

COSIMO BARTOLI AND THE PORTAL OF SANT'APOLLONIA BY MICHELANGELO

by Charles Davis

In Memoriam Adele Serpico

The portal of the former church of S. Apollonia in the Via San Gallo in Florence has long figured in the discussion of Michelangelo's architecture (Fig. 1). The older Florentine guide-books, beginning in 1677 with that of Bocchi and Cinelli, all name Michelangelo as the designer of the doorway. Recent guides attribute the portal to a later imitator, thus following the lead of modern scholars who usually assign it to Giovanni Antonio Dosio around 1585.¹ This cautious reluctance to connect Michelangelo's genius with the doorway is perhaps understandable for Michelangelo's contemporary biographers, Vasari and Condivi, do not mention the work.² My object here is to introduce a contemporary text which fills this gap in the evidence.

The literature concerning the portal has been treated recently in the catalogue to the *Michelangiolo architetto* of Portoghesi and Zevi published in 1964 on the occasion of the fourth centenary of Michelangelo's death (pp. 934-935). At two congress held during that year Charles de Tolnay, the only modern scholar to endorse unequivocally the traditional attribution, presented in support of it a sixteenth-century drawing of the portal inscribed *Porta di Sta appollonia Munisterio in fiorenza Di mano Di Michelagnolo buonaroti...* (Figs. 2, 3).³ Owing to the anonymity of the author of the drawing and the uncertainty surrounding its provenance, the evidential value of the inscription is difficult to assess.⁴ This together with the silence of well-informed contemporary sources may account for the continued rejection of the attribution to Michelangelo in the latest edition of Professor Ackerman's *Architecture of Michelangelo* (1970).⁵

¹ The attribution to Dosio, due to *Paatz* (Kirchen, I, 1940, pp. 212 and 219) and to *L. Wachler* (Giovannantonio Dosio, in: *Röm. Jb.*, 4, 1940, pp. 183-185), is followed, for instance, by *J. S. Ackerman* (The Architecture of Michelangelo, London, 1961, II, p. 146), *P. Portoghesi and B. Zevi* (eds.) (Michelangiolo architetto, Turin, 1964, p. 351), and in the Touring Club Italiano guide to Florence (6th ed., Milan, 1974, p. 250) and *G. Kauffmann's* Florenz (= Reclams Kunstführer Italien III), Stuttgart, 1962, p. 336.

² Even in the first edition of his *Vite*, *Vasari* notes Michelangelo's association with the convent: *Fece Michele Agnolo, per lo interesse della nipote che aveva fatta monaca in Santa Apollonia, lo ornamento e 'l disegno della tavola dello altar maggiore...* (*Barocchi*, Michelangelo, I, p. 230). *H. Thode* (Michelangelo. Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke, Berlin, 1908-1913, II, p. 137) states: "das Kloster war die Stiftung eines Buonarroti (1339)"; see, however, *Richa*, VIII, p. 298: *Piero del già Ser Mino de' Buonaccolti del Popolo di S. Simone*, 1339.

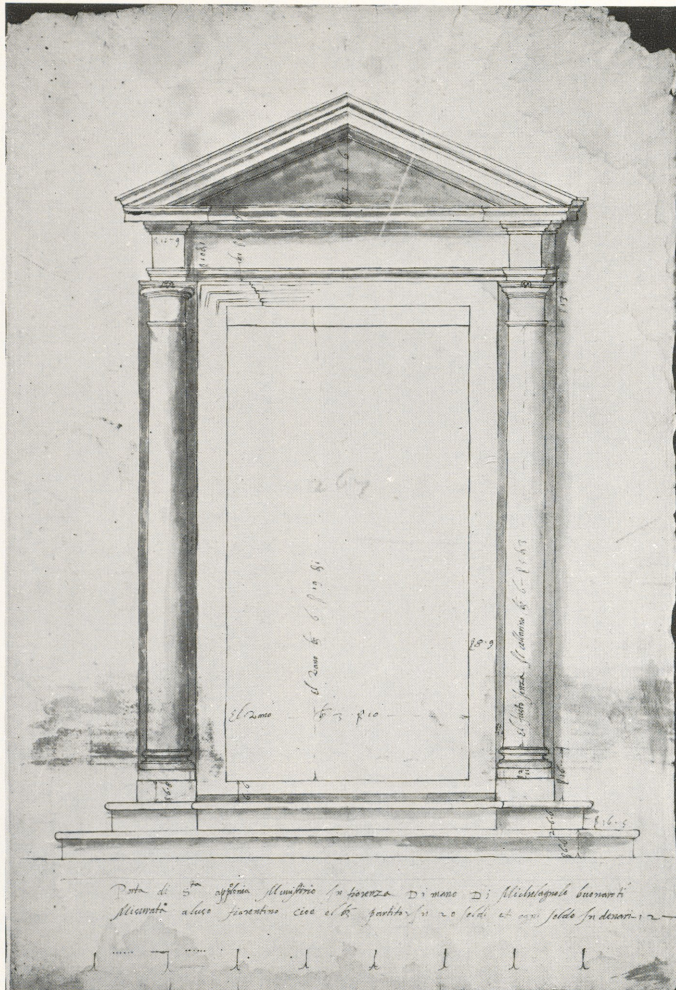
³ *Ch. de Tolnay*, Michelangelo a Firenze, in: *Atti del Convegno di Studi Michelangioleschi*, Firenze-Roma 1964, Rome, 1966, p. 21; *idem*, Newly Discovered Drawings Related to Michelangelo: The Scholz Scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in: *Stil und Überlieferung. Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kgesch.* in Bonn 1964, Berlin, 1967, II, p. 66 and pls. 22,2 and 22,3. The date *Tolnay* suggests for the drawing, "shortly after 1556" (Newly Discovered Drawings, p. 65), seems too early, for the Scholz Scrapbook drawing appears to be a copy of a like drawing by Dosio (Uff. 3018 A); see below note 35.

⁴ See *F. L. Moore*, A Contribution to the Study of the Villa Giulia, in: *Röm. Jb.*, 12, 1969, pp. 191-193 (Appendix: The Scholz Scrapbook Drawings); see below note 35.

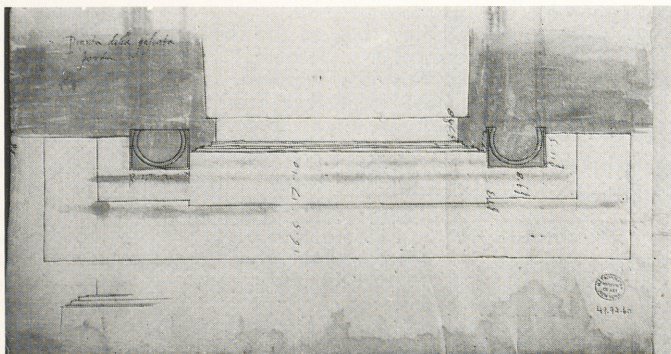
⁵ With catalogue compiled by *J. Newman*, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 349; see also *V. Fasolo*, Michelangiolo architetto poeta, Genoa, 1965, p. 86. *Vasari's* omission of the portal even in his second enlarged *vita* of Michelangelo (1568; cf. above note 2) may be due to the fact that his 1550 mention of Michelangelo's connection with S. Apollonia occurs in the life of Francesco Granacci and not in that of Michelangelo himself. The relevant passage reappears fundamentally unchanged in the 1568 *vita* of Granacci; the style has been polished, the tone is more polite, but *Vasari* himself may not even have been responsible for this revision. It should be noted that *Vasari* tells by no means all there is to know of Michelangelo's works, and strictly speaking his silence concerning the S. Apollonia portal does not provide grounds for drawing any further conclusion.



