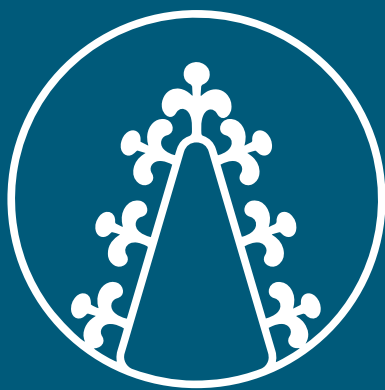


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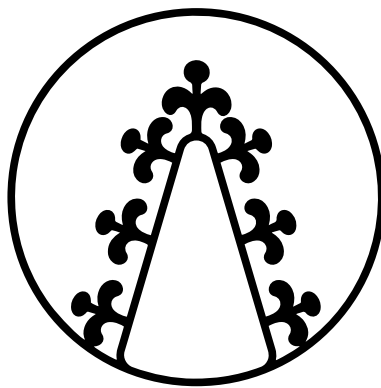
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ABSTRACT

This contribution focuses on the analysis of the educational models underlying the original project of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome as it was outlined by its first *principe* Federico Zuccari in his inaugural speech and in the statutes reported in the well-known volume *Origine et Progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno, de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti di Roma*, edited by the first secretary of the Accademia Romano Alberti and printed in 1604. In pursuing this goal, an attempt is made to compare the Accademia's pedagogical approach with that proposed of other educational, religious and welfare institutions present in the Roman context and in the Italian peninsula in order to identify the cultural paradigms that contributed to the institution of the Accademia's educational plan at the time of its foundation.

Il presente contributo si concentra sull'analisi dei modelli educativi che sottendono al progetto originario dell'Accademia del Disegno di Roma, così come fu delineato dal suo primo principe Federico Zuccari nel discorso inaugurale e negli ordinamenti riportati nel noto volume Origine et progresso dell'Accademia Disegno, de' pittori, scultori et architetti di Roma, curato dal primo segretario dell'Accademia Romano Alberti e dato alle stampe nel 1604. Nel perseguire questo obiettivo si è cercato di mettere a confronto l'approccio pedagogico dell'Accademia con quello proposto da altre istituzioni educative, religiose ed assistenziali presenti nel contesto romano e nella penisola italiana, al fine di individuare i paradigmi culturali che confluirono nell'impostazione del piano formativo dell'Accademia al momento della sua fondazione.

KEYWORDS Accademia del Disegno • educational models • Federico Zuccari • Romano Alberti • history of education • university • Sapienza • Rome • Italy





PAROLE CHIAVE Accademia del Disegno • modelli educativi • Federico Zuccari • Romano Alberti • storia dell'educazione • università • Sapienza • Rome • Italia

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PEER-REVIEW

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«Poiché l'Accademie assottigliano gli ingegni et li fanno più accorti e vivaci»: Educational Models of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome

✦ **Elisabetta Patrizi**

Università degli Studi di Macerata



The Accademia del Disegno, dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti di Roma was officially inaugurated on November 14, 1593, a Sunday morning when, after the solemn mass held in Santa Martina al Foro, the first associates retired to a room adjacent to the church formerly used as a barn and then specifically made «to accommodate for Accademia»¹. *Principe* Federico Zuccari, said the «usual prayers» surrounded by «councilors and collectors [... and by] a lot of noble brigade», delivered an inaugural speech full of meaning, in which we can recognize the programmatic manifesto of the nascent institution (Fig. 1).

Evidence of this solemn moment appears in the *Origine et Progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno*², printed in 1604 and based on the records of the first secretary of the Accademia, Romano Alberti. The text was published at the request of Federico Borromeo, first Cardinal Protector of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome who, leaving the city in 1595 to reach the Archdiocese of Milan, kept in constant contact with the secretary Romano Alberti to follow the developments of an institution whose urgency and importance he felt³. When the work was published in Pavia for the types of Pietro Bartoli, the first *principe* of the Accademia Federico Zuccari was working closely with another illustrious member of the Roman association, Cesare Nebbia, right in Pavia at the Collegio Borromeo, to carry out a commission assigned by Cardinal

Federico Borromeo, who had entrusted the two painters with the decoration of the hall of the College with images from the life of his uncle Carlo Borromeo⁴. As has been noted, the volume is «the most important literary testimony of the pulsating life» of the Roman Accademia at its inception and follows the developments of the institution from the time of its inauguration until 1599⁵. The absolute protagonist of the events narrated is Federico Zuccari, who, addressing Federico Borromeo himself, defined the volume in no uncertain terms as «my book from the Accademia del Disegno [...] which I made under your protection»⁶.

In his inaugural speech, Zuccari clearly and punctually outlined the foundations of the educational program of the Roman Accademia, highlighting in the first instance the moral guidelines that were to lead the institution. With this emphasis, it was intended to establish a line of continuity with the Gregorian brief of 1577 and the Sistine bull of 1588, which had long ago hoped for the birth of the Accademia «to initiate young people in the arts», highlighting the need to also take care of the ethical and Christian dimensions in the education of artists⁷. First of all, Zuccari indicated «virtue in general», «goodness of mind» and «union and fraternal love» as the three key «rules» from which academics had to start to ensure the progress of the Accademia and the «honored professions» (painting, sculpture, and architecture) cultivated in it. It was highlighted that

¹ An altar was set up in the room with the image of the *Virgin and Saint Luke* attributed to Raphael. A representation of the place, realized by Philippe Thomassin, is offered in the frontispiece of *Origine et Progresso*, from which it is quoted (ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 2). For an analysis of the image, see LUKEHART 2009, p. 176. Of the large bibliography on the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, later known as the Accademia di San Luca, we indicate only the contributions that have specifically addressed pedagogical and didactic issues: DEMPSEY 1980 and 2009; ROCCASECCA 2009; GEORGE 2016. Other specific bibliographic references will be provided in the following notes.

² ZUCCARI/ALBERTI 1604, p. 1.

³ Federico Borromeo was *Cardinal Protettore* of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome from 1593 to 1595, a period indelibly marked by his cultural interests. As Pamela Jones observed, «the entry into St. Luke inaugurated Federico's patronage of the figurative arts, and his interest in the theoretical and practical training of the artists who would accompany him for the rest of his life» (JONES 1993, p. 23). On the functions of the *Cardinal Protettore* with specific regard to the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, see LUKEHART 2009, pp. 165, 177-178, 183-184.

⁴ Cf. MORALEJO ORTEGA 2017, p. 151, and in particular BESOZZI 2020. Peter Lukehart also hypothesized that the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia may have been a source of inspiration in setting up the internal organization of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, thus advancing the idea of a possible intervention by Federico Borromeo himself, who also had been a student of Collegio Borromeo, in defining the institutional profile of the Roman Accademia (LUKEHART 2009, pp. 183-184). Some points of contact between the Accademia del Disegno in Rome and the Collegio Borromeo can be identified, in particular, with the Accademia degli Accurati, founded by Federico Borromeo in 1582 at the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, to allow students to study different subjects, including arithmetic, geometry and architecture (BESOZZI 2020, p. 172).

⁵ SEGRETO 2020, p. 399.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The papal documents were translated by MISSIRINI 1823, pp. 20-21, 23-26.



Fig. 1 Philippe Thomassin, Frontispiece of *Origine et Progresso dell'Academia del Disegno de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti di Roma* (Pavia 1604), engraving, Inv. GIII 80/2. © Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense

moral excellence should be the *humus* – so to speak – on which the teachings given in the Accademia had to take root, in accord with the pedagogical approach of the time, which Zuccari himself adopted and repeated on several occasions showing the «identity between one's own cognitive path and the achievement of moral excellence»⁸. There is no evidence that Christian doctrine was also taught in the Accademia as desired in the papal documents, but certainly – as has been observed – the academic meetings «were encapsulated in religious practices», such as the opening prayers and final thanksgivings of each session, which had the purpose of framing the educational activity within a precise behavioral grammar, capable of stimulating pity and encouraging good morals⁹. This approach will then be confirmed by the statutes of 1607, which provided for three officials, two censors and a *paciere* (peacemaker) in charge of observing respect for Christian morality, and by the subsequent statutes of 1627, in which for the first time it would be made explicit mention of the known Tridentine dispositions on sacred images¹⁰.

