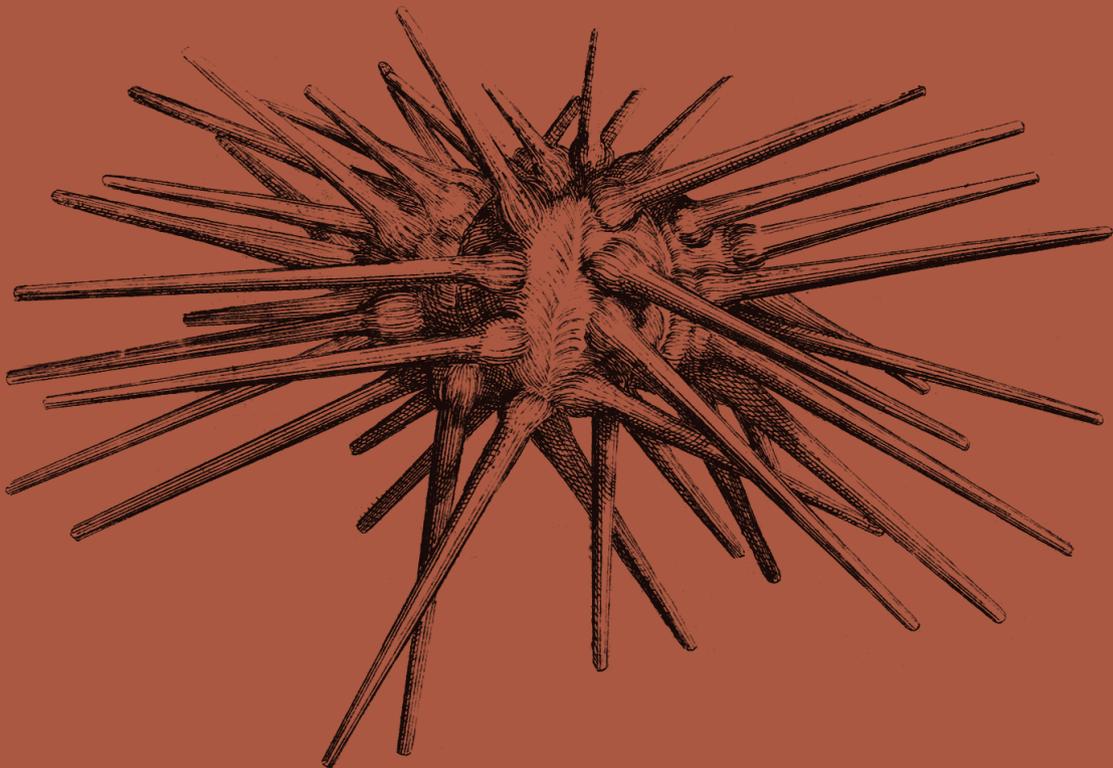


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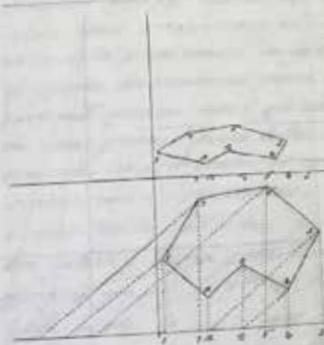
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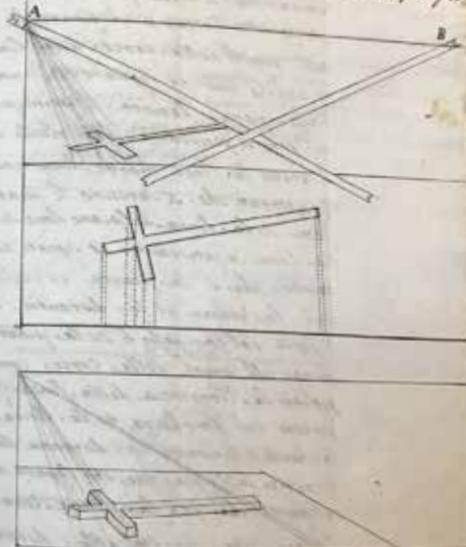
Dislocazione, musealizzazione e ricezione dei reperti pompeiani: il caso delle colonne a mosaico

Nel disegno di prospettiva più comune che l'humano
 si serve con la sua distanza come se avanti a
 non havessero et aver voluto servirsi di questo
 termine una sopra il punto della veduta et la linea
 di terra per chi sono egualmente distanti l'uno
 ma l'altro dalla veduta come si vede nel disegno
 questo tutti che si può formare con qualunque
 le quattro distanze et se non aver questa
 similitudine più necessaria che tanto si è ma si può
 solo mostrare la forza dell'arte.



Quando a fare in prospettiva qualunque forma
 circolare come la sopra segnata, fatto che
 la pianta in quel modo et portate che
 ma vuole et tirata la linea piana
 detta figura quel tanto che la

veduta che alla parete, et la linea come
 detto la detta figura quanto si vuole fare
 da banda a veduta si procede per nel modo
 detto di sopra, cioè che tirate la linea sotto
 alla veduta et le diagonali alla distanza
 dove intersecheranno insieme saranno i punti
 della quale saranno notate le linee in perspe
 tiva.



In questa seconda regola fin hora si è trattato di
 fare superficie piane hora si tratta di

1 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. 1300, fol. 7v-8r

ZACCOLINI, DAL POZZO, AND LEONARDO'S WRITINGS IN ROME AND MILAN

Janis Bell

in memory of Carlo Pedretti (1928–2018)

The Zaccolini–Leonardo Connection

Long before Carlo Pedretti discovered the Zaccolini manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1972, Fra Matteo Zaccolini's name was connected with Leonardo da Vinci.¹ In 1780, Giuseppe Maria Muccioli (fl. 1740–1794) published a catalogue of the books in the Biblioteca Malatestiana in Cesena, the birthplace of the painter-writer, to which he added a full transcription of an unpublished biography of Zaccolini written by Cassiano dal Pozzo. In this text, dal Pozzo described Zaccolini's *Prospettiva del colore* as a commentary on Leonardo's still unpublished *Trattato della pittura*:

Il quarto intitolato Prospettiva del Colore [...], nella quale ha spiegato moltissime cose, che appartengono al Trattato di Lionardo da Vinci in scritto Opinione di Lionardo da Vinci circa il modo di dipingere Prospettive, Ombre, Lontananze, Altezze, Bassezze da presso, da discosto, e altre. Dal qual Trattato di Lionardo, come haveva visto molte cose da quello scritte con carattere alla rovescia, così il detto Matteo s'assuefece a quella ragione di scrivere, e molte delle sue fatiche, acciò non fossero alla prima intese da ognuno l'haveva con facilità grande, e con carattere assai agiustato prese a scrivere in quella maniera.²

Muccioli had received dal Pozzo's note from the librarian of the Biblioteca Albani in the Vatican, Gaetano Marini, who had recently prepared an index

¹ This discovery was announced in Carlo Pedretti, "The Zaccolini Manuscripts", in: *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXXV (1972), pp. 39–53.

² Giuseppe Maria Muccioli, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Malatestianae*

Caesenatis bibliothecae [...], Cesena 1780, I, pp. 117f. This passage has been noted by Francesca Guidolin, *Il colore della lontananza: Matteo Zaccolini, pittore e teorico di prospettiva*, Ph.D. diss. Università Ca' Foscari, Venice, 2015, p. 22. Dal Pozzo's original note is now in BUM, ms. H 267, fol. 26r–28v.

of the Albani collection, where Cassiano dal Pozzo's copies of the Zaccolini manuscripts were then conserved.³ In looking into the biography and papers of the Cesenate nobleman Scipione Chiaramonti for his catalogue of the Biblioteca Malatestiana, Muccioli discovered that the philosopher had started an academy in Cesena where he taught perspective, scenography, drawing, and philosophy.⁴ Matteo Zaccolini was his best student.

Yet already eighty years earlier, in a brief entry in his *Abeceario pittorico* (1704), Pellegrino Orlandi had noted Zaccolini's study of "the books of Lionardo da Vinci", crediting Giovanni Baglione (1642) as his source.⁵ Baglione may have relied on dal Pozzo's biographical note, but he probably also knew Zaccolini personally, since both had simultaneously lived and worked in Rome for thirty years, leaving open the possibility that he had actually seen the manuscripts themselves.⁶ To the extent that Baglione records Zaccolini's posthumous reputation, however, it seems relatively clear that the value of both Zaccolini's and Leonardo's writings were no mystery to Roman artists before 1630. Nevertheless, some historians have argued that Leonardo was either un-

known or of very little interest to Romans in the first third of the seventeenth century – a conclusion I hope to dispel in this essay.

In 1958, Carlo Pedretti rediscovered dal Pozzo's biography and published it as an appendix to Kate Traumann Steinitz's invaluable catalogue of Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura*, sparking speculations about Zaccolini's role as a "young assistant" to Cassiano dal Pozzo in preparing Leonardo's writings for publication.⁷ Zaccolini was imagined to have received books from dal Pozzo for his research on color, to have provided information to Cassiano about Leonardo's autograph manuscripts in Milan, and to have borrowed copies of Leonardo writings from the Barnabite Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta.⁸ Although few of these hypotheses can be sustained by the chronology of the two men's lives, they still persist in recent literature.⁹ The quincennial celebrations of Leonardo in 2019 provide an occasion to sort out what we do know about Zaccolini's study of Leonardo's manuscripts and how this bears upon the study of Leonardo in Rome in the decades preceding the publications of his *Trattato della pittura* in Italian and in French translation in Paris in 1651.¹⁰

³ Marini's index of the Albani collection is in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. lat. 9112; the entry on the Zaccolini manuscripts is on fol. 20r.

⁴ Francesca Guidolin, "Scipione Chiaramonti e i suoi allievi: dalle regole della prospettiva al ragionamento delle scene", in: *Illusione scenica e pratica teatrale: atti del convegno internazionale di studi in onore di Elena Povoledo*, ed. by Maria Ida Biggi, Florence 2016, pp. 210–219.

⁵ Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi, *Abeceario pittorico: nel quale compendiosamente sono descritte le Patrie, i Maestri, ed i tempi, ne' quali fiorirono circa Quattro mila Professori di Pittura, di Scultura, e d'Architettura*, Bologna 1704, p. 157.

⁶ Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti: dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di papa Urbano Ottavo nel 1642*, Rome 1642, pp. 316f.; on his research methods and critical approach, see Maryvelma Smith O'Neil, *Giovanni Baglione: Artistic Reputation in Baroque Rome*, Cambridge/New York 2002, pp. 186–192.

⁷ Kate Traumann Steinitz, *Leonardo da Vinci's Trattato della Pittura*, Copenhagen 1958, p. 95. The biography was republished in full in Pedretti (note 1) and in Carlo Pedretti, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci: A Commentary to Jean Paul Richter's Edition*, Berkeley 1977.

⁸ For some examples, see Silvia Ginzburg Carignani, "Domenichino e Giovanni Battista Agucchi", in: *Domenichino 1581–1641*, ed. by Claudio Strinati/Anna Maria Tantillo, Milan 1996, pp. 121–138: 133; Francesco Solinas, *L'uccelliera: un libro di arte e di scienza nella Roma dei primi Lincei*, Florence 2000, p. 75: "Come Giovan Battista Doni e il Domenichino, anche il 'quadaturista' Zaccolini frequentò casa Dal Pozzo nei primi anni Venti"; Helen Glanville, "Nicolas Poussin: Creation and Perception", in: *Kermes*, XXVII/XXVIII (2014), pp. 16–30: 17: "[Cassiano] not only set Matteo Zaccolini to study the manuscripts and prepare them for publication."

⁹ The persistence of such unsubstantiated hypotheses in otherwise fine research speaks to the complexity of navigating the enormous bibliography of Leonardo studies. Claire Farago/Janis Bell/Carlo Vecce, *The Fabrication of Leonardo da Vinci's Trattato della pittura: with a Scholarly Edition of the Italian editio princeps (1651) and an Annotated English Translation*, Leiden 2018, inadvertently contribute to this misconception with the subtitle on p. 27, "Zaccolini's Contribution to Dal Pozzo's Project", although the text itself focuses on dal Pozzo's copy of the manuscripts.

¹⁰ The fullest account is Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9).

Zaccolini and dal Pozzo

Zaccolini was born in Cesena in 1574 and came to Rome in 1599 to find work.¹¹ He joined the Theatines in 1603, spending the remainder of his life as a lay brother at the house of San Silvestro al Quirinale. He wrote a four-volume treatise on color and perspective, some learned discourses on Euclid, and copied Sacrobosco's famous book *De sphaera mundi* in cursive backwards writing.¹² He died at San Silvestro al Quirinale in 1630, with his treatise and other writings still unpublished.

