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The academization of art

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

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Chapter Eight

Educational Practices in the Art Academies

8.1. Introduction

The discussion of the material culture of the art academies in Chapter Four made it possible to give a preliminary indication of the educational practices performed in these institutions. For instance, the presence of books about mathematics in the Accademia di San Luca and that of spheric globes and a blackboard in the Accademia del Disegno suggest that mathematical instruction was given in both academies, *and* that it was probably more important in the latter. Conversely, the large amount of plaster casts in the Accademia di San Luca probably means that learning the profession by drawing such objects played a larger role here than in Florence. It is now time to analyze other archival and published sources in order to see to what extent these and other educational activities were carried out in the academies.

Before 1563 the training of artists in Italy was carried out exclusively by masters in their workshops (*botteghe*) and was regulated by the guilds. This training had a predominant practical character and the workshop was organized around a fixed sequence of manual and technical tasks: grinding pigments, preparing panels, and practicing drawing by copying casts of sculptures or works of masters. Students would practice such skills before being allowed to help out on works that were produced for sale. After several years of practical training and assistance – and, depending on the master, occasional theoretical lessons about geometry and anatomy – the young artist could inscribe himself as master in the guild and set up his own workshop. However, many stayed longer in the shop of their masters or never left at all.⁸⁸⁶

This means that contacts with artists from other workshops were limited to guild meetings and, especially, to the feast days organized by the confraternity. The foundation of the art academies entailed an important expansion of the opportunities in which artists could meet each other. What is more, this was not only a quantitative extension, but also a qualitative change, insofar as painters, sculptors, and architects from

⁸⁸⁶ Goldstein 1996, 11-12.

different workshops now came together in the same institution in order to discuss the technical, theoretical, and practical matters of their arts.

8.2. *Outlines of the curriculum of the Accademia del Disegno*

The *loci classici* for the claim that one of the main goals of the Accademia del Disegno was the improvement of the education of artists are Vasari's 'Life of Montorsoli' and the incorporating statutes (and addenda) of 1563. Vasari writes that the function of the academy was not only to govern the institution, but also to teach 'those who did not know' (*chi non sapeva*) and to encourage those who did know to 'acquire more' through 'honored and praiseworthy competition'.⁸⁸⁷ Vasari's use of the verb *sapere* instead of *conoscere* – both meaning 'to know' – in this description of the objective of the academy is relevant from a practice-theoretical perspective. Whereas *conoscere* is predominantly used in the sense of 'knowing theoretically' or 'knowing that', *sapere* can signify both 'knowing intellectually' and 'to know how' or 'to be able to'.⁸⁸⁸ This shows that Vasari conceived of curriculum of the Accademia del Disegno as consisting of both practical and theoretical instruction.

The incorporating statutes contain more details concerning the intended educational goals of the Accademia del Disegno. In the introductory *capitolo* it is written that the best of the *uomini del disegno* should come together 'to create an academy and studio for the benefit of the young men who learn these three arts'.⁸⁸⁹ It has been argued that, here, the words *academia* and *studio* are synonyms, and that the latter was derived from *studium* or *studium generale*, that is to say, a place of higher education where scholars and students from all over the world were welcome to study, i.e. a university.⁸⁹⁰ The statutes, indeed, mention that artists from all nations (*di qual natione si sia*) could join.⁸⁹¹ This

⁸⁸⁷ See Section 7.1. It is interesting that in his first speech for the Accademia di San Luca, Zuccari also states that the method for advancing in the arts is competition. See below.

⁸⁸⁸ This interpretation is supported by the lemma of 'sapere' in the Vocabolario delle Crusca of 1612 (<http://vocabolario.sns.it>, visited on September 8, 2016). There the verb refers to intellectual knowledge ('Avere certa cognizione d'una cosa per via di ragione' and to knowing as skill or capability ('Saper far tanto, cioè di maniera'). 'Conoscere', on the other hand, is described as knowing theoretically or scientifically ('Apprendere con lo 'ntelletto a prima giunta, per mezzo de' sensi, l'essere degli oggetti') or as being acquainted with something or someone.

⁸⁸⁹ Wazbiński 1987, II, 425-426 (section I): '(...) per fare una Accademia et Studio a utilità dei giovani che imparano quese tre arti (...).'

⁸⁹⁰ Dempsey 1980, 554.

⁸⁹¹ Wazbiński 1987, II, 425 (section I). See also section III, *ibid*, 427: 'et vuole [: the duke] che ne sieno tanto Fiorentini, quanto del suo Ducal Dominio, et ancora d'ogni sorte natione (...).'

would mean that the educational and scholarly role of the Accademia del Disegno as envisioned in the incorporating statutes is similar to the one referred to by Vasari when he connected its foundation to the reopening of the University of Pisa and the establishment of the Accademia Fiorentina.⁸⁹² Whereas these latter institutions stimulated the study of theology, law, medicine, mathematics, natural philosophy and letters, the Accademia del Disegno was to do the same for the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

The nature of the studies in de academy is described in the incorporating statutes and the addenda. In section II of the addenda, it is ordered that anatomical dissections were supposed to be held at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Moreover, in section XXXII of the incorporating statutes it is stated that each year three masters (*maestri*), a painter, an architect, and a sculptor, have to be elected for teaching the youths all things related to the arts of *disegno*. This should either be done in an unspecified site of the academy or in the workshops of these masters. Furthermore, the academy planned lectures on Euclid, Vitruvius, and other mathematicians.⁸⁹³ No other lecture topics are mentioned in the statutes.

The following section of the incorporating statutes shows that the teaching of the *maestri* was supposed to consist not only of practical lessons and theoretical lectures, but also of examining and correcting the works of the young art students. For, the masters had to visit the *giovani* in their workshops and inspect all their products.⁸⁹⁴ Moreover, it is stated that these works cannot leave the workshops before the *maestri* have inspected them, so that errors can be corrected. It is emphasized that the examinations should be carried out in a gentle way (*con amorevolezza*) and with consideration of the age and talent of each pupil.⁸⁹⁵ This means that, in contrast to traditional educational practices, in the academies art students were supposed to be instructed by masters other than their own.

Several things should be noted here. In the first place, the observance of this rule would have entailed an overlap of the educational and guild practices in the academy. The examination of the works of the

⁸⁹² Vasari 1966-1987, V, 507. See section 7.1.

⁸⁹³ Waźbiński 1987, II, 432 (section XXXII): 'et ci sia chi legga Euclide, Vetruvio et l'altre mathematiche.'

⁸⁹⁴ Visits to the workshops of young artists are also anticipated in section eight of the addenda to the incorporating statutes from July 1563. There it is stated that when requested to do so, the consuls or other masters of the academy are obliged go to the studios of young art students to instruct them. The objective of this measure was to ensure that there would always be able or worthy men in the art of *disegno*. Waźbiński 1987, II, 443: 'Et a fine che nell'Accademia e Compagnia nostra si habbiano a venire allevando sempre huomini che possano riuscir valenti nell'Arte del Disegno (...).'

⁸⁹⁵ Waźbiński 1987, II, 432-433 (section XXXIII).

youths would not only improve their skills but also protect the market from inferior products. In this context, it is interesting that a marginal note in the manuscript of the statutes in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale states that this would not hold for artists painting ‘ordinary things’, such as strongboxes and foot stools, and working in retail workshops (*bottega aperta*).⁸⁹⁶ The implication is that these ‘ordinary’ artists are not included in the category of *disegno*. This confirms that, like in Rome, there also was a distinction between ordinary painters and artists or *valentuomini* in Florence.⁸⁹⁷

Second, artistic education in the academy was not supposed to replace traditional workshop training. Young students still learned the basics of the trade from masters in their workshops. The academy ‘only’ supplemented this basic practical training with drawing classes and theoretical lectures. Still, this addition would have entailed a revolution in the teaching of painting, sculpture and architecture. For the first time students from different workshops would meet each other in an educational setting, namely during lectures on mathematics and anatomical dissections.⁸⁹⁸

Finally, it should be noted that the academy not only specified the goal of the education, namely to maintain a high level artistic expertise in Florence, but also the manner in which the *maestri* should correct the students, namely *con amorevolezza*. This means that both aspects of Schatzki’s teleoaffective structure of the educational practices were prescribed by the academy. The normative and hierarchized goals (*telos*) of the educational practices were to consist of traditional workshop training and subsequent common drawing classes and theoretical lectures, whereas the mood (affectivity) of the teachers in the instruction and correction of youths had to be gentle.

There are other important innovations relating to art education specified in the statutes. An exhibition space was to be created where works (finished or unfinished – *perfetti o imperfetti*), left by academicians on their deaths, would be on display. In addition, a library was to be made, in which designs, models and plans from artists would be conserved in order to create a *studio* for young artists for the maintenance of these arts.⁸⁹⁹ In contrast to the opening section of the statutes where *studio* refers to a university *qua* institution, here the term has a more narrow meaning, as it denotes a specific location, where artists can

⁸⁹⁶ Ważbiński 1987, II, 432.

⁸⁹⁷ However, it should be reiterated that that the art market in Rome was much larger and, therefore, more difficult to control by the academy than in Florence.

⁸⁹⁸ Barzman 1989a, 459.

⁸⁹⁹ Ważbiński 1987, II, 432 (section XXXI): ‘(...) farne uno studio per i giovani per mantenimento di quest’arti.’

examine and copy works of others. In other words, here *studio* refers to a workshop and, thus, to the site where the practical instruction of the institution would take place. In contrast to the opening section of the statutes, *studio* is here not synonymous with *accademia*, but together these terms denote the two parts of the educational program: theoretical instruction in the *accademia* and practical training in the *studio*.

Finally, for the perfection of their studies four times a year the members of the academy were supposed to bring with them to the meetings a design or relief by their own hands, which was to be judged by the consuls. The best artists were elected to contribute designs for the works of art that were used in the processions and ceremonies of the feasts of San Luca and the Santi Quattro Coronati (Four Crowned Saints).⁹⁰⁰

An archival document from the second half of the 1570s gives a more elaborate presentation of the educational activities that were to be carried out in the Accademia del Disegno. This is the proposal for the academic curriculum drafted by Zuccari, which was already addressed in relation to the discussion of the Cappella della Santissima Trinità as headquarters of the institution.⁹⁰¹ In the beginning of the document, Zuccari states that the academy had given him the task to put the academic studies back on their feet (*rimettere in piedi li studii*) and he complains about the lack of teaching in the academy.

In his outline for the educational program Zuccari states that the young beginners should regularly bring samples of their work into the academy, so that it can be corrected. This was a small change compared to the incorporating statutes, where the corrections would be carried out in the workshops. Other rules in Zuccari's outline were, however, similar, if not identical to those of the statutes. According to Zuccari, in the summertime the academy should organize life drawing (*ritrarre dal naturale*), because this is a necessary foundation of the arts; teachers or masters were to be elected for terms of four months, during which they were to correct the youths *amorevolmente*, and to teach them the principles of the profession, such as the proportions and measurements of the figures. These masters were also to hold discussions and lectures about topics related to the arts, for instance, about how one should work in clay and wax or how one should represent the affects. An important role in the teaching process was given to models and examples. These models could come either from nature or from the *valenthuomini* from the

⁹⁰⁰ See sections 31, 32, and 34 of the incorporating statutes. And see for the Santi Quattro Coronati Rossi 1980, 176.