Returning to Zuccari's inaugural «brief reasoning», it provides important information on the approach with which it was intended to interpret the educational function of the Roman Accademia at its origins. In this regard, Zuccari exhorts to accompany the «particular studies» practiced in the Accademia with «candor of goodness» and with «splendor of honored costumes», because – in his opinion – it is only in an environment cemented in the «conversation of love and faith» and in the liberal «communication of one's virtue» that the most beautiful fruits of the teaching-learning process germinate, generating a virtuous circle in which not only knowledge takes root more fruitfully in young people, but also those who dedicate themselves to teaching increase their knowledge, according to the well-known adage that «by teaching you learn»¹¹. In particular, Zuccari recommends the «virtuous conversation» as «mother of studies and living source of all science and practical art»¹². In this dialectical exchange between teachers and students, he identifies the beating heart of academic activity, referring to the ancient archetypal model as well as the cultural practices of his time¹³:

The wise ancient philosophers, like the learned and prudent moderns in every faculty, became excellent through academic studies and particular exercises, which are useful and necessary for the acquisition of any speculative and practical science.

This brief passage of the inaugural address contains all the

educational philosophy that animates the project of the Accademia del Disegno dei Pittori, Scultori e Architetti in Rome, as it was conceived at the time of its foundation. Zuccari refers to «academic studies» as the vital nourishment of every science approached both in the practical and speculative dimension, in ancient times as in modern ones. Behind this, there is an idea of Accademia that made its way during the humanistic period and consolidated during the sixteenth-century, when the term Accademia no longer referred to a place («that grove near Athens where Plato and his disciples gathered»), but to a «group of people gathered for study purposes»¹⁴, which found its *fulcrum* in the primacy accorded to «conversation as a profound form of cultural relations, as a system of practices that it finds in dialogue [...] his privileged genre and of maximum communicative functionality»¹⁵. In this direction the academy is understood as a collective subject founded on cultural exchange, which has in the *disputatio* its privileged tool for advancing knowledge, according to the guidelines indicated in the *Academia* of Cicero, which they would have looked up to when establishing the Roman institute¹⁶. This will remain the constant element in the history of the academies of the modern age, from the first Neoplatonic humanistic *sodalitates*, to the literary academies, to the «sectoral academies, with a high index of professionalism and skills in specific knowledge»¹⁷ as, in fact, the academies of fine arts themselves were.

Zuccari, as well as other members of the early Roman Academy¹⁸, knew very well the positive effects of academic conversation, thanks to the long and consolidated attendance of various academic circles in Italy and Spain, which he always understood as «didactic centers» and «spaces for ideological exchange», capable of promoting reflection and intellectual and moral improvement of its members, albeit within a sphere of action increasingly subject to the strict control of religious and political authorities¹⁹. It should not be forgotten that for Zuccari the experience gained in the context of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence was fundamental. The first public institution founded with the explicit purpose to ennoble the educational path of artists and clear it from the old training practices of apprenticeship of the workshop, the Accademia del Disegno in Florence represented an essential model to which every similar institution that arose later, starting with the Roman one, looked up to²⁰. Zuccari joined the Florentine institute in

⁸ TEZA 2018, p. 57.

⁹ Romano Alberti begins all the descriptions of the academic meetings with reference to the 'usual orations' and for the most part concludes them with the thanksgiving; see JONKER 2022, pp. 67-70, and p. 69 for the quotation.

¹⁰ The statutes of 1607 and those of 1627 are preserved in the Historical Archives of the National Academy of San Luca. For an analysis of the texts, see SALVAGNI 2021, pp. 278-284, 302-309. For a description of the contents of the first academic statutes (from the Zuccari statutes to the 1627 statutes), see GROSSI-TRANI 2009, pp. 23-41.

¹¹ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ For a brief history of the word 'academy', see MIGLIORINI 2007, p. 269; BARZMAN 2000, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵ On the process of institutional definition of the Academies, see QUONDAM 1982, pp. 822-897 and, p. 827 for the quotation. See also at the now classic census by MAYLENDER 1926-1930.

¹⁶ In this regard it is useful to recall with DEMPSEY 2009 (p. 50) that: «The name 'Academy' does not connote an adherence to a particular philosophical position, whether Stoic, Aristotelian, or, above all, Platonic. It rather refers to a system of education, the characteristic mode of which is the *disputatio* (or *argumetum in utramque partem*)».

¹⁷ QUONDAM 1982, p. 830.

¹⁸ GAGE 2009, pp. 248-252.

¹⁹ MORALEJO ORTEGA 2017, pp. 139-140.

²⁰ BARZMAN 2000 (p. 216) states very effectively that «the Florentine Academy was founded on the assumption that 'art' can be taught».

1565, just two years after its foundation, during his first stay in the city, where he had arrived to participate in the creation of the ephemeral apparatuses for the marriage of Francesco de' Medici and Giovanna d'Austria. However, he actively attended the Florentine Accademia del Disegno especially during his second stay, which goes from 1575 to 1579, when he was called to complete the frescoes in the Cathedral left unfinished by Vasari at the time of his death. In this period, Zuccari writes the well-known *Memoriale* in which he advanced a project of reform of the Medicean Accademia, focusing precisely on pedagogical aspects²¹. In the text, Zuccari proposed an educational program marked by well-regulated academic sessions, in which theoretical moments had to be alternated with the practice of drawing, to give «help and favor to young people [...], and spirit to art, and reputation and honor» to academics²². Zuccari's indications were not incorporated in the new statutes of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence of 1585, even if in the 1590s when the painter was far from the city, there was on some rare occasion «a certain continuity between teaching and teaching proposed by the Vadese»²³. The Florentine experience certainly offered to Zuccari the first important opportunity to reflect on the role of academies in preparing future artists, which he would treasure in the founding events of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome.

Attending the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia allowed Zuccari to deepen the academic discourse functions and appreciate its declamation within a refined setting, animated by notable characters from the humanistic, religious, and literary fields²⁴. Zuccari, who was welcomed in the Umbrian cenacle first with the name of *Desioso* (eager) and then with the much better known one of *Sonnacchioso* (sleepy), made belonging to the Insensati a symbol of pride, of which he was profoundly satisfied precisely because he attributed a central role to this association in his training of intellectuals and artists²⁵. In the fertile environment of the Insensati, he matured an approach to knowledge that he would try to bring into the Accademia del Disegno in Rome and that finds its deepest condensation in the very definition of the name of the Perugian association provided by one of its founders, Ottaviano Aureli, where he affirms that the Insensati want²⁶

to show the world that they are Insensati, that is, of not attending to sensual things, but fleeing, to be intent only on the contemplation of celestial

and divine things. Hence this name will come to mean almost the same as contemplatives.

This constant attempt to bring out the rational part over the sensitive one seems to contain one of the salient features of academic conversations *tout court*, a collective mission intrinsic to every academy, in which the type of pedagogical action exercised within these cenacles is also revealed, regardless of the specific orientations of the individual realities²⁷. In Perugia, Zuccari had the opportunity not only to absorb the guiding principles of academic conversation, or rather of civil conversation (an expression made known by the successful treatise by Stefano Guazzo published for the first time in 1574, in which the educational vision of dialogue is highlighted as a 'place' of training for the modern noble gentleman in the heart and mind rather than in his birthplace), but he was also able to meet people such as Francesco Paciotto, Simonetto Anastagi, Egnazio and Vincenzo Danti, all members of the precocious Accademia del Disegno in Perugia, born just a decade after the Florentine, approaching them with a pedagogical model, made up of theoretical moments and practical lessons, which would inspire him in the elaboration of the educational plan of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome²⁸.

The Ordini

If it is true that Zuccari, in his inaugural speech, describes the Accademia del Disegno in Rome as a micro-society of sorts founded on 'virtuous conversation', it is also evident that this form is sanctioned by establishing right away, in conjunction with the founding act, the internal rules²⁹. In fact, the first statutes of the Accademia, soon known as the *Ordini*, were read by Zuccari during the first inaugural session on November 14 and in the following two, on November 28 and December 13, 1593³⁰. The orders outline the organizational structure and the educational program of the Academy; therefore, we are faced with a document of great importance, the authorship of which is attributed entirely to Zuccari by the secretary Alberti. There is no doubt that Zuccari was «one of the most important founders of the Accademia»³¹ and his imprint can be found in the *Ordini*, however, it is reasonable to imagine that in laying the administrative and pedagogical foundations of the academic body, he could benefit from the contribution of other academics, especially the Tuscans who were a significant presence in the early Roman Accademia³², which – it should be emphasized – was

²¹ On the *Memoriale*, see HEIKAMP 1957; WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, II, pp. 489-493. For the curriculum of Accademia del Disegno in Florence, see BARZMAN 2000, pp. 143-180.