Dal Pozzo came to Rome in 1612 with the education of a young nobleman, was rewarded with entry to the prestigious Accademia dei Lincei in 1622, and in the following year appointed to an administrative post in the household of the new cardinal *nipote*, Francesco Barberini.¹³ The only firm evidence of his interactions with Zaccolini is the short biography he prepared from an autobiographical note.¹⁴ Dal Pozzo's authorship is assumed because the note is bound in a volume of miscellaneous papers that dal Pozzo wrote, received, and had copied,¹⁵ although it is a scribal copy (the hand is similar to that of many manuscripts from the dal Pozzo collection) with a blank space left for the date of Zaccolini's

death. This lacuna indicates that the two men were not close and had few interactions – which is not unexpected given the class differences and the circles in which they moved.¹⁶

In all fairness to Steinitz and Pedretti, it should be said that a note referring to Zaccolini on the title page of Ambrosiana ms. H. 227 inf. (henceforth *m2*)¹⁷ explains why Zaccolini's name became associated with dal Pozzo's publication project. Under the carefully-printed title page of *m2*, a note in corroded ink reads: "A 22 Agosto prestato a Monsignore Albrizzi che sta à Chisi nella Lungara La prospettiva Lineale manoscritto tomo del Padre Matteo Zaccolini ripiena di figure di Carte IO5 senza l'ordine che è di Carte 7", and above it is a note scrawled in pencil that reads: "Monsù Pussino deve restituire uno dell'ombre e lumi con figure appartate". Dal Pozzo's copy of Zaccolini's *Prospettiva lineale* (now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. I2I2³) indeed numbers IO5 sheets and contains a separate table of contents of seven sheets,¹⁸ and the two notes thus do confirm that Zaccolini's treatises were being lent out at the same time as extracts from Leonardo's autograph manuscripts in Milan were being received in Rome, copied, and lent to interested readers.

¹¹ The principle biographies of Zaccolini are Janis Bell, "The Life and Works of Fra Matteo Zaccolini", in: *Regnum Dei*, XLI (1985), pp. 227–258, and Guidolin (note 2).

¹² On this copy, see Domenico Laurenza, "A Copy of Sacrobosco's *Sphaera* in Mirror Script Attributed to Matteo Zaccolini", in: *Illuminating Leonardo: A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating His 70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)*, ed. by Constance Moffatt/Sara Tagliagalamba, Leiden/Boston 2016, pp. 33–47. See also Janis Bell, "A Treatise on Mirrors Attributed to Matteo Zaccolini", in: *Nuncius*, XXXIII (2018), pp. 563–584.

¹³ On the date of his arrival, see Donatella Sparti, "The Dal Pozzo Collection Again: The Inventories of 1689 and 1695 and the Family Archive", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXII (1990), pp. 551–570: 552, note 17. On dal Pozzo's roles in Cardinal Barberini's household, see Lorenza Mochi Onori, "Il cavalier dal Pozzo ministro dei Barberini", in: *I segreti di un collezionista: le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano dal Pozzo 1588–1657*, exh cat., ed. by Francesco Solinas, Rome 2000, pp. 16–20: 19. In addition to the fundamental biography of dal Pozzo by Giovanni Lumbroso, *Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo protettore delle belle arti, fautore della scienza dell'antichità*

nel secolo decimosettimo, con alcuni suoi ricordi e una centuria di lettere, Turin 1874, I have relied on Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1999.

¹⁴ BUM, ms. H 267, fol. 28r: "e il medesimo in una succinta nota di più cose da lui fatte" (quoted from Pedretti [note 1], p. 43). The abbreviations have been expanded here and in subsequent quotations.

¹⁵ On the Montpellier holdings of dal Pozzo and Lincean manuscripts, see Ada Alessandrini, *Cineli lincei a Montpellier*, Rome 1978. On the dispersal of dal Pozzo's library and his "Paper Museum", see *I segreti di un collezionista* (note 13), pp. 121–127.

¹⁶ This conclusion differs from Solinas (note 8), p. 75, who imagines Zaccolini frequenting the house of dal Pozzo with Domenichino and Poussin during the 1620s.

¹⁷ The manuscript designations follow those used on the website www.treatiseonpainting.org and in Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9). Steinitz (note 7), under cat. D.I., pp. 99f., describes *m2*, provides transcriptions, which have been expanded here, and English translations.

¹⁸ See Pedretti (note 1) for a description of the manuscripts.

Although Zaccolini and dal Pozzo were both in Rome by 1612, we know so little about their activities that it is impossible to reconstruct their interactions during the second decade of the seventeenth century. However, we can find ample opportunities for interactions after Maffeo Barberini ascended to the papacy as Urban VIII in 1623, his nephew Francesco was appointed cardinal, and dal Pozzo became Francesco's secretary. The Barberini had a prominent chapel in the Theatine church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, where Zaccolini resided in the spring of 1623.¹⁹ Cassiano dal Pozzo rented a house from the Theatines nearby on the Via dei Chiavari,²⁰ and the Barberini were developing their "casa grande" in the neighborhood of that church.²¹ Furthermore, Francesco Barberini purchased and developed a property on the Quirinal hill next to the church and monastic house of San Silvestro, where Zaccolini spent most of his life.²² Yet all these events took place after Zaccolini had written his treatises, which were largely completed by the time he dated the dedication to *Prospettiva del colore* "1622" during an extended visit to Naples. Since internal evidence points to the writing out of the other three volumes before the front matter was compiled, the conclusion seems inescapable that Zaccolini's Leonardo researches took place earlier, between his

act of profession in 1605 and the year he was granted a sabbatical to 'perfect' his treatise in 1618.²³

Dal Pozzo's Involvement with Leonardo

One curious fact is that dal Pozzo's copies (the volumes later in the Albani collection and now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana) were made close in time to his work on Leonardo's writings,²⁴ which is usually dated to the 1630s on the basis of letters between dal Pozzo (as secretary to Cardinal Barberini) and the Milanese nobleman Galeazzo Arconati, owner of many Leonardo notebooks.²⁵ What is sometimes overlooked is that in the early 1630s a lavish publication of Leonardo's writings was planned. It would have been similar to Bosio's illustrated *Roma sotterranea*, which appeared in 1633 with the financial support of Cardinal Francesco Barberini.²⁶ Barberini was similarly the patron of the planned Leonardo publication,²⁷ and like the Bosio volume that was supplemented with material collected by the editor, Giovanni Severano,²⁸ the Leonardo edition was to be supplemented and enriched with additional material: a reprint of Vasari's life of Leonardo, a memoir by Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta, excerpts of writings culled from the original manuscripts in Milan under the direction of Arconati, new figural illustrations

¹⁹ Cecilia Grilli, "Le cappelle gentilizie della chiesa di Sant'Andrea della Valle: i committenti, i documenti, le opere", in *Sant'Andrea della Valle*, ed. by Alba Costamagna/Daniele Ferrara/Cecilia Grilli, Milan 2003, pp. 69–193: 69–87.

²⁰ Lumbroso (note 13), p. 142. This move took place in 1627.

²¹ Carla Keyvanian, "Concerted Efforts: The Quarter of the Barberini Casa Grande in Seventeenth-Century Rome", in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, LXIV (2005), pp. 292–311: 298.

²² Anthony Blunt, "The Palazzo Barberini: The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini, and Pietro da Cortona", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI (1958), pp. 256–287: 256.

²³ Bell (note 11), p. 246.

²⁴ Janis C. Bell, "Cassiano Dal Pozzo's Copy of the Zaccolini Manuscripts", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LI (1988), pp. 103–125: 114.

²⁵ The correspondence between dal Pozzo and Arconati has been pub-

lished several times, most recently in Patrizia Ferrario, *La 'regia villa': il Castellazzo degli Arconati fra Seicento e Settecento*, Dairago 2000. All references here are to Steinitz (note 7), pp. 218–229.

²⁶ Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, ed. by Giovanni Severano, Rome 1632. Although the date on the frontispiece is 1632, the privilege, printing, and distribution took place in 1633/34 (see Jörg Martin Merz, "Pietro da Cortona und das Frontispiz zu Antonio Bosios *Roma sotterranea*", in: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXX [2003], pp. 229–244: 229).

²⁷ Barberini's patronage role is stated specifically in several letters, where he is called "Cardinale Padrone" (letters of 13 September 1639, 16 November 1639, and 1 December 1639, reprinted in Steinitz [note 7], pp. 221–223).

²⁸ Simon Ditchfield, "Text before Trowel: Antonio Bosio's *Roma Sotterranea* Revisited", in: *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, Woodbridge/Rochester 1997, pp. 343–360: 354.

by Nicolas Poussin, and augmented renditions of the diagrams by Pier Francesco Alberti.²⁹ As Franca Petrucci Nardelli found in her study of Vatican archival documents, this kind of patronage follows an established pattern starting with the cardinal's earlier publications of illustrated volumes in 1625, and which, by the 1630s, had expanded to the purchase of typesets, paper, and the commissioning of designs to be used in Barberini 'press' publications, including some friezes designed by Stefano della Bella.³⁰

Independently of the Arconati–dal Pozzo correspondence, scholars have dated Poussin's pen-and-wash drawings for the treatise on painting to 1633/34.³¹ Furthermore, they have noticed connections between these drawings and certain figures and motifs in Poussin's documented paintings from those years.³² Clearly, Poussin had begun reading and thinking about those illustrations by 1633. The commission to Pier Francesco Alberti, who, as Poussin later wrote, did the plans for *Roma sotterranea*, suggests a similar dating: Alberti's employment was transferred upon the completion of the Bosio project to the next publication envisioned.³³ All this must

have required some planning over a period of years, leaving open the possibility that Zaccolini contributed in some way before his death, although we lack evidence of how and when.

Arconati's support was secured in August 1635.³⁴ In the same year, Mazenta delivered his *Memorie* – not as early as 1630 as sometimes claimed –, when he moved to Rome to take up his promotion as vicar, because he wrote on the same paper that dal Pozzo normally used and stated that Vespino's copy of Leonardo's *Last Supper* was too heavy to be transported to Rome, an issue unlikely to have concerned him in Milan.³⁵ The chronology of the delivered excerpts has also been established from the correspondence between dal Pozzo and Arconati, which lasted from 1635 to 1643.³⁶ Yet at some point in time, this project was abandoned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini and a decision was made to publish the *Trattato* in France.³⁷

When Steinitz published her catalogue in 1958, only 27 prepublication manuscripts were known, and there was considerable confusion about their dates and relationships, a confusion later publications have

²⁹ Alfredo Buccaro, *Leonardo da Vinci: il Codice Corazza nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli con la riproduzione in facsimile del MS XI.D.79*, Naples 2011, and *idem*, "The Codex Corazza and Zaccolini's Treatises in the Project of Cassiano Dal Pozzo for the Spreading of Leonardo's Works", in: *Illuminating Leonardo* (note 12), pp. 19–32, presents the Codex Corazza as the final version of the extra chapters, ready for publication. I believe the Codex Corazza was a presentation copy and disagree with Buccaro's conclusion due to the following factors: the presence of the extra chapters in several manuscript copies of the *Trattato* from dal Pozzo's atelier, references to dal Pozzo's plan to re-organize and adjust Leonardo's orthography in several notes among the transcription of the extra chapters, and dal Pozzo's own statement in the letter he addressed to Arconati on 21 May 1639 that he plans to further edit the material that he is receiving (Steinitz [note 7], p. 229).

³⁰ Franca Petrucci Nardelli, "Il card. Francesco Barberini senior e la stampa a Roma", in: *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, CVIII (1985), pp. 133–198: 137; on della Bella's involvement in designing friezes *ibidem*, p. 154.

³¹ Pierre Rosenberg/Louis-Antoine Prat, *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665: catalogue raisonné des dessins*, Paris 1994/95, I, pp. 240–251, no. 129.

³² Alaine Mérot, *Nicolas Poussin*, New York 1990, p. 285, cat. nos. 186

and 187. Jan Bialostocki, "Poussin et le *Traité de la peinture* de Léonard", in: *Nicolas Poussin*, ed. by André Chastel, Paris 1960, I: *Études*, pp. 133–140, first suggested a close relationship between motifs in these works and the illustrations for the treatise.

³³ The attribution to Pier Francesco Alberti derives from a letter Poussin sent to Abraham Bosse, now lost but considered authentic because Bosse published it several times during the painter's lifetime; see Jean-Pierre Le Goff, "Abraham Bosse, lecteur de Vinci", in: *Léonard de Vinci entre France et Italie: 'miroir profond et sombre'*, conference proceedings Caen 1996, ed. by Silvia Fabrizio-Costa/Jean-Pierre Le Goff, Caen 1999, pp. 55–80.

³⁴ Steinitz (note 7), p. 218, letter of 7 August 1635.

³⁵ "Il Vespino pittor Milanese ne fece coppia molto fedele; se il peso delle tavole non lo rendesse difficile potrebbsi facile hauer in Roma" (quoted from [Giovanni] Ambrogio Mazenta, *Le memorie su Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. by Luigi Gramatica, Milan 1919). On the paper used, see below, p. 317.

³⁶ Buccaro 2011 (note 29).

