least in Florence the artists who were eligible to be elected as consul were required to possess basic juridical knowledge and skills, so that they could, together with the lieutenant, adjudicate the cases brought before the institution's tribunal. In Rome, this was not a

requirement for the officials of the academy, because the professional disputes were handled by the tribunal of the cardinal vicar.

Another distinction between the Florentine and Roman art academy has to do with the 'art' markets. Although comparable to a certain extent, insofar as the social and financial differences between major and minor artists increased in both cities in the period under discussion, the dynamic of the markets was not the same, due to the different sizes of the artistic communities and the number of foreigners in them. The art profession in Rome was traditionally more open than in Florence, which made it more difficult for the Accademia di San Luca to effectively control the market and the profession. Therefore, resistance to the power of the art academy was more likely to succeed in Rome than in Florence, as the example of the Bentvueghels shows.

Chapter Seven

Cultural Academies and Knowledge Practices

7.1. The art academies and the Italian academic movement

In his 'Life of Montorsoli', Vasari writes that after the inauguration of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in the convent of Santissima Annunziata on May 24, 1562 the Florentine artists planned the foundation of the art academy:

> The Company then dispersing, the first meeting was ordained for the next Sunday, when, besides settling the constitution of the Company, they were to make a selection of the best and create an Academy, with the assistance of which those without knowledge might learn, and those with knowledge, spurred by honorable and praiseworthy emulation, might proceed to make greater proficience. Giorgio, meanwhile, had spoken of these matters with the Duke, and had besought him that he should favor the study of these noble arts, even as he had favored the study of letters by reopening the University of Pisa, creating a college for scholars, and making a beginning with the Florentine Academy; and he found him as ready to assist and favor that enterprise as he could have desired.[749]

In this passage Vasari claims that the art academy was conceived as a teaching institution for the best artists in Florence, who were to be selected from the corpus of the confraternity. Furthermore, he links the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno to the Accademia Fiorentina (Florentine Academy) and to Studio di Pisa (University of Pisa). According to Vasari, he himself had pleaded to the duke to bestow upon the visual arts the same favors as the latter had done upon the study of

[749] Translation by DeVere in Vasari 1912/1915. Vasari 1966-1987, V, 507: 'Licenziandosi poi la Compagnia, fu ordinata la prima tornata per la prossima domenica, per dar principio, oltre al corpo della Compagnia, a una scelta de' migliori e creato un'Accademia, con l'aiuto della quale chi non sapeva imparasse, e chi sapeva, mosso da onorata e lodevole concorrenza, andasse maggiormente acquistando. Giorgio intanto, avendo di queste cose parlato col Duca, e pregatolo a volere così favorire lo studio di queste nobili arti, come avea fatto quello delle lettere, avendo riaperto lo Studio di Pisa, creato un collegio di scolari e dato principio all'Accademia fiorentina, lo trovò tanto disposto ad aiutare e favorire questa impresa quanto più non arebbe saputo disiderare.'

letters in these institutions. Cosimo I had, indeed, reincorporated both centers of learning in 1541 and 1543 respectively.[750]

Vasari's remarks justify a closer scrutiny of the Accademia Fiorentina and the Studio di Pisa. In what way did these institutions prefigure the Accademia del Disegno and, thus indirectly, the Accademia di San Luca? A central ingredient in the answer to this question is the relation between theory and practice. It has been argued that whereas the universities, such as the Studio di Pisa, and cultural academies, such as the Accademia Fiorentina, were focused on discussing theoretical issues in lectures and debates, the Florentine and Roman art academies had predominantly, or even exclusively, practical orientations. Most scholars claim either that the lofty theoretical and educational objectives of the founders of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were not achieved, or that such aims were not even intended. Therefore, it is argued that, strictly speaking, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the term 'accademia' was improperly used in relation to the Florentine and Roman art institutions.[751]

However, what has been thus far not taken into account in discussions of the art academies is the practical nature of their literary and scientific brethren in Italy. The deconstruction of the relationship between theory and practice took place in part in such cultural academies. Although certain individual academies from major cities (Venice, Rome, Florence, Bologna) have received considerable scholarly attention in the past, it has been only very recently that the larger phenomenon, of which they were a part, i.e. the Italian academic movement, is studied.[752] In this

[750] Zanré 2004, 22.

[751] See Pevsner 1940/1973, 55 and especially Goldstein (1975a and 1996). Goldstein is most skeptical about the educational aspirations of the Accademia del Disegno. He claims that the Florentine institution had predominantly religious and social functions and that its supposed theoretical and intellectual art education is largely a myth. Moreover, Goldstein (1996, 21-22) criticizes Dempsey (1980) and Barzman (1989b) for assuming that the art academy aimed to provide a liberal arts or humanist education, in which anatomy, mathematics, and intellectual discussions occupied a central place. According to Goldstein, the academy's statutes and records show that almost no teaching was carried out or planned. After extensive scrutiny of the archival sources, Barzman (2000) comes to the opposite conclusion about the teaching activities in the Accademia del Disegno. In this chapter it is argued that the academy's educational objectives and achievements lie somewhere between Goldstein's and Barzman's views. On the one hand, contrary to what Goldstein suggests, the academy certainly planned and, at least occasionally, carried out mathematical instruction within its walls. On the other hand, it seems that Barzman tends to overestimate the teaching activities of the art institution, for instance by including Ignazio Danti as an instructor. See below for a discussion.

[752] Previous scholarship focused on individual academies for obvious practical reasons. Important contributions that have been consulted for this chapter include Weinberg 1954a and 1954b, De Gaetano 1967 and 1968, Plaisance 1995 and 2004, Samuels 1976, Zanré 2004, and Kulawik 2015. Publications in which a more comprehensive perspective is

context, the early literary and cultural academies have been characterized alternatively as 'shadow theatres' (*théâtres d'ombres*) where political disagreements were fought out on a sublimated, literary level; as trainings grounds (*palestra*) for the new recruits of culture; and as the 'Facebook of the Renaissance', emphasizing their function as social and intellectual networks.[753]

Precisely their role in the shifting view concerning the relationship between theory and practice has received relatively little attention.[754] This function not only distinguishes literary and scientific

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taken towards the phenomenon of the academization of Italian culture are Maylender 1926-1930, Mendelsohn 1982, Yates 1983, Chambers 1995, and McNeely 2009. Pevsner 1940/1973 can also be added to this group, because in the first chapter he dealt with the general academic movement in Italy before turning to more detailed analyses of European art academies. Furthermore, the Italian Academies Research Project (2010-2014), which was a collaboration of the Royal Holloway University of London, the University of Reading, and the British Library should be mentioned in this context. The output of this project includes two books (Testa 2015 and Everson/Reidy/Sampson 2016, the latter of which contains the conference proceedings of an International Conference held in 2012 in London), and a database – the Italian Academies Database (IAD) – which allows the user to research cultural academies in Italy from 1525-1700 from various entry points (e.g. academy name, academician, nicknames, book title, author, engraving) and clarifies the manifold connections amongst academies and their members. See http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ItalianAcademies/. The general focus of this project and its output lies on academies as social and intellectual networks or, as Simone Testa (2015, 125-154 and 2016) has phrased it, on academies as the 'Facebook' of the Renaissance. See the introductory article to the conference proceedings for more references to the literature on Italian cultural academies of the early modern period. Finally, a symposium, *Intrecci Virtuosi* ('Virtuous Bindings'), on the connections between *letterati* and artists in (mainly) Roman and Florentine academies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was held in Rome and Cassino in October 2015. Like the Italian Academies Research Project, the papers presented during this conference focused on networks of academies and academicians and, thereby, they moved away from the question of political conformism versus dissent, which was central in previous scholarship on Italian cultural academies.

[753] See for *théâtres d'ombres* Plaisance 2004, 123, for *palestra* Procaccioli 2016 and Everson/Sampson 2016, 13, and for 'Facebook of the Renaissance' Testa 2015 and 2016.

[754] Kwa (2011, 47) does mention the 'countless' academies in Italian cities as sites where the traditional relationship between theory and practice was renegotiated, but he gives no examples from the sixteenth century (and only two from the seventeenth, i.e. the Roman Accademia dei Lincei and the Florentine Accademia del Cimento), and he sees them as exclusively connected to the patronage of a ruler or prince. See also McNeely 2009. In this overview article of the scholarship on Renaissance academies, McNeely attempts to describe the common culture of scientific and what he calls 'humanist academies', something that has not yet been carried out due to the separation of these cultures in *modern academia* (i.e. universities). According to him, to the former category belong those academies that demonstrated a 'proto-scientific empiricism', such as the Accademia dei Lincei; and to the latter the academies that focused on literature, art, opera, ballet, and speculative philosophy. According to him, the Accademia del Disegno was such a humanist academy. McNeely concludes that it was the academic movement as a whole that exhibited a move toward the objectivist representation of reality that would become

academies from the universities but also brings them closer to the Florentine and Roman art academies. The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca, in turn, employed various theoretical activities that were modeled on those of the literary and scientific academies. In order to understand the art academies' educational knowledge practices it is, therefore, expedient to establish the similarities and differences with earlier cultural academies. In this chapter, the term 'cultural academy' is used as a general description of societies that were dedicated to the study and performance of literature, dance, opera, and science.[755] These cultural academies are, thus, employed as an object of comparison for the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca, that is to say, academies that pursued the study of the visual arts or, in sixteenth-century terms, the arts of *disegno*.

This chapter lays the foundation for this comparison by reconstructing the knowledge practices of the early cultural academies. It also commences with the comparison itself, insofar as it considers one common element of the cultural and art academies, namely the *impresa*. The following chapters discuss the educational practices that were employed within the art academies and the theoretical treatises that originated in the academic context. Afterwards it will be possible to fully assess the relationship, in terms of the categories of theory and practice, between the cultural academies on the one hand and the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca on the other.

7.2. Theory and practice at the university and court

In the sixteenth century, a university or *studium generale* was a teaching institution that was sanctioned by the pope to award doctoral degrees in the core subjects of law, medicine, theology, and *studia humanitatis* (grammar, dialectics or logic, rhetoric, Greek, and classical poetry).[756]

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characteristic of the Scientific Revolution. Although the approach in this chapter is similar to McNeely's insofar as it refuses to see a strict separation between literary, artistic, and scientific practices in the early modern period, it diverges from his conclusion insofar as it does not see the move towards 'practices of objectivity' – a term that remains quite vague in his article – as the common ingredient of sixteenth-century cultural academies, but rather the renegotiation of the relationship between theory and practice.

[755] See for a similar use of the term 'cultural academy', albeit applied to societies from a slightly later period, Goudriaan 2015.

[756] Grendler 2002, 3-5. Grendler (ibidem, 353), however, notes that in Italian universities theology was much less important than in northern European countries and than the other disciplines. The reason for this is that in Italy theological degrees were traditionally conferred by mendicant orders. Only after the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563 did theological education in the universities became gradually more important. On the establishment of the *studia humanitatis* in Italian educational practices in the fifteenth century. See Grendler 1989, 111-141.

Part of the teleoaffective structure of university practices was to prepare the students for professional careers such as physician, judge, lawyer, prelate, notary, secretary, and civil administrator.[757] Another goal was to reproduce and transfer to the next generation a traditional and accepted body of knowledge that had been amassed over the centuries.

