Artistic Production, Material Culture, and the University, 1500-1530

Program of Study

Between the longstanding presence of the University, and the vibrancy of artisanal workshops, the city of Bologna served as the site of a rich visual and scientific culture in the early modern period. Considering the production and dissemination of knowledge as a manufactured entity, my dissertation seeks to provide a reassessment of a Bolognese corpus of objects produced between 1500 and 1530. I ask why Bologna was such a fruitful site of printmaking in the early-sixteenth century, focusing on local print practices and their intersection with the intellectual milieu fostered by the University. I discuss and problematize the collaborative activities of artists and practitioners including Francesco Francia (1450-1517), Marcantonio Raimondi (ca.1480-ca.1530), Berengario da Carpi (1466-1530), and Parmigianino (1503-1540) and their place in a broader material culture of knowledge. I dissect printmaking, its relative infancy, and its role within the generation and dissemination of knowledge to demonstrate how epistemological activities within the city- making, writing, dissecting, collecting, and lecturing- were critical to technical innovation.

Two local early modern authors, writing about a century apart, have gestured towards the connection between printmaking, Bologna, and the dissemination of knowledge via the University’s network. Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597) describes the suitability of his office as bishop of Bologna for the purpose of writing a treatise on images in the following way: “His Illustrious Lordship has judged this all the more fitting for this people, inasmuch as, the city of Bologna being known as the mistress of studies, he would wish it to be an exemplar to foreigners of always doing the right thing.”¹ Thus, the bishop recognizes the role that Bologna served as a university city and how from such an epicentre information travelled through the movement of individuals. Similarly, the historian and jurist Carlo Cesare Malvasia (1616-1693) linked the circulation of knowledge specifically to the economy of the printed image. This view appears in his introduction to Marcantonio Raimondi’s biography and the history of Bolognese printmaking, commencing as follows: “Immense indeed are the benefits the republic of letters received from this invention [printing], nor any less the profits that the school of painting derives from it each day, since not only through printed book, but also through printed plates is kept fully informed and instructed

about all things that most concern its practice.” Malvasia’s contextual background suggests the socio-cultural relevance that print technology had come to assume, continuing to note that the great Bolognese print makers were responsible for the rendering of prints that attracted a wider audience to works of art from Venice, Lombardy, and Rome, thus conveying the importance of the medium to the dissemination of stylistic and iconographic information. While Paleotti and Malvasia’s statements are temporally distant, they both point to what can be defined as a sociability of knowledge in the city of Bologna.

These two early modern authors, in fact, identified a materiality of knowledge, be it in the form of book or print, and the way in which readers transmitted or received ideas through the ensemble of text and image. In the last thirty years scholarly rethinking has inspired a more nuanced and fruitful interrogation of this phenomenon. Placing an emphasis on ‘the image’ rather than ‘art,’ the field of visual studies has expanded the range of objects and media encompassed by the study of art history.3 Furthermore, visual studies have allowed for a reconsideration of how artefacts are engaged with – from their production to function – thereby complicating the artist-patron dichotomy. The last decade’s material turn in art historical studies has brought with it a renewed emphasis on images or works of art as crafted objects. As a consequence closer attention has been afforded to the processes of making and the workshop, as well as the relationality that objects generate within their visual, cultural, or even transcultural contexts by way of their material properties. In short, these developments within the field of art history have embedded works and artifacts more thoroughly into networks of human and non-human actors, where they are often relational. In turn, they have been seen to make broader claims about the knowledge they encapsulate and Renaissance culture at large. 4

With reference to early-sixteenth-century Bologna, little has been done to reframe the rich local artistic tradition within these critical lenses. Only Sandro De Maria, a classical archeologist, has examined how a Bolognese intellectual circle engaged with the classical past. De Maria has demonstrated how an early modern local elite beyond the prescribed university curriculum collected smaller scale objects and epigraphic fragments to access aspects of the antique, largely on account of not having monumental antiquarian remnants in situ. It is only at the end of the century with the museums of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605) and Ferdinando Cospi (1606-1686) that scholars have considered how art intersected with natural history and collecting practices. However, I would posit that this form of collecting culture was not created in a vacuum, but was given greater permanence and prominence with the construction of the Archiginnasio as a permanent seat in 1562. However, prior to that the University was a fundamentally permeable entity where teaching and examinations local institutions including the hospital of Santa Maria della Morte, and the churches of San Domenico, San Francesco, and San Pietro, as well as private homes, and thus there was greater fluidity within academic practice.