1 Michelangelo, Florence, Portal of S. Apollonia.



2 Anonymous 16th-century draughtsman, Elevation of the portal of S. Apollonia. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Scholz Scrapbook, 49.92.60 recto.



3 Verso of Fig. 2 (detail), Plan.

Drawings not unlike the one published by Tolnay have, in fact, been used to prove that Dosio designed the doorway, and another drawing inscribed *Porta di Sta Appollonia monasterio In fiorenza di Michel Angello 1616 DEV.* has not carried much weight with recent critics.⁶

A contemporary witness whose reliability can be examined is Cosimo Bartoli (1503-1572), the friend of Vasari and the translator of Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria*. In the first dialogue of Bartoli's *Ragionamenti accademici*, published in Venice in 1567, he explicitly testifies to Michelangelo's authorship of the S. Apollonia portal. When the conversation turns to the order of the columns at the Laurentian Library, one of Bartoli's friends, Angelo della Stufa, observes:

Veramente del Buonarrotto non si puo dire tanto bene che sia bastante, per lodarlo quanto sono i meriti suoi, perche se bene egli variò [dagli Antichi] in quelle colonne [nello Spogliatoio della libreria in S. Lorenzo] come fece ancora in quelle che sono alla porta del Monasterio di S. Appollonia, egli non pose però un Capitello dove ordinariamente hà da stare la basa...⁷

Unlike guidebook writers who perforce name the artists of the monuments they list, Bartoli hardly needed to take special note of the S. Apollonia portal. And the casual way he refers to Michelangelo's authorship suggests it was widely known. In addition to the somewhat indirect character of Bartoli's testimony, a number of circumstances promote the impression that Bartoli is a knowledgeable witness.

Born in 1503 in Florence, Bartoli lived there, except for a few years around 1530 in Rome, until he was sent in 1562 to Venice as the resident agent of the Medici.⁸ During his youth, in 1521, his father Matteo Bartoli found for Michelangelo a site near the Bartoli home in the Borgo Ognissanti on which to build a workshop for making the Medici Chapel statuary⁹, and throughout his life, too, Bartoli befriended artists. During the 1550's he furnished the programs for many artistic commissions in Florence: to Vasari for the frescoed facade of Sforza Almeni's palace¹⁰ and for the Quartiere degli Elementi and the Quartiere di Leone X in the Palazzo Vecchio¹¹, to Ammannati for his architectural wall-fountain in the Salone dei Cinquecento in the same palace¹², and to Francesco Camilliani for the garden complex of fountains of Don Pietro di Toledo, the father-in-law of Cosimo I.¹³ Bartoli also owned the manuscript of Ghiberti's *Commentari* and the *Zibaldone* of Ghiberti's heirs, as well as a book of animal drawings by Piero di Cosimo.¹⁴ Aside from his own efforts as a *trattatista*, most notably his *Modo di misurare* first published in 1564¹⁵, Bartoli's translation of the *De Re Aedificatoria* laid the basis

⁶ Wachler, pp. 184-185 and Stegmann-Geymüller, VIII, p. 34 (now Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Codex ex-Destailleur: no. Z 109).

⁷ *Ragionamenti accademici di Cosimo Bartoli gentil'huomo et Accademico Fiorentino sopra alcuni luoghi difficili di Dante. Con alcune inventioni et significati*, Venice: Francesco de Franceschi, 1567, p. 2 a; for the context of the quotation, see below, Appendix.

⁸ G. Mancini, Cosimo Bartoli, in: Arch. Stor. Ital., 76, 2, 1918, pp. 84-135 (hereafter: Mancini); further: Diz. Biogr. and Enciclopedia Dantesca, s. v. "Bartoli."

⁹ The Letters of Michelangelo, ed. E. H. Ramsden, London, 1963, I, pp. 278-279.

¹⁰ Lo Zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari, ed. A. Del Vita, Arezzo, 1938, p. 151 (hereafter: Zibaldone); cf. Vasari-Milanesi, VI, pp. 230-238 and VIII, pp. 304-316, and Thiem, p. 35.

¹¹ Zibaldone, pp. 61-63.

¹² Compare Ammannati's Flora (*Venturi*, X, 2, fig. 333) with Bartoli's invention for a "Flora per Firenze" (*Ragionamenti accademici*, p. 23 b).

¹³ Compare the inventions described in the first and second dialogues of Bartoli's *Ragionamenti accademici* with Camilliani's sculptures for the fountain, now relocated in the Piazza Pretoria in Palermo (*Venturi*, X, 2, figs. 430-450). For Bartoli's sponsorship of Camilliani, see *Ragionamenti accademici*, p. 2 b, et passim, and Frey, Nachlass, I, pp. 281-283.

¹⁴ Vasari-Milanesi, II, pp. 247-248 and IV, p. 138.

¹⁵ See L. Vagnetti, Cosimo Bartoli e la teoria mensoria nel Secolo XVI, in: Quaderno, Università degli Studi di Genova, Facoltà di Architettura, no. 4, September 1970, pp. 109-164. Further: La Colombaria, Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, 31, 1966, pp. 194 ff. and 36, 1971, pp. 216 ff.



4 Cosimo Bartoli, Florence, Casa Ricasoli, Loggia.



5 Bartoli, Casa Ricasoli, Column with Ricasoli stemma.

for the sixteenth-century revival of interest in Alberti's treatise and for its dissemination abroad in the following centuries.¹⁶ As a practicing architect, Bartoli, drawing upon Michelangelo's architectural innovations, designed for Giovanbattista Ricasoli, then the bishop of Cortona, a house in Florence situated in the Via San Gallo (Figs. 4, 5)¹⁷, and to reach the site from his own home in the Borgo Ognissanti, Bartoli must have often passed by the convent of S. Apollonia.¹⁸

Bartoli's letters written from Venice to Vasari and to the Medici court during the decade from 1562 to 1572 testify to his many-sided concern for artists and their art.¹⁹ From his post in Venice he collaborated with Vasari on the second edition of the *Lives*, as he had earlier for the first edition of 1550.²⁰ In Vasari's words, he was *messer Cosimo Bartoli proposto di San Gio-*

¹⁶ Mancini, pp. 100-104 and 125-127.

¹⁷ O. Poli, A. Piccini, and M. Brunetti, *Il recupero di un monumento a Firenze*, Florence, 1973; cf. my review of this book in: *JSAH*, 33, October 1974.

¹⁸ *Ragionamenti accademici*, p. 39 b.

¹⁹ See Frey, *Nachlass*, passim, and ASF, Mediceo, filze 2976, 2978-2981, 3079(1)-3081, and 3090, and *Acquisti e Doni*, no. 190, and *Vasari-Milanesi*, II, pp. 523-526.