The language of the lectures and the texts was Latin. This means that part of the practical understandings that the university professors and students had to possess was a complete mastery of Latin. Texts stood at the center of the knowledge and pedagogical practices of the universities. The typical form of the texts that were produced and used at the universities was the *summa*.[758] Like university lectures and debates, the *summa* is characterized by a formal way of arguing, which is known as Scholastic analysis or Scholastic dialectic. The goal of this type of analysis was to attain knowledge by solving conflicts that existed between authoritative authors, such as the church fathers, ancient scholars, and more than anyone else, Aristotle.[759]

In medieval and early modern university practices, theory and practice were not only clearly distinguished, but the former also enjoyed a much higher status than the latter.[760] For instance, medical professors practiced their profession predominantly on the basis of book learning and did not operate on patients or perform anatomical dissections. These activities were carried out by barber-surgeons, while the professors read to the students from their textbooks. In general, it can be said that there existed a distinction between *scientia*, understood as a body of demonstrable knowledge, and *ars*, understood as a skilled practice.[761] What was taught at the universities was considered *scientia*. This also held for the disciplines that had traditionally belonged to the *artes liberales*. The artisanal workshop, on the other hand, was the domain of the *artes mechanicae* ('mechanical arts').[762]

In the fifteenth century, the perception of the relationship between theory and practice started to shift. Instead of being conceived of as completely separated, theoreticians and practitioners came into contact with each other. This development took place largely outside of the universities. Due to their reverence for tradition and authority, Italian

[757] Grendler 2002, 199 and Grendler 1989, 135-136.
[758] St. Thomas Aquinas' unfinished *Summa Theologica*, written between 1264-1274, is the most famous example thereof.
[759] On this form of Scholastic analysis or Scholastic dialectic see Grendler 2002, 317-318 and Te Velde 2006, 10-11.
[760] According to Panofsky (1952, 83-84), at the medieval and early modern universities there existed 'no functional interaction between practice and theory'.
[761] Grendler 2002, 318.
[762] On this distinction see section 2.4.

universities for the most part retained the hierarchized opposition between theory and practice that was inscribed in their curriculum.[763]

Traditional historiography has, instead, identified Italian (as well as northern European) courts as the sites were the relationship between theory and practice was deconstructed. University scholars, humanists, and artist-engineers came into contact with each other at the courts. It was there that the methodical intellectual and theoretical training of scholars and humanists merged with the experimental approach and practical orientation of artist-engineers.[764] Historians of science have argued that this cross-fertilization of practices that had hitherto remained separated, prepared and precipitated the advent of modern – i.e. experimental and mathematical – science in the seventeenth century.[765] Historians of art maintain that this development led to the social elevation of the visual arts under the influence of theoretical treatises that were written in a courtly context.[766]

In other words, the overlap of scientific and artisanal practices worked both ways. Not only did practical approaches become more accepted in disciplines that had hitherto been predominantly theoretical such as natural philosophy, but many practical professions (i.e. the mechanical arts) also received an intellectual and theoretical foundation.[767] For the visual arts, the authorship of Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) is especially important in this respect. The humanist and practicing artist Alberti published learned treatises on architecture, sculpture, painting, in which he not only connected these professions to the liberal arts, and especially to

[763] Outside of Italy, the case of the physician, philosopher, and botanist Paracelsus (1493-1541) provides a telling example. Paracelsus introduced a revolutionary epistemological idea by stating that certain knowledge could also be based on experience, instead of only on theory and geometrical demonstration. In line with this conviction he invited barber-surgeons, apothecaries, and alchemists to his lectures at the University of Basel. Moreover, he read in German instead of in Latin. The university opposed to these innovations and Paracelsus was forced to leave not long after his appointment. Smith 2000, 17.

[764] Scholars refer to this development alternatively as 'the decompartimentalization of art and science' (Panofsky 1952, 81 and 88), as creating 'a middle ground of discursive and constructive practice within the space that had separated learned and artisanal culture' (Long 1997, 30), or as 'the breakdown of the social separation and barriers between (…) craftsmen and (…) scholars' (Zilsel 1942/2000, 942).

[765] Zilsel 1942/2000, esp. 941-942, Long 1997, Smith 2000, Kwa 2011, 46-71.

[766] See, for instance, Panofsky 1952 and Rossi 1980. See also Long 1997, 4 and 39.

[767] Panofsky (1952, 85) speaks in this context of the 'intellectualization of all mechanical professions … including, for example, that of the carpenter, the embroiderer, and the stonemason, as well as that of the painter and sculptor.'

mathematics, but also expounded the moral functions of artists in civic life.[768] In his notes, the painter and engineer Leonardo compared various arts such as poetry, music, sculpture, and painting with each other and argued for the superiority of the latter.[769] Moreover, he argued for the scientificity of the arts, and especially of painting, while rejecting knowledge that was based on book learning alone: 'True sciences are those which have penetrated through the senses as a result of experience'.[770] Alberti's and Leonardo's works were widely disseminated and formed important sources for debates on the arts in the sixteenth century, such as that of the *paragone*, i.e. the comparison between the arts. The texts of both authors originated in a courtly context.[771]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the learned discussions among university scholars, humanists, and artists-engineers at the courts were sometimes referred to as *accademie* ('academies'). Frequently these academies were informal gatherings or even singular events and did not have an institutional structure. This probably also was the case with Leonardo's 'academy', of which little is known except for several engravings such as the one that represents an intertwined cord pattern and contains the inscription *Academia Leonardi Vinci*. The engraving likely refers to such informal gatherings of professional and amateur scholars at the court of Milan around 1500, rather than to an art academy under the guidance of Leonardo.[772]

7.3. Knowledge practices in early cultural academies

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the term *accademia* had a variety of meanings. Of these significations, the informal meeting of *letterati* was the most popular. The term could also refer to Plato's school, itself named after the site in the northwest of Athens, where it was located; following Cicero's usage in his *De officiis* and *Academica*, it also denoted a debate, in which different points of view (both skeptical and dogmatic) were defended openly and freely as a means to advance

[768] See, for instance, his treatise on painting, that is divided in three books, which deal with the mathematical principles of painting, the subjects to be painted ('istoria'), and the moral function of the painter, respectively. Alberti 1804.
[769] For instance, Leonardo favored painting over poetry because its meaning could be immediately and directly communicated. Caldwell 2000, 285.
[770] Kemp 1989, 9-10. See also Parker 2000, 81.
[771] Long 1997, 6, 22-24, Zilsel 1942/2000, 942, Smith 2000, 15, 18, 20. Alberti's literary works originated in the context of patronage relations at the courts of Ferrara (d'Este), Mantua (Gonzaga), and Rimini (Malatesta), whereas Leonardo produced his notes on the visual arts at the Sforza court in Milan.
[772] Pevsner 1940/1973, 25-30.

knowledge; furthermore, *accademia* could refer to any private humanist school; less frequently, it was used as synonym for university (*studium* or *studio*); and, finally, it could signify the site (house, villa, or room) that was used for literary and philosophical studies.[773] The variety of meanings of *accademia* has made it notoriously difficult for modern scholars to assess the nature of the gatherings of the fifteenth century that went by this name.[774]

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed an outburst of academies in Italy. Even in the smallest towns were founded societies dedicated to literature, dance, opera, science, and other cultural expressions.[775] This means, that although these groups correspond best to the first category mentioned in the previous paragraph, they frequently extended their activities beyond the study and recitation of literature and poetry. Many of these academies constituted casual, temporary, and playful gatherings, where the organization of feasts and banquets was probably more important than their cultural activities.[776] Others, however, assumed a more regular and formal character. These are the more relevant ones for understanding the art academies. In the more formal institutions, statutes were drawn up and membership lists and records were kept. They were not necessarily tied to a court or ruler – although

[773] This distinction of the meanings of the term is based on Hankins 1991, 433-435. See, for comparable enumerations of the meaning of *accademia* Pevsner 1940/1973, 1-6, Chambers 1995, and Barzman 2000, 3-4. In the Vocabolario della Crusca of 1612 two meanings are distinguished: Plato's school or sect ('Setta di Filosofi così chiamata') and any gathering of scholars ('Oggi adunanza d'huomini studiosi, detti ACCADEMICI'). See also Testa 2015, 2-3, with further references. The importance of Cicero's use of the term in the Renaissance is highlighted by Chambers 1995, 1, Dempsey 2009, 47-52, and Brown 2016, 23.

[774] This is, for instance, the case with the academy of Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). For a long time this was thought to have been a school that taught (neo-)platonic philosophy to the Florentine elite, but more recently it has been shown that it probably constituted a private humanist school with a focus on rhetoric, although (neo-)platonic texts and philosophy were also discussed. Hankins 1991, 457-459 and 2011, 40-44. According to Hankins, when Ficino used the term *accademia* in a platonic sense, in the Preface to his translation of *Platonis opera omnia* (1484), he did so metaphorically to denote Plato's dialogues, rather than to a school under his guidance dedicated to Platonic philosophy. The groups around Giovanni Pontano in Naples and Pomponio Leto in Rome had a similar humanistic outlook. See Hankins 1991, Chambers 1995, and Everson/Sampson 2016, 4.

[775] Maylender (1926-1930) counted more than 2000 academies in Italy from the sixteenth until the nineteenth century. In the new Italian Academy Database are registered more than 585 Italian academies in 44 cities for the period 1525-1700. See Testa 2015. According to other scholars, more than 100 academies were founded in Florence alone during the sixteenth to eighteenth century. See Brown 2016, 27-28.

[776] The existence of virtual academies, such as the Accademia della Roma Farnesina and the Accademia Pelligrina, should also be mentioned. Such academies existed only in the letters of their 'members'. See Everson/Sampson 2016, 3 and 17, n. 9.

many depended on some form of patronage. These cultural academies were significant both to the development of the so-called 'Republic of Letters' and to the growth and divulgation of knowledge in all of its branches in the early modern period.[777] Hundreds of books were published under their auspices. It has been noted that one of the academies' defining characteristics, which distinguished them from other organizations such as guilds and confraternities, was their access to, and use of media, both manuscript and printed texts.[778]

Several literary gatherings in central and in northern Italian cities such Padua, Rome, Siena and Florence, have been identified as precursors of the Accademia Fiorentina, the academy mentioned by Vasari as example for the Accademia del Disegno. In Siena the Accademia degli Intronati (Academy of the Dazed or Thunderstruck, 1525) and the Accademia dei Rozzi (Academy of the Rustics, 1531) together staged theatrical plays to impress young noblewomen.[779] Moreover, the Intronati discussed and debated a wide variety of subjects such as philosophy, law, music, poetry, mathematics, in short, 'all the disciplines and all the liberal arts.' These subjects were practiced in the three languages that its members deemed most important: Greek, Latin, and Tuscan.[780] The foundation of the Intronati is seen as a landmark in the Italian academic movement, because it was the first organization with written statutes.[781]

In Padua the literary Accademia degli Infiammati (Academy of the Enflamed) was established in June 1540. Several of its founding members had previously belonged to the Accademia degli Intronati. The Accademia degli Infiammati also took over the structure and program of the Sienese academy. For example, the names and functions of the officers were identical. There was president, or *principe*, who served for two months and chaired the weekly meetings. Two or three advisors or *consiglieri* assisted the *principe*. Furthermore, there were several censors (*censori*), who had the task to correct all submissions of grammatical and stylistic errors before they could be presented to the academy.[782] Especially important was the composition of sonnets, written in the vernacular, modeled closely on the works of Petrarch. Furthermore, lecture series on a single topic were organized, such as Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*.[783]

[777] Everson/Sampson 2016, 1; Testa 2015, 155-178.
[778] Testa 2015, 1 and 13.
[779] McNeely 2009, 234-235.
[780] Samuels 1976, 608.
[781] Testa 2015, 1.
[782] Samuels 1976, 609-610. See there also for the names and functions of other officers.
[783] Samuels 1976, 611.