With these porous relationships between the University and local civic and religious institutions, it is highly significant to reflect upon how spaces and practices that today might not be considered intertwined were and how they were constructed and viewed in sixteenth-century Bologna, in particular, the nascent practice of collecting objects from an expanded world. Alongside literary texts that skewer an obsessive collecting culture, Leandro Alberti’s *Historie di Bologna*, a chronicle from 1479 to 1543, provides an account of the goods coming in and out of the city, and documents the owners of such objects. For instance, we learn from Alberti that in 1530, the year of Charles

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5 Paula Findlen has reflected on similar issues in the formation of Aldrovandi’s collection; Paula Findlen, Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), esp. chapter 3.
V’s coronation in Bologna, the emperor was presented with two Mexican knives, which subsequently entered the ‘museum’ of Giovanni Filoteo Achillini. Recently, Davide Domenici and Laura Laurencich Minelli have proposed that these knives passed into Aldrovandi’s collection and subsequently feature in the *Musaeum metallicum* (1648) highlighting our need to better understand the local provenances of the *musaeum*. The systematic act of collecting promoted and codified by Aldrovandi was by no means new, such practices were already embedded within the early-sixteenth-century Bolognese culture.

While specific individuals such as Aldrovandi were responsible for building such collections, engagement with the objects themselves was fundamentally collaborative from their making to use. It is within this multilayered context that I want to reframe and re-evaluate the artist’s workshop as a collaborative space that sustained the local printmaking industry in unexpected ways. Within the sphere of the material manifestation of knowledge, printmaking developed as an important tool for the dissemination of information and served as a site of intense experimentation where artists negotiated the technical capacities of the print medium. Additionally, printmaking by its very nature is a collaborative process, rarely a single person in the early modern world possessed all the necessary skills and financial means to produce a print on their own.

Alongside Venice and Rome, Bologna should be seen as the locus of some of the most significant innovations within printmaking on the Italian peninsula. It was not by chance that this was the case. I contend that the experimentation that took place in the city’s workshops was nurtured by the Studio and flourished on account of the local, vibrant publishing industry that met the demand for texts and commentaries used by students and professors alike. Within such an expanded framework, my dissertation aims to provide a better understanding of Marcantonio Raimondi’s early years in Bologna within Francesco Francia’s workshop. The latter was a diversified entity producing a variety of items from luxury metalwork to belt buckles to paintings to prints. While

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10 Domenici and Laurencich-Minelli, “From the New World to Bologna”.
11 Ibid.
this was not an unusual practice in the Renaissance, the workshop as a collaborative space of production is often neglected in favour of connoisseurial approaches. With a deeper investigation of Francia’s role not as an individual creator, but as the head of a larger operational structure, my research will offer a more nuanced understanding of engraving in Bologna. In a varied workshop like Francia’s, the master employed artisans who were more highly specialized than him in certain techniques, as was possibly the case with Marcantonio.

Traditionally, the understating of Raimondi as a ‘reproductive’ printmaker has been seen to coincide with his sojourn in Venice in 1506 and the high-profile legal proceedings, when the artist counterfeited engravings of Albrecht Dürer’s Life of the Virgin woodcuts and included Dürer’s monogram on the copies. Subsequently, Raimondi’s role as a ‘reproductive’ engraver was solidified after 1510 when the artist travelled to Rome and his services were retained by Raphael. In the broader history of printmaking, this Roman production, namely Raimondi’s collaboration with Raphael, is viewed as a watershed moment in the establishment of the fame of an artist through the dissemination of a style and iconography throughout Europe, where motifs were freely borrowed and repurposed across media. However, through a re-examination of the workshop as a collaborative, epistemic space, Marcantonio’s virtuosic reproductions can be better assessed as experimentations within the technology of engraving, technical awareness that I will posit Raimondi developed within Francia’s workshop and in turn was advantageous to Raphael. From an early stage Francia and Raimondi appear to be contemplating the kinds of information a printed image could transmit. Raimondi’s early engravings demonstrate the range of ways in which he engaged with his master’s works and style, translating painted or drawn information into the printed medium of engraving. To cite only a few examples that indicate the need for reconsideration: Boy with Thorn (fig.1), Orpheus and Eurydice (fig.2), and the so-called Allegory of Chance (fig.3). Each of these images shows a subtle attention to detail and reflect upon engraving as a medium that echoes and alludes to other media. For instance, in the Boy with Thorn, a copper plate engraving, the black horizontally hatched background that serves to give figures volume through relief recalls earlier niello techniques, which were effectively employed in the Francia workshop. In the Allegory of Chance, Raimondi seemingly engages with Francia’s graphic mannerisms: it is significant to compare Francia’s highly finished drawings in both the Albertina and the Morgan collections (figs. 4 and 5), to the style of the engraving. It is clear that the collaborative practices that were embedded
in the dissemination of a workshop style, and in particular within the diversity of artifacts in Francia’s bottega.