²² HEIKAMP 1957, p. 218.

²³ MORALEJO ORTEGA 2017, p. 146.

²⁴ The year in which Zuccari joined the Accademia degli Insensati isn't known, but scholars place his entry around the early 1580s. On the relations between Zuccari and Perugia's academic circles, see MORALEJO ORTEGA 2017, pp. 146-149, and especially 2014; TEZA 2018, pp. 51-74. On the Accademia degli Insensati, see IRACE 1990, pp. 155-178.

²⁵ In this regard, it can be recalled that Zuccari signs the well-known *Lettera a' Principi* (ZUCCARI 1605) mentioned in the title of this contribution with the name of *Sonnacchioso*.

²⁶ BCAP, Ms 1717, fols. 2v-3r, in TEZA 2018, p. 22.

²⁷ Cf. QUONDAM 1982, pp. 827-831.

²⁸ On the first period of activity of Accademia del Disegno in Perugia, see MANCINI 2011.

²⁹ The comparison between the Accademia and the State is made explicit in ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 6, when recalling that, since the Orders and Statutes are necessary to govern every Republic and State, Academics are invited to call a «congregazione segreta» at least once every three months.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-13.

³¹ LUKEHART 2009, p. 171.

³² This data can be easily deduced by scrolling through the list of artists listed in the appendix to ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604.

able to count among its associates the names of illustrious artists engaged in the most important construction sites in Rome.

First of all, according to the *Ordini*, all academics must meet every Sunday and during «religious holidays»³³. This first aspect alone deserves some consideration. For example, we can note together with Amedeo Quondam, how in general³⁴,

the time of the Academy is inscribed in an essentially festive dimension, which pertains to the cultural typology of the party, to its historical, specific form: it is the moment of suspension – planned – of weekday rhythms of external time, of their own working-productive connotation.

The space of the party is what characterizes the meetings of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, which often overlap with events that border on the same urban scene, such as the celebration of the feast of the patron saint of painters Saint Luke the Evangelist, which implies the development of ephemeral apparatuses aimed at enhancing the image and prestige of the Accademia. However, the very act of meeting takes on a relevant connotation, more than any party, as it is the very news of ‘doing academy’, which amplifies and promotes its fame and reputation, even more so if this, as in the case of the Roman Accademia, in emulation of what happened in the Florentine Accademia, is open to the so-called *amatori*, literate gentlemen admirers of art, who could contribute to increasing the good name of the Accademia and supporting its development with their own cultural contribution and even financially, according to the usual *patronage* logic typical of the educational institutions of the time³⁵.

More generally, we can also observe that the choice to place the academic sessions on Sundays and on feast days reaffirms the confessional framework in which the activities of the Roman Accademia were conceived, which is not necessarily dictated by its location within the Papal State. However, it reflects the *modus operandi* of an era in which every aspect of human life was necessarily incorporated and conceived in the «time of the Church», so much so that Zuccari in his inaugural speech did not limit himself to appealing to the *virtutes christianae* of the academics, as the inevitable glue of the newborn

institution, but urged them to demonstrate their commitment to the *communitas christiana*, inviting them to be «prepared and willing to receive the Blessed Sacrament» on the last Sunday of each month³⁶. In this recommendation, we can recognize the influence of the devotional practices adopted by the lay and religious brotherhoods and by the trade guilds that animated the urban areas of the time and which were particularly numerous in the Roman region³⁷. In this regard, we can notice that many academics were members of the Confraternity of San Giuseppe di Terrasanta, so much so that there was «a good deal of overlap between [the two] organizations»³⁸ and it should not be forgotten that from 1572 to 1584, Zuccari himself was its perpetual Regent³⁹. The Compagnia was born in 1542 on the initiative of the Cistercian monk Desiderio d’Adiutorio and was initially formed only by artists (painters, sculptors, architects, engineers, and craftsmen). The peculiarity of this brotherhood did not lie only in the fact that it wanted to promote the devotional practices of its associates, an aspect common to all forms of lay and religious associations of the time⁴⁰, but rather in the will, on the one hand, to stand as a «symbol of vitality of art seen as a means to praise God and to reach eternal salvation» and, on the other hand, to promote «an innovative and less corporate vision of the presence of the artists themselves in modern society»⁴¹. These goals also overlapped with the existential and professional project of many academics (first of all Zuccari), who fit within a more complex framework in which the artistic professions were calling into question the structures of the ancient guilds. This was a long and tiring journey that would experience a decisive step forward precisely with the birth of the art academies. In this regard we can remember that the *Universitas* of painters, a few months before the official inauguration of the Academy, merged into a new structure⁴². Its legacy had been welcomed by the Congregazione dei Pittori born on March 7, 1593 with a solemn ceremony celebrated in Aracoeli⁴³, which also sanctioned the foundation of the Compagnia di San Luca and invoked the establishment of an Accademia del Disegno⁴⁴. Of these three bodies, whose implementation was entrusted to a group of six deputies – three of which, it should be noted, were chosen as

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁴ QUONDAM 1982, p. 829.

³⁵ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 14. He provides a list of *amatori* at the end of the book.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁷ A brief but interesting overview of the Roman case is offered by TIBERIA 2000, pp. 17-19.

³⁸ Lukehart explains the close ties that united the Compagnia di San Giuseppe in Terrasanta with the Accademia and with the main guilds present in Rome and points out that in the first documents the appeal of the *reggente* and not that of *principe* is chosen to designate the figure at the top of the Academy’s organization governing chart, just like the *reggente* of Compagnia di San Giuseppe in Terrasanta. Cf. LUKEHART 2009, pp. 161-165, 190 and p. 164 for the quotation.

³⁹ Federico Zuccari was elected *reggente perpetuo* of the Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terrasanta in 1572 and the following year; in exchange for this recognition he undertook to pay the Compagnia an annual fee. His presence is documented almost monthly between 1579 and 1581. Then, starting from the following year, a dispute was opened with the Company for failure to pay of the promised annuity. In 1584 Zuccari renounced the office of *reggente perpetuo*, which the Compagnia had already decided the year before not to confer on anyone in the perpetual form, and in 1585 he resolved the dispute with the Compagnia that had brought him before the sacred courts. Relations between Zuccari and the Compagnia would continue to be complicated in subsequent years, given that the painter repeatedly disregarded the commitment made in 1597 to complete the pictorial decoration of the chapel of San Giuseppe al Pantheon, undertaken by his brother Taddeo and never completed. Cf. TIBERIA 2000, pp. 42-44, and 2002, pp. 31, 34, 68-69.

⁴⁰ For an overview of the phenomenon of brotherhoods within the complex scenario of sixteenth-century Italy, see BLACK 1989.

⁴¹ TIBERIA 2000, pp. 21, 36.

⁴² We can also recall that Federico Zuccari enrolled at the *Universitas* of painters in Rome in July 1567 and attended only one meeting that year. In 1580 he became consul, a position that was reconfirmed in 1581, the year of the well-known episode linked to the exhibition of the satirical painting of the *Porta Virtutis*, which determined the removal of the painter from Rome until 1583. We know that the painter left Rome again in 1585. He would reappear in the guild’s documents only starting in 1593. Cf. SALVAGNI 2012, pp. 137, 156-159.

⁴³ The ‘Manifesto’ accompanying the foundation of the congregation of painters is kept in the ASR, TNC, uff. 11, 1593, pt. 1, vol. 25, fols. 425r-427v, in ACCADEMIA DI SAN LUCA PROJECT, <<https://www.nga.gov/accademia/>> (last accessed 11 September 2024). For the analysis of document, see LUKEHART 2016, pp. 171-174.

⁴⁴ Cf. LUKEHART 2009, pp. 166-195; SALVAGNI 2021, pp. 187-194.

principi of the Accademia⁴⁵ –, if the Accademia was in charge of the didactic part while the Congregazione dei Pittori oversaw professional interests and economic aspects of the members, the Compagnia di San Luca was responsible for providing «for the religious and charitable need of its membership»⁴⁶. However, this ‘division of functions’ did not prevent those religious practices that in fact represented the basic behavioral grammar of every associative reality of the time from reflecting in the meetings of the Congregation and the Academy.

