

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again -- beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-6532

LEEDS, Jo Alice, 1926-
THE WORKSHOP AND THE ACADEMY: A COMPARATIVE
HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL FLORENTINE
WORKSHOP AND THE ENGLISH ROYAL ACADEMY AS ART
LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS.

The University of Oklahoma, Ph.D., 1974
Education, history

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1974

JO ALICE LEEDS

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

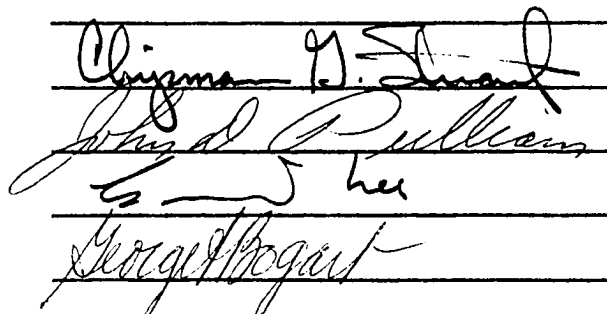
THE WORKSHOP AND THE ACADEMY: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL
STUDY OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL FLORENTINE WORKSHOP AND
THE ENGLISH ROYAL ACADEMY AS ART
LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
JO ALICE LEEDS
Norman, Oklahoma
1974

THE WORKSHOP AND THE ACADEMY: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL
STUDY OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL FLORENTINE WORKSHOP AND
THE ENGLISH ROYAL ACADEMY AS ART
LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

APPROVED BY


Three handwritten signatures are written over three horizontal lines. The first signature is 'William G. Sumner', the second is 'John D. Pulliam', and the third is 'George Bogart'.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Dr. Chipman Stuart, chairman of the doctoral committee, for the assistance and support he has extended throughout my doctoral program. To Mr. George Bogart, whose understanding of art has contributed so much to my own, special thanks is due. Appreciation is extended to Mr. Cecil Lee and to Dr. John Pulliam for their help and guidance in the fields of art and of education respectively. Without the generous cooperation of these members of the Departments of Art and of Education this interdisciplinary study would not have been possible.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my mother, Mrs. Gladys Lowrey, whose encouragement and support for every undertaking, including this one, has never failed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Historical Background	1
Statement of the Problem.	7
Selection of the Models	8
Significance of the Study	9
Research Design and Methodology	10
Delimitations	11
Limitations	11
Definition of Terms	12
Review of the Literature.	13
II. THE FLORENTINE WORKSHOP AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY COMPARED	17
Background of Social Variables Compared	17
Economic and technological state of the societies	17
Structure and size of the institutions. . . .	22
The social definitions and uses of art. . . .	36
Social position and functions of the artists .	50
Art Learning in the Institutions Compared . . .	68
Purpose and philosophy of the institutions.	68
Specific skills taught.	73
Concepts and attitudes taught	83
Structure and sequence of the learning process	107
Evaluation and promotions systems	116
Teaching methods.	121
Summary Comparison Charts	131
III. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY	137
Sociological Implications	137
Philosophical Implications.	141
Implications for Current Problems in Art Learning Environments	151
Conclusion.	153
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	157

THE WORKSHOP AND THE ACADEMY: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL
STUDY OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL FLORENTINE WORKSHOP AND
THE ENGLISH ROYAL ACADEMY AS ART
LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

In the history of Western civilization, the learning of art has taken place in a few basic forms or environments. The first to emerge was the production workshop situation. Here a boy, usually apprenticed at an early age, would spend his life learning to perfect his art. Production workshops were the art-learning environments of both the Ancient World and the Middle Ages.¹

During the early Middle Ages the visual arts were practiced primarily by monastics who developed the art of manuscript copying and illumination, and by artisan painters and sculptors who were attached to the Masons' Lodges engaged in the building of churches and cathedrals. These lodges of builders were united throughout the Middle Ages under the

¹John Edgcumbe Staley, The Guilds of Florence (London: Melhuen and Co., 1906), p. 321.

Guild of Comacine Masters, a confraternity that had been formed in 590 in Italy by a group of master-builders for their mutual protection and advancement. All workers attached to the Masons' Lodges throughout Christendom were considered a part of this brotherhood, although it maintained no central controlling organization.¹

A fundamental characteristic of the Masons' Lodge was its mobility. Lodges would move from site to site wherever they were needed for the building of a church or town building. The artisans themselves were often wanderers, traveling from lodge to lodge.² In later times, with the growth of towns and the building of the great cathedrals, the lodge sites became more permanent and of a larger size. In a town such as Florence in the late Middle Ages, commissions for artists came from the noble and wealthy as well as from the Church and the township. With this increased patronage, artists were able to set up their own workshops separate from the site of the Masons' Lodge. Hauser points out that this separation of work-place marks a definite step toward a new state of independence for the medieval artist.³ In the later Middle Ages the artist's workshops

¹Ibid., p. 321.

²Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, vol. 1, (New York: Vintage Books, 1951), p. 246.

³Ibid., p. 251.

lost their connections with the Masons' Lodges, and were incorporated into the guilds as a separate trade.

The late medieval workshop produced a surprising variety of products. Golscheider states that the Florentine workshop of the Pollaiuolo brothers (in the second half of the fifteenth century) engaged in: "sculpture of all kinds, goldsmith's work, bronze founding, the making of buttons and small arms, cutlery, painting and copper-plate engraving, designs for tapestry and stained-glass windows, domestic altars and medallions."¹

The medieval workshop was not a formal school. Its purpose was the professional production of art objects made to the specific orders of its clientele. A secondary function of the workshop was incorporated into its structure--the constant and continued training of youths to fill its ranks of professional craftsmen. It was an institution for the training of artists as well as an institution for the production of art.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries changes took place in the field of the visual arts that were to lead to a new form of art learning environment. The subject matter of painting and sculpture became more diverse and secular, and the demand for this kind of art increased. Some artists became more specialized and acquired an increasing

¹Ludwig Goldscheider, Donatello, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 6.

sense of individuality and independence, both from the patron and from the guild. (This independence was far from total and did not come about all at once.)

New techniques of mechanical and aerial perspective and a new interest in the human figure and anatomical drawing, as well as the broadening of subject matter, had combined in the fifteenth century to revolutionize art styles. Separated from the old integration with church architecture, free-standing sculpture and easel painting seemed to take on a life of their own.

By the sixteenth century the workshop was still the place of art production, but some artists now worked alone, producing only one form of art. The term "studio" rather than "workshop" begins to be associated with their place of production. Other masters who secured many commissions or took on many students had shops of a greatly expanded size. These masters still contracted apprentices and hired day-workers, but many also took in paying students who came only to study with them.

A new importance began to be attached to certain forms of art during the Italian Renaissance. These forms--painting, sculpture, and architecture--were said to be the more "noble" forms of art, while art incorporated into objects of use was said to be "mechanical" in nature. Practitioners of the "noble" arts were concerned that their work have a theoretical base.

These conditions produced the need for some new kind of association among artists. The formation of academies of all kinds became quite the fashion during the Renaissance. These academies were informal circles of friends or associates who met to discuss theoretical matters concerning a field of common interest. Artists also adopted this fashion. They formed their own academies which met for the discussion of theories of art and to study anatomy by drawing from the nude model. Later in the sixteenth century academies became more formalized; their programs of study became more structured and elaborate.¹

The academy as a form of institution became most complete and elaborate in seventeenth century France. The French academies under the direction of Colbert at the court of Louis XIV set the pattern for academies of all kinds which were to be founded throughout the Western world in the eighteenth century. The first and most prominent of these academies was the Academie Francaise, established in 1635. Its decree stated that it was to "Lay down the exact rules of our language, in order to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences."²

Pevsner states: "No more characteristic illustration of the French spirit, the spirit of absolutism, and

¹Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), pp. 1-4.

²Ibid., pp. 16-17.

the spirit of the time of Corneille and Poussin, could be imagined than this academy passionately pursuing reason, system, and order in language."¹ This search for "reason, system and order" epitomizes the style in which the academies pursued their disciplines. Reason, system and order were not only to be found in language and in science, but in art as well.

In France at this time the guilds still controlled the practice of the visual arts. In 1655, after a protracted struggle with the leadership of the guilds, a group of court artists led by Charles Lebrun finally succeeded in establishing the Academie Royale de Peinture e de Sculpture, under the official patronage and monetary support of the King. Their object was to free themselves from the domination of the guilds and to improve their own status by identifying themselves with the "arts nobles" rather than the "arts mechaniques." As the Academie Royale developed, it obtained a control over art which was more powerful and restrictive than the rules of the guilds had ever been. The principles and theories of art which the Academie Royale formulated, and the curriculum it established for its schools became the model for the many art academies that were to be founded in Europe during the eighteenth century.²

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²According to Pevsner, the number of art academies in Europe had increased from nineteen in 1720 to over a hundred by 1790. (pp. 140-141). This growth reflects the growth in population, trade, industry, and general wealth of Europe during that period.

The English Royal Academy of Arts, founded in 1768, was modeled after the French Academy in both respects.

The academy of art was a formal institution for art learning. National academies, such as the English and French Royal Academies, were also prestigious institutions of membership for recognized professionals. They presented and controlled the national public exhibitions of fine art.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to investigate two historically different types of art learning institutions (the late medieval guild workshop, and the English Royal Academy) and to compare them as art learning environments. The historical and comparative methods are used as a basis for this study. The study includes a comparison of selected social variables which affect these environments. These variables are the social definitions and uses of art in each society, the technological state of each society, and the social structure in relation to art and the artist.

The following questions are investigated:

1. What were the basic differences between the purposes, philosophies, learning content, and teaching methods of these two historical environments?
2. In what manner did the selected social variables affect these differences?
3. What similarities can be found between the purposes, philosophies, learning content, and teaching methods of the two types of institutions?

4. What sociological implications concerning art learning environments can be drawn from the historical comparison?
5. What philosophical implications concerning art learning environments can be drawn from the historical comparison?
6. What are the implications of the study for current problems in art learning environments?

Selection of the Models

The two institutions were selected as representative types of art learning institutions from our common past. The art workshops of Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represented a type of the late medieval guild workshop situation. The English Royal Academy, from its founding in 1768 until 1870, was considered as a type of the later European academy of arts situation.

These two institutions were selected as models for the following reasons. Sufficient source material of both a primary and secondary nature was available for research in both cases. Each represents one important form of art learning institution to be found in the history of the Western world. The models have another point in common. They both existed at a time directly preceding a watershed change in Western culture, but at a point before that change had affected their form. Therefore both institutions represent a fully developed form of their type.

Significance of the Study

Throughout Western history a continuing discussion has taken place concerning the following question: "How can art best be taught and learned?"¹ Until the present century the question belonged primarily to the fields of philosophy and aesthetics. The twentieth century brought the discussion of psychology into the picture. For the past thirty years, American art educators have centered their investigations of this question around the techniques of experimental psychology. Recent criticism points out that the cumulative and applicable results expected from this approach have not materialized.² A review of art education literature will show that almost no work has been done utilizing historical models as interpretive research tools.

The significance of the study lies in the insights it affords into the social foundations of art learning environments, through a specific historical comparison. These insights, of both a sociological and philosophical nature, suggest ways in which we can better understand our present art learning environments.

¹See Lionello Venturi, History of Art Criticism, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964), Chpt. 2 and 3. Also Elizabeth Holt, A Documentary History of Art, (New York: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 1-8 and 88-91.

²See Kenneth Beittel, Alternatives for Art Education Research, (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1973).

Research Design and Methodology

The following procedure was used. All primary sources concerning both institutions were read for information concerning the following topics:

1. Structure and size of the institutions
2. Purposes and philosophies of the institutions
3. Specific skills taught
4. Concepts and attitudes taught
5. Structure and sequence of the learning process
6. Evaluations and promotions systems
7. Teaching methods used

Material from primary sources formed the base of the descriptive information from which the comparative study was made. Secondary sources were used to elaborate the above information. Both primary and secondary sources were read for information concerning the technological states of the societies, the social definitions and uses of art, and the social position and functions of the artists.

On the basis of the above information, the two institutions are systematically compared as art learning environments, in terms of the above topics. A comparison is also made of the selected social variables that may have affected the institutions in question. Some of the ways in which the compared social variables affected the two art learning environments are pointed out.

Some apparent sociological and philosophical questions concerning art learning which have been brought to light by the comparative study are discussed. Finally, implications that these findings may have for art learning environments today are reviewed.

Delimitations

The main body of this study, (Chapter II), is delimited to a comparison of two art learning institutions at specific times in their histories. These are the Florentine Guild Workshop in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and the English Royal Academy from its founding in 1768 until 1850.

Limitations

The main body of the study is limited to a comparison of the purposes and philosophies, learning contents, structures and sequences of the learning process, evaluations and promotions systems, and teaching methods of the two institutions in question. The background section is limited to a comparison of the general state of five social variables which affected those institutions: the technological state of the societies, the structure and size of the institutions, the social definitions of art, the social uses of art, and the social-position and functions of the artists.

The sources for this study were limited to material in print. In the case of the learning content of the Florentine workshop, the study relied heavily upon a major document of that time, Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte. Virginia Egbert points out that aside from a few instructive workbooks left by artists, medieval literature is almost barren of information concerning the techniques

of art.¹ Cennini's book is the richest and most complete of these documents. For secondary source material on the workshops, the writer used works by English scholars on the subject. Secondary source material concerning the social background of the time included works by a number of leading European medievalists.

In the case of the Royal Academy, primary source material was more abundant. The books most relied upon here were three histories of the Academy written by members from their own records and recollections. (See Review of the Literature) Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses on Art, and a number of autobiographies written by former academy members added scope to the primary source material. Material concerning the social background in which the Academy existed is abundant. The writer limited research to those works which seemed most pertinent to the study. The requirements of the study were that the sources used be wide enough in scope, and sound enough in fact to construct reliable historical descriptions on which to base the comparisons.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study the following definitions will be used:

1. Art: The visual arts of a society both of a

¹Virginia Wylie Egbert, The Mediaeval Artist at Work (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1967), p. 19.

graphic and three dimensional nature, including all decorative and symbolic work whether produced for content alone or incorporated into objects of use. (The purpose of this definition is to indicate as simply as possible that area of human activity under consideration here, and by no means is meant to be an inclusive functional definition of the term. A complex of ways in which the visual arts operate on both an individual and collective level is explored in the study. The two societies in question held different views of and attitudes toward the definition and expected functions of the visual arts.)

2. Art learning: The process of acquiring the concepts and skills necessary to become an artist in a society.

3. An artist: A person who is engaged in producing the visual arts of a society on a professional level, i.e., he is not incidentally engaged in the production of art.

Review of the Literature

Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell' Arte (1963), written in Florence in the early fifteenth century, is an encyclopedic "how-to" for the craftsman-artist, and also contains procedural advice for the learning apprentice. It is the major source for art procedures of that time, and was used as such. All of the documentary translations in Elizabeth Holt's A Documentary History of Art (1957) and Teresa Frisch's Gothic Art (1971) were read as general

background on the medieval period.

Secondary sources on the Florentine artist's environment are John Edgcumbe Staley's The Guilds of Florence (1906), a work compiled from a long study of primary sources in that city, and Frederick Antal's Florentine Painting and its Local Background (1947). Further material on the late medieval artist was found in Andrew Martindale's The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (1972), Henry Kraus's The Living Theatre of Medieval Art (1967), and Arnold Hauser's The Social History of Art (1951).

For the background of social variables affecting the workshop, the following books were used: Arthur J. Penty, Guilds, Trade, and Agriculture (1921), George F. Renard, Guilds in the Middle Ages (1918), J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (1954), Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe (1956), Clough and Cole, Economic History of Europe (1941), G. G. Coulton, Life in the Middle Ages (1928), and Charles G. Crump, Ed., The Legacy of the Middle Ages (1932).

Primary source material on the English Royal Academy was found in William Sandby's The History of the Royal Academy of Arts (1862), and Hodgson and Eaton's The Royal Academy and Its Members (1905). These books, written by people involved with the Academy during the period studied, contain a number of records and documents pertaining to the

institution and its school, including the original Instrument of the Royal Academy. Another primary source used was George Dunlop Leslie's The Inner Life of The Royal Academy (1971). Leslie and his father were both students as well as teachers at the Academy Schools at different times during the nineteenth century and Leslie gives a detailed description of the school and its functions. Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses on Art (1966), written as a series of lectures to the students of the Academy, was used as a primary source for the early philosophy of the institution.

Nikolaus Pevsner's Academies of Art Past and Present (1973), the only general history of the European Academies available, has been republished and was used as a secondary source. In addition to the general histories of art: Janson (1964), Gardner (1970), and Gombrich (1967), material concerning the art and artists of the period was found in Quentin Bell's Victorian Artists (1967), James Laver's Victoriana (1967), and John Canaday's Lives of the Painters (1969). For the social history of the age in question, John Nef's Social Foundations of Industrial Civilization (1958), T. S. Ashton's The Industrial Revolution (1968), and R. J. Forbes' Man the Maker (1958) were used.

The theoretical and interpretive part of the study was based largely on the following works: Lewis Mumford, Art and Technics (1952), Irwin Edman, Arts and the Man (1956),

John Dewey, Art as Experience (1958), and Jean Duvignaud, The Sociology of Art (1972). The following books were also read for general theoretical background: Talcott Parsons, Society in Evolutionary and Cultural Perspective (1966), Berger and Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (1966), Max Gluckman, Closed Systems and Open Minds (1964), Raymond Firth, Essays on Social Organization and Values (1965), John Herman Randall, The Making of the Modern Mind (1940), Bernhard Berenson, Aesthetics and History (1954), and Robert Ulich, The Education of Nations (1961).

CHAPTER II

THE FLORENTINE WORKSHOP AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY COMPARED

Background of Social Variables Compared

Economic and Technological State of the Societies

Fourteenth Century Florence

The growth and comparative stability of the late medieval towns had been made possible by improvements in agricultural techniques which were beginning to be developed during the tenth century. The introduction of the horse shoe, and improvements in horse-harnessing methods and developments in the plow allowed for the higher yields needed to support a town population. According to Singer, "Medieval cities took great pains to obtain regular and cheap food supplies for their artisans."¹ In addition to horse-power, the water wheel and the windmill produced the power which, in conjunction with the art of iron-casting, allowed for the development of simple mechanics. Medieval machinery was based on the crank, the gear and the cam, and was used mainly for milling and for the machinery of war.

¹Singer, Holmyard, Hall, and Williams, A History of Technology, vol. II, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956), p. 123.

Most of the products needed by the town were made by hand in small private workshops, and each trade was incorporated into a guild. The medieval guild system was geared to a stable, limited, personalized and strictly local market. The laws and regulations set up by the guilds had the purpose of controlling the quality of goods produced, their price, and the size and number of workshops of each kind in the city. They worked against outside competition and against the cornering of a market by any single member of the guild.¹

By late medieval times three forms of production had begun to develop along industrial lines. These were mining, metallurgy, and textile manufacture.² (An industrial system is characterized by the fact that goods are owned by one set of people, produced by another, and consumed by a third. The industrial model is also based on an expanding export market.)

The wealth of the city of Florence was based at first on its position as an import and export center to medieval Europe, and later on its great wool cloth industry. The population of Florence in 1339 (before the Black Death in 1347) has been estimated at about 90,000, an extra-ordinary size for a medieval town.³ Of this number, about 20,000 were

¹Georges Renard, Guilds In the Middle Ages, Trans. by Dorothy Terry, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1918), pp. 32-42.

²R. J. Forbes, Man the Maker, (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1958), p. 114.

³R. Davidshon, Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz (Berlin, 1896-1927) t. II, 2nd part, p. 171., cited in Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1937), p. 171.

employed by the wool industry.¹ The Arte della Lana was owned and operated by a few wealthy families. The controlling members jointly owned (in the name of the guild) their own ships, warehouses, shops, washhouses, and dyeing-houses. Wool, kermes, alum and oil were bought wholesale for the entire industry.² Each step in cloth making was still done by hand, but in size and structure the wool guild had become industrial.

Florence was also one of the financial and banking centers of Europe. Her people had developed record-keeping and credit-exchange techniques during their many years of engagement in trade. The cities of Italy had held a monopoly on trade with the east throughout the Middle Ages. Their fleets fought with each other but united in denying the Mediterranean to the ships of other countries.

The Black Death and banking failure caused great crises in fourteenth century Florence, but the city survived and prospered even after these tragedies. Fourteenth century Florence may be seen as an independent, wealthy city-state, beginning to develop the first forms of industrial production and mercantile expansionism in a few areas, but still largely based on a medieval technology and way of life.

England, 1750-1850

It is not possible to generalize about the technology

¹Renard, Guilds, p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 41.

of this period in England in a static way since the period was marked by that process of constant change and development known as the Industrial Revolution. By the seventeenth century England had begun to colonize, and had assumed European leadership in matters of trade. High trade profits laid the foundation for the industrial development which was soon to follow. The new systems of production wrought constant changes in population density, social structure, social attitudes, the distribution and uses of wealth, and other phases of life. It would not be possible here to follow the chronological development of each new invention and innovation. The following is a list of the more obvious and important developments that occurred from 1750-1850.

1. New techniques and crops in agriculture substantially increased yields, allowing, as in the later Middle Ages, for an increase in population. But this time the growth occurred on a much larger scale. (The population of London was over 750,000 in 1760. In 1801 it had increased to 865,000, and by 1870 to 3,250,000.¹
2. The steam engine was developed in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth it came into wide industrial use, creating the power-driven machinery of the factory.
3. Improvements in mining increased coal production for the fueling of industry. The manufacture of coke from hard coal allowed for developments in the field of metallurgy so that by the turn of the century crucible steel was available and widely used.
4. As the result of the work of eighteenth century English inventors, textile manufacture became a fully mechanized and steam-driven industry by the turn of the century.

¹Aldon D. Bell, London in the Age of Dickens (Norman: Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), p. 44.

5. The growing demands of industry took the manufacture of chemicals out of the hands of distillers and apothecaries. Chemistry developed as a science and chemical production became an industry. The by-products of coal and coal-tar had far reaching effects including the invention of gas-light in the first quarter of the 19th century, and analine dyes in the third.
6. A corresponding revolution took place in means of transportation. New methods of road construction were introduced, and the first public railroads were opened in England in 1825.¹

From 1750 to 1850, a distinct change occurred in such areas as the general social philosophy, style, and mood of the country. In the second half of the eighteenth century society was still dominated by the tastes and style of the old aristocracy. At the same time, the rise of invention and industry began to allow a chance for social mobility never before known. Forbes states:

Aristocrats, clergymen, doctors of medicine, and other intellectuals . . . turned from the humanities to physical science and technology as a profitable hobby; soldiers, barbers, common craftsmen, and farmers made valuable contributions, and rose quickly in the social status as a result. It is indeed very characteristic of the eighteenth century that its industrialists, contrivers, and inventors were recruited from all classes.²

The social mood of the eighteenth century was one of intellectual excitement over the possibilities of the new sciences. Experiment and invention were the order of the day, and faith in the future was bright.