The city of Bologna further served as the site of experimentation between printmaking, the University, and the discourse of style for Parmigianino, who arrived in the city in 1527 and led a thriving workshop in the city until his return to Parma three years later. By 1527 Parmigianino was a credited master who had produced a series of remarkable works; however, it is only during his Bolognese years, as far as has been documented that he began exploring printmaking, employing techniques such as chiaroscuro woodcutting and etching, which had mainly been used in Germany. Collaborating with Ugo da Carpi and Antonio da Trento, Parmigianino produced several astounding chiaroscuro woodcuts, a technique which sees more than one colour of ink used on prepared paper as a way to build tonalities and volume within the image. Within this corpus there appears to be variable skills on the part of the cutters, with the highly sophisticated Diogenes (fig.6), a full folio print that employed four different colours and was made with great technical precision, alongside some smaller less technically proficient prints such as the small *St. John the Baptist* (fig.7). As a prolific draughtsman, Parmigianino harnessed the relatively new technique to replicate a component of his graphic identity in which he produced wash drawings, something the chiaroscuro woodcut was capable of replicating. The artist’s interest in the new method of etching during his Bolognese years further supports this hypothesis. Etching was a seldom used technique in the early-sixteenth century as it had not yet been perfected. To Parmigianino, however, the benefits of etching far outweighed the inconsistencies of the medium. By virtue of being able to draw directly onto the prepared plate, etching gave Parmigianino the opportunity to express a different fact of his draughtsmanship in an unmediated capacity (fig. 8). Given the range of experimental interests in Bologna in the multiple forms of intalgio, my dissertation posits that it was no mistake that Parmigianino assembled a workshop that included print production. In attempting to better reconstruct Parmigianino’s Bolognese milieu, which comprised a large cross-section of society from saddle makers to professors in the faculty of Medicine, I aim to demonstrate how such a climate was first embedded within Francia’s workshop and developed by Parmigianino.14

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To connect these various threads of material and print culture in Bologna, I will devote substantial attention to the output of Jacopo Berengario da Carpi (ca.1460-1530), a professor of surgery at the University of Bologna. Between 1518 and 1521, Berengario produced three significant medical texts: a treatise on cranial fractures (1518), a commentary on Mondino de Luzzi’s *Anatomia* (1521), and a highly successful anatomical manual (1522). Each of these publications is remarkable for its visual content and that they were meant to be used for instruction, while simultaneously engaging with a broader material world. To begin with, Berengario’s treatise on cranial fractures includes a series of woodcuts towards the end of the volume, which present the tools to be used during surgery. The woodcuts are of a high quality and useful in providing insight into early-sixteenth century surgical practices, and their rendering provides information on how the text was intended to be read and manipulated for full comprehension (fig. 8). First, the handles are separated from attachments, showing the range of options for surgeons, and second, the printed annotations next to these handles sometimes appear upside down suggesting that the reader had to turn the image upside-down in order to fully understand the usage. In the next two publications by Berengario, the Commentary on Mondino de Luzzi’s *Anatomia* and the shorter anatomical manual, the illustrations shift from tools of the trade to anatomical illustrations considered the first not to rely on earlier precedents. Little is known about the designs of the woodcuts, with certain attributions being given to Parmigianino, Amico Aspertini, Raphael, Ugo da Carpi, and even Berengario himself.15 Many of the designs relate to both contemporary compositions as well as antique precedents such as the Torso Belvedere. In each edition of the anatomical manual the woodcuts vary greatly in both quality and design strategy suggesting not a singular artist, but a collaborative process that implicated a number of artists and woodcutters who worked alongside the author and publishers. Berengario’s manual ultimately offers a rich case study for the interaction of printmaking, medicine, and material culture. Given that we know Berengario himself was a collector of arts and antiquities, there is much to be gained by thinking about how Berengario, the collector and author, was implicated in the printmaking process, thus entrenching the medium into a world of things and knowledge in sixteenth-century Bologna.16

**Historiography**


16 Vasari, *Lives*, I, 739; Cellini.
Within art historical narratives of the early modern period, the city of Bologna did not have a place until the end of the sixteenth century when the Carracci are hailed as the reformers of painting. They have ultimately been credited for the advent of Baroque style, after which such artists as Guercino and Guido Reni, practicing in Bologna, have been seen as instrumental to the trajectory of painting in the seventeenth century.