Resuming the analysis of the internal life of the Roman Accademia, it can be observed that in the *Ordini*, the way of accepting and enrolling academics was clearly stated, establishing that all painters present in Rome who had distinguished themselves for the creation of works of value could be registered in the book of the Academy, «promising obedience and observance of all our orders and statutes»⁴⁷. For young people, on the other hand, different levels of admission were identified, which seem to describe a path of initiation into the art of drawing, which – as we will see later – is declined according to specific learning steps. Thus it was decreed that: ‘beginners’ had to present to the prince a drawing that reproduced a work by a talented artist of the past in order to be admitted with the title of «accademici desiderosi» (eager academics); young artists who could create a design that was the fruit of their imagination approved by the secret congregation could be admitted as «accademici studiosi» (academic scholars); finally, young artists who distinguished themselves for the creation of laudable public works could be recognized as «accademici utili e onorati» (useful and honored academics) and, as such, participate fully in academic life⁴⁸. Therefore, we are faced with an institution that was created to welcome within it, side by side, the most mature and experienced artists and those who were novices in order to offer stimuli for the advancement of both, according to that formative perspective that had been inaugurated at the time by the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, according to which the academic context had to offer itself as a space for comparison, exchange, and growth⁴⁹.

With regard to ‘novice’ academics, it is interesting to note, together with Laura Teza, how in the title «accademici desiderosi» a connection can be identify with the first and lesser-known title chosen by Zuccari at the time of his affiliation to the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia: *Desioso*. This is an interesting consonance, even if in the Perugian Accademia Zuccari defines himself as *Desioso* in a very different way from that in which the

«accademici desiderosi» in Rome were considered. The profound meaning of this choice and the same gnoseological and educational conception of Zuccari can be deduced very well from the text that he commented on the *impresa* that he elaborated at the time of his entry into the Perugian association⁵⁰:

A hoe or pickaxe, whatever you mean, with which every great wall is broken and every foundation is dug, in the manner of someone who, out of desire to find statues of gold and metals, dug underground among the ruins of ancient buildings, and discovering some dressed in statues, medals or vases of gold and silver, all glad continuously hope to find more. Thus, the academic eager to honor with his ready-willed little one by studying and striving in the virtues and fragments of the doctrines of good studies and sciences with the medium of the most wise, at the same manner the Academician hopes to become wise and by beginning to discover some clothes of learned documents he hopes the treasure task to congratulate, the motto ‘I hope’ denotes it. And all this could be applied to the common sense of academic precepts.

Zuccari put a pickaxe at the center of his *impresa*, surrounded by numerous ancient finds (Fig. 2). This tool is described as breaking through any barrier and unearthing hidden treasures. The pickaxe is the iconographic metaphor of the «academic eager» to reach a higher level of knowledge, who, animated by strong will, curiosity, and a spirit of sacrifice, undertakes hard work to unveil scattered fragments of knowledge, which will be brought back to unity with the fundamental help of the Accademia, which is assigned a primary educational role in supporting the academic path of cultural advancement. Behind the allegorical reading of the enterprise, as pointed out, some «guiding ideas of the cultural universe»⁵¹ of Zuccari, of his way of approaching and conceiving academic commitment, are evident.

Regarding the governing organization chart of the Roman Accademia, the *Ordini* placed a *principe* at the top, who had to be elected by secret ballot by all academics once a year. It is peculiar that this title was chosen and not that of *console*, for example, adopted to designate the head of the Università dei Pittori, or the one that recalls the military world of *luogotenente*, which was in use at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence. The title of *principe* was very common among literary academies and was also adopted by the Accademia degli Insensati in Perugia. Behind this choice, we can read another sign of the desire to conceive the Accademia del Disegno in Rome as a microcosm, with its own precise internal organization, separate from society and projected towards the task of conveying a new image

⁴⁵ In addition to Federico Zuccari, *principe* from 1593 to 1594, reference is made to Tommaso Laureti, whose mandate run from 1594 to 1595, and to Giovanni de' Vecchi, who assumed the office of *principe* from 1595-1596. Cf. LUKEHART 2009, pp. 169-170.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴⁷ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Cf. GEORGE 2016, pp. 147-163.

⁴⁹ Cf. DEMPSEY 1980, p. 553.

⁵⁰ The enrollment is by Zuccari himself and illustrates the *impresa* personally designed by him. The design is contained in a manuscript kept in the Historical Archive of the University of Perugia, including the general *impresa* of the Accademia degli Insensati and those of forty-three members. Zuccari's *impresa* differs from the others in its format (it is larger than the others) and in the conceptual structure as well as for the fact that it is autographed. Given these exceptional characteristics, Laura Teza hypothesized that it was sent by Zuccari from out of town and that it was conceived as a sort of proof of entry, before the official affiliation, which would take place later with the well-known name of *Sonnacchioso*. Cf. TEZA 2018, pp. 48-74, p. 55 (quotation), p. 96 (image of *impresa*), and pp. 151-153 (sheet of *impresa*). See also SACCHINI 2016.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.



Fig. 2 Federico Zuccari, *Impresa del Desioso*, Accademia degli Insensati di Perugia, pen and brown ink, early 1580s, Inv. P III. © Perugia, Università degli Studi, Archivio Storico

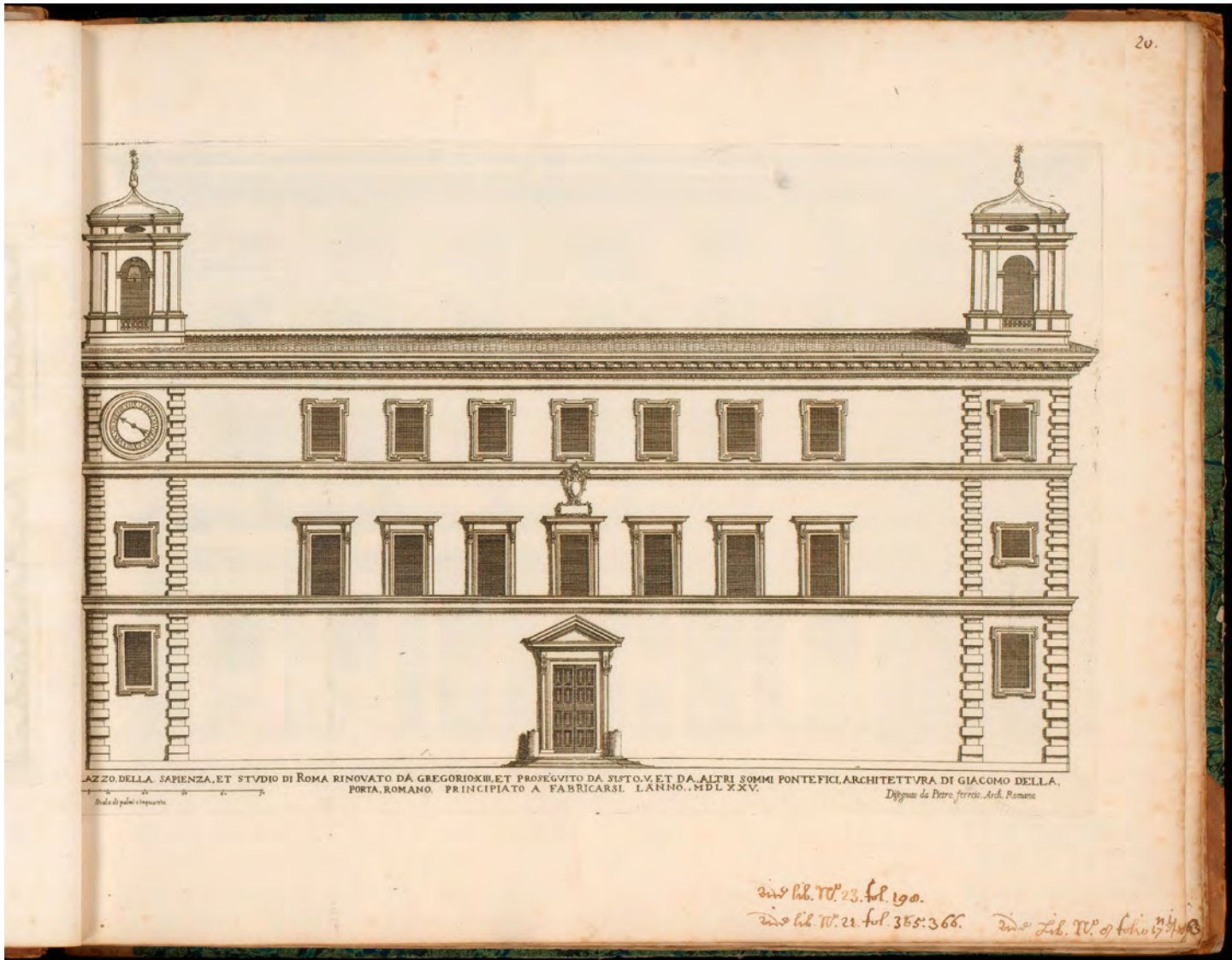


Fig. 3 Pietro Ferrario (based on a drawing by), *Palazzo della Sapienza et Studio di Roma rinnovato da Gregorio XIII, proseguito da Sisto V et da altri sommi pontefici, architettura di Giacomo della Porta romano, principiato a fabbricare l'anno MDLXXV*, etching, 1655, Inv. RP-P-2016-709. © Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