The Accademia dei Infiammati is said to have been the academy that had the greatest influence on the Accademia Fiorentina, as they shared a similar formal constitution, organized lectures in the vernacular on the same days of the week (Thursday and Sunday), and planned to publish their members' writings.[784] Three of the early members of the Infiammati, Benedetto Varchi, Ugolino Martelli, and Carlo Strozzi, would later hold important offices in the Accademia Fiorentina. Especially Varchi has been identified as the pivotal figure in this context, because he also maintained relationships with members of the Sienese Intronati and the Accademia della Virtù in Rome.[785]

What holds for most early cultural academies is that, in contrast to the universities they were open to nonprofessional scholars and dilettante *letterati*. Although the membership of the academies included members of the elite such as university professors, prelates, and noblemen, academicians often came from different layers of society and had various occupations, which included those that were traditionally subsumed under the mechanical arts.[786] The membership of the Sienese Rozzi, for instance, consisted for a large part of craftsmen and artists.[787] Furthermore, the knowledge practices in the academies were more informal than at the universities.[788] Academicians came together more as a pastime (*passatempo*) and to enjoy each other's company than as a preparation to a professional career.[789] This means that in the academies

[784] Chambers 1995, 13; Zanré 2004, 19-20; Plaisance 2004, 49-50.

[785] For example, Varchi had links with Pietro Bembo, and through Alessandro Piccolomini with the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena; he also knew Annibale Caro and Francesco Maria Molza, who were members of two Roman academies in the 1530s, the Accademia della Vigna and the Accademia della Virtù. Zanré 2004, 19. On Varchi's role in the academic movement see especially Samuels 1976.

[786] Bryce 1995 and Testa 2015, 13. The Accademia degli Infiammati had several members who taught at the university of Padua: Lazzaro Bonamico (1477-1552), Mariano Sozzini (1482-1556), Giovanni Monte (1498-1551), Vincenzo Maggi (d. 1564), Daniele Barbaro (1514-1570), Sperone Speroni (1500-1558), and Bernardino Tomitano (1517-1576). See Samuels 1976, 605.

[787] Quiviger 1995, 108.

[788] Testa 2015, 4 and 8.

[789] However, members of some academies seem to have seen professional advancement as one of the goals of their participation. The Florentine Accademia degli Alterati (1569-c. 1625) is an interesting case in this context. The members of this academy were scions of Florentine patrician families that had supported the Republic and were, therefore, ousted from the center of power during the return of the Medici to power in 1533. According to Blocker (2016, 44), the Alterati conceived their collective pursuit of knowledge and the development of their oral and written skills through their academic activities both as a substitute for and as a preparation to the participation in civic life. Several of them, indeed, succeeded to obtain positions at the Medici court at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

the practical understandings of sociability and friendly, or even courtly, conversation were more important than in the universities.

The academies shared the inclusiveness of their membership with the religious lay confraternities. In addition, like the lay confraternities, cultural academies often organized funerals for their deceased members.[790] The organizational structure of the confraternities, with different types of officers such as consul, councilor, treasurer, and secretary, formed the model for that of the literary and scientific academies. The functions of the officers and the election procedures were described in the organizations' statutes. The statutes also regulated the meetings and provided the academies with a collective identity.[791] Finally, the formation of official statutes gave the academies more continuity than previous literary gatherings, which often did not survive the death or emigration of their founders or leaders.[792]

An example of the academies' inclusiveness, which at the same time differentiates them from the knowledge practices of the universities, was their use of the vernacular instead of Latin. Members of cultural academies translated ancient texts into Italian. Most members of the academies disagreed with the accepted view that Latin was the only language suited for the transmission of knowledge. Therefore, these academies are said to have played an important part in the so-called 'rebellion against Latin'.[793] This means that one aspect of the teleoaffective structure of academic knowledge practices was to divulgate knowledge to a broader public. An additional objective of the literary academies in using the vernacular was to cultivate and protect it from outside influences. Often these linguistic strategies had political and territorial expansionist overtones. For instance, this was the case in the literary academies in Medicean Florence, such as the Accademia Fiorentina (see below), the Accademia degli Alterati (1569), and the Accademia della Crusca (1583), where the Tuscan dialect was promoted to forge a common cultural identity.[794]

Another distinction between the teleoaffective structure of the knowledge practices in the academies and that of the universities is that the members of academies had to be able to lecture on and discuss subjects that often were not (exhaustively) taught at the universities, such

[790] De Gaetano 1968, 28 and 36.
[791] McNeely 2009, 236.
[792] Yates 1983, 12.
[793] De Gaetano 1967.
[794] On the Fiorentina and the Crusca see below; on the Alterati see Weinberg 1954a and 1954b, Van Veen 2006, 156-157, and Blocker 2016. According to Blocker, the Accademia degli Alterati had an ambivalent and changeable political identity by openly expressing their support to the Medici and covertly cultivating political dissent.

as botany, astronomy, and obstetrics.[795] Moreover, some of the other activities employed by the academies, such reading, (re)publishing, and commenting on modern authors (e.g. Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio), and discussing history and politics, also differed from university practices. The purpose of the lectures, which were either presented in public or private meetings, was threefold: to divulgate knowledge to a wider audience, to practice and display the speaker's rhetorical skills, and to stimulate further debate.[796]

The topics of the discussions could in principle be drawn from all of parts of culture, including the visual arts. Traditionally conceived as mechanical and therefore excluded from the domain of (theoretical) knowledge and the university, in the academies the various productive arts had become subjects of learned debates or *dispute*.[797] No doubt, the discussion of these themes had something to do with the fact that the members of the academies came from different layers of society and included artists and artisans.[798]

Two things should be noted in this context. In the first place, the interest in a wider variety of subjects does not mean that topics related to the university disciplines (medicine, law, theology, humanities) were left out of the academic curriculum, but only that there was less emphasis on them. Furthermore, although the disputes in the academies had a more open and less formal character, they were modeled on the university *disputatio*. For instance, the role of authoritative authors such as Aristotle and Galen was still very important in the cultural academies. Benedetto Varchi's two lectures about the arts for the Accademia Fiorentina are a case in point.[799]

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[795] Brown 2016, 27. De Gaetano 1968, 21, 23. McNeely 2009, 228. It should be noted that while De Gaetano conceives of the academies as being in opposition to both university *and* humanism, McNeely sees them as a 'humanistic alternative to the pedantic university world'. The reason for this distinction is, probably, that De Gaetano emphasizes the academies' 'rebellion against Latin,' which contrasts the academies with both humanist schools and the universities, whereas McNeely focuses on their interest in literature and poetry, which they shared with the humanists.

[796] Quiviger 1995, 112.

[797] According to Kristeller (1951, 516), the learned debates about the relative merits or superiority of human activities, which was partly modeled on the disputations in the universities, reflected the importance that people in the Renaissance attached to 'precedence' in courts and public ceremonies. Benvenuto Cellini's written criticism on the superior place that had been awarded on Michelangelo's catafalque (i.e. on its right side) to the personification of painting at the expense of that of sculpture can be cited as an artistic example of this preoccupation with precedence.

[798] According to McNeely (2009, 239), 'academies provided ordinary gentlemen a forum to rehearse erudition, to imitate greatness, and to temper their characters.'

[799] For Varchi's lectures see section 9.2. By contrast, Dempsey (2009, 47-48) argues that the academic disputes about the *arti* were very different from the Scholastic disputations in the universities because whereas the latter had a dogmatic character and simply

Concerning the practical understandings of the members of the cultural academies it can be said that the skills they had to possess included a mastery of grammar and different literary styles in the vernacular, as well as the ability to clearly formulate and articulate theoretical issues in lectures and debates. It should be emphasized that the members of the cultural academies were not only engaged in activities that were traditionally seen as intellectual and theoretical, such as commenting on authoritative authors and explaining philosophical and theoretical concepts, but they also performed activities that had previously belonged to the liberal or even mechanical arts, such as composing and reciting their own poems, experimenting with music, singing madrigals and operas, staging theatrical plays, conducting scientific experiments, and drawing.[800] This means that, like in some of the courts, the cultural academies placed greater emphasis on practice than the universities, and thereby aided the deconstruction of the hierarchical distinction between theory and practice.

Although artists were allowed to become members of cultural academies, they not always enjoyed the same status as the *letterati*. The role of visual artists in the cultural academies was often limited to designing and executing scenes for theatrical performances, ephemeral artworks for funerals of members, frontispieces for academic publications, and emblems and *imprese* of the academies and their members. They did not always actively participate in the academies' lecture program, poetic compositions, musical and theatrical performances, and debates and discussions. In other words, it was their practical understandings as participants of artistic practices, rather than their literary skills, that allowed them to play a role in the cultural academies. The painter Agostino Carracci, for instance, designed the *impresa* of the Accademia dei Gelati (Academy of the Frozen Ones) in Bologna. He belonged himself to this academy, but only as a *secondo ordine* ('second order') member, which meant that he was not eligible for official functions, such as *principe*, censor, or secretary.[801]

A substantial part of the cultural academies of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries took remarkable and funny, if not ridiculous, names, such as Intronati (Dazed or Thunderstruck), Infiammati (Enflamed), Umidi (Damp or Humid), and Gelati (Frozen). This does not only hold for the institutions but also for their members, who often used nicknames such as 'il Cieco' (the Blind one), 'l'Addormentato' (the

reiterated accepted positions and conclusions, the former were more open-ended and inherently skeptical. Dempsey cites Varchi's second lecture about the visual arts for the Accademia Fiorentina as an example of an academic dispute.

[800] Brown 2016, 22.

[801] Quiviger 1995, 105 and 109.

Sleepy One), 'l'Animoso' (the Spirited one), and 'il Caliginoso' (the Foggy One).[802] On the one hand, this shows the playfulness and flexibility of these institutions, especially when compared to the strict rules of the university. On the other hand, there is a more profound and serious aspect to these names, insofar as they are expressions of a worldview that was based on ancient Hippocratic, hermetic and neo-platonic doctrines of the four elements (air, earth, water, fire) and that of the influence of the macrocosm (heavens, celestial bodies) on the microcosm (the sublunary world), and especially the humors of man (choleric, melancholic, phlegmatic, and sanguine). That the academicians took this elemental mysticism seriously is shown by the topics of the lectures and debates they held, and by the treatises they published.[803] Therefore, these names can be seen as examples of *serio ludere* ('playful seriousness') that was characteristic for the cultural academies.[804]

Connected to this elemental mysticism was the academic preoccupation with developing collective and personal *imprese*. Originating from the northern chivalrous and heraldic tradition, the *impresa* became a typical ingredient of Italian literary academies in the sixteenth century.[805] Through a combination of an iconographic (emblem) and a verbal (motto) element the *impresa* constituted a metaphor, which revealed the fundamental characteristic of the academy or person in question. An example is the *impresa* of the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi (Academy of the Humorists), founded in or shortly after 1600. Its membership consisted of nobles, gentlemen, prelates, and professional *letterati*, such as the famous poet Giovanni Batista Marino, but also of the artists Cavalier Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino and Orazio Borgianni (1574-1616), who were members of the Accademia di San Luca as well. The academic activities of the Umoristi consisted of the recitation of poetry, discussions about the theory of art and, especially, the performance of plays and operas.

The academy's *impresa*, which was designed by Cavalier d'Arpino, consisted of a cloud, formed by the sun from the water of the

[802] Mendelsohn 1982, 19, Yates 1983, 11, Testa 2015, 175, and Testa 2016, 203,. See Ciardi 1995, 42, for more examples.