⁹⁰¹ BNCF, II.IV.311, 134r-136v. The letter is published in Barzman 2000, 243-246. Although undated, Zuccari has probably written it between 1575 and 1578 when he was working in Florence. See also section 4.2.3.

past, whose works should be copied. Zuccari stresses that the examples should come from the *valenthuomini* and not from ‘the works of John or Peter’ (*opere di Giovanni o di Piero*). In addition, lessons should be organized about architecture, perspective, and mathematics. He also states that awards were to be given to the best students, so that they would work even harder; and, finally, two books had to be bought, one for keeping the best drawings of the students and the other for recording the academic lessons. It is the only time that such a book is mentioned in the documents and it is not certain whether it was ever bought. In any case such a book is not present in the archive of the academy.

The similarity outline of the curriculum in the statutes of 1563 and Zuccari’s draft of the end of the 1570s shows that educational practices were a continued concern for the academy and that it at least had a fairly detailed plan of how these practices would be carried out and improved within its walls.

8.3. Performance of educational practices in the Florentine academy

To what extent were the ambitious educational innovations prescribed in the academy’s incorporating statutes actually implemented in and by the institution in its early years? In the past, scholars have given diametrically opposite answers to this question. This has to do with the fact that there is little evidence, written or graphical, of a functioning and elaborate teaching program in the early years of the Accademia del Disegno. This has led some historians to believe that educational activities were almost non-existing in this period. Other scholars have, however, emphasized that the absence of evidence should not be confused with evidence of absence. Moreover, they point to sources that do refer to the performance of educational practices in the academy’s early years, although they acknowledge that these documents mainly deal with theoretical lectures and that the evidence is scarce.

The Accademia del Disegno implemented an innovation in educational practices by letting young artists contribute works of art to public events. This was probably part of the ‘honorable and praiseworthy competition’ described by Vasari. The academy elected young art students for the production of ephemeral works of art for the feasts of Santissima Trinità and San Luca. As discussed in Chapter Four, the inventories list some of these products in the academy’s rooms. Furthermore, shortly after the academy’s foundation two important public events in Florence occasioned similar contribution by young artists. These were the *esequie* for Michelangelo in July 1564 and the wedding of

Francesco I de' Medici with Johanna of Austria in 1565.⁹⁰² For both celebrations works of art were made by the younger artists, who, for the most part, belonged to the company and not to the academy proper. In the case of the funeral Michelangelo, sixteen of these young artists were promoted to the rank of academician two days after the event.⁹⁰³

Another indication of the educational practices performed in the Accademia del Disegno can be found in the description in the *Libro del provveditore* of January 14, 1571. On that day the academicians decided that they each had to make a clay model and to clothe it so that it could be drawn. It is stated, moreover, that the model should be retraced (*ritrarre*) two days per week, on Thursdays and Sundays, that each time another artist had to bring his model, and that only people who drew could attend the sessions.⁹⁰⁴ In this manner the academy assumed a traditional and common element of the artist's education, i.e. the study of draperies with the help of a clay or wooden model, and transformed it into an institutional, regular, collective, and obligatory practice. It should be noted that the subject of drapery studies is not mentioned again in the archival sources until much later, in 1638, when a live model was used.⁹⁰⁵ To reiterate, this does not mean that this activity did not take place in the academy in the meantime. For, unlike the official decisions pertaining to the organization of the institution, besides Zuccari's advice, there is no evidence that the academy found it necessary to record the practical drawing sessions.

Scholars who are skeptical about the implementation and success of the educational activities of the Accademia del Disegno usually point to Zuccari's outline of the educational curriculum from the late 1570s, in which the painter complained about the lack of teaching in the institution. Other historians, however, have pointed to the 'ri' in *rimettere in piedi li studii* in Zuccari's draft, i.e. to put the studies *back* on their feet, which, according to them shows that, at least in the beginning, educative activities had been carried out.⁹⁰⁶ It is not clear to what extent Zuccari's

⁹⁰² According to Ważbiński, these were not only occasions for the new institute to show its existence and its importance for the artistic scene in Florence, but also part of the artistic education, or rather artistic perfection (*perfezionamento artistico*) of its members. Moreover, after Michelangelo's funeral, the first lieutenant of the academy, Vincenzo Borghini, gathered all the academicians and had the contributed artworks analyzed. According to Ważbiński, this can be seen as a *concorso artistic* ('artistic competition'). Ważbiński 1978, 47 and 51.

⁹⁰³ ASF, AD 24, 9r.

⁹⁰⁴ ASF, AD 24, 30r.

⁹⁰⁵ ASF, AD 105, 41v and Barzman 2000, 175.

⁹⁰⁶ See for the sceptical view about the academy's educational achievements Pevsner 1940/1973, 51-52, Jack 1976, 18, Goldstein 1996, 22, and Zangheri 2013. And see Barzman 2000, 67 for the opposite view.

ideas were realized in the Accademia del Disegno, as they are not mentioned in later archival documents.

There is more archival evidence of mathematical training in the Accademia del Disegno, although this was probably not given continuously in the first decades of its existence. The sources do not disclose any lectures on ‘Euclid, Vitruvius, and the other mathematicians’ – as ordered in the statutes – being held in the academy during the first six years of its existence. It has been suggested that in the early years that lectures could have been delivered by the artists themselves; if this was the case, than they would have done so without receiving pay and, thus, without records of these activities in the books.⁹⁰⁷ However, if this is indeed what happened, it is remarkable that nothing is mentioned about this practice in the *Libro del provveditore*. An explanation of this omission could be that the educational activities were separated from the organizational and administrative ones, something that is indicated by Zuccari’s recommendation that the academy should acquire a book for recording the academic lessons. On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter Four, the lack of suitable facilities makes it highly unlikely that lectures were given in the academy in the early 1560s.

The first record of a mathematical lecture in the academy dates from 1569. The secretary of the academy recorded that on Sunday November 13 of that year, after vespers was said in Cestello, the ‘first lecture of Euclid’ was delivered in the room of the institution. Although the lecturer is referred to as Giovanni Antonio Bolognese, this man has been correctly identified as Pietro Antonio Cataldi (1548/1552-1626).⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁷ Barzman 2000, 152.

⁹⁰⁸ ASF, AD 24, 25v and 92v.: ‘... si è letto la prima lezione di euclide nella stanza di nostra compagnia, e accademia.’ It is not clear whether ‘first lecture’ (or ‘lesson’) refers here to Euclide, the academy, or Cataldi (as teacher in the academy). In the *Libro del provveditore* this mathematician is consistently named GiovanAntonio Bolognese. However, it is almost certain that this is the same as Pietro Antonio Cataldi because this scholar explicitly stated that he taught in the Florentine Accademia del Disegno in the dedication of his treatise on geometry from 1620. What is more, this dedication is directed both to the Niccolò dell’Antella, who was at that time the *luogotenente* of the Accademia del Disegno, and to the academicians of the same institution. In his dedication Cataldi wrote: ‘Mentre io giovanetto gl’Anni 1569 & 1570 leggeva Euclide nella celebratissima Accademia loro del Disegno, le conobbe sempre molto intente alle operationi Geometriche, & perché intendo, che ancora al presente nella istessa Accademia si dà opera alla Geometrica, ho pensato poterli essere di piacere il presente Trattato (...).’ In the treatise Cataldi discusses Albrecht Dürer’s method for constructing a regular pentagon. See Cataldi 1620 and Okholm Skaarup 2015, 112. Barzman (1989b, 16 and 28, n. 14; and 2000, 15) credits Olschki (1919-1927, I, 430 and II, 190-192) for correctly identifying Cataldi as the first mathematics teacher of the Florentine art academy. See also Bertolotti 1931. Although neither Barzman, nor Bertolotti, nor Olschki provided relevant references for this claim, it is probable that the latter’s information was derived from the dedication of Cataldi’s 1620 treatise, cited here. However, other authors have Pietro Antonio Cataldi

Cataldi, who indeed came from Bologna and would later teach mathematics at the Accademia del Disegno in Perugia and at the university of his hometown, appears to have delivered weekly lectures on Euclid in the Florentine art academy's room in Cestello until September 1570, for which he received a small fee from the institution.⁹⁰⁹

It has been suggested that shortly after Cataldi left Florence, his position at the Accademia del Disegno was taken over by Ignazio (or Egnazio) Danti (1536-1586), who was the younger brother of the sculptor and founding member of the institution, Vincenzo Danti. Ignazio and Vincenzo were born in Perugia and came from a family of artists and art theorists, who wrote numerous learned treatises. Grandfather Pier Vincenzo, father Giulio, and aunt Teodora composed treatises on astronomy, Euclid's *Elements*, and architecture and engineering, almost all of which have been lost.⁹¹⁰ Ignazio was the most famous scion of the family. He entered the Dominican Order in 1555 and became the bishop of Alatri in 1583, which he remained until his death. He also was an accomplished mathematician and instrument builder, occupying the function of geographer and cosmographer at the Florentine court between 1563-1575, before being appointed as professor of mathematics at the University of Bologna in 1576.⁹¹¹

In 1571 Danti requested Cosimo I to create a public chair of mathematics for him. The grand duke complied and the theology professor of the Florentine branch of the University of Pisa was dismissed in order to make place for Danti.⁹¹² However, scholars doubt that Ignazio held his lectures at the Studio Fiorentino. Several reasons can be given to buttress this skepticism. In the first place, the treatises on perspective and optics, which Danti published in 1573 on the basis of his public lecture notes, were written in Italian. This suggests that the notes were originally composed for lectures held in an academic context. Second, Ignazio dedicated one of these treatises to the Accademia del Disegno of his

teaching in Perugia from 1569 until 1583, when he returned to Bologna. In Perugia Cataldi is said to have taught mathematics both at the university and at that city's Accademia del Disegno, which was founded in 1573. See Fantuzzi 1783, 152 and De Ferrari 1979, 288-289.

⁹⁰⁹ Only the first two lectures in Cestello, on November 13 and 27, 1569, are actually recorded in the *Libro del provveditore*. However, because the secretary stated (ASF, AD 24, 25v) that the mathematician would receive 7 lire (1 scudo) per month for his weekly lectures, and because Cataldi was paid for his services until September of the following year (Ibidem, 92v), it can be assumed that the lectures continued regularly during this period. Moreover, the *provveditore* specified that the teacher received a salary for reading Euclid for nine months, that is, 63 lire in total.

⁹¹⁰ Davis 1982, 63 and Settle 1990, 27-28.

⁹¹¹ Okholm Skaarup 2015, 112.

⁹¹² This theologian was the Spaniard Francesco Studiglio or Astudiglio. See Settle 1990, 32-33.

native city Perugia, which was founded in the same year. Third, this publication, which deals with Euclid's perspective, contains some passages that are directed specifically at an artistic audience. The use of the vernacular, the dedication to the Perugian art academy, and the artistic topics of the treatises have convinced some historians that Ignazio succeeded Cataldi as mathematics lecturer of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno.⁹¹³

However, it is entirely unclear where the lectures would have been held. In Cataldi's case, Cestello is named as the venue. However, during the 1570s, this site was renovated by the academicians.⁹¹⁴ In fact, between Cataldi's departure and the middle of 1579, the *provveditori* recorded only a handful of meetings in Cestello, all of which took place on the occasion of the feast of Saint Luke. Moreover, in his letter with proposals for the academy's curriculum, Zuccari planned for the artistic instruction, including the lectures, to be held in the Cappella della Santissima Trinità, since 'we have no other place'. This suggests that the Accademia del Disegno did not have a suitable room for holding lectures during the period Ignazio supposedly functioned as the mathematics instructor of the artists.