of the artist, capable of standing out not only for technical skills but also on an intellectual and moral level. The *Ordini* established that for the first three years of activity the prince had to be chosen exclusively among painters, in recognition of the fact that the foundation of the Accademia was mainly due to them. Subsequently, it was prescribed that exponents of other professions had to be nominated in turn to fill this role: «after the painters a sculptor has to be elected as a *principe* and the following year an architect and again another painter, so reciprocally one another»⁵². Therefore, it was confirmed that, unlike what was prescribed for the *luogotenente* of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, who was required to be a drawing amateur⁵³ and not a professional artist, the *principe* of the Roman Accademia had to come from the world of art professions.

The *principe*, together with the main officials of the Accademia, was part of the so-called *congregazione segreta*, which was responsible for meeting at least every three months to provide for the needs of the institute⁵⁴. Four *consiglieri* also were part of it, and not three *consoli* as in the case of the Florentine Accademia, who were to assist the *principe* in the exercise of his mandate. The *consiglieri*, made up of two painters, a sculptor, and an architect, were chosen by the prince in office. Likewise, the other officers had to be identified according to the prince's «taste», namely: the *segretario*, who had to keep records of the main activities and events related to the institution, the *custode* in charge of opening and closing the Accademia headquarters, the four *donzelli* and the *bidello*. This is another peculiarity of the Roman Accademia, which unlike the Florentine one, did not entrust the choice of all the offices to the secret ballot, but greatly valued the role of the head

⁵² ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 9. We have to note that in the Zuccari-Alberti's text the discourse is in the future tense rather than in the past tense.

⁵³ BARZMAN 2000, p. 223.

⁵⁴ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 6.

of the Academy, in this case, the *principe*, to whom it was given faculty to identify the most relevant figures who would support him in the management of the institute during his mandate⁵⁵. Only a few officials of the Roman Accademia, including the two *assistenti* to the *custode*, in charge of cleaning the Accademia, and the *provveditore*, in charge of overseeing the «needs of the Accademia», had to be selected by lot⁵⁶.

The presence of figures such as that of the *bidello*, presumably with duties of surveillance over the conduct of academics, as well as the designation of those who lectured at the Accademia with the term *professori* and the adoption of the title of *Studio* attributed to the Roman institute («This Accademia was a very unique study»; «that the teachers' minds will perhaps warm up in bringing such an honored Studio back to its feet»⁵⁷), attest to the influence exercised by the university organizational model in the development of the management and teaching system of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, confirming the fact that Zuccari brought together in his project a wealth of the suggestions deriving from various institutions present in the cultural panorama of the time⁵⁸. The *Studium Urbis* La Sapienza must have had a particular influence (Fig. 3). This was explicitly mentioned in the statutes of the Roman Accademia of 1607, where it was established precisely with regard to the *bidello*: «should wear a uniform like the porter of the Sapienza, but a little shorter»⁵⁹. Indeed, the Roman University, especially following the reforms initiated at the beginning of the sixteenth-century and continued in those years under the pontificate of Sixtus V, had been able to carve out a special place among the educational institutions of the Papal city precisely as an «instrument of professional preparation»⁶⁰, and it was therefore natural that the Accademia del Disegno in Rome (Fig. 4), as an institution responsible for the training of a specific category of professionals, the artists, or rather the «professional practitioners of drawing», should turn its gaze to the *Studium Urbis* as an essential precedent to define its image as a «Università del Disegno»⁶¹.

The juxtaposition of art academy and university is not new in this field of study. Dempsey observed, with specific reference to the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, how «the Academy had been given the professional status of a university when it was inaugurated in 1563»; pointing out very appropriately below that⁶²:

As the word *università* means a corporate body or, in one technical and familiar sense, a guild, so the meaning of a university as an academic institution with

one or more faculties is conveyed by two terms, *Sapienza* (or *domus sapientiae*) originally referring to the building in which the College of Scholars was housed), and *Studio* deriving from *studium* or *studium generale*, this last meaning, not a place where all subjects are studied, but one at which scholars and students from everywhere are welcome.

If there is no doubt, as has been demonstrated again by Dempsey, that the Accademia del Disegno in Florence was established as «just such a studium for the arts of disegno»⁶³, it should not be surprising to note that from the outset the institution was designated as *Accademia et Studio*. A similar operation was also carried out for the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, but the two terms were not used as synonyms, as it was the case in the Florentine context; they instead designated a double internal articulation, with specific effects on the didactic level.

The Studio and Accademia in Rome

In the *incipit* of *Origine et Progresso dell'Accademia del Disegno de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti di Roma*, Romano Alberti underlines how the institution was born from the will of the «Painters of Rome [to] erect a Studio and Academy of drawing to help and guide young scholars, who want to study painting, sculpture, and architecture in the very noble professions of drawing»⁶⁴. In the *Ordini* there is greater clarity on the name of the Roman institution, prefiguring an internal separation between the Accademia proper, focused on theoretical learning and intellectual exchange, and the Studio, which was confused, on the other hand, with the operational part and the training of young people. The fundamental novelty of the proposed *iter studiorum* lay precisely in the desire to combine practical exercises with theoretical training declined in «reasoning and speeches», because as Zuccari once again observed in this regard, «without theorica there cannot be very good practice»⁶⁵. Zuccari developed this assumption later in *L'Idée de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti* of 1607, where he observed⁶⁶:

Our intellect always desires to know, nor is it ever quiet except in truth and in that particularly rejoices, but knowledge is a thing worthy of a thousand praises, nor without discourse, one can understand and know many things about nature and philosophize about his proper professions makes the artist universal, copious and learned, whose philosophy and speeches always make intelligence and practice safer and more certain.

Nevertheless, this idea of knowledge as the mother of the artistic professions runs through many of the speeches given by Zuccari

⁵⁵ BARZMAN 2000, pp. 221-231, and pp. 233-234 (*Statutory Addenda of 1 July 1563*).

⁵⁶ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. IV.

⁵⁸ For an overview of the university phenomenon from the Middle Ages to the present day, see STORIA 2007, in particular, for an overview of the situation of the *Studia* in the modern age, see the essay by DEL NEGRO 2007, pp. 95-135.

⁵⁹ ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 135.

⁶⁰ RAFFAELLI 2011, pp. 176-180 and p. 180 for quotation.

⁶¹ ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 136.

⁶² DEMPSEY 1980, p. 554.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 1, translated by me.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 14. On the combination of *theorica* and *practica* as the foundation of artistic education at the Roman Accademia, see the reflections by GEORGE 2016, pp. 147-165.

⁶⁶ ZUCCARI 1607, p. 34.

at the Roman Academy. This is highlighted especially in the last speech, the one at the end of his mandate held on October 18, 1594, when, in leaving the group, Zuccari shared some memories and precepts to celebrate the journey up to that moment. In particular, he offered a reading of the meaning of Accademia's *impresa* and *motto* full of *pathos*, in which he reaffirmed the central role of humanistic studies in artistic training⁶⁷:

his *impresa*, [...] that is, this luminous lantern, worthy of this place, [...] must give light and splendor to many. But of one thing I should warn everyone, that each one must procure and administer the necessary nourishment to this lantern, so that it can make its clear and lucid splendor; and this should be done by giving him the oil of assiduous and diligent studies every day; [...] likewise to his *impresa* and to this Accademia it seems that his motto is very proper and convenient: *Sic Operatur*, so therefore each of us will have to animate and strive with our own studies and diligence, advancing to operate and keep alive this luminous lantern, in which all our glory and honor consists.

Behind this was the desire to assign the artistic professions a rightful place among the liberal arts, enhancing the intellectual component of the profession as a fundamental and essential part for good practical execution. In this, the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, like other similar institutions that arose in those years, followed «closely on its sister Academy in Florence»⁶⁸.