[803] According to Mendelsohn (1982, 19-22), it was the main objective of the early Italian academies to interpret man's place in the cosmos with the help of such hermetic and neo-platonic ideas and imagery.

[804] Testa 2015, 5. It should be noted that, during this period, the doctrine of the four humors and temperaments was also still popular at the universities through Galen's theories and writings.

[805] Mendelsohn 1982, 24, Ciardi 1995, Caldwell 2000, 283, McNeely 2009, 237-239, Testa 2015, 22-23, 44-45, 136-141. According to Yates (1983, 14) and Ciardi 1995, 37-39, it is possible that the *impresa* had a northern and chivalrous origin, i.e. that it was imitated from the coats of arms of the French knights, who invaded the Italian cities.

sea. Rain pours from the cloud back into the sea (fig. 31). The Latin motto is derived from Lucretius and it reads *Redit Agmine Dulci*, 'return the sweets to the battlefield'. Taken together, name, motto, and image assumed two significations. On the one hand, the *impresa* symbolized the academicians (cloud), who are elevated above the bitter everyday world (sea) through their virtue (sun), and give back to that world their learned discussions and concepts about poetry and art as well as theatrical plays (sweet water in the form of rain).[806] On the other hand, the *impresa* referred to the ancient doctrine of the four temperaments or four humors of man, choleric, melancholic, sanguine, and phlegmatic – hence the academy's name – which corresponded to the four elements, fire, earth, air, and water.[807]

Figure 31. Giuseppe Cesari (Il Cavalier d'Arpino), *Impresa* of the Accademia degli Umoristi, (from Aleandri 1611, Getty Research Portal: https://archive.org/details/sopralimpresadeg00alea)

7.4. The Accademia Fiorentina and visual artists

In November 1540 in Florence a group of twelve friends decided to found an academy in order to enjoy each other's company while reading Petrarch and composing their own sonnets.[808] The compositions were to be read in public and each member had the right to freely comment on them and express his thoughts.[809] The name they chose for this academy

[806] Aleandro 1611, 8.
[807] Aleandro 1611, 32-34.
[808] The goal of the founders is written in their 'Annali', 1r, quoted in Heikamp 1957, 140: The founders 'vennero in ragionamento della lingua toscana e, davanti si partissero d'insieme, deliberorno di trovarsi alcuna volta così in brigata e di pensare ad una Accadaemia. Era la opinione di questi tali di legger il Petrarca, et comporre alcuno sonetto.' According to Zanré (2004, 16), the term 'brigata' (informal group of friends) and the relatively modest social status of the founders of the *Umidi* both suggest that their use of the term 'accademia' was probably not completely serious.
[809] 'Capitoli', 4r, quoted in Zanré 2004, 16: 'E perché questa nostra accademia degli humidi è creata per passatempo vogliamo e intendiamo che sia del tutto libera (…) et si leghino i componimenti in publico et che ognuno ne possa dir liberamente il parer suo.'

was the Accademia degli Umidi (Academy of the Humid or Damp). It has been argued that this name directly referred to the Paduan Accademia degli Infiammati, which had been founded only five months earlier. One of the most important goals of the Umidi was to reclaim the Tuscan poet Petrarch from the Infiammati and, thus, to 'extinguish the fire' that had been started by the latter academy.[810]

In this form, the group had a very short existence. At the end of March 1541, the academy had already undergone drastic changes. By that time dozens of new members had joined the institution, many of whom were loyal to the Medici, if not part of the state bureaucracy, such as the secretaries Pierfrancesco Riccio, Lelio Torelli and Francesco Campana; formal and more strict statutes were passed; and the name changed into Accademia Fiorentina, the Florentine Academy, which gave the institution a more official and less playful ring.[811]

In short, the informality disappeared and the aim of the institution changed into promoting the vernacular, Tuscan language through the recitation of the work of famous poets – especially that of the so-called *tre corone* ('three crowns') of Florence, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio – and through the translation of ancient classical texts. It is argued that Duke Cosimo I sanctioned these changes or even that he actively co-opted the independent academy and turned it into an official organ of the Medici state, because he recognized the benefits of an institution that promoted the unity of the Tuscan language and a shared cultural identity.[812] Its official function as an instrument of the state is what distinguishes the Accademia Fiorentina from other Italian cultural academies. Recent publications have shown that although this made it more difficult for members to criticize the regime, it was not impossible to express dissenting political views within the institution, which thereby

[810] The Venetian poet and cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), whose literary theories were influential in the Accademia degli Infiammati, had promoted the Tuscan of Boccaccio and Petrarch (1304-1374) as the model for Italian vernacular literary language. However, he had done so by separating this historical dialect both from its contemporary counterpart and from its original location, i.e. Florence. Sherberg 2003, 27 and 29.

[811] Dempsey 1980, 553; Barzman 2000, 27-28; Sherberg 2003, 27; Zanré 2004, 15. On the Accademia Fiorentina in general see Plaisance 1995 and 2004.

[812] See Bryce 1983, 43, for the more moderate view. See, for the interpretation of Cosimo I as actively intervening in and co-opting the Accademia degli Umidi, Dempsey 1980, 553 and 555, Mendelsohn 1982, 29, Plaisance 1995, 128-129, Barzman 2000, 27-28, Zanré 2004, 15-20, Van Veen 2006, 27-28, 170-171, and 176-177, and McNeely 2009, 239-240. Mendelsohn and Van Veen agree that the co-optation of the Accademia Fiorentina was part of Cosimo's program of cultural and territorial expansion, the goal of which was a unified Tuscan state under his rule. Van Veen argues, moreover, that the 'Etruscan myth', according to which Tuscany was the first European region to have been civilized, was instrumental in this program insofar as members of the Accademia Fiorentina attempted to show that the Tuscan language had evolved out of Etruscan.

fulfilled a function as 'shadow theater'. This means that discussions about cultural issues, such as language, were partly sublimated (and modest) criticism on domestic politics.[813]

In 1542 it was decided that the consul of the Accademia Fiorentina also officially became the head of the Studio Fiorentino, the Florentine auxiliary branch of the University of Pisa.[814] In this capacity, the consul controlled the professors, students, publishers, booksellers, and editors in Florence.[815] More reforms were implemented in the first decades of the institution's existence. In 1547, it was decided to temporary close the academy due to continued resistance of a group within the organization, which was probably led by some of the founders of the Umidi. This gave Cosimo I the opportunity to purge the institution of dissidents and troublemakers. The decision was made on March 4, 1547, but it was only made public on August 4 of that same year. A week later the Accademia Fiorentina reopened with 106 new members and thirty-nine senior or honorary members (*padri ed illustri*), most of whom were high prelates, noblemen, scholars and secretaries of the duke.[816] On September 26, 1553, again new statutes were introduced, in which the consul of the academy became directly dependent upon the duke, and the advisors upon the consul.[817] This situation was similar to that in the Accademia del Disegno ten years later, where Cosimo I elected a *luogotenente*, who was supposed to oversee and control its members.

Like other academies, the Accademia Fiorentina had an *impresa* symbolizing the essence of the academy. In fact, in this case it is better to

[813] See Sherberg 2003 and Zanré 2004. According to Sherberg (2003, 44-47), the hosier (i.e. a combination of a cobbler and a tailor) Giambattista Gelli, who occupied an important position in the academy, opposed the inclusive membership of the Accademia Fiorentina as well as Cosimo I's general strategy of reducing the power of the traditional oligarchy, consisting of patrician and aristocratic families, and 'embracing the historically disenfranchised lower classes.' Sherberg argues that Gelli's reason for rejecting these policies was that, as someone who himself tried to overcome his lower origins, he feared the competition of others. This argument is similar to Bourdieu's (1977, 29) more general view that 'pure' aesthetic conflicts – in modern societies – are in fact (or also) euphemized political struggles.

[814] The Florentine branch of the University of Pisa exclusively taught introductory and humanities disciplines such as rhetoric, poetry and Greek and only kept on a handful of professors. Grendler 2002, 81-82.

[815] De Gaetano 1968, 33; Barzman 2000, 27-28. According to De Gaetano (1967, 157-158), the appointment of the consul of the literary academy as the rector of the university, which was the consequence of a ducal decree of February 22, 1542, led to rivalry between both institutions. On Florentine publishers and their relationship to the Accademia Fiorentina and the Medici regime in this period see Zanré 2004, 21-26.

[816] Zanré 2004, 20-21. Several years earlier, the Accademia degli Infiammati had already created the honorific office of *Padre* for famous members in order to bestow prestige on the academy. See Samuels 1976, 612-613.

[817] Zanré 2004, 21.

speak of an emblem instead of an *impresa*, because the inscription only contained the name of the academy (Accademia Fiorentina) and it did not have a motto.[818] Although no illustrations of the emblem have survived, its appearance is known through a description in the academy's archival records. The image consisted of a reclining river god, representing the Arno, and a lion under a laurel tree. This means that although the elemental mysticism connected to the term *umidi* disappeared from the name of the academy when it changed into Fiorentina, the emblem retained a reference to the element of water. Furthermore, the emblem contained a reference to Duke Cosimo I. For, depicted above the circle that enclosed the image was depicted the sign of the Capricorn, which was the personal device of the duke.[819]

The Accademia Fiorentina held private meetings on Thursdays and public ones on Sunday. The private meetings, exclusively open to members of the academy, took place in the Studio Fiorentino on Thursdays; the public gatherings were first held in the Sala del Papa in Santa Maria Novella and from 1550 in the Sala dei Dugento in the ducal palace (Palazzo Vecchio), underscoring Cosimo I's support of and control over the institution.[820] According to contemporary sources, the public lectures were very popular, sometimes drawing crowds of more than two thousand people.[821] The academy discussed a wide variety of topics in the sixteenth century. In addition to the praises of the Tuscan language, which were almost ubiquitously dispersed in the lectures, the topics receiving most attention, in descending order of frequency, were

> The color of the eyes, anatomy and physiology, love, dreams, grammar, the soul, law and justice, free will, fortune, fate, the elements (earth, water, air, fire), friendship, envy and jealousy, Providence, beauty, honor, the spots on the moon, monsters, medicine (for and against), peace and concord, how the earth was inhabited, human and divine happiness, infinity, eternity, the sentiments and senses, ideas, divine and human intelligence, fame, eloquence, sculpture and painting, the Bible, nature, comets, predestination, nobility, size of the heavens, size of the earth, size of the planets, arms vs. law, arms vs. letters, the sea, rain, the tides, perfection of the universe, time, laughter, metaphors, cause and effect, affections (attributes), the qualities of Hell, money.[822]

The list is interesting enough in itself, but especially the high positions of the eyes, anatomy, the elements, and the spots on the moon are relevant in the context of artistic treatises to be discussed in following chapters.

[818] On the distinction between the emblem and the impresa see Ciardi 1995, 38 and 40.
[819] Mendelsohn 1982, 20, 201, n. 18, 203, n. 30
[820] Sherberg 2003, 28, Zanré 2004, 17.
[821] Bryce 1995, 80.
[822] De Gaetano 1968, 44, also quoted in McNeely 2009, 239.

The inclusion of painting and sculpture in the list is also noteworthy as it confirms that artistic matters were discussed in cultural academies.