Therefore, the possibility that Ignazio's lectures were held elsewhere should also be considered.⁹¹⁵ One option is the Accademia Fiorentina. In contrast to the Accademia del Disegno, this institution had a tradition of organizing public lectures, although literary, natural philosophical, and poetic topics were more common than mathematic ones. The fact that Danti replaced the theology professor of the Studio Fiorentino heightens the probability that the Accademia Fiorentina was the venue. As mentioned, these institutions were formally connected because the consul of the literary academy also was, *ex officio*, the rector of the Studio Fiorentino. Moreover, although the surviving archival documents do not disclose Ignazio's presence in either institution, this is more problematical for the interpretation that places him in the Accademia del Disegno. Whereas the relevant records of the Accademia Fiorentina for this period (1571-1574) are missing, this is not the case with the documents of art academy.⁹¹⁶ In contrast to Cataldi, his alleged predecessor as the mathematics instructor of the Accademia del Disegno,

⁹¹³ See Settle 1990, 33-34 and 36, Barzman 1989b, 16-17 and 2000, 152-153, and Okholm Skaarup 2015, 112. What is more, it is suggested that the active participation in the Florentine Accademia del Disegno of Vincenzo Danti must have aided his younger brother Ignazio to get appointed as a teacher in the institution.

⁹¹⁴ See section 4.2.3.

⁹¹⁵ This option is, in fact, discussed by Settle (1990, 33-34), although he holds that it is a less likely venue than the Accademia del Disegno for Ignazio's lectures.

⁹¹⁶ Settle (1990, 34) erroneously writes that the pertinent records of both academies are missing.

Ignazio's name is nowhere to be found in the institution's archive.⁹¹⁷ Of course, if Ignazio lectured in the art academy as Medici court mathematician, than the academy would probably not have paid him for his services. However, this would only partly explain why his name does not turn up in the books. After all, the names of later mathematicians, who did not receive a salary from the Accademia del Disegno, also turn up in the archival sources.⁹¹⁸

Perhaps the most probable scenario is that Danti held his mathematical lectures in the Studio Fiorentino after all. In the first place, the three reasons for locating these lectures in an (art) academy are far from conclusive. For instance, Danti could have held his lectures in Latin and later translated them into Italian for his publication in order to reach a wider audience. Moreover, even if the lectures were organized by the Accademia Fiorentina, the actual venue could have been the Studio Fiorentino. For, as mentioned in the previous chapter, at least for some time, the meetings of the literary academy were held in one of the rooms of the Studio. Finally and most importantly, when, after many years, Grand Duke Ferdinando II reinstated the teaching of mathematics in the Accademia del Disegno in 1639, the decree stated that the public lectures of mathematics used to be held in the Studio Fiorentino.⁹¹⁹

It is only in 1589 that the Accademia del Disegno instituted a more permanent lectureship of mathematics. It has been suggested that Galileo considered applying for this position in 1588. In a letter to his patron, Guidobaldo del Monte, he refers to a 'public lectureship in mathematics' that was 'instituted by Grand Duke Cosimo in earlier times'. It is likely that, as other scholars have argued, Galileo refers here

⁹¹⁷ For the same reason it is also unlikely that Ignazio Danti was a member of the Accademia del Disegno, as Dempsey (1980, 557) and Okholm Skaarup (2015, 111-112) hold. Although Vasari's discussion of an instrument that Ignazio had built for Cosimo I in the chapter about the members of the Accademia del Disegno in his *Vite* (1966-1987, VI, 250-252) might suggest that the mathematician was a member of the art institution, a closer reading of this passage refutes such a conclusion. Vasari seems to have included Ignazio's instrument only as an afterthought to his discussion of his brother Vincenzo's sculptures, and when the author moves on to the next artist (Antonio di Gino Lorenzi) he writes that he now *returns* to the men of our academy ('E tornando agl'uomini della nostra Accademia...'), implying that Ignazio does not belong to this category. Furthermore, it should be reiterated that, strictly speaking, Cataldi's name does also not appear in the academy's archival documents. Instead, he is mistakenly referred to as Giovanni Antonio Bolognese by the *provveditore* of the academy.

⁹¹⁸ In addition, as mentioned, Ignazio's brother was not only a founding and active member of the Accademia del Disegno, but also, from 1565 of the Accademia Fiorentina. This means that Ignazio had an entry in both academies through his brother. See section 9.4 for Vincenzo Danti's activities in the Accademia Fiorentina.

⁹¹⁹ ASF, AD 156, 23r, transcribed in Ważbiński 1987, II, 495 and in Adorno/Zangheri 1998, 71: '(...) riassumere la lezione delle Mathematiche già solite leggersi nello Studio fiorentino (...).'

to the chair that had been instituted for Ignazio Danti. However, as discussed, the location of this chair is uncertain. Galileo's phrasing in his letter is vague and general and it could equally have referred to the Accademia del Disegno, the Accademia Fiorentina, and the Studio Fiorentino.⁹²⁰ In fact, in the year of the letter to his patron, Galileo delivered two lectures in the Accademia Fiorentina on the shape, site, and size of Dante *Inferno*. It is possible that these lectures functioned as part of the selection procedure.⁹²¹ In any case, the following year Galileo did not obtain the chair in Florence and he accepted a position at the University of Pisa. Galileo did, however, become a member of the Accademia del Disegno in 1613, and he was appointed as consul of the Accademia Fiorentina in 1620.⁹²²

⁹²⁰ See for Galileo's letter to Guidobaldo del Monte, of July 16, 1588, Favaro 1890-1909, X, 36: 'Ma perché qui in Firenze per i tempi a dietro ci è stata una lezione pubblica di matematica, instituta dal G. Cosimo, essendo hora vacante e, per quanto intendo, molto da' nobili desiderata, ho supplicata per questa, sperando ottenerla col favour di Monsign.re Ill.mo suo fratello, al quale di questo negozio ho dato il memoriale.' Galileo writes that because the desired chair at the University of Pisa was already filled, he considered applying for a public lectureship in Florence. Guidobaldo was Galileo's most important patron in the early phase of his career. Guidobaldo was the brother of Francesco Maria del Monte, who became the 'Medici cardinal' in 1588 after Ferdinando de' Medici had to give up the cardinal's hat to become Grand Duke of Tuscany after the sudden death of his brother Francesco I. See Biagioli 1993, 30-31. Francesco Maria del Monte also became the *cardinale protettore* of the Accademia di San Luca in 1595. Barzman (2000, 154-155) notes that it is unlikely that in his letter to Guidobaldo del Monte of July 1588, Galileo referred to the Florentine university, because the mathematics chair of this institution had not been (re)instituted by Cosimo I, as stated in the letter. Therefore, Barzman believes that Galileo meant the lectureship in the Accademia del Disegno, first held by Cataldi and afterwards, possibly by Ignazio Danti as well. According to Settle (1990, 35), the public lectureship that Galileo considered applying for in 1588 was the same as the one that had remained vacant when Ignazio Danti left Florence in 1575. As mentioned, Settle believes that this lectureship was in the Accademia del Disegno, although he admits that there is no direct documentation to prove it and that the Accademia Fiorentina is also an option. Finally, Biagioli (1993, 31, n. 66) also holds that the lectureship, for which Galileo applied was the same as that of Ignazio Danti and connected to the Accademia del Disegno. However, he gives arguments for his conviction.

⁹²¹ Favaro 1890-1909, IX, 29-57: 'Due lezioni all'Accademia Fiorentina circa la figura, sito e grandezza dell'inferno di Dante.' See also Settle 1990, 24-25, 35; Biagioli 1993, 117. Galileo defends the interpretation of the Florentine architect Antonio Manetti (1423-1497) of the geometry of Dante's *Inferno* against criticism from Alessandro Vellutello (b. 1473), who was a letterato from Lucca. In the lectures, Galileo not only demonstrates his poetic interests and his mathematic skills, but more importantly that he is a interdisciplinary scholar, able to perfectly combine the perspective (and interests) of the members of the Accademia Fiorentina, with their predilection for commenting on Dante and defence of everything Florentine, and his own mathematical interests. Galileo commented on contemporary artists and poets. For instance, he criticized Torquato Tasso and praised Ariosto. See Panofsky 1956 and Biagioli 1993, 117.

⁹²² Biagioli 1993, 117 and Okholm Skaarup 2015, 111.

The scholar who became the lecturer of mathematics of the Accademia del Disegno in 1589 was Galileo's former teacher, Ostilio Ricci. Ricci was the Medici's court mathematician and in the mid-1580s he had taught Cosimo I's son don Giovanni de Medici mathematics in the house of the painter, architect, and military engineer Bernardo Buontalenti (1532-1608).⁹²³ It was in Buontalenti's house that Ricci also taught mathematics and perspective to Galileo, as well as to Lodovico Cigoli.⁹²⁴ Ricci is recorded in the Accademia del Disegno as lecturer of Euclid from 1589 until his death in 1603. Although he did not receive a salary for his instruction from the academy, he was rewarded by other means. In 1590 the academy donated him one of the paintings that had been produced by the young *festaiuoli* for the feast of Saint Luke and in 1593 he obtained the title of academician.⁹²⁵ Furthermore, Ricci received the same gratuities (wine, pepper, peppered bread) as the officers of the academy.⁹²⁶

Around the middle of the 1590s, in the same period that Ricci held his lectures, the academy also employed the geographer and cosmographer Antonio Santucci dalle Pomerancie.⁹²⁷ Probably, because Santucci, like Ricci, received a stipend from the court, the academy did not offer him a salary.⁹²⁸ As mentioned in Chapter Four, during Ricci's and Santucci's tenureships in the 1590s, the Accademia del Disegno acquired instruments and furniture, such as compasses, a lectern, spheric globes, and a blackboard that the instructors used for teaching geometry and perspective.⁹²⁹ After Ricci's death and Santucci's departure for the University of Pisa, both in the first decade of the seventeenth century, the instruction of mathematics in the academy seemed to have lingered until the late 1630s, when the teaching program was reinvigorated.⁹³⁰

The purchases and the double lectureship are evidence of the professionalization of the teaching of mathematics in the Accademia del

⁹²³ See Barzman 2000, 155-156; Bredekamp 2001, 160

⁹²⁴ Bredekamp 2001, 160, Ważbiński 1987, I, 283.

⁹²⁵ ASF, AD 27, 6v, 93v, and 138v.

⁹²⁶ Barzman 2000, 155-156. It should be noted that the fact that Ricci is mentioned on several occasions in the archival documents, while he did not receive a fee from the academy for his teaching, makes it unlikely that Danti (or others beside Cataldi) taught mathematics in the first decades of the institution's existence.

⁹²⁷ ASF, AD 27, 29v.

⁹²⁸ Barzman 2000, 155-156.

⁹²⁹ ASF, AD 27, 6v, 9r, 9v, 29r, 95v, 132r.

⁹³⁰ Barzman 2000, 91-94 and 157. According to Barzman, the academy's teaching program especially withered between 1628 and 1637, when the institution did not have a permanent headquarters. It is unclear why Barzman does not apply the same argument to the first two decades of the academy's existence, when it also lacked a stable and finished headquarters.

Disegno in the 1590s.⁹³¹ On the one hand, it has been argued that this development was a reflection of the influx of non-professional artists into the academy. In this period, the art institution started to attract members from the Florentine nobility and patrician families, for whom some practical understanding of *disegno* was desirable in order to complete their education as gentlemen.⁹³² Castiglione had written in his *Il libro del cortegiano* that the perfect courtier had to know how to draw and understand the art of painting.⁹³³ Moreover, learning the basics of mathematics was necessary for gentlemen and courtiers with military responsibilities and for military engineers.⁹³⁴

On the other hand, the professionalization of the teaching of mathematics in the 1590s attests to the growing importance that the Accademia del Disegno attached to the use of perspective, geometry, and optics for artists. Moreover, the furniture and the instruments that are listed in the inventory of the academy, such as the blackboard and the compasses, show that Ricci and Santucci not only read from the *cattedra*, but also provided their audience practical examples for constructing geometrical figures and perspectival drawings. In other words, mathematics instruction in the Accademia del Disegno combined the intellectual knowledge and theoretical precepts with the practice of dexterity.⁹³⁵

At least on one occasion during its early years the Accademia del Disegno hosted a lecture on a topic other than mathematics. Its contents are known through a manuscript that is housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.⁹³⁶ Neither the identity of the lecturer nor

⁹³¹ It is in this period that the Genovese nobleman and painter Giovanni Battista Paggi, when visiting Florence wrote to his brother with approval that in the Florentine academy the mathematical lectures were still carried out. Barocchi 1971-1977, I, 194-195.

