A Leaf from the Scholz Scrapbook

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THE MUSEUM'S DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS acquired in 1949 a noteworthy group of architectural drawings now known as the Scholz Scrapbook after its donors, Janos Scholz and Mrs. Anne Bigelow Scholz. The ninety-three sheets contain drawings of Renaissance buildings in Rome and Florence, as well as of two antique monuments. There is also a French aspect to the scrapbook. The drawings were purchased in Paris, and there are inscriptions in French on a number of the sheets. Furthermore, these architectural drawings were once bound together with a group of thirty-five sheets of drawings of tomb monuments and fountains that seem to derive from a French sculptor's workshop of around 1575-1610.1 Thus it has been suggested that the scrapbook belonged to a Frenchman traveling through Italy.²

Despite their uncertain provenance, the importance

1. A. Hyatt Mayor, "Prints Acquired in 1949," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 8 (1949-50) p. 160; Janet S. Byrne, "Design for a Tomb," MMA Bulletin 15 (1956-57) pp. 155-164; Janet S. Byrne, "Monuments on Paper," MMA Bulletin 25 (1966-67) pp. 24-29. The present study was initially based upon a set of photographs of the scrapbook's architectural drawings. We are grateful to Janet Byrne, Curator, Department of Prints and Photographs, for allowing us to study these drawings during a visit to the Museum. Subsequently she offered valuable revisions of our descriptions of the contents of the entire scrapbook and showed us several ways to improve our conclusions. These are to be seen only in the context of the ninety-three sheets of drawings of Roman and Florentine monuments, some single leaves, and some double spreads, some with drawings on both sides. The appellation "Scholz draftsman" is a conventional one. It does not imply that a "Scholz Master" is responsible for these drawings, which are the work of several hands. Since our study was completed (1974), other drawings from the scrapbook have been discussed by Craig Hugh Smyth and Henry Millon in a study of St. Peter's, Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 16 (1976) pp. 137-206.

2. Frances Land Moore, "A Contribution to the Study of the

of the Scholz drawings of Italian buildings has been widely recognized.³ Yet the study of individual drawings and groups within the scrapbook has often raised as many questions as it has answered.⁴ Where were the drawings made, and when? (The datings proposed for individual sheets range from the 1550s to the 1570s.5) Were they made from measurements taken on the building sites or in the studio from working drawings? Clearly, several hands were at work in the scrapbook, and, as has been noted, at least one of these appears to have been French. Certainly the series of drawings extends the promise of new evidence for the history of many Renaissance buildings, but, until more is known of the circumstances in which the scrapbook came into being, the documentary value of its individual sheets will be often difficult to assess.

Though it has not been stated explicitly, one thing

Villa Giulia," Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 12 (1969) p. 191.

3. See notes 1, 2, and Charles de Tolnay, Michelangelo III (Princeton, 1948) p. 164, fig. 165; Anthony Blunt, "Two Unpublished Plans of the Farnese Palace," MMA Bulletin 19 (1960–61) pp. 15–17; James S. Ackerman, review of Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk, Art Bulletin 44 (1962) p. 243; Rudolf Wittkower, La cupola di San Pietro di Michelangelo (Florence, 1964) Appendix 2; Charles de Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings Related to Michelangelo: The Scholz Scrapbook in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," Stil und Überlieferung, Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964 II (Berlin, 1967) p. 64; and Luitpold Dussler, Michelangelo-Bibliographie, 1927–1970 (Wiesbaden, 1974) p. 238.

4. Note especially Moore, "Villa Giulia," pp. 191–192, and compare Wittkower, *Cupola*, pp. 101–107 with Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," pp. 66–67.

5. In addition to the works cited above, see Heinrich Wurm, Der Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (Berlin, 1965) p. 53, and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance II (Tübingen, 1973) pp. 6, 56, 69, 123, 162, 239, 309.

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that emerges from previous studies of parts of this material is a picture of a body of drawings often based on prior graphic representations. Indeed, this line of investigation holds perhaps the best promise for clarifying the nature of the scrapbook. Wittkower, for instance, noted the close correspondence of some of the Scholz drawings of the cupola of St. Peter's (especially 49.92.1 and 49.92.20^v) with Dupérac's engravings of St. Peter's, concluding that the entire St. Peter's series represents Dupérac's preparatory work for his engravings