As with the earlier academies discussed above, the membership of the Accademia Fiorentina was eclectic. Not only prelates, state bureaucrats, and members of the old patrician families, but also craftsmen joined the organization and even had official functions. For example, one of the founding members of the Accademia Fiorentina was the otherwise unknown sculptor Pilucca. In addition to Pilucca, the Accademia Fiorentina was joined early on by other artists as well. The sculptor Tribolo (1500-1550) and the painter Bronzino (1503-1572) joined the institution on February 11, 1541; Michelangelo (1475-1564) became a member on March 31 of that same year; and the sculptors Francesco da Sangallo (1494-1576), Benvenuto Cellini (1500-1571), and Baccio Bandinelli (1493-1560) joined in the first half of 1545.[823] With the exception of Michelangelo, who received an honorary membership as advisor or *padre*, all these artists were cast out of the academy, together with most of its other members, during the reforms of 1547, when the academy was 'purged' of dissenting elements.[824] It should be noted that the artists (and others) were not necessarily expelled from the academy because they were dissidents – in fact, this seems unlikely as they remained on ducal payroll – but in order to make a new start, i.e. to create institution that was more closely connected to Cosimo I. It is noteworthy that Michelangelo also received an honorary membership – *capo, padre et maestro di tutti* – from the Accademia del Disegno in 1563. These honorific titles of both the literary and art academy underscore Michelangelo's position as cultural leader in contemporary Florence.

In 1549 it was decided that those, who had been part of the Accademia Fiorentina prior to the reform of 1547, could be readmitted after submission of a literary composition, which had to be read out loud in the private or public meeting and which had to be approved by the censors. Of the artists only Bronzino did so. He presented his 'Tre canzoni sorelli' in praise of the Medici and Cosimo I to the academy and was readmitted to the institutions on May 23, 1566.[825] On September 26,

[823] To be precise, Sangallo joined on January 8, Cellini on April 23, and Bandinelli on May 21. See Heikamp 1957, 141, n. 1.
[824] Heikamp 1957, 141-143.
[825] In the past, there have been some incongruities in the scholarly literature about the date of Bronzino's readmittance to Accademia Fiorentina. Heikamp (1957, 143) only gave May 26 as date for Bronzino's second admission and left out the year. Plaisance (1995, 129) also did not give the precise date, but stated that the painter was one of the fifty people that joined the academy between March 10 and June 18, 1565. Both scholars refer to a document in the archive of the academy, MS BMF, B III 52-54, 'Annali degli Umidi poi Fiorentina', Vol. III, 19r-v. However, according to Parker (2000, 9 and 196, n. 10), Rossi (2010, 177-178), and Chiummo (2016, 258-259, 267-268), Bronzino was

1565 the sculptor Vincenzo Danti and the painter Alessandro Allori were admitted to the Accademia Fiorentina. Two years later, on January 2, 1567, the architect and sculptor Bartolomeo Ammannati joined them, and on August 15, 1581, the architect, engineer, and painter Bernardo Buontalenti followed.[826] It is not clear whether these artists were admitted after presenting their literary compositions, because the sources are silent on this. In the cases of Danti and Allori this is certainly possible. Both artists wrote treatises about visual art around the time they joined the Accademia Fiorentina.[827]

In sixteenth-century Italy, *letterati* frequently commented on contemporary events in encomiastic and burlesque poetry. Their judgments about the arts and artists, whether positive or negative, were also expressed this way.[828] Frequently, such poems were written by members of the Accademia Fiorentina, who attached them below recently produced paintings and statues in public sites in the city.[829] Artists (and their works) were not only the subjects of the poems in sixteenth-century Florence, but also their authors. The most famous of these dilettante poets were Cellini, Bronzino, and Michelangelo.[830] In addition to his well-known autobiography and treatises on art, Cellini also wrote many poems, including a sonnet in praise of Varchi, which was revised by the latter.[831] Bronzino wrote over three hundred poems during his lifetime, most of which were either in the burlesque style of Francesco Berni (c. 1498-1535) or lyrical sonnets modeled upon Petrarch. In many of these poems, he addressed the visual arts and artists, for instance, when he

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readmitted to the Accademia Fiorentina a year later, in May 1566. As evidence for this claim Rossi and Chiummo printed the final page of Bronzino's 'Tre canzone sorelli' in the manuscript containing Bronzino's extant lyric poems that is housed in the Bibliotecta Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Bronzino, Delle rime…libro Primo, ms., BNCF, II.IX.10, 109v). At the bottom of the page, the censor of the Accademia Fiorentina, Giovan Battista Adriani, wrote that the 'Tre Canzone sorelli' deserve the same praise as the work of a good poet and that Bronzino is admitted to the academy. This is affirmed by the consul of the academy, Lionardo Salviati, who placed his signature below Adriani's text. Moreover the date May 23, 1566 is clearly legible. The statement of Parker (2000, 17 and 43) that Bronzino's second period in the academy lasted from 1563 until his death in 1572 can be ignored, because it probably refers to the painter's membership of the Accademia del Disegno rather than to the Fiorentina.

[826] Heikamp 1957, 141, n. 1.

[827] See sections 9.4 and 9.5.

[828] Heikamp 1957, 139.

[829] Heikamp 1957, 150, Parker 2000, 81-87.

[830] Ciardi 1971, 274. To these names Ciardi adds other artist-*letterati* from other cities and later in the sixteenth century: Aurelio Luini, Annibale Fontana, Gian Paolo Lomazzo, and Federico Zuccari.

[831] Mendelsohn 1982, 32.

praised Cellini's *dotta mano* ('learned hand') that executed the statue of *Perseus* at the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence (1553).[832]

Benedetto Varchi wrote many poems about art and artists.[833] Recently an exchange of four sonnets between the sculptor Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli and the *letterato* Benedetto Varchi was discovered in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.[834] These poems, written in the second half of 1562 or the beginning of 1563, are interesting not only about what they tell us about the overlap between literary and artistic practices in the second half of the Cinquecento but also because they throw more light on the foundational period of the Accademia del Disegno. The excessive praise that the authors have for each other and the modesty they display about their own abilities shows that the sonnets belong to the encomiastic literature of the period.[835]

Varchi complements Montorsoli for his piety, as friar of the Order of the Servites of Maria, and for his learned hand (*dotta mano*). He also states that the Montorsoli's abilities in sculpture are as great as his literary skills. Montorsoli, in turn, praises Varchi for his virtue and beautiful language and thanks the *letterato* for glorifying his sculptures.[836] Furthermore, it is interesting in the context of the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno that both authors mention the work on the temple of Pippo Spano in the Camaldolese convent Santa Maria degli Angeli. The art academy used the Tempio di Pippo Spano as its headquarters between July 1562 and October 1563. During this period the artists worked to complete this oratory, which had been designed by Filippo Brunelleschi. In the final terzine of Varchi's first sonnet he urges Montorsoli to aid Vasari in finishing Pippo Spano's chapel.[837] Montorsoli replies in the final terzine of his first sonnet that he will do as asked and help Vasari with the chapel of the two 'Pippi', namely Brunelleschi and Spano.[838]

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[832] Parker 2000, 88-90.

[833] For instance, Varchi praised Bronzino both for his artistic and his literary work. See Parker 2000, 14-17.

[834] Gamberini 2015.

[835] Heikamp (1957, 146) emphasizes the mutual benefit for this kind of reciprocal praise by describing it as *una mano lava l'altra* ('one hand washes the other').

[836] Gamberini 2015, 144: '… il puro vostro, e si leggiadro stile / che di Gloria sen va par al Martello (…) a Voi, padre mio buon, che tra' migliori / sete per doppia fama a dito mostro / con doppio grido, d'ogni invidia fuori.'

[837] Gamberini 2015, 144: 'Dunque col mio Giorgin del buon Toscano / Duce esseguite l'alta mente, e fate / che 'l Tempio surga del gran Pippo Spano' ('thus with my Giorgin [Giorgio Vasari] of the good Tuscan / Duke carry out the high mind, and make / the temple arises of the great Pippo Spano').

[838] Ibidem: 'e col buon Giorgio al gran Duce Toscano / non resto di lodar, qual voi me fate / col Tempio i Pippi: un Brunelesco, un Spano' ('and with the good Giorgio to the

These verses show various things. In the first place, they provide an example of the integration and overlap of literary and artistic practices, in the sense that the artist (Montorsoli) presented himself as a poet, and was accepted as such by the *letterato* (Varchi). Second, the fact that the completion of the chapel is seen as feasible proves that the sonnets were indeed written after July 1562, when the chapel was conceded to the Accademia del Disegno, and before spring of 1563, when the artists started to look for new headquarters.[839]

Third, these sonnets show that Montorsoli's role in the foundational period of the Accademia del Disegno was greater than hitherto considered. His donation of his burial chapel in the Santissima Annunziata to the academy, which he himself had started to decorate, was not his only contribution. It now appears that he also aided in the unsuccessful project of the completion of the chapel of the Pippo Spano. Finally, also Varchi's role in the incipient art academy seems to have been greater. A connection between Varchi and the early Accademia del Disegno has been suspected because in this period he was a resident in the Camaldolese convent of Santa Maria degli Angeli, where the Tempio di Pippo Spano was located.[840] Duke Cosimo I had arranged for Varchi to stay in the monastery from 1559 onward and use some of its rooms for study and meditation. Varchi, in turn, had offered one of his rooms to the academy for storage space.[841] These verses confirm that Varchi indeedsupported the presence of the academicians in the convent and even that he desired them to prolong their stay.

7.5. The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca as cultural academies

In contrast to the cultural academies discussed above, neither the Florentine and Roman art academies nor their members assumed names

great Tuscan duke / I do not remain to praise, what you asked of me / with the chapel of the Pippi: one Brunelleschi, un Spano').

[839] See for a discussion of the academy's acquisition and use of this building section 4.2.1.

[840] Barzman 2000, 49. Vasari (1966-1987, VI, 250) writes in the beginning of the 1560s that the sculptor and academician Vincenzo Danti stayed in the rooms where Varchi had previously resided.

[841] ASF, AD 24, 4r. In December 1563 an inventory was made of the belongings of the academy that were in the Camaldolese convent, because they were about move their stuff to a new location. The beginning of the entry reads: 'In decta stanza che è ci benpracito di ms benedetto varrchi che per sua umanità ce la concede che a lui [margin: In[v]e[n]tario] la consessa sua ecele[n]tia i[n]si[e]me con frati e tiene una ciave un suo amico frate cioè du[a] silvano [= Silvano Razzi, the abbot of the monastery, M.J.] e una jo [io].'

that alluded to the hermetic or neo-platonic tradition.[842] Instead, the Accademia del Disegno referred to the concept and activity underlying and uniting the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture; and the Accademia di San Luca kept the name of the earlier institution devoted to the patron saint of the painters. This suggests that like the Florentine literary academy, after it had changed its name from Umidi to Fiorentina, the art academies were less playful and more formal than the other cultural academies discussed above. This is not surprising, because, as discussed above, the art academies also assumed the functions of guild and confraternity. Therefore, unlike other cultural academies (including the Accademia Fiorentina) the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca were primarily concerned with art as a profession, rather than as a leisure activity – at least as far as their members were concerned. The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca did, however, take over various activities and traditions from the cultural academies. They organized lectures and discussions about subjects pertaining to the arts. These issues are discussed in the following chapters. The final two paragraphs of this chapter deal with another important feature of sixteenth-century academies, the seal or the *impresa*.

7.5.1. The seal of the Accademia del Disegno

Like the other cultural academies, the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca spent a considerable amount of time inventing and discussing suitable devices for their institutions. In his biography of Montorsoli in the *Vite*, Vasari briefly mentions that the members of the Florentine academy were no longer satisfied with the old seal (*suggello* or *sigillo*) or emblem (*insegna*) of the confraternity, which consisted of the symbol of Saint Luke, a reclining winged ox.[843] The academicians

[842] It is noteworthy that Zuccari signed his poem about *disegno* in Alberti's *Origine* with Il Sonnacchioso (The Dozy One), his nickname from the Perugian literary Accademia degli Insensati (Accademia of the Senseless). In fact, Il Sonnacchioso seems to have been Zuccari's second nickname in the Accademia degli Insensati. He was first known as Il Desioso (the Desiring One) and changed his name to Il Sonnacchioso after the another member with this name had died. Verbal communication with Laura Teza on October 30, 2015.