Going more specifically into the analysis of the Roman case, the didactic and organizational structure prefigured for the Accademia seems to mirror that of a regular literary academy faithfully. The lessons, a series of speeches scheduled every two weeks addressed to students, «literary virtuosos and amateurs» of the profession⁶⁹, represented the fulcrum of an educational program focused on conversation and shared reasoning, conceived – in line with the dominant Aristotelianism of the time – as the highest expression of man's intellect and gnoseological potential. In this way, we are faced with the affirmation of a new image of a cultured artist, capable of nourishing his works with the purest distillation of that rhetorical *forma mentis* which, celebrated in the years of the flowering of humanistic culture, imbued the whole modern age and beyond, remaining the point of arrival of most of the *curricula* proposed in the educational institutions of the European panorama and of those born in the territories of recent discovery and evangelization⁷⁰.

The first speeches given in the Roman Accademia were dedicated to drawing, meaning its substance and its intellectual and practical quality. On this subject, it was invited to speak first Durante Alberti, who gave a speech with his father Romano on January 2, 1594 on practical drawing; the topic was expanded upon by Cesare Nebbia, who gave his speech on January 17, which was immediately followed by that of Zuccari himself, who talked about *disegno interno*, showing all academics its place between human and intelligible things, drawing on Aristotelian thought⁷¹. The following speeches had of the purpose of defining the three main professions cultivated in the Accademia: painting, sculpture, and architecture. Federico Zuccari immediately intervened on the definition of painting and did so for the other two arts. In fact, the speakers therein identified, Giacomo della Porta and Taddeo Landini, respectively architect and sculptor of Clement VIII at the time, had deserted the conference assigned to them. Zuccari's intended to define drawing as the theoretical basis of the three arts, but this assumption was met with resistance⁷²:

The lukewarm response of the painters, the indifference of the sculptors, but above all the proud opposition of the architects to accept any authority other than Vitruvius posed insurmountable obstacles, and Zuccaro's objects to have *disegno* recognized as both the theoretical and the operative basis of painting, sculpture, and architecture was thus frustrated.

Although several speakers failed to show up, especially sculptors and architects, who did not feel (and in fact were not) well represented in the Accademia, given the clear pre-eminence of painters and the preponderance of these in the governing bodies⁷³, the speeches were held with a certain regularity under the principdom of Zuccari⁷⁴, who never backed down when it came to replacing the absent speakers, stimulating the reflection of academics and amateurs of the artistic professions in attendance and, in some cases, also proposing alternative solutions to occupy the time of aspiring artists, from the study of anatomy to impromptu tests of artistic ability⁷⁵. If it is accurate to conclude that the Accademia del Disegno of Rome «was conceived as a complex institution with a variety of functions», it is also true that within this overall framework «the Studio

67 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 73.

68 DEMPSEY 1980, p. 557.

69 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 4-5.

70 Cf. ROGGERO 1992; pp. 1-21 SANI 2010, pp. 37-57.

71 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 19.

72 ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 125. Romano Alberti himself did not hide, for example, that Giacomo della Porta and other architects invited to give a lecture on architecture refused the invitation, «not wanting to know any other definition of architecture than the one that Vitruvius says, that is architecture to be a science of many disciplines and of various teachings adorned, by whose judgment all the work that is done properly by other arts is approved», translation of ZUCCARI/ALBERTI 1604, p. 34.

73 On the subject, see also the reflections of SALVAGNI 2021 (pp. 227-229, 264-269, 399-405, and pp. 417-423), who with regard to the sculptors points out that their actual entry into the Accademia dates back to 1607, when they managed to break free from the constraints created by the transformations of the old guilds; while for the architects she postpones the definitive institutionalization of their presence in the Accademia starting from 1642, with the advent of the principdom of Pietro da Cortona, and underlines how the official ratification of this situation came with the new statutes of 1675, which finally assigned equal dignity to the three sister arts. On the process of adhesion of the sculptors to the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, LUKEHART 2014, however, underlines how they managed to detach themselves from the Università dei Marmorari definitively only in 1665, thus becoming Accademicians in all respects.

74 Federico Zuccari and Romano Alberti provide the list, calendar and transcripts of the speeches delivered by some professors of the Accademia during the biweekly sessions (ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 53-57). The speech by Cristoforo Roncalli known as il Pomarancio, held on June 26, 1594 was remarkable. Pomarancio was invited to discuss what history is and how it must be represented and what circumstances are necessary to represent it well in its most similar and probable concept. Vita Segreto proposes a paraphrase of the speech, followed by the transcription of the text (SEGRETO 2020, pp. 399-409).

75 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 28, 31.



Fig. 4 Étienne Dupérac, *Vestigij dell' arco di Settimio Severo* [...]. Nel segno C è la Chiesa di Santa Martina, engraving/etching, 1575, Inv. ZU-1891-3063. © Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

constituted the part responsible for the education of young painters, sculptors, and architects»⁷⁶. It is not without reason that the Studio was indicated as the most successful part of the Accademia's original project, given that the speeches after the princedom of Zuccari had a fluctuating trend. On the other hand, the Roman institute was founded mainly to provide «help and guidance for young scholars, who in the very noble professions of *disegno* want to study painting, sculpture, and architecture»⁷⁷.

The education of young people, whose meetings were held on feast days, after lunch, for the space of one hour, was entrusted to twelve academics, indicated by the name of *assistenti* and not *maestri*, as was in the Florentine Accademia⁷⁸, to underline that their main task was to assist and support the growth of aspiring artists. They were selected by lot from among the academics and remained in charge alternately for a month⁷⁹. Each *assistente* was responsible for delivering a «loving exhortation» once a month through which young academics were to be encouraged

to fear God, respect their elders, study and have 'fellowship' with their classmates⁸⁰. Once again, the idea of the early Roman Accademia projected that image of *societas* made up of chosen spirits, united by the common desire to pursue their own intellectual and moral improvement, which was widespread in many literary academies of the time, starting with that of the *Insensati* so dear to Zuccari, and which now was also applied to the artistic training of the new generation. In terms of content, the *assistenti* were asked to guide students in carrying out different types of activities, considering the specific abilities of each student⁸¹:

Who will draw drawings by hand, who cartoons, who reliefs, who heads, feet and hands and who will go during the week drawing the ancient, to the facades of Polidoro, who will portray perspectives of villages, buildings, who animals and other such things as well as at the right times it will undress the naked and portray them with grace and intelligence, who will make models

⁷⁶ ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 124.

⁷⁷ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 1.

⁷⁸ BARZMAN 2000, p. 228 (*I Capitoli et Ordini dell'Accademia et Compagnia dell'Arte del Disegno, approvati* [il di 13 di gennaio 1563]).

⁷⁹ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 7.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.



Fig. 5 Pietro Francesco degli Alberti, *Accademia de' pittori*, etching, c. 1625, Inv. 9.95.12. © New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

of clay, wax, dress them and portray them in a good manner; who will draw of architecture, who of perspective, with its well-formed and good rules.

The practice of copying, drawing, and studying the wax or clay models in winter and from life in the warmer months was already the basis of traditional apprenticeships carried out in the private academies of the masters⁸²; their innovative aspect lay precisely in its didactic structure and in the fact that it was finally included in a path where the practical part was also combined with theoretical lessons. Indeed, the Studio also provided theoretical moments, which were to further reinforce the foundation of

awareness necessary to substantiate artistic expression. The lessons in mathematics, geometry, perspective, and anatomy promoted in this first period of activity of the Roman institution must be framed in this context, in analogy to what was done at the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, a point of reference for all the drawing Academies of that time⁸³. Romano Alberti says that Zuccari himself bought a corpse to give anatomy lessons at the Accademia, which presumably took place around February 1594⁸⁴, the year in which the *camerlengo's* books record the purchase of a «pedestal of the anotomy»⁸⁵. Despite some resistance by Zuccari in inserting scientific culture among the subjects to be cultivated

⁸² On the use of models to teach the principles of drawing and composition, see ROCCASECCA 2009, pp. 131-134; on the study of the model in private Roman academies, CAVAZZINI 2009.

⁸³ WAŻBIŃSKI 1987, I, pt. III; BARZMAN 2000, pp. 151-172.

⁸⁴ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 28.