³⁷ Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), pp. 1–61, give the most comprehensive, accurate history, which includes the significant finding that the books were printed on paper with Cardinal Richelieu's watermark.

unwittingly repeated, including Donatella Sparti in her construction of a radically different history.³⁸ We are, however, getting clarity about the philological tree, which now contains nearly 50 manuscripts.³⁹ All of these manuscripts are copies of the same abridged version of the *Libro di pittura* compiled by Leonardo's student Francesco Melzi.⁴⁰

Manuscripts of the *Trattato* in Rome before 1634

In proposing revisions to the publication history of the *Trattato* advanced by Steinitz and Pedretti, Sparti was especially insistent that there were no copies of Leonardo's writings in Rome before dal Pozzo received the gift of a "libro" from Galeazzo Arconati,⁴¹ a gift intended for their patron Francesco Barberini – as Cassiano acknowledged in a letter dated 16 October 1634 (known in a scribal copy).⁴² Sparti erroneously concluded that the gifted "libro" was another copy of Leonardo's abridged *Libro di pittura* made from the copy in the Ambrosiana (one of the volumes Federico Borromeo purchased from the widow of the renowned Paduan collector Vincenzo Pinelli).⁴³ She then argued that dal Pozzo used that manuscript to prepare the text for the *Trattato della pittura*, by transcribing it into his personal copy (*vb*) before making the clean copy (*sl*) which he presented to Paul Fréart de Chantelou in 1640.⁴⁴ Since Carmen Bambach followed Sparti's conclusions in her magisterial *magnum opus* on Leonardo,⁴⁵ we must consider whether these arguments

merit being repeated and what alternative conclusions can be reached from examining a broader array of evidence.

Starting with the identification of the "libro" in the 16 October letter, the context reveals that dal Pozzo is referring to a book of extracts Arconati prepared for Cardinal Barberini from his own Leonardo manuscripts. Dal Pozzo acknowledged how much effort the work had taken ("et è veramente con commodità di tempo di cavar dalle fatiche di quel ingegno di Leonardo tutto quello che si può") and chided him for putting his son to work when they had already arranged for Padre Antonio Gallo to do most of it ("ma dovrebbe V. S. Ill.ma non affaticar in questo detto buon Padre [Luigi Maria], ma far, come havevo scritto pregar che si facessi al Padre Antonio Gallo").⁴⁶

Second, the 16 October letter, on which Sparti relied, cannot date from 1634 because it refers to Padre Gallo, who did not begin working on the project until Canon Alfieri died on 22 August 1636. It was this event, as well as the earlier death of Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta in 1635, which stalled the transcription and grouping of extracts. In fact, the letter must postdate the one dal Pozzo sent to Padre Gallo on 21 May 1639 asking Gallo to decide whether an enclosed letter written directly to Arconati was appropriate to deliver or not.⁴⁷ Dal Pozzo addressed Gallo as "Molto Reverendo Padre mio Signore Osservandissimo", and in the enclosed letter to Ar-

³⁸ Donatella Sparti, "Cassiano dal Pozzo, Poussin, and the Making and Publication of Leonardo's 'Trattato'", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, LXVI (2003), pp. 143–188.

³⁹ For a complete list of manuscripts with their abbreviations, see Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), pp. l–lii.

⁴⁰ This has been firmly established *ibidem*, pp. 241–262, 561–571, and II47–1255, yet the mistaken assertion that there were additional texts continues to be promulgated, most recently in Carmen Bambach, *Leonardo da Vinci Rediscovered*, New Haven/London 2019, III, p. 493.

⁴¹ Sparti (note 38), p. 145.

⁴² Steinitz (note 7), p. 228.

⁴³ Sparti (note 38), p. 146. Anthony Hobson, "A Sale by Candle in 1608", in: *The Library*, XV/XVI (1971), pp. 215–233, recounts the harrowing tale of the bidding and transport.

⁴⁴ Sparti (note 38), pp. 147f.

⁴⁵ Bambach (note 40), III, p. 314.

⁴⁶ Steinitz (note 7), p. 228.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*: "Invio l'alligato [sic] per il Sig.r Galeazzo Arconati, se lei la giudica che sia a proposito, che però la mando aperto la dia, se no, la stracci, e m'accenni come la dovessi precisamente fare [...]." One of those two letters survived, with the same date, and is a direct appeal to Arconati to get moving with the work he promised to deliver.

conati addressed the count as “Illustrissimo Signore mio Colendissimo”. The letter from 16 October included the additional title “Padrone”.⁴⁸ Dal Pozzo would never have approached Arconati directly in 1634, and then, in 1639, turned to a broker. Indeed, the only acceptable way to approach a man of Arconati’s status, who was neither a familiar nor a friend, was to go through an intermediary, such as Mazenta or Gallo.⁴⁹ By enclosing a direct letter to Arconati and asking Gallo to decide whether or not it was suitable to deliver it, dal Pozzo significantly escalated their formal relationship, a step he took because Cardinal Barberini was getting impatient, as dal Pozzo explained to Padre Gallo: he wanted Arconati to deliver that book in addition to those he already sent (“non solo quello che già è comparso di trattati di Vinci, ma anco quello che s’aspetta dell’ombre e lumi”) and in his direct appeal, was especially complimentary and discreet as he urged Arconati to fulfill his earlier promise.⁵⁰ Dal Pozzo’s plea to Arconati seems to have worked, because, as we saw earlier, Poussin was able to borrow a volume on light and shadow before he left for Paris at the end of 1640.⁵¹ This context places the October letter in 1639⁵² and allows us to look more deeply into other evidence for the presence of Leonardo’s abridged *Libro di pittura* in Rome before 1634.

Cassiano dal Pozzo’s Copies of Leonardo’s Treatise on Painting

Cassiano dal Pozzo’s interest in Leonardo is often dated to 1625, when he accompanied Cardinal Francesco on a diplomatic mission to France where, on a visit to Fontainebleau, he saw the *Mona Lisa* and several other Leonardo paintings in the king’s collection.⁵³ However, we know that early in his life he spent many years in Tuscany, where his father Antonio worked at the Medici court of Grand Dukes Ferdinando and Cosimo II.⁵⁴ There was considerable interest in Leonardo’s treatise in Florence, particularly on the part of the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, which was under the auspices of the grand duke.⁵⁵ Numerous surviving early copies can be associated with Florentine patricians, among them those owned by Niccolò Gaddi (*fm2*), Carlo Concini (*f6*), Lorenzo Giustiniani (*f2*), Giovanni Berti and his son Simone (*ll*), several of whom served as *luogotenente* of the Florentine Accademia. In addition to many anonymous copies of Florentine or Tuscan origin, the painter Stefano della Bella made his own, illustrated copy of the treatise in 1630 (*f4*), as did the painter Francesco Furini in 1632 (*me*). There is also a collaborative illustrated copy by two Florentine painters and Senator Giuliano Bagnesi (*vml*), appointed *luogotenente* on 12 February 1634.⁵⁶ All of these testify to the continu-

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 226f.

⁴⁹ On the significance of titles of address and their changes with increasing status, see Mario Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism*, Chicago 1993, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Steinitz (note 7), p. 228. Dal Pozzo was more circumspect in his letter to Arconati: “e talvolta potrebbe giunger in tempo l’altra parte che di sopra più mi dice il Padre che s’è V.S. Ill.ma compiaciuto di accrescere e far copiare, trattanti dell’ombre e lumi.”

⁵¹ See above, p. 311 and note 17.

⁵² The dating to 1634 must be due either to the scribe’s mistake of a single digit or to the misreading of a ‘9’ as a ‘4’, numbers which look similar in cursive.

⁵³ Juliana Barone, *Leonardo nella Francia del XVII secolo: eredità paradossali*, Florence 2013, p. 8.

⁵⁴ Herklotz (note 13), p. 15.

⁵⁵ New information supporting interest in the abridged *Libro* was presented at the conference *Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519): dal Libro di pittura al Trattato. Circolazione, trasmissione, ricezione delle idee e degli scritti vinciani tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, held 24–25 October 2019 at the Accademia di San Luca, by Vita Segreto, Anna Sconza, and Macarena Moralejo Ortega. The number of copies found in Florence has often been remarked and led Zygmunt Wązbiński, *Il cardinale Francesco Maria Del Monte: 1549–1626*, Florence 1994, to propose that the abridgment of Melzi’s *Libro di pittura* (ms. Vat. Lat. Urb. 1270) took place in Florence before it was secretly sold to the Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere of Urbino; his thesis was supported by Anna Sconza, “La prima trasmissione manoscritta del *Libro di pittura*”, in: *Raccolta Vinciana*, XXXIII (2009), pp. 307–366. For a contrary proposal on the Milanese origins of the abridgment, see Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), pp. 213–240; for the manuscripts mentioned in this paragraph see *ibidem*, pp. 1–lii.

⁵⁶ *Gli Accademici del Disegno: elenco alfabetico*, ed. by Luigi Zangheri, Flor-

ing interest in Leonardo's writings in Florence over a period of more than eighty years.⁵⁷

One early Florentine copy is of particular importance to Rome; this is ms. Laurenziana Acq. e Doni 457 (*fl*2), the copy made by Antonio di Orazio Giamberti da Sangallo, whose position in the court of Ferdinando de' Medici was archivist to the office of the *Suppliche*.⁵⁸ Anna Sconza dated this manuscript to before 1613, when Sangallo lost favor with the transfer of power to Grand Duke Cosimo II and was imprisoned on the charge of extortion.⁵⁹ Pauline Maguire Robison proposed in 2012⁶⁰ that Sangallo's copy (*fl*2) was the source for *vb*, the manuscript dal Pozzo gave to his patron, Cardinal Francesco Barberini.⁶¹ Sconza listed five significant variants which confirmed Robison's hypothesis of their dependency,⁶² and Robison has subsequently taken this work much further to determine that *vb* was penned by Sangallo himself.⁶³ This definitely changes our thinking about the role of *vb* in Rome in the years preceding the dal Pozzo-Barberini-Arconati project.

ence 2000, p. 15. Many thanks to Lisa Goldenberg Stoppato for her help identifying Senator Bagnesi, who died 16 March 1635, which suggests the copy was made in 1634/35. The third hand is Benedetto Pangoni, elected to the Accademia del Disegno in 1649, active until 1670; see the data at www.aadfi.it. This manuscript has not been discussed in the context of manuscript copies associated with Florentine artists and patricians, succinctly summarized in Juliana Barone, "... et de' suoi amici": la prima trasmissione del *Trattato della pittura* di Leonardo", in: *Leonardo da Vinci: 1452–1519. Il disegno del mondo*, exh. cat. Milan 2015, ed. by Pietro Marani/Maria Teresa Fiorio, Milan 2015, pp. 450–461.

⁵⁷ Vita Segreto convincingly attributed *f*3 to a student of Santi di Tito in a paper to be published in the forthcoming proceedings of the 2019 conference at the Accademia di San Luca, for which see note 55. On the same occasion, Macarena Moralejo Ortega supported Farago's attribution of *ce* (Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, ms. 380) to Federico Zuccaro (Farago/Bell/Vecce [note 9], p. 178), but I disagree with this hypothesis.

⁵⁸ Berta Maracchi Biagiarelli, "Antonio d'Orazio d'Antonio da Sangallo (1551–1635), bibliofilo", in: *La Bibliofilia*, LIX (1957), pp. 147–152.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 150f. Anna Sconza, "The Earliest Abridged Copies of the *Libro di pittura* in Florence", in: Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), pp. 241–260: 249.

⁶⁰ Unpublished conference paper delivered at the conference *The Legacy of Leonardo da Vinci: International Collaboration and Global Access*, Charlottesville,

Following my discovery that the paper used in the Zaccolini manuscripts in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana had a watermark that appears frequently in dal Pozzo manuscripts and papers associated with the 1630s publication project (a bird inscribed within a circle on a three-tiered mound),⁶⁴ Francesco Solinas concluded that *vb* must have been made in Rome,⁶⁵ and Juliana Barone concurred.⁶⁶ But we were all mistaken: dal Pozzo was not wealthy and powerful enough to have his own paper made with his own watermark. Instead, he purchased paper from Foligno, which was well-known for writing paper of high quality, most likely through a paper shop in Rome or Florence.

As a matter of fact, this watermark – a dove in profile on a three-tiered mound inscribed within a circle – was the property of the Petesse and Gregori family, who had managed to commercialize sales of their paper throughout central Italy by the end of the 1500s. Gabriele Metelli found the dove watermark in Rome, Florence, Pisa, and Genoa, with variations of letters or with double circles associated with oth-

12–14 April 2012. I wish to thank Pauline Maguire Robison for her generous assistance before publication of her philological evidence.

⁶¹ Letter of 21 May 1639: "[...] al libro che Sua Eminenza [Cardinal Barberini] ha, che qualche tempo fa da me gli fu donato e posto nella sua copiosissima e sceltissima libreria" (Steinitz [note 7], p. 229).

⁶² Sconza (note 59), pp. 249f.

⁶³ Robison's dating of *vb* (personal communications) places it after 1606, when Sangallo was granted rights of preemption (*ibidem*, p. 250), and before 1618, when Sangallo was imprisoned and his library was confiscated. I support a dating nearer to the earlier terminus, before dal Pozzo left for Rome in April 1612.

⁶⁴ Bell (note 24), p. 112.

⁶⁵ Francesco Solinas, "Portare Roma a Parigi", in: *Documentary Culture: Florence and Rome from Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to Alexander VII*, ed. by Elizabeth Cropper/Giovanna Perini, Bologna 1992, pp. 227–261: 232f.; Mauro Pavesi, in: *I segreti di un collezionista* (note 13), pp. 77–79: 77, no. 77.