[843] Scholars generally use the term 'seal' (*sigillo*, *sceau*) when discussing the device of the Accademia del Disegno. Although this is, indeed, the term used most frequently by the artists themselves, they also refer to it as emblem (*insegna*) and *impresa*. The difference between a seal and an emblem or an *impresa* is that the former was used for officially sanctioning documents, whereas the latter were usually placed on the exterior and/or interior of buildings (or in books) in order to express ownership and identity.

probably deemed the image of the winged bull inappropriate for an organization that also included sculptors and architects as members.[844] Therefore, it was decided to choose another device for their newly founded institution.[845] Many artists presented their designs, which, according to Vasari, were very beautiful and special (*i più bei capricci e le più stravaganti e belle fantasie*). Furthermore, in a letter to Cosimo I from February 1, 1563 Vasari mentions that the designs were to be bundled in a booklet and send to the duke for approval.[846] It is uncertain whether this plan was realized because at the time of writing the second edition of his *Lives* (ca. 1565), none of the drawings had yet been accepted as the new seal or emblem of the academy.[847]

After Grand Duke Cosimo I had granted the academy permission to form a guild in 1571, the artists returned to the subject of their seal. On January 10, 1572 the consuls, reformers, and advisors of the institution held an extraordinary meeting in the house of lieutenant Jacopo Pitti, in which they decided to review the 'beautiful' and 'ingenuous' *imprese* that had been proposed in the past and to select the best thereof. Meanwhile, they would keep the old seal referring to Saint Luke.[848] During another extraordinary meeting on April 20 of that same year the four designs that had received the most votes from the academicians were sent to the grand duke so that he could elect the one that pleased him most.[849] Unfortunately neither the four candidate seals, nor the design elected by the grand duke is known.

Archival records show that on June 20, 1576 the academy paid for a brass seal with a wooden handle, which had to serve for the magistracy and the confraternity.[850] It has been suggested that the winning design was an *impresa* representing three intertwined garlands of laurel, with the Dantesque motto *A Dio Quasi è nipote* ('Almost God's

[844] See section 6.2.
[845] Being the traditional emblem of the painters, the call for a different seal probably came especially from the sculptors (and architects). Cellini, for instance, wrote a satirical poem in which he urged the artists to discard the bull. Flemming 2003, 61, n. 5.
[846] Frey 1923-1940, I, 712-714. See also Vasari's letter to the duke from January 22, 1563, in which he mentions that the seal will be discussed the following Sunday, when the statutes of the academy were made public with the Mass of the Holy Spirit. Ibidem, 706-707.
[847] Vasari 1966-1987, V, 508-509: 'Dirò bene che non piacendo molti il vecchio suggello et arme overo insegna della Compagnia, il quale era un bue con l'ali a giacere, animale dell'Evangelista San Luca, e che ordinatosi, perciò che ciascuno dicesse o mostrasse con un disegno il parer suo, si videro i più bei capricci e le più stravaganti e belle fantasie che si possino imaginare. Ma non perciò è anco risoluto interamente quale debba essere accetato.'
[848] ASF, AD 25, 16v-17r.
[849] ASF, AD 25, 20r.
[850] ASF, AD 101, 131v.

grandchild'), which refers here to art or *disegno*.[851] The oldest surviving document, on which this device was used, dates from 1597.[852] Later, the emblem changed into three wreaths of laurel, olive, and oak, and the motto changed into *Levan di terra al ciel nostro intelletto* ('Elevate our intellect from earth to heaven'), which is an adaptation from a line of one of Petrarch's sonnets (fig. 32).[853]

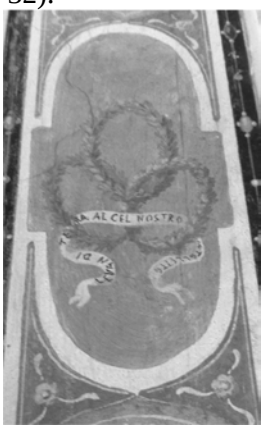


Figure 32. *Impresa* of the Accademia del Disegno with the motto 'Levan di terra al ciel nostro intelletto', Cappella della Santissima Trinità, Santissima Annunziata, Florence (photo: author)

By using the emblem of the intertwined garlands, the Accademia del Disegno adopted Michelangelo's personal device, which consisted of three intertwined circles. In his 'Life of Michelangelo', Vasari had written that at the master's funeral in 1564 the academicians had changed the circles into crowns, thereby also altering the meaning of the device. Vasari states that with the three intertwined circles Michelangelo wanted to express that the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting are inextricably connected and mutually benefit from each other. By transforming the circles into crowns, the academicians meant to express their conviction that Michelangelo was perfect in all three professions.[854]

[851] The phrase is adopted from Dante's *Inferno* XI, 103: 'L'arte vostra quella, quanto puote / Seque, come il maestro fa il discente / Si che vostr'arte a Dio quasi è nipote' ('Art, as far as it is able / follows nature, as a pupil imitates his master / thus your art must be, as it were, God's grandchild').

[852] The *impresa* is rendered within a brass circle on the cover of a book that contains a copy of the statutes of the Accademia del Disegno from 1585. ASF, AD 5. According to Waźbiński (1987, I, 175-176), the old seal of the confraternity was replaced some years earlier, in 1594.

[853] The fresco in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità with the current version of the *impresa* probably is an eighteenth-century restoration. It is not certain whether it is a faithful copy of the original painting in the chapel or whether changes were made. See Zangheri 2013, 97.

[854] Vasari 1966-1987, VI, 139.

With the adoption of the three crowns as emblem and seal of the institution in 1597 (or earlier), the academicians transformed this personal device into a collective and institutional one, while retaining the reference to their illustre colleague.[855]

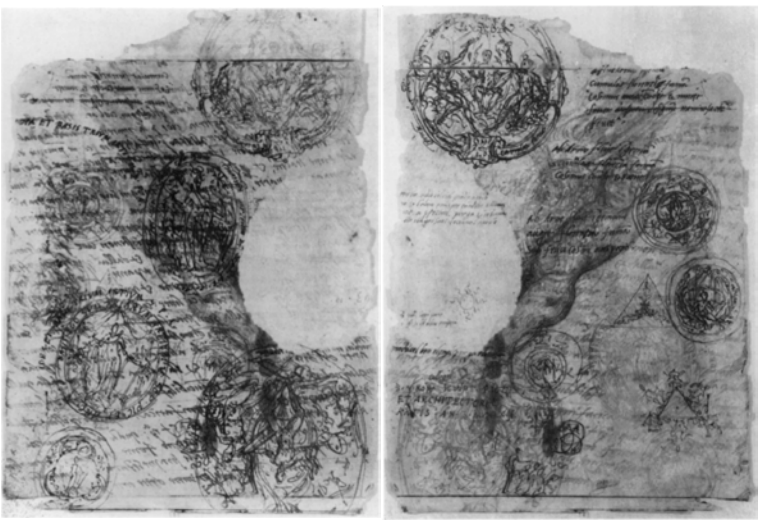
It has been argued on the basis of two visual sources that the academy already adopted Michelangelo's device in the 1570s (instead of in 1597). On Michelangelo's tomb monument in Santa Croce, executed by members of the academy and finished in 1574, three crowns of laurel are represented. It has been suggested that this device not only referred to Michelangelo, but also to the academy, i.e. that it served as a kind of maker's mark of the institution. The other source is the watercolor drawing by the painter Domenico di Francesco Schiena, discussed in the previous chapter, in which the artist presents his designs for the formal attire of the officials of the academy (see fig. 30).[856] At the far left side of the drawing, not completely intact but still clearly visible, are three intertwined crowns on a staff, which is held by a figure, who is identified in the accompanying description as the messenger from the grand ducal palace (*Il tavolaccino concesso dal palazzo*).[857] Although suggestive, these visual sources are insufficient evidence to conclude that the academy employed the intertwined garlands as a seal and emblem already in the 1570s. The crowns of laurel on Michelangelo's tomb monument could refer to him alone; and Schiena's inclusion of the crowns on the staff in his drawing could be a proposal for the emblem, rather than a confirmation that it was already in use.

[855] It should be noted, however, that Michelangelo's employment of this emblem is disputed. The artist is said to have drawn the intertwined circles on marble blocks that he wanted to use for the sculptures in the Medici chapel in San Lorenzo around 1520. Not only are other uses of this device by Michelangelo unknown, but it has even been doubted whether the circles on the marble blocks refer to the artist. Paolo Giovio in his *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* (1555) stated that the *impresa* of Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici consisted of three interconnected rings. This means that the circles on Michelangelo's marble blocks could have also referred to the Medici. See Ważbiński 1987, I, 173. More important than the question whether or not Michelangelo himself actually used the three intertwined circles as his personal emblem, is the fact that the academicians' attributed it to him. Their adaptation of this device meant both that they payed homage to their honorary member and that they presented their institution as the heir of his artistic achievements. Moreover, it has been noted that there existed substantial overlap between (the elements of) the *imprese* in different academies, as well as in the nicknames of the academicians. According to Ciardi (1995, 53-54), like the device of the Accademia del Disegno, Francesco Colonna's *impresa* also consisted of three intertwined crowns of oak, laurel and olive.

[856] Schiena's drawing can be found in a volume of 'miscellaneous important documents' in the academy's archive. ASF, AD 157, ins. 3. He appended it to his petition to Grand Duke Francesco I about issues related to the institution as guild (*magistrato*).

[857] See Zangheri 2013, 94-97.

It seems that of the many designs that, according to Vasari, were considered for the new *impresa*, only those of Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli and Benvenuto Cellini have survived.[858] Montorsoli's sketches are very rudimentary and, therefore, most likely did not belong to the booklet of designs for the duke, mentioned by Vasari. These drawings and the accompanying inscriptions, which include the date 1562, are placed on both sides of a page, which previously was part of a sketchbook (figs. 33 and 34).[859] Another page from the same sketchbook contains descriptions and explanations of (some of) the drawings.[860] This text is an important aid in the analysis of the sketches, because the subjects and figures of some of them can barely made out due to water stains and the ink that shines through from the reverse side of the page.



Figures 33 and 34. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, Designs for the seal or emblem of the Accademia del Disegno, New York, Ian Woodner Family Collection (Wd 568r) (left) and (Wd 568v) (right) (from: Laschke 1987, 398-399)

[858] Furthermore, there are two short and undated letters from the sculptor and goldsmith Domenico Poggini and the painter Stefano di Piero Pieri, in which they describe their ideas for the new academy's seal. See Bottari/Ticozzi 1822-1825, I, 265-267.
[859] See for the identification of Montorsoli as the author of the sketches, Laschke 1987, 392.
[860] This second page also contains a design for the tombstone in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità in Santissima Annunziata. Both pages are part of the Ian Woodner Family Collection in New York.