¹The above list was compiled from material in Forbes, Man the Maker, and T. S. Ashton, The Industrial Revolution, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).

²Forbes, Man the Maker, p. 175.

By the first part of the nineteenth century, England -- stunned by the protracted brutality of the French revolution, and living under the Napoleonic threat-- began to face the social realities of urban industrialization. The growing rural population increasingly moved to the large industrial cities in search of work and bread. They created a swarming urban proletariat with which the social system was quite unprepared to cope. The urban middle classes grew steadily larger and more prosperous, and began to impose their tastes and values on the character of the country as a whole. Out of this general social chaos grew a brooding moral unrest that marked the mood of England in the first half of the nineteenth century. The writings of Emily Bronte, William Blake and Charles Dickens reflect the mood of mysterious tenderness, awe, guilt, and moral longing that we term "romantic." By the middle of the century, however, the mood of England changed. The Victorian age had truly arrived; England hid guilt in the family closet, relegated awe to the clergyman, made of tenderness a social mannerism, and settled down to a long age of self-satisfied prosperity. With her colonies, her fleets, and her industries, she dominated the world.

Structure and Size of the Institutions

Organizational Structure of the Institution

The Guild Workshop

The internal structure of the Guild Workshop was a

simple thing. It consisted of the following members:

1. The master was the workshop owner. He contracted personally with his customers for all commissions. He owned the materials for the work, and owned and sold the finished products of his shop. Out of his profits he paid his assistants and supported himself and his apprentices. Usually he carried out the primary work on his most important commissions himself. He directed all of the work in the shop, seeing that his own standards and style were followed.
2. The assistants or journeymen were paid day-workers, men who had completed their apprenticeships and obtained their certificates or diplomas from the local guild. A journeyman might stay on for the rest of his life as an assistant to the master for whom he had apprenticed, and this was not unusual. Or he might work in different shops. Some journeymen would set up shops of their own, and become masters themselves.
3. The apprentices were boys who at eight or ten years, or perhaps older, were contracted out for a period of two to six years to work for the master, usually in exchange for room and board. Sometimes a very small wage was included. The apprentices usually shared the masters household, and worked there as well as in the shop. In exchange for their training they were to do any sort of work necessary to the running of the home and shop. Apprentices usually went with the master if he had to move or travel. The relationship of master to apprentice was a paternal one. Masters sometimes adopted their apprentices as Godsons.¹

The workshop structure was incorporated into the guild structure of the city as a whole. The structure of the guilds will be discussed under the section "Social Position and Functions of the Artist."

Organizational Structure of the Institution

The Royal Academy

The structure of the English Royal Academy was

¹For the organizational structure of the workshop see Georges Renard, Guilds of the Middle Ages, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1918), pp. 6-18, and Rosario Assunto, Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. IV, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1961), pp. 561-562.

precisely established in its founding instrument which was signed on December 10, 1768 by King George III. It is written in the clear, logical language of the Age of Reason. The "Schools of Design" were integral in the structure of the Academy as a whole. The rules of the Academy have been changed slightly from time to time throughout its history notably with the addition of Associate members and of Honorary members. However, they remain substantially the same today as they were written in 1768. The Instrument states:

"I. The said Society shall consist of forty members only, who shall be called Academicians of the Royal Academy; they shall all of them be artists by profession at the time of their admission, that is to say, Painters, Sculptors, Architects, men of fair moral characters, of high reputation in their several professions; at least five-and twenty years of age; resident in Great Britain; and not members of any other society of artists established in London.

"III. After the first institution, all vacancies of Academicians shall be filled by election from amongst the exhibitors in the Royal Academy;

"IV. For the Government of the Society, there shall be annually elected a President and eight other persons, who shall form a Council, which shall have the entire direction and management of all the business of the Society;

"VI. There shall be a Secretary of the Royal Academy, elected by ballot, from amongst the Academicians,

"VII. There shall be a Keeper of the Royal Academy, elected by ballot, from amongst the Academicians; he shall be an able painter of History, Sculptor, or other Artist, properly qualified. His business shall be to keep the Royal Academy, with the Models, Casts, Books, and other moveables belonging thereto; to attend regularly the Schools of Design, during the sittings of the Students, to preserve order among them, and to give them such advice and instruction as they shall require; he shall have the immediate direction of the servants of the Academy, shall regulate all things relating to the Schools, and with the assistance of

the Visitors, provide the living Models, and etc. He shall attend at the Exhibition, assist in disposing the performances, and be constantly at hand to preserve order and decorum. His salary shall be one hundred pounds a year; he shall have a convenient apartment allotted him in the Royal Academy, where he shall constantly reside; and he shall continue in office during the King's pleasure.

"VIII. There shall be a Treasurer of the Royal Academy

...
"IX. That the Schools of Design may be under the direction of the ablest Artists, there shall be elected annually from amongst the Academicians nine persons, who shall be called Visitors; they shall be Painters of History, able Sculptors, and other persons properly qualified; their business shall be, to attend the Schools by rotation, each a month, to set the figures, to examine the performances of the Students, to advise and instruct them, to endeavor to form their taste, and turn their attention towards that branch of the Arts for which they shall seem to have the aptest disposition

...
"X. There shall be a Professor of Anatomy, who shall read annually six public Lectures in the Schools, adapted to the Arts of Design; . . .

"XI. There shall be a Professor of Architecture, who shall read annually six public Lectures, . . .

"XII. There shall be a Professor of Painting, who shall read annually six Lectures, . . .

"XIII. There shall be a Professor of Perspective and Geometry, who shall read six public Lectures annually in the Schools, . . .

...
"XV. There shall be a Porter of the Royal Academy,

...
"XVI. There shall be a Sweeper of the Royal Academy,

...
"XVII. There shall be an Annual Exhibition of Paintings, Sculpture, and Designs, which shall be open to all Artists of distinguished merit; it shall continue for the public one month, and be under the regulations expressed in the bye-laws of the Society, hereafter to be made. Of the profits arising therefrom, two hundred pounds shall be given to indigent artists, or their families, and the remainder shall be employed in the support of the Institution. . . . /The money was used primarily to finance the School./

...
"XX. There shall be a Library of Books of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and all the Sciences relating thereto; . . .

"XXV. No student shall be admitted into the Schools, til he hath satisfied the Keeper of the Academy, the

Visitor, and Council for the time being, of his abilities; which being done, he shall receive his Letter of Admission, signed by the Secretary of the Academy, certifying that his is admitted a Student of the Royal Schools."¹

This clearly establishes the structure of the Royal Academy and of the Schools within it. The number of functions of the teachers in the Schools have been little altered, throughout its history. In 1871 a Professorship of Chemistry was instituted for the instruction of students in the chemistry of painting. Among the honorary members of the Academy there were appointed "Professors of Ancient Literature" and "Professors of Ancient History." Dr. Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith were the first two of each appointed, respectively.² These honorary Professors had no functions within the school. They seem to have been added to give "academic tone" to the institution.

The English Royal Academy, in contrast to most European academies, was a privately financed and run institution, in spite of the fact that it remained under the nominal sponsorship of the monarch. Its finances came almost entirely from the entrance fees charged at the popular annual exhibitions. Pevsner states: "The exhibitions grew fast in size and attendance. In 1740, 489 works were shown, in 1792, 780, in 1801, 1037. The annual savings amounted to 400 pounds a

¹The Instrument of the Royal Academy, quoted in J. E. Hodgson and F. A. Eaton, The Royal Academy and Its Members, (London: John Murray, 1905), Appendix I, pp. 345-350.

²Hodgson and Eaton, The Royal Academy, p. 369.

year between 1789 and 1795."¹ The Summer Exhibition grew continuously throughout the nineteenth century. Hodgson and Eaton state:

. . . /the exhibitions/ have gone on until they have attained the present portentous results -- an exhibition of some two thousand works of Art, by more than one thousand two hundred artists, which is visited on the average by some three hundred thousand people, and from which, moreover, a mournful procession of some ten thousand works of Art for which no place can be found; /are rejected/. . . ²

(They are referring to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.) These figures reflect the growth in nineteenth century population as well as the popularity and social importance given the Annual Summer Exhibition of the Royal Academy.

Size of the Institution

The Workshop

In his discussion of the Medieval workshop Pirenne states: "/its/ personnel, strictly limited by regulations, was composed of one or two apprentices and journeymen, whose number very rarely rose above these figures." He points out that the guilds limited the number of helpers a master could have in order to limit competition, and to insure "stable conditions in a stable industry."³ Florentine artists workshops

¹Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: De Capo Press, 1973), p. 186.

²Hodgson and Eaton, The Royal Academy, pp. 9-10.

³Henri Pirenne, Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1937), pp. 184-185.

of the early fourteenth century generally consisted of about four to eight people. Because of the expanding demand for art, their size seems to have been more flexible than Pirenne's model. Later in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the guild structure broke down, some workshops expanded greatly in size. Masters took paying "students" into their shops, as well as larger numbers of assistants and apprentices.¹

The Royal Academy

In spite of England's growth in population and the increasing demand for art, both the Academy and its school remained small. This may be attributed to English conservative traditionalism which generally demanded institutions of a private and exclusive nature.

Seventy-seven students were admitted to the school in 1769, the first year of its operation, and thereafter until 1830, an average of twenty-five a year were admitted.² The official period of studentship began at six years, and was changed at various times to seven and then to ten.³ Since studentship conferred the privilege, but not the obligation to attend the schools for that period--and a great many students did not stay for their entire studentship--we may assume that the school at any one time had about one hundred to one hundred fifty students in attendance.

¹Giuseppe Scavizzi, Encyclopedia of World Art, vol. IV, p. 564.

²Sidney C. Hutchinson, "The Royal Academy Schools, 1768-1830" in The Walpole Society, XXXVIII, (1960-1962), pp. 123-182.

³Ibid., 130.

Physical Structure and Environment

The Workshop

Physically, the typical Florentine artist's workshop resembled the shop of any other trade. It consisted of one or two ground floor rooms and perhaps a courtyard. One of the rooms would open onto a street under an archway, and a board counter was built across this so that the passing public could look in and view the artisans at work. A second room might be used for storage and for work to be kept from public view, or it might contain the living quarters of the master and his apprentices. Living quarters were almost always adjacent to the workshop. Such a workshop can be seen in the fourteenth century Italian panel-painting. "St. Eligius as a Goldsmith."¹ The Saint is pictured at work behind the counter under an archway that opens onto the street. Four assistants are at work in the shop with him. In the street, a number of passing gentlemen stop to converse as they watch the artisans at work. Craft workshops of this kind are still to be found along the streets of Florence, producing traditional articles of jewelry, leathercraft, and other artifacts, largely for the tourist trade.

The street life of medieval Florence was open and social. The workshops of specific trades were usually ranged

¹Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), Fig. 4, p. 14.

along certain streets or gathered in certain sections of the city. Passers-by in the street were accustomed to stop in at the workshops to watch and discuss the work in progress, and artists visited each other's shops frequently to see what was going on.

Staley says that the apothecary shops where artists bought their pigments were a favorite gathering place. Navigators, writers, artists, doctors, and even the wealthy and noble would meet there to engage in gossip and discussions of all kinds.¹ This rich, open street and shop life became the wider learning environment for the Florentine artist's apprentice.

Physical Structure and Environment

The Royal Academy

The Royal Academy Schools have been housed in several different places during their history. For the first eleven years all of the Academy's activities went on "in premises on the south side of Pall Mall."² Hutchinson states that these accommodations were "modest in size and character."³ In 1771, the schools were moved to old Somerset House in the Strand. In 1836, the Academy was moved to a site in Trafalgar Square where it remained until 1867. Then it was moved again, this time to more spacious quarters in Burlington House in Picadilly.

¹Staley, Guilds of Florence, pp. 258-265.

²Sidney C. Hutchinson, The History of the Royal Academy, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1968), p. 51.

³Ibid.

The Academy's quarters at Somerset House, which were provided as a Royal Grant, consisted of Seven rooms. The first four rooms were called the Great Room, The Inner Room, the Ante-Room and the Antique Academy. These four rooms were used for exhibition purposes during the Annual Exhibitions. During the rest of the year the Inner Room was used for the Painting School, the Ante-Room for the Life Class, and modeling in clay went on in a room called the Sculpture Room. In addition to these there were the Library and the Council Room. Leslie says that "A handsome staircase led up to the Exhibition Room."¹

Thomas Rowlandson has left some amusing drawings of the Royal Academy at Somerset House which give an indication of its appearance. One drawing, done in 1800, shows the tall and winding staircase mentioned above, with the guests all falling down it on top of one another in their evident haste to get up to the exhibition.² An engraving of "The Life Class," shows thirty-eight gentlemen at work, all arranged in a large semi-circle on two tiers of benches around the model stand. A stove behind the model provides her with warmth, and a large reflecting overhead flue contains a gas-lamp for light. The model stands on one foot, and supports her raised hand by grasping a looped rope which hangs from the ceiling.

¹George Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), pp. 12-13.

²Thomas Rowlandson, "The Academy Stair-case," in Hutchinson, History, Plate 17.

The walls of the room are covered with "antique" plaster plaques, and from a shelf around the ceiling a procession of "antique" busts gazes down upon the scene below.¹

Pietro Martini's engraving of "The Exhibition of the Royal Academy at Somerset House, 1787," shows the private opening day of the Royal visit.² The Great Room, tall, square, and domed, was approximately forty feet to a side and thirty-five feet in height. About forty paintings of varying sizes hung frame-to-frame, ceiling-to-floor, on each wall. This was the standard exhibition style for all European academy shows throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the aim being to exhibit as many paintings as possible in the available space. Leslie describes the Council's method of selecting and hanging these pictures. The selection process was a long and arduous task, and the hanging was an art in itself. Fitting the required paintings into the exact space with no gaps between the frames evidently took a mastermind. Both the selection and hanging of the pictures was a sensitive process. Those whose work was rejected (who were many) were often insulted, and those accepted were likely to be jealous of the placement of their work on the wall. Special honor was attached to work displayed in the most choice spots.³

¹Fred Dubery and John Willats, Drawing Systems (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1972), Plate 61.

²Pietro Martini after J. H. Ramberg, in Hutchinson, History, Plate 15.

³Leslie, The Inner Life, pp. 70-78.

In 1837 the Academy was removed to the eastern half of a public building in Talfalgar square. The other half of this building was occupied by the National Gallery. Hutchinson states that these accommodations "consisted basically of a suite of five exhibition rooms, all with glass roofs, on the principal floor with roughly corresponding apartments beneath them at the ground-floor level."¹ During the Annual Exhibition almost the whole of the premises was used for the show, which kept growing in size. During the rest of the year the students "were able to spread into the galleries with their work."² Evidently the quarters were crowded, and Hutchinson tells us that "Criticism of the building as a whole was fierce and William IV is alleged to have referred to it as 'a nasty little pokey hole.'"³

Leslie, who as a student during the Talfalgar Square era was very fond of the place, gives us descriptive glimpses of parts of it.

The Sculpture Room, used for the Antique School . . . was on a level with the entrance, . . . quite at the back of the old building. It made a very inadequate room for the exhibition of sculpture, but was by no means a bad one for students to work in. It has a double row of seats in the form of a semi-circle, the casts being placed in the centre at the back, opposite the high lights which faced the barrack yard behind the building. In the summer drawing and painting from the life was carried on in the dome on the roof, and a very good light was obtained up there.⁴

He continues:

¹Hutchinson, History, p. 103. ²Ibid., p. 103.

³Ibid., p. 103.

⁴Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 30.

The student's entrance door led into a large and rather dimly lighted vestibule in the basement. . . . On the left there was a back staircase leading up to the public entrance; half-way up this was a small room, where the students used to wash their brushes, and from the window of this a good view of the square was obtained. The walls and window shutters of this place were scribbled all over with drawings and caricatures of every description. . . . From the window of this room I saw the Guard march out through the passage-way from the barracks, on their way to the Crimea, the band playing "The Girl I left behind me" and a large crowd cheering them.¹

Leslie was never happy about the removal of the Academy to the Burlington house in the suburbs of London in 1869. He says:

The Schools in Trafalgar Square, crowded and inconvenient as they were, had many advantages over the new and spacious rooms at the back of Burlington House. The situation alone was more lively and inspiring. Trafalgar Square has been called "the finest site in London. The Nelson Column, the fountains, King Charles on Horseback, the Percy Lion . . . , St. Martin's Church with its bells, the barracks at the back, with their soldiers and their bugle calls, and above all, the National Gallery with its priceless treasures, absolutely next door--all these things formed a most invigorating environment for a young artist. . . .

There was a sort of charm, too, in working in the dome in the roof; we could sometimes get out from it on to the roof itself, the view from which was free and invigorating. Taking it all together there was an air of cheerfulness and busy life about the whole place which seems to me to be entirely lacking in our new abode in Piccadilly.²

Structure and Size of the Institutions

Specific Points of Comparison

The workshop was a small, privately owned and

¹Ibid., p. 32.

²Ibid., pp. 44-45.

operated unit of production. Its personnel were ranged in a hierarchy of master, journeymen and apprentices. These people were in close daily contact with each other, often over a long period of years. The ratio of master to apprentice was seldom more than one to three.

The Academy, by contrast, was a professional organization of artists who maintained a school for the training of young artists. The Academicians themselves managed and taught in the school, which was tuition free to those students they chose to admit. The ratio of teachers to students was about one to forty. The students had little close personal contact with the Visitors and Professors.

Organizationally, the workshop unit was one of literally dozens of such units of various crafts, incorporated into a larger controlling body, in this case the Doctor's and Apothecaries Guild of Florence. The controlling members of this Guild, in turn, occupied a hierarchical place in the politics of the greater guild structure of the city. The Royal Academy, by contrast, was an independent private body of forty "separate-but-equal" members, controlled by an elected president and council. When vacancies occurred the Academicians replenished their own membership by vote.

The Academy's form is democratic, in that all members are equal in suffrage, but since its membership is fixed in number it is an exclusive body. In fact, the voting mechanism was used to guarantee that the Academy remained as socially exclusive as possible.

The training of young artists in the workshop was a function of the ongoing production process. In the Academy Schools training had become separated from the production process of art, both in time and in space. During the Middle Ages, apprenticeship was the only method of training in art. By the eighteenth century in Europe, academies had become one of several ways an artist might be trained. The profession was often passed down in families and fathers would train their sons. Artists often took students into their studios as learners. In France, in fact, it was required that a student be working in an artists studio before he would be admitted to the Academy. In England, many artists trained as apprentices to printmakers and engravers, and some artists simply "trained themselves." Private schools of art offered another alternative to training in the Academy.

The Social Definitions and Uses of Art

Fourteenth Century Florence

For the purposes of this study, "art" has been defined as meaning the visual arts of a society, both of a graphic and three dimensional nature. This includes all decorative visual arts whether produced for content and decoration alone, or incorporated into objects of use. The two societies in question, however, held different views of exactly what constituted art. They also held different attitudes towards the expected functions of art.

Our own society makes a distinction between what we term the "fine" and "applied" arts. It is difficult for us

to understand the attitude of the Middle Ages which made no such distinction. In The Waning of the Middle Ages, Huizinga gives an effective description of this attitude toward art.

He says:

Art in those times was still wrapped up in life. Its function was to fill with beauty the forms assumed by life. These forms were marked and potent. Life was encompassed and measured by the rich efflorescence of the liturgy; the sacraments, the canonical hours of the day and the festivals of the ecclesiastical year. All the works and all the joys of life, whether dependent on religion, chivalry, trade or love, had their marked form. The task of art was to adorn all all these concepts with charm and colour; it is not desired for its own sake, but to decorate life with the splendour which it could bestow. . . .

Consequently, we might venture the paradox that the Middle Ages knew only applied art. They wanted works of art to make them subservient to some practical use. Their purpose and their meaning always perponderated over their purely aesthetic value.¹

In early Christian times there was much theological struggle over whether art and image-making were to be allowed in the service of religion. The view against the use of art in the church held that art was an indulgence in worldliness and sensuality. Therefore art was sinful, and image-making was an act of idolatry. The argument for the acceptance of art by the church was that the man-made beauty of the church was rightly dedicated to the glory of God, and that picture making was of use in the religious instruction of the people, who could not read. Over centuries of debate on this matter the latter view increasingly became the accepted one. By the relatively affluent late medieval times of fourteenth century

¹J. Huizinga, The Waning of The Middle Ages, (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1954), p. 244.

Florence, art in the form of color, pattern, decoration, symbol, or image, had become a deeply interwoven element in most of the articles produced by the society.

Rather than think that medieval man in his naiveté had "not yet" learned to distinguish between "fine" and "applied" arts, we should realize that the concept of "fine" art is a cultural invention of a later age. We should take very literally Huizinga's statement that "the Middle Ages knew only applied art." In effect all Medieval art was decoration, but decoration which incorporated symbol and image, and therefore meaning. A decorated bowl was to be eaten out of, a decorated dress to be worn, a decorated shield for protection, a decorated hall to be the scene of a festival, a decorated church to be used for worship. The symbols and images incorporated into the decoration of each object--the bowl, the dress, the shield, the festival banner, or the altar-piece--incorporated in some way the meaning of the object to its use and place in the life of the culture.

We sometimes tend to have a distorted image of the medieval uses of art, because most of what has been preserved to us are the objects we insist on viewing as "fine" art. Our collections of medieval art consist of manuscript illumination, church sculpture and church painting. Largely lost to us are the great quantities of other art they produced--the rich woven cloths, tapestries and embroideries, the jewelry, boxes and caskets, the festival costumes and decorations, the decorative trappings of horse saddlery, the armor and armorments,

and the warships, etc. Huizinga tells us that:

The ship of Philippe le Hardi, decorated by Broederlam, was painted azure and gold; large heraldic shields surrounded the pavilion of the castle; the sails were studded with daisies and the initials of the duke and duchess, and bore the motto Il me tarde. The nobles vied with each other in lavishing money on the decoration of vessels.¹

No medieval artist would have thought that to paint an altarpiece was a "higher," or even an essentially different form of art than to paint such a vessel.