²⁰ Frey, *Nachlass*, I, pp. 247-248, 255, 265-266, 613-622, and 743-745 and II, pp. 14-15 and 289-290, and *Zibaldone*, pp. 317-319.

vanni, mio amicissimo e di tutti i nostri artefici, come quello che sempre si è dilettrato ed ancora si diletta di tale mestiero.²¹ Bartoli's testimony, then, must weigh as heavily as that of his friend, Vasari. In 1556 when Bartoli published Carlo Lenzoni's posthumous *In Difesa della lingua fiorentina et di Dante* with a dedication to Michelangelo, he received a letter of appreciation from the aged master.²² But surely the ultimate test of the reliability of Bartoli's testimony lies in his analysis of Michelangelo's architecture contained in the *Ragionamenti accademici*. This neglected critical document is given below in an Appendix.

Although Bartoli's *Ragionamenti accademici* was printed in Venice in 1567, the publication date is not an accurate guide to the time the work was written.²³ After 1562 Bartoli saw through the Venetian press of Francesco de Franceschi a number of unpublished manuscripts he had composed during his years in Florence. One example is his *Modo di misurare* first published in 1564 for which there exists a dated manuscript of 1550.²⁴ His *Ragionamenti accademici* represents a similar but more complex case. The origin of Bartoli's work lies in seven lectures concerning the interpretation of Dante which he had delivered in the Accademia Fiorentina during the years from 1542 to 1548. Later he abbreviated these lectures, reworking them into dialogue form and setting them into the context of the five dialogues which comprise the *Ragionamenti accademici*.²⁵ In the conversations which frame each discussion of Dante the interlocutors touch upon many matters of topical interest, including Bartoli's own inventions for works of art, referred to in the title of the *Ragionamenti* as *alcune inventioni et significati*.

All five dialogues are filled with quite natural references to a present time. In the first, which contains the discussion of Michelangelo's architecture, we read of *Cavalier Bandinello* [d. 1560] *et Benvenuto Cellini, che sono di età, of quel nostro Giovane Fiorentino... Bartolomeo amannati* [b. 1511], and of the sculptor *Francesco di Matteo fabro giovane di diciannove anni* (pp. 19a-20a). The first dialogue contains many such indications. They consistently point to a date of ca. 1550-1552²⁶, and the evidence of the other dialogues suggests a similar date for the final composition of the entire manuscript of Bartoli's *Ragionamenti accademici*.²⁷

²¹ *Vasari-Milanesi*, IV, pp. 138-139 (cf. VII, p. 696 and VIII, pp. 302-306). For Bartoli and Antonio da Sangallo, see *Mancini*, p. 130. More than a dozen painters, sculptors, and architects are remarked on in *Bartoli's* *Ragionamenti accademici*.

²² The dedication of *Lenzoni's* work is reprinted in *E. Steinmann and H. Pogatscher*, *Documente und Forschungen zu Michelangelo*, in: *Rep. für Kwiss.*, 29, 1906, pp. 422-424. For Michelangelo's no longer extant letter to Bartoli, see *Vasari-Milanesi*, VII, p. 242 and *Letters of Michelangelo*, ed. *Ramsden*, II, p. 169 (cf. II, pp. 275-277). Other comments of *Bartoli* on Michelangelo are found in the *Ragionamenti accademici*, pp. 4 b, 5 b, 19 a-20 a, and 35 b-36 a; *Frey*, *Nachlass*, II, pp. 433-434; and *Della Pittura e della Statua di Leonbattista Alberti*, trans. *Bartoli*, Milan: *Classici Italiani*, 1804, p. 104.

²³ *G. Mazzuchelli* (*Gli scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1758, II, 1, pp. 433-434) lists an undated edition of the work and notes an earlier mention of an edition by Franceschi of 1565; cf. the contents of the dedication of the *Ragionamenti accademici*.

²⁴ *Mancini*, pp. 116 and 118.

²⁵ The dates of *Bartoli's* lectures were established by *Mancini* (pp. 120-124), who did not, however, consider the question of the dating of the subsequent composition of the text of the *Ragionamenti accademici*. In the dedication *Bartoli* writes of these lectures, in which *io gia presi occasione di trattare pubblicamente, nella honorata Accademia Fiorentina quelle materie, le quali io di poi ad istanzza di piu amici, ridussi con la aggiunta di alcune invenzioni, in questa forma*.

²⁶ Here is not the place for a detailed examination of the text, but, as a rough index, the occurrence and non-occurrence of events provide a *terminus post* and a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the text. *Bartoli* (p. 19 b) states that Ammannati and Vasari have been awarded the commission for the Del Monte Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome, a fact *Bartoli* did not know before 5 April 1550 (*Frey*, *Nachlass*, I, pp. 281-283), and this appears to be the most confining *terminus post* to be derived from the text. Those referred to as still living furnish a ready measure for establishing a *terminus ante*: Michelangelo, d. 1564; Eleonora de' Medici, d. 1562; Baccio Bandinelli, d. 1560; Angelo della Stufa, d. 1557; Vincenzo Martelli, d. 1556; Battista del Tasso, d. 1555; and finally Luca Alamani, Prior of the Innocenti, d. 21 October 1552 (*A. Legrenzi*, *Vincenzio Borghini*, Udine, 1910, p. 81). For other telling indications, see *Ragionamenti accademici*, pp. 4 b, 6 a, 7 a, 19 a, 19 b-20 a.

²⁷ For example, the fifth dialogue centers around the death of Carlo Lenzoni (9 July 1551). The *Zibaldone* of *Vasari* (p. 151) contains an *Inventione di M. Cosimo Bartoli per il suo Capriccio della Vita del Uomo*, 1552, which is textually nearly identical to the *Ragionamenti accademici*, pp. 58 b-59 a.



6 Florence, S. Onofrio di Foligno, Portal.



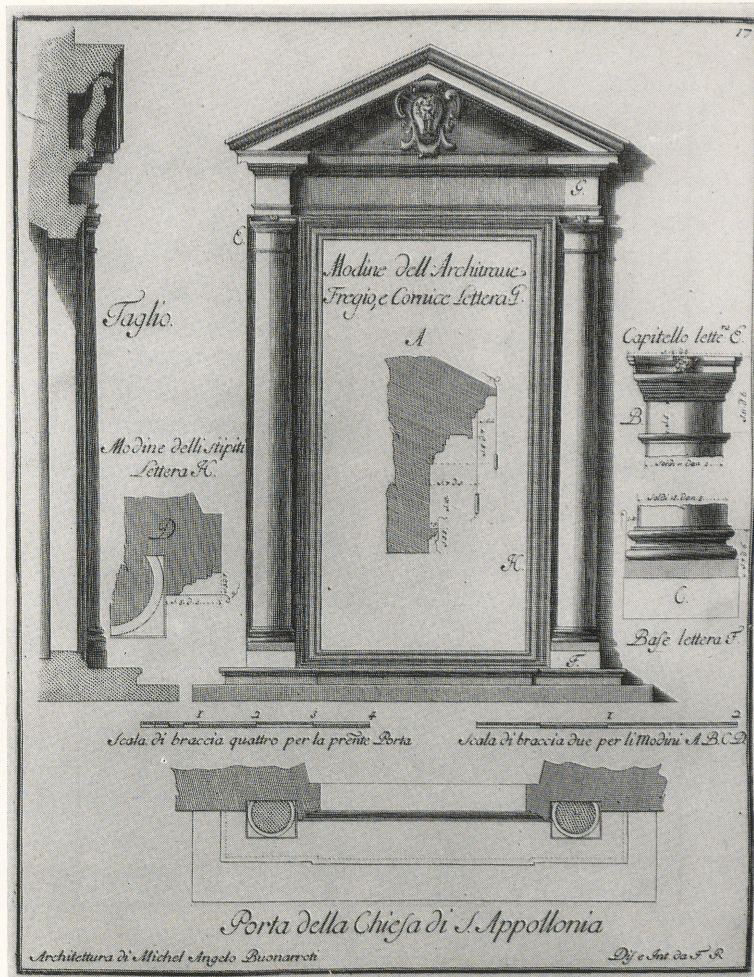
7 S. Onofrio di Foligno, Column of portal.