⁹³² Barzman 2000, 154.

⁹³³ Castiglione 1965, 80: 'il saper disegnare ed aver cognizione dell'arte propria del dipingere.'

⁹³⁴ See Settle 1990, 33. See also Giulio Mancini's non-published treatise from the beginning of the seventeenth century called 'Che cosa sia disegno' (BAV, Barb. Lat. 4315, 154v), in which he argues that the art of *disegno* facilitates the apprehension of the mathematical sciences and that it, therefore, pertains to the nobleman: '[p]erché lo studio delle mathematiche è studio da nobile, poiché servono al civile e militare, professione proprie del nobile, e queste si apprendono, e facilitano con il disegno. Pertanto non si deve dubitare punto, che il disegno, e disegnare appartenga al'huomo nobile.'

⁹³⁵ Santucci's activity is important in this respect because, as mathematician and instrument maker, he connected theoretical knowledge with a skillful hand and, thereby was one of the scientists, who at the end of the sixteenth century, 'wedded craft with science.' Barzman 2000, 156.

⁹³⁶ BNCF, Magl. XVII, 7, Lettione nell'Accademia del Disegno. The manuscript is not paginated. It consists of two versions of the same lecture, one in a neat hand and another in a rough hand with many corrections, which make it difficult to read. See for an

the date of the lecture's composition is known. The speaker probably was a Florentine *letterato*. He states that the lieutenant has invited him to give the lecture in 'our Academia del Disegno'. It is more likely that the possessive pronoun refers here to his compatriots rather than to fellow professionals, because at one point in the text the lecturer discloses that he is not a practicing artist (*a me come non professore e di tutti meno intendente*). Furthermore, the many references to different canonical texts both from Antiquity and the early modern period show that he probably was a *letterato*. The fact that the author writes about 'our grand dukes' in the plural entails that it must have been written and delivered after Francesco I inherited his father's grand ducal crown in 1574.⁹³⁷ Furthermore, in the beginning of the manuscript the lecturer addresses his audience, which consisted of the 'most noble lieutenant', the 'most virtuous academicians', and the 'most gracious listeners'. This last group was probably composed of gentlemen and amateurs, who started to visit the academy's meetings from the second half of the 1580s onward. Of course, these phrases only establish a *terminus post quem* for the lecture's conception.

In the opening sentence of the speech the author repeats the familiar definition of painting as imitation of nature. Moreover, he states that this imitation consists of three things: invention (*invenzione*), which is the story that the painter conceives in his mind; *disegno*, which are the lines that express the concept; and coloring (*colorito*), which imitates the colors in nature. According to the author, it follows from the definition of painting as imitation of nature that the painter has an obligation to investigate nature's miracles. He refers in this context to the writings of Leonardo da Vinci, who he calls the 'philosopher of painters'. Later in the manuscript the lecturer also refers approvingly to Albert Dürer's treatise on human proportions.

interpretation of this lecture also Barzman 2000, 66-67 and 173-174. The analysis of the lecture that is presented here is largely in accordance with Barzman's interpretation, with the exception of its date. See the following note. The question of the date of the lecture is important because it has implications for the understanding of the educational program of the Accademia del Disegno in its early years.

⁹³⁷ See Barzman (2000, 66), who dates the treatise at the beginning of Francesco I's reign. A problematic aspect of attributing the lecture to such an early date is that nonprofessional artists are addressed, whereas archival evidence shows that they only entered the academy from the second half of the 1580s. In this context, it should be noted that for the feast of Saint Luke in 1594 the Accademia del Disegno had the young *festaiuoli* produce statues of the four elements, which corresponds to the theme of the lecture, as well as a figure that represented the art of painting. These *festaiuoli* were the sculptors Pietro Rotilenti, Andrea Ferrucci, Fabio Cafaggi, Orazio Mochi, and a certain Tommaso from the workshop of Giovanni Caccini. ASF, AD 27, 82v.

The reference to the definition of painting and to the painter's obligation are the premise and the justification for the following natural philosophical discourse – larded with quotations from Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates – about how the four elements (fire, air, water, earth) correspond to the four humors or temperaments (choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic) and to the four ages of man (childhood, puberty/adolescence, adulthood, old age). The artistic relevance of this discussion becomes apparent when the author connects specific physical features to the temperaments. For instance, melancholics are said to have rough skin, are thin, and have curly hair. Furthermore, the author relates the different temperaments to different climates and national customs. The French, for example, are said to speak gently, have modest customs, and wear pompous dresses. This information is useful for painters who want to represent a melancholic or someone from France.

The author concludes his lecture by citing works of art, in which the emotions and character of the figures are expressed in exemplary ways and which are thus worthy of emulation by the artists of the academy. Among the works discussed are Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan, Filippino Lippi's *Saint Philip Banishes the Demon from the Temple of Mars* in Santa Maria Novella, Francesco Salviati's *Triumph of Furio Camillo* in Palazzo Vecchio, Correggio's *Ecce Homo*, and Rosso Fiorentino's *Marriage of the Virgin* in San Lorenzo. Not surprisingly, most of these artists were Tuscan.⁹³⁸ The examples lead up to the patriotic conclusion of the lecture, in which the author first refers to the many foreign artists, who visit Florence to see and copy famous works of art such as Donatello's *Saint George*, Bandinelli's *Hercules and Caccus*, and Michelangelo's *David*, as well as the latter's statues in the Medici Chapel, and second encourages the artists of the academy to produce similar illustrious works.

The praise of Florentine and Tuscan art can be seen as the counterpart of the exaltation of the Tuscan language in the Accademia Fiorentina.⁹³⁹ Furthermore, the lecture contains the same elemental mysticism – including the ideas about the influence of the macrocosmos on the microcosmos – that was popular in other cultural academies of the time. For instance, the topic of the elements occupied a high place on the list of frequently debated subjects in the Accademia Fiorentina.⁹⁴⁰ Although predominantly theoretical and intellectual, the lecture also had practical consequences for artists, insofar as it provided them with examples of works of art that were considered to be worthy of emulation.

⁹³⁸ For a similar interpretation see Barzman 2000, 173-174.

⁹³⁹ Barzman 2000, 67.

⁹⁴⁰ See the list of frequent topics discussed in the Accademia Fiorentina in section 7.4.

The central focus in the examples is the expression of human emotions, or the passions of the soul, which was seen as essential for producing convincing history paintings, and narrative art in general. Finally, by arguing that painters should be knowledgeable of natural philosophy the lecturer endorses the view that art and science are inextricably related.

8.4. *Lectures in the Accademia di San Luca*

During the first year of the existence of the Accademia di San Luca, in 1593-1594, its president Federico Zuccari presented his outline for the theoretical and practical educational program in several speeches. The contents of these speeches were published a decade later by Romano Alberti in *Origine, et progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno de Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti di Roma* (1604). As discussed earlier, Alberti was the academy's secretary during Zuccari's presidency, and in that capacity he recorded what went on during the meetings in the first year. He describes how Zuccari establishes the rules of conduct, the rules for governing the academy and the curriculum. According to Alberti, Zuccari played a pivotal role in the formation of this educational program.

From Alberti's narrative it becomes clear that Zuccari envisioned a two-part educational program in the Accademia di San Luca: every two weeks on Sunday, after mass and lunch, the academicians were first supposed to spend one hour listening to a theoretical lecture or participate in a discussion about the arts. This hour of theory was to be followed by an hour of practice, in which the young students of the academy would learn how to draw.⁹⁴¹ Occasionally, Alberti even refers to these different aspects of the education practices of the institution with different terms: *accademia* for the lecture program and *studio* for the practical training.⁹⁴² This means that, like the Accademia del Disegno, the Accademia di San Luca from its inception included practical and theoretical art education in their plans for the curriculum. The practical instruction in the *studio* was meant for young art students – and perhaps also for amateurs – who were taught by professional artists. During the lectures and debates in the *accademia*, these master artists assumed the double role of teacher and student: they taught the beginning artists and the gentleman-amateurs the principles of their professions; and they learned from the *letterati* how to improve developed their theoretical, rhetorical, and debate skills.

In Alberti's narrative about the activities during the first years of the Accademia di San Luca, the most weight is attached to theoretical

⁹⁴¹ Alberti 1604/1961, 4-5.

⁹⁴² Alberti 1604/1961, dedication to Francesco Borromeo (n.p.), 1, 11. See also Roccasecca 2009, 124.

lectures. At the beginning of his presidency, Zuccari urged the artists to participate in theoretical and public debates and give lectures about subjects pertaining to their arts. According to him, this would ‘procure the protection of many lords, prelates, and other gentlemen’.⁹⁴³ In his inaugural speech as president of the academy, Zuccari stated that virtuous men of letters and amateurs of the profession would not easily miss these discourses and help to ‘season and perfect’ them.⁹⁴⁴ In other words, the gentleman amateurs and the *letterati* were supposed to help the artists acquire the skills that were needed to participate in literary practices. Zuccari hoped that patrons would be attracted to the academy because of the theoretical lectures on the arts. In the third meeting he stated that that the lectures would bring

not only usefulness and bring honor to ourselves, but also the greatest taste and pleasure to many others, and in particular to the lovers of our professions, who, I hope, will favor us; and in this way our name and the reputation of this place will grow.⁹⁴⁵

According to Alberti, during Zuccari’s presidency several artists gave theoretical lectures on a variety of topics related to the arts. The first lecture in the Accademia di San Luca was held on January 2, 1594 by Durante and Romano Alberti. According to his own account of the lecture, Romano and his uncle delivered a long and very good speech about the practice and different ways of drawing. Zuccari, however, was dissatisfied with the discourse because he had instructed the Alberti’s to speak about how *disegno* can be understood *intellectually*.⁹⁴⁶ Therefore, he assigned the same topic to another artist. This was the painter Cesare Nebbia (1536-1622), who the following meeting, indeed, delivered a lecture about *disegno*. According to Alberti, Nebbia talked about the theory and practice of *disegno* and he said things that were worthy of

⁹⁴³ Alberti 1604/1961, 3: ‘imperochè molti Signori, e Prelati, e gentil’huomini, pigliaranno la protettione nostra’.

⁹⁴⁴ Alberti 1604/1961, 5: ‘... a quali non mancaranno facilmente intervenire virtuosi letterati, & amatori di nostra professione, per condire, e perfettionare ogni proposto discorso.’

⁹⁴⁵ Alberti 1604/1961, 13: ‘... che ne apporterà non soli utile, & honore a noi medesimi, ma gusto, e piacer grandissimo a molti altri, & in spetie alli amatori della nostra professione, i quali spero, che perciò ci favoriranno, e così accresceremo di nome, e di riputatione questo luogo....’