One reason the late medieval artist had to be able to work in such a broad range of materials was that art in those times was anything that could be made decorative, and late medieval man had gotten to the point where he wanted to decorate everything. In the opinion of Huizinga the period was almost overcome by a tendency to "leave nothing without form, without figure, without ornament."²

The price and value of art in these times was determined almost entirely by the market value of the materials that went into its making. These prices were often determined by the guilds. Just as the price of a piece of jewelry would be determined by the value of the stones and amount of gold that went into making it, so the value of a painting would be determined largely by the size of the areas to be covered by gold and the more expensive pigments, notably the

¹Ibid., pp. 247-248.

²Ibid, p. 248.

blue made from lapis lazuli. The amounts of these materials to be used would be determined at the time the work was contracted.

The great patrons of art were the city itself, the church, and the families of the wealthy and noble. The commissioning of fine works brought honor to the patron rather than to the artist. Yet art was not "collected" in the modern sense of art collecting. Rather the city, the church, and the families of power chose to live in the decorative splendor which art provided. There were no museums, but the city of Florence was a kind of living museum, and still seems so to us. Huizinga points out that these people did not distinguish in the modern sense between the purely aesthetic, the luxurious, and the merely curious. He says: "Long after the Middle Ages the collections of princes contained works of art mixed up indiscriminately with knick-knacks made of shells and hair, wax statues of celebrated dwarfs and such-like articles."¹

The term "arte" itself is best translated as "craft" or even "trade." Cennino Cennini called his book on art "Il Libro dell' Arte," which would mean literally "The Book of The Craft." All of the Trades were known as "arte," which is also translatable as "guild." The merchant's guild was called "L'Arte di Calimale," the wool guild was "L'Arte della Lana," the painter's guild, "L'Arte de Pittori."

¹Ibid., p. 257.

The Social Definitions and Uses of Art

England, 1750-1850

By mid-eighteenth century in Europe the concept of "fine art" as opposed to "applied art," or "craft," had become firmly established, but the terms "higher" arts and "lower" arts were used where we now use the terms "fine" and "applied." The "higher" arts had become confined to the arts of easel painting, of sculpture, and of architecture. The aesthetic philosophy of the day divided the "higher" arts themselves into a hierarchy of "higher" and "lower" types, principally according to type and treatment of subject matter in a work.¹

Architectural design, though clearly an art for practical use, never lost its standing as one of the "higher" arts, and continued to be taught in the academies. Yet architecture had also become separated from the arts of painting and sculpture, and its practitioners formed a kind of prestigious in-group of their own.

It is not the purpose of this study to trace the history of nor determine the causes of this new attitude toward art, which worked to separate the objects of practical use from the objects of pure meaning. A primary cause was without doubt rooted in the move to industrialization. By the eighteenth century more and more of the articles of daily use began to be produced in mass quantity by growing industries.

¹For a fuller discussion of eighteenth century aesthetic theory, see the section on "Concepts and Attitudes Taught."

Each industry, moreover, produced just one kind of commodity. In such a society, of what use would be a man with the broad eclectic and painstaking craftsman's skills of the medieval artist? The industrial model began to demand specialists rather than generalists. Who was to design for this industry, and what was to become of the purely decorative and symbolic art, which must always be done uniquely and individually?

By the second half of the eighteenth century, most European academies had openly recognized the need to train artists for design in industry as well as for the "higher" arts. They began to add "art and design for industry" programs to their curriculums in spite of the fact that this direction tended to contradict their stated academic ideals. It was evidently a case of practical mercantile aims taking precedence over elevated theory. Hagedorn, who headed the Dresden Academy in 1763, wrote that: ". . . while it redounds to the honour of a country to produce excellent artists, it is no less useful to raise the demand abroad for one's industrial products."¹ The new educational programs concentrated on the kinds of decorative patterns with which products were to be embellished rather than on the underlying design of the products themselves.

The English Royal Academy, however, never incorporated such aims; it remained an institution devoted only to the

¹Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art, Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 153.

"higher" arts. Some of its students, nevertheless, proceeded to use their training to make a living in the "lower" ones. The social definitions of art had become connected with the social position of the artist in a complex way. When the Royal Academy was founded in 1768, several men who made their livings by decorating the Royal coaches or by the decorative painting of walls and ceilings were appointed as Academicians. By 1800, however, only those whose work was free from any kind of incorporated use--that is the easel painters and the sculptors of statues--were considered to fall under the term "artists." By that time coach and wall decorators had become relegated to an inferior order or class--that of workmen-craftsmen. This type of work continued under the auspices of the Painter-Stainers Company of London,¹ a kind of guild, or trade-union, which had existed from medieval times, and to which some of the first Academicians had actually belonged. The artists of England had achieved the status of practitioners of the "higher" arts at a later time than the artists of continental Europe. This may have been one reason they so jealously refused to devote their Academy to any but the "higher" forms of art. It was considered quite acceptable, however, for a sculptor like John Flaxman, who occupied the chair of Professor of Sculpture at the Academy from 1810 - 1826, to execute designs for the pottery firm of

¹Hutchinson, The Royal Academy Schools, p. 123.

Wedgwood, and for the silversmiths Rundell and Bridge. Decorative pieces of pottery and silver plate, although not considered "high" art, were at least considered "art pieces" rather than objects of use. Flaxman's designs followed all of the correct neoclassical rules, both as to form and to subject matter.

The eighteenth century in England saw the beginning of art connoisseurship and of art collecting as we know it today. The popularity of the Grand Tour developed in the gentlemen of the day a new taste for European art, particularly Italian art. English nobility began collecting this art to fill their palatial country houses. While they commissioned English artists to paint their portraits, they believed that only the Italians really knew how to practice the "higher" forms of Grand Style painting, and that the true art of sculpture belonged to the ancient Romans and Greeks. Of course this was the accepted theoretical view of the day. The Academy, when it was founded, merely accepted this view with the additional tenent that English artists, too, were capable of producing the Grand Style.

The collecting of fine art, (that is objects of purely aesthetic value) on a small scale, or, according to one's means, on a grand scale, had become a new use of art. The rewards of such collecting were several. One reward of collecting art was the purely intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment derived from the objects themselves, and from one's knowledge of and interest in them. Another, more obvious reward

was social. To be an art collector increased one's social prestige and importance, for it demonstrated that one was a man of sensitivity, learning and taste, and also that one had the means to indulge these tastes. Last, art had become a commodity of permanent worth on the market. It had become a kind of investment, like real estate. Art could be bought and owned, or sold for profit. After 1800 English patrons began to build collections of English, as well as European, art. In 1824, with the opening of the National Gallery, the nation itself became a major collector of art.¹

The wealthy of England filled their palatial homes not only with the "higher" arts as they were then defined, but with fine ware of all kinds. They bought the pottery of Wedgwood, the silver plate of Rundell and Bridge silver-smiths, and the furniture of Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Sheraton. Arts such as these which had never broken with their past traditions of craftsmanship reached to a new standard of excellence in the eighteenth century. The theoretical acceptance of the idea that the design and production of objects of use was a lower order of work than the design and production of objects of pure meaning, then, in no way damaged the excellence of these "lower" arts. The onslaught of nineteenth century industrialization or true factory production, however, did finally destroy this tradition of

¹See Bernard Meyers and Terwin Copplestone, Eds., Art Treasures of The British Isles, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969) for a history of British art collecting.

craftsmanship.

The growing middle classes could not afford much original painting and sculpture but they could afford prints. The demand for prints of all kinds steadily increased. England became the scene of great development in print-making techniques in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many painters made more money from the sale of prints copied from their paintings, than they were able to get from the sale of the paintings. In Dick Doyle's Journal, 1840, there is a sketch of a crowd of citizens collecting around the window of a shop, all eager to view the latest prints that had come out on display.¹

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw a new blossoming of English literature. The essay and the novel form, the newspaper and the periodical, all grew and developed to the increasing demand of a growing middle class. This output of printed matter needed illustration. By the 1850's and 60's England was possessed of a unique group of illustrators with the qualities of a distinct and excellent "school" of this art. The quality of British illustration by the mid-nineteenth century is now considered to have hit an aesthetic peak for that genre, surpassing the general quality of the academic art of the time. The subject matter of English illustration was the teeming contemporary life of nineteenth century England. Through their style and viewpoint the English

¹Dick Doyle, Dick Doyle's Journal, (London: Smith Elder, 1885).

illustrators made their own comment on contemporary life, very much in the tradition of William Hogarth. Punch, a humorous periodical, introduced a new form of publication devoted to social comment in the form of art. A tradition of political comment through cartoons has continued unabated in England from the eighteenth century. According to Michael Wynn Jones:

What is unique about the British tradition of cartoons is its freedom of expression, the status almost of a national institution it achieved in this country -- in an unbroken progression from the anonymous "bubble" prints of 1720 to the daily outpourings of the newspaper cartoons of today.¹

Jones sees English cartooning as a class expression. He says of the cartoonists:

. . . it was rarely a high-minded ethic they hawked about, rather it was a grass-roots morality born of Gin Lane or Jarrows. Indeed it is this close identification with the popular spirit of the times (though here one must except the mid-Victorian cartoonists of Punch who were, to a man, the expression of middle-class sentiments) which has been the hallmark, and to some extent the protection, of cartoonists.²

Hogarth had used painting as well as graphics for satirical social comment. The aesthetic standards popularized by the Academy had declared Hogarth's painting in bad taste. Academic standards dictated that the subject matter of painting be historical and generalized, and that the content of painting be idealized. Later in the nineteenth century when contemporary

¹Michael Wynn Jones, The Cartoon History of Britain, (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 8. The term "bubble" in this paragraph refers to the "South Sea bubble" financial disaster.

²Ibid., p. 8.

subject matter was reintroduced to English painting, its content remained idealized. It was as though the subject matter of contemporary life viewed in unidealized terms, having been denied the painter, was passed on to blossom in a form free from theoretical restraints. That form was graphic illustration.

A discussion of the uses of English art in the nineteenth century would be incomplete without the mention of middle-class "kitch" art. This new form of art consisted of collections of curios and factory-produced "knick-knacks." Middle class Victorian homes were crowded with these objects. James Laver states:

The Victorian era was the very age of miscellaneous. Never before in human history had so many objects come into being. The Industrial Revolution was essentially a matter of multiplication bringing innumerable things, which has once been the privilege of the rich, within the reach of nearly everybody.¹

The aristocracy, whose tastes had dominated the eighteenth century, filled their homes with "high" art and articles of excellent craftsmanship. The middle classes who began to dominate the tastes of the nineteenth century filled their homes with paintings if they could afford them, with prints, with heavy ornate furniture, with little vases, figurines, blownglass ships, fans, artificial flowers, "boughten" valentines, and endless such-like items. These objects were designed by people with little traditional training either of a

¹James Laver, Victoriana, (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967), p. 243.

theoretical or craftsmanlike kind.

The Social Definitions and Uses of Art

Specific Points of Comparison

A comparison of the two societies in question shows that their social definitions of art were very different indeed. After the Renaissance art seems to have needed a new definition in order to be fitted to a new use in a society that included the element of social mobility. Art had become an element in both the social mobility of the artist and in the social status of the art collector, and this constitutes a new social "use" of art.

Aside from this new use of the purely symbolic and decorative arts both societies produced the same basic objects of use to human civilization. Articles of use in both societies incorporated surface decoration in their design. Both societies also produced drawings, paintings, sculpture and jewelry, and other objects of a more purely decorative and symbolic nature.

The fourteenth century Florentines made no theoretical distinction between the design of objects for "practical" use and those for "aesthetic" or symbolic use. In fact their objects of practical use were designed as far as possible to incorporate aesthetic and symbolic meaning, and their objects of pure symbolism, such as altar paintings, had the very practical use of becoming an integral part of their religious ceremonies.

By the eighteenth century all of Europe had accepted a theoretical distinction between the "higher" and the "lower" arts. The "higher" arts, or arts of pure symbolism, became "art" itself. The "lower" arts, or arts of use, remained the crafts and trades, as they had always been. Within the "higher" arts theoreticians distinguished between "higher" and "lower" forms.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw an intensification of mass industrialization that produced a crisis not only in the question of product design, but a crisis concerning the definitions and uses of art as a whole. The Academy, as the keeper of the realm of the "higher" arts, whose stated purpose had been the uplifting of the social climate in general through the uplifting of art, now found itself almost totally disconnected with the crucial artistic problems of the time. Both the school and the institution now tended to sink deeper and deeper into a hidebound conservatism.

There were many reactions to this crisis in art outside of the Academy. Among them were the founding of new types of private art schools, the brief-lived but influential Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, (whose members, incidentally, were largely Academy-trained), and the William Morris movement. These later developments lie beyond the scope of this study.

Social Position and Function of the Artist

Fourteenth Century Florence

To understand the social position of the artist in

late Medieval Florence, one must understand his position in the larger structure of the guilds. The guild structure of Florence was deeply woven into the economic, political, social, and religious life of the city. The guilds formed the basic structure through which all areas of city life were integrated. The guilds controlled the economic life of the city. Their representatives were an integral part of the city government structure, the social hierarchy of the city was clearly reflected in their hierarchical structure, and each Guild had specific religious connections and duties written into its rules and charter.

By the fourteenth century the social structure of the Italian city-states differed from that of the rest of Europe. A class of ruling families had arisen who were engaged in trade on an international scale, and the important positions of power in the Greater Guilds were held by members of these families.

Stanley relates the ordering of the city's guild system as follows:

In 1236 Thirty-six Buonuomini assembled in council at the residence of the Consuls of the "Calimala" merchants, by special ordinance, to determine the styles and precedence of the principal trade-corporations working in Florence. They placed them in two divisions which they called "Greater" and "Lesser Guilds," respectively--accentuating thus the distinction between the popola grasso and the popolo minuto. In the former category they arranged in the following order: --1....Judges and Notaries; 2. Merchants of the "Calimala"; 3. Changers of Money; 4. Woollen-Manufacturers; 5. Silk-Manufacturers; 6. Doctors and Apothecaries; 7. Skinners and Furriers.

In the second category were placed the following Crafts: 1. Butchers; 2. Shoe-makers; 3. Black-smiths; 4. Leather-Dressers and Tanners; 5. Builders and Stonemasons; 6. Wine-merchants; 7. Bakers; 8. Olive-merchants and Provision-dealers; 9. Linen-manufacturers; 10. Locksmiths; 11. Armourers and Sword-makers; 12. Harness-makers

and Saddlers; 13. Carpenters; and 14. Inn-keepers.¹

Any number of other trades and crafts might be enrolled under the sponsorship of any of these basic guilds. The Doctors and Apothecaries Guild incorporated not only the painters, but geographers, writers, book-makers, and a long list of craftsmen who sold their wares through the apothecary shops, such as glass-blowers and bottlemakers, jug and dish-makers, potters, lantern-makers, cutlers, paper-makers, beret and cap-makers, comb-makers, makers of gilded leather objects, perfumers, saddlers, fancy-articles dealers, etc.²

While the guilds were arranged in the hierarchical order of their social importance, there existed within each guild a wide range of social positions. This was particularly true of the greater guilds. The officials of the Woollen-Manufacturers Guild were also the owners of that industry. They were men of great importance and wealth. Renard states that at times this guild had as many as 20,000 members.³ But the lowest members of the guild, the washers, the beaters, and the carders of wool were paid a paltry wage and crowded into large workshops. They occupied a place in the social hierarchy just above thieves and beggars. Renard refers to these wool-workers of Florence as already being a "true urban

¹John Edgcumbe Staley, The Guilds of Florence, (London: Melhuen, 1960), p. 42.

²Ibid., pp. 262-263.

³Georges Francois Renard, Guilds of The Middle Ages, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1918), p. 24.

proletariat."¹

Power and control of the guilds as well as social position went only to the few important owners and officials at the top. We find that in the Doctor's and Apothecaries Guild, the Doctors were the important and controlling members. The Apothecaries had some say in guild management, but the other craftsmen incorporated into the guild, including the artists, were considered under its patronage. They had no power in its affairs whatsoever. Staley states that the doctors would not deign to mix socially on the next level down in their own guild, i.e., with the apothecaries.² We begin to get some idea now of the position of the artist in the social structure of fourteenth century Florence.

The medieval artist was considered a craftsman among craftsmen. His calling did not seem qualitatively different to the medieval mind than that of the saddle-maker or the potter, who were his social equals. The workshop master expected to make a living from his trade, but never to obtain wealth by it. The first Florentine exception to this rule was Giotto, who in the early fourteenth century became a relatively wealthy man by reason of his art. He set the example of the change in the status of artists which was to follow in the Renaissance period. Much has been made of Giotto's friendship

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Staley, Guilds, p. 250-251.

with his noble and wealthy patrons. Giotto seems to have been a clever and witty fellow as well as an outstanding artist, and his patrons evidently enjoyed his company and conversation. That, however, did not raise him to their social status; they remained on a level well above him.

When the Florentines sought to pay special tribute to Giotto, they did so by appointing him City architect, as there was no traditional way in which one could honor a painter.¹ It is interesting to note that while "Builders and Stonemasons" rank fifth among the "Lesser Guilds" in the 1236 Florentine list, the "Master-Builders," or architects, occupied a social position above that of painters and sculptors.²

If the social position of the late medieval artist seems from the view of historical hindsight, lowly, his social function appears, from the same vantage-point, simple and uncomplicated. As the function of the saddle-maker was to make saddles, and the function of the potter to produce pots, so the function of the artist was to produce those objects of art and craftsmanship required of him by the life of the society.

He worked only on commission under written contract, to the specific requirements of his patron, who had the option of altering those requirements during the production of the work. The idea of producing an object of art to one's own

¹Martindale, Rise of the Artist, p. 22.

²Frederick Antal, Florentine Painting and Its Social Background, (London: Kegan Paul, 1947), pp. 280-281.

fancy, for later sale, was an idea that had not yet been born.

The Social Position and Function of the Artist

England, 1750-1850

When we enter the scene of mid-eighteenth century England, we find a unique situation of which English artists were becoming acutely aware. England at that time seemed to have been "ahead" of much of Europe in the beginning processes of industrialization but "behind" most of Europe culturally --certainly as cultural development was then defined. Eighteenth Century English society was a society, according to its own social critics, in dire need of "improvement." The upper classes and the rising upper middle classes, had begun to acquire, through trade, empire, and manufacture, sizable quantities of expendable wealth. They spent it in large sums on palatial homes and gardens, on horses and dogs and sporting of all kinds, on gambling and betting, on eating and drinking and on lovers and mistresses. They also began to spend it on collecting art. The English gentry of that time preferred to buy Italian art. They considered Italian art the best to be had, and they could not conceive of any contemporary English artist's work as being worthy to collect.

There had been a market for portrait painters in England since the time of Queen Elizabeth. As the merchant class grew, a market developed for the printmaker. Before the advent of the Academy there had never been a market in England for English painting other than portraiture. The Academy

itself may be seen as a vehicle created by English artists in their attempt to change this situation. The desire was to raise the status of English art, and thereby the status of English artists.

The first artists appointed by George III to the Academy were of fairly lowly family origin, and some of them had trade-like occupations. Reynolds himself, the most exalted of the lot and chosen as president for his social leadership, was the son of a Grammar-School master. He had no formal education, and had learned painting in the studio of George Hudson. Among his colleagues at the first Academy were the sons of an apothecary, a merchant's clerk, an engraver, a clothier, a clergyman, a gold-chaser and enameller, a master-carpenter, a watchmaker and a blacksmith. Clearly the sons of the better classes at this time did not become professional artists. Among the occupations in which these first Academicians engaged the professional portrait painter's occupation was the most exalted. Peter Toms made a living by painting in draperies for the busier portrait artists, while Charles Catton and John Baker were professional Coach Painters. George Moser was the Engraver to His Majesty's Mint. William Hodges worked as a painter of theatre scenery and as a draughtsman to the explorer Captain James Cook, while Francis Wheatley was employed mostly in decorating ceilings in the homes of the gentry. The artists of England, by 1768, had not moved a great way in social status from their fourteenth century Florentine brothers. Under the leadership of Reynolds they

set about to remedy this situation by means of their Royal Academy. Whatever may be said about the Academy's actual effect on English art, it must always be admitted that it succeeded handsomely--perhaps too well--in achieving its social aims for the artists.

Joshua Reynolds was chosen to the first presidency of the Academy precisely because of his high degree of acceptability and popularity in the London society of the day.

Hilles tells us that by 1762:

Mr. Joshua Reynolds of Leicester Fields was generally regarded as the outstanding English artist. Such recognition brought with it not only a greater number of sitters but an increasing list of social obligations. His diary for the period is filled with such entries as "cards," "Vauxhall," "Ball 6 o'clock Crown and Anchor," "Ranelagh," "Company at 6," etc. But though he was always fond of balls and whist, he was fonder of a society which was less frivolous.¹

Hilles goes on to tell us of Reynolds' central position in the famous "Club," or literary circle of Dr. Samuel Johnson, which included such lights as Oliver Goldsmith, James Boswell, and Edmund Burke. We must remember that these eighteenth century men of wit and letters, though sought after by society for its instruction and entertainment, were no more the true social equals of the gentry than were the artists who painted their portraits.

Not all of the best artists of England joined helter-skelter in the social climb which membership in the Academy

¹Frederick Whiley Hilles, The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds, (New York: Macmillan, 1936), p.

began to offer. It may interest us to examine the attitudes of the three "greats" among the English Academicians--that is, the three men whose work has survived the onslaught of twentieth century criticism. These are Thomas Gainsborough, John Constable, and Joseph Turner. Gainsborough was as sought-after a society portrait painter as was Reynolds, but he was not, nor did he aspire to become, any sort of "gentleman." He made himself clear on the matter in his famous letter to his friend, the musician William Jackson. Said Gainsborough:

Mark, then, that ever since I have been quite clear in your being a real genius, so long have I been of opinion that you are dayly throwing your gift away upon Gentlemen, and only studying how you shall become the Gentleman too; now damn Gentlemen, there is not such a set of enemies to a real artist in the world as they are, if not kept at a proper distance. They think (and so may you for awhile) that they reward your merit by their company and notice; but I, who blow away all the chaff, and by G-- in their eyes too, if they don't stand clear, know that they have but one part worth looking at, and that is their Purse; their Hearts are seldom near enough the right place to get a sight of it.¹

John Constable's attitude toward the Academy was one of curious contradictions. He was trained in the school, and all of his life he had the ambition to be elected Academician. Yet he privately rejected and despised many of the Academy's standards of taste, and felt that its influence was detrimental to the development of English art. Constable, the son of a miller, had no particular social ambitions. He really

¹Thomas Gainsborough, "Letter to William Jackson," quoted in Hodgson and Eaton, The Royal Academy, p. 76.

loved the English countryside he insisted on painting all his life. He had a stubborn egocentric belief in the value of his own work. His painting gained almost no recognition in his own country until it was shown in the French Salon of 1824, where it caused something of a sensation. As a result of the French acclaim the English tardily recognized him, electing him full Academician in 1829, his 53rd year. Constable was heartbroken that this honor came after the death of his wife for whom he most wanted it. He seems to have been completely delighted, however, with the opportunity to serve as Visitor in the school.