FIGURE I

Anonymous 16th-century draftsman, Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia, Florence. Scholz Scrapbook, 49.92.60 recto. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Janos and Anne Bigelow Scholz, in Memory of Flying Officer Walter Bigelow Rosen, 1949



of 1564–65 and copies made in his studio.⁶ Tolnay, however, rejected the view that these drawings are either preparatory drawings for Dupérac's engravings or copies after them.⁷ Nonetheless, Tolnay has noted that seventeen of the Scholz drawings are copies of drawings by Dosio of Michelangelo's Florentine architectural works (Uffizi Dis. 1930A–1939A and 1941A– 1947A).⁸ Similarly, Wurm observed the close connection of the Scholz drawings of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne with other sheets in the Uffizi.⁹ And, in a study

- 6. Wittkower, Cupola, p. 107.
- 7. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 66.
- 8. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 65.
- 9. Wurm, Palazzo Massimo, p. 53.

FIGURE 2

Plan of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Scholz Scrapbook, 49.92.60 verso



of the elaborate Scholz drawings of the Villa Giulia, Frances Land Moore tentatively concluded that the drawings of the Villa Giulia (as well as the Lafreri engravings of it) ultimately derive from earlier drawings made, in part, during the construction of the villa, a body of drawings that included several sheets now in the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. But, since she could not discover a direct, immediate connection between the Scholz sheets and still existing, identifiable drawings, Mrs. Moore suggested that in some cases the Scholz drawings resulted from a conflation of several graphic sources with firsthand measurements executed at the villa itself.¹⁰ Set side by side, these separate studies are suggestive, even if they do not point to a conclusive hypothesis concerning the composition of the Scholz Scrapbook.

As a contribution toward assembling a composite mosaic that may eventually reveal the draftsmenarchitects of the scrapbook at work, one sheet, the recto and verso of 49.92.60, will be examined here. The graphic source of this leaf can be securely identified in a surviving drawing, thus affording the opportunity to observe in a single instance the working methods of one of the Scholz draftsmen.

The drawing shows the elevation and plan of Michelangelo's portal of the former church of Sant'Apollonia in Florence (Figures 1, 2).¹¹ It belongs to one of the three groups of drawings after Michelangelo's architectural works that Tolnay has isolated within the scrapbook.¹² These drawings in pen and ink, sometimes washed in bister, are dated by Tolnay to shortly after 1556. He suggests that their draftsman was an Italian of Vasari's day.¹³ And, according to Tolnay, the drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal was executed directly from the actual doorway, with measurements taken on the site.

However, the Scholz drawing of the portal was in fact copied from an identical drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio in the Uffizi (Dis. 3018A; Figures 3, 4). While the recto of the Uffizi drawing was published by

10. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 192.

11. On Michelangelo's authorship of the portal, see Charles Davis, "Cosimo Bartoli and the Portal of Sant'Apollonia by Michelangelo," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 19 (1975) pp. 261–276.

12. Tolnay, "Newly Discovered Drawings," pp. 64-65.

13. Tolnay, Michelangelo III, p. 164; Tolnay, "Michelangelo a Firenze," Atti del Convegno di Studi Michelangioleschi, Firenze-Roma 1964 (Rome, 1966) p. 21; "Newly Discovered Drawings," p. 65.



FIGURE 3

Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3018A recto (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Sopr. Gallerie, Florence)

figure 4

Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Plan of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3018A verso





FIGURE 5

Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Details of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3019A recto (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Sopr. Gallerie, Florence)

Wachler in a small illustration, the verso was not.¹⁴ The similarity of the Scholz and Uffizi sheets is apparent at a glance. A closer look at the two drawings reveals that the inscriptions and measurements are identical and that they are punctuated and positioned in precisely the same way. This identity is documented in our Appendix. Yet, even aside from such a detailed comparison, the higher quality of Dosio's drawing, evident even in photographs, suggests that it is the original. And, too, the Scholz draftsman erred in copying the top line of

14. Ludwig Wachler, "Giovannantonio Dosio," Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte 4 (1940) p. 185, fig. 118.



figure 6

Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Elevation of the Entablature of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. Uffizi 3019A verso

the door opening, and the evidence of his correction remains visible.

Simply in the terms of a line drawing, the exactitude with which the Scholz draftsman follows Dosio is as striking as his painstaking carrying over of inscriptions and measurements. Less sure without ruler in hand, he still attempts to reproduce Dosio's washes faithfully. But it is telling that he has also maintained the horizontal and vertical proportions of Dosio's drawing throughout his own. This, together with the fidelity of his copy, first suggested to us that he resorted to a mechanical process in transferring Dosio's drawing to his page. And this suspicion was borne out, for when the two drawings were measured their dimensions matched exactly. In both, the aperture of the door is 21 cm. high, 10.5 cm. wide; the greatest height of the portal, 33.7 cm.; the greatest width, 24.9 cm.; the pediment 20 cm. across. Thus it is clear that the Scholz drawing was transferred at the drawing board from the Uffizi sheet.