Montorsoli's designs can be divided into three iconographic groups.[861] To the first group belong the sketches that represent personifications of *Disegno* flanked by the arts of painting and sculpture. These are the drawings in the lower right corner of the recto part of the page (fig. 33) and in the upper left corner of the verso part (fig. 34). In his left hand *Disegno* holds a drawing board and he has a stylus or pencil in his right. Plants, rocks, and rays of the sun shining through the clouds indicate that the figures are seated outdoors. A poem, written to the right of the sketch on the verso side, refers to the fame and glory of the city of Florence and the academy's patron Cosimo I de' Medici.[862]

To the second group of Montorsoli's designs belong sketches, on the verso side of the page, with symbolizations of the unity of the three arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture (fig. 34). These drawings include an isosceles triangle with the instruments that are used by the artists on its corners. Another sketch consists of three intertwined circles containing small signs that probably also symbolize the three arts. This design is a reference to Michelangelo's device, which was later adopted and adapted by the academy.

The final group of designs consists of personifications or representations of *Disegno* alone. For instance, on the recto part of the page (fig. 33) – the three sketches from the lower left corner to the middle of the page – *Disegno* is rendered as a naked youth standing on a sphere, which, according to the accompanying description symbolizes earth or matter (*la terra cioe la materia*). The two inscriptions read: BASIS EGO SUM TRIARIUM ARTIUM V[IDELICET] SC[UL]P[TURAE] PIC[TURAE] ET ARC[HITTETURAE] ('It is clear that I am the foundation of the three arts sculpture, painting, architecture') and IDEA ET BASIS TRIUM ARTIUM S.P.A. ('Idea and basis of the three arts sculpture, painting, architecture'). This means that these sketches convey the notion that *disegno* is is the principle and foundation of these three arts, as it had been put forward by Varchi in his lectures for the Accademia Fiorentina in the 1540s.[863]

On the verso side *disegno* is represented in two drawings as a hand holding a stylus or a pencil (fig. 34). It has thus far not been noticed that precisely this last image is also present on the staffs of the two *donzelli* (messengers) in Domenico Schiena's drawing with the proposals for the costumes of the officials of the institution (see fig. 30). This means either that around 1580 the academy used two emblems, i.e. the Michelangelesque garlands and Montorsoli's hand with stylus, or that

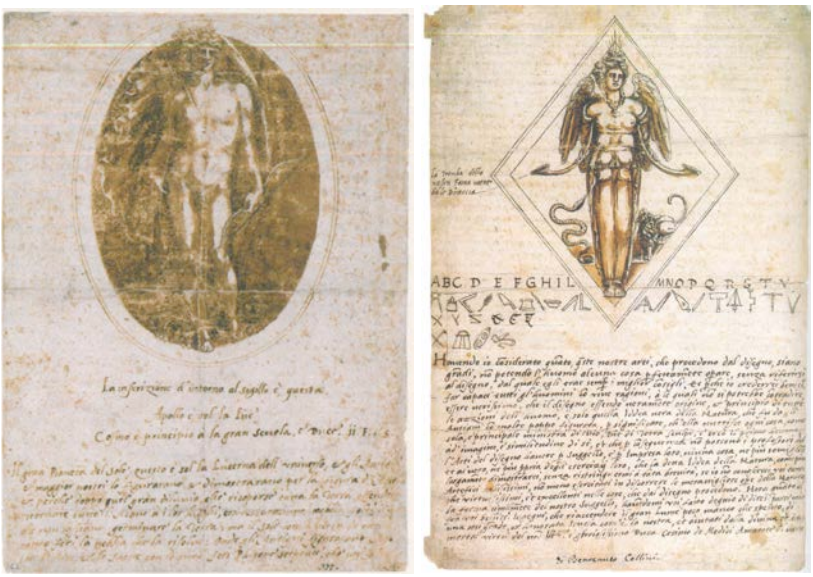
[861] Laschke 1987. The following interpretation of Montorsoli's designs is based on this article.
[862] The page contains three versions of the poem. Laschke 1987, 393.
[863] See section 9.2.

none was yet selected, and that Schiena simply gave two suggestions in his drawing.[864] In any case, it is noteworthy that one of Montorsoli's design from the early 1560s is adopted in this drawing, because it is another confirmation that the sculptor remained more influential in the academy in this period than has been asserted by scholars, who attribute the foundation and early functioning of the institution almost exclusively to Vasari and Cosimo I (and Borghini).

By Cellini's hand are extant five watercolor pen drawings with two different designs for the seal of the Accademia del Disegno. They are much more finished than the sketches of Montorsoli. In one of the drawings, housed in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich, Cellini has depicted Apollo, the Greek god of the sun, holding a bow in his left hand and a snake is visible at his right-hand side (fig. 35). For the inscription of the seal, the artist proposed the following lines: *Apollo è sol la luce, Cosmo è principio a la gran scuola, e Duce* ('Apollo is only the light, Cosimo is the founder of the great school, and leader/Duke'). In the accompanying description of the meaning of the design, Cellini compares the sun, symbolized by Apollo, to *disegno*. As the sun is the true light of the universe, which with its rays dispels the clouds on earth and lets grow plants, herbs, flowers, *disegno* is the light of all the actions carried out by man in all professions, and with his *disegno* he decorates earth with cities, buildings, and beautiful figures of marble, metal, paintings, and so on. Moreover, Cellini states that *disegno* is of two kinds, the first is produced in the imagination and the second is what is demonstrated with lines. The bow and the serpent refer to the ancient myth, in which Apollo kills the snake Python. According to Cellini, like the rays of the sun pierce and dissolve the mist, Apollo's arrows pierce and destroy the serpent.[865]

[864] The object portrayed on the fourth staff in Schiena's drawing is the grand ducal crown, which is an allusion to the patron of the Accademia del Disegno.

[865] See for a transcription Bohde 2003, 120 and Vezzosi 2015, 179-180: 'perché il disegno è di due sorte, il primo è quello che si fa nell'Immaginativa, et il secondo tratto da quello si dimostra con Linee (…).'



Figures 35 and 36. Benvenuto Cellini, *Apollo* (left) and *Artemis* (right), Designs for the seal or emblem of the Accademia del Disegno, ca. 1563, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, München and The British Museum, London (From: Meijer/Zangheri 2015, II, figs. 88 and 91)

Cellini's other design – in four extant versions – represents Artemis, the Greek goddess of the hunt, the moon and fertility, as the 'lady of Ephesus' with many breasts and trumpets of fame attached to her arms. Two versions of the design contain an elaborate description of its meaning as well as an iconic or pseudo-hieroglyphic alphabet with instruments that are used by artists (fig. 36).[866] In the accompanying text, Cellini explains that the art of *disegno* is the true mother of all human actions, like Artemis is the true idea or goddess of nature (*la vera idea della natura*) as she was represented in Antiquity. The ambiguity of the Italian word *idea*, which could stand both for 'idea' and 'goddess' (*Iddea*), highlights Cellini's understanding of *disegno* as a mental or intellectual process or image that causes human actions.[867]

In addition, Cellini again praises the most glorious, illustrious, and 'saint' Cosimo for protecting such a great school. The lion to the right of Artemis refers to the strength of the school and the serpent to the left symbolizes the duke, who sometimes used this animal as his personal *impresa*. The trumpets that are attached to her arms and held in her hand

[866] See for transcriptions Bohde 2003, 120-122 and Vezzosi 2015, 180-182.
[867] This ambiguity is absent in the accompanying text of the second version of the design, where Cellini uses the word *Iddea* in his description. See Trottein 2012, 12.

refer to the fact that the fame of the artists derives from these parts of the body (*la tromba della nostra fama venne dalle braccia*).[868]

Furthermore, Cellini elucidates why his seal has the form of a diamond. The four sides and angles refer to the four elements and to the four arts of *disegno*, adding the art of the goldsmith – an art he practiced himself – to painting, sculpture, and architecture. Cellini judges sculpture to be the first of the arts of *disegno*, because God sculpted man from clay after his own image. He calls painting both marvelous and sensual *(maravigliosa et lasciva*) and architecture very useful. Finally Cellini states that with the alphabet in the form of the instruments used by the artists of *disegno* he desired, 'humbly', to present an alternative to the characters (*caratteri*) of the Egyptians, Greeks, Hebrews, Romans, and Tuscans.[869]

As mentioned, in the end, the *impresa* that was, and still is, employed by the Florentine art academy is that of the three intertwined garlands. This image contains a straightforward symbolical message of the unity of the three arts of *disegno* that is at odds not only with most of the surviving designs but also with the *imprese* of the other cultural academies discussed in this chapter, including that of the Accademia Fiorentina. The other sketches (e.g. those of Cellini) and devices (e.g. those of the Accademia degli Umoristi and the Accademia dei Gelati) contain more complex meanings through references to elemental or astrological mysticism and alchemical hermetism, e.g. the four elements and humors.[870] Whereas the conceptual aspect dominated the impresa in the literary academies, it seemed to have been less important in the designs of the Accademia del Disegno.

In the past, several plausible reasons have been given why the *impresa* of the three garlands was elected. In the first place, as mentioned, by adapting the emblem attributed to Michelangelo the academy meant to forge a visual symbolic relationship between itself and the artist who contemporaries viewed as perfect in all three arts of *disegno*.[871] It has been noted that an additional advantage of this choice was that it would not cause any (more) strife or jealousy amongst the academicians, who each, no doubt, desired their own design to be elected.[872] Second, the design of the intertwined garlands was easier to reproduce in different

[868] In what is considered to be the earliest version of this design, housed in the Biblioteca Comunale e Archivio Storico 'Piero Calamandrei' di Montepulciano, the trumpets of fame are even drawn in place of the arms of the goddess. See Trottein 2012, 10-11.
[869] Vezzosi 2015, 180-181.
[870] Mendelsohn (1982, 23 and 205-206, n. 54) argues that especially Cellini's designs are modelled on the elemental symbolism that had been popular in Accademia degli Umidi (and Fiorentina). See also Trottein 2012, 12.
[871] Ważbiński 1987, I, 174-176.
[872] Zangheri 2013, 95-96.

sizes and in different media, e.g. engraving, paint, and architectural ornaments.[873] By contrast, Cellini's designs, for instance, were not only iconographically but also technically complex, i.e. difficult to reproduce, especially as a seal. Third, because of its Trinitarian theme, the selected design made the seal and *impresa* also more appropriate for use by the confraternal part of the institution than the other compositions.[874] Finally, in contrast to the emblem of the Accademia Fiorentina, the seal and *impresa* of the Accademia del Disegno had no direct reference to its patron, the grand duke. As discussed, Cellini's and some of Montorsoli's designs also contain explicit references to Cosimo I. The fact that none of these drawings was elected as the academy's *impresa* has been interpreted by one scholar as evidence that Cosimo I conceived of his role in the Accademia Fiorentina differently than in the Accademia del Disegno: whereas the duke wanted to be seen as an absolute and generous ruler in the literary academy, he preferred the role of father or confraternity elder in the art academy.[875]

One or several of these reasons must have played a role in the choice for the seal and *impresa* of the academy. In any case, it is interesting that Montorsoli's hand with the stylus is a direct reference to the practical and physical activity of drawing (*disegnare*). The fact that it was represented in Domenico Schiena's design for the attire of the officers of the academy shows that the manual aspect of *disegno* was not ignored or neglected in the institution. Furthermore, Cellini's explanation of *disegno* being of two kinds, mental and imaginative, on the one hand, and physical and practical, on the other, points in the same direction. The artists interpreted *disegno* as a bridge between the formerly separated realms of mind and hand.