Turner was an introvert, a maverick without social graces or pretensions. His story is different from Constable's in that his abilities as an artist were recognized and appreciated by the English from the start. He was elected full Academician at the unheard-of age of 26. Turner spent his entire life involved "inside" his art. He was always ill-at-ease with people and seemed to care little for them, much less for social functions. Turner loved the Royal Academy itself; it became his home and anchor. He was for 30 years the Professor of Perspective to the Schools, delivering lectures that no one could hear. His paintings dominated the annual exhibitions throughout his life-time.

The social ace-in-the-hole for the Academy has been from the very beginning its annual exhibition. The invitation-only "Private-View" day very quickly became the place-to-be-seen for everyone who was any one in English society. The

annual dinner that was instituted in celebration of the opening of the exhibition came to mark, and to this day remains, the official opening of the London social season. This dinner might even be seen as the true masterpiece creation of English art. The artists, who from their lowly beginnings created it, made it a terribly exclusive and therefore desirable affair. By maintaining control of it they bought a kind of social leverage for themselves that was unique. Pevsner, who is unimpressed with the actual artistic contribution of the Royal Academy in the annals of the history of European academies, makes the following statement:

The Royal Academy remained a small and conservative institution, and were it not for the social glamour of its exhibitions and annual dinners, its role would be negligible. That this glamour, which does not seem to have lost all its attraction even today, could be brought about by a private body without any official interference from court or nobility, stands as the most memorable English contribution to the history of art academies.¹

What Pevsner perhaps misses is that it was through the very English pattern of remaining private, small, conservative and exclusive that the English Academicians managed to achieve their social goals.

The Academy's annual dinners are best described by George Leslie, who tells of them with the love and pride that only a true nineteenth century English Academician must have felt. He says that by 1804, the dinners became so crowded that

¹Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: De Capo Press, 1973), pp. 186-187.

a rule was passed limiting the number of guests to one hundred twenty, and stating that those invited must be only "persons of elevated stations, of high rank, distinguished talent, or known patrons of the arts."¹ Thereafter names for invitations were proposed by the Academicians and voted on by the Academy Council. Later in the century the invitation list was expanded to two hundred. Leslie tells us:

The list of guests at an Academy dinner probably surpasses in its comprehensiveness that of any other annual gathering or dinner, either public or private, in the United Kingdom, for besides those of the Royal personages and foreign ambassadors, the governing Ministry and the leaders of the Opposition, the House of Lords and the leading patrons of art there will be found in it the names of the highest representatives of the Church, the Army and Navy, of the Law, of the heads of the civic authorities of London, of the Universities, of the Colleges of Medicine and Surgery, of the Presidents of all the various societies and institutions of science and art, of the heads of departments in the British Museum, and last, but by no means least, the names also of the most brilliant leaders in the paths of Literature, the Drama, and Music. Yet it is still nominally a private dinner at which the hosts are the President and Members of the Royal Academy--a dinner given by them to celebrate the opening of what may be fairly considered as the best of the years work of the artists of the United Kingdom.²

This dinner, a male-only affair, lasted well into the hours of the morning. After much eating, the drinking continued through a long series of speeches and official toast-making, and Leslie says that the high and mighty often quaked in their boots at being called upon to give a toast. The

¹George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of The Royal Academy (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), p. 227.

²Ibid., p. 233.

quality of their wit and remarks would be much discussed during the following social season. After toast-making, the drinking and conversation continued. (Those left lying about the floor as dawn approached would be carried discretely out the back way to their carriages by their men-servants.) One must marvel indeed at the ability of mere artists to create an annual social affair, an invitation to which the powerful and wealthy must have positively groveled after, and an invitation which would be issued only by the vote of the artists.

This kind of social glamour soon had the desired effects, not only on the saleability of English art and on the social status and wealth of English artists, but also on the class of people who would consider going into the profession. If we examine the family backgrounds of the men who were elected to the Academy in the middle of the nineteenth century, we find among them the sons of surgeons, judges, manufacturers, and even gentry. We must suspect strongly that the nineteenth century Academy began to select both its students and its Academicians for reasons of their social standing as well as on the merits of their ability as artists. During the 1850's and 60's, there was a great surge of art buying on the part of the English public, and artists in general acquired everything from a reasonable living to great wealth. Honors of all kinds were showered on the best-known names in art.

The career of Sir Charles Eastlake who became president of the society in 1850, serves as an example of the social

heights to which English artists might now aspire. His father was solicitor to the British Admiralty. His art education followed the ideal model. He began with a good Grammar School education at Charterhouse in London, and entered the Academy as a student in 1809. He also "consulted" (studied in the studio of) the painter Benjamin Haydon, and finished his education properly by working from the old masters in Paris and in Italy. Hodgson and Eaton review his career.

Many Honors have been awarded to Sir Charles Eastlake. He was elected F.R.S. in 1838. He became an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1827, and R.A. in 1830. He succeeded to the office of President in 1850, when he received the honour of Knighthood from Her Majesty. In 1853 he was created D.C.L. at Oxford, in 1858 an Honorary Member of the Academy of Arts of Rome. . . . As an artist, a scholar, and a gentleman, Sir Charles Eastlake possesses the high esteem of the public; and in the inner circle of those to whom he is personally known, and in the Art Society of which his is the head, he is justly held in universal respect for his genius, and those many personal qualities of heart and mind, which render him courteous and affable, full of delicacy of feeling, and conscientious in the discharge of all the duties which in his high position he is called upon to fill.¹

The following is Hodgson and Eaton's description of Eastlake's painting. (Remember that Hodgson was himself a late nineteenth century Academician.)

Sir Charles Eastlake paints with all the grace and poetic feeling, and with vigor of line and harmony of colour, of the old masters of the Venetian school. The treatment of his subjects appeals rather to the approbation of the discerning few than to the multitude

¹Hodgson and Eaton, The Royal Academy, pp. 286-287.

but there is in them so much purity of conception, graceful feeling, and delicate yet expressive execution, that the contemplation of his pictures is an instructive lesson as well as a pleasure to all who study them.¹

It is difficult, encumbered as we are with the history of Modern art and with our twentieth century values, not to smile back in scorn at both Sir Charles Eastlake and at his type of painting. We see men like Reynolds and Eastlake as somewhat ridiculous figures in their attempt to combine the role of gentleman and scholar with that of an excellent, if not great, artist. Let us give them their due. They were gentlemen, as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries defined those terms. They took their values of gentlemanly obligation and behavior seriously and lived them well. (If these values are now dead, it may be our loss.) They were both scholars. Reynolds' Discourses on Art and Eastlake's Materials for a History of Oil Painting are classics of their kind. They both worked long and hard at painting, and achieved an excellent skill within the limits of the accepted fashionable modes of painting of their time. It is the present opinion of critics that neither had the ability to surpass those limits--nor even to create uniquely within them.

It is difficult not to accede to the opinion that this tendency of the Academicians to becoming gentlemen had worked, as Gainsborough forewarned, to the detriment of their art.

¹Ibid., pp. 283-284.

Sir Francis Grant, the son of landed gentry, who married the niece of the Duke of Rutland, succeeded Eastlake to the Presidency of the Academy in 1866. Leslie describes him thus:

Tall and handsome in person, dignified and courteous in manners, he united the characteristics of an aristocratic Scot with those of an English country gentleman of the best type. Sir Edwin Landseer once told me that he never saw anyone in the hunting field who took his fences with greater coolness and ease than Sir Francis.¹

Hodgson and Eaton give us a description of his manner in painting:

He gives all his portraits the elegance and grace which belong to the high-born lady, and the ease and dignity of the well-bred gentleman; his female portraits are especially charming, for, while the face is painted with delicacy, the drapery and background are also tasteful and effective, and there is a sweet expression given to the countenance, and an unconstrained action imparted to the figure. Sometimes there is a degree of ideality thrown /sic./ into his pictures, which renders them still more pleasing by the happy combination of portraiture and poetry.²

Surely there is an element of the ridiculous in Sir Francis and his art that justifies our smile. The very words used here to praise -- "charming, delicacy, effective, sweet, ideality" and "pleasing" -- are descriptive of an art without vitality that is aimed to please but not to do or to be.

A measure of the rise in social status of the English artist is evident in George Leslie's snobbish description of

¹Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 93.

²Hodgson and Eaton, The Royal Academy, p. 296.

the carpenters who worked for the Academy council during the latter part of the nineteenth century. He says:

The poor men get very tired of constantly carrying the pictures for the exhibition and when the whistle sounds at one o'clock they at once lie down on the floor in groups and eat their dinner, almost reminding me of a flock of bullocks resting.¹

One wonders if two of the founding members of the Royal Academy, perhaps eating their dinner beside the coach they were painting, would not have put him in mind of the same thing!

The artists of England had set out to persuade society to accept them as gentlemen, and they succeeded. In the process "society" took over "art" with aesthetic results now roundly condemned by twentieth century critical opinion. It behooves us here to take stock of our own values and prejudices. One of our leading art historians, H. W. Janson, makes the following judgement:

The best that can be said of Reynolds is that he almost succeeded in making painting respectable in England as a liberal art . . . but at what a cost! His Discourses, which soon became standard, inhibited the visual capacity of generations of students in England and America.²

Such a dismissal is both causally unfounded and simplistic, yet it is typical of what educated twentieth century opinion on the subject has been.

While we have chronicled the spectacular rise in social position achieved by some artists, we must remember

¹Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 90.

²W. H. Janson, History of Art (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951), p. 452.

that it was only a few who achieved this status. They tended to be men of a certain acceptable gentlemanly character and manner, who produced a certain acceptable form of art. Most artists continued to come from the ranks of the middle classes and to have remained fairly middle class in status.

Art Learning in the Institutions Compared

Purpose and Philosophy of the Institution

The Guild

The purpose of the workshop was the simple and straightforward one of production of objects of art as a trade, in order to secure the living of the workers. Renard gives a review of the aims of the Guilds in general, which he divides into economic, social and moral, and political aims. The most important purpose of the guilds was economic. The guilds regulated labor and production in such a way as to insure a stable market and equality of opportunity for the members. Each guild worked to protect the "welfare and honor of the craft," as its good reputation insured its continuing good business.¹

The Florentine guild of the Calimala (merchants and importers)

. . . prided itself on letting nothing leave its shops but finished products, perfect of their kind; it examined and stamped every article, and further required that it should bear a special trade-mark stating where it was made and its just price.²

As artists' workshops were in competition with each other for the best commissions, we may assume that each Master was equally careful and jealous of the quality of every

¹George Renard, Guilds of the Middle Ages, trans. Dorothy Terry, (London: G. Bell and Son, 1918), p. 32.

²Ibid., p. 34.

product that left his shop.

Guild regulations often stated the exact materials and processes to be used in the production of articles, and listed numerous regulations concerning the hiring of labor, the buying of raw material, and production and selling practices. Two tendencies of the guilds, which Renard points out may not have been so healthy for the development of the trades, were the tendency to shut out all outside competition, (local protectionism), and the tendency to jealously guard production secrets.¹

Socially, each guild was a kind of patron body to its members, and each trade in the guild formed a close social brotherhood. When the artists were taken into the Doctors and Apothecaries Guild, the Doctors and Apothecaries became in effect their patrons. The guilds and trades each had their own patron Saints, and all had official connections with specific churches and religious bodies. Guild regulations often included rules of moral and religious conduct and rules pertaining to the duties of the guild concerning the religious and civic festivities of the town.

In fourteenth century Florence the guilds were a much greater political force than was the rule for medieval towns outside of Italy. There the landed nobility remained the dominant political power. In late medieval Italian cities, the wealthy trading classes carried on a constant

¹Ibid., pp. 35-37.

struggle for power with the old aristocracy, and the leading officials of the Great Guilds were also the ruling political officials of the city government.¹ But the craftsmen and workmen of the guilds, including the artists, had no power at all in this structure.

The Royal Academy

The Royal Academy was founded on, and has always prided itself in, its idealistic and much-discussed aims. These aims have rested on the assumption that the state of art in a society acts as a moral force in that society, and that the betterment of the arts will act as a force toward the improvement and "civilizing" of a society. Within the framework of these assumptions, the stated purpose of the Academy has been to foster, encourage, and develop toward excellence, the arts in England. The Academy's aims also rest on the assumption that the qualities of excellence in art are fixed and known, and so can be worked toward.

No better idea of the state of mind and point of view of those who founded and developed the Academy can be had than by reading from the first Discourse of Sir Joshua Reynolds, President, which he addressed to the students upon the opening of the school in 1769. He said:

Gentlemen,
An Academy, in which the polite arts may be regularly cultivated, is at last opened among us, by Royal

¹See the section "Social Position and Function of the Artist" for the political structure of the Florentine Guilds.

munificence. This must appear an event in the highest degree interesting, not only to artists, but to the whole nation.

It is indeed difficult to give any other reason, why an empire like that of Britain, should so long have wanted an ornament so suitable to its greatness, than that slow progression of things, which naturally makes elegance and refinement the last effect of opulence and power.

An institution like this has often been recommended upon considerations merely mercantile; but an Academy, founded upon such principles, can never effect even its own narrow purposes. If it has an origin no higher, no taste can ever be formed in manufactures; but if the higher arts of design flourish, these inferior ends will be answered of course.

.
There are, at this time, a greater number of excellent artists than were ever known before at one period in this nation; there is a general desire among our nobility to be distinguished as lovers and judges of the arts; there is a greater superfluity of wealth among the people to reward the professors; and above all, we are patronized by a Monarch, who, knowing the value of science and elegance, thinks every art worthy of his notice, that tends to soften and humanize the mind.

.
. . . whatever may be our proportion of success, of this we may be sure, that the present institution will at least contribute to advance our knowledge of the arts, and bring us nearer to that ideal excellence, which it is the lot of genius always to contemplate and never to attain.¹

It may be seen that Reynolds was not unaware of the need for better design in the crafts and industries of the day, but he considered this an "inferior end" to the goal of attaining toward "ideal excellence" in the "higher arts of design," which would be painting, sculpture, and architecture. Nor was he unaware that in order to flourish the arts needed monetary support, and he frankly pointed out

¹Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, ed., Stephen O. Mitchell, (New York: Bobs-Merrill, 1965), pp. 5-6.

that the nobility and the people were, in a word, ready to buy.

The Academy has always been judged and has judged itself according to the opinion of whether it has met its own idealistic aims of improving the excellence of the arts of England. Opinions have differed widely as to the degree of its success. The strongest Academy supporters have said that it was a force without which art in England would hardly have developed at all, and its strongest detractors have stamped it a static and even a destructive influence in the development of English art. The argument has been complicated by the conflicts in values concerning art forms that developed throughout the nineteenth century world. One side has said that the Academy's supporters were mostly those whose personal careers had been aided by the Academy. The other side has countered that attacks on the Academy arose mostly from the personal pique of the less able artists whose work had been rejected by it. The Academy claimed that the work it fostered was superior in quality to that which it rejected in its shows. The counter argument was that the Academy fostered mostly the work of its own members and their friends. An even more serious charge held that the Academy's standards of excellence were, or as time progressed had become, false values concerning art. This last statement introduces a twentieth century idea which neither the medieval craftsman nor the Academician

would have accepted. That is the idea that standards of excellence in art may in some respects be relative to the situation in which that art exists.

Purpose and Philosophy of the Institution

Specific Points of Comparison

The purposes of the guilds as institutions were of an economic and social nature. They controlled their trades for practical material ends. The philosophy behind these aims was a tacit one, and accepted without question by the society. By contrast, the purpose and philosophy of the Royal Academy was not only explicitly stated, but much discussed and argued over. The Academy's purposes were of an idealistic nature; they rested on a melioristic view of society, and on a belief that art could be a force for social betterment. The Academy's detractors accused it of abandoning these idealistic aims and in fact practicing the aims of a guild, those of the regulation of art and protectionism for its own members. The Academy always strongly denied these accusations, insisting that its defense lay in its adherence to its stated ideals.

Specific Skills Taught

The Workshop

Cennino d'Andrea Cennini's handbook, Il Libro dell'Arte, is the major and almost the only source of our understanding of the skills, materials, and methods employed by

the late medieval artist in his work.¹ The book is astonishing in its range of techniques described, and exacting in its description of each material used and in its directions for each process. Many contemporary works on the techniques of painting still quote Cennino as the standing authority concerning the preparation and processing of certain materials. His book lacks only, to the modern mind, units of measure for the recipes given.

Cennino states: "I was trained in this profession for twelve years by my master, Agnolo di Taddeo of Florence; he learned this profession from Taddeo, his father; and his father was christened under Giotto, and was his follower for four-and-twenty-years."² The book, then, purports to be the accumulated knowledge of four generations of Florentine artists, beginning with Giotto di Bondone (1267-1337). According to Cennino: ". . . Giotto had more finished craftsmanship than anyone has had since."³

A reading of Cennino gives us an exact description of the many skills the artist's apprentice was expected to learn. He had to know how to prepare all of his own materials and how to make most of his tools as well. At the beginning of the book Cennino states: "The basis of the Profession, the very beginning of all these manual operations,

¹Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, or The Craftsman's Handbook, trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New York: Dover Pub., 1960).

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Ibid., p. 2.

is drawing and painting."¹ The first chapter of the book gives instructions on learning to draw. Its table of contents will be given here in order to show Cennino's range and style. He mixes advice on such things as the development of style and manners of shading in with his directions on the preparation and use of specific materials. These matters are so interconnected in Cennino's mind and in his practice, that he does not differentiate among them as separate processes, or subject matters.

- "1. The first chapter of the first section of this book
- "2. How some enter the profession through loftiness of spirit, and some, for profit
- "3. Fundamental provisions for anyone who enters this profession
- "4. How the schedule shows you into how many sections and branches the occupations are divided
- "5. How you begin drawing on a little panel; and the system for it
- "6. How to draw on several kinds of panels
- "7. What kind of bone is good for treating the panels
- "8. How you should start drawing with a style, and by what light
- "9. How you should give the system of lighting, light or shade, to your figures, endowing them with a system of relief
- "10. The method and system for drawing on sheep parchment and on paper, and shading with washes
- "11. How you may draw with a leaden style
- "12. How, if you have made a slip in drawing with the leaden style, you may erase it, and by what means
- "13. How you should practice drawing with a pen
- "14. How to learn to cut the quill for drawing
- "15. How you should advance to drawing on tinted paper
- "16. How the green tint is made on paper for drawing; and the way to temper it
- "17. How you should tint kid parchment, and by which method you burnish it
- "18. How you should tint paper turnsole color

¹Ibid., p. 3.

- "19. How you should tint paper with indigo tint
 - "20. How you should tint papers with reddish color, or almost peach color
 - "21. How you should tint papers with flesh color
 - "22. How you should tint papers greenish gray, or drab
 - "23. How you may obtain the essence of a good figure or drawing with tracing paper
 - "24. The first way to learn how to make a clear tracing paper
 - "25. The second way to make tracing paper; with glue
 - "26. How to make tracing paper out of paper
 - "27. How you should endeavor to copy and draw after as few masters as possible
 - "28. How, beyond masters, you should constantly copy from nature with steady practice
 - "29. How you should regulate your life in the interests of decorum and a steady hand; and in what company; and what method you should first adopt for copying a figure from high up
 - "30. How you should first start drawing on paper with charcoal, and take the measure of the figure, and fix it with a silver style
 - "31. How you should draw and shade with washes on tinted paper, and then put lights on with white lead
 - "32. How you may put on lights with washes of white lead just as you shade with washes of ink
 - "33. How to make good and perfect and slender coals for drawing
 - "34. About a stone which has the character of charcoal for drawing
- This ends the first section of this book."¹

The second chapter of Cennino's book deals with the working up of pigments into paint. He tells the character of, and gives directions for, the preparation of twenty-six specific pigments, or colors. He also gives directions for making several different kinds of brushes. The third chapter of the book has twenty-two sections telling how to work on a wall in fresco and in secco. It gives directions for the painting of specific things, like drapery and mountains, as well as telling how to prepare the materials and the

¹Ibid., pp. xxi-xxii.

wall to work on. The fourth chapter gives directions for "How to paint in oil on a wall, on panel, on iron, and where you please."¹ It tells how to work in various ways with tin and with gold in "embellishing," and how to make stars and diadems on a wall. The fifth chapter gives directions for the preparation of various sizes and glues, and advises the student to begin to learn to paint on a panel. The sixth chapter gives directions on how to prepare and work on a panel, how to work in relief on a wall, how to gild and burnish with gold, how to design and make brocades in silver and gold, how to work on velvet, wool, and silk, and how to paint (pictures of) faces, a dead man, wounds, and water.

Several short sections of the book follow. There is one on mordant gilding, one on varnishing and one on illuminating. There is one on work on cloth which includes directions on how to draw for embroiderers, to make devices out of gilded paper, and how to do caskets and chests. There is a short section on how to work with glass and one on mosaic. Finally there is a section on miscellaneous operations and one on how to cast a life mask, and how to cast from a living figure. The book ends with one page on how to cast medals, and to make a mold from a seal or coin.

Even this is not a complete list of the specific skills that a medieval artist might learn. Some artists

¹Ibid., p. 57.

also practiced as goldsmiths and some as sculptors. Some, as in the case of Giotto, even practiced architectural design. The medieval artist was a master generalist. The quality of his art depended first on a very wide array of specific skills and processes well learned.

Specific Skills Taught

The Academy

The core of Academy teaching centered around the development of skill in the rendering of the human figure. Students were instructed in anatomy from an analytic, scientific point of view, and they were instructed in the techniques of mechanical perspective.

In the School of Painting, students studied painting technique principally by copying from works of the "old masters." What instruction they received in the preparation and use of materials was minimal at best. By the middle of the eighteenth century, most of an artist's materials were purchased from an artist's colour-man, or merchant. Brushes were made by brush-makers, paper came ready prepared and tinted, and ink was sold in bottles. The artist still mixed his dry-bought pigments into oil for paint, and prepared his canvases with size and ground.