⁹⁴⁶ Alberti 1604/1961, 15-16: ‘finalmente per inanimare i fratelli tutti a quanto per loro si dovesse nel discorrere animosamente trattare, fu imposto a M. Durante che egli desse principio a ragionare di che egli doveva, intorno al Dissegno, che cosa sia, & come si possa intellettualmente intendere, il qual insieme con Romano Alberti suo Nipote, discorsero longo & assai bene sopra la prattica, & uso di dissegnare al di fuori ...’

being heard. However, again the president objected that this was not what he intended.⁹⁴⁷

At this point, the other academicians pressed Zuccari to explain what he meant and how he understood *disegno*. Zuccari complied and during this and the following meetings he presented his theory of *disegno* and, after more pleas from the artists, also his definitions of painting, architecture, and sculpture to the academy.⁹⁴⁸ According to Alberti, Zuccari's discourses met with general approval from the other artists.⁹⁴⁹ What is more, the president's definitions of *disegno* and the three visual arts were written on four papers and hung on the four walls of the room of the academy adjacent to the church of Santi Luca e Martina:

Disegno, expressed form of all intelligible and sensible forms, which gives light to the intellect and life to the operations.

Painting, daughter and mother of *disegno*, and force of shadows and lights.
Sculpture, symmetry of the human body, discovered in solid matter with toil and sweat.

Architecture, science of building, rule of division, and order of distribution.⁹⁵⁰

Furthermore, also attached to one of the walls was another sheet of paper, containing the lecture schedule for the following months – March to August 1594 – with the topics and names of the artists who were supposed to deliver them. Representatives of each of the three arts would present weekly lectures on topics related to their own profession.⁹⁵¹ The topics included grace and beauty in painting, the major difficulties in sculpture, the order of architecture, draping and clothing of the figure, perspective, and mathematical rules.

From Alberti's narrative it becomes clear that only a quarter (six of the twenty-four) of the planned lectures were actually held, because

⁹⁴⁷ Alberti 1604/1961, 16.

⁹⁴⁸ Alberti 1604/1961, 16-52.

⁹⁴⁹ At first, however, the architects were reluctant to accept any other definition of architecture than that of Vitruvius, i.e. 'that architecture is a science of many disciplines, and decorated with diverse teachings'. After a brief dispute related to the status of architecture compared to the other arts, the architects accepted Zuccari's definition. Alberti 1604/1961, 34-39. See for a discussion of Zuccari's notion of *disegno* in his speeches for the academy section 9.7.

⁹⁵⁰ Alberti 1604/1961, 44-45 and 52: 'Dissegno, forma espressa di tutte le forme intelligibili, e sensibili, che da luce all'intelletto, e vita alle operationi; Pittura, figlia, e madre del disegno, e forza di chiari, e di scuri; Scultura, simetria di corpo humano, in materia solida con travaglio, e sudore scoperta; Architettura, scienza di fabrica, e regola di partimento, e ordine di distributione.'

⁹⁵¹ The painters were supposed to lecture in March, the sculptors in April, and in May the architects. The remaining lectures, scheduled from June until August, were assigned to painters, probably because they outnumbered the representatives of the other arts.

many of the academicians did not show up on the day that they were scheduled. In fact, this happened already in the first meeting after the schedule was hung in the academy. On March 6, Cavalier d'Arpino did not turn up at the academy to give his lecture about the movements, gestures, and attitudes of the human figure. However, Cavalier d'Arpino did send his friend, the gentleman Camillo Ducci in his place. According to Alberti, Ducci gave a nice discourse about the human figure, its rules, proportions, and movements. He argued that 'movements' (*moti*) should not only be understood in a physical (mechanical) sense, but also in a spiritual sense, i.e. the affections or the passions of the soul. In correspondence to this viewpoint, Ducci also talked about the temperaments (melancholic, sanguine, choleric, and phlegmatic) as causes of the movements of the human figure.⁹⁵² This means that the subject of Ducci's lecture was the same as the one prepared for the Florentine Accademia del Disegno by the anonymous speaker, discussed in the previous section. This shows that this ancient theme remained popular in this period.

According to Alberti, during the following months six more lectures were held in the academy. In three cases the content of the discourse is only very briefly described. On March 13, Cherubino Alberti gave a speech about decorum in painting, arguing that it consists mainly of the affects and the clothing of the figures. In order to make his point, Cherubino referred to some works of unspecified past masters (*alcuni opera dei passati valent'huomini*) as examples. Flaminio Vacca gave a long lecture on April 3 on the qualities of beautiful sculpture and of the characteristics of the good sculptor (e.g. strong of mind and body, prudent, and judicious). Vacca also provided some useful practical advice about the difficulty of working in marble. A month later, Francesco Volterra gave a lecture about the rules and orders of architecture, and especially about what Vitruvius, Vignola, and Palladio had said on this subject. According to Alberti, these three lectures were very good and full of useful advice.⁹⁵³

Alberti's descriptions of the three other lectures are substantially longer. The first of these speeches was held on March 20. On that date the painter Giovanni Battista Novara was supposed to speak on the

⁹⁵² Alberti 1604/1961, 57.

⁹⁵³ See for these lectures Alberti 1604/1961, 58, 65-66. In the same year, Vacca published a treatise about his memories of the antiquities that have been discovered in Rome from his childhood until his current age (56) and that he had seen or heard about. Vacca dedicated this treatise, moreover, to the Perugian humanist and collector Simonetto Anastasi, who is also listed by Alberti as one of the gentleman-amateurs present in the Accademia di San Luca in its early years. Vacca 1594/1704, 3 and Alberti 1604/1961, final page (n.p.).

beauty and grace of figures, but he did not show up at the academy. According to Alberti, Novara lacked the will present his lecture in speech or writing. In order to entertain and motivate the academicians, Zuccari gave an impromptu speech about the subject that had been assigned to Novara. According to Alberti, in his discourse Zuccari distinguished between beauty (*bellezza*) and grace (*grazia*) in art. In the speech, beauty appears as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for grace. Whereas beauty consists in proportions, movements, and dispositions of the figure, grace is something ineffable, a surplus, something above beauty. According to Zuccari, whereas beauty can be learned through theoretical and practical rules, grace cannot. It consists in good taste and good judgment, to which one should get used from the start.

Like Cherubino Alberti the week before, Zuccari refers to some great masters or ‘gentleman painters’ of the past who were gifted with grace from nature. The artists named by Zuccari were Francesco Parmigianino, Antonio da Correggio, Titian, Andrea del Sarto, Paolo Veronese, Perin del Vaga, his older brother Taddeo Zuccari, and, most of all, Raphael.⁹⁵⁴ Although Zuccari argues that grace is essentially a gift from nature and that it cannot be learned with the help of theoretical and practical rules, his list of exemplary painters suggests that he believes that it can be acquired by getting accustomed to, and copying their works. This entails that learning by example was more important for Zuccari than by theoretical precepts or practical rules of thumb.

The other two lectures were delivered by the painters Giovanni Balducci, known as Cosci (or Coscia) (1560-after 1630), and Cristoforo (or Cristofano) Roncalli (1552-1626). Alberti states that both artists brought their speeches in script to the academy and that he publishes their content in his book. For this reason, Alberti’s descriptions of their discourses are substantially longer than those of the other artists.⁹⁵⁵ Roncalli held his lecture on June 26, 1594 about history painting. At the beginning of his lecture Roncalli displays modesty about his lecturing skills. He argues that because he is trained only in practice of the art – i.e. how to paint on walls and on canvases – meditating on the theoretical aspects of the art should be left to more elevated intellects. Roncalli further characterizes these theorists as men who are not satisfied with just handling the brush, but also want ‘to abstract from material things to the

⁹⁵⁴ Alberti 1604/1961, 58-60.

⁹⁵⁵ Apparently, Alberti did not take extensive notes during the discourses. Alberti does not claim to have obtained the script or notes of Zuccari’s lectures. The reason why Alberti’s descriptions of these speeches are comprehensive than most others probably has to do with their close relationship.

immaterial and from the particular to the universal', in order to reach 'the first principles of the theory and the rules of our beautiful profession'.⁹⁵⁶

Notwithstanding this expression of modesty of his intellectual capacities, Roncalli continues his lecture about the theory of history painting. The discourse consists of three parts. In the first part, Roncalli defines history painting as 'an artificial composition of many bodies' that together represent the same action. In the second part, he explains that in order to create a history painting, the artist first should form an idea or form of the things to be rendered in his mind and subsequently express this idea in a drawing. In the final part, Roncalli discusses some of the important features that history paintings should possess. For instance, all movements and attitudes of the figures should correspond to their age and dignity. Roncalli's remarks about history painting correspond to what Leon Battista Alberti had written on the same subject in his *Della pittura* (1435).⁹⁵⁷ In his conclusion of the description of the lecture, Romano Alberti noted that Roncalli's speech was much praised and that it animated the academicians present.⁹⁵⁸

Considerably less successful was the discourse that Balducci held in the academy on March 27, 1594. In the first part of his speech, Balducci gave a short version of the familiar history of the noble status that painting had allegedly achieved in antiquity. The tenor of this argument is the same as that of Romano Alberti in his *Trattato della nobilità della pittura*. For instance, like Alberti Balducci reiterates the famous story from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* that Alexander the Great's esteem for Apelles was so high that he gave away his beautiful girlfriend Campaspe to the painter.⁹⁵⁹

In the second part of his lecture, Balducci offers another type of argument for the nobility of painting, namely by comparing it to other known and accepted liberal arts, in this case poetry and music. Moreover, he argues that painting and music can be seen as sister arts from the same mother, mathematics. According to Balducci, mathematics deals both with continuous and discrete quantity. Continuous quantity is taken over by painting in the form of lines, circles, triangles, etcetera. Discrete quantity, such as the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 and their relationships, are the basis of both the correct proportions of the figures in painting and of harmony in music. Balducci's conclusion is that painting is one of the

⁹⁵⁶ Alberti 1604/1961, 67-68: 'che non contenti delle sole pratiche d'essa, e di solamente maneggiare i penelli, ma astraendo dalle cose materiali, le immateriali, e delle particolari, l'universali; con la sublimità dei loro ingegni si sollevano ai primi principi delle teoriche, & alle regole scientiali di questa nostra bellissima professione'

⁹⁵⁷ See Alberti 1804, Book II.

⁹⁵⁸ Alberti 1604/1961, 67-70.

⁹⁵⁹ Alberti 1585/1962, 202 and 1604/1961, 62.

most distinguished of the practical arts, because it depends entirely on mathematics.⁹⁶⁰

Alberti writes that, besides the first part about how the liberality of princes heightened the esteem of the painters, Balducci's lecture was not received well by the academicians. In the first place, it did not touch upon the subject that he was supposed to lecture about, namely the greatness of painting well and adorning the figure appropriately. Secondly, according to Alberti, it was clear to all that the lecture was written by someone else – to be more precise, by a mathematician instead of a painter (*tal discorso essere d'un Matematico e non d'esso Pittore*) – and that Balducci did not understand what had brought into the academy. It was noted by some (*alcuni*), that in this way the painter had embarrassed himself. Finally, and most importantly, Balducci's discourse went against the definition of *disegno* as it had been presented in the academy by Zuccari and accepted by the others.

Balducci was especially criticized for his thesis that painting and *disegno* were not dependent upon mathematics. Instead, the academicians held that it was the other way around: painting, mathematics, and all the other professions depended upon *disegno*. One of the academicians present added that although it can be said that mathematics investigates points and lines, it is not the author of these lines and these operations. The anonymous interlocutor concluded by saying that this author is *disegno*, as had already been demonstrated by Zuccari.⁹⁶¹ According to Alberti, on hearing this critique Balducci blushed and confessed that he had not understood Zuccari's definitions of *disegno* and painting. The president and the others accepted his excuses and they advised future speakers to let themselves be helped by men who did understand these things before presenting their discourse in the academy.⁹⁶² It is noteworthy that Alberti does not identify Balducci's critics, but presents them as representing the opinion of the whole academy or, at least, of the majority of the academicians. He hereby underscores that Zuccari's definitions were generally accepted.