⁶⁶ Juliana Barone, "Cassiano Dal Pozzo's Manuscript Copy of the *Trattato*: New Evidence of Editorial Procedures and Responses to Leonardo in the Seventeenth Century", in: *Raccolta Vinciana*, XXXIV (2011), pp. 223–290: 256.

⁶⁷ Gabriele Metelli, "La filigrana a Foligno in età moderna", in: *Produzione ed uso delle carte filigranate in Europa (secoli XIII–XX)*, ed. by Giancarlo Castagnari,

er branches of the family and other Folignese paper-makers through the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ Barbara Parenti and I found paper with the identical watermark in the Florence and Arezzo archives in letters by Leonardo di Jacopo Accolti and Pietro di Fabrizio Accolti, who both worked in the Medici administration, from the years between 1602 and 1615.⁶⁸ Consequently, this watermark cannot be used to identify owners in the absence of additional supporting information on provenance. Although dal Pozzo's use of Folignese paper is certainly well-documented, caution is required before associating manuscripts containing a few sheets of it in the front and end pages with the dal Pozzo brothers, unless old library marks, inventories, handwriting, annotations, and/or philological relationships support the connection.⁶⁹

Once the manuscript *vb* arrived in Rome, dal Pozzo showed it to friends and allowed them to make their own copies of it.⁷⁰ Juliana Barone identified ten copies with specific variants and structure similar to *vb*, which thus seem to depend on it.⁷¹ Our further study of this group reveals that at least two

of these copies were made in the atelier managed by Cassiano dal Pozzo, that is by scribes working under his direction who were given access to the drawings for the *Trattato* by Poussin.⁷² The others circulated earlier, although none can yet be dated, and the relationships between them still remain to be elucidated.⁷³ The copy now in Recanati (*rel*), which is based on *vb*, is associated with the circle of Sforza Pallavicino and Giovanni Battista Ciampoli, members of the Accademia dei Lincei, who clearly knew dal Pozzo well,⁷⁴ and connects the study of Leonardo in Rome to those interested in the pursuit of scientific research as well as to artists and art patrons.

Yet there was more than *vb* and its copies in Rome, not only because Tuscan artists familiar with Leonardo's writings, such as Cigoli and Roncalli, came to Rome, but also because the Florentine patrician Niccolò Gaddi made a copy of his own manuscript for Egnazio Danti, cosmographer to Cosimo I de' Medici, mathematician, and painter.⁷⁵ The copy Gaddi made for Danti included Vignola's unpublished perspective treatise, which interested Danti enough to seek out Vignola's heirs and pub-

Fabriano 1996, pp. 189–220: 201f. and 205. Among artists who preferred Folignese paper, Metelli lists Baldassarre Peruzzi, Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Curradi, Santi di Tito, Alessandro Allori, and Domenico Cresti.

⁶⁸ Florence, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo del Principato, 5158, fol. 36, and 5140, fol. 8; Arezzo, Biblioteca Città di Arezzo, Manoscritti 113, I, fol. 57, 96, 137, 294, 466. I thank Barbara Parenti for her help with everything relating to the Accolti.

⁶⁹ An example of the issues involving this watermark is its presence in Mazenta's *Memorie in m2*, bound with a miscellanea of papers sent to dal Pozzo from Milan by Galeazzo Arconati. Since the text is autograph, do we conclude dal Pozzo supplied Mazenta with the paper, or did the office of the vicar purchase its paper from the same supplier?

⁷⁰ It is important to clarify here that this essay corrects the statement in Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), p. 18, that *vb* "was actually produced in Dal Pozzo's Roman workshop" – a statement prepared before Robison completed her detailed comparison of the two manuscripts.

⁷¹ Barone (note 66), p. 258, note 41, and pp. 287f. Among these manuscripts are six with the title beginning with "Opinione". See also Barone's discussion of this group of manuscripts in the essay "Seventeenth-Century Transformations: Cassiano Dal Pozzo's Manuscript Copy of the Abridged *Libro di pittura*", in: Farago/Bell/Vecce (note 9), pp. 263–299: 272–274. A full philological comparison of this group might determine

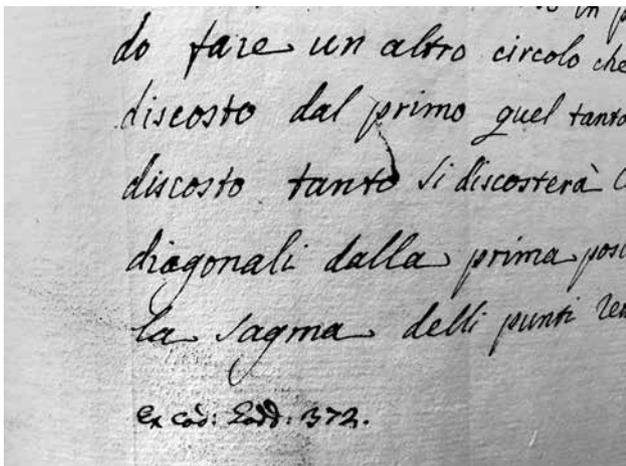
whether any of these ten manuscripts could have been made from *fl2* rather than from *vb*.

⁷² These are *b2* (formerly in the Ganay collection) to which the Poussin illustrations were added later and *l2*, which appears to be a presentation copy; *pl* may have been made in dal Pozzo's atelier before the drawings were commissioned from Poussin and Alberti; I have not had the opportunity to examine the original.

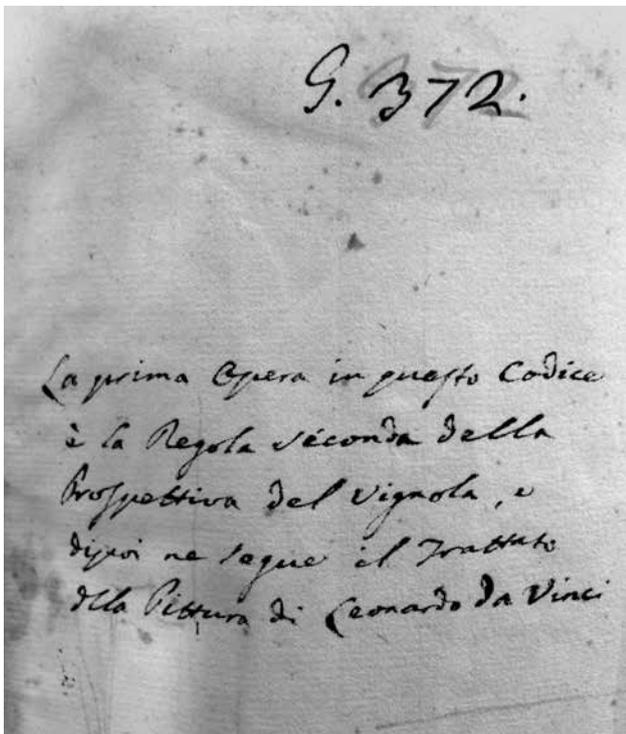
⁷³ Pauline Maguire Robison's book (in preparation) on the early manuscripts will further elucidate the connections between various groups and promises to further revise the transmission history.

⁷⁴ On Pallavicino's copy, Anna Sconza, "Note sull'apografo del *Libro di pittura* di Leonardo da Vinci a Casa Leopardi", in: *Raccolta Vinciana*, XXXIII (2009), pp. 367–396. On Pallavicino's activities in the 1620s, see Federica Favino, *Pietro Sforza Pallavicino e l'invidiabil conversazione di monsignor Giovan Battista Ciampoli*, Naples 1997, pp. 3–32 and 109–118. On Pallavicino's later art theory in defense of Bernini and an immediate emotional appeal, see Martin Delbeke, *The Art of Religion: Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*, Farnsworth 2012.

⁷⁵ On Cigoli's knowledge of Leonardo, see Filippo Camerota, *Linear Perspective in the Age of Galileo: Ludovico Cigoli's 'Prospettiva prattica'*, Florence 2010, pp. xi–xiii. Citations to "Vinci" are pp. 182 and 316; a direct quotation on p. 180; and references in the notes to pp. 116, 119, 123, 136, 141, 180, 183,



2 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. 1300, fol. 10r (detail)



3 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva* and Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della pittura* (fm2). Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Magl. XVII.18, second unnumbered sheet

lish it with extensive commentary in Rome in 1583 as *Le due regole della prospettiva*.⁷⁶ In the preface to that publication, Danti mentions having received a copy of Leonardo's notes on painting and quotes a letter from Vignola's son Giacinto, dated 4 January 1580, explaining that the copy of *Le due regole della prospettiva* sent to Gaddi was transcribed by him, in the company of his father, just before his father passed away in 1573.⁷⁷ Danti left Florence for Bologna in 1575 and then moved to Rome in 1580 to supervise decorations in the Vatican Palace, where he served as cosmographer and mathematician to Pope Gregory XIII.⁷⁸ Thus, we can date Danti's copy to 1573–1575 and its arrival in Rome to 1580.

Danti remained in Lazio for the rest of his life, moving to Alatri in 1583 when he was promoted to bishop.⁷⁹ Given the prevalence of the practice of giving books as gifts among men of Danti's class and education as well as his documented involvement in that custom through correspondence with princes and pa-

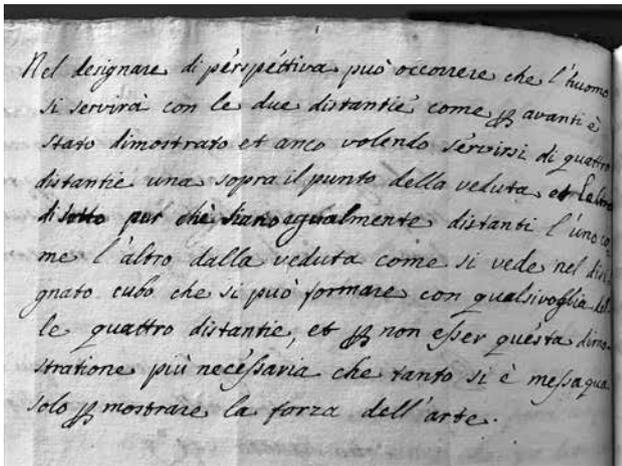
198, 287, 316, and 329. On Roncalli's study, Vita Segreto, "Pomarancio dixit: una parafrasi critica del 'Discorso di Messer Cristoforo Roncalli detto in voce e letto nell'Accademia' di Roma il 26 giugno 1594", in: *Tradizione, innovazione e modernità: il Disegno a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento (1580 ca.–1610 ca.)*, forthcoming. On Danti, Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven/London 2005, pp. 17–32.

⁷⁶ Francesco Fiorani, "Danti Edits Vignola: The Formation of a Modern Classic on Perspective", in: *The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished*, ed. by Lyle Massey, Washington, D.C., 2003, pp. 127–159.

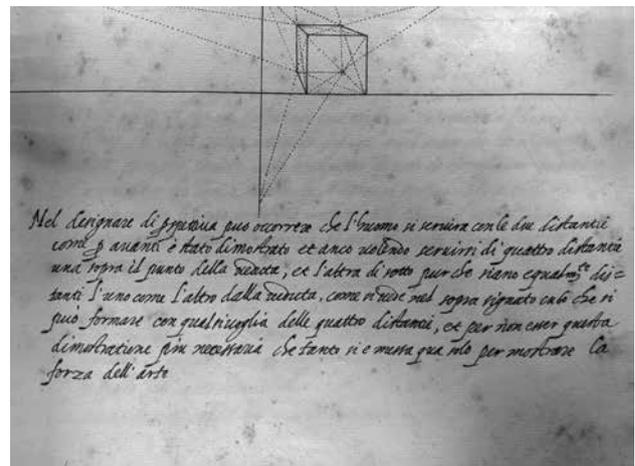
⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 142 and 158, note 74; Sconza (note 59), pp. 247–249. Claire Farago, "Who Abridged Leonardo da Vinci's Treatise on Painting?", in: *Re-Reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting across Europe, 1550–1900*, Farnham 2009, pp. 77–106: 80, mistakenly cited me as stating Zaccolini had access to the library of Egnazio Danti. He did not: Danti's library was dispersed after his death on 19 October 1586, on which see Egnazio Danti, *Les deux règles de la perspective pratique de Vignole, 1583*, ed. by Pascal Dubourg Glatigny, Paris 2003, p. 81, note 269; see also Bernardino Baldi's letter to Bernardino Marliani, secretary to Duke Cesare Gonzaga dated 4 February 1587, in: Vincenzo Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani*, Bologna 1878, II, pp. 376f.

⁷⁸ On Danti's publication and the manuscript he received from Giacinto Vignola, see Pietro Roccasecca, "Per una storia del testo de 'Le due regole della prospettiva pratica'", in: *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, ed. by Richard J. Tuttle et al., Milan 2008, pp. 367–371.

⁷⁹ On Danti's displeasure with this promotion, see Fiorani (note 76), p. 158, note 75.