The Schools of the Royal Academy did not instruct the students in the materials of their crafts. Sculpture students concentrated on the modeling of the figure in clay; casting methods were not taught at the Academy. Academies

of art from their first founding were designed to supplement studio training with analytic theoretical training in art. On the continent, academy students continued to get their training in materials in the traditional way, through working in the studio of a master. Pevsner, in describing the curriculum of the Academie Royale under Lebrun, states:

One fact should be clearly understood, to begin with, and that is that the Paris academy was never meant to deal with the whole of the professional education of a young painter or sculptor. He neither painted nor carved nor modelled figures or reliefs during his working hours at the academy. All this he had to learn in the studio, or, as one may safely say, the workshop of his master, with whom he still lived and under whom he still worked, in a way almost exactly identical with that of the Middle Ages. . . . Nobody was admitted as a student to the academy, unless he could produce a certificate from his master.¹

The English Academy made no such provisions to ensure the education of their students in the use of materials. Such instruction was considered both outside of the Academy's province and beneath its dignity. It was assumed that artists would continue to learn their material techniques from each other. English art students did continue to study with other artists. Formal apprenticeships continued, particularly to draftsmen and to printmakers and engravers. Some artists took students into their studios on a paying basis, and some "consulted" with students on a more informal basis.

The activities of the young Joseph Turner and his

¹Nikolaus Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), pp. 91-92.

friend Gritin give an example of the way in which students went about the study of art in the early nineteenth century. Gritin was apprenticed to a painter named Dayes. Turner was a student at the Royal Academy, where he studied continually from the time he was fourteen until he was eighteen, and intermittently until he was twenty-three. Turner also received informal instruction from an architectural draftsman named Thomas Malton, for whom he tinted drawings from time to time. Gritin and Turner made friends with a certain Dr. Monroe, who owned a fine collection of drawings. The two of them would meet at Dr. Monroe's house to copy from these drawings.¹ In Turner's student days there was no School of Painting at the Academy, and the question arises as to how Turner learned to paint. In his early years he made voluminous numbers of landscape sketches in colored chalks and in watercolor, and developed his color work in this way. One must assume that he learned the mechanics of oil painting technique from artists friends, and developed his ability on his own.

English artists in general lacked knowledge of the chemistry of their materials, and they lacked the medieval artist's inherited knowledge of traditional technique. By the middle of the nineteenth century the results of this lack of knowledge of materials had become apparent to even

¹Gerald Wilkinson, Turner's Early Sketchbooks, (New York: Watson-Guption, 1972), pp. 18-19.

the most conservative Academicians. William Sandby, in his History of the Royal Academy, published in 1862, makes a plea that the Academy begin to instruct the students in the use of their materials. He says:

This is a matter of importance to the English school, and one from the neglect of which its future reputation will greatly suffer. Already some of the works of its best masters are all but destroyed from this cause. The changes which have taken place in some of Sir J. Reynolds' pictures arise from the experiments he so frequently made with pigments, the chemical properties of which he did not understand. Many of Wilkie's later works, and some of those by Hilton, Etty, and Turner are rapidly perishing from the same cause. Most of the mischief to our modern pictures has resulted from the use of asphaltum and other bituminous pigments, which never harden, but contract and expand under alterations of temperature, and retain a tendency to fluidity from heat; while metallic and earthy pigments, when mingled with the oils and resins of the painter's vehicle, become harder and dryer by age and exposure.¹

Twentieth century critics often point out another result of the divorce of art's content from its material substance, that of a lack of sensitivity to the physical properties of paint as a vehicle of expression. This was not a universal fault, however, of Academy-trained students. Both Joseph Turner and John Constable were highly sensitive to their medium.

¹William Sandby, The History of the Royal Academy of Arts, Vol. 2, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green), pp. 386-387.

Specific Skills Taught

Points of Comparison

Perhaps no section of this study presents a more striking contrast in attitude and approach to art than does a comparison of the specific skills taught in each institution. Although Cennino emphasized the importance of learning to draw and to paint, his book shows that in the workshop drawing and painting were taught through the medium of the use of materials.

The Academy concentrated on an analytic intellectual approach to the component skills of drawing: anatomy, perspective, and the drawing of the human figure from casts and from the life. The student was not expected to accept these separate skills as the end product of his education, however. He was expected to be resourceful and skillful enough to unite his skills in drawing with a development in painting, learned from other artists and on his own. While students had to have special permission to paint rather than draw in the Life Class, Reynolds, in his second Discourse, advises them:

. . . that whenever the opportunity offers, you paint your studies rather than drawing them. . . . if painting comprises both drawing and colouring, and if by a short struggle of resolute industry, the same expedition is attainable in painting as in drawing on paper, I cannot see what objection can justly be made to the practice; or why they should be done by parts,

¹Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, p. 3.

which may be done all together.¹

Nevertheless it must be said that the Academy student learned his skills by theory and by parts. The workshop apprentice, by contrast, learned his skills in the concrete and all together.

Concepts and Attitudes Taught

The Florentine Workshop

Concepts and attitudes may be consciously held and verbally expressed, or they may be unconsciously transmitted. Simply by holding and operating from a certain set of principles the people of a society transmit them to the young. It was on this level of tacit understanding that many of the attitudes concerning art in fourteenth century Florence were transmitted to the apprentice.

Art was seen as a craft among crafts. There was no more need to theorize over the art of painting than there was to theorize over the art of furniture-making. Theology was still the major sphere for theory. Mathematics, logic, rhetoric, literature, and even music incorporated theory; work done by hand did not.

The young artist understood that the quality and value of his art was based in the materials he used as well as in his skill in using them. Cennino's statement about the character of ultramarine blue illustrates this

¹Reynolds, Discourses, p. 22.

attitude.

Ultramarine blue is a color illustrious, beautiful and most perfect, beyond all other colors: one could not say anything about it, or do anything with it, that its quality would not surpass. And, because of its excellence, I want to discuss it at length, and to show you in detail how it is made. Any pay close attention to this, for you will gain great honor and service from it. And let some of that color, combined with gold, which adorns all the works of our profession, whether on wall or panel, shine forth in every object.¹

In other words the excellence of ultramarine blue lies in the material, the quality of the color itself, more than in what the artist may do with it. He should make and use it with skill out of respect for the excellence of the color; thus the use of this color will do him service and bring honor to his work. Ultramarine blue was the most expensive color besides gold. It was made from lapis lazuli. This attitude of the painter toward his materials may be equated with the attitude still expected from a good jeweler; his design and workmanship should enhance the intrinsic value and beauty of the stones and metals with which he works. Individuality of style was recognized but not emphasized in the fourteenth century. A distinct style such as Giotto's was admired because of its excellence, not on the basis of its originality or difference from other styles. The young apprentice tried to emulate his master's

¹Cennino Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, trans. by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New York: Dover Publishers, 1960), p. 36.

style as closely as possible. His part of the corporate production process had to follow the master's way of working, and the apprentice understood this to be the best way to develop his own talents. Cennino advised the learner against attempting to copy the styles of too many masters.

For if you undertake to copy after one master today and after another one tomorrow, you will not acquire the style of either one or the other, and you will inevitably, through enthusiasm, become capricious, because each style will be distracting your mind. You will try to work in this man's way today, and in the other's tomorrow, and so you will not get either of them right. If you follow the course of one man through constant practice, your intelligence would have to be crude indeed for you not to get some nourishment from it. Then you will find, if nature has granted you any imagination at all, that you will eventually acquire a style individual to yourself, and it cannot help being good; because your hand and your mind, being always accustomed to gather flowers, would ill know how to pluck thorns.¹

Individual style, then, was seen as something to be acquired over a long period of time and developed through emulation of one's master. Fine style was seen as something that would emerge naturally out of this process. Cennino recognized the need for artists to have imagination as well as skill. While the workbook itself concentrated on the material skills to be learned, he presented a theoretical view of art in his introduction. After explaining man's beginnings in the story of the Garden of Eden, Cennino wrote:

¹Ibid., pp. 14-15.

Man afterward pursued many useful occupations, differing from each other; and some were and are, more theoretical than others; they could not be alike, since theory is the most worthy. Close to that, man pursued some related to the one which calls for a basis of that, coupled with skill of hand; and this is an occupation known as painting, which calls for imagination, and skill of hand, in order to discover things not seen, hiding themselves under the shadow of natural objects, and to fix them with the hand, presenting to plain sight what does not actually exist. And it justly deserves to be enthroned next to theory, and to be crowned with poetry. The justice lies in this: that the poet, with his theory, though he have but one, it makes him worthy, is free to compose and bind together, or not, as he pleases, according to his inclination. In the same way, the painter is given freedom to compose a figure, standing, seated, half-man, half-horse, as he pleases, according to his imagination.¹

This point of Cennino's--that painting "deserves to be enthroned next to theory" because of the element of imagination it requires--is one which came to flower later during the Renaissance. This attitude seems more typically a renaissance idea than a medieval one. All renaissance ideas were not suddenly invented; most of them existed in the attitudes of certain people or groups from much earlier times. They are called renaissance ideas because that was the period when they became widely popularized and accepted.

Cennino refers to himself as "an unimportant practicing member of the profession of painting."² This modest attitude seems to have been typical for the medieval artist. Yet as Martindale points out, while medieval society took little note of the ego of the individual artist, this does not mean that he had none. The practice of signing

¹Ibid., pp. 1-2.

²Ibid., p. 2.

works can be traced back to the twelfth century, and in Italy artists sometimes added self-laudatory inscriptions to pieces as well. Early in the twelfth century Wiligelmo, a mason-sculptor of Modena, carved a Latin inscription on his work which read: "Among sculptors, your work now shines forth, O Wiligelmo, to show how greatly you are worthy of honours!"¹ To praise oneself has long been more acceptable in Italian culture than it has been elsewhere, but Wiligelmo's boast is modest compared to the claim of "divine genius" that was to come from some artists of the high Renaissance. A comparison of Cennino's writings with those of Leonardo da Vinci, some hundred years later, shows how very medieval most of Cennino's attitudes toward art and the artist still were.

Cennino says nothing in his workbook about the handling of subject matter and nothing, in the theoretical sense, about composition in painting. He does tell how to render specific things in paint, such as mountains, faces and drapery. He suggests the best colors and techniques to be used in rendering each object. The patron who commissioned a work set its subject matter. He also helped to determine its composition, since he had to bargain with the artist over the amount of gold and expensive pigments to be used.

¹Andrew Martindale, The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), p. 105.

The medieval artist had a kind of geometric attitude toward proportion and composition which may have grown out of the incorporation of so much of his work with church architecture. This attitude is evident in Cennino's explanation of the way to mark off a wall for frescoe work.

. . . Then when the plaster is dry, take the charcoal, and draw and compose according to the scene or figures which you have to do; and take all your measurements carefully, snapping lines first, getting the centers of the spaces. Then snap some, and take the levels from them. And this line which you snap through the center to get the level must have a plumb bob at the foot. And then put one point of the big compasses on this line, and give the compasses a half turn on the under side. Then put the point of the compasses on the middle of the intersection of one line with the other, and swing the other semicircle on the upper side. And you will find that you make a little slanted cross on the right side, formed by the intersection of the lines. From the left side apply the line to be snapped, in such a way that it lies right over both the little crosses; and you will find that your line is horizontal by a level. Then compose the scenes or figures with charcoal, as I have described. And always keep your areas in scale, and regular. Then take a small, pointed bristle brush, and a little ocher without tempera, as thin as water; and proceed to copy and draw in your figures, shading as you did with washes when you were learning to draw.^{1,2}

This geometric turn of mind is applied to proportion in the following instructions for drawing on paper:

First take the charcoal, slender, sharpened like a pen, or like your style; and, as the prime measurement which you adopt for drawing, adopt one of the three which the face has, for it has three of them altogether: the forehead, the nose, and the chin, including the mouth. And if you adopt one of these,

¹Ibid., pp. 42-43.

²Cennino's directions are not entirely clear. Thompson gives an interpretation of them in his footnotes, p. 43.

it serves you as a standard for the whole figure, for the buildings and from one figure to another; and it is a perfect standard for you provided you use your judgment in estimating how to apply these measurements.¹

In the fourteenth century, Italian artists were not yet aware of the possibilities of mechanical perspective. They were beginning, however, to attempt a greater degree of visual correctness in their pictorial work. In earlier times the size and position of figures and objects had been determined for symbolic reasons. A large Madonna and Child, by reason of their importance, would tower over tiny angels. In fourteenth century Italian painting these two approaches to proportion were largely mixed. At this time, there did not seem to be any clear conflict between them in the minds of artists. While a feeling for realistic proportion had become more and more admired since the time of Giotto, the incorporation of traditional symbolic space and size with this new trend was tacitly accepted.

In his directions for how to draw on panel, before painting, Cennino says:

When you have finished drawing your figure, especially if it is in a very valuable ancona, so that you are counting on profit and reputation from it, leave it alone for a few days, going back to it now and then to look it over and improve it wherever it still needs something. When it seems to you about right (and bear in mind that you may copy and examine things done by other good masters; that it is no shame to you), when the figure is satisfactory, then fix it with ink.²

It had always been the medieval practice in art, as in all

¹Ibid., p. 17.

²Ibid., p. 75.

matters, to refer for guidance to a previous authority. The subject matter of art had been almost entirely religious, consisting of scenes from the stories of the old testament, from the life of Christ, and from the lives and miracles of the Saints. Artists composed these scenes on traditional lines with reference to whatever earlier interpretations of the subject they had seen. Giotto's famous "Madonna Enthroned,"¹ painted in 1310, is clearly his own interpretation of Cimabue's work of the same subject done in 1280.² This composition of the theme was relatively standard in previous times. Giotto's painting "The Meeting of Joachim and Anna," of 1305,³ and Taddeo Gaddi's of 1338,⁴ are similarly variations of a basic composition. Taddeo, in executing his work, quite properly took whatever he needed from a previous work by his master, Giotto; and yet the two works are distinctly individual. They are remarkably different for being so remarkably the same.

The break which was to come in the pattern of traditional composition is linked to the introduction of new and secular subject matter in art, a trend already apparent

¹Giotto, "Madonna Enthroned" in Helen Gardener, Art Through the Ages, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970), p. 389.

²Cimabue, "Madonna Enthroned," Ibid., p. 388.

³Giotto, "The Meeting of Joachim and Anna," Ibid., p. 392.

⁴Taddeo Gaddi, "The Meeting of Joachim and Anna," Ibid., p. 393.

in Italy in the fourteenth century. The guilds, the city governments and the wealthy patrons had begun to commission works more directly in their own honor, as well as in the honor of God. Examples can be seen in the reliefs and stained glass windows of churches, depicting the every-day work of the guilds, and in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's mural honoring "Good Government" for the city of Siena.¹ One portion of the mural depicts contemporary street life in the city, another represents "Good Government" in an allegorical manner. This fourteenth century mural is a remarkable portent of things to come. By the fifteenth century Italian artists would be faced with a new theoretical problem. The new subject matter was to introduce the problem of original composition into art.

Concepts and Attitudes Taught

The Royal Academy

A school like that of the Royal Academy, taught by a constantly changing variety of artists over the period of 1750 to 1850, was subject to the complex variety of concepts and attitudes toward art prevalent throughout that period in Europe. Volumes have been written analyzing these theories of and movements in art, variously known as the grand manner, neo-classicism, romanticism, idealism, and naturalism. The one section allowed to the subject here

¹Ambrogio Lorenzetti, "Good Government in the City," Ibid., pp. 394-395.

presents a simplified outline of the attitudes behind these theories or movements. The better-known English artists and Academy teachers who exemplified these attitudes will be discussed.

From the very beginning, the academies were conceived as institutions devoted to theory. The first informal academies were devoted to the discussion and development of theory. As they became more prominent and formalized, academies began to assume themselves already possessed of the most elevated and correct theory. They saw it as their place and purpose to teach and disseminate the most correct theories of art. The French Académie Royale, after which the English Royal Academy was modeled, served from its founding under Louis XIV as the prototype of this authoritarian attitude toward theory and style.

The Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds were written for the purpose of formulating a theoretical base for the Royal Academy Schools. These discourses, delivered to the students during the period of his presidency, from 1768-1792, naturally dominated the theoretical teaching of the school during that period. They have always been nominally accepted as the formal statement of the ideals for which the Academy stood. Reynolds espoused the theory of art in the "grand manner." His ideas were in no way new or unique to him; they were a formulation of the accepted traditional ideas of the European academic school in general. Reynolds'

expression of them, however, is unique in several respects. The work is still considered a masterpiece of eighteenth century English prose. Reynolds tempered all of his theories, no matter how grand, with a very human kind of common sense. He always recognized that rules may be broken by an accomplished artist who has a purpose in breaking them. He thought, however, that the young student of art should be made to adhere strictly to rules. Reynolds seldom abided strictly by his espoused principles in his own painting.

The purity of literary style in the Discourses caused rumors that they were actually authored by his close friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson. Reynolds assiduously denied this, but gave a great deal of credit to his relationship with Johnson for the development of his own thought and taste. According to Hilles, Samuel Johnson had little interest in or knowledge of the visual arts themselves. Hilles assumes that Johnson's conversations with Reynolds did not concern art, but rather concerned literature and aesthetic theory in general.¹ This serves to emphasize how very abstract and literary in quality the theories concerning the visual arts had become.

The principles of the theory of the grand manner in art differ somewhat with each expression of them. The

¹Frederick Whiley Hilles, The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds, (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 13.

following list of these principles has been compiled by the author from a number of sources.¹ This list is a generalization of the theory of the grand manner as it was applied to eighteenth century European art.

1. The ideal subject matter is to be chosen from grand and noble themes, these being largely the history and mythology of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and biblical themes. This genre is referred to as "history painting," and considered the most elevated form of art. In this form the artist, through his knowledge, spirit, imagination and skill, recreates the most noble moments of man's past.

2. Concerning the other, less elevated subject matters of art, portraiture and landscape, these will be rendered more ideal if allusions to grand and ancient themes are incorporated in them. (Reynolds often showed his sitters as actors in an allegorical theme, and he advised the substitution of classical garments in contemporary portraiture, because they were more graceful and universal than the specific contemporary fashions.) Landscapes were allowable if rendered in a generalized and idealized form. The romantic manner of Claude Lorrain was particularly modeled after.

Contemporary interpretation of commonplace scenes might have their uses, but were not to be considered on the same plane with "high" art. Still life painting in the realistic Dutch manner was considered perhaps the "lowest" form of all. (Specific dishes and lemons, much less fishes and cabbages, could only be considered degrading in the extreme.)

3. The artist must not concentrate too literally on the unique characteristics of any specific object or person, as every single form in nature is in some way flawed. The grand style aimed at the depiction of ideal beauty in the manner of the Greeks. While art must always be based on the observation of nature, the artist chooses the most perfect forms from the various particular aspects of nature, and combines them into a unity of ideal beauty. In portraiture one aims at a likeness, but attempts to discover and interpret the most ideal aspects of the sitter's form and character.

¹The list has been compiled from sources found in Elizabeth Holt, Ed., A Documentary History of Art, Vol. II, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958). See particularly Charles Le Brun, pp. 159-163, Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy, pp. 163-176, and Sir Joshua Reynolds, pp. 172-188.

4. The greatest exemplars of the grand manner in the past were: for sculpture, the ancient Greeks and Romans, for painting, the Italians of the high Renaissance, in particular, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Titian, each of whom was admired for certain characteristics. Michelangelo exemplified great imagination and vitality in art; Raphael was admired for his taste, sensibility, balance of composition and correctness of drawing; Titian was to be emulated in his use of color.

5. The correct theory and rules of art in its various aspects, drawing, composition, and color, etc., can be built upon the foregoing principles and through a constant study of the greatest art of the past. These principles will improve and elevate the art of the nation as a whole, and from it those artists of true genius will again attain to great heights of artistic endeavor.

Reynolds accepted all of these theories. He was particularly wary of the rather romantic concept of "genius," and he was concerned that young students, seduced by their own surface abilities to draw, might develop a romantic laziness toward their art. He was also aware that, following the above listed principles, one could fall into a shallow mannerism. He constantly stressed to students that hard work was the only reliable way to improve their art.

Excellence is never granted to man, but as the reward of labour. It argues indeed no small strength of mind to persevere in habits of industry, without the pleasure of perceiving those advances; which, like the hand of a clock, whilst they make hourly approaches to their point, yet proceed so slowly as to escape observation. A facility of drawing, like that of playing upon a musical instrument, cannot be acquired but by an infinite number of acts. I need not, therefore, enforce by many words the necessity of continual application; nor tell you that the porte-crayon ought to be for ever in your hands.¹

Reynolds' belief that art, if cultivated in its finest

¹Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1969), p. 36.

forms, would redound to the good of society is best expressed by the final paragraph of his "Nineth Discourse":

The Art which we profess has beauty for its object; this it is our business to discover and to express; but the beauty of which we quest is general and intellectual; it is an idea that subsists only in the mind; the sight never beheld it, nor has the hand expressed it: it is an idea residing in the breast of the artist, which he is always labouring to impart, and which he dies at last without imparting; but which he is yet so far able to communicate, as to raise the thoughts, and extend the views of the spectator; and which, by a succession of art, may be so diffused, that it effects may extend themselves imperceptibly into publick benefits, and be among the means of bestowing on whole nations refinement of taste: which, if it does not lead directly to purity of manners, obviates at least their great depravation, by disentangling the mind from appetite, and conducting the thoughts through successive stages of excellence, till that contemplation of universal rectitude and harmony which began by Taste, may, as it is exalted and refined, conclude in Virtue.¹

This attitude toward art--that correct theory and rule, if united with systematic and honest effort, could only bear the most fruitful results--harmonized with the dominant philosophical belief of the age. It seemed to men of the eighteenth century that society could come to maturity under a rule based on sound system and right reason.

The unfolding drama of the French revolution at the end of the century shook that faith to its roots. The events of the revolution and its aftermath set off a wave of reaction that affected every aspect of Western life and thought, including the theories and forms of art.

The style dominant in France during and after the

¹Ibid., p. 151.

revolution was called neo-classicism; a style cooler, more delicate, and more intellectual and calculated than that of the grand manner. A counter reaction appeared in a return to the emotional and subjective in art, known as romanticism. The neo-classical and romantic schools were directly opposed to each other in France, but these trends blended and mixed more easily in the work of the English artists.

John Flaxman, the respected Professor of Sculpture at the Academy from 1810-1826, was a leading English exponent of the neo-classical style. An idea of the content of his lectures may be gleaned from the following excerpt:

The lines of Grecian composition enchant the beholder by their harmony and perfection: and this portion of study seems to have been highly improved by Pamphilus, the learned Macedonian painter, who denied that any one could succeed in the study of painting without arithmetic and geometry. The application of these two sciences is very evident in the arts of design: by arithmetic, the proportions of the human figure and other animals is reckoned, and the qualities of bodies, superficies, or light and shade ascertained; geometry gives lines and diagrams for the motion, outline, and drapery of the figure, regulated by the harmony of agreeable proportions, or the opposition of contrast.¹

In Paris the neoclassicism of Ingres, with its emphasis on clean line and cool tint, was in open conflict with the passionate, colorful romanticism of Delacroix. In London, the leading neo-classical sculptor Flaxman was a close personal friend of the mysterious romantic maverick,

¹John Flaxman, "Lectures on Sculpture," quoted in Elizabeth Holt, A Documentary History of Art, Vol. III, (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), p. 25.