Bologna in the history of Renaissance art, however, has not received the same degree of attention, still constituting a competing view or counter-narrative to the canonical account that centres on Florence and Rome. The city’s rich visual patrimony ranging from the monumental and multi-temporal Arca di San Domenico (ca.1264-1473) to the energetic terracotta Lamentation groups (1460s-1520s) to the Mezzarata frescoes (1340s-1410s) and the Oratorio di Santa Cecilia (ca.1506) has long been overlooked in the scholarship, as these works do not fit within the classicizing Tusco-Roman paradigm of Italian Renaissance art. Vasari acknowledges certain Bolognese artists, but often as provincial masters. To give two examples, Francesco Francia and Amico Aspertini have often served as foils to one another. Vasari’s biography of Francia is that of a goldsmith whose hubris is his downfall. Vasari reports that Francia, an overly ambitious artist, was not content with his practice as a craftsman, and thus felt compelled to try his hand at painting. While Francia was praised for his coloristic effects, he is ultimately characterized as a provincial talent whose standing is based upon local praise from an unsophisticated audience. Once exposed to the impressive work of Raphael, his St. Cecilia altarpiece (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna), which arrived in the city ca. 1516, Vasari says that Francia dies of grief knowing that he could never attain such perfection.  

Vasari, however, does not even afford Aspertini his own biography, situating him within a group of Romagnoli artists headlined by Bagnacavallo. This account proves quite the opposite of Francia’s. Aspertini is seen as an eccentric who has no discernment in either his drawing practices or his social behaviours, noting that Aspertini drew frantically and ambidextrously anything and everything before his eyes without the ability to select the appropriate models for imitation of the antique and the modern canon. To prove his point, Vasari recounts an incident where Aspertini runs into an acquaintance who was walking home from buying cabbage at the market. Without adducing his interlocutor might be trying to get home, Aspertini continued talking to the man all through the night, only to send him home to cook his cabbage in the early hours of

the morning. With these artists’ lives, Vasari sets and confirms the peripheral status of Bolognese art. Through such a creation of artistic personalities that either comply to or deviate from the canonical narrative, the study of Bolognese visual culture has been stifled with significant new information coming to light.

Another problem in the study of Renaissance Bolognese visual culture is the destruction that befell the city over the course of nearly half a millennium from the exile of the Bentivoglio family, to the post-Tridentine reform of painting where devotional art was more carefully regulated, and bombing during the Second World War. In addition to the loss of works in the wake of catastrophe and reform, another endemic problem in the understanding of early modern Bolognese art are the biases against some of the materials and techniques that were privileged in the Emilia region including both terracotta and printmaking. Vasari’s technical preface to the Vite demonstrates his prejudices against terracotta that is said to be only used in the workshop for bozzetti. It was a preparatory material not intended for life-sized public sculpture, a view that Vasari reaffirms in Alfonso Lombardi’s life, stating that this Emilian sculptor could have surpassed Michelangelo if only he worked in marble and not terracotta. Likewise, prints have had a long, problematic literature due to their status as a reproductive medium. It is perhaps fair to say that this discrediting of prints can be related to Walter Benjamin’s 1935 essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” which famously discusses the loss of the ‘aura’ in reproducible images with specific reference to photography, but with relevance and hindrance to prints.

Two twentieth-century art historians, in particular, have confronted some of the challenges that the study of Bolognese art has posed and still poses. The first was Roberto Longhi, who posited that an entirely different trajectory of art could have developed if Giotto (1266-1337) were not such a globalizing figure of Italian art, whose naturalistic style was put forth as the paradigm by Vasari. As Longhi recognized, an entirely different view of Trecento Italian painting can be gained by considering artists such as Vitale da Bologna and Simone de’ Crocefissi; therefore, reorienting and destabilizing Giotto as a progenitor. Yet, Longhi was aware that Bolognese art had no great defender as there was with Tuscan art. In his post-war address, Longhi’s lament takes on a sombre

18 Vasari, Lives, I, 914-915.
tone, juxtaposing the vast destruction of the Bolognese cityscape with the barely scathed Florentine one, ultimately blaming a lack of early modern authors writing about their compatriots to establish a canon. 21 Andrea Emiliani too addressed the dearth of evidence from a monumental local Renaissance in his introduction to the 1988 catalogue, Bologna e l’umanesimo. While also mournful of the loss of works, Emiliani celebrates the remarkable graphic capabilities of Bolognese masters, suggesting that there is still much to be learned about the artistic production through works on paper. 22