4 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. 1300, fol. 8r (detail)



5 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva* and Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della pittura* (fm2). Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Magl. XVII.18, fol. 6r (detail)

tricians, it stands to reason that Danti lent his copy to one or more prelates, artists, or book collectors. He was associated with the Roman Accademia di San Luca, where he is documented in 1581 and 1583.⁸⁰ The mystery is all the more compelling given that the reputation of Danti's library spread beyond the cities he inhabited to Urbino where, after his death on 19 October 1586, Bernardino Baldi wrote to persuade Duke Gonzaga of Mantua to purchase his library with its riches "full of the most excellent books, not only in mathematics but of every kind".⁸¹ Because of the dispersal of Danti's library, his copy of Leonardo's abridged *Libro* has not been traced, and thus no surviving copies can be shown to depend on it. Yet we do know that the text would be similar to that of Gaddi's copy (*fm2*) from which many Florentine copies derive, forming a manuscript 'family' which includes dal Pozzo's *m3*.⁸² Dal Pozzo could have obtained *m3* in Florence, but the documented presence of Danti's copy in Rome reminds us that he could have

obtained it from a manuscript in Rome that remains to be identified and/or discovered.

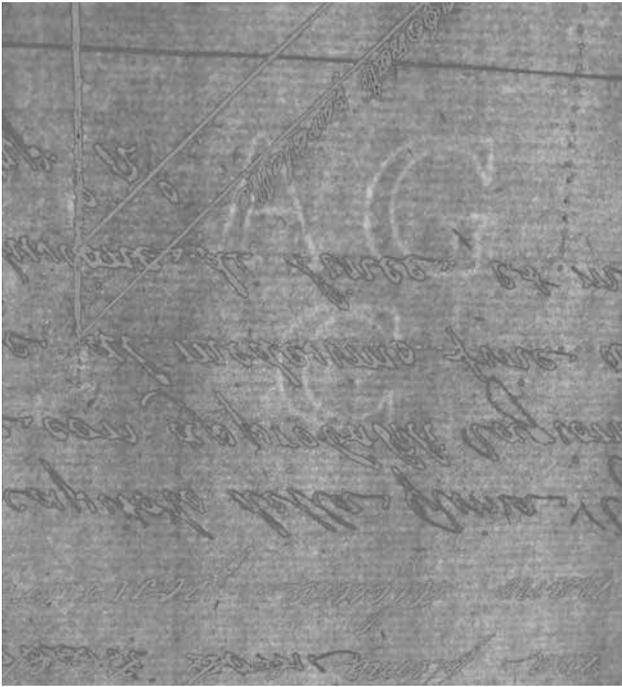
At present, however, I believe we can identify the Vignola part of the manuscript Danti received from Gaddi, now separated from the Leonardo section with which it was formerly paired. Ms. Ash. 1300 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence is one of the manuscripts sold to Lord Ashburnham by Count Guglielmo Libri. It is a very close copy of the Vignola text in Gaddi's manuscript (Fig. 1). A note at the end (Fig. 2) indicates that it was made from Gaddi's copy, which once bore the number "372", as indicated by a librarian's note on the inside cover (Fig. 3), possibly Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti, prefect of the Biblioteca Magliabechiana from 1739. Examination of the text further confirms that it was copied from Gaddi's *fm2*. The scribe making the copy (Fig. 4) skipped a line between two occurrences of the word *veduta* that were both in the middle of adjacent lines in Gaddi's manuscript (Fig. 5);

⁸⁰ On Danti's activities in Rome and his continued contacts with Rome after moving to Alatri, see Danti/Dubourg Glatigny (note 77), p. 49, note 262.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 81, note 269. This excerpt from a letter to Bernardino Mar-

liani, secretary to Duke Cesare Gonzaga, dated 4 February 1587 was published in Marchese (note 77), II, pp. 376f.

⁸² Barone (note 66), p. 254, showed that the text of *m3* derives from a



6 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva*, detail of watermark. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. 1300, fol. 1r



7 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva* and Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della pittura* (*fm2*), detail of watermark. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Magl. XVII.18, fol. 9r

upon noticing the error, he erased the ink and wrote over the correct phrase. This type of scribal error provides clues to features of the manuscript from which it was copied, and in this case we are fortunate to have the source manuscript and its copy to compare. The handwriting of the Ashburnham manuscript is an elegant chancery hand that differs from that of *fm2*. The quality paper has regular chain lines 30 mm apart and bears a different watermark: the three letters A G C (Fig. 6), while that of *fm2* shows the figure of a pilgrim inscribed within a circle (Fig. 7).⁸³ The manuscript has been rebound, but the title on the cover still reflects the presence of Leonardo's writings with which it was once bound: "Regole di prospettiva di Lionardo da Vinci". Its appearance in the Ashburnham collection, rebound and separated from Leonardo's *Trattato*, suggests it was stolen by Guglielmo Libri, who is now infamous for having removed sections of Leonardo's autograph manuscripts from their bindings as well as for stealing entire volumes from libraries, instigating an international scandal when Lord Ashburnham published a catalogue of his collection in 1853.⁸⁴ Prominent marks on the flyleaf (Fig. 8) are a clue to the library from which it was removed – not yet identified – and may guide us to other books and manuscripts from Danti's former collection once this old shelf mark is identified.

Pictorial Evidence and Testimonies of Leonardo's Writings in Rome

The earliest testimony of Leonardo's literary heritage in Rome is a comment in Federico Zuccaro's *L'idea de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (1607), which has been

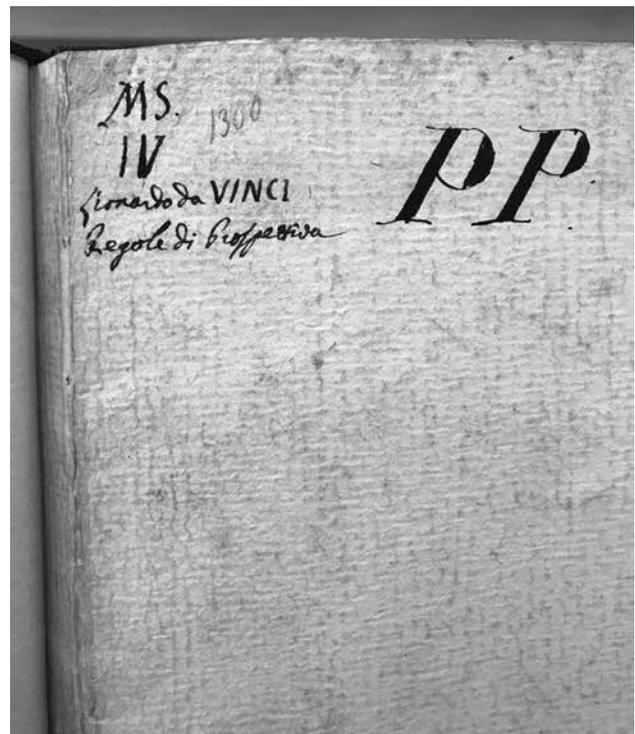
Gaddi type manuscript and the corrections and additions derive from *vb*. She also showed that *ml* did not contribute to the 1651 *Trattato* publication, dispelling Sparti's proposal.

⁸³ I thank Elizabeth Bernick for her help in photographing this watermark and identifying the chain lines, and Claire Farago for examining the manuscript with me.

⁸⁴ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Ashburnham Place: Part the First, comprising a*

cited as evidence that the autograph notebook used by Carlo Urbino to compile the Codex Huygens was in Rome.⁸⁵ But since Zuccaro disparaged its value to artists, the role of Leonardo's writings on painting in the Accademia di San Luca was dismissed until recently.⁸⁶ The presence of notes and excerpts from Zuccaro's *Idea* appended to *ce* (Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, ms. 380) also indicates the willingness of some owners to embrace both the idealist philosophy of Zuccaro and the scientific naturalism of Leonardo.⁸⁷

While we must discard the apoglyphal story attributed to Bellori that Annibale Carracci regretted finding the treatise late in his life,⁸⁸ Juliana Barone made a strong case for the study of Leonardo in Rome before 1634, gathering evidence that two leading artists in Rome, Guido Reni and Gian Lorenzo Bernini, were familiar with Leonardo's principles on human movement.⁸⁹ In the case of Reni, who was in Rome by 1601, she proposed that *Atalanta and Hippomene* (Madrid, Prado), begun in 1615, shows knowledge of Leonardo's ideas on movement, which knowledge he obtained from his own copy of the *Trattato*, as attested by Antonio Franchi (1638–1709).⁹⁰ Rudolf Preimesberger also argued that Gian Lorenzo Bernini studied Leonardo's treatise and that this study enabled him to properly



8 Copy of Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Ash. 1300, inside cover (detail)

collection formed by Professor Libri, London 1857, n.p.: "1300. REGOLE DI PROSPETTIVA DI LEONARDO DA VINCI, CON FIGURE. Manuscrit sur papier, in folio, du XVI. Siècle." On Libri's theft and the ensuing scandal, see Alan N.L. Munby, "The Earl and the Thief: Lord Ashburnham and Count Libri", in: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XVII (1969), pp. 5–21, and Jeremy M. Norman, *Scientist, Scholar, and Scoundrel: A Bibliographical Investigation of the Life and Exploits of Count Guglielmo Libri [...]*, New York 2013.

⁸⁵ Federico Zuccaro, *L'idea de' pittori, scultori ed architetti* [1607], Rome 1768, p. 103. Macarena Moralejo Ortega in a conference read on 25 October 2019 presented additional evidence of Zuccaro's knowledge of Leonardo's writings and paintings (note 55).

⁸⁶ Vita Segreto shared evidence orally (October 2019) that the reference to a "Trattato" in an inventory of the Accademia di San Luca must be a copy of Leonardo's abridged *Trattato*, not the published *Trattato* of Romano Alberti, due to the page length (42 pages). See also Barone (note 71), p. 267.

⁸⁷ For the argument that Leonardo's writings were valued for their applied optics, see Janis Bell, "The Treatise on Painting as a Guide to Nature: Light and Shadow", in: *Leonardo da Vinci: Nature and Architecture*, ed. by Constance Moffatt/Sara Tagliagambara, Leiden/Boston 2019, pp. 9–34.

⁸⁸ Repeated in Barone (note 56), p. 457, who follows earlier publications. I thank Henry Keazor (email correspondence October 2019) who traced this apocryphal story to nineteenth-century biographical dictionaries.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 457–480. See also Barone (note 71), pp. 266f.

⁹⁰ Antonio Franchi, *Trattato della teorica pittorica: la "Teorica della Pittura" riveduta e corretta sul manoscritto degli Uffizi*, ed. by Antonio P. Torresi, Ferrara 2002, p. 22: "E io mi ricordo che da giovinetto lessi il *Trattato della pittura* del Vinci manoscritto, uscito dalli mani del gentil Guido Reni dopo la sua morte [1642] [...]."

distribute the weight of figures around the central axis in the complex group *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius* from circa 1618 (Rome, Galleria Borghese); likewise, Preimesberger presumed that the kinesiology of the release of force in Bernini's *David* from 1623 (Rome, Galleria Borghese) was a result of his knowledge of Leonardo's treatise.⁹¹ Matthias Winner advanced a similar argument about the distribution of weight in Bernini's *Rape of Proserpina* (1621/22; Rome, Galleria Borghese).⁹² Consequently, Barone suggested that *l3* (Los Angeles, University of California, ms. Belt 34), a copy Steinitz had grouped with manuscripts made after the printed edition, might be associated with Bernini.⁹³ This manuscript merits further study, especially in its rapport with *rel*, which also has 365 chapters and predates the publication.⁹⁴

Leonardo's *Trattato* as a Source for Zaccolini

We have seen that Zaccolini's interest in Leonardo's writings in the 1610s is neither remarkable nor prescient, despite being the most extensive documentation of the study of Leonardo in Rome before 1630. However, his focus on color, light, and shadow, that is on the study of optics, is unusual and suggests

why he turned to Leonardo's unpublished treatise on painting. Optics was the domain of natural philosophy and mathematics; it was a specialized subject, barely covered in traditional university education, yet becoming more widely known in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. As early Seicento painters turned to the imitation of nature in reaction to what they regarded as the fantastical inventions of their predecessors, the need for guidance in the laws of nature became evident: otherwise, looking naively at the variety of luminous and coloristic appearances in nature is as daunting as cutting into a cadaver without knowing what tissues and organs reside therein.⁹⁵

The Theatines at San Silvestro had one of the best monastic libraries in Rome with a collection of manuscripts and printed volumes. According to Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza (1699), the collection contained many of the finest authors as part of the materials bequeathed to it by Pope Paul IV Carafa (d. 1559).⁹⁶ During Zaccolini's lifetime, the collection was further enriched by Michele Ghislieri, a Theatine father expert in Hebrew, Caldean (Persian), Greek, and Latin.⁹⁷ Zaccolini, then, did not have to

⁹¹ Rudolf Preimesberger, "Themes from Art Theory in the Early Works of Bernini", in: *Gianlorenzo Bernini: New Aspects of His Art and Thought. A Commemorative Volume*, ed. by Irving Lavin, University Park/London 1985, pp. 1–24: 9f. On Poussin's representation of the release of force in relation to Annibale and Bernini, see Janis Bell, "The Final Text," in *Farago/Bell/Vecce* (note 9), pp. 300–369: 353f.

⁹² Matthias Winner, "Ratto di Proserpina", in: *Bernini scultore: la nascita del Barocco in casa Borghese*, exh. cat. Rome 1998, ed. by Anna Coliva/Sebastian Schütze, Rome 1998, pp. 180–203: 198.

⁹³ Barone (note 71), p. 524, note 17; Steinitz (note 7), pp. 133f.