This episode indicates that one of the rules governing the educational practices in the Accademia di San Luca in its early period was that the academicians could be helped by *letterati*, and were even encouraged to do so, but that they had to formulate their speeches in their own words. The reason for this was, no doubt, that the artists would acquire the practical understandings of *letterati*. This means that, at least during Zuccari's reign, an attempt was made to integrate literary and

⁹⁶⁰ Alberti 1604/1961, 61-63.

⁹⁶¹ Alberti 1604/1961, 63-65.

⁹⁶² Alberti 1604/1961, 63-64.

visual art practices via the lecture program. Besides acquiring the skills of *letterati* or, as is discussed in the following chapter, training the *disegno interno* of the artists, the goals of the lectures were to animate the academicians and the gentlemen and amateurs that were present during the lessons. The ultimate end of that last point was to acquire the patronage of such art lovers.

Although it is difficult to know for certain what the other artists thought about Zuccari's initiatives, Alberti's descriptions give some indications. It seems that Zuccari's theory of *disegno* was too theoretical or philosophical for some of his colleagues. Balducci confesses as much after being criticized for reading a text that was written by someone else. However, the other lectures must have been easier to understand, as they dealt with decorum, the qualities of beautiful sculpture, the architectural order, etc.⁹⁶³ In fact, Alberti writes about most of these lectures that the audience generally enjoyed them. Moreover, had they been delivered, the planned lectures that were cancelled also must have been easier to follow for artists, as they dealt with subjects related to their profession. Of course, it is one thing to passively understand and enjoy a lecture, and quite another to deliver one oneself. Indeed, Alberti's narrative contains various hints that other artists besides Balducci were insecure about their rhetorical and debate skills. A case in point is Roncalli's elaborate introduction to his lecture about history painting, in which he claims that he is ill-equipped for discoursing on art theory, as he was trained only in its practice.

After Zuccari's presidency the theoretical lectures seem to have been given only irregularly. In fact, the main reason for publishing Alberti's book about the academy was to urge the institution to return to its ambitious teaching program.⁹⁶⁴ According to Alberti, Zuccari's successor as *principe* of the academy, the painter Tommaso Laureti, was not very much involved in the affairs of the institution due to his other occupations. Not much happened in the academy except some mathematical discourses, which Alberti deemed not very useful for the study of the arts.⁹⁶⁵ However, Laureti's contemporary biographers, Giovanni Baglione and Giulio Mancini, place Alberti's brief and critical account of the second year of the Roman academy's existence in a

⁹⁶³ Alberti 1604/1961, 16 and 66-67.

⁹⁶⁴ See Alberti's (1604/1961, np) dedication to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, where he praises Zuccari's good rules (*ordini*) and the useful discourses (*discorsi*) that were held during his presidency, and where Alberti also expresses the hope that the honored studio would be returned to its feet (*a ritornar in piedi così honorato studio*).

⁹⁶⁵ Alberti 1604/1961, 77: 'ne fece cosa alcuna sustantievole per lo studio d'essa Accademia, che alcuni pochi ragionamenti di Matematica, di nulla, o poca sustanza alli studii nostri.'

different light. Baglione writes that when Laureti was *principe* of the academy, he was very benign to the young students and he taught them with the most ‘kindness’ (*carità*) perspective and the principles of architecture.⁹⁶⁶ Mancini also praised Laureti for his pedagogical abilities.⁹⁶⁷ This suggests that although the theoretical lectures were held not as frequent nor were they as varied as during Zuccari’s presidency, covering only mathematical subjects, some mathematical instruction did continue under Laureti’s guidance.⁹⁶⁸

In the past it has been argued that Zuccari’s initiatives were not greeted with enthusiasm and did not continue under subsequent presidents (Laureti, Giovanni de Vecchi, Cesare Nebbia, Durante Alberti, Flaminio Vacca, Cavalier d’Arpino), because they were too abstract and had too little to do with the daily practices of artists.⁹⁶⁹ However, what this interpretation fails to appreciate is that it were precisely these artistic practices that Zuccari wanted to transform – that he attempted to integrate the visual-art and literary practices by urging the artists to acquire the skills of the *letterati* and by stimulating the latter to acquire the basics of *disegno*.⁹⁷⁰

Alberti’s narrative about the resistance from some artists to these changes show two things. Artists disagreed about the goals their practices should pursue in the future and, even if Zuccari is portrayed as the leading figure in movement for change, he was certainly not the only one. According to Alberti, many others approved of and enjoyed the lectures. Second, of the artists who resisted these transformations, by refusing to participate in the lectures, most were sculptors and architects. In fact, besides Vacca and Volterra none of the other sculptors and architects wanted to deliver a discourse (*non volsero ragionare*). More painters showed up for their lectures and, when they did not, as in the cases of Vincenzo Stella and Romano Alberti, they excused themselves by saying that they were too busy, instead of flat out refusing to give a lecture.⁹⁷¹

⁹⁶⁶ Baglione 1642/1995, 73: ‘Fu il secondo Principe dell’Accademia Romana, & era tanto humano con li giovanetti, che quando tenevasi Accademia, stava egli a sedere, & haveva a se davanti una tavola con certa cartella, e con ogni possibil carità insegnava loro la prospettiva, e li principii, dell’architettura.’

⁹⁶⁷ Mancini 1956-1957, 232-233.

⁹⁶⁸ According to the lecture program for the first year, reprinted by Alberti (1604/1961, 56), Tommaso Laureti was supposed to speak about mathematical rules and forms on August 21, 1594. Since Alberti does not mention this lecture in his description of the meetings, the lecture presumably was cancelled. However, given the other evidence discussed above, the assignment of a mathematical lecture topic to Laureti confirms interest in this subject.

⁹⁶⁹ See especially Mahon 1947, Beltramme 1990, and Goldstein 1996.

⁹⁷⁰ See for this last point section 10.3.5.

⁹⁷¹ Alberti 1604/1961, 66.

A possible reason for this is that the market for sculpture and architecture was less vulnerable to the supply of mediocre products than the market for paintings. Therefore, it was less necessary for these artists to distinguish themselves from mediocre colleagues by claiming to practice a liberal and literary art, rather than a mechanical one. Moreover, architecture had generally been awarded a higher status than painting and sculpture, and was sometimes already considered to be a liberal art.

The reluctance of the sculptors and, especially, the architects to comply with Zuccari's lecture program might also have had something to do with their status in the new institution. The statutes proposed by Zuccari and accepted by the other academicians on November 28, 1593 prohibited debates about the primacy of one of the three arts above the others, arguing that they are all three daughters of the same noble father, *disegno*, and even that 'it is one science divided in three practices' (*poiche è una sola scienza, divisa in tre pratiche*).⁹⁷² This admonition can, no doubt, be traced back to the disputes that had erupted between Florentine painters and sculptors about the relative nobility of their arts after the funeral of Michelangelo in 1564. Working in Florence in this period as one of Vasari's assistants, Zuccari must have had first-hand knowledge of these disagreements and the destabilizing effect it had on the incipient Accademia del Disegno.

On the other hand, Zuccari proposed two rules that favored his own art and his fellow painters in the institution. In the first place, the president ordered that during the first three years of the academy's existence, the head of the institution should be a painter. Afterwards, the academy was to elect a different type of artist each year, beginning with a sculptor, then an architect, and finally a painter, after which the cycle would start again. His argument for awarding this privilege to the practitioners of his own art during the first three years was that the new institution had been founded mainly by painters. For the same reason Zuccari gave the painters another advantage over the other artists by ordering that two of the four councilors, who would advise the *principe*, had to be painters, whereas the other two counselling positions would be filled by a sculptor and an architect.⁹⁷³ It is probable that the (slightly) higher position lent to the painters in the institutional hierarchy resulted in the lack of motivation of sculptors and architects to participate in the lecture program during Zuccari's presidency. Except for the sculptor Flaminio Vacca and the architect Francesco Volterra none of the other sculptors or architects, who were assigned a topic to lecture about by Zuccari, delivered a speech.

⁹⁷² Alberti 1604/1961, 13.

⁹⁷³ *Ibidem*, 9.

The architects are no longer mentioned in the 1607 statutes of the Accademia di San Luca, which is described as the ‘academy of painters and sculptors of Rome’.⁹⁷⁴ For this reason, it is not surprising that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many architects, such as Giacomo della Porta, Pietro Paolo Olivieri, Alessandro Algardi, Gianlorenzo Bernini, and Francesco Borromini, as well as the abovementioned Vacca, became (or remained) members of the Università dei Marmorari in addition to (or instead of) belonging to the Accademia di San Luca.⁹⁷⁵ In other words, in its early period the latter institution was more a painters’ and, to a lesser extent, sculptor’s academy than an *accademia del disegno*.

8.5. *Practical instruction in the Accademia di San Luca*

In addition to theoretical lectures, the educational practices in the Accademia di San Luca also consisted of practical instruction in the *studio* (fig. 40). In these practices, young students were taught the skills that were required from contemporary artists. The training of *disegno* played a central role in this artistic education. As already mentioned, in the first meeting Zuccari had ordered that after the hour of lecture and debate, another hour was reserved for the practical training of drawing. The president ordered that teachers should be assigned, who had to give the young students exercises as they saw fit. The subjects of these exercises were landscapes (*prospettive di Paesi*), cityscapes (*casamenti*), animals, nudes, and architectural drawings; they also consisted of making models of clay and of wax. These models, moreover, were to be dressed and copied so that the students learned to render shadows and folds.⁹⁷⁶ Awards and prizes were promised to the best students of each week.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷⁴ AASL, Statuti, 1607, 3r and 4r. See also Grossi/Trani 2009, 31. It is noteworthy, however, that the new statutes allowed women artists to join the academy, although they could not vote or hold any official functions.

⁹⁷⁵ Pietrangeli 1974, 8.

⁹⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 8.

⁹⁷⁷ Handing out awards to motivate students was also part of the educational practices of religious school in that period. See, for instance, Grendler 1989, 384-385 about the Scuole Pie.



Figure 40. Pietro Francesco Alberti, *A Painter's Academy*, ca. 1600, Etching, black-and-white (from: J. Paul Getty Museum and Library, Los Angeles)

Zuccari specifies that, in order to make the most of the practical training, four groups (*capate*) should be formed, in which students of different skill levels would learn different things, that is to say, *they learned the different stages of disegno*.⁹⁷⁸ From beginners to the more advanced students, the exercises of the groups are described as follows. In the first group, students would learn to copy (*copiassero*) the individual body parts that were drawn by the teachers (*assistenti* or *deputati*), e.g. noses, mouths, eyes (fig. 41, foreground). The students in the second group would learn to copy or retrace the cartoons, reliefs and plaster casts (*ritrare cartoni e rilievi*), which were collected in the academy for this purpose (fig. 41, background).⁹⁷⁹ In the third group the students would learn to copy the works of great masters (*copiasse da opera di valent'huomini*) of the past. Finally, in the fourth group, the student learned to make designs and inventions from his place (*fare disegni, & inventioni di sua posta*) or from himself (*da sè*), that is, without a model in front of him.⁹⁸⁰ In this last stage, the student would be able to draw from his imagination an image as if it was a realistic scene or object.

⁹⁷⁸ See Roccasecca 2009 for a similar interpretation of this training program.

⁹⁷⁹ See section 4.3.2.

⁹⁸⁰ Alberti 1604/1961, 11.