Since Bologna e l’umanesimo and the remarkable contributions by Andrea Emiliani, Marzia Faietti, and Konrad Oberhuber, coupled with the more general trend in the study of Italian Renaissance art to recognize the material and geographical biases of the field, additional research has been conducted on the arts of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bologna in recent decades. Georgia Clarke and David Drogin have studied the Bentovoglio family as the significant proponent of the main modifications to the local urban landscape to assert its authority in visual terms. Both scholars have argued for the role and presence of a Bentivoglio court, which existed from approximately 1438 to 1506, placing the city’s artistic output within better studied neighbouring courtly centres including Ferrara and Mantua. 23 This model has not been seen, however, as entirely satisfactory for the study of Renaissance Bologna. In a 1999 publication, Nicholas Terpstra viewed Bologna as a case study of a “subordinated city” under the rule of a foreign entity - in Bologna’s case, the papacy. 24 From 1506 onwards, Bologna became the second most powerful city in the Papal States. More recently, scholars including Terpstra himself have revised this view to reconsider Bologna’s geographical location as a crossroads an asset and to its status within the papal domains. 25 It is my goal to consider Bologna within these critical frameworks, that is, as a university city, a hub of artists, and a centre for the dissemination of prints.

22 Faietti and Oberhuber, Bologna e l’umanesimo. XI-XXXVII.
The study of prints in the Italian Renaissance, and within that, printmaking in Bologna, has been subject to several hindrances. To take the rather banal stance for an historian of non-Florentine art, Vasari is again the first to blame. It is not until the 1568 edition of his *Vite* that he included a history of printmaking in his itinerary of Italian art. As discussed above, Vasari’s technical preface established a hierarchy of materials, highlighting the nobility of porphyry, marble, and painting, while disparaging others, by confining them to the workshop as prototypes for works in marble or bronze, as was the fate of wax and terracotta. Sharon Gregory has argued that the addition of a history of printmaking in the 1568 edition marked an expanded appreciation and commercialization of prints in the intervening eighteen years between the publication of the first and second version of the *Lives*. 26 Set within Marcantonio Raimondi’s life, Vasari’s history of printmaking is fairly comprehensive and includes treatment of artists active north of the Alps, namely Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. Yet Vasari omits certain historical realities to place emphasis on Florence and Rome as the centres of printmaking in Italy, therefore overlooking the contributions of other cities, including Bologna. Malvasia’s seventeenth-century response to Vasari’s biases include only biographies of Bolognese printmakers, neglecting foreign artists who operated in the city. 27 All in all, only Vasari refers to Parmigianino’s experimentation with chiaroscuro woodcutting in Bologna and the local commissions that the artist received. In Malvasia’s Bolognese driven narrative on the development of painting in the city, there is a loss of perspective and understanding of the actual artistic climate, which implicated local and foreign artisans, suggesting a dynamic flow of masters as opposed to the monocular vision to which Malvasia involuntarily relegated the city’s output. 28

The last two decades of print scholarship have demonstrated the vibrancy of this subfield and its methodological advances have inspired multiple approaches to print technology. In particular, the use of anthropological and sociological models have permitted scholars to analyze the interactivity of the medium as demonstrated in Edward Wouk’s *The Print in Translation*, which considers the movement and mutability of the printed image. Such avenues of research are much indebted to Susan Dackerman’s *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge*, which has shown how prints actively contributed to the construction of knowledge, thereby implicating objects in larger epistemological

28 Ibid.
processes. 29 Suzanne Karr-Schmidt’s monograph on astrological prints and their manipulation by historical owners based on instruction in the texts themselves stresses the tactile engagement with the printed medium. Karr-Schmidt’s research has focused on printmaking in Northern Europe, with such cities as Antwerp and Nuremburg or courts, including that of Rudolf II of Prague, receiving much attention. 30 Priorities within print studies are different in Italian scholarship. Greater attention has been afforded to questions of the print as a reproductive medium to the circulation of archeological information in the early-sixteenth century. In recent years, Lisa Pon and Naoko Takahatake have provided valuable insights in the study of the Italian Renaissance print: while Pon has revised the understanding Marcantonio’s relationship to Dürer and Raphael, Takahatake through careful technical examination, has made a valuable contribution to the study of the chiaroscuro woodcut in Renaissance Italy.31

**Research Questions and Objectives**

In my dissertation I seek to address questions ranging from those that are specific to the Bolognese milieu to those that cover the broader state of Italian art. I will ask first: why was Bologna such a fruitful site of printmaking in the early-sixteenth century? This question brings me to reflect on both the medium and the socio-cultural confluences that sustained its flourishing. As a foundational question, it launches my reconsideration of Bologna as a university city that promoted the circulation and mediation of printed knowledge. Finally, the question further invites a revised history of Italian printmaking which will attempt to decentralize narratives in order to reintroduce Bologna as a significant site in the print technology’s development.