One marked difference between the drawings lies in the evidence of their construction, which remains visible on their surfaces. Uffizi 3018A is crisscrossed with inked and uninked construction lines. An uninked incised construction line drawn with a compass cuts vertically through the center of the portal, and others establishing the lateral jambs and the inset of the columns, run through the entire drawing. Numerous horizontal construction lines are concentrated in the steps, the column bases, and the entablature. Besides, the drawing bears many compass-point punctures and the paper has been cut by compass indentations at several points. Thus we can be certain that this quite finished drawing was based on sketches and measurements made on the site and later constructed anew at the drafting board. The following sheet, Uffizi 3019A, also apparently drawn in the studio, records just such drawings. Its recto gives measured drawings of details of the base and capitals (Figure 5), and its verso provides a very careful construction of the profile and elevation of the entire entablature with nearly sixty measurements (Figure 6).

For his elevation of the portal the Scholz draftsman, on the contrary, required few construction lines—a center vertical division and some incised lines in the area of the base. The reason is clear. The Scholz draftsman had his work already done for him. He did not have to reconstruct the portal; he had only to transfer Dosio's drawing onto his page. And, aside from transporting measurements, he may have also traced. Certainly the vestiges of the construction process evident on the surface of Dosio's drawing provide a further confirmation of its priority over the Metropolitan's sheet.

In one respect, at least, the Scholz draftsman failed to comprehend the conception of Dosio's elevation. As a natural consequence of his method of copying he reproduced faithfully all of Dosio's rendering that is contained in a flat architectural elevation (Figure 7). But Dosio's is an unusually beautiful architectural drawing, enlivened with a rich variety of washes. In this



FIGURE 7

Diagram of the Plan and Elevation of the Portal of Sant'Apollonia. The letters correspond to the Appendix

respect the Scholz draftsman is timid and listless. Dosio's washes are, however, purposeful as well as ornamental. He provides something more tangible than a flat diagram of the portal and, at the same time, suggests a dual view of it. In the development of the washes there is a left-right differentiation akin to that of architectural drawings that offer alternative solutions on the left and right sides. Here, however, the differentiation is descriptive rather than projectural. At the left Dosio stresses the volume of the column, which, within the limits of a frontal elevation, is shown in perspective. The torus and the fillets of the capital are curved (this is surely intentional since a lightly inked construction line bisects the torus) and the corresponding members of the column base are also slightly curved, an effect underlined by the dark wash that models the column base.

At the right Dosio depicts, instead, the lateral development of the entire portal in depth. This view of the portal is essentially nonperspectival, although the fillets of the capital retain a very slight curvature. For instance, the dark washing of the inset at the left of the column sets both the lateral jamb and the column in relief, and the long broad wash running down the length of the right side of the portal defines both the inset and the plane of the wall of the façade, which lies behind that of the lateral door jamb. Moreover, this descriptive process can be observed in other details as well.

The Scholz copyist fails to see this double aspect of Dosio's conception. While Dosio's washes on the right side of his drawing are deeper than on the left, the Scholz draftsman reverses this relationship; in general he does not perceive the descriptive rationale of Dosio's washes.

Two other differences between the drawings deserve mention. First, the Scholz draftsman introduces an indented profile into the frame over the door aperture. While he did not find this on Dosio's elevation, he probably derived it from a companion sheet (Figure 5) that gives this detail of the portal. And second, in Dosio's elevation, at the right of the pediment and architrave, a curious repetition of the profile of these architectural members has been penciled in over the wash. This detail does not correspond to the actual portal construction, and in Dosio's drawing it is very nearly hidden by the dark wash. But the Scholz draftsman draws this detail neatly into his drawing so that it appears, somewhat incongruously, as part of the portal architecture.