William Blake. The two shared an interest in, among other things, the religious philosophy of Swendenborg. The influence of Blake's imagination on Flaxman can be seen in his elegant and delicate line illustrations, some of which Blake engraved. Flaxman's illustrations became popular on the continent, having a far wider influence than his strictly neo-classical sculpture.¹

William Blake's reputation was helped by his friendship with Flaxman. Nevertheless he was considered very peculiar, and some thought him mad. He could probably not have abided true social acceptance had he found it. He terminated an unhappy period of studentship at the Academy very quickly. Blake could not stand any of Reynolds' ideas about art. Reynolds had esteemed Michelangelo as the ultimate practitioner of the most sound and systematic principles of art. Blake considered this attitude an insult to Michelangelo, who was to him the prototype of the solitary, eclectic genius. So did two English artists of the most diverse temperaments project their own philosophies and characters on their common ideal, Michelangelo. It must be admitted that Michelangelo's nervous dynamism, if not his draftsmanship, had a more direct effect on Blake's work than it did on Reynolds'.

¹Holt, A Documentary History of Art, Vol. III, p. 22.

Another member of the unusual little group of friends that included Flaxman and Blake was Henry Fuseli, who served as Keeper to the Academy school from 1804-1825. Fuseli was a highly romantic painter; his work, full of strange emotion and dreamlike subject matter, would now be classed as expressionism. Fuseli was a Swiss-born ex-clergyman. He was widely traveled and possessed of an extensive classical education. It may have been for these reasons that he was appointed as Keeper. His work was never really liked by the Academicians in general. He evidently ran the Schools well, and had a marked personality that made a strong impression on his students. In some accounts he is remembered as a teacher of great skill. According to Etty, one of his former students, he treated the members of the Antique School with a benign neglect, which Etty thought of more benefit than constant instruction.¹

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, then, some of the teaching at the Royal Academy school fell under the influence of a neo-classicist and an extreme romantic, both of whom belonged to a circle that included the mystic William Blake.

Lionello Venturi speaks of the synthesis of neo-classicism and romanticism under the term "idealism," which he identifies as the classical form of a romantic content.

¹Accounts of Fuseli and his Keepership may be found in Leslie, The Inner Life, pp. 5-7, and in Sandby, History, vol. I, pp. 205-212.

This sort of idealism became a major form of nineteenth century English academic painting. Venturi points out that: "both the neo-classicists and the romantics look by preference to the art of the past rather than to that contemporary with them. They look at it with a nostalgic mind, the neo-classicists as to an unattainable perfection, the romantics as to a lost Paradise."¹ Neither neo-classicism, romanticism, or idealism then, altered the conservative view of art taught at the Academy.

One nineteenth century trend in art that was not acceptable to the Academy was that trend called "naturalism," espoused by John Constable. Naturalism rejected reliance on the styles of the past to color the reality of the present. The naturalist artist relied solely on his own perception of a subject, which was to be painted as honestly as possible. One might contrast Blake, the romantic mystic, who relied solely on his feelings and his "inner" eye, with Constable, the naturalist, who relied solely on his feelings and his "outer" eye. The rejection of such breaks with tradition by the academies is understandable. The persual of them finally led to those revolutions in painting known as impressionism and expressionism. Nevertheless, the Academy did belatedly honor Constable with full membership and a term as Visitor in the school. In spite of its

¹Lionello Venturi, History of Art Criticism, trans. by Charles Marriott, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964), p. 188.

conservatism, the Academy was always hypersensitive to the charge that it attempted to control style and taste rather than to inform it, and its members often made a valiant effort, no matter how painful to them, to do what they called the "disinterested" thing.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century aesthetic events in England became more complex in character than they had ever been before. Popular taste had now become a strong force in society. An expanding middle class had increasing means to buy, and the character of what they liked to buy had a telling effect on what began to be produced in all fields. Popular taste in art at this period began to swing away from the grand, general, painterly art advocated by Reynolds. Domestic, specific, anecdotal subject matter done in the detailed realism of the Dutch manner became popular. The styles and subject matter of what was considered acceptable "high" art began to broaden in answer to this demand.

The imagination of the younger artists and intellectuals of the time was captivated by a group of religious Germans and Austrians who had settled in Rome at the beginning of the century, and who had been attempting a kind of Gothic revival in a purely Christian art. There was a new interest in all "Germanic" styles, and a romantic tendency toward the "Gothic" in general had taken hold of the national mood.

In the early 1840's a popular exponent of the new gothicized style, William Dyce, was awarded the plum commission of the day--to paint murals for the new Houses of Parliament, rebuilt since the great fire. Benjamin Haydon, the last eminent exponent of the grand style who had long advocated such public commissions, had fully expected them awarded to him. After being passed over, he committed suicide. His despair, says Quentin Bell, was occasioned not so much by his own failure as an artist as by the change in public taste. His death seemed to symbolize the death of English academic art according to eighteenth century standards.¹

Yet with all this change of taste and standards in the actual art being produced, shown, and sold in England, the curriculum, and supposedly the artistic standards and ideals, of the Academy Schools remained exactly the same as they had always been. By mid-century a spirit of restlessness and artistic rebellion was being felt among the students at the Schools. William Dyce was an influential visitor there, and among the students were to be found Holman Hunt and John Everett Millais.

In 1848 Hunt and Millais enlisted Dante Gabriel Rossetti in the founding of a group known as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. This idealistic group of young

¹Quentin Bell, Victorian Artists, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 25.

painters set out to found a pure new school of English art. They intended to return to the spirit and craftsmanship of Gothic painting while retaining the high visual realism of their own time. They considered Gothic spirit, color and design as superior to that in current art, and academic draftsmanship superior to the Gothic. They meant to combine the best of both. What resulted was a brightly patterned, detailed hard-edge art, very stylized and art nouveau in feeling. This style eventually had a strong influence on tastes in decorative design.

In 1851, just three years after the Pre-Raphaelite founding, Turner died. Turner's great romantic seascapes might well be called both painterly and "sublime." But however admired, he had no followers in his path.

By mid-century in England an unprecedented amount of money was being spent on current British art. Choices of styles and subject matters had lost all touch with any single tradition. The artists from this time on seem to have been easily influenced by the whims of the public taste and of critical acclaim. Art criticism in journals and in newspapers had become a part of the art "business." Aesthetic reputations were made and broken with every Academy show. While the influence of the Academy Schools went into a decline, the Academy as a social institution was just coming into its heyday. In spite of the bypassing of the old academic standards of practice, painting and sculpture were still considered the "high" arts. The previously

desired sense of grandeur had somehow been replaced by what the Victorians called "noble and appealing sentiment." The painters attempted to keep the sentiments of paintings high and noble, while depicting every form of historical, literary, and anecdotal subject matter known to man in a detailed realistic style. Such an aesthetic mix was almost too heady for even the greatest talents to transcend.¹

Specific Points of Comparison

In the fourteenth century Florentine workshop most concepts and attitudes toward art were tacitly accepted by all. While there was apparently much lively discussion concerning the styles as well as the skill of various past and present Florentine masters, this took place within a fairly confined culture where ideas about art were still single, traditional, and unified. Any discussion of theory was of a very concrete kind.

The English Royal Academy had as its basic function the teaching of theory. The constituent "scientific" sections of art--drawing, anatomy, perspective--were subjected to theory as well as to practice. All of this was brought together under a larger web of theory, which at times became so analytic and abstract that it seemed to have little

¹Aside from some interest in the Pre-Raphaelites, twentieth century art history and criticism has dismissed English painting of the second half of the nineteenth century as without interest or value whatever. Only in the past few years has some interest been shown in taking a fresh and more objective look at what the best of it may have to offer.

connection with concrete practice. It was just this intellectual, abstract and rather literary quality of the theory that was prized. It seemed to lend an aura of grandness and glamour to the art with which it was concerned.

The medieval idea that fine style in art was to be developed slowly by means of copying from a master had not been greatly altered by the eighteenth century. It was honored throughout renaissance and baroque times, although these are often regarded as the ages of great individualism. According to Berenson:

A young Durer, a young Leonardo, a Raphael, a Michelangelo, or a young Rembrandt or Velasquez, or even Greco, did not go to his master and say: "Come, teach me quickly how to be as different, as unlike you as possible." If he thought at all, he hoped that he soon would imitate his master so well as to be mistaken for him. . . . If it were not so, how shall we account for the fact that it is so hard to distinguish between the earlier work of an artist and those of his teacher?¹

In England in the eighteenth century there was a new interest in archeology and the antique. Artists began to travel to Italy to copy after the old masters. A new preoccupation with historicism in general transferred the idea of looking to one's immediate master for style, to looking to the greatest masters of the greatest times in the past. Since these times and styles were varied, this presented a problem. Cennino's warning that if you copy from too many masters "you will not get any of them right"

¹Bernard Berenson, *Aesthetics and History in the Visual Arts*, (New York: Pantheon, 1948), pp. 169-170.

comes very much to mind. The eighteenth century analytical viewpoint provided an answer. This was to pick the one or two outstanding qualities from each period or style, and to put them all together. Logically, this method seemed bound to produce an excellent product. If one could but combine the proportion and grace of Greek statues with the grandeur of Michelangelo, the harmony of Raphael, and the coloring of Titian, what could one not achieve! Each of these greats, said Reynolds, had his weaknesses to be avoided as well as his strengths to be emulated. Michelangelo's weakness was said to be his coloring, Poussin's a certain dry hardness, the Venetian school's, too careless and unfinished an air.¹ This mental dissection of qualities tended to destroy any feeling for the unity of style. It implied that Poussin's work would have been better had it been a little softer in tone, while Titian's would have been improved by a tightening up and more detailed finish. This attitude was remarkably persistent throughout the nineteenth century. It was evident in the attitude of the Academy-trained Pre-Raphaelites, who also meant to combine the best tendencies of two different ages in art.

A reaction against the piecing-up of style came only with a total disregard of the past--with Constable and the French Impressionists. When style finally ceased to be something to be learned from the masters of the past, it became something to be constantly re-invented.

¹Reynolds, Discourses, pp. 93-94.

The cultural and industrial events of the nineteenth century created a complexity and confusion in aesthetic matters which cannot be compared with anything that had gone before. It created in some artists and intellectuals a strong nostalgia for the more simple unified medieval situation in art.

Structure and Sequence of the Learning Process

The Workshop

Since the apprentice learned his trade through assisting his master at whatever task was at hand, there was no formal structure or sequence to his learning process. A boy would first be given the more routine tasks of preparing the materials of work, and during this time he was expected to develop his skill in drawing by practicing on his own. As he became more skillful he would learn to execute the simpler tasks on the finished work, such as painting in backgrounds. His skill at drawing and painting was developed slowly, always resting on his knowledge of the preparation and handling of his materials.

Cennino Cennini gives the following advice to the young apprentice. It contains a general sequential structure for learning.

Know that there ought not to be less time spent in learning than this: to begin as a shopboy studying for one year, to get practice in drawing on the little panel; next, to learn how to work at all the branches which pertain to our profession; and to stay and grind the gessos; and to get experience in gessoing anconas,

and modeling and scraping them; gilding and stamping; for the space of a good six years. Then to get experience painting, embellishing with mordants, making cloths of gold, getting practice in working on the wall, for six more years; drawing all the time, never leaving off, either on holidays or on workdays, and in this way your talent, through much practice, will develop into real ability. Otherwise if you follow any other system, you need never hope that they will reach any high degree of perfection.¹

Cennino also advises the apprentice to learn to paint on panel before he learns to paint on wall. He says that "anyone who learns to work on wall first, and then on panel, will not get such perfect mastery by his bargain as one who starts learning on panel first, and then on wall."² This advice is confusing as it comes under the section entitled "How from the Wall You Enter Upon Panel-Painting."³ Perhaps it was the custom to learn on the wall first, and Cennino advises otherwise.

His sequential system for learning to draw is as follows. First, one should practice drawing for about a year in silverpoint on a little boxwood panel, coated with powdered bone. This panel is recoated every time you want to make a new drawing, so that it is a practice-panel. Then after your skill improves, you begin drawing on tinted papers or parchment with a silver or leaden style, and pick out your drawings with ink and washes, and put in high

¹Cennino Cennini, *Il Libro dell' Arte*, trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New York: Dover Pub., 1960), pp. 64-65.

²Ibid., p. 64.

³Ibid., p. 64.

lights with white lead. Cennino suggests next that you practice drawing directly in ink with a quill pen, and this practice, he says, ". . . will make you expert, skillful, and capable of much drawing out of your own head."¹ Cennino also advises the learner to copy and trace from fine masters, and to "copy constantly from nature," to improve his skill. He says that his system of drawing with inks, washes, and white lead on tinted paper is the "gateway to painting."²

Structure and Sequence of the Learning Process

The Academy

The structure and sequence of the student's work within the Royal Academy followed a clearly defined formal pattern, based on a methodical analytic study of what were considered the constituent parts of art. Hodgson and Eaton state that before the formation of the Academy, English artists suffered from a lack of "scientific training" and that their education was not "built up in sections, neatly fitted, such as drawing from the antique section, the drawing from the life section, the composition section, and so forth; Art was not dissected before them into its constituent parts; they failed to acquire a great deal. . . ."³

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid., p. 9.

³J. E. Hodgson and F. A. Eaton, The Royal Academy and Its Members, (London: John Murray, 1905), p. 6.

It was on this analytic viewpoint that the structure of the curriculum was based.

In the European academies the curriculum had traditionally been divided into three parts--drawing from drawings, drawing from the antique, and drawing from the life.¹ In the English Academy there was no formal class for drawing from drawings. The library provided material for the purpose of copying, and it seems to have been assumed that the students would pursue this occupation on their own, which indeed they did. Drawing from the drawings of, and painting from the paintings of admired artists and old masters was considered a necessary and important part of any artist's training.

The curriculum began in the Antique School, where the student copied only from plaster casts of ancient statues. (At this time all "Greek" sculpture was admired as representing a kind of ideal form in art. No distinction was made between the styles from the Golden Age through the Hellenistic, and many of the statues most admired were in fact Roman copies from the Greek.) The student spent at least one full term at this work before being admitted to the Life School, and many spent two or three years in the Antique School, as Turner did.

¹Nikolaus Pavsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 92.

During this time the student was expected to attend both the lectures given at regular intervals by the Professors of Anatomy and of Perspective, and the lectures given by the Professors of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, as he felt they would benefit him. Leslie says that "In the early days of the Academy the lectures on Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture were more popular with the students than they were in my time, and many of the members themselves attended these lectures."¹ Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, lecture attendance began to decline, and was made compulsory for admittance into the Life School.

The six scheduled lectures to be given by each Professor were set to begin on a certain day of a certain month, and to continue weekly for six weeks. For instance, the rules call for "The Lectures on Anatomy" to commence on the Second Monday in November, and to be continued on each succeeding Monday till concluded."² The laws of the School also gave instructions concerning what the lectures were to cover.

- "1. The Lectures on Painting are to be calculated to instruct the Students in the principles of Composition; to form their taste of Design and

¹George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), p. 15.

²Abstract of the Constitution and Laws of the Royal Academy of Arts, Section III, No. 20, quoted in William Sandby, The History of the Royal Academy of Arts, Vol. 2 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862), p. 426.

Colouring; to strengthen their judgment; to point out to them the beauties and imperfections of celebrated Works of Art, and the particular excellences and defects of great Masters; and finally, to lead them into the readiest and most officacious paths of study.

- "2. /The Lectures on Sculpture are to be/ explanatory of the principles of Style and Form in that Art, and its peculiarities of Composition.
- "3. /The Lectures on Architecture are to be/ calculated to form the taste of the Students; to instruct them in the laws and principles of Composition; to point out to them the beauties or faults of celebrated productions; to fit them for unprejudiced study of books on the Art, and for a critical examination of Structures.
- "4. /The Lectures on Perspective are to be given/ in which the most useful proportions of Geometry, together with the principles of lineal and aerial Perspective, shall be fully and clearly taught.
- "5. /The Professor of Anatomy/ shall be elected from among the most eminent men in that branch of Science. /and the lectures on anatomy shall be/ adapted to the Arts of Design."¹

Study by drawing and painting from the model in the Life School was considered the core and most important part of the curriculum. The student completed his studies here after having passed through his studies of the antique. In 1815 a School of Painting was also established where students of the Life School might go "to copy pictures by the Old Masters, or such other mode of study as the Visitor shall direct, . . ."²

¹Ibid., Section III, No. 14-19, pp. 425-426.

²Laws Relating to The Schools, The Library, and The Students, Section II, No. 15, quoted in Sandby, History, p. 445.

According to Academy rules the Antique School was to meet "from ten o'clock in the morning until three in the afternoon; in the evening from five o'clock to seven in the summer, from five to eight in the winter. The School of the Living Model from five o'clock to seven in the summer, and from six to eight in the winter. The Painting School from ten o'clock in the morning until four in the afternoon."¹

It is clear that students in the Life Class, which met only in the evenings, were expected to spend their daylight hours working on their art outside of the school, at least up until the time that the School of Painting was established. Students of the Academy often studied privately in the studio of another painter or sculptor, or might be apprenticed to an engraver during their studentship. It should not be supposed that the student was expected to restrict himself in his out-of-school hours to the same kind of drawing exercises he practiced in school; in fact, just the opposite was true. Academy training was designed to be a supplemental, systematic addition to the art students' own individual studies. Turner's early sketchbooks show that he drew constantly both from nature and from other artists' drawings all during his years of studentship at the Academy. While his school hours were occupied in drawing from the casts and from the model, his outside

¹Ibid., No. 17, p. 445.

hours were occupied in drawing that which most interested him; landscape from nature. He evidently received much advise and encouragement in this work from the Visitors at the school.¹

Just as the Grand Tour was considered the finishing touch to any gentleman's education, so two or three years of travel on the continent and particularly in Italy to copy from the old masters was considered the finishing touch to the education of an artist. It was for this purpose that the Academy gave a few traveling scholarships to its best students. However, until the affluent Victorian age, most art students could not afford the luxury of European travel. By that time many art students who went to the continent no longer cared to study at the Academy.

Specific Points of Comparison

The guild workshop offered no formal curriculum of learning; the artist's apprentice learned from the tasks at hand, beginning with the simple skills and working up to the more complex ones as his abilities developed. Cennino does advise him to follow a kind of general, common sense sequence as he learned to prepare materials, to draw, and to paint. The drawing and painting skills were thoroughly integrated with materials preparation and use. They were not seen as separate categories of work. Drawing was seen

¹Gerald Wilkinson, Turner's Early Sketchbooks, (New York: Watson-Guption, 1972), p. 20.

as a preparatory skill to painting, to be learned first, and practiced constantly.

The curriculum of the Academy, by contrast, was a formal and structured one based on the analytic study of the various theoretical aspects of art, as they were categorized by the reasoning minds of the eighteenth century. In the workshop drawing was a basic skill to be learned because the skills of painting and decoration were built upon it. In the Academy the skill of drawing was central because it was basic to the other skills of art, and also because it seemed the most intellectual and theoretical of those skills. Skill in drawing was centered around the drawing of the most ideal of objects, the human figure.

The workshop was the only place where the apprentice learned his trade, and he spent his full working hours there every workday, while the Academy was conceived from its beginning as a place for part-time, formal supplementary study for the young artist who worked at the same time in the studio of a professional or on his own. While the fourteenth century apprentice was given careful instruction in materials preparation and use, he was expected to practice drawing on his own time. The student of the Royal Academy had it turned around the other way; he was given careful instruction during school hours in his drawing, and expected to learn materials preparation and use on his own.

Evaluation and Promotions Systems

The Workshop

The path of a Florentine artist's career from apprenticeship to workshop master proceeded as follows. A boy, perhaps as young as eight years of age, or older, would be taken to a workshop by a relative or friend to make application for his apprenticeship to the trade. If accepted, often he would be taken for a year's trial period, and if this was satisfactory, he would be contracted to the master for a period of years. Documents of the fourteenth century show contract periods of from two to six years.¹ After fulfilling his contract, a young man could work for wages as a day worker. Cennino strongly advised him to stay in the shop with his master for twelve years, to continue his learning.² Full independent status was established for the worker when he received a "certificate or diploma from the local guild," usually when he was about twenty years of age.³ Not all journeymen went on to become masters of their own shops, though some did. It was a protectionist measure of medieval guilds to limit the number of shops allowed to each trade in their town. However, a man who could command sufficient commissions would eventually set up as master of his own shop.

¹Assunto, Encyclopedia of World Art, p. 561.

²Cennino, Il Libro dell' Arte, pp. 87-88.

³Assunto, Encyclopedia of World Art, p. 562.

Evaluation and Promotions Systems

The Academy

The evaluation and promotion system in the Royal Academy Schools, as originally set up in 1769, proceeded as follows. A young man, (ages ranged from fourteen to thirty-five, but most entrants were from seventeen to twenty-four years of age) would apply for admittance. The rules were stated thus:

Each Student, who offers himself for Admission into the Royal Schools, shall present a Drawing or Model from some Plaister Cast to the Keeper, and if he thinks him properly qualified, he shall be permitted to make a Drawing or Model from some Cast in the Royal Academy, which if approved of by the Keeper and Visitor for the time being, shall be laid before the Council for their Confirmation, which obtained he shall receive his letter of admission as a Student in the Royal Academy.¹

In 1814 this process was amended to require the applicant to apply "through the written request of any Member of the Academy, or other Artist or person of known respectability"² before presenting his work, this suggests that having the proper connections was a factor in being accepted as a student. The rules were also amended to include a three month probationary period at the Academy. During this time the student prepared specified work to be submitted to the Council for its approval.³ If accepted,

¹Hutchinson, Royal Academy Schools, p. 128.

²Sandby, History, vol. 2, p. 440.

³Ibid., p. 441.

the young man was then admitted for the set number of years of studentship. To complete the entire period of studentship was his privilege but not an obligation, and he was free to terminate whenever he pleased.

All entrants began their studentship in the Antique School, and the rules state that:

. . . he shall continue to draw after the Plaister, till the Keeper and Visitor for the time being, judge him qualified to draw after the Living Models, when they shall have Power to admit him.¹

In the early nineteenth century, the rules for passing from the Antique School to the School of the Living Model and the School of Painting also became more complicated and formalized. They required that the student have attended "one entire Course of Lessons in the Class of Perspective," as well as "one entire course of lectures" and submit a specified set of drawings to the Keeper, who submitted these to the Council for their approval.² In the School of the Living Model, sculpture students also modeled from life, and students were allowed, with special permission, to paint from life.