⁸⁵ Cf. ROCCASECCA 2009, pp. 132-133.

in the apprenticeship of young artists, which transpire in several passages from the account of the secretary Alberti, especially when the Florentine painter Giovanni Balducci known as Il Cosci gave his speech emphasizing the close dependence of painting on mathematics, the students of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome were also able to benefit from the lecture on perspective by Girolamo Massei, as well as from those on mathematics held by Tommaso Laureti and subsequently promoted by him in the role of *principe*⁸⁶.

Concerning the organization of the didactic activity of the Studio, an educational path in the *Ordini* is imagined divided into four *capate*, or progressive learning levels, prepared in accord to that didactic principle of graduality that we can say is the child of the humanistic school, based on which one progressively moves from the practical lessons to more abstract notions⁸⁷. It should be noted that «the first *capata* was the highest level, comprising the most advanced students, whereas the fourth *capata* was the lowest»⁸⁸, according to a system of classes conceived, as it was in the canons of the time, for levels of learning and not according to the age of the pupils. At the center of this educational *iter* we find drawing. Therefore, the first *capata* was aimed at aspiring artists who practiced what Zuccari, already in the speech of January 17, 1594 and then in more depth in the *Idea de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti* (1607), had defined as internal drawing, or the highest form of the artistic production process, which consisted in externalizing a mental image. In the other *capate*, however, the students practiced the so-called external drawing, based on direct observation of external reality⁸⁹. The representation of the human figure, first in its details, then in its entirety and within complex scenarios made up of groups of people, represented the focus of an internship, conceived at an ideal level for painters, sculptors, and architects, but in fact then implemented only for the first two categories of 'pupils of the profession'. The educational program should have allowed the best students to rise from the condition of mere executioners, able only to copy and portray works, to that of composers capable of disengaging from reproducing a model and drawing original works, not so much the result of their own inventiveness but rather of the ability to rework and reinterpret the surrounding reality through a long and complex intellectual process. Only those who reached this stage, according to Zuccari, could boast the title of «valent'uomini», that is, they could consider themselves complete artists, capable of distinguishing themselves from the

mass of «pittori grossi» (rough painters), thus fully representing the excellence of the craft⁹⁰.

Behind this educational approach, as well as behind the different classes of admission of students in the Accademia, there is a very high and complex idea of drawing, which goes far beyond simple manual skills and interprets drawing as a «scintilla divina» in the literal sense of the term⁹¹. In fact, we are not simply faced with the idea of drawing as an expression of the human intellect, of its way of knowing and restoring knowledge⁹², but with a conception of drawing that allows us to compare the painter's work to God, as Dempsey has highlighted when speaking of Zuccari's Aristotelianism⁹³:

[his idea of external design] refers to an ordinal image immanent in God's intellect, according to which the world was created, first designed internally in the mind of God, and then realized externally. God thus stands as the original prototype for the artist, a notion that is, needless to say, conventional in Counter-Reformation writing and often repeated.

Zuccari, therefore, draws on the Aristotelian-Thomistic lesson of the second scholastic, which allowed him to emphasize the importance of drawing in the artist's education and, at the same time, to raise the conception of the artist's own craft, which – in alignment with the post-Tridentine Church's pedagogical stance on sacred images – comes to assume a 'divine function' by virtue of the high task entrusted, which consist in conveying the biblical message through the figurative language beyond the word written and spoken⁹⁴. Given these theoretical premises, the centrality accorded to drawing in the Roman Accademia is not surprising which, as has been observed, was conceived in all respects as an Academy of Drawing, not of the arts of painting, sculpture, or architecture, so much so that drawing was intended as a full-fledged science to be taught and learned, and represented the essential basis of the training curriculum for painters, sculptors and, at least in principle, also for architects⁹⁵. The teaching activity of the institute was set in this direction right from the start. We have as proof of this a sketch made by Zuccari himself, representing some young academics preparing to draw in his presence⁹⁶.

Furthermore, we know the students of the Accademia engaged in depicting cartoons and reliefs since the second session of November 28, 1593, thanks to a collection of drawings, cartoons and reliefs, which was already relevant at the time and which was even

⁸⁶ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 56, 61-65, 77.

⁸⁷ This humanistic pedagogical and didactic approach, which we find for example in Erasmus and Vives, would be widely accepted in the educational institutions of the second half of the sixteenth-century and beyond, starting with the educational colleges of the Society of Jesus; see ANSELMI 1981.

⁸⁸ ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 127.

⁸⁹ ZUCCARI 1607. For an analysis of the work, ROSSI 1974 and CARANNANTE 2024, pp. 239-250.

⁹⁰ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 7.

⁹¹ ZUCCARI 1607, p. 22.

⁹² JONKER 2022 (p. 119) rightly underlines how drawing is for Zuccari «first motor of the all human understanding and operating».

⁹³ DEMPSEY 2009, p. 44.

⁹⁴ For the text of the Tridentine decree: *De invocatione, Veneratione et Reliquiis Sanctorum et de Sacris Imaginibus* see CONCILIORUM 1991, Sessio XXV, 3-4 December 1563, pp. 774-776. For a comment on the decree and for a more general reasoning on the relationship between religious life and artistic fact, see the study by PRODI 1984 (in particular *Stato della Questione*).

⁹⁵ It was only in 1636 that the teaching of civil and military architecture was introduced at the Accademia and it was from this date on that the architects, after decades of opposition, began to feel part of the institution; see ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 128 (for the quotation), and p. 146.

⁹⁶ Cf. LUKEHART 2009, pp. 172-714.

more rich when in July 1594 Zuccari urged academics to choose his successor⁹⁷.

A compelling example of this educational program can be found in the well-known engraving titled *Accademia de' pittori* (c. 1625; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) by Pietro Francesco Alberti, painter and engraver, son of Durante and nephew of Romano, and also a member of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome⁹⁸ (Fig. 5). The engraving depicts some groups of young people inside a large classroom, intent on following the lesson given to them by older masters, who are characterized by a long beard. All the different stages of the artistic apprenticeship are illustrated. At the bottom left, a master shows some youngsters some anatomical details; further behind, one can recognize the cast of a leg that a boy is trying to reproduce. In the center of the room, a small group of young people listens to the geometry teachings by an old master, who shows them geometric figures; on the right, two young people copy a skeleton, while two others shape small statues and another next to the door traces the relief of a building on a large panel (these last two exercises allude, respectively, to the apprenticeship of the sculptor and of the architect). In the background, the final stage of the educational course takes place, which consists in the direct observation of an anatomical dissection session. On the back wall of the room, above fragments of ancient sculptures symbolizing the unsurpassed reference models in the study of the human figure, three paintings stand out, in which a landscape, a portrait, and a sacred scene are represented, which symbolize the pictorial genres practiced in the academic field.

Given that drawing immediately occupied a central role in the education of young academics, on the didactic level, we should also note the definition of a system of prizes which «in different and more official forms, was a key aspect of academic teaching for a long time»⁹⁹. Also, in the Florentine Accademia there was a logic of rewarding. This was applied to the annual competitions organized for the celebration of the feast of Saint Luke and on the occasion of other important holidays such as that of the Holy Trinity, during which the best students could earn admission to the Accademia¹⁰⁰. In the Roman institute, prizes were an integral part of the educational project. In fact, at each academic session, that is to say, every two weeks, the *principe* reviewed the drawings of the

young artists and, given «the pleasant corrections and warnings», chose the best one to be awarded. The award could consist of «pencil paper, pencil holder, brushes»¹⁰¹, drawings made by academics for this purpose, or honorary titles that had a specific social relevance, such as that of *luogotenente*, which allowed the student to support the *assistenti* in their teaching activities and gain more respect and consideration among their peers, all for a week.

This teaching practice appears to have been borrowed directly from the educational methodologies of the Jesuit colleges. After all, the influence of the Jesuit educational model appears almost essential, primarily due to the «pedagogical charisma of the Society»¹⁰² and the hegemonic role it exercised within the European educational system for over two centuries, but then also due to the important links between some members of the Roman Accademia and the Jesuits. In fact, it is no coincidence that at the beginning of his presidency, in 1598, Durante Alberti had invited a Jesuit¹⁰³

to make an exhortation to all the Academics to be warned to deny honest and praiseworthy things and to flee all lasciviousness, and dishonesty, and above this, he took the subject of reading a letter on the subject of a Cleopatra, seen already figured poorly honestly, in reproaching of which he put many reasons, and warnings.