7.5.2. The impresa *of the Accademia di San Luca*

The discussions about the *impresa* of the Roman art academy in the meetings during Zuccari's presidency are described by Romano Alberti. The author recounts how, together with the amateurs and *letterati*, the academicians spent the better part of two meetings discussing inventions for the academy's *impresa*. This means that, contrary to the Accademia del Disegno, amateurs and *letterati* participated in the first meetings of

[873] Vezzosi 2015, 175.
[874] This reason is not explicitly mentioned by other scholars. However, it is obvious that this reason played a role in the decision, given the centrality of the Trinity in the iconographic program of the decorations in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità. See section 5.4 and Jonker 2017.
[875] Van Veen 2006, 175-177.

the Accademia di San Luca. According to Alberti, the starting point for the discussion about the *impresa* of the Accademia di San Luca was the absence of the architect Giacomo Della Porta in one of the meetings. Della Porta was supposed to give a lecture about architecture, but he sent an excuse because he had other affairs to attend to. At this point Federico Zuccari proposed that the members could elect an *impresa* for the academy, in order 'to keep the many beautiful intellects from outside the profession [i.e. the gentlemen and amateurs] entertained'. The president ordered that the *imprese* should allude to the three arts of *disegno*.[876]

Alberti states that many *imprese* were discussed during this and the following meeting. Most of these alluded, in one way or another, to *disegno* as the common foundation of the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture. For instance, one drawing showed a cube with three of its sides visible, while it touched the ground with one of its corners and it was kept in balance by a finger hovering above it. Another design represented an olive tree with three branches and a mirror hanging from one of them. Alberti does not give the mottos of the imprese.

After most academicians had proposed an *impresa* everyone turned to Zuccari and asked him to present his own ideas. The president replied that he not yet wanted to reveal his design because he had not given the matter much thought. At that point a young boy walked in and handed another drawing of an *impresa* to the president. It represented a lantern with bright light shining through three of its windows, and less light from its others. The motto read *Sic Operatur* ('it operates thus').[877] Alberti's explanation of the *impresa* is that after being illuminated with a divine spark, the lantern, which alluded to *disegno*, overcomes all darkness with its three principal windows, which referred to the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture. As a whole the image symbolized the operations of *disegno* in the human mind and body.[878]

According to Alberti, after this episode with the *impresa* of the lantern the president was asked again to present his own *impresa*. He said that he had thought about an image of the sun shining through three holes in the clouds. Where the rays touched the ground everything would be fertile, and where the clouds blocked the sun all would be dry, sterile and uncultivated. Zuccari said that the motto could be something similar to that of the lantern, because he wanted to express nothing more than that

[876] Alberti 1604/1961, 27: 'il Sig. Principe propose, per trattehere molti bellissimi intelletti che vi erano fuor di professione, e che si discorresse sopra al fare elettione di qualche impresa, degna di quest'Academia del Disegno (…) che alludesse alle tre professioni del disegno (…).'
[877] See, for the discussion of the imprese Alberti 1604/1961, 26-34.
[878] Alberti 1604/1961, 32. Zuccari would further develop these ideas later in his *L'idea*. See below.

disegno produces the same effect in our intellects and work as the sun does on earth, namely to give life and nourishment to all things.[879]

However, Zuccari concluded his explanation by saying that he actually liked the metaphor of the lantern better, because it was more modest than that of the sun and more appropriate for the art academy. This is, of course, an interesting remark because it says something about how Zuccari perceived the status of the arts. Alberti recounts how this started a debate about the last two *imprese*, which ended with all accepting the one of the lantern as the device of the academy. In the end, this *impresa*, which, not surprisingly, also turned out to be an invention of the president, was hung in the room of the academy.

Unfortunately no image of the *impresa* of the lantern seems to have survived.[880] However, the archive of the Accademia di San Luca houses two documents of later dates with sketches of the *impresa* of the sun, which have not yet been discussed in the literature. The first of these documents contains an undated draft for a letter about taxing the Roman art dealers for the upkeep of the church. Neither the name of the sender, nor that of the intended recipient is written.[881] The sketches, which are on the verso, appear to be unrelated to the letter. They consist of two simple geometrical figures, a very rudimentary sketch of something in an oval frame, and a slightly more developed drawing, which corresponds to Alberti's description of the *impresa* with the sun (fig. 37). The connection to Alberti's text is strengthened by the two lines in Latin: *ferax cum feriunt / semper idem semper eodem* ('fertile when it strikes / always the same at the same place'). Especially the first phrase links the sketch to Alberti's description of Zuccari's *impresa* of the sun.

[879] Alberti 1604/1961, 33.
[880] Alberti's book contains two poems in praise of this 'luminous lantern', one written by Silvio Passeri of the Academia degli Intenti, and the other by Zuccari, but under his nickname as member of the Accademia degli Insensati, *Il Sonnachioso* (the Drowsy one).
[881] AASL 72, 97.

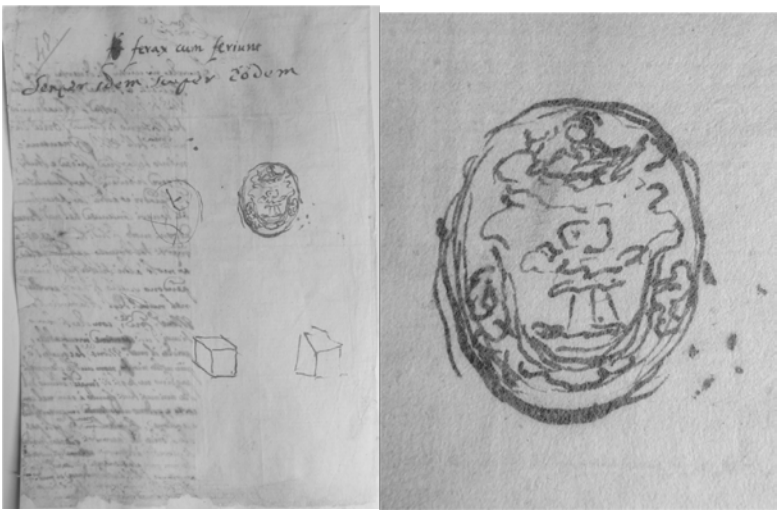


Figure 37. Page with Designs for the *Impresa* of the Accademia di San Luca (left) and detail (right), AASL 72, 97v (photo: author)

In the second document this connection is confirmed. It is dated May 5, 1675 and it contains notes (possibly minutes from a meeting) about construction or maintenance work to be carried out, educational activities to be organized, and about the seal (*sugillo*) of the academy.[882] Concerning this last topic the note states that it was considered to execute the Zuccari's *impresa* of the sun with three rays piercing through the clouds, making everything fertile were they touch earth, and leaving everything sterile where they do not. As motto, *Ferax cum feriunt* is proposed. The sketches are located to the right of the text and correspond not only with Alberti's text but also with the drawing on the first document (fig. 38). This suggests that both documents and the sketches were composed around the same time, i.e. 1675. Although these particular sketches date from a later period and are, therefore, not the ones discussed by Alberti, they give an idea of how the design of this *impresa* might have looked. Thereby, they illustrate Alberti's narrative about the discussion of the *imprese* in the academy.

[882] AASL 72, 185r-186v.

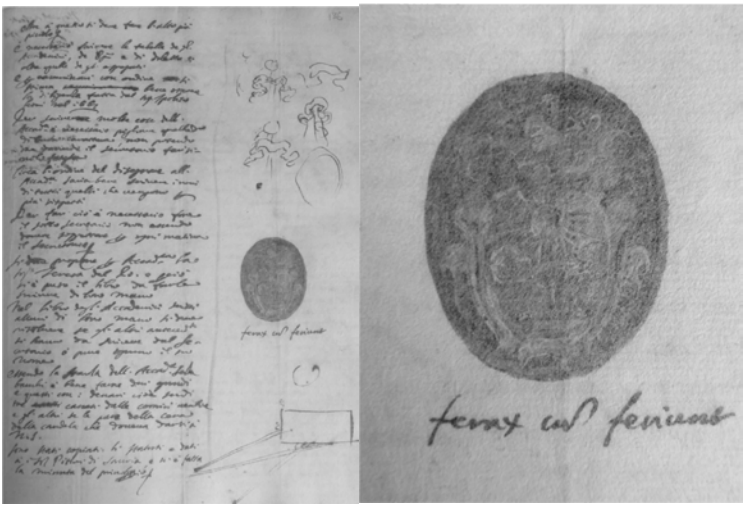


Figure 38. Page with Designs for the *Impresa* of the Accademia di San Luca (left) and detail (right), AASL 72, 186r (photo: author)

Together the iconographic and the verbal element of the *impresa* expressed the essence of the art academy. Like the sun, *disegno* is fertile everywhere it is active. The fact that the members of the Accademia di San Luca considered Zuccari's device of the sun as their seal in the second half of the seventeenth century suggests two things. On the one hand, it becomes clear that the design of the lantern was no longer in use at that point. In fact, it seems to have been discarded already before 1607. For, in the statutes that were approved in that year, it is stated that both the seal and the *impresa* of the academy still have to be formed.[883] On the other hand, the fact that the academicians considered Zuccari's image of the sun as their *impresa* shows that they were no longer inhibited by the same (false) modesty as the first president of the institution.

By discussing the inventions for the *impresa* in the Accademia di San Luca, the academicians attempted to integrate literary and visual-art practices. In this context, it is noteworthy that Zuccari first proposed to have the discussion in order to entertain the 'beautiful minds from outside of the profession' and later also was interested in the opinion of the *amatori* on the matter.[884] Compared to the *imprese* of other academies the contribution of the emblem seems to have been greater than that of the motto, because the relation between text and image is more straightforward and less allusive. In 1705, the Accademia di San Luca adopted the current *impresa*, which represents a triangle – formed by a

[883] AASL, Statuti 1607, 27r.
[884] Alberti 1604/1961, 27.

brush, a chisel and compasses – as a symbol for the three arts, and it has the motto *Aequa potestas* ('equal in strength' or 'equal in ability'), borrowed from Horace (fig. 39), where it refers to the equal license that poets and painters have always had to dare anything.[885]

Figure 39. Current *Impresa* of the Accademia di San Luca (from: Moschini 2015, 3)

7.6. Conclusion

Vasari's identification of the Studio di Pisa and the Accademia Fiorentina as models for the Accademia del Disegno is more justified with respect to the literary academy than with respect to the university. Knowledge practices at the universities of the sixteenth centuries were almost exclusively theoretical and text-based. By contrast, the early cultural academies in Italy were more practically oriented, although theories and texts were also important here. For, their members were equally interested in learning and attaining theoretical knowledge and in producing poems, plays, dances, operas and scientific texts. This means that the transformation of the traditional and hierarchical opposition between theory and practice partly took place in such cultural academies, and not just at the courts of certain 'enlightened' rulers.

The Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca had more in common with the Accademia Fiorentina than with most other cultural academies, insofar as they were more formal and less playful. This has to do with their respective connections to the Florentine state and the papacy, respectively. Another reason for the serious character of the art academies was that the activities employed by the academicians were not part of their leisure time – as with the activities in the cultural academies for their members – but these concerned their profession and, thus, their livelihood.

[885] Pietrangeli 1974, 19. The phrase is derived from Horace's *Ars poetica*, where it refers to the arts of painting and poetry: 'Pictoribus atque poetis quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas' (Painters and poets have always had equal license to dare anything').

An example of this formality can be found in the discussions about the *imprese*. The invention of a seal and an *impresa* combined theoretical and practical or productive interests of the members of the art academies, as in other academies. Moreover, they did so in a similar intellectual and serious manner. Although playfulness was also present in the art academies, insofar as devices with references to elemental mysticism were considered, in the end more serious and uncomplicated images were chosen. What is more, in contrast to most of the members of the cultural academies discussed in this chapter, the artists who joined the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca did not take on any nicknames, nor did they use individual devices as academicians.