The date, 1550-1552, has several consequences. First of all Bartoli's testimony falls much closer to the time the S. Apollonia doorway was actually built, perhaps in the decade 1525-1535²⁸, than the publication date of the *Ragionamenti accademici*, 1567, seems to indicate. Since the portal existed by around 1550 the popular attribution to Dosio is untenable on chronological grounds.²⁹ Thus the attribution of the portal of S. Onofrio di Foligno in Florence (Figs. 6, 7) to Dosio also seems unlikely, and this portal appears more clearly as what it is, a later imitation with only minor variations of Michelangelo's portal at S. Apollonia.³⁰

²⁸ Cf. *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, I, p. 216 and below n. 39.

²⁹ *Wachler*, pp. 146-147; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 183-184 and *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, I, p. 219. See also *Carolyn Valone*, *Giovanni Antonio Dosio and his Patrons*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1973.

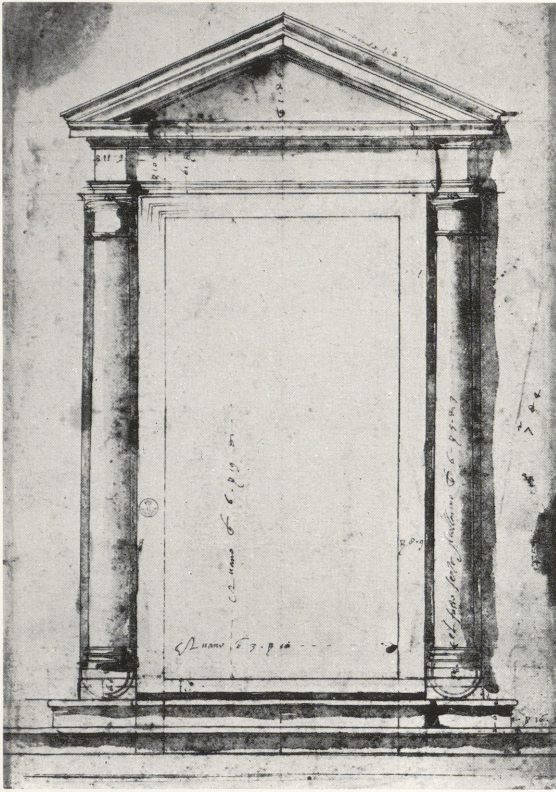
³⁰ *Paatz*, *Kirchen*, IV, pp. 466 and 471, connects the portal in Via Faenza, 50 with Dosio, who, however, was absent from Florence after 1590 and consequently during the remodeling of the church between 1594-1601. For two other widely accepted, but perhaps incorrect attributions of Michelangelesque portals to Dosio, see *Wachler*, figs. 80 and 112.



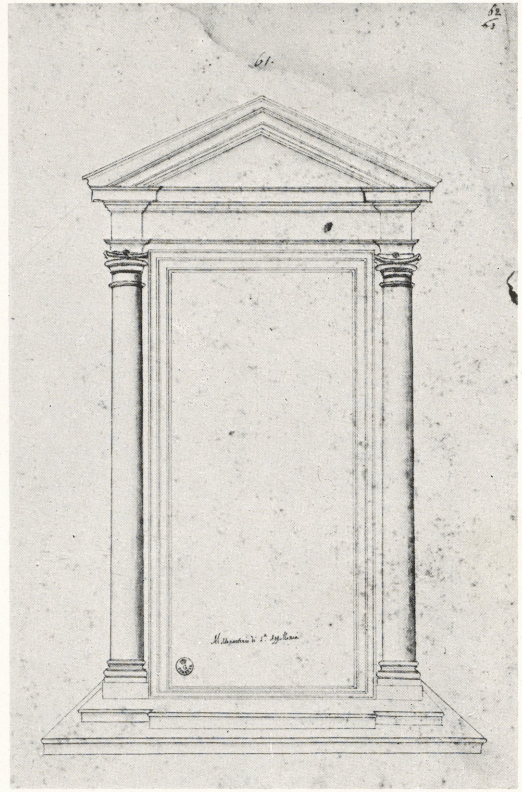
8 Ferdinando Ruggieri, Portal of S. Apollonia. From *Studio d'architettura civile*, 1722.

Certainly one of the reasons for the present-day disinclination to accept the traditional attribution of the S. Apollonia portal to Michelangelo lies in its relatively poor state of preservation. A number of restorations of the portal are noted in the literature³¹ and the earliest of these merits closer attention than it has received. Thode was perhaps the first to draw attention to a report of a ruinous alteration of the doorway contained in Richa's *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine* (1754-1762), where we read that Michelangelo's S. Apollonia *porta* has been *stroppiata stranamente, poichè essendosi rotta la soglia, è stata rifatta con una sì sconcia modina-*

³¹ A. Garneri, *Firenze e dintorni*, Turin, 1924, p. 236, reports that the church was restored in 1846 at the expense of the Prior Filippo Mattioni, and in the *Illustratore Fiorentino*, 1881, p. 35: "La porta disegnata dal Buonarroti fu in un restauro non molto lontano, molto e molto dannosamente variata, talchè nessuno potrebbe oggi attribuirle a Michelangiolo." The base of the tympanum of the portal bears the inscription: QUEST'OPERA DI MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI LA FACEVA A PROPRIE SPESE RICOSTRUIRE (barely visible in Alinari No. 17 297; our fig. 1).



9 Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Elevation of the portal of S. Apollonia. Florence, Uff. 3018 A recto.