Federico Zuccari himself was very close to the Jesuits, and his son Orazio had entered the Roman novitiate of Sant'Andrea di Montecavallo¹⁰⁴. Over the years, he had been called to carry out various commissions for the Order, which testify to a profound knowledge of Jesuit theology¹⁰⁵. However, beyond the contacts with individual academics, the impulse given by the Company to artistic production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and likewise the important contribution it gave to the conceptualization of art as an instrument of salvation and diffusion of Sacred Scripture had been so incisive and decisive that it had to represent an unavoidable point of reference for an institution like the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, which aspired to offer itself as an educational place for future artists characterized by a strong innovative force responding to the needs of the time¹⁰⁶. Nevertheless, in the system of prizes adopted in the Roman institute, we can recognize an additional lesson borrowed from

97 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 11, 71. From the 1594 inventory kept in the Historical Archive of the Accademia di San Luca, it appears that Zuccari himself had left four cartoons at the Accademia. His example was then followed by his successors Giovanni de' Vecchi and Durante Alberti and by other members of the Accademia. Even Girolamo Muziano (whose name as it is known is linked to the first project of the Roman Accademia), who died in 1592, had left to the Accademia more than thirty plaster fragments. In the collection of the Accademia, among other things, there was also a copy of *Christ the Redeemer* made by Michelangelo for Santa Maria sopra Minerva. For an overall transcription of the document, see SALVAGNI 2021, p. 569.

98 Cf. TADDEO AND FEDERICO 2007, p. 107; FORMARE 2012, p. 26.

99 ROCCASECCA 2009, p. 126.

100 Cf. WĄZBIŃSKI 1987, I, pp. 292-298.

101 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 5.

102 BISELLO 2009, p. 86.

103 ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, p. 79.

104 Federico Zuccari himself probably influenced his son Orazio's life choice, made in 1605, with the intention - as has been observed - to strengthen his relations with the Company, acquire greater social prestige and increase the chances of his commissions; see MORALEJO ORTEGA 2012a, paragraph 4.

105 The contacts between Zuccari and the Company go back well before the novitiate of his son Orazio. In this regard, it can be noted that the Roman College, the flagship of Jesuit educational institutions and a model for all the other colleges of the Company erected in 1551, was the work of a great friend of Zuccari, Bartolomeo Ammannati. Federico Zuccari's first work for the Jesuits, on the other hand, dates back to 1566, when he created the fresco, now lost, for the Chapel of the Annunciation in the church of Santa Maria dell'Annunziata, the first parish assigned by the papacy to the Jesuits in the center of Rome. In addition, another of the more famous commissions carried out by Zuccari for the Society of Jesus concerned the construction site of the Gesù in Rome, the mother church of the Company. In this context he participated in the decorative project of the Chapel of the Angels. In these works, as in the others created in Bologna, Turin and Parma for the Jesuits, Zuccari showed that he had assimilated the Jesuit theological perspective so thoroughly that a period of 'training' for the painter has been hypothesized through a member of the Company; see MORALEJO ORTEGA 2012a, pp. 35-52.

106 Cf. MORALEJO ORTEGA 2012b, pp. 843-850.

Jesuit pedagogy and, in particular, from the text that codifies their educational model and which represents the «most impressive educational protocol of the Modern Age», that is the *Ratio Studiorum*¹⁰⁷. Through this code with eminently practical purposes, which reached its definitive form in 1599, the Company had recovered in a different framework the message of valorization of the classical culture of the humanists, albeit filtered by the counter-reformism demanding of censorship, and had participated in a decisive way – among other things – to the codification of that process of civilizing customs masterfully described by Norbert Elias as a key element of modern age society¹⁰⁸. According to this interpretation, the expectation of the award triggered a virtuous competition among the students of Accademia del Disegno in Rome and governed their possible conflicts in a regulated context where not only «archetypal violence» was sublimated through other rituals, but at the same time there was also a sort of «raining in the conflictuality of real life», which interested the individual in his internal dynamics as well as in his interpersonal relationships¹⁰⁹. Within this educational system, the awarding of the prize, therefore, took on a double meaning: aesthetic, because the best work was rewarded, but also ethic, because the competition took place within a *sodalitas* that shared some of its rules and values, which – according to Zuccari's educational design – found its most representative moment not so much in the artistic expression itself, but in the *logos* of which this was to be substantiated, in other words in that Aristotelian discourse understood as the highest form of cognitive faculty and as the most explicit manifestation of the very reason for being an institution that aspired to propose itself as authentically formative for its members, just as the Accademia del Disegno in Rome was from the beginning.

Conclusions

We know that the educational project of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome after the principdom of Federico Zuccari gradually emptied itself, so much so that Romano Alberti observed by 1595 the Accademia was almost abandoned, so that little or nothing happened¹¹⁰. Certainly, as Pevsner already noted, Alberti's «complaints had to concern the lessons to which the main nucleus of his book is dedicated» and not the activity of the Studio which, despite the almost exclusive commitment of the successors of Zuccari in providing the institute with new statutes, continued to move forward albeit without continuity¹¹¹. For a full resumption of the initiatives and prestige of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, we have to wait until the beginning of the following century, when

under the pontificate of Urban VIII the Roman institute will have the possibility of relaunch its educational vocation with greater force and systematicity.

More generally, it can be observed that, although in these early stages the actual activity of art academies is less ambitious than the programs of their founders, they must be recognized as having a non-marginal role in that emancipatory path that accompanies the gradual promotion of artists from the condition of craftsmen to a higher social position where the intellectual value of the artistic process is recognized. Similarly, Federico Zuccari, along with Giorgio Vasari and other notable figures such as Ludovico Carracci, were animated by the same idea, namely that «painting and the arts of design, like the arts of letters, constituted a profession, and that as a profession it should be taught in an Academy rather than by apprenticeship in a bottega»¹¹². In the specific case of the Accademia del Disegno in Rome, under the principdom of Zuccari the institute was able to start offering itself as a real educational structure, based on a program which, alongside the practical aspect, also intended to take care of the intellectual training of young artists, in order to guarantee them adequate preparation for the exercise of a profession that could no longer be considered as a simple mechanical art and which, conversely, sought to be qualified as *professio nobilis* with a dignity equal to that of the liberal arts which were consecrated long ago by the humanists and to that of other professions entrusted to University training, such as law or medicine¹¹³. In this sense we can agree with Ważbiński that the idea precedes reality, and although reality «can never be a slave to the idea, [...] without it, reality [makes] no sense»¹¹⁴. So, the importance of the history of the Roman Accademia del Disegno from its beginnings lies precisely in the strength and grandeur of the idea, or rather of the educational project that guided it, which in turn was able to feed on many other ideas, or rather pedagogical models, borrowed from some of the most representative institutions in the cultural landscape of the time (Accademia del Disegno in Florence, Accademia degli Insensati, *Studium Urbis* in Rome and Jesuit colleges of education), from which methodological and practical indications, organizational paradigms and educational purposes were drawn and remodeled within a unitary educational plan, guided by the firm will to assign a prominent place and role to the artistic professions within society, something that had been unthinkable just a few decades prior.¹¹⁵ ✚

¹⁰⁷ For the critical text of the definitive *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, see *MONUMENTA* 1965-1992, V, pp. 355-454. For an overview of the scope of the *Ratio Studiorum* as a «lieux de mémoire of Western culture» see BISELLO 2009, pp. 82-95 and for the quotations pp. 83, 89.

¹⁰⁸ ELIAS 1939.

¹⁰⁹ On the importance assigned to prizes and competitions in the Jesuit educational system and for an overall analysis of the *Ratio Studiorum* according to the paradigm of the classicist metronome; see QUONDAM 2004 and pp. 484-485 for the quotations.

¹¹⁰ ZUCCARI-ALBERTI 1604, pp. 77, 79.

¹¹¹ Cf. PEVSNER 1982, p. 60. In this regard, see also the concluding statements by GEORGE 2016, p. 163.

¹¹² DEMPSEY 1980, p. 563.

¹¹³ In these terms, painting is defined in the provision signed by Pope Aldobrandini in 1601. This process of emancipation of the figure of the artist is well documented in the work by SALVAGNI 2012.

¹¹⁴ WAZBINSKYI 1987, I, p. 402.

¹¹⁵ Concerning this point, see the considerations by Eliana Carrara, who emphasizes how the foundation of the Accademia del Disegno in Florence also marked the birth of a new role for the artist, who now rose to the status of gentleman, and of a different consideration of the artistic disciplines, which were considered worthy of being included in the *curricula* of the élite (CARRARA 2008, pp. 142-143).

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