This re-evaluation involves reconsidering matters of place. By its very physical nature as an item that is serial and mobile the print is trapped between place and non-place.32 Shira Brisman has addressed this question of liminality in her study *Albrecht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode of Address*, positing that prints, because of the distances that they travel, should be read as a kind of

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letter, objects that move through both time and space with delay built into their process of making and reception. 33 I do not deny this reconceptualization of the print, but I would argue that printed images produced outside Dürer’s sphere deserve more engaged scholarship on their place of production demonstrating that the specific characteristics of Bologna as a university city facilitated their making and technical innovation within the medium in Italy.

Artistic geographies as an approach to the study of Italian Renaissance art, especially since Castelnuovo and Ginzburg’s seminal contribution of 1979 provided scholars of non-Florentine, Roman or Venetian art an additional critical lens to re-examine places and artists who have long been marginalized. Centres resulted from a confluence of economic and social factors, whole peripheries lacked these opportunities. In this model, centres saw artists working in competition with one another serving an eager consumer market, while peripheries were sites of delay. Castelnuovo and Ginzburg have further shown that centres and peripheries were mutable entities over time and that their statuses could shift based upon movements, stylistic innovation, and the ambition of a clientele, citing the case of Perugino moving from centre to periphery given his inability to adapt to the dramatic development that took place in Florence ca. 1500 and his inability to satisfy the local audience. 34

In the intervening years, scholars have grappled with the terms that the authors laid out, amending and contesting their definitions through specific case studies. In particular, Stephen Campbell has provided a revised model of artistic geographies based upon movements of artists to the peripheries and the potentials therein. Campbell’s approach is not so much focused on cities, but on a set of artists whose mobility may defy traditional definitions of regional style, and their production were afforded greater freedom and different mediations. 35

In contrast, Nicholas Bock has critiqued Castelnuovo and Ginzburg’s model through the rubric of the port city, namely Naples, where he contends that the importation of artists and artworks mirrored the international status of the city itself. Revising ideas presented in the 1979 article where the importation of artists and/ or artworks signified the lack of indigenous market or talent, instead

33 Brisman, Albercht Dürer and the Epistolary Mode of Address, 1-43.
Bock has suggested that the act of importation itself signified the power of the city, and its status as a nexus of trade.

My research will revolve around the notion of the university city, Bologna, as an un-explored model that is not accounted in Castelnuovo and Ginzburg, nor in Campbell’s discussion, and that comes somewhat closer to the ideas espoused by Bock in his assessment of the port city. The university in Bologna brought together two distinct groups of individuals: the faculty (about 80 to 100 members), the majority of whom were selected from a local elite and salaried by the commune, and the students, a body of 1,500 to 2,000 individuals in the first half of the sixteenth century, who primarily came from the Italian peninsula, but also Spain, Germany, and Eastern Europe. In terms of teaching activities, prior to the construction of the Archiginnasio and the Anatomical Theatre, lectures took place throughout the city, in homes of professors, local churches and hospitals. Examinations were held for different faculties in the churches of San Domenico, San Francesco, and San Pietro, where the public were permitted to watch. The publishing of texts concurrent with public lectures allowed professors across faculties to achieve a certain degree of local fame, which the printed word disseminated further afield.

From the published texts, we can assess the place and prestige of the University of Bologna and its scholarly activities. For instance, Filippo Beroaldo’s (1453-1505) commentary on Apuleius’s *Golden Ass* of 1500, whose publication coincided with a series of public lectures makes frequent references to the city and, in particular, the Bentivoglio family and their role as cultural rejuvenators. Berengario da Carpi, likewise, in his anatomical handbooks presents specific case studies and dissections that took place in Bologna to attest to his skills as a surgeon.

One of the common misconceptions within the narrative of Renaissance humanism has been that universities were sites of conservativism, thus, retardation, on account of institutional statutes and prescribed curricula. It has been argued, for example, that the early Quattrocento humanistic culture flourished in Florence because it was not tied to the university. This position, however, cannot be sustained with reference to the faculty of medicine, whose the statutes did dictate a certain course

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of education, but were not fully reflective of the activities and surgical experimentation undertaken by university professors. Surgery is a fascinating case because of the relatively late endowment of a surgical chair alongside those of physicians on account of the manual labour required, and the role of the barber-surgeon in performing many operations. When resituated in Bologna’s academic environment, the surgeon, in particular, could be seen responsible for instituting a manual component to knowledge acquisition and production, as was the case with Berengario. By presenting the university city as the site of several agents, works, and their intersections, my goal is to show how the statutes and peculiarities of the institution brought the flourishing of different demands within the Bolognese artistic production.