10 Giorgio Vasari the Younger, Portal of S. Apollonia. Florence, Uff. 4655 A.

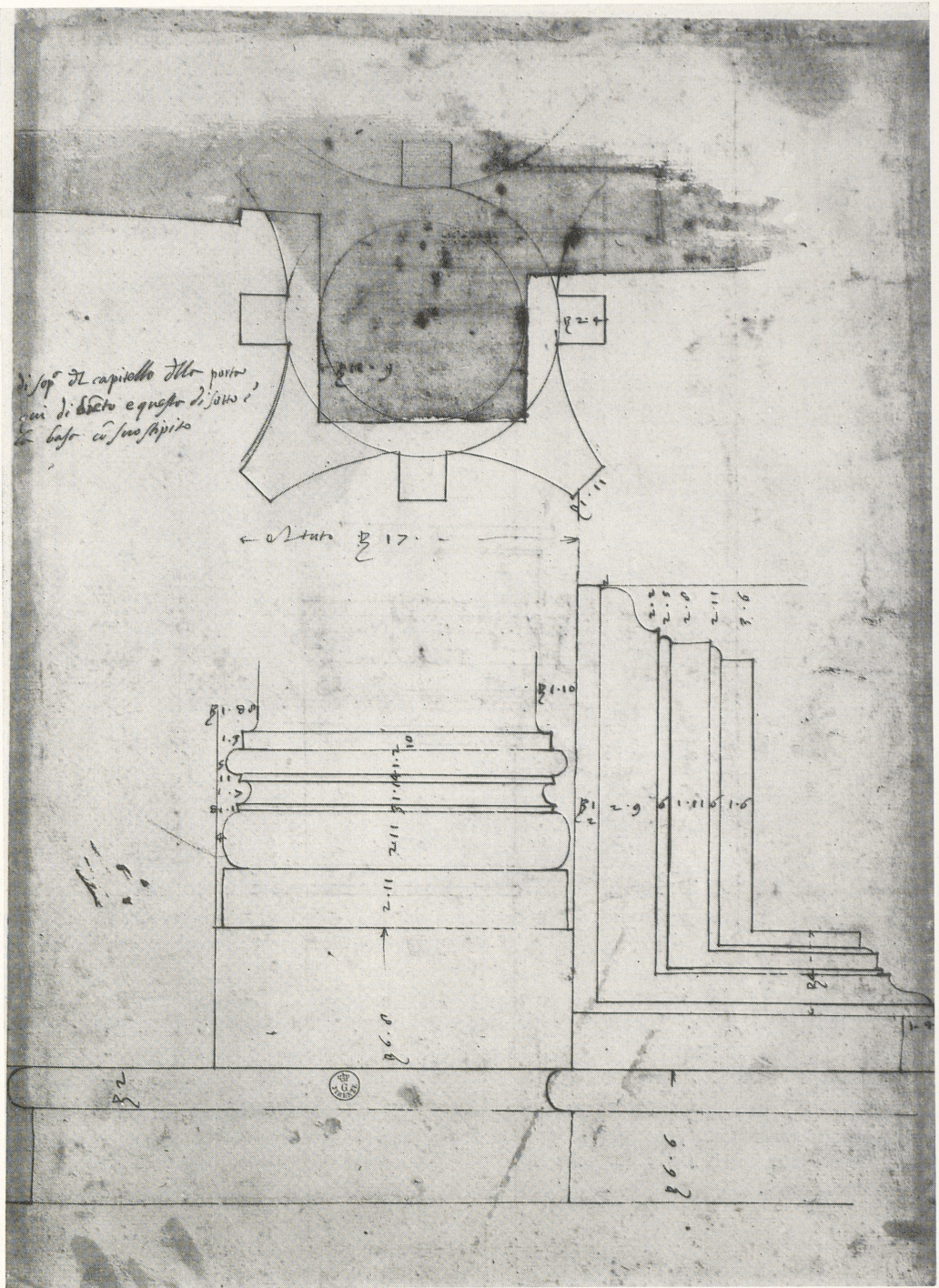
tura, che scompagna da tutto il resto, e fa pietà a vederla.³² Here Richa quotes from a book printed in Lucca by a learned Roman prelate, whom he identifies no further. The work in question is, however, Giovanni Bottari's *Dialoghi sopra le tre arti del disegno*, first published anonymously in Lucca in 1754, although as Bottari notes in the foreword it was written some twenty years earlier, thus around 1735.³³

Consequently the engraving of the S. Apollonia portal published in 1722 by Ferdinando Ruggieri in his *Studio d'architettura civile* (Fig. 8) probably antedates the disfiguring alteration Bottari condemns, for the original threshold is represented intact.³⁴ Ruggieri's engraving appears to be a reliable record of the original appearance of the doorway in as much as it agrees substantially with the other early representations of the portal: a drawing in the Scholz Scrapbook of architectural drawings in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 2, 3) and two drawings by

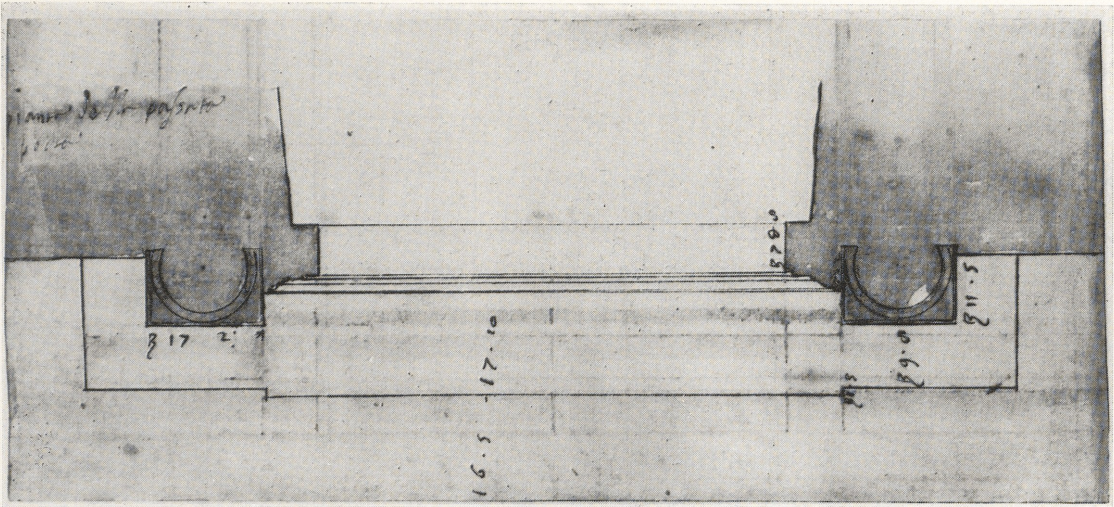
³² Richa, VIII, 1759, p. 312.

³³ *Dialoghi*, pp. iii and 105. Thode, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, II, p. 138, treats the text as if it originates with Richa (1759).

³⁴ Fig. 8 is taken from a reprinting of the Studio (Florence, 1722-1728) of Ruggieri (d. 1741): G. Bouchard, *Scelta di architetture antiche e moderne della città di Firenze*, Florence, 1755, I, pl. 17.



11 G. A. Dosio, Architectural details of the portal of S. Apollonia. *Above:* Plan of capital. *Below left:* Column basis. *Below right:* Jamb and threshold in elevation with indented profiles. Florence, Uff. 3019 A recto.

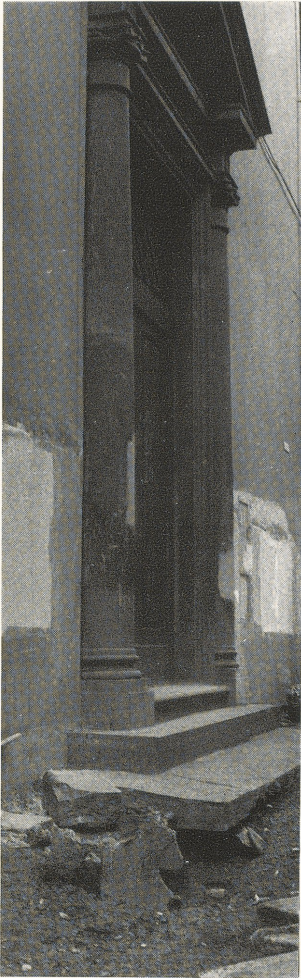


12 G. A. Dosio, Plan of portal of S. Apollonia. Florence, Uff. 3018 A verso.

Dosio (Figs. 9, 11) and one by Vasari the Younger (Fig. 10), all in the Uffizi.³⁵ The portal has been most tellingly altered in the steps and in the threshold. The effect of the profiled frame which ran all around the door opening has been lost and the lower step has disappeared into the sidewalk (Fig. 13).³⁶ The capitals and masks apparently have been recarved and the