No diploma or certificate of recognition of the number of years studied was ever issued to the students, and for many years no record was kept of student attendance or termination. Except for the entrance procedure and the

¹Hitchinson, Royal Academy Schools, p. 128.

²Sandby, History, p. 443.

procedure of admittance to the Life School, no formal examination of work or progress took place. There was, however, a system of annual rewards for outstanding student work given in the form of Gold and Silver Medals and in Travelling Studentships. After 1772, three Gold Medals were awarded biennially, and up to nine Silver Medals were awarded annually.¹ To receive a Gold Medal was considered a great honor for a student, and later in his career he would be remembered as "a Gold Medalist of such-and-such a year." A few Traveling Studentships were given to selected Gold Medalists.

The ideal career path for the artist after his studentship was that he have work accepted in the Academy Shows, and that he eventually be elected as an Associate, and eventually as a full member of the Academy. With only forty places for Academicians which became open only on the death or resignation of a member, very few artists could achieve this highest of honors. Diplomas were issued by the monarch to those elected to the Academy.

Evaluation and Promotions Systems

Specific Points of Comparison

In comparing the workshop with the Academy here both had regulated systems of reward and promotion. The Workshop apprentice was legally bound to fulfill his

¹Hutchinson, Royal Academy Schools, p. 129.

contracted period of work for the master. Obtaining his certificate of independent status from the guild depended on his fulfilling his obligation diligently and well. However, the certificate was not an honorary or limited reward, and any boy who fulfilled his apprenticeship with a good name could expect to receive one. Whether he went on to become a master himself depended on a combination of his artistic abilities and his skill as an entrepreneur. There was plenty of competition among artists for excellence of reputation and for the securing of commissions, but it was not the institutionalized form of competition that was found in the Royal Academy.

The Academy instituted a system of competitive rewards of an honorary nature. There were always more applicants than places in the school with only about half those applying regularly accepted, so acceptance as a student was in itself a competitive honor. The student then competed for the honor of receiving a medal which would enhance his reputation in his later career. To have work hung in the Academy show was a competitive honor, since there was always much more work submitted than there were spaces to show. And the final and most competitive honor of all was election to the Academy itself.

Teaching Methods

The Workshop

The teaching method in the workshop began with the simplest tasks in the art process, and proceeded very gradually to the ones that required a greater skill. The method was learning through doing. An understanding of the relationship between master and apprentice is important to understanding the manner in which the young artist learned. While the two were members of the same strata of society, the master was both legally and professionally the "master" in the situation. The master was in the full medieval sense the patron of his apprentice; the apprentice was the client of the master. The apprentice was obliged to do the bidding of his master; the master was obliged to look after the interests and well being of his apprentices. Of course it was in the master's interests to teach his helpers well, and to see that they became as skilled as possible in their craft. Cennino advises the learner to ". . . begin to submit yourself to the direction of a master for instruction as early as you can; and do not leave the master until you have to."¹

The relationship between the master and his apprentice was never broken or forgotten, even after the apprentice

¹Cennino Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, Trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., (New York: Dover Pub., 1960), p. 3.

became a master in his own right. An artist took pride in tracing his training back to a certain line of masters, just as a man might take pride in tracing the line of his ancestry. This is evident in Cennino's attitude when he says: "I was trained in this profession for twelve years by my master, Agnolo di Taddeo of Florence; he learned this profession from Taddeo, his father; and his father was christened under Giotto, and was his follower for four-and-twenty years."¹

The Royal Academy

In the Royal Academy, the students were instructed first in the Antique School by the Keeper of the Academy, who was an artist appointed from among the Academicians. The Life School was taught by the Visitors who were also appointed from among the Academicians. These men taught by turns during the year, one a month. Here the student had the advantage of receiving instruction and advice from a continuing variety of teachers, all eminent men in their fields. All of the Academy's historians--Sandby, Hodgson and Eaton, Leslie, and Hutchinson--insist that this method of providing young artists with exposure to a variety of well known practicing artists as teachers was the great strength of the school as an institution. A variety of artists of very different personalities and considerably

¹Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, p. 2.

different points of view were allowed to teach within the formal structure of the Academy.

From the time the Academy Schools were founded in 1769 until the middle of the nineteenth century, styles of teaching and of working changed with the times. When the first Professor of Anatomy, Dr. William Hunter, gave his lectures he used for demonstration purposes both a live model and the bodies of hanged criminals (which were not difficult to obtain at that time).¹ Leslie describes the scene at the Anatomy lectures of Professor Partridge, who took that chair in 1852. The Professor stood in his academic gown on the board platform. At one end sat his stolid attendant, and at the other end, the nude model, who struck demonstration poses as the Professor wished. Along side these three hung the school skeleton, and behind them all hung an array of anatomical diagrams. By this time the bodies of hanged criminals were no longer to be seen in polite society, and the Professor had arranged for the students to be admitted "very early in the morning to the theatre of King's College Hospital, where he placed dissections of the human body for us to draw from."² The Professors of Anatomy were medical men who took a strictly

¹Johnathan Leonard, The World of Gainsborough, (New York: Time-Life Books, 1969), p. 100.

²George Dunlop Leslie, The Inner Life of the Royal Academy, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), p. 35.

scientific approach to the study of anatomy, in the tradition of that most objective of anatomists, Leonardo.

The teaching of perspective changed in style with time also. Turner occupied the chair from 1807-1837. According to Leslie his lectures were always well attended because of the beautiful drawings he made for demonstration material, which everyone came to see. However, no one knows exactly what Turner said about perspective. He was evidently so painfully shy in front of an audience that he stared at the floor and held forth in an "incoherent and mysterious mumble."¹ The Academician who followed Turner in this chair, J. P. Knight, was a more practical man, and instituted a series of evening lessons in perspective in place of the lectures. He would execute a drawing to illustrate his points, and then set the students to copying it while he went about to correct their mistakes. Leslie says his approach to the matter was a strictly mechanical one.² Knight was such a mild and good natured man that his lessons became a favorite time for prank-playing of all kinds. The Keepers and Visitors in the Schools gained reputations for their ability to keep discipline and to set poses as well as for their ability as teachers. The students, from the beginning, indulged in fun and games as well as in work. From Joseph Farington's Diary of 1795, we learn that the council voted the school discontinue the practice of providing

¹Ibid., pp. 16-17.

²Ibid., p. 17.

bread for the students of the Plaister Academy. Bread was used for "rubbing out" drawings before the advent of the rubber eraser, and the students were reportedly wasting so much bread by throwing it at each other, that the bread bill came up to "Sixteen Shillings a week." Mr. West said it would probably do them good to do without the bread; they would pay more attention to correct drawing in the first place.¹

The duty of the Visitor in the Life School was to "set the model" for the class. Each class session was two hours in length, and the model took only one pose for the entire time. School rules stated that the students were to remain in their seats at work while the model was posing, and the Visitor was to remain in the room at all times. Some of the Visitors would read during that time and some would draw. When William Etty was a Visitor he would always paint, and his work was much admired and copied after by the students. The Academy members suggested that he discontinue this practice, but he declined to do so.² While some Visitors merely set the model to pose and did little else, other Visitors became much more involved with the classes, and within that framework, offered what they wished. John Constable must have found his first Visitorship

¹Joseph Farington's Diary, 1795, quoted in Sidney C. Hutchinson, The History of the Royal Academy, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1968), p. 76.

²Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 25.

a delightful challenge, judging by a letter he wrote to his friend, the elder Leslie.

I set my first figure yesterday, and it is much liked: Etty congratulated me upon it; . . . I have dressed up a bower of laurel, and I told the students they probably expected a landscape background from me. I am quite popular in the Life; at all events I spare neither pains nor expense to become a good Academician. My garden of Eden cost me ten shillings. . . .¹

The younger Leslie tells of one of his favorite Visitors in the life class, William Dyce. Dyce was not only an effective teacher of drawing, but enjoyed discussions with the students on painting technique, about which Leslie says he had an "intimate knowledge."²

There was always, in the English tradition, a distinct social distance between the Academy students and their teachers. It was left up to the teachers themselves whether they would become very involved with their teaching tasks, and with helping and advising individual students. This was not discouraged; in fact men were admired for the time and interest they were willing to give to students. When West was President, he was said to have welcomed students into his studio at any time to be advised on their work.³ Reynolds remarked in his opening Discourse that the Academy should be a place "surrounded with an atmosphere of

¹John Constable, Letter to C. R. Leslie, quoted in Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 37.

²Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 27.

³Ibid., p. 15.

free-floating knowledge, where every mind may imbibe somewhat congenial to its own original conceptions."¹ The system of rotating Visitors was designed to provide this kind of atmosphere for the school, and its effectiveness as a teaching system was both praised and criticized by various factions within the Academy. The consensus seemed to be that the variety of contact and approach benefited the self-directed students but was often confusing to those who needed more consistent help to develop their own direction.

There were evidently various "styles" of drawing in vogue with the students at different times. Early in the century during Fuseli's Keepership, the students drew in a delicate style on tinted paper. They used Italian chalk, with the highlights picked out in white and a background laid in with tones. (This is almost exactly the approach to drawing that Cinnino recommended as a "gateway to painting"). By the middle of the century, drawings were being done on white paper, the shading being "worked up to a high finish," and the outline having a distinct edge against a white background. Leslie says that he worked in backgrounds anyway, being encouraged to do so by his father, but he was often told by his teachers that it was a "waste of time."²

¹Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1966), pp. 20-21.

²Leslie, The Inner Life, p. 10.

Constable, in a letter of a Rev. Fisher in 1821, criticized this growing tendency to separate the object from the ground. He said, "I have often been advised to consider my sky as 'a white sheet thrown behind the objects'." He went on to state that since the heart of a landscape to him was in fact the state of the sky and its integration with and effect on the rest of the scene, "You may consider what a 'white sheet' would do for me."¹

Around the middle of the century it became difficult to persuade many of the better painters to accept the posts of Visitors, and the school began to be staffed with the older and less able Academicians. At this point the school laws were changed to allow Associate Academicians to teach in order to remedy the matter. After 1860 many other changes took place in the Schools; they were removed to Burlington house, the first girl students were admitted, and thereafter the student body became increasingly female in character. The more talented male students began to look elsewhere for their education. Many went off to the "atliers of Paris and Antwerp" to study, and according to Leslie the general quality of student work at the Academy perceptibly declined.² The Academicians deplored this, but never seemed able to grasp the causes for the decline of the

¹John Constable, Letter to Rev. Fisher, quoted from C. R. Leslie, Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, (London: Phaidon Press, 1951), pp. 84-86.

²Leslie, The Inner Life, pp. 42-43.

Academy Schools as the most important institution of art learning in England. It began to happen at a time when the Academy was in its heyday as a social institution, and at a time when wealth, status and fame had finally become the standard rewards of the best known names in English art.

Specific Points of Comparison

The relationship of the fourteenth century Florentine master to his apprentice was a far more personal and lasting one than the relationship of the Royal Academy student to his various teachers--the Keeper, the Visitors and the lecturing Professors. The Academy student who also apprenticed or studied in the studio of another artist, no doubt developed a closer relationship with that one man than he had with his Academy teachers. But the medieval workshop apprentice was under the central influence of only one man for a very long period of time. He was also in continual contact with the other art being produced in the workshops of Florence, and with some art that had existed from Roman and earlier medieval times. The Academy student was not only exposed to a constantly changing variety of teachers; the whole environment of art to which he was exposed, both historical and contemporary, was more abundant and various than that which the medieval artist knew.

The teaching approach in the workshop was holistic and consisted of learning by doing. The apprentice emulated the work of one man, with the view of very gradually becoming

as skillful as his master, and eventually emerging with a style of his own. By contrast the teaching approach in the Academy was systematic and analytic. It consisted of the student's attending lectures about and of practice in what were considered the constituent theoretical aspects of art: anatomy, perspective, composition, aesthetic theory, and the drawing of the human form.

Summary Comparison Charts

The following charts have been set up so that the major points of comparison between the two art learning environments in question may be seen in a simplified form.

ART LEARNING IN THE INSTITUTIONS COMPARED

The 14th Century Florentine Workshop

The English Royal Academy

Purpose	Of the Workshop: 1. Primary: The Production of art. 2. Secondary: The training of artists and sale of products. Of the Guild: Regulation and control of quality of goods, prices, and competition.	1. Exclusive membership body for best professionals. 2. Presenting of the annual national exhibition of art to the public. 3. The training of young artists.
Philosophy	Explicit: The work of the guilds proceeds under the invoked blessing and protection of God and the Saints. Implicit: The above purposes are acceptable as in the interest of both the artists and the community.	Explicit: The total above work of the Academy will improve the aesthetic quality of the art of the nation, and thereby improve the moral and social climate in general. Implicit: The promotion of the well-being and social status of the best artists will also work to this end.
Specific Skills Taught	Any and all skills used in the preparation of materials for, and execution of, the many products produced by the workshop, such as, shrines and altarpieces, decorative boxes and caskets, buttons, small cast objects of all kinds, stained glass windows, sculpture, designs for embroidery or tapestry, decorative banners for festivals, etc.	1. Drawing of the human figure. A. Correct anatomy B. Illumination and shading 2. Mechanical perspective. 3. Painting of the human figure.
Evaluation and Promotions Systems	Non-competitive: (available to all participants) 1. Apprenticeship 2. Journeyman	Increasingly competitive and honorary as steps proceed: 1. Academy Student 2. Silver medal winner 3. Gold medal winner 4. Travel scholarship winner

ART LEARNING IN THE INSTITUTIONS COMPARED
(continued)

The 14th Century Florentine Workshop

The English Royal Academy

Evaluation and Promotions Systems (continued)	Competitive: 3. Mastership.	5. Works accepted at Academy shows. 6. Associate of Academy 7. Full Academician 8. Officer of Academy
Structure and Sequence of the Learning Process	1. Preparation of simple materials. 2. Simple tasks of execution. 3. Preparation of more complicated materials. 4. More skilled tasks of execution. 5. Execution of complete products.	1. Drawing from casts of statues. 2. Drawing from the live model. 3. Painting from the live model.
Teaching Methods	Learning by doing. Emphasis on materials preparation and use. Approach concrete and holistic.	1. Theoretical lectures on aesthetics, composition, anatomy, perspective, sculpture, and architecture. 2. Practice in drawing and painting the figure. Approach theoretical and analytic.
Teacher-Pupil Ratio	One to two or three	About one to forty
Teacher-Student Relationship	Paternal, authoritarian; but close, long-lasting.	Relationship authoritarian but not dictatorial; Social distance considerable. Time of relationship short.

ART LEARNING IN THE INSTITUTIONS COMPARED
(continued)

The 14th Century Florentine Workshop

The English Royal Academy

Concepts and Attitudes Taught	Art a craft among crafts. Value of art products dependent on materials used as well as on skill with which used. Style to be learned by copying from master. Content and composition in painting a re-interpretation of past works.	Arts divided into higher and lower orders. The higher arts based on theory and divided into constituent parts; perspective, anatomy, drawing, composition, color. Style to be learned by copying from best masters of past times, and building own composite of the best qualities of each. Content of painting historical and literary, also portraiture and landscape. Later anecdotal subject matter of all romantic kinds included in "high" art, style turned toward high visual realism.
Economic and Technological State of Society	Independent late medieval city-state. Import and banking center to Europe. Large industrial-model wool cloth making and export business. Other products produced individually and by hand in small workshops. All business and production organized under guild system.	England, 1750 - 1850 Nation-state; Monarchy. In process of Industrial Revolution. Development of steam engine, factory production, steel, chemical industry, science, etc., etc. Rapid increase in population. In process of trade expansion, acquiring of colonial empire.
Social Definitions of Art	The work of any industry or trade. Painting and sculpture were regarded as crafts among crafts.	Painting, sculpture, architecture seen as the "high" arts, and these forms divided into higher and lower types. The purely decorative arts and those arts incorporated into objects of use still considered as crafts.

ART LEARNING IN THE INSTITUTIONS COMPARED
(continued)

The 14th Century Florentine Workshop

England, 1750 - 1850

Social Uses
of Art

Direct Uses:

To supply decorative objects of all kinds, both useful and/or symbolic; painted, carved, and cast in metal.

Indirect Uses:

To supply a living for the artist.
To bring honor to the patron.

Direct Uses:

The lower arts: To supply designed and decorative objects of all kinds to the society; also, print-making, cartooning, illustration.

The higher arts: To supply architectural designs, and paintings and sculpture.

Indirect Uses: To supply a living, and possible wealth and fame to the artist. To supply aesthetic enjoyment and social prestige to the collector.

Social Position of the
Artist

Craftsman class.

Master-Independent shop owner.

Social position mobile.

Most artists middle class, exact status dependent on family background, renown and wealth of artist.

A few artists both famous and wealthy. Academicians have high social prestige, and the Academy itself has social power, but no political power.

ART LEARNING IN THE INSTITUTIONS COMPARED
(continued)

The 14th Century Florentine Workshop

England, 1750 - 1850

Social Function of the Artist To supply art products of all kinds to the society.
Each artist capable of work in many areas; product design, painting, casting, architecture.
(Master-builders the main architects.)

Craftsmen: to design for industry and to make useful decorative objects.
Printmakers, cartoonists and illustrators: To supply drawing for reproduction industry.
(Sometimes social commentators.)
Architects: To design buildings.
Painters and Sculptors: To supply purely symbolic pieces for aesthetic, collecting and decorating purposes.
To supply an added glamour to society.

Size and Structure of the Institution

Artists Workshop:
Small, independently owned workshop, incorporated into guild of artists, which was incorporated into Doctors and Apothecaries Guild, which was part of greater guild structure.
Workshop Unit:
1 Master
2 or 3 Journeymen
2 or 3 Apprentices

Academy:
Independent private institution, under nominal sponsorship of monarchy.
Democratic in structure but exclusive in nature.
Financed by entrance fees from annual exhibition.
Academy Body:
President, Secretary, Treasurer.
10 Council Members, 27 other Academicians.
20 Associate Academicians.
The Academy Schools:
1 Keeper
5 Professors (lecturers)
9 Visitors (one for each month)
100 to 150 Students

CHAPTER III

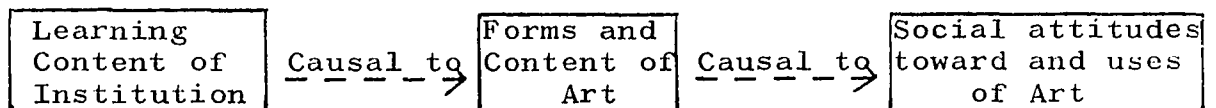
IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Sociological Implications of the Study

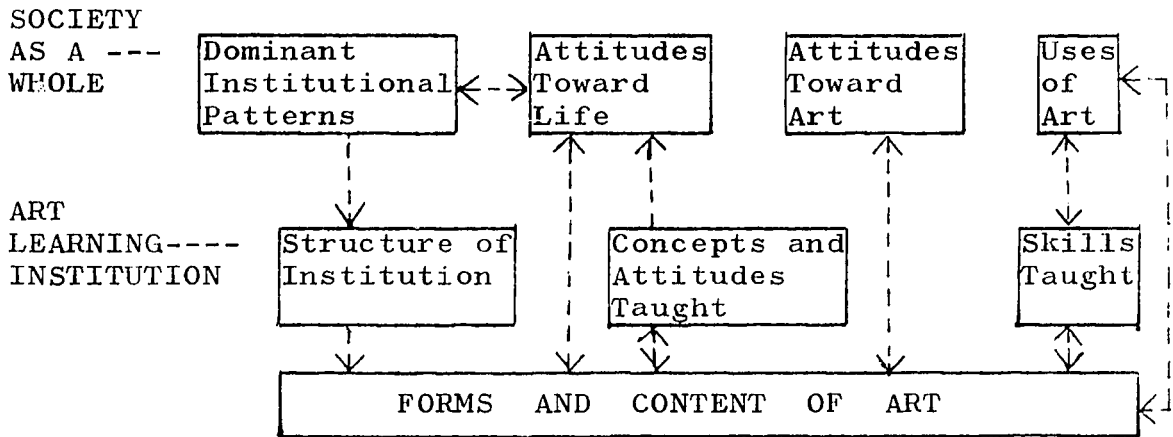
One of the concerns of this study has been the relationship between art learning environments and the patterns of institutional structure general to the societies in which they are found. The Florentine guild workshop and the English Royal Academy, both institutions of art learning, had little in common as institutional structures. They each had a great deal in common with the pattern of institutional structure common to the societies in which they existed. The artists' workshops of fourteenth century Florence were patterned after all the other craftsmen's workshops. The saddlers', the candlemakers', and the artists' workshops were all structured in the same manner, and were bound together in guilds in the same manner. The purpose of all guilds was to administer the production of goods so as to sustain and regulate trade. The structure of the Royal Academy was the same as the academies of literature and of science. The purpose of the academies of art resembled the purpose of the academies of science. All academies sought to advance and refine knowledge in the discipline with which they were concerned.

The institutional patterns of art learning grew out of the general institutional pattern of each society. The purposes of the institutions grew out of the pattern of institutional purpose general to the society. The skills and concepts taught in the institution grew out of the attitudes toward, and uses of, art in the society in question.

Art educators often base their assumptions concerning art learning institutions on a simplistic causal model. That model assumes that the learning content of educational institutions is prior to, and somehow directly causal of, the forms and content of the art of a society. A diagram of such a linear causal model is shown below.



In the light of this study such a model can not be accepted. The following diagram might offer a more fruitful model to express the relationship between art learning institutions and other social variables which concern art.



The pattern of interaction within the elements shown here is circulating rather than linear. No one element is seen as directly causal of any other. All of the elements react on the forms and content of art, which in turn react back on them. The forms and content of art, however, do not react directly back on the dominant institutional structures. Rather they react indirectly back on these structures through their effect on the society's attitudes toward life.

One of the prime characteristics of the arts is that they are sensitive to change. Art as an expressive element is in a constant process of change just as society is in a constant process of change. The process of change in art will be slow in a fairly static society and rapid in a rapidly changing one, but the process will always be there.

Social institutions such as guilds, schools and governments, do not change in this pliable way. Their patterns may form slowly or spring up quickly from some new need. But once set, formalized institutional structures do

not change their character easily. Rather they tend to become rigid in an attempt to impose the old attitudes and controls on a society whose attitudes and art forms have already transcended them. Both the guilds and the academies provide examples of this tendency. For four centuries after the peak of their power, the guilds maintained a losing struggle--first against the academies and then against the trade unions. The English Royal Academy with its forty Academicians and its Schools of the Antique, of the Life and of Painting, is still in existence in spite of the fact that its methods and activities have become completely irrelevant to twentieth century developments in English and world art.