⁹⁴ I thank Count Vanni Leopardi for allowing me to view this copy of the abridged *Libro di pittura* in March 2017. While Sconza (note 74) concluded that the manuscript corrections postdate the publication, my impression is that it was reduced to 365 chapters at the time it was produced in Rome for Pallavicino's *uomo di camera*, and that the textual corrections predate the publication.

⁹⁵ The return to nature is a theme in Seicento writings on the Carracci and Caravaggio by Bellori (1672) and Malvasia (1678) and is discussed in nearly every history of Baroque painting. Its theoretical foundations

were emphasized by Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of Baroque Style*, Glückstadt 1977, and Elizabeth Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook*, Princeton 1984, but artists' study of anatomy has received considerably more attention: see Domenico Laurenza, "Art and Anatomy in Renaissance Italy: Images from a Scientific Revolution", in: *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, LXIX (2012), 3, pp. 4–49, for a general account, and *Farago/Bell/Vecce* (note 9), pp. 81–182, on its relationship with workshop practices arising from the tradition of Leonardo.

⁹⁶ Carlo Bartolomeo Piazza, *Eusevologio Romano ovvero delle opere pie di Roma, accresciuto & ampliato secondo lo stato presente, con due Trattati delle Accademie, e Librerie celebri di Roma*, Rome 1699, Trattato XIII, p. cliii.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. cliiif. Ghislieri professed 24 June 1584 at San Silvestro al Quirinale and died 27 June 1646 at age 83, according to Antonio Francesco Vezzosi, *Iscrittori de' Cherici Regolari, detti Teatini*, Rome 1786, I, pp. 391–397. Guidolin (note 2), pp. 194f., found a list of volumes purchased by Ghislieri for the Theatines in the Archivio di Stato, Rome, Corporazioni religiose maschili, Chierici Regolari Teatini di Sant'Andrea della Valle, b. 2140, fasc. 102 (*Chiesa, Arredi sacri, Libri, anni 1559–1864*).

rely upon dal Pozzo for access to the many books that he studied.⁹⁸

Although some scholars have identified specific manuscripts as Zaccolini's source,⁹⁹ there are no literal quotations in *Prospettiva del colore* that could bring certainty to any of these hypotheses. What is certain, however, is that Zaccolini knew the work well enough to paraphrase it more than twenty times.¹⁰⁰ Such borrowings are typical of early modern authors, who were unfamiliar with the modern concept of authorship but tacitly accepted the communal knowledge of artisans, transmitted orally from one master to the next.¹⁰¹ This is why Zaccolini did not credit Leonardo as the first to write on color perspective but stated "non essendo mai capitato alle nostre mani in questa materia cosa di alcun scrittore".¹⁰²

Zaccolini also used many of the same sources in optics as did Leonardo, such as John Pecham's classic primer (on which he relied heavily for its having been translated into Italian by Paolo Gallucci in 1593) and Witelo's *Perspectiva*, available in three Latin editions.¹⁰³ But since he was, in the words of Baglione (1642), "idiota di lettere",¹⁰⁴ i. e. did not read Latin, he relied on friends to orally translate for him. According to his Theatine biographer, Giuseppe Silos, he had a prodigious memory and could spout erudite argu-

ments in natural philosophy as well as any educated man: "Even though he was not educated, he seemed to be able to follow authorities, especially Aristotle, with the same strength of mind [as educated men], and when anyone explained them orally, he seemed able to follow their interpretations better than anyone else."¹⁰⁵ Thus, despite his lowly status as a non-ordained lay brother (*fratello laico*), it is no surprise that he was often referred to as "Father" (*Padre*) and that he managed to establish friendships with learned individuals.

Zaccolini and Muzio Oddi

One of these learned individuals was Muzio Oddi (1569–1639), a man with the good fortune to have been brought up in the household of Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere of Urbino and with the misfortune to have been imprisoned by that same duke and eventually exiled to Milan.¹⁰⁶

In Milan, Muzio Oddi worked as a mathematician, architect, and teacher of perspective. He had briefly apprenticed with Federico Barocci until a vision problem arose, but he remained in contact with Federico and Simone Barocci through his brother-in-law, Francesco Maria Vincenzi, who mediated requests for paintings by Federico Barocci in his official role as *Revisore Generale* to the duke of Urbino.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁸ Dal Pozzo's biography of Zaccolini in BUM, ms. H 267, contains a list of the principal authors on whom he relied. For others cited in his treatise, see Guidolin (note 2), pp. 201f., and Janis Bell, *Color and Theory in Seicento Art: Zaccolini's 'Prospettiva del colore' and the Heritage of Leonardo*, Ph.D. diss. Brown University, Providence, RI, 1983, p. 67.

⁹⁹ Steinitz (note 7), p. 47, suggested *vb* for the correspondence in title to dal Pozzo's biography; Pedretti (note 7), I, p. 38, note 2, suggested *rc1* due to the similarity in title and a scribble on fol. 188r that he deciphered as "domanda Zaccolini", but also acknowledged that dal Pozzo could have been citing the title of his own copy, *m3*.

¹⁰⁰ See the notes to my forthcoming critical edition and English translation of *Prospettiva del colore*, edited with Margherita Quaglino.

¹⁰¹ On this topic see Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Baltimore 2001.

¹⁰² Matteo Zaccolini, *Prospettiva del colore*, BML, ms. Ash. 1212², fol. 3v.

¹⁰³ John Pecham, *I tre libri della prospettiva commune*, Venice 1593. On Cinquecento Latin Witelo editions, see Sven Dupré, "Visualization in Renaissance Optics: The Function of Geometrical Diagrams and Pictures in the Transmission of Technical Knowledge", in: *Transmitting Knowledge: Words, Images, and Instruments in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sachiko Kusukawa, Oxford 2006, pp. II–39.

¹⁰⁴ Baglione (note 6), p. 316.

¹⁰⁵ Giuseppe Silos, *Historiarum Clericorum Regularium*, Palermo 1666, p. 93 (translation from Latin by Peter Knox).

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Marr, *Between Raphael and Galileo: Mutio Oddi and the Mathematical Culture of Late Renaissance Italy*, Chicago 2011, p. 1. Unless otherwise cited, Marr is the source of all biographical information on Oddi given here.

¹⁰⁷ Fert Sangiorgi, *Committenze milanesi a Federico Barocci e alla sua scuola nel carteggio Vincenzi della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino*, Urbino 1996, p. 8, note 2.

Oddi published two books during his fifteen-year tenure in Milan (1610–1625), a volume on sundials and a volume on the use of the *squadro*, printed right before he left Milan for Lucca.¹⁰⁸ In the distribution list for *Dello squadro*, preserved with Oddi’s account books and papers in Urbino, Zaccolini appears as the only person in Rome and, possibly, the only non-Lombard to receive a copy of the book.¹⁰⁹ This significant piece of evidence has been overlooked although the distribution list was published twice.¹¹⁰ The little detail, however, opens two lines of inquiry, one on Zaccolini’s presence in Milan, the other on the possible exchange of ideas between Zaccolini and Oddi.

The parallels in their interests are remarkable. Both were experts on perspective. Zaccolini wrote a volume for artists on the projection of shadows, Oddi wrote a treatise on the projection of shadows for sundials. Zaccolini’s perspective treatises deal with conic sections in more detail than any surviving treatise from the period;¹¹¹ Oddi and his friends were exploring conic sections in their research on concave parabolic (burning) mirrors.¹¹² Since a more detailed exploration of these parallels would be tangential to our study of Leonardo’s writings, we will turn instead to the implications of their friendship.

Oddi and the Owners of Leonardo’s Autograph Manuscripts

Oddi’s life is well-documented from letters, memoirs, and account books, all of which leave no possibility of a trip to Rome between 1605 and 1625.¹¹³ Therefore, we must assume that Zaccolini traveled to Milan, where the Theatines had a significant presence. The order had been invited to Milan by Carlo Borromeo and assigned to the old Romanesque church of Sant’Antonio Abate in the Porta Romana district. They took occupancy on 28 August 1577, hired Dionigi Campazzo to revamp the interior (which he completed in 1584),¹¹⁴ and then began an extensive program of decorations which lasted some forty years and transformed the church into one of the finest picture galleries in Milan. If Zaccolini went to Milan to provide assistance with any phase of the decorations, we cannot document his arrival from the sparse survival of Theatine records prior to 1626.¹¹⁵ But we do know that he worked for the Theatines in Naples, that dal Pozzo noted his work in “other places”, and that Zaccolini himself wrote that he traveled to many countries: “[...] mi dilungai fin’alla Residenza in Roma et in diversi paesi, per l’assenza del dotto Precettore”.¹¹⁶ Surely one of these “diversi paesi” was Milan.

¹⁰⁸ Muzio Oddi, *De gli orologi solari nelle superficie piane*, Milan 1614; *idem*, *Dello squadro*, Milan 1625.

¹⁰⁹ The distribution list is in BUU, Fondo Congregazione Carità, 53, fasc. II, *Conti 1620–1625*, fol. 27v–28r.

¹¹⁰ Enrico Gamba/Vico Montebelli, “Memorie, conti, lavori di Muzio Oddi architetto e matematico urbinato dell’epoca galileiana, in alcune carte della Biblioteca Universitaria di Urbino”, in: *Galileo Galilei e gli scienziati del Ducato di Urbino*, conference proceedings Pesaro 1989, Pesaro 1992, pp. 34–62: 49, transcribed as “P.re Matteo Zoccolini, Roma”; Marr (note 106), p. 233, as “Padre Matteo Toccalini, Roma”.

¹¹¹ Leonardo Baglioni/Marco Fasolo/Matteo Mancini, “A Contribution to the History of Representation: The Unpublished Treatise by Zaccolini”, in: *ICGG 2018: Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Geometry and Graphics*, Milan 2018, ed. by Luigi Cocchiarella, Cham 2019, pp. 1825–1836: 1827f.

¹¹² Marr (note 106), p. 96. All this precedes the groundbreaking work of

Girard Desargues in conics, discussed in Judith Field, *The Geometrical Work of Girard Desargues*, New York 1987, who, like Oddi, was also a military architect and engineer.

¹¹³ Marr (note 106), pp. 1–37.

¹¹⁴ Simonetta Coppa, s.v. Campazzo, Dionigi, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XVII (1974), online at http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/dionigi-campazzo_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.

¹¹⁵ Agnese Marengo, “Gli affreschi dei Carlone in Sant’Antonio Abate a Milano: ipotesi per una committenza genovese”, in: *Arte lombarda*, n. s., CLXIII (2011), 3, pp. 78–85, only cites a diary for the later history of the church (Milan, Archivio Generale Teatino, fasc. II/689, *Relazione delle cose più notabili della casa di Milano e sua fondazione, cronaca della casa di Sant’Antonio dal 1626 al 1650*, ms. by Giuseppe Ferrari). As a monk in the order, he would not be mentioned in notarized documents.

¹¹⁶ Zaccolini (note 102), fol. 2v, in the dedication to Scipione Chiaramonti, transcribed by Guidolin (note 2), p. 254.

Oddi was in close contact with nearly everyone in Milan who owned Leonardo's autograph manuscripts. After his arrival in the summer of 1610, his brother-in-law placed him under the care of Guidubaldo Vincenzi, chief of the Fabbrica del Duomo of Milan.¹¹⁷ Vincenzi had advocated for Guido Mazenta, who was the owner of many Leonardo notebooks. Guido's younger brother, Alessandro, prelate at the duomo, was close to Cardinal Federico Borromeo and was called his "right-hand man".¹¹⁸ Borromeo, who in 1603 had received Leonardo's manuscript on light and shadow from Guido Mazenta and donated it to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana upon its founding in 1618, engaged Oddi to instruct his sister-in-law, countess Giovanna.¹¹⁹

Guido Mazenta had also given a Leonardo manuscript to the painter Ambrogio Figino according to his brother Giovanni Ambrogio's account in the *Memorie*.¹²⁰ By the time Oddi arrived in Milan, Figino had died and his paintings and goods had passed to his nephew Ercole Bianchi.¹²¹ Since Figino's manuscript is missing, no attention has been paid to Bianchi's role in the circulation of Leonardiana in early Seicento Rome.¹²² Yet as an art dealer and book

collector, Bianchi clearly had contacts with other collectors. More significant for our purposes, since his younger brother Giovanni Pietro resided at the Theatine house of Sant'Antonio Abate,¹²³ Ercole mediated connections with the Milanese Theatines and used his inherited riches to promise lavish gifts of art to them.¹²⁴ He became Oddi's pupil on 2 March 1612¹²⁵ and Oddi is documented purchasing books from him in 1614.¹²⁶ Although sources document Figino's ownership of books by Leonardo ranging from the anatomy, nature and movements of horses to drawings of mills and machinery, none of these appear in the posthumous inventory of Bianchi's goods (12 March 1633).¹²⁷ However, Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815) knew of them when he compiled the album of Figino drawings now in Venice.¹²⁸

Oddi also had direct dealings with the Theatines of Sant'Antonio Abate. He is documented in 1611 as supplying scientific instruments to them, as he had access to Simone Barocci, the most sought-after instrument maker in Italy, through his sister's marriage to one of the Vincenzi brothers.¹²⁹ Moreover, he was given the task of finding buyers for the art collection of one "don Iacomo", a re-

¹¹⁷ Sangiorgi (note 107), pp. 7f. and note 2.