³⁵ See above notes 3 and 6. Fig. 11 (Uff. 3019 A recto) has not been previously reproduced (note also 3019 A verso), nor has the drawing by Vasari the Younger (Fig. 10), noted in *N. Ferri*, *Indici e cataloghi*, III, *Disegni di architettura* (Uff.), Rome, 1885, p. 45. An unpublished late sixteenth-century drawing showing the portal with a segmental pediment found in a specimen book of Florentine architectural motifs, Codex Vat. Regin. Lat. 1282, is inscribed: *di Michel Angiolo in via. di .S. Gallo a .S. polonia porta della chiesa*. By the time of Ruggieri's engraving the torus of the lower step had been eliminated (compare Figs. 8 and 2). The discrepancies of the measurements indicated on Dosio's two drawings and Ruggieri's engraving are minor (Figs. 8, 9, 11). Both recto and verso of the Scholz Scrapbook drawing (Figs. 2, 3) are copied directly from Dosio's Uff. 3018 A (Figs. 9, 12). It is unlikely that two architects measuring the S. Apollonia portal would derive measurements identical down to the last soldo. Yet the Scholz elevation of the portal (Fig. 2) is in precise agreement with Dosio's (Fig. 9). Dosio does give one measurement of two soldi omitted by the Scholz draughtsman; otherwise the Scholz draughtsman includes every measurement given by Dosio, but no others. Furthermore the positioning of the indications of the measurements on the two drawings is in every case the same, and the Scholz draughtsman follows Dosio's notation of braccia, soldi, and denari meticulously, including, in all but one case, the punctuation. A few examples demonstrate the identity: Dosio: *el fusto senza il collarino b 6- s 5- d 3*, Scholz: *el fusto senza il collarino b 6- s 5 d 3*; Dosio: *el vano b 3. s 10*, Scholz: *el vano b 3. s 10*; Dosio: *el vano b 6. s 19 d i*, Scholz: *el vano b 6. s 19 d i*. Several factors confirm the priority of Dosio's drawing: (1) Dosio's drawing is higher in quality and clearer in its expression of such details as the abacus of the capital. (2) The Scholz draughtsman made a mistake in copying the top line of the door opening and the evidence of his correction remains visible on the drawing (Fig. 2). (3) The second line of the legend on the recto of the Scholz drawing (Fig. 2), *Misurata aluso fiorentino cioe el b(raccio) partito in 20 soldi et ogni soldo in denari - 12 —*, is just the kind of explanation required in an album of architectural drawings compiled with the aid of architectural drawings from diverse sources, and hence with diverse systems of measurement. I am grateful to *Carlo Bertocci*, who has examined these drawings with me.

³⁶ Cf. *Tolnay*, *Newly Discovered Drawings* (see note 3), p. 66. The door frame is of a gray native stone, not marble.



13 S. Apollonia portal during street work, February 1974.

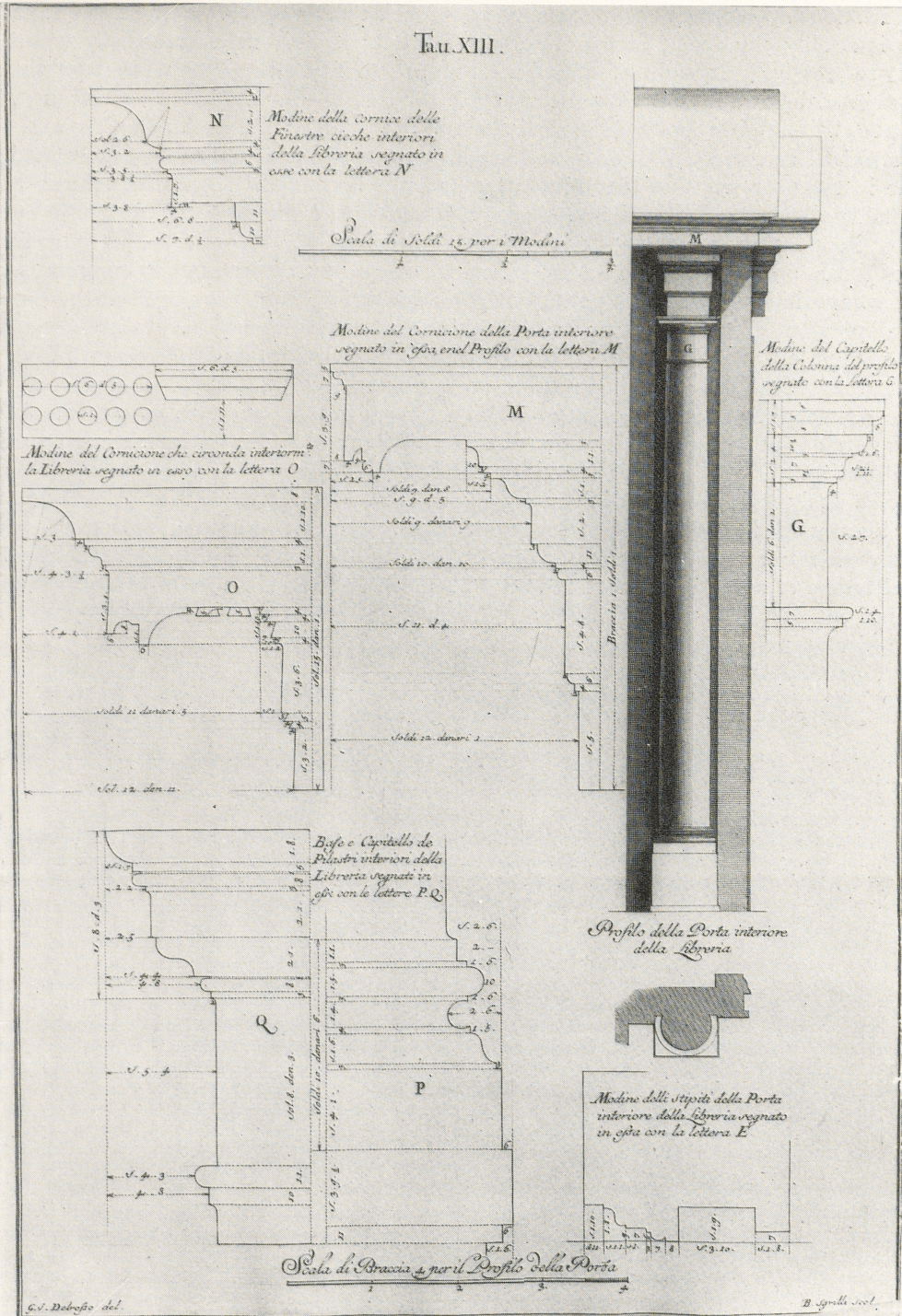


14 S. Apollonia portal, Column basis and steps after 1972 restoration.

column bases are almost entirely recent mortar repair-work effected during a restoration in the spring of 1972 (Fig. 14).³⁷ The shields above the capitals appear in none of the early representations and may well have been carved to mark one of the restorations.³⁸

³⁷ During the restoration of March-April 1972, carried out by the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, the then existing steps were removed and replaced and the column bases almost completely re-mortared; the resulting profiles are flabby. The early measured representations of the portal noted here would permit a rather exact reconstruction of the original portal.

³⁸ See Figs. 2, 9, and 11; cf. note 31. They are missing even from Ruggieri's 1722 engraving (Fig. 8), which also shows a no longer extant cartouche bearing the symbols of St. Apollonia's martyrdom — palm, tooth, and pincers (cf. *L'illustratore Fiorentino*, 1881, p. 36).