My second question asks: how were collecting practices and the systematizations of knowledge implicated in local artisanal practices? With this query, I want to rethink how making was rooted in the material culture of the city and was ultimately informed by collections and other visual stimuli, as well as the active processing of information provided by objects.

In re-assessing the relationships between printmaking, collecting, and medical texts, especially those by Berengario da Carpi, I intend to contest the primacy of the humanist in talking and thinking about Renaissance art. Pamela Smith’s *The Body of the Artisan* has re-evaluated the artisan as a creator of knowledge, demonstrating the connections between artisanal practice, natural history, and medicine to revise the view of the Renaissance visual culture as a solely literary conceit. Presenting an intimate relationship between science and art, Smith’s argument has re-integrated the workshop as an epistemic space and the body of the artisan as a tool of knowledge creation. Along these lines, one of my objectives is to investigate workshop practices and activities in Renaissance Bologna, expanding a sociable model of knowledge, the engagement with medical practices at the university.

My third question aims to address broader issues discussed in the field of art history, namely: how can we conceive of local artistic environments, retaining the nuances of a specific place, while also taking into account rapidly changing religious and political grounds, as well as the global interactivity of the period? This is hardly a question that can be answered in a single dissertation, but we are all aware of the global turn and its implications for the practice of art history. Within this context, I will argue for the sustained importance of notions of place and site specificity as
rubrics that are especially intriguing for the business of prints, which are very much situated between place and non-place in their inherent portability.

**Methodology**

My research, while firmly grounded within the field of art history, seeks to engage with discourses developed in the history of science and technology. It follows that, my theoretical framework relies on scholarship from these fields. Most important to my thinking has been Bruno Latour’s and Steven Woolager’s *Laboratory Life: The Social Construction of Scientific Facts*. Through a two-year anthropological study of the daily activities of Roger Guillemin’s neuroscience lab at the Salk Institute in California, Latour highlighted the constructed nature of scientific facts, underscoring the processes and quotidian task that result in knowledge, including the mediating role of writing and squabbles taking place between members of the lab. For my research, Latour’s discussion of the processual and the collaborative is valuable in terms of my understanding of the relationship between the workshop and the faculty of medicine.39

Alongside Latour, an indispensable reading in thinking on the construction of knowledge has been mentioned above, Pamela Smith’s *The Body of the Artisan* and her ongoing *Making and Knowing Project*, are publications that have opened the ideas of Latour to the scholarship of the early modern period. Smith’s *The Body of the Artisan* first introduces the notion of artisanal epistemologies, which related closely to the processual nature of the modern laboratory, thus beginning to shift scholarly narratives to include artisans as makers of scientific knowledge within the workshop via the processes of observation and practice. Smith exemplifies her thesis through the discussion of fifteenth-century Flemish artisans, and the alchemical transformations—be it the grinding of pigments, mixing of paint, or melting and combination of metals— for which Smith relies on Bernard Palissy (ca.1510-ca.1589) as her primary example.40 Albeit it needs recalibration, Smith’s discussion is helpful in the conceptualization of the history of Bolognese printmaking, which I frame at the intersection of the history of technology and science. As I will show in my chapter on anatomical printmaking, the processes of observation and practice, namely dissection, is explicit

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within the text itself, and, in turn, it must be interpreted in relation to the contemporaneous illustrational practices and within Beregnario’s own corpus.

Additionally, Pamela Long’s exploration the notion of ‘trading zones’ in the early modern period is equally relevant in conceptualizing my research. The term is adopted to describe points of intersection between two disparate epistemological practices. Long uses this concept to think about the meeting point between the practical knowledge of craftsmen and the theoretical knowledge of humanists in the realm of architecture. In this model, Long isolates certain socio-political conditions, temporal and geographical implications, which facilitated these trading zones such as court and port cities, citing Innsbruck, Rome, and Venice, as just several examples of locations which contained the monetary capital, brain power, and artisanal skill for this kind of communication to take place. Long’s theorization of the development of architectural know-how through trading zones is a useful concept for my dissertation because of her emphasis on place and the communicative potentials of particular locales.41