Figure 41. Pietro Francesco Alberti, Detail of *A Painter's Academy*, ca. 1600, Etching, black-and-white (from: J. Paul Getty Museum and Library, Los Angeles)

The student who passed through the four groups enumerated by Zuccari would improve his practical understandings of *disegno* in a certain order. This development can be characterized moving from copying simple things and parts thereof (and from two dimensions to two dimensions) to copying more complex things (from three dimensions to two dimensions) to, finally, producing realistic compositions without any type of model in front of them (from the imagination to two dimensions).⁹⁸¹ Many of the educational activities, mentioned by Zuccari

⁹⁸¹ It is unfortunate that no academic drawings by students from that period are known. Zuccari was certainly not the first to propose that drawing should be instructed in different stages. Already in the fifteenth century elements of such a program had been exposed by art theorists such as Cennino Cennini (c. 1400), Leon Battista Alberti (1435), Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1450-1455), and Antonio Averlino il Filarete (1440-1464). In the notes by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) on the correct educational program for art students such a gradual teaching system of drawing is also present. First, the pupil had to copy drawings, prints, and painted works of great masters. Next, he turned to copying sculptures; and finally, the student learned to draw from the live model. See Kwakelstein (2011, 110), who argues that Leonardo himself probably learned to paint in a similar way, as it was common studio practice in mid-fifteenth century Florence. See also Goldstein 1996, 11-12. With the exception of the live model, all elements of Leonardo's curriculum are present in Zuccari's proposal, although his order is not the same and he adds one more stage. In his proposal for the curriculum of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno from the 1570s, Zuccari had already made drawing from the live model an important

in his lectures, are visible in the idealized engravings of art academies by Pietro Francesco Alberti (1584–1638) and by Johannes Stradanus (Jan van der Straet or Giovanni Stradano, 1523-1605) (fig. 40 and cover illustration), who were themselves members of the Accademia di San Luca and the Accademia del Disegno, respectively.⁹⁸²

A couple of things are worth noting about Zuccari's distinction of the four *capate*. In the first place, the requirements for the four levels of students can be compared with the requirements for the three types of academicians, also distinguished by Zuccari in the second meeting. From high to low, these types of academicians were called 'useful and honorable academicians' (*accademico utile e honorato*), studious academician (*accademico studioso*), and aspiring academician (*accademico desideroso*). To become an aspiring academician one had to make a copy of some work of a *valent'huomo* of the past, which should be approved by the *principe*. In order to become a studious academician, the student should execute a design from their fantasy, which should be approved by the *congregatione secreta*. And finally, one could become an honorable academician, when one had executed praiseworthy works in public.⁹⁸³ This means that the training received by the students in the highest group (*capata*) matched the level of the studious academicians, whereas what the students in the second highest *capata* were taught corresponded to the entry level of the aspiring academician. This leaves the students in the lowest two *capate*. Apparently there was no corresponding academic title for them. This means that the academy offered instruction to beginners, who belonged neither to the academy nor to the company.

For honorable academicians there was no corresponding training level. This makes sense, because, having already executed praiseworthy

ingredient. See the transcription of his letter in Barzman 2000, 243: '(...) havere una stanza, ove si esercitassero a ritrarre dal naturale, sopra di che bisogna fare fondamento.'

⁹⁸² Pietro Francesco (or Pierfrancesco) Alberti was one of several members of a family of artists, who originally came from the small Tuscan town of Borgo San Sepolcro and who were members of the Accademia di San Luca in its early years. His father Durante Alberti was the *principe* of the academy in 1597-1598, and Romano, the secretary of the academy, and Cherubino were also relatives. The Flemish Johannes Stradanus was a founding member and one of the first consuls of the Accademia del Disegno. See Van der Sman/Wierda 2014 for an overview of the Florentine careers, including their participation in the academy, of the Flemish artists Stradanus, Fredrik Sustris, and Pieter de Witte junior. Stradanus' self-conception as an art academician went so far that he added the honorific title *Academicus Florentinus* ('Florentine Academician') to his signature in some of his works. See, for instance, the title plate of the series of engravings that portrayed the necessary skills of the prince (*Schema seu speculum principium*). Leesberg/Leeflang 2008, 84 (fig. 379). I thank Gert-Jan van der Sman for bringing this to my attention.

⁹⁸³ Alberti 1604/1961, 7.

works in public, they by definition were expert *disegnatori* or *professori del disegno*. This entailed that they were the professors of design in the academy and that they assisted the young students in their practical training. However, this did not mean that their education was completely over, because, as Zuccari made clear in the first meeting, ‘anyone should know that the only way of learning is to teach, because by teaching one learns’.⁹⁸⁴

The second point to be noted about the distinction between the different levels is of great importance from a practice-theoretical perspective. It has been recently noted that in Alberti’s description of the kind of training that would be carried out in each group, different words are used to denote drawing.⁹⁸⁵ Students in the fourth (and highest) level would study to *fare disegni, & inventioni*; those in the third group had to learn to *copiassse da opere di valent’huomini*; students in the second *capate* were taught to *ritrare cartoni e relieve*; and the beginners in the first group had to *copiare* the examples of the professors. Thus the different verbs are *copiare*, *ritrare*, and *disegnare* (or *fare un disegno*). It seems that these differences are no coincidence, but they mark different stages in the learning of *disegno*. In the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612), *copiare* referred to the completely mechanical operation of making a copy of something – e.g. text, drawing, sculpture, etc. *Ritrarre*, on the other hand, not only meant ‘rendering something’ or ‘making a copy’; it could also have a cognitive connotation. As such, it could stand for the act of observing and describing nature, and also to leave an impression of nature in the mind. Finally, *disegnare* was seen as an intellectual activity, the purpose of which was to create a composition, e.g. for artistic, scientific or technical projects.

This interpretation of the specific terms that were used for denoting aspects of learning *disegno* strongly suggests that, at least during Zuccari’s presidency, in order to become an expert draughtsman at the academy, one had to accumulate quite some intellectual and cognitive skills. So, in the artistic educational practices, there seems to have been a movement from the apprehension from mechanical to intellectual skills. This is an interesting conclusion from a practice-theoretical perspective, because it nuances the traditional view from which drawing is seen solely as a mechanical or bodily activity by adding a theoretical, cognitive and intellectual dimension.

A third and final point should be discussed in relation to Zuccari’s distinction of the four groups of students in the academy. The

⁹⁸⁴ Alberti 1604/1961, 4: ‘ciascun deve sapere, che l’unico modo dell’imparare, è insegnare, perché insegnando s’impera.’

⁹⁸⁵ Roccasecca 2009, 127-8 and 147.

president also ordered that each week the students would compete to be the best of their group and win a prize, consisting of drawing material or drawings from master artists.⁹⁸⁶ This *gara virtuosa* ('virtuous competition'), as Zuccari called it, was an important element in the educational practices of the academy, because it was supposed to incite in the students a desire to improve themselves and, presumably, move to a higher group, although this latter goal is not made explicit. It is noteworthy that Zuccari uses almost the same words as Vasari to describe the mechanism that was supposed to improve the artists' skills, i.e. *gara virtuosa* or *lodevole concorrenza* (a 'virtuous' or 'praiseworthy competition').⁹⁸⁷

Compared to the abundant information about the theoretical lectures and debates in *Origine*, Alberti is remarkably silent about the practical training that was supposed to have been given in the academy. He mainly discusses Zuccari's (intended) program for the drawing lessons in the descriptions of the first two meetings. Alberti only explicitly describes four of such drawing sessions during Zuccari's presidency. The first of these lessons took place during the first academic meeting on November 14, 1593. In his inaugural speech, the president ordered that during the hour of practice, the *giovani principanti* ('beginning youths') should make simple sketches of individual body parts, such as eyes, noses, and mouths. He called this the *Alfabeto del Disegno* ('Alphabet of Design'). According to Alberti, after the speech there was still a half hour left, during which the *giovani principanti* drew such individual body parts.⁹⁸⁸ The drawings on the back of Ingrassia's receipt, discussed in Chapter Five, are most likely the result of that first academic drawing session (see fig. 27).⁹⁸⁹ The receipt is dated November 21, 1593, and thus exactly one week after Zuccari's inaugural speech and first drawing session. Apparently, after the lesson the student left the sketches in the academy and the sheet was reused the following week for the receipt.

The second drawing session discussed by Alberti was held in January 1594, when for a period of two weeks students drew various

⁹⁸⁶ Alberti 1604/1961, 11.

⁹⁸⁷ According to Vasari, it was also through creative competition that the arts had achieved such heights in the Renaissance. Van Veen 1990, 17. See for the notion of progress through competition in sixteenth-century Italian art Williams 2007. Differentiating and ranking students according to skill level (and behavior), and rewarding their progress and efforts (and punishing their misbehavior) belong to the techniques or mechanisms, described by Foucault, by which subjects are disciplined and thereby produced. See Foucault 1991a, 181. It is noteworthy that Barzman does not include this mechanism in her discussion of the 'discipline of *disegno*' in the Accademia del Disegno.

⁹⁸⁸ Alberti 1604/1961, 5-6.

⁹⁸⁹ See section 5.8.

stages of the anatomy of a human body, which Zuccari had obtained for this purpose and which he dissected. The third session mentioned by Alberti took place in the beginning of February, when masters and pupils were given half an hour to draw what they wished, and the drawings of the masters would subsequently serve as awards for the best students in the following weeks. Finally, in June, because the weather was suitable, a nude drawing session was organized in the academy.⁹⁹⁰

In this context, it is interesting to return to the drawing of the disabled man on the back of the receipt for alms to a young impoverished artist named Valerio Valentino (see fig. 28), discussed in Chapter Five.⁹⁹¹ It is probable that this drawing, which can be dated to this period, is somehow connected to the practical instruction in the academy. The sketch could have served various purposes. In the first place, it is possible that one of the more advanced students made the drawing of the disabled man. This student either drew the sketch during one of the first academic drawing sessions or he brought it to the academy to be examined by the president. In this scenario the sheet on which the drawing was made would, subsequently, have been left behind in the academy for the institution's treasurer, Giovanni Paolo Picciolli, to use as paper for writing the receipt.

Second, it is conceivable that the drawing functioned as an award for one of the students for being the best of his *capata*. For, as mentioned, according to Alberti, these awards, which were handed out by the president to promising youths, consisted of drawings by Zuccari and other masters, in addition to pens, brushes, and other utensils.⁹⁹² This means that Zuccari, or one of the other senior members of the academy, could have made the drawing. In this scenario Valerio Valentino would have been the award-winning student and the sheet of paper was later reused for the receipt because there was no other paper available. Finally, it is also possible that the sketch of the disabled man was made by one of the academicians as an example for the students to copy. As mentioned, Alberti recorded how copying the drawings of masters was one of the stages in the educational practices in the academy.⁹⁹³

⁹⁹⁰ Alberti 1604/1961, 28, 31, and 70. See for a discussion also George 2011.

⁹⁹¹ See section 5.8.

⁹⁹² Alberti 1604/1961, 5 and 11.

⁹⁹³ *Ibidem*, 11. Preliminary stylistic analyses of this drawing by Nicholas Turner and Rhoda Eitel-Porter has not led to a certain attribution. The former holds that its author should be sought in the circle of the Cavalier d'Arpino or in that of Federico Zuccari. Turner even tentatively attributes the sketch to Cesare Rossetti (ca. 1565-after 1626), who was Cavalier d'Arpino's assistant. See Baglione (1642/1995, 294) for Rossetti's collaboration in various of Cavalier d'Arpino's projects. Rossetti's name occurs on Alberti's (1640/1961, n.p.) list with first members of the Accademia di San Luca, which concludes his book. Furthermore, Rossetti's name is mentioned various times in archival

Although Alberti does not explicitly describe any more drawing lessons, there are indications in his book that the practical instruction was carried out as planned by Zuccari. For, in almost all of the meetings recounted by Alberti, he mentions that the *principe*, after saying the usual orations and before starting the theoretical hour, looked at the *disegni* of the students and handed out awards to the best of them. An obvious reason for not discussing the practical instruction in detail in *Origine*, is that such descriptions would not be very interesting for the intended readers, i.e. Cardinal Borromeo and other church officials or potential patrons and amateurs, such as members of the aristocracy.