The implication is drawn that in times of rapid change it will not be surprising to find a considerable gap between the changes taking place in art itself and the institutional manner in which it is being taught. The conclusion is that art is more dependent on and responsive to the wider social environment than it is dependent on and responsive to the narrower institutional environment in which it is taught. Art changes as the wider social environment changes no matter how static the official institutions of art learning remain.

Philosophical Implications of the Study

Questions of value and quality are implicit in any discussion of art no matter how the term is defined. One may define "art" in the broadest possible way and say, for instance, that the art of gardening falls equally into the category as the art of painting. Gardening is included here on the grounds that it can be done with qualities of excellence expressive of human thought and care and can be judged on some given scale of values.

Art historians do not attempt the kind of objectivity claimed by political or economic historians. It would be nearly impossible to write a historical description of art that was totally objective and free from value judgments. Such an attempt would be both mechanical and boring, for it seems meaningless to discuss questions of value without confronting the questions yourself.

Anthropologists have traditionally attempted to take an objective view of human art by considering it a vehicle through which cultural patterns and meanings are transmitted and maintained. This is certainly one function of the arts which also act to alter or develop those patterns and meanings. Anthropology, which has been concerned mostly with static primitive societies, has emphasized the former functions. Also, in primitive and folk cultures the question of aesthetic values does not yet have to be faced. As Rudolf Arnheim said, "The uncorrupted art work of children or of

so-called primitives is never in bad taste."¹ It is only when a variety of forms and contents of art confront each other in more complex societies that questions of aesthetic values arise.

Put most simply the aesthetic question is this: "What is art, and how are its qualities to be judged?" The two societies investigated here each answered the question differently. The answer to this question will differ with every different society and time, including our own. Considering the difference in attitudes of value in the two societies studied and our own, it would be well to review these three sets of attitudes here, to see whether any line of agreement can be found among them. The attitude of a representative authority on art from each century will be examined. Cennino Cennini will serve as a representative of the fourteenth century and Sir Joshua Reynolds will serve as a representative of the eighteenth century. To find a suitable representative of the attitudes of the twentieth century presents more difficulties. In the past one hundred years, styles of art and attitudes toward art have replaced each other in rapid and confusing succession. It is possible, however, to discern a philosophical attitude toward the arts which has become prevalent among twentieth century philosophers and aestheticians. This attitude sees the arts as a means by which man

¹Rudolf Arnheim, "Art and Humanism," Art Education, Vol. 24, October, 1971, p. 8.

explores and creates his own reality. It may be exemplified by the writings of the American philosopher John Dewey and the French artist-sociologist Jean Duvignaud. In his book, The Sociology of Art,¹ Duvignaud attempts to synthesize an approach to the value question which combines the objective and subjective and the individual and collective levels on which the arts operate. Duvignaud's thought is a more existential development of the direction of John Dewey's thought in his book Art as Experience.² The attitudes of these two writers will be used as expressive of twentieth century attitudes toward art.

To Cennino Cennini an art was any craft or trade. Among them were to be found the arts of painted decorations and pictures, and decorative and symbolic carved and cast objects. The quality of these objects was to be judged by the beauty and preciousness of the materials that went into their making and by the skill and excellence of style with which they are made. In Cennino's view, these arts were the work of the hand, and therefore not as worthy as theory, but they should be "enthroned next to theory"³ because they required the use of the imagination as well as the skill of the hand. The idea that theory, or the work of the mind is

¹Jean Duvignaud, The Sociology of Art, trans. by Timothy Wilson, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

²John Dewey, Art as Experience, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1958).

³Cennini, Il Libro dell' Arte, p. 1.

"more worthy" than practice, or the work of the hand, is one that runs through Western thought from Greek times to the present.

Sir Joshua Reynolds also accepted the above idea, but he applied it to art in a different way. For Reynolds the visual arts were divided into high and low categories. There was a qualitative difference between the branches of the visual arts, and here is the crux of that distinction.

The value and rank of every art is in proportion to the mental labor employed in it, or the mental pleasure produced by it. As this principle is observed or neglected, our profession becomes either a liberal art, or a mechanical trade.¹

For Reynolds, then, it was the theory, or "mental labor" required to produce an object that distinguished its category within the visual arts, causing it to have a higher or lower rank of value. It was on the quality of the apparent mental labor involved that he judged the quality of a work of art. Reynolds also said that "The great end of art is to strike the imagination."² He emphasized the ability of the artist to work on the imagination of the observer; but the artist was not to do it in an obvious or undisciplined way.

The selective elements of art, too, had become theoretical rather than material in Reynolds' view. The

¹Sir Josphua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, p. 55.

²Ibid., p. 57.

materials of the visual arts were no longer selected from panels, metals and pigments, but from a qualitative set of subject matters, interpretations, styles and techniques of representation. The best of these qualitative elements, if fashioned together with a proper system, were thought to produce good art. If all this was done by a man of genius, that is a person whose intelligence and understanding were of a unique excellence among men, then the results would be of surpassing or even transcendent quality and would be called great art. This quality called "greatness" was applied to both art and the artist. The idea of greatness or genius in an artist was treated with veneration. In medieval times such veneration belonged only to God or to the spiritual meanings in the symbols of art, and were never confused with the man who produced them.

By contrast with both Cennino and Reynolds, Jean Duvignaud does not discuss the physical materials out of which art is fashioned, nor the subject matters, styles, and techniques of its representation. What defines art for him is more theoretical still than what defined it for Reynolds. For Duvignaud art is a process through which the human imagination acts upon individual and collective experience and constantly alters it. This function of art, he says, is central to the life of man, for "societies by definition never attain a final form,"¹ and ". . . mankind's

¹Duvignaud, The Sociology of Art, p. 10.

reality is, as Gorky saw, always semi-imaginary."¹

John Dewey saw art as that process by which the human imagination organizes and gives meaning to the confusion of experience. Duvignaud emphasizes the power man has to transform himself and his future through art. He says, "The imagination, . . . is much more than the imaginary. It embraces the entire existence of man. For we do not only respond with feeling or admiration, but participate, through symbols offered by a work of the imagination, in a potential society which lies beyond our grasp."²

The importance of the element of imagination in art is recognized by these three representatives of different ages in different ways. For Cennino, imagination is that element in art that brings honor to it as a form of endeavor. He saw the power of art to reveal the unseen, but did not connect this with a way to create the reality or affect the fate of man. Medieval man saw reality and fate as already having been created and sealed by God.

For Reynolds, it was the purpose of art to affect the imagination and emotions of the spectator. Art took on a moral quality in itself. Art had the obligation of influencing the public imagination and emotions in such a way as to improve the quality of collective life. Men of the eighteenth century were aware of an evolutionary movement in social matters, and they believed it possible for this

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²Ibid., p. 20.

movement to be directed toward an ideal end. To Duvignaud that fixed or ideal end is a myth. For him the future is forever changing, and forever unknown. Since art is the vehicle through which man's imagination directs him into and forms that future, art takes on a power that is more than moral. It is invested with the power to create--now become the power of man to create himself.

For Duvignaud the quality of a work rests in the question of its "authenticity," which "depends on two factors: the force of conviction in a work (bearing in mind its explicit aims) and its detachment from financial, ideological and political concerns--in other words, the authentic work of art cannot serve as a justification for any other activity except itself."¹ This does not mean that the artist does not need to make a living, or should have no political or other beliefs. To Duvignaud, however, such things as financial, ideological, and political concerns are attached to specific aims extrinsic to the aims of art. He feels that when art is used for the purpose of advancing an aim extraneous to it, it becomes corrupted.

John Dewey expressed this same idea in another way. He defined the question of aesthetic quality in art in the same way that he defined the aesthetic quality of human behavior. According to Dewey, when means are separated from ends the results are unaesthetic in art as in human behavior

¹Ibid., p. 37.

of all kinds.¹ In other words, if an artist paints a picture to please someone else's taste rather than his own, the results will be unaesthetic. If a student gives an answer in class in order to receive a good grade rather than because he believes in the answer, his behavior becomes unaesthetic. (Duvignaud would use the term unauthentic, but the idea is the same.) These are the general standards by which many critics today judge the art of the past.

On what grounds can we judge art created under entirely different aesthetic standards, by our own? By Reynolds' set of values, the art of fourteenth century Italy was very poor indeed. By twentieth century standards, the art of Cennino's time was superior to that of Reynolds' era. If Cennino could have seen a painting by Reynolds, he might well have viewed it with astonished admiration and he would surely view much of twentieth century art as sheer madness.

Our own standards are also time- and culture-bound; we cannot escape interpreting the art of the past in terms of our own experience rather than in terms of the experience of the men who made it. Twentieth century aesthetic principles are formulated, however, in an attempt to deal with the arts of many different peoples and times in some meaningful way. They are formulated in an attempt to find some

¹John Dewey, Art As Experience, (New York: Capricorn Books, 1958), pp. 198-199.

basic principles which will not be entirely time- or culture-bound.

By our present standards the art of fourteenth century Italy is accepted as authentic in feeling while much of eighteenth and nineteenth century English art is rejected as pretentious or unauthentic in feeling. The medieval artist had every intention of making money from his work, but he had no pretensions or confusions about himself or about what he was doing. He believed unquestioningly in the value of his skills and his materials and in the religion which was largely the subject matter of his art. The Royal Academician was not so favored with simplicity of environment. At worst, he attempted to please the public taste for the rewards of fame and money; but at best we misjudge him, if not his art. He believed it his purpose to create an idealized version of human experience in order to inspire his audience to become a better, nobler people. Today this attitude is considered unauthentic and as pretending to be what you are not.

In spite of this rejection of eighteenth and nineteenth century aesthetic standards, there were some English artists of this period whose work is still considered authentic. Among them were Thomas Gainsborough, William Blake, John Constable, and William Turner. All of these men shared some common characteristics of personality. They were men whose inner lives, whose feelings and instincts,

dominated them to an unusual, almost maladjusted extent. They seemed to lack the ability to surpress their authentic reactions to the demands of social expectancy. All of them suffered in their social relationships from this fault. Their unaltered flow of feeling which made their social relationships so awkward, also made their art authentic. They were all four intelligent, egocentric, and stubbornly convinced of the worth of their own work. Their critics angered, but never swayed them. This set of personal characteristics seems to have become necessary to sustain what we term authenticity. It is from this set of characteristics that the popular stereotype of the maladjusted artistic genius has been derived.

If it is true that the art learning environment of the late medieval workshop produced a more authentic art than the art learning environment of the English Royal Academy, should art teaching techniques, then, be derived from the one model but not from the other? To draw such a conclusion would be to make the same mistake about art teaching that Reynolds made about art styles. The practices of one age cannot be lifted up piecemeal and grafted successfully into the environment of another to achieve authentic results. In the last half of the twentieth century, we begin to judge the aesthetics of personal behavior, of social structure and of art by the same standards. As John Constable realized, effectiveness lies in the integration of the whole whose structure must be made up of

something other than the pasting together of disparate parts.

The contrast between the holistic approach to art found in the workshop and the analytic approach to art found in the academy has been a recurrent theme of this study. Recent aesthetic philosophy has turned away from the analytic toward the synthetic approach to art and to life. Yet the analytic attitude which has brought us to our present historical situation cannot simply be negated or ignored. Our task seems to be to subordinate this analytic attitude, and to move away from its resulting fragmentation toward a more unified approach in all areas of life.

Implications for Current Problems in Art Learning

One implication of this study is that problems in the effectiveness of art learning institutions must be seen in cultural and historical context. This is no less true today than it was in former times.

The forms and content of our art, which have been changing rapidly in a fairly linear pattern over the past hundred years, appear to us at this point to have become directionless. The definitions and uses of art are in a state of functional change which causes confusion and defies simple programmatical answers.

Our own institutions of art learning, like all of our institutions of education and indeed our institutional

structures as a whole, appear incapable of handling effectively the problems that confront us. As these institutions tend to rigidify under the pressure of change, the search for reform within them is driven more and more toward formalistic programs. The trends toward "behavioral objectives" and "accountability," are examples of this formalism, and are as current in art education as in other areas.

The answers to our current problems in art and art learning will not be found through the application of new programs and methods within the framework of our current institutions of art learning. These problems stem from much deeper and more pervasive problems. New forms of power and wealth distribution, population control, production and disposal of waste, and individual and group relationships are needed if society is to survive. Readjusted definitions and uses of art will follow naturally from these new forms of social structure, if they are viable. One can no more stop man from producing forms of art that respond to his experience than one can stop man's constant compulsion to talk. Art critics, aestheticians and art educators often assume that the continuing existence of art depends on someone solving its current state of confusion. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It is the conclusion of this writer that our attempts to make art learning more responsive to current needs are hampered by the complexity and rigidity of the institutions within which we teach art. More viable directions in art

are not as likely to be found in schools as they are to be found in the wider social environment. A historical study such as this can help us to understand, at one remove, the ways in which the wider social environment affects a specific art learning environment. Historical study can also help us understand the origin and meaning of our current practices. As John Herman Randall has said,

. . . If men's minds are a mosaic or a palimpsest of belief upon belief, it is of the highest importance that they understand the life-history of those beliefs, why they are there, and whether they are justified in being there or should be discarded.¹

Conclusion

In his preface to The Education of Nations, Robert Ulich says:

The combination of the historical and the comparative approach will reveal that despite all differences the so-called Western nations . . . have much in common. If this were not so, they could only be described side by side, and not meaningfully compared. All true comparisons need a tertium comparationis. Our Western nations possess a unifying heritage that reaches through the Middle Ages deep into antiquity, and they all have participated in modern cultural movements that, ascending vertically with the evolution of modern culture, have also spread horizontally--movements like the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, nationalism, and the rise of science and technology.²

The present study has rested on this premise of a changing but common continuum in Western civilization. It has attempted

¹John Herman Randall, The Making of the Modern Mind, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940), p. 6.

²Robert Ulich, The Education of Nations, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. v.

to point out the vertical evolution of art learning environments from the workshop to the academy, as well as to make a horizontal comparison of them. This study, which has been confined to two specific historical situations, suggests that an extension of its method to more recent developments in art learning environments would be fruitful.

It would be of interest to compare the medieval workshop and eighteenth century academy approaches to art learning with that of the Weimar Bauhaus. The Bauhaus was the seminal twentieth century experiment in art education conducted by Walter Gropius and a group of German designers and artists in the Weimar Republic from 1919 to 1924. They attempted to reintegrate methods of design in the crafts and the fine arts under a unified educational approach. The influence of this approach on the later development of professional art training has been pervasive. The Bauhaus has become the most studied and written-about institution of art learning in recent history.

The Bauhaus artists attempted a reintegration of the crafts and the fine arts under a system that combined both workshop and academic attitudes. The student was to have a thorough technical training in the skills and materials of his chosen area of work. On completion of his studies he was to be examined for "'journeyman standard' before the State Chamber of Handicrafts."¹ Built into this

¹Walter Scheidig, Crafts of the Weimar Bauhaus, Trans. by Ruth Michaelis-Jena, (New York: Reinhold, 1967), p. 7.

workshop approach was also a systematic study of the elements of form and color which stemmed from the analytic attitude of academy teaching. A sense of community and a reintegration of the artist's life with his work were other tenets of Bauhaus philosophy. The design and curriculum ideas of the Weimar Bauhaus have had a pervasive influence on subsequent developments in the field of art training, but its small size and humanistic philosophy have been lost.

Our schools of art today are uniquely characterized from their predecessors by their "track," "course-work," and "subject-matter" orientations, and by that expanded and fragmented curriculum so typical of most contemporary education. The institutional structure of our art schools conforms, as would be expected, to the structural pattern common to most of our institutions, that of the corporation.

An examination of the catalogue of any professional art school or university art department will show a variety of programs offered under such headings as the following: Advertising Design, Illustration, Art Education, Painting, Sculpture, Industrial Design, Interior Design, Photography and Film-Making, etc. Under each of these headings will be listed perhaps ten or twenty separate courses, each of which offers to the student some part of the skills and theory connected with the general unit of study. Each student is tracked on a "degree program" through a maze of these courses, some chosen from his "major" subject and others from such areas of study as "English," "Science," or "Humanities," etc.

The complexity of this situation becomes the more astonishing when it is compared with the structure and content of learning in the workshop and the academy. In conclusion we are led to ask whether this corporate institutional structure and fragmented curriculum do not now work in direct contradiction to our emerging values of aesthetic authenticity in life and in art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Guild Workshop: Primary Sources.

- Cellini, Benvenuto. The Life of Benvenuto Cellini. Translated by John A. Symonds. London: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1949.
- Cennini, Cennino. The Craftsman's Handbook, "Il Libro dell'Arte." Translated by Daniel V. Thompson, Jr., New York: Dover Pub., 1963.
- Frisch, Teresa. Gothic Art, 1140 - 1450. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971. Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, H. W. Janson, Editor.
- Holt, Elizabeth G., Ed., A Documentary History of Art. Volume I. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance. New York: Doubleday, 1957.

The Royal Academy: Primary Sources

- Eitner, Lorenz. Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850. Volumes I and II. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970. Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series, H. W. Janson, Editor.
- Hodgson, J. E. and Eaton, F. A. The Royal Academy and Its Members. London: John Murray, 1905.
- Holt, Elizabeth G., Ed. A Documentary History of Art. Volume III. From The Classicists to the Impressionists. New York: Doubleday, 1966.
- Leslie, Charles Robert. A Handbook for Young Painters. London: Murray, 1855.
- Leslie, George Dunlop. The Inner Life of the Royal Academy New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971.
- Reynolds, Sir Joshua. Discourses on Art. New York: Collier Books, 1966.

Sandby, William. The History of the Royal Academy of Arts, 2 vols. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1862.

Historical Background Material:

Antal, Frederick. Florentine Painting and Its Local Background. London: K. Paul, 1947.

Ashton, T. S. The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Bell, Aldon D. London in the Age of Dickens. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.

Bell, Quentin. Victorian Artists. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.

Canaday, John. The Lives of the Painters. Volumes I and II. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.

Castiglione, Baldesar. The Book of the Courtier. Translated by George Bull. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1967.

Clough, Shepard and Cole, Charles. Economic History of Europe. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1941.

Coulton, G. G. Life in The Middle Ages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928.

Doyle, Dick. Dick Doyle's Journal. London: Smith Elder, 1885.

Dubery, Fred, and Willats, John. Drawing Systems. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1972.

Egbert, Virginia Wylie. The Mediaeval Artist at Work. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Encyclopedia of World Art. "Education and Art Teaching" by Rosario Assunto and Giuseppe Scavizzi. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

Forbes, R. J. Man the Maker. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1958.

Gardener, Helen, de la Croix, Horst, and Tansey, Richard G. Art Through the Ages, Fifth Edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970.

Gettens, Rutherford J. and Stout, George L. Painting Materials. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1947.

- Goldscheider, Ludwig. Donatello. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941.
- Gombrich, E. H. The Story of Art. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Hauser, Arnold. The Social History of Art. Translated by Stanley Godman. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951.
- Herberts, Kurt. The Complete Book of Artist's Techniques. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958.
- Hiler, Hilaire. Notes on the Technique of Painting. New York: Watson-Guption Pub., 1968.
- Hilles, Frederick Whiley. The Literary Career of Sir Joshua Reynolds. New York: Macmillan Co., 1936.
- Huizinga, J. The Waning of the Middle Ages. Translated by F. Hopman. New York: Doubleday, 1954.
- Hutchinson, Sidney C. "The Royal Academy Schools, 1668-1830," The Volume of the Walpole Society, XXXVIII (1960-1962): 123-191.
- _____. The History of the Royal Academy, 1768-1968. London: Chapman and Hall, 1968.
- Janson, H. W. History of Art. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1964.
- Jones, Michael Wynn. The Cartoon History of Britain. New York: Macmillan, 1971.
- Kraus, Henry. The Living Theatre of Medieval Art. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.
- Laver, James. Victoriana. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967.
- MacDonald, Stuart. The History and Philosophy of Art Education. New York: American Elsevier Pub. Co., 1970.
- Martindale, Andrew. The Rise of the Artist in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. New York: McGraw Hill, 1972.
- Metzgar, David Learock. "Studies in the discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds," Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, 1966.
- Penty, Arthur Joseph. Guilds, Trade and Agriculture. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1921.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. Academies of Art Past and Present. New York: De Capo Press, 1973.
- Pirenne, Henri. Economic and Social History of Mediaeval Europe. Translated by I. E. Clegg. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956.

- Renard, Georges Francois. Guilds in the Middle Ages. Translated by Dorothy Terry. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1918.
- Saxl, F. and Wittkower, R. British Art and the Mediterranean. London: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Scheidig, Walter. Crafts of the Weimar Bauhaus. Translated by Ruth Michaelis-Jena. New York: Reinhold Pub., 1967.
- Short, Ernest H. The Painter in History. London: Philip Allen, 1929.
- Singer, Charles, Holmyard, E. J., Hall, A. R., and Williams, Trevor I. A History of Technology, Volume II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.
- Staley, John Edgcumbe. The Guilds of Florence. London: Melhuen and Co., 1906.
- Venturi, Lionello. History of Art Criticism. Translated by Charles Marrott. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1964.
- Wilkinson, Gerald. Turner's Early Sketchbooks. New York: Watson-Guptill Pub., 1972.
- Theoretical Background Material:
- Beittel, Kenneth R. Alternatives for Art Education Research. Dubuque. Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1973.
- Berenson, Bernhard. Aesthetics and History. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1954.
- Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966.
- Dewey, John. Art as Experience. New York: Capricorn Books, 1958.
- Duvignaud, Jean. The Sociology of Art. Translated by Timothy Wilson. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Edman, Irwin. Arts and the Man. New York: W. W. Norton, 1956.
- Firth, Raymond William. Essays on Social Organization and Values. London: Althone Press, 1964.
- Gluckman, Max. Closed Systems and Open Minds. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964.

- Gras, N.S.B. Industrial Evolution. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930.
- Leach, Edmund. Rethinking Anthropology. London: Athlone Press, 1961.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. Structural Anthropology. Translated by Claire Jacobson. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1967.
- Mumford, Lewis. Art and Technics. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
- Nef, John. Social Foundations of Industrial Civilization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- Parsons, Talcott. Society in Evolutionary and Cultural Perspective. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1966.
- Randall, John Herman. The Making of the Modern Mind. N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940.
- Ulich, Robert. The Education of Nations. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.