15 Michelangelo, Florence, Laurentian Library, Architectural details of reading room. From Rossi, La Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana; "O": soffit of the cornice.

The relationship of the doorway design to Michelangelo's epoch-making Florentine architecture is readily apparent. Bartoli, himself, associates it with the Laurenziana works it resembles so closely.³⁹ In light of Bartoli's discussion of Michelangelo's revision of the Doric order, printed below, it is of interest that Richa, too, speaks of the two *colonne Doriche* of the portal.⁴⁰ In fact most of the deviations of the order of the S. Apollonia portal from a Doric standard can be seen to stem, as Bartoli suggests, from adjustments necessitated by an increase in the usual ratio of the column thickness to its height.⁴¹ And the column bases of the portal, unlike those of the Laurenziana, fall well within the range of the Doric bases devised by Renaissance treatise writers.⁴² Paolo Portoghesi has recently shown how little the order of the Laurenziana, identified by Vasari as an *ordine composto*, has in common with the Roman composite order and has noted its Doric derivation.⁴³ In the portal at the far end of the reading room of the Library, Michelangelo adopts a variant of his *ordine nuovo*, which, if it is not quite a normal Doric order, is divested of the Corinthian elements found in the other expressions of this order in the Library, most notably, the Corinthian abacus and a Corinthian richness of profiling in the bases (Fig. 15). The clue *par excellence* to the origin of the order resides in the underside of the cornice running around the entire reading room which is fitted out with Doric mutules (Fig. 15: "O").

Bartoli's analysis of the Library can serve, perhaps, as a reminder that Michelangelo conceived his remarkable architectural inventions not simply in sculptural, anatomical, and anthropomorphic terms, nor even *alla grottesca*, but within a framework afforded him by the classical orders of ancient architecture and with the license of the poet to invent fittingly that is implicit, not just in Horace's *Ars Poetica*, but in Renaissance discussions of the Roman composite order as well.⁴⁴

³⁹ As do, e. g., *Thode*, II, p. 138; *Portoghesi and Zevi*, p. 351; and *Fasolo*, p. 86. The recent literature on the Library is readily available in *L. Dussler, Michelangelo-Bibliographie 1927-1970*, Wiesbaden, 1974.

⁴⁰ *Richa*, VIII, p. 312: ... *una svelta, e proporzionata Porta, alzandosi da i lati due mezze colonne Doriche...*; cf. *Thode*, II, p. 138 and note 43 below.

⁴¹ See Appendix, pp. 275-276.

⁴² See, e. g., the article, "Ordini architettonici", in *Enc. Ital.*

⁴³ *La Biblioteca Laurenziana e la critica michelangelolesca alla tradizione classica*, in: *Stil und Überlieferung*, II, pp. 3-11; also *G. Rossi, La Libreria Mediceo-Laurenziana, architettura di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, 2nd ed., Florence, 1755, p. vi. *E. Forssman*, Dorico, ionico, corinzio nell'architettura del Rinascimento, transl. *G. Scattone*, Rome and Bari, 1973, pp. 8 et passim, treats the order quite simply as Doric. *Wittkower's* classic article on the Laurenziana takes almost no notice of the order of the columns and pilasters. *Ackerman* (1970, p. 115) remarks on "Michelangelo's licentious use of classical vocabulary" and observes in the tabernacles of the *ricetto* "vestigial *regulae*, motifs boldly pilfered from the eaves of Doric temples." *Portoghesi, Biblioteca Laurenziana*, pp. 6-7, offers the reasonable suggestion that Michelangelo's intention was to create a new sixth, modern order, which in its "astinenza decorativa" recalls the Tuscan order. This idea finds some support in *Alberti's* discussions of the composite order (Bk. VII, Chaps. vi-viii), which he calls *italico per distinguerlo da quelli importati da altri paesi (italicum nuncupo)*. (*Alberti-Orlandi-Portoghesi*, pp. 564-565). *Pietro Lauro's* *Architettura (sic)* di Leon Battista Alberti, Venice, 1565 (ed. pr. 1546), p. 147, follows Alberti: *Capitello Italico: ... il quale (per non narrare tutte le cose havute da stranieri) chiamo Italico*. *Bartoli*, however, uniformly translates Alberti's *italicus* as *Toscano: eccetto però che quel solo (acciocchè noi non diciamo però di avere avuto ogni cosa da forestieri) che io chiamo Toscano, o vuoi Composito...* In much the same vein he always translates Alberti's *Etruscus* and *Etruria* as *toscano* and *Toscana*; this campanilistic note is to not be undervalued.

⁴⁴ For analyses of Michelangelo's ideas on architecture, see *Ackerman*, 1961, I, pp. 1-10 and *D. Summers, Michelangelo on Architecture*, in: *Art Bull.*, 54, 1972, pp. 146-157. One discussion of the composite order, contemporary with Michelangelo and Bartoli, is found in *Vasari-Milanesi*, I, pp. 135-137. This discussion, which begins with Alberti (above note 43), always proceeds in the terms of an eclectic combination of the elements of the primary orders. Alberti, as well as Bartoli, was alive to the possibility of extending this series; witness: Alberti's capitals on the facade of S. Francesco, Rimini, and his comment, Bk. VII, Chap. viii, *Il capitello italico riunisce in sé gli ornamenti di tutti gli altri... Oltre ai sudetti [capitelli], capita di vedere molti altri capitelli composti di elementi provenienti dell'uno o dell'altro, o risultanti dall'aggiunta o dall'eliminazione di qualche pezzo. Non sono peraltro raccomandati dai competenti*. (*Alberti-Orlandi-Portoghesi*, pp. 584 and 586).

APPENDIX

Cosimo Bartoli on Michelangelo's "nuovo ordine"

Although Bartoli's dialogue on Michelangelo's architecture constitutes one of a quite small number of contemporary critical documents concerning his architecture, it has not been noted in the literature on Michelangelo. The related texts have been most recently considered by David Summers (note 44 above), who argues that Michelangelo affirms "the essential autonomy of both architect and architecture from the bonds of nature and the classical orders" (*RILA, Demonstration Issue, 1973, no. 714, author's summary*). Summers' exposition may also be consulted as a bibliographical guide to these texts and their discussion. In as much as the reading of any one of the early texts is somewhat dependent upon all the rest, the addition of another text suggests that the interpretation of this body of criticism be re-examined. In addition to the literature mentioned by Summers and the authors he cites, note should be taken of Alessandro Parronchi, *Michelangelo e Vitruvio. Nel 1520 sei giovani fiorentini studiosi e artisti iniziano col Buonarroti un commento del classico trattato di architettura*, in: *La Nazione, Florence, 14 April 1973, p. 12*; John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture, London, 1963, pp. 11-12*; *idem, Inigo Jones, Harmondsworth, 1966, p. 43*; and Forssman, *Dorico, ionico, corinzio, pp. 8-9, et passim*. Bartoli's hopeful, liberal approach to the rules of art clearly should not be confused with a genuine anti-classicism. It is noteworthy that Bartoli was found in the modernist camp in the two sixteenth-century literary debates concerning Dante and the Italian language, which foreshadowed the somewhat later quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, the family feud of classicism which lasted well into the next century and beyond (Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, 2 vols., Chicago, 1961*). Many of the same issues come to the fore in Bartoli's remarks on Michelangelo's architectural invention, the text of which follows (*Ragionamenti accademici, pp. 1 b-2 b*). The original punctuation has been retained and only indicated abbreviations have been resolved.