In addition to Alberti's narrative and the list of plaster cast objects on the inventory of 1594, there is some archival evidence that the practical instruction took place in the Accademia di San Luca in its early years.⁹⁹⁴ For instance, the treasurer recorded the purchase of a cartload of clay for the academy (*una carrettata di creta per la Cademia*) in April 1594.⁹⁹⁵ It is likely that this material was used for making clay figures as part of the education of sculptors or for drapery studies. Furthermore, on June 5 of that same year the academy paid a carpenter three *scudi* and seventy *baiocchi* for the construction of a pedestal for the anatomy (*per la fattura del piedestallo della notomia*).⁹⁹⁶ It is almost certain that this pedestal was connected to the anatomical dissection, which, according to Alberti, was carried out by Zuccari in January of that year. Alberti writes that after giving everyone the opportunity to draw the muscles, bone structure, and veins, the *principe* made a plaster cast of the body. The pedestal acquired by the academy several months later was, no doubt, meant to hold this plaster cast for study purposes. In his engraving of the *Painter's Academy* Pietro Francesco Alberti also represented a skeleton on a pedestal (fig. 42).

documents. See AASL, 42, 34v and AASL, 42, 177v (contributions for the feast of San Luca in 1607 and 1613) and ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1626, pt. II, vol. 108, fols. 896r–v (present during a meeting, on June 26, 1626 at the home of Abbot Giacomo Crescenzi). Furthermore, stylistically the drawing of the disabled man can be dated to the end of the sixteenth century, which fits with the textual evidence in the surrounding documents. I am very grateful for Nicholas Turner for this tentative attribution, in an email from October 10, 2014, to Rossetti or someone else from Cavalier d'Arpino's or Zuccari's circle and for his suggested date of around 1600. I also thank Rhoda Eitel-Porter, who, in an email from December 1, 2014, confirmed the (global) dating.

⁹⁹⁴ See for the inventory of the academy section 4.3.2.

⁹⁹⁵ AASL 42, 84r.

⁹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 84v. See for these items also Roccasecca 2009, 132-133.



Figure 42. Pietro Francesco Alberti, Detail of *A Painter's Academy*, ca. 1600, Etching, black-and-white (from: J. Paul Getty Museum and Library, Los Angeles)

Eleven years later, on December 28, 1605 the institution paid Cristoforo Orlandi from Spain four *scudi* and seventy *baiocchi* for a wooden life-size model or mannequin, which was to be used in the academy (*un modello di legno grande come naturale, quale ha da servire per la nostra Accademia di S Luca*). The exact purpose of this artifact is not mentioned in the entry of the ledger book, but it has convincingly argued that it served as a model for drapery studies. The use of a mannequin for learning how to draw the folds and shadows they produce on the human body was not an uncommon feature of artistic educational practices, as Vasari had mentioned, in his *Vite*, various painters who owned such models for this purpose.⁹⁹⁷

In the statutes of 1607, the educational activities of the Accademia di San Luca are outlined in a similar fashion as in Zuccari's speeches fourteen years earlier. The statutes contain the general statement that the topics of the studies cover *disegno*, painting, anatomy, sculpture, architecture, perspective and other subjects pertaining to the profession (*professione*). Moreover, these subjects are to be taught both in 'words and deeds' (*parole e fatti*), thereby confirming the twofold structure of the curriculum – i.e. theoretical and practical education – as envisioned by Zuccari.⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹⁷ Roccasecca 2009, 133-134 and George 2011, 34-36.

⁹⁹⁸ AASL, Statuti 1607, 23r.

Furthermore, in order to enrich the library, the statutes order that everyone who enters the academy has to donate a book (print or manuscript) about one of the above-mentioned subjects pertaining to the profession, or works of history. In addition, it is stated that, for study purposes, someone has to be hired to make plaster casts of the many good ancient reliefs that can be found in Rome, and similarly, a painter should copy the works of the *valentuomini*, in the city.⁹⁹⁹ These plaster casts and paintings were to be placed, together with the books, in the library for the art students (*studianti*) to consult and copy.¹⁰⁰⁰ The inventories of 1624, 1627, and 1633, discussed in Chapter Four, suggest that these orders in the statutes were carried out in the following decades as these documents list plaster casts, books, and paintings that were presumably used for teaching purposes.¹⁰⁰¹

With the election of Simon Vouet (1590-1649) as president of the academy in October 1624, practical instruction in the institution probably increased. The new *principe* immediately nominated twelve professors, who, in pairs, were to take turns organizing the classes on Sundays. The pairs of professors or *rettori* and *provveditori* of the studio as they are called, were Cavalier d'Arpino and Roberto Picù, Cristoforo Roncalli and Nicolas Renier, Antonio Tempesta and Andrea Sacchi, Giovanni Baglione and Alessandro Bottoni, Ottavio Leoni and Pietro da Cortona, and Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Domenico Longo.¹⁰⁰² In the same month, two other pairs of professors were elected: Count Francesco Crescenzi and Andrea Sacchi, and Marcello Sacchetti with Pietro da Cortona.¹⁰⁰³ It is noteworthy that these last two pairs consisted of a nobleman and a painter.

Documents show that in the following years the *rettori* or *maestri dello studio* were regularly elected, which suggest that the educational activities continued to be carried out. In 1628 the Accademia di San Luca started to pay for life models during the summer months. The first of these models was paid one *scudo* and twenty *baiocchi* per month, for which he had to come in on all Sundays and feast days to assist at the 'public study' (*per lo studio publico*). Other payments are recorded for

⁹⁹⁹ Ibidem, 23r-v.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibidem, 27v-28r.

¹⁰⁰¹ See section 4.3.2.

¹⁰⁰² ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1624, pt. 4, vol. 102, fols. 233r-v and Roccasecca 2009, 141.

¹⁰⁰³ ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1624, pt. 4, vol. 102, fols. 232r-v.

the years 1629 and 1632. This means that, at least in this period, the academy organized life-drawing classes within its walls.¹⁰⁰⁴

The use of the terms *professione* (profession) and *professori* (professors) show that the Accademia di San Luca conceived of the arts subsumed under its rule, and especially *disegno*, as liberal and, thus, similar to the discipline of letters, law, or natural philosophy.¹⁰⁰⁵ The justification for this was that *disegno* had an intrinsic cognitive aspect, as it enabled the artist to represent on paper what he had understood with the help of his senses and imagination. The realistic representation of an object or scene as if it consisted of three dimensions attested to the artist's knowledge and understanding of reality.¹⁰⁰⁶

8.6. Conclusion

Although the theoretical and practical education in the art academies did not replace traditional workshop training, which had been organized in the context of the guild system, it did imply a divergence of guild and educational practices. One of the consequences of the educational activities in the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca was that a distinction was made between the very first part of the traditional art instruction, consisting of the performance of menial tasks, such as grinding pigments and preparing canvases, which had to be learned in the workshops, and what came to be seen as the principles of the profession, i.e. the instruction related to *disegno*, such as drawing and copying artifacts and natural objects and learning their measurements and proportions. In this process, the artists of *disegno* came to see themselves as liberal artists, socially separated from the practice of the mechanical artisans, but without denying the practical aspects of their profession.

In both academies, learning by example was an important aspect of the educational practices. The models could consist of objects, persons, and works of art, preferably those of the great masters of the past, the *valentuomini*. In Florence, the anonymous lecturer referred to the works of Tuscan artists; and in Rome, Cherubino Alberti and Zuccari adduced various *valentuomini* as examples for the students. It seems that learning through example was more important than through precepts and rules of thumb. The stimulation of competition between students through handing out awards and prizes was another feature of the educational practices in

¹⁰⁰⁴ ASR, TNC, uff. 15, 1628, pt. 3, vol. 117, fols. 292v: 'Fu decretato che al Modello che serve per lo studio publico se gli dia giulii dodici il mese et che debba assistere tutte le feste conforme al legato fatto dal Mutiano.' See also Roccasecca 2009, 134.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Dempsey 1980, 566.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Roccasecca 2009, 149.

both institutions, as well as the variation of subjects that had to be mastered, such as drapery, landscapes, anatomy, and perspective. Most important in the curricula of the Accademia del Disegno and the Accademia di San Luca was the combination of theoretical and practical instruction. In both academies, in Florence at least in Zuccari's outline and in Rome in actuality from the 1620s onward, *professori* artists were elected in rotation to instruct the students.

Sources indicate that there also were some notable differences as to the organization of the educational practices in both academies. These differences can be derived, for instance, by comparing Zuccari's outline for the curriculum of the Accademia del Disegno of the 1570s with the one he formulated in the Accademia di San Luca in 1593. His proposal for the Florentine academy placed a greater emphasis on life drawing (*ritrarre dal naturale*) and, especially, on the study of mathematics. That the study of mathematics was more important in Florence than in Rome is confirmed by the fact that, unlike the Accademia di San Luca, the Accademia del Disegno employed several professional mathematics teachers – albeit infrequently – and acquired paraphernalia for the instruction of geometry and perspective. Also, the derogatory remarks by Romano Alberti about the mathematical instruction in the Roman academy under Laureti's presidency express a substantially different view on the role of mathematics in the artistic curriculum.

On the other hand, the two parts of the educational activities, theoretical lectures and practical instruction were more clearly described in Zuccari's outline for the Roman academy. Although he separated the hour of lecture and debate from the hour of drawing instruction, there clearly was a connection between both aspects of the curriculum. In Zuccari's speeches this connection is expressed as a development from the apprehension of mechanical to intellectual practical understandings. This development, in turn, is characterized by the sequence *copiare*, as mechanically copying something, *ritrarre*, as analyzing and understanding what one sees while copying it, and *disegnare*, as an intellectual process resulting in a realistic image on paper. This is an interesting conclusion from a practice-theoretical perspective, because it nuances the traditional view from which drawing is seen solely as a mechanical or bodily activity by adding a theoretical, cognitive, and intellectual dimension. This means that, as far as the relationship between theory and practice is concerned, the development in the educational practices of artists was more complex than the phrases 'elevation of the social status of the arts' or 'demotion of practice' suggest.

The theoretical part of the educational practices, the lectures and debates, seems to have been implemented differently in the Accademia del Disegno than in the Accademia di San Luca, although the argument

CONCLUSION

can only be put forward tentatively due to a lack of sources. Whereas there is no evidence that academicians delivered lectures in the Florentine academy, Alberti describes several speeches from artists in the Roman institution. At least during Zuccari's reign an attempt was made to integrate literary and visual art practices via the lecture program. Contrary to the Accademia del Disegno, the Accademia di San Luca was open to gentleman-amateurs from the beginning. Zuccari's idea was that, with the help of the gentlemen and amateurs, the artists would acquire the practical (and theoretical) understandings of *letterati*, which included rhetorical and argumentative skills and knowledge of the theoretical aspects of the profession. This means that the Accademia di San Luca continued the activities that had previously been employed by other cultural academies, insofar as it lectured on subjects that had traditionally been conceived as mechanical and were, therefore, excluded from the domain of (theoretical) knowledge and the university.

Although Alberti's narrative shows that some of the Roman artists were reluctant to deliver lectures in the academy, others complied with Zuccari's wishes and many supported them. Even considering Alberti's bias in favor of the first president of the Accademia di San Luca, Zuccari certainly was not the only artist who wanted to transform the goals of the artistic practice. The reluctance and resistance of some of the artists such as Balducci and most of the sculptors and architects can be understood from the fact that their practical understandings did not match the new goals (or teleoaffective structure) of the artistic practice as proposed by Zuccari, even though they probably did support the enhanced prestige that the profession would receive as a liberal art, and thus with the new goals.