¹¹⁸ On Alessandro Mazenta, see Francesco Repishti, "Federico Borromeo e gli architetti milanesi: la 'scarseggia che hoggidi si trova di simili [valenti] soggetti'", in: *Studia borromaica*, XXII (2008), pp. 63–79.

¹¹⁹ Marr (note 106), pp. 74f.

¹²⁰ Mazenta (note 35), p. 39.

¹²¹ Marco Comincini, *Jan Brueghel accanto a Figino: la quadreria di Ercole Bianchi*, [Sant'Angelo Lodigiano] 2010, pp. 6–8. Figino's will, dated 30 September 1608, was formally accepted 11 February 1609.

¹²² Bambach (note 40), p. 602, mentions Bianchi's possession of Figino's lost notebook, but other than the inventory and documents collected by Comincini (note 121) little is known about his activities.

¹²³ Comincini, *ibidem*, p. 7, relates Giovanni Pietro's decision to enter the monastery to the death of their mother, Caterina Figino, in 1603.

¹²⁴ Marr (note 106), p. 155, notes 79f.; Comincini (note 121), p. 21. In 1637, his widow delivered Figino's *Madonna with the Serpent* and the *Nativity* (Simonetta Coppa, "Due opere di Ambrogio Figino in una donazione del 1637", in: *Arte lombarda*, 67/68 [1977], pp. 143f).

¹²⁵ Marr (note 106), p. 73.

¹²⁶ Enrico Gamba/Vico Montebelli, *Le scienze a Urbino nel tardo Rinascimento*, Urbino 1988, p. 122.

¹²⁷ On the Bianchi inventory, see Comincini (note 121), pp. 43 and 50, where only the following Leonardo drawings are listed: "Un disegno d'una donna di Leonardo incorniciato stimato lire 18" and "Un disegno d'una donna nuda di Leonardo stimato lire 18". For discussion of lost Leonardo drawings as Figino's probable sources, see Domenico Laurenza, "Figino and the Lost Drawings of Leonardo's Comparative Anatomy", in: *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLVIII (2006), pp. 173–179: 175. See also Mauro Pavesi, *Giovanni Ambrogio Figino pittore*, Cantarano 2017, pp. 120f. Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura*, Milan 1584, parte settima, cap. XXVIII, p. 650, noted that Figino owned 30 sheets of drawings on rustic buildings such as "torchi, presepi, molini e simili".

¹²⁸ Laurenza (note 127), pp. 174f. See also Natalie Zimmer, "The Codex Smith: An Album of Drawings by Giovanni Ambrogio Figino at Windsor Castle", in: *Libri e album di disegni 1550–1800: nuove prospettive metodologiche e di esegesi storico-critica*, ed. by Vita Segreto, Rome 2018 pp. 213–222.

¹²⁹ On Simone Barocci, see Silvio Bedini, "The Barocci Dynasty: Urbi-

cently deceased prior of that monastery who Oddi called “tanto mio amico” when he wrote to his brother in 1612.¹³⁰

Oddi also had contacts with the Milanese noble Galeazzo Arconati, who we met earlier as Cassiano dal Pozzo’s correspondent and whose renown as a collector of Leonardiana brought English travelers to his lavish villa at Castellazzo during the 1630s and ’40s.¹³¹ What Oddi did for Arconati in 1613/14 is not clear, but he was rewarded with two vats of red wine (“due brente di vino rosso”).¹³² Arconati’s name also appears in another account book from 1621–1623, where he records receipt of 34 *scudi* towards a total of 39.¹³³ Not long after, Arconati would receive an expensive bound copy of *Dello squadro*¹³⁴ and Oddi would help him obtain Luca Pacioli’s original manuscript of *De divina proportione* with Leonardo drawings.¹³⁵

It is well known that Arconati purchased Leonardo manuscripts and paintings from the heirs of Pompeo Leoni, including the Codex Atlanticus, for which he paid, according to Mazenta’s *Memorie*, the large sum of 300 *scudi*.¹³⁶ The payment dates to 1622, after the freeze on the sale of Leoni assets

had been lifted by the court settlement of 2 August 1621 between Pompeo Leoni’s daughters, Vittoria Calchi and Brigida Tatti-Salvaterra.¹³⁷ By the early 1630s, Arconati’s Leonardo holdings were so well known that the king of England sent his Milanese ambassador to convince him to sell, which he refused, widely publicizing his refusal on a carved plaque when he donated 12 manuscripts to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in January 1637.¹³⁸ This donation included ten of the manuscripts today in Paris at the Institut de France identified by alphabetical letters (mss. A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, and M), the Codex Atlanticus, and Pacioli’s *De divina proportione*. These were the manuscripts from which Arconati and his son compiled the extracts of “libri” sent to dal Pozzo for Barberini’s planned publication.

It has been assumed that the purchase from the Leoni heirs was the beginning of Arconati’s passion for Leonardiana. However, there is evidence Arconati became interested in Leonardo earlier, and was able to obtain six of those notebooks during the 1610s. This part of the story brings us back to Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta and to his older brother Guido, who

no’s Artisans of Science 1550–1650”, in: *The Science of the Dukedom of Urbino*, ed. by Flavio Vetrano, Urbino 2001, pp. 7–98: 16, 18–29.

¹³⁰ Marr (note I06), p. 179, quoting from BUU, Fondo Congregazione Carità, b. 47, fasc. V, fol. 561v (W10.1), letter of Muzio Oddi to Matteo Oddi from Milan, 7 June 1612. I propose that “don Iacomo” is Giacomo Picinelli, Father Superior of Sant’Antonio Abate, whose collection Oddi sought to enhance with “due o tre schizzi di Raffaello” for an unnamed collector who loved drawings.

¹³¹ Jane Roberts, “Thomas Howard, the Collector Earl of Arundel and Leonardo’s Drawings”, in: *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. by Edward Chaney, New Haven 2003, pp. 256–284: 259f.

¹³² The note is hastily added on the last page of his account book, BUU, Fondo Congregazione Carità, b. 53, fasc. IV, *Libretto di memorie diverse del signor Muzio Oddi*, fol. 46v–48v: “dal i [sic] Galeazzo Arconati due brente di vino rosso”. A *brenta* is a large barrel containing 75 liters (Milanese measure). Many thanks to Federico Marcucci of the Ufficio Fondo Antico at BUU, for assistance with transcription, interpretation, and procuring photographs. Excerpts from the account books were first

published by Gamba/Montebelli (note I10) and discussed in Marr (note I06), *passim*.

¹³³ BUU, Fondo Congregazione Carità, b. 53, fasc. III, *Libretto dei conti del signor Muzio Oddi*, fol. 23r: “Dal Sig. Galeazzo Arconati 39. 8. [above in darker ink], ne hò ricevuto scudi 34”. The purpose of this payment is not specified.

¹³⁴ Marr (note I06), p. 231.

¹³⁵ Gamba/Montebelli (note I26), pp. 190–193.

¹³⁶ Mazenta (note 35), p. 39. Luigi Gramatica, editor of Mazenta’s *Memorie*, published a payment dated 28 August 1622 towards a total of 420 *ducatoni* (*ibidem*, p. 65, note 31), but that document has not since been found.

¹³⁷ See Paola Barbara Conti, “Nuevas aportaciones sobre la herencia de la familia Leoni: las particiones Calchi-Salvaterra, la relación Italia-España, el reflejo cultural en Milán en el siglo XVII”, in: *Reales Sitios*, LX (2003), 157, pp. 64–72, note 37. This also provides a *terminus post quem* for the English purchases of drawing books from the Leoni collection in Madrid, on which see Roberts (note I31), pp. 260–264, for earlier suppositions.

¹³⁸ The inscription reads: REPVDIATIS REGIO ANIMO | QVOS ANGLIAE REX

Lomazzo mentioned in his *Idea del tempio della pittura* (1590) as a significant Milanese collector of Leonardo's books and drawings.¹³⁹

The Mazenta Family's Leonardo Manuscripts

Giovanni Ambrogio's *Memorie*¹⁴⁰ have been treated as a documentary source of knowledge about the dispersal of Leonardo's manuscripts, but they were also a product of Barberini patronage and thus bear characteristic signs of the culture of friendship and favors that ruled the lives of aristocrats in Seicento Italy. Consequently, parts of Giovanni Ambrogio's story do not hold up to scrutiny as documentable truths. In this text, the author tells us that he and his younger brother Alessandro came back from the university of Pisa with 13 small Leonardo notebooks, which he tried to return to their rightful owner Orazio Melzi. Instead, Melzi donated them to him, and he passed them on to his brothers. Yet before long, his older brother was asked to return seven notebooks so that Pompeo Leoni could present them to the Spanish king. His brother was left with six notebooks and gave away three of them as gifts. Somehow – Giovanni Ambrogio claimed not to know the circumstances – the remaining three manuscripts ended up with Pompeo Leoni after the death of his brother Guido in 1613.

This story lacks the ring of truth, as many have realized, including most recently Carmen Bambach.¹⁴¹ The question is whether Giovanni Ambrogio was a forgetful old man, as the editor of Mazenta's *Memorie*, Luigi Gramatica, proposed,¹⁴² or whether he was trying to cover up the scandal that had befallen the Mazenta family. As I explained in a conference paper in October 2019, Giovanni Ambrogio needed to deflect attention from his family's past in order to present their role in the most favorable way possible.¹⁴³ As we shall see, his total of volumes too conveniently matches the number of manuscripts owned by Arconati and the Ambrosiana at the time he penned the *Memorie* in 1635.

One part of his story is true, however: Pompeo Leoni was on his way back to Madrid in the summer of 1589 to work for the Spanish king, and this work involved installing 30 bronze sculptures on a retablo in San Lorenzo de El Escorial.¹⁴⁴ He had been in Milan since 1582 seeking workers to cast the bronzes at his father's workshop, and it was during these years that he obtained Leonardo manuscripts and drawings from Orazio Melzi and probably prepared the thematic album of drawings known as the Codex Atlanticus. But Pompeo died in Madrid in 1608 leaving an extensive collection of paintings, sculptures, antiquities, books, and *naturalia* to his younger son

PRO VNO TANTVM OFFEREBAT | AVREIS TER MILLE HISPANICIS. On the donation, see Ferrario (note 25), p. 112; Roberts (note 131), p. 259.

¹³⁹ Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea of the Temple of Painting*, ed. by Jean Julia Chai, University Park, Pa., 2013, p. 58, from *L'idea del tempio della pittura*, Milan 1590, ch. 4, p. 28.

¹⁴⁰ Mazenta (note 35).

¹⁴¹ Bambach (note 40), I, p. 68, and III, p. 607.

¹⁴² Mazenta (note 35), p. 13.

¹⁴³ Janis Bell, "Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta's *Memorie*: Document or Deception?", in: *Decoding Leonardo's Codices*, conference proceedings Florence 2019 (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁴ On the transport of the bronzes, see Francesco Repishti/Paola Barbara Conti, "Considerazioni e novità documentarie sull'apporto di lapidici e scultori 'lombardi' alle fabbriche reali in Spagna tra Cinquecento e Seicento", in: *Magistri d'Europa: eventi, relazioni, strutture della migrazione di*

artisti e costruttori dai laghi lombardi, conference proceedings Como 1996, ed. by Stefano Della Torre/Tiziano Mannoni/Valeria Pracchi, Milan 1996, pp. 211–220. For an overview of Pompeo's activities, see Margarita Estella, "Pompeo Leoni, a Sculptor in the Service of the Court of Philip II", in: Rosario Coppel/Margarita Estella/Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone and Pompeo Leoni: Faith and Fame*, Madrid 2013, pp. 24–54. On the conservation and expansion of his father's collection by Pompeo, see Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance*, Farnham/Burlington 2011, pp. 133–176. The alleged transfer of notebooks has often been dated to the mid-1590s, when Pompeo is presumed to have returned to Italy to install the monument at Guastalla, a theory disproved by Walter Cupperi, "La statua di Ferrante I a Guastalla: una commissione monumentale di Cesare Gonzaga a Leone Leoni", in: *Archivio storico per gli antichi stati guastallesi*, III (2002), pp. 83–124.