On the balance, however, the Scholz draftsman is a quite exact copyist. He conceives his copy essentially in terms of a linear design, as an architectural draftsman practiced in the tricks of the drawing board, who effects his copy in the most efficient way he can. He appreciates far less the pictorial effects of Dosio's drawing and is less at home in reproducing them. Paradoxically, it is as if he espouses a view Dosio himself expressed when trying to sell a set of architectural drawings to Niccolò Gaddi: "Io non l'ho ombrate, parendomi che servino più così, non si curando d'ornamenti di carte ma che sieno con le sue misure più intelligibili, perché l'acquerello offusca i numeri."¹⁵

One wonders how the Scholz draftsman gained access to Dosio's drawing. Moreover, in addition to the seventeen copies after his drawings of Michelangelo's Florentine architecture in the Uffizi, identified by Tolnay, Wurm has noted that the Scholz drawings of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne in Rome are very closely related to two further sheets by Dosio, Uffizi 371A and 3244A.¹⁶ Thus the provenance of the scrapbook's architectural drawings appears, in part, to be closely associated with the rich stock of such drawings that Dosio made and accumulated.

Fortunately this connection can be secured, for the paper of the Scholz drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal and the companion sheet of Dosio's elevation, Uffizi 3019A, bear the same watermark. Uffizi 3018A is for the most part backed, and no watermark is discernible. However, it is so intimately connected with 3019A that both were clearly made at the same time. The watermark is found only in Italian paper of around 1566-72.17 Given this remarkable coincidence of image and watermark, it is difficult not to conclude that the Scholz sheet was made by an artist who found himself in Dosio's studio, perhaps even with paper borrowed from Dosio's own supply, and presumably around the same time that the Uffizi drawings, 3018A and 3019A, were executed-probably in the years around 1570 and in Rome, where Dosio was to be found at this time,18 rather than in Florence. Uffizi 3018A and

15. Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura, ed. Giovanni Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, III (Milan, 1822) p. 301.

16. Wurm, Palazzo Massimo, p. 53; see also Frommel, Römische Palastbau, II, p. 239.

17. Charles-Moïse Briquet, Les Filigranes (Leipzig, 1923) no. 6097.

18. For Dosio, see especially Wachler, "Dosio," pp. 143-251; Antonio Pinelli, Dizionario Enciclopedico di Architettura e Urbanistica II (1960) s.v. "Dosio"; Carolyn Valone, Giovanni Antonio Dosio and his Patrons (University Microfilms, 1972); Carolyn Valone, "Giovanni Antonio Dosio: The Roman Years," Art Bulletin 58 (1976), pp. 528-541. 3019A, it will be remembered, are studio drawings based on prior on-site measurements and sketches. It can very probably be concluded that the other Scholz copies after Dosio's drawings of Michelangelo's Florentine works were also made in Rome. Thus by far the largest number of drawings of Florentine monuments in the scrapbook were not made on the site, or even in Florence, and consequently the focus of the scrapbook's architectural drawings seems to lie in Rome.¹⁹

Beyond this a few plausible suggestions are possible, for that the Scholz draftsman chose to copy from Dosio is not without significance. In the 1550s and 1560s Dosio was often in Rome, and from 1566 to 1576 his activities were fairly constantly centered there. Aside from his tomb monuments of these years, he was engaged not only as a draftsman in a wide-ranging documentation of ancient monuments and inscriptions as well as modern edifices but also in the sale of his own drawings, and of prints and drawings in his possession.²⁰ These activities brought him into contact with the circle of publishers, printers, and sellers of prints and drawings who were involved in the common enterprise of disseminating the image of ancient and modern Rome throughout Europe. Among Dosio's many projects some were never completed, for instance, his archaeological and epigraphical volume, or his survey of ancient and modern buildings in carefully measured drawings for an architectural treatise, but other projects reached fruition. In 1561 his plan of Rome was published by Bartolomeo Faleti, in 1565 Bernardo Gamucci's Libri quattro delle antichità della città di Roma appeared with twenty-four woodcuts based on Dosio's drawings, and then in 1569 his fifty views of Rome were

published by Giovanni Battista De' Cavalieri in the Urbis Romae aedificiorum illustriumquae supersunt reliquiae.²¹

Frenchmen such as Antonio Lafreri and Étienne Dupérac figured prominently in this circle of printers and publishers. In fact, Dosio had dealings with Lafreri and his partners Antonio and Francesco Salamanca,²² and an anonymous French draftsman, identified tentatively as Dupérac by Fabriczy,²³ provided eight of the preparatory drawings for Dosio's Urbis Romae.²⁴ Such large publishing enterprises as Lafreri's Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae drew on the work of a number of draftsmen in Rome, some of whom were French.²⁵ And Dosio apparently found a market for his own drawings. He, too, perhaps utilized copyists to increase his output, for he felt it necessary to specify certain of the architectural drawings that he offered for sale to Niccolò Gaddi as "di mia mano."²⁶