Messer Agnolo della Stufa. Ditemi un poco, io so che voi doveste nel disegnare questa facciata osservare qualche ordine o Dorico, o Ionico, o Corintio, di qual di questi in vero vi serviste voi?

Messer Cosimo Bartoli. Del Dorico Messer Agnolo, piu che di alcuno altro; ma non però lo volli osservare appunto come gli Antichi.

M. A. Perché?

M. C. Dirovvi, gli antichi come voi sapete si servivano di questo ordine nel fare quelle sorti di muraglie, che ei volevano, che fussino sode gagliarde, et stabilissime, et per dire brevemente, che servissino quasi che per basa de gli altri ordini Ionici, Corinthij, o Compositi, che vi havessino ad andare sopra, quando volevano che le muraglie loro havessino piu d'un'ordine l'uno sopra l'altro. Ma io in questo luogo, havendo Monsignor di Cortona [*Giovanbattista Ricasoli*], desiderio che la casa di questo giardino si habitasse per stanze principali a terreno, non volendo di sopra altre stanze che a tetto, mi deliberai di fare la muraglia quanto piu svelta et quanto piu rilevata io poteva.

M. A. Adunque vi potevi voi servire dello ordine Corintio che è piu svelto che il Dorico?

M. C. Potevo certo, ma due cagione mi feciono risolvere al Dorico.

M. A. Et quali?

M. C. L'una il volere haver rispetto alla borsa del Cortona che non era molto gagliarda; et l'altra fu che io ho havuto sempre in venerazione le cose di Michelagnolo Buonarroti.

Messer Vincenzo Martelli. Voi havete ragione a questo, ma dove havete voi veduto che Michelagnolo si sia servito dell'ordine Dorico, et non l'abbia osservato come gl'Antichi?

M. C. Nello Spogliatoio della libreria, che comincio Papa Clemente VII. in S. Lorenzo, et che hoggi per ordine della Eccellenza del Duca Cosimo si va finendo, si servì Michelagnolo nel far le Colonne, della Maniera Dorica; ma non osservò già le misure degli Antichi.

M. V. Enne egli per questo biasimato o lodato?

M. C. Secondo da chi, voi sapete che nature di huomini sono hoggi a Firenze, quanto al gusto della Architettura. Io per uno lo lodo grandemente, perché se egli ha variato dagli Antichi, egli ha tenuta una proporzione nelle cose sue, che è molto grata a chi la riguarda, et diletta molto chi accortamente la considera.

M. V. Ei non si puo negare, ma questo variare è molto difficile.

M. C. Voi dite il vero, ma quando nelle cose della Architettura si varia in maniera, che egli si satisfaccia alla maggior parte degli huomini, o a quegli che hanno miglior iudizio degli altri, questa certamente è cosa molto lodabile; Et io sono uno di quegli, ancor che io mi intenda poco di queste cose, che giudico che chi sa far questo, si come hà fatto il nostro Michelagnolo, non sia punto inferiore a gli Antichi, pure io me ne rimetto al iudizio vostro et di Messer Agnolo.

M. A. Veramente del Buonarroto non si puo dire tanto bene che sia bastante, per lodarlo quanto sono i meriti suoi, perche se bene egli variò in quelle colonne come fece ancora in quelle che sono alla porta del Monasterio di S. Appollonia, egli non pose però un Capitello dove ordinariamente hà da stare la basa, ne messe al Capitello una maschera coprendoli quasi che il mostaccio con una mensola; ne ingrossando o stravolgendo sconciamente le Membra fece apparire come Monstri¹, quelle belle proporzioni che gli antichi usarono nelle cose loro; che ancora per tutta Italia si veggono in infiniti luoghi molto celebrate; ne andò dietro quasi che al peggio delle cose, talche e' paresse che egli in questa nostra età nella quale gli huomini sono tanto iudiziosi et accorti, che non sono forse da manco che gli Antichi, volesse parere senza iudizio, o accorgimento, in rinnovare quella manieraccia vecchia Todesca, che da un cinquecento anni adietro, confusa senza ordine o regola alcuna che buona fusse, era quasi che usata per tutto; Anzi mostrando la grandezza del bello ingegno suo, esaminate diligentemente le cose degli Antichi, ingegnanandosi non solamente di volergli immitare, cercò con la prontezza del suo divino ingegno di trovare un' nuovo ordine; et però con maestà, con grandezza, con leggiadria, et con satisfattione universale, diede una conveniente, et bella proporzione alquanto piu lunga allo ordine Dorico, non men lodevole invenzione, che si fusse alcuna di quelle de gli Antichi, quando andarono investigando et variando l'una per l'altra.

M. C. Così la giudico ancor'io, et per questa cagione mi piacque, et nella porta et nelle colonne che sono poi dentro in quella parte che è fatta della casa, di seguitare questa invenzione di Michelagnelo. (See Figs. 4, 5).

¹ See *Horace*, *Ars Poetica*, lines 1-14 and throughout; *Francisco de Hollanda*, *Dialoghi Romani con Michelangelo*, Milan, 1964, pp. 69-73 (Dialogue 3); and *Summers*, pp. 150-151.

RIASSUNTO

L'attribuzione tradizionale a Michelangelo della porta di S. Apollonia in Via San Gallo a Firenze — che peraltro è stata riproposta dal professor Tolnay non molti anni fa — si è dimostrata giusta sulla base di una testimonianza esplicita di Cosimo Bartoli, testimonianza trovata nei suoi "Ragionamenti accademici" (Venezia 1567). La stesura finale del libro fu fatta, però, negli anni fra il 1550 e il 1552 circa, quindi la porta esisteva già a quel tempo. Da questo cade l'attribuzione moderna al Dosio, un'attribuzione ormai largamente accolta.

Per valutare la testimonianza di Bartoli (oltre alla sua ben nota attività di traduttore dell'Alberti) vengono qui esaminati i suoi rapporti con diversi artisti fra i quali lo stesso Michelangelo. Questi rapporti risultano frequenti, numerosi, e di lunga durata. Fra l'altro egli forniva schemi iconografici al Vasari, all'Ammannati ed al Camilliani e progettò almeno un'architettura michelangiotesca.

Poi vengono trattati i non pochi restauri della porta di S. Apollonia e i dati — disegni e stampe — che eventualmente potrebbero dare una giusta base per la sua ricostruzione ad uno stato pressoché originale. L'anonimo disegno cinquecentesco della porta (Metropolitan Museum), messo in evidenza dal Tolnay, sembra anzi la copia di un disegno del Dosio (Uffizi) molto simile a questo.

La conferma bartoliana appare nel contesto di una sua breve trattazione dell'architettura di Michelangelo, la quale non è stata notata nella vasta discussione della critica michelangiotesca. Il testo ha in sé un non irrilevante interesse e per la critica cinquecentesca dell'architettura del Buonarroto (la quale è composta di pochissimi testi) è già abbastanza importante. Sicché il testo è ristampato in un'appendice con un breve commento.

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Alinari: Fig. 1. — *Metropolitan Museum, New York*: Figs. 2, 3. — *KIF (Luigi Artini)*: Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15. — *Sopr. Gall., Florence*: Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12. — *Carolyn Wilson*: Fig. 13.