In addition to these theoretical avenues, I will pursue archival research that is critical to an enhanced understanding of Bolognese printmaking and its relationship to the medical culture of first quarter of the sixteenth century. Using the resources available at the Archiginnasio, Archivio di Stato, and the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, I will employ several strategies to piece together the historical background against which to set the relationships between medicine and the local material culture. With respect to Berengario da Carpi, we have documentation of his landed properties, while an inventory and a will are also known to exist.42 Such sources attest to Berengario’s financial success as a surgeon, as documented in increasingly vast properties that he purchased, as well as his profound interest in the visual arts, both ancient and modern. I will first transcribe these documents, which have not been published in their entirety, and will attempt to gather additional information can further be garnered and to attempt to better understand Berengario’s public and private world. Another major undertaking will be to check primary sources of other prominent physicians in Bologna to corroborate information about Berengario’s practices and his place in the history of both medicine and collecting. In particular, I will focus on the Bolognese physician and natural philosopher, Alessandro Achillini, and the Parmese physician,

Albio, for whom Parmigianino completed several commissions in Bologna. While pursuing archival research, I will check the later inventories drawn by Aldrovandi and Cospi attempt to assess whether the objects have Bolognese provenances that can date to earlier centuries and private collections as a way to demonstrate the long-standing interest in the relationship between the visual arts and natural history that extends to the first decades of the Cinquecento.

The other major archival source that I will plan to interrogate are the records of hospitals such as Santa Maria della Morte, which are preserved in the Archiginnasio. There, I want to ground my understanding of the teaching activities that took place within the walls and compile a list of those who were involved. Paolo Savoia has recently shown that students recorded the activities of lessons and their daily rounds.43

The early printed books produced in Bologna are another primary field of investigation to better evaluate both medical and printmaking practices. One genre that has much to offer is the metallurgical text. Taking Pliny as a model, Renaissance authors working on these topics tended to structure their writings by first introducing the properties of metals and then suggest practical applications. In the Plinian vein, authors mention artists of some repute and praise their skills in different media. For instance, Camillo Lunardi in his Speculum Lapidium printed in 1502 praises Francia’s capacities as a goldsmith in a metallurgical context, and hence outline his manipulation of the precious substances and his abilities to transform them into works of art.44 Reviewing these resources, especially those written and/or published in Bologna, will allow me to uncover a more grounded understanding of the Renaissance perception of the metals that were implicated in processes of making prints.

The other genre of book on which I will focus my attention is the medical text, especially, as mentioned earlier, those authored by Alessandro Achillini and Berengario da Carpi. Surrounding these texts, I will attempt to find historical records concerning the processes and mediations through which they were produced and published in the city. Having already begun to examine Berengario’s text, I have recognized the emphasis that he places on both levels of skill, precision, and observation, especially in the practice of dissection. Through both the investigation of

44 Negro and Roio, Francesco Francia, 97.
metallurgical and medical texts, and their contextual backgrounds, I aim to uncover practices to better assess how the material and intellectual cultures of Renaissance Bologna intersected.

Chapters

1. Introduction and State of the Question
2. Collecting and Making
3. The Francia Workshop and the Professionalization of the Printmaker
4. Anatomical Texts and Their Illustrations - The Case of Berengario da Carpi
5. Parmigianino and the Potentials of the Print
6. Conclusion - Bologna in the Year 1530

Schedule

Summer 2019- Year 2

- Submit dissertation proposal.
- Read secondary literature on printmaking, collecting culture, Berengario da Carpi, and Albio
- Compile excel spread sheet of images to be included as foci of case studies
- Compile excel spread sheet of archival sources to be consulted

Year 3 -2019-2020

- Year 2 of KHI fellowship
- Take course on paleography
- Take part in workshop on “Truth in painting” at the Norwegian School in Rome with a paper on anatomical images
- Archival research and manuscript consultation in Bologna’s libraries
- Submit proposal for conference on the workshop in Renaissance Italy
- Draft first chapter- case study on Berengario da Carpi, and begin to write second chapter on material culture in Bologna
- Submit proposal to attend RSA and CAA in 2021

Year 4- 2020-2021

- Year 3 of KHI fellowship
- Write chapters on Parmigianino and Francia
- Attend RSA and present research paper
- Carry on research and writing: draft and revisions

Year 5- 2021-2022

- Intense writing phase
- Draft introduction and conclusion
- Teaching opportunity
- Apply for post-doctoral fellowships
- Dissertation defence: summer 2022
Bibliography


Marr, Alexander. “Knowing Images.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (September 1, 2016): 1000–1013.