Thus it should not be surprising to discover some of the draftsmen of the Scholz Scrapbook at work in this ambit frequented by French artists. This picture agrees with that suggested by the connection of some of the scrapbook drawings with Lafreri's *Speculum* and with Dupérac's engravings by Moore and Wittkower.²⁷ In any event the Scholz copy of Dosio's drawing of the Sant'Apollonia portal cautions against forming conclusions concerning the nationality of the draftsmen of the scrapbook's architectural drawings simply on the basis of the language of the inscriptions, for the draftsman of Scholz 49.92.60 transcribes completely and accurately, even imitating an occasional mannerism of the script in his model.²⁸

19. Cf. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 191.

20. See especially Wachler, "Dosio," pp. 201-205, 224-238.

21. Modern reprint under title *Le antichità di Roma*, intro. Franco Borsi (Rome, Edizioni Colombo, 1970).

22. Wachler, "Dosio," p. 204, and Bottari-Ticozzi, Lettere, III, pp. 308, 309.

23. Cornelis von Fabriczy, "Il libro di schizzi d'un pittore olandese nel museo di Stuttgart," Archivio storico dell'arte 6 (1893) p. 114.

24. Wachler, "Dosio," p. 204.

25. See Christian Hülsen, "Das Speculum Romanae Magnifi-

centiae des Antonio Lafreri," Collectanea Variae Doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki (Munich, 1921) pp. 121-170.

26. Bottari-Ticozzi, Lettere III, p. 300. For Dosio and Gaddi, see especially Valone, Dosio and his Patrons, pp. 166-243.

27. Moore, "Villa Giulia," p. 191, and Wittkower, *Cupola*, pp. 101, 102, 103, 107; see also Frommel, *Römische Palastbau*, II, p. 6 and III, Pl. 6g and 6h.

28. Compare in the two drawings the horizontal inscriptions beginning "el vano" and note such peculiarities as "i" rather than "1."

Appendix

Here are transcribed the measurements and other inscriptions found on the recto and verso of Dosio's drawing (Uffizi 3018A) and the Metropolitan's copy (49.92.60). The letters indicate the positions on Figure 7. "I" on the Uffizi drawing is a marginal notation that the Scholz draftsman did not reproduce. Slight discrepancies in punctuation occur in "K" and "b." The inscription at the bottom of the recto of the Metropolitan's sheet may not have been found on Dosio's drawing, which, in any case, has been cut along the bottom edge.

RECTO

A Uff.: b1.d6 Met.: b 1.d6 B Uff.: b I S I - 9Met.: b 1 s 1 - 9 C Uff.: $s_{11} - 9$ Met .: s 11 -9 D Uff.: s 10 d 1 Met.: s 10 d 1 E Uff.: s 13 Met.: s 13 F Uff.: s_5^2 Met.: $s \frac{2}{5}$ G Uff.: s¹₅ Met.: s_5^1 H Uff.: s I Met.: s_{10}^{I} I Uff.: $\frac{2}{7}$ d 4 Met.: vacant K Uff.: el fusto senza il collarino b 6-s 5 - d 3 Met.: el fusto senza il collarino b 6-s 5 d 3 L Uff.: el vano b 6. s 19 di Met.: el vano b 6 . s 19 di M Uff.: s8.9 Met .: s 8 . 9 N Uff.: s^I_{IO} Met.: s

- O Uff.: el vano b 3. s 10 Met.: el vano b 3. s 10 P Uff.: s 16. Met.: s 16. Q Uff.: s_{11}^{2} *Met.:* s^{2.}₁₁ R Uff.: s 6.8 Met .: s 6.8 S Uff.: 6.6 Met.: 6.6 T Uff.: 2 Met.: vacant U Uff.: 6.6 Met.: 6.6 V Uff.: 2 Met.: 2 W Uff.: s 6.6 Met.: s 6.6 Y Uff.: s 16. 5 Met.: s 16. 5
- Met.: Porta di S^{ta} app^olonia Munisterio in fiorenza Di mano Di Michelagnolo buonaroti / Misurata aluso fiorentino cioe el b partito in 20 soldi et ogni soldo in denari-12--

VERSO

a Uff.: pianta della passata / porta Met.: pianta della passata / porta b Uff.: s 17 2: Met.: s 17. 2 c Uff.: 17.10 Met.: 17. 10 d Uff.: 16.5 Met.: 16.5 e Uff.: s7d8 Met.: s 7 d 8 f Uff.: 7.2 Met.: 7.2 g Uff.: s 1. 3 Met .: s 1. 3 h Uff.: s 9.8 Met.: s 9.8 i Uff.: s 11.5 Met.: s 11.5