Michelangelo. Michelangelo then traveled from Madrid to Milan and made plans with his older brother to turn his father's collection into cash. Yet because both of these legitimized sons died intestate without heirs within a few years of each other, in 1611 and 1615, and because Pompeo had another five illegitimate children who wanted a share in the wealth, there were many lawsuits and many inventories drawn up.¹⁴⁵ Before the Leoni assets were frozen by the courts, Federico Borromeo wrote from Rome to his trusted friend Lodovico Besozzi, instructing him to purchase paintings and the famed set of plastic casts for the Ambrosiana, hoping that the high prices the Leoni sons had asked would now be lowered.¹⁴⁶

Borromeo's luck prevailed, and although we do not know at what price he purchased the casts, we do know that his young relative Galeazzo Arconati obtained a duplicate set.¹⁴⁷ This was an extraordinary purchase for a private individual, as Matteo Cadario pointed out.¹⁴⁸ It fits, however, with Arconati's design to remodel his newly-purchased country house at Castellazzo into a villa with gardens and sculptures comparable to those he had seen in Rome.¹⁴⁹ Testimony that he succeeded in this goal comes from his contemporaries as early as 1616, when Benedetto Sossago, a poet at the Ambrosiana, wrote two epigrams praising Arconati's desire to build a villa rivaling those in Rome.¹⁵⁰ In 1619, when that remodel was nearly complete, Arconati entered the pantheon

of noteworthy Milanese collectors of art in the words of poet and connoisseur Girolamo Borsieri, author of a lengthy supplement to Paolo Morigia's *La nobiltà di Milano* of 1595.¹⁵¹

Arconati spent lavishly,¹⁵² having come into a substantial fortune through his marriage to Anna de Capitaneis de Arconate, and there is consequently no reason to believe he waited until the 1620s to obtain the six Leonardo notebooks that never passed through Leoni hands. I am referring here to the codices now in Paris known by the letters D, E, F, G, L, and M, which Carmen Bambach found bore no sign of prior Leoni ownership.¹⁵³ She found that everything else that formerly belonged to Leoni's collection was altered in some way, either with *postille* in Spanish or mixed Spanish and Italian, or by changing the bindings, or by cutting drawings from larger sheets and pasting them into albums grouped by subject. The question is, where were these manuscripts before Arconati acquired them?

The Tragedy of Guido Mazenta

When Muzio Oddi arrived in Milan in 1610, Alessandro Mazenta surely knew the whereabouts of those six small notebooks (D, E, F, G, L, and M), and Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta did too. But it was Alessandro Mazenta who was physically in Milan and who had to deal with the disaster his older brother had caused. Guido Mazenta, the firstborn and a re-

¹⁴⁵ The lawsuits are explored in detail in articles by Paola Barbara Conti, "Documenti inediti sulla presenza della famiglia di Leone Leoni a Milano: prime osservazioni", in: *Civiltà ambrosiana*, VIII (1991), pp. 338–345; Di Dio (note 144), pp. 142f., clarifies Pompeo's Leonardo holdings from the many inventories and in Appendix V, pp. 209–219, presents a consolidated list with comparative references.

¹⁴⁶ Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio, "Federico Borromeo and the Collections of Leone and Pompeo Leoni: A New Document", in: *Journal of the History of Collections*, XXI (2009), pp. 1–15. The letter is dated 25 July 1615 and published in full.

¹⁴⁷ Matteo Cadario, "Galeazzo Arconati, un collezionista di antichità nella Milano di Federico Borromeo", in: *Studia borromaica*, XXII (2008), pp. 319–364: 335.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 330.

¹⁴⁹ On the renovations of the villa, see Ferrario (note 25), pp. 53–66, and the documentary appendix, pp. III–182.

¹⁵⁰ Cadario (note 147), p. 323.

¹⁵¹ Girolamo Borsieri, *Supplemento della Nobiltà di Milano*, Milan 1619, p. 69. Cfr. Cadario (note 147), p. 323.

¹⁵² Matteo Cadario, "... Ad arricchire la Lombardia con uno de' più preziosi avanzi dell'antichità": il Tiberio colossale del Castellazzo degli Arconati", in: *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XII (2007), pp. 11–50, discusses the extraordinary costs to transport a colossal statue of *Tiberius* from Rome to Milan.

¹⁵³ Carmen Bambach, *Un'eredità difficile: i disegni ed i manoscritti di Leonardo tra mito e documento*, Florence 2009; reissued in English in Bambach (note 40), III, pp. 606–617, and IV, pp. 29–34.

spected member of the Council of Sixty as well as one of the four vicar generals of Milan, killed his wife. He was convicted of uxoricide and exiled from Milan in 1608.¹⁵⁴ His house and mobile possessions were confiscated, and his children were prohibited from inheriting any of his possessions. With Giovanni Ambrogio moving between Bologna, Livorno, Rome, and Naples, serving not only the Barnabites in the construction of churches but also the pope and the grand duke of Florence on hydraulic problems, Alessandro Mazenta was left to take charge of Guido's children. He found a tutor for the minor son Faustino, arranged for the boys to move to a place in the small hamlet of Magenta where the family originally had risen to the rank of nobility, and rented out the house in the city to provide an income for the children.¹⁵⁵ By the year of Guido's death in 1613, both of the boys had reached maturity. However, it was not until 1645 that a member of the family, Guido's grandson Guido Antonio II, was able to return to the *casa nobile* on via Amadei.¹⁵⁶

Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta's suggestion that the Leoni heirs purchased three notebooks from the heirs of Guido Mazenta cannot be seriously entertained. For one thing, the Mazenta family was not free to sell their collection. Although they were not in dire financial straits, they could not do anything to attract attention given the confiscation edict and

the inheritance prohibition. Guido's younger brothers Giovanni Ambrogio, Alessandro, and Francesco had joined religious orders, renouncing their rights to the family inheritance, but managed to retain some family paintings and goods that Faustino Mazenta would later try to sell to the duke of Savoy.¹⁵⁷ Giovanni Ambrogio skipped over those embarrassing years in the *Memorie*, hiding the real story of the Mazenta holdings. Certainly, close friends and extended family members knew and did their best to help out. It seems that part of these efforts involved moving Mazenta art objects into other collections, either as permanent gifts or temporary loans.¹⁵⁸ Their success at the cover-up led generations of scholars to take Mazenta's *Memorie* literally and never question whether any Leonardo manuscripts remained in the family's possession.

Part of this success was surely due to the help provided to the Mazenta family by Federico Borromeo, who had been a childhood friend of Guido, Giovanni Ambrogio, and Alessandro. After Borromeo's appointment to cardinal, members of the Mazenta family continued to cultivate good relationships by sending him gifts of paintings, many by Luini; he, in turn, helped them advance in their careers.¹⁵⁹ Surely the cardinal did his part to ease the family's losses, including the transfer of those Leonardo notebooks to safety, while not appearing to personally profit in any way. An unpublished letter from Guido Mazenta

¹⁵⁴ Laura Giacomini, "La 'lauta' dimora dei Mazenta a Milano: trasformazione di un modello abitativo tra Cinquecento e Seicento", in: *Aspetti dell'abitare e del costruire a Roma e in Lombardia tra XV e XIX secolo*, Milan 2005, pp. 205–218; 206 and 217f., notes 12 and 14. The implications of this archival discovery for the history of the Leonardo manuscripts has not previously been discussed.

¹⁵⁵ On the renters and rental income, see *ibidem*, p. 218, note 15. On Mazenta's service to the Barnabites, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the pope, see Valentina Milano, "Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta (1565–1635): architetto e 'superiore' dell'ordine barnabite", Ph.D. diss. "La Sapienza", Rome 2001; *eadem*, s.v. Mazenta, Giovanni Ambrogio, in: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, LXXII, Rome 2008, online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-ambrogio-mazenta_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-ambrogio-mazenta_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

¹⁵⁶ Giacomini (note 154), pp. 206 and 218, note 15.

¹⁵⁷ The list of paintings Faustino offered for sale is published in Silvano Colombo, *Francesco Cairo 1607–1665*, Varese 1983, pp. 219–249, and merits comparison with the inventory from 1672 published by Ettore Verga, "La famiglia Mazenta e le sue collezioni d'arte", in: *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, V (1918), pp. 267–295, as well as the more detailed inventory cited in Mario Comincini, *Il Caravaggio e il periodo milanese: nuovi documenti sugli anni giovanili del pittore (1571–1592)*, TREVIGLIO 42017, p. 44.

¹⁵⁸ The correspondence between Guido Mazenta and Girolamo Borsieri reveals that he was seeking to distribute belongings to his friends, an argument I hope to further develop. See Paolo Vanoli, *Il 'libro di lettere' di Girolamo Borsieri*, Milan 2015, Appendix I, letters 8 and 9 (dated late 1609 or early 1610), online at <https://books.openedition.org/ledizioni/444>.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. the letter from Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta to Federico Borromeo.

in Venice to Federico Borromeo in Milan, dated 19 February 1611, reveals that Borromeo had been helping Guido's two sons Lodovico and Faustino since the time of their father's exile:

Ringratiarei Vostra Signoria Illustrissima della gratia fatta al Faustino mio figlio et a me quando che per rispondere a questo effetto della pietà sua bastassero le mie parole. Havrei anco con lettere mostrato segno due anni sono quanto le deva per il favore fatto a Lodovico mio primogenito quando che il detto figlio con impietà et furezza senza essere pio mantenendomi nell'essere nel quale più tosto morto che vivo non procurasse da Iddio et da suo padre la confirmatione delle maledittioni che sua madre gli diede. Però nell'uno la priego iscusare l'impossibilità et nell'altro la supplico aspettare sin tanto che riconosciuti dal figlio gli benefici fattigli dal padre mostri di meritare quelli di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima.¹⁶⁰

Guido's son Faustino Mazenta repaid that kindness when he feared dying of the plague in 1630 and willed his valuable "Bellini" to the cardinal.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, Alessandro Mazenta, despite officially renouncing his inheritance, left a number of paintings upon his death to the duomo of Milan, which Fau-

stino was able to recover in court.¹⁶² Such favorable rulings promote our retrospective view that Borromeo silently helped the Mazenta family retain their valuable goods. Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta also did his part to assist the children, securing positions and benefits for Faustino through his service to Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Francesco Barberini.¹⁶³

Arconati's Acquisition of Leonardo Manuscripts

We may never know exactly how the notebooks in Guido Mazenta's possession passed to Galeazzo Arconati, but there are several clues to why he was the recipient. Arconati's taste had been formed by Federico Borromeo, who had raised him as a surrogate father when his biological father Giacomo Antonio died in 1593.¹⁶⁴ Although little is known of his early life and education, it is likely that Borromeo brought him to Rome and introduced him to cardinals and aristocrats in that city, forming his taste for antiquities and his interest in Roman-style gardens. Perhaps as early as 1613, but certainly by 1621 when the Leoni's assets were again available for purchase, Arconati was ready to decorate his villa.¹⁶⁵ Trusting Mazenta's *Memorie* has led to the mistaken conclusion that Arconati purchased all of his Leonardo manuscripts from the Leoni heirs in 1622, but, as Paola Barbara Conti sug-

meo from Pisa, 23 January 1588 (BAMi, ms. G. 141, fol. 417r). The Luini gifts are mentioned in letters from Alessandro Mazenta to Borromeo, dated 18 November 1598 and 23 June 1599 (BAMi, ms. G. 179 inf., fol. 58r, and ms. G. 185 inf., fol. 18r). Thanks to Barbara Parenti for help with the transcriptions.

¹⁶⁰ BAMi, ms. G. 208 inf., fol. 291r.

¹⁶¹ Mario Comincini, "Spigolatori d'archivio", in: *idem*/Federico Cavaliere, *Pittura nell'Abbatense e nel Magentino: opere su tavola e tela secoli XV–XVIII*, Abbiategrosso 1999, pp. 141–191: 189, note 98, citing the testament in ASMi, Notarile, 26887. The donation never took place because Cardinal Federico Borromeo died many years before Faustino. I have been able to identify the work, based upon subject and dimensions, as Vincenzo Catena's *Christ giving the keys to Saint Peter before Faith, Hope, and Charity*, which entered the Prado in 1857 as a work of Bellini.

¹⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 189, note 100, and p. 190, note 117.

¹⁶³ Among the favors Giovanni Ambrogio Mazenta obtained for his

nephew Faustino were the position of Protonotario apostolico on 2 June 1623 (ASMi, Notarile, 26955), a benefice on 21 October 1630, and another on 3 August 1632. See Comincini (note 161), pp. 156f. and 189, note 97. Sparti (note 38), p. 144, first drew attention to the appointments as favors.

¹⁶⁴ In a codicil to his will dated 6 October 1592 (Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Archivio Sola-Busca, cart. 5), Giacomo Antonio Arconati assigned Borromeo responsibility for the education of his sons. Ferrario (note 25), pp. 42–45, states that he was *gentiluomo di camera* to the duke of Savoy when he died and estimates that Galeazzo was born in 1580.

¹⁶⁵ Cadario (note 147), p. 329, could only document Arconati's casts to 1631 when they were viewed at his Castellazzo villa, yet their similarity to Borromeo's set (only the *Pasquino* is lacking) suggests that they purchased them together. On Borromeo's purchase, see Di Dio (note 146), note 18; on Leoni's acquisition of the casts, *eadem* (note 144), pp. 138–140.

gested, the high price of the purchase documented in that year may very well have been for the watercolors and cartoons Arconati later owned (the Burlington House cartoon and the lost *Heads of the Apostles*), not just the Codex Atlanticus.¹⁶⁶

In addition, Arconati was a family relation to the Mazenta, albeit a distant one, since Guido Mazenta's sister Margherita had married a distant cousin of Galeazzo Arconati, the Count Palatine Giovanni Battista Arconati. This was a strategic marriage for this branch of the Arconati family, enabling it to maintain ties with Milan while the children of their union received titles in the Savoy and the Lorraine.¹⁶⁷ Margherita's father, Ludovico Mazenta, and her father-in-law Marc'Antonio had been members of the Council of Sixty in Milan. Her husband owned the property on via Olmetto bordering on the Mazenta house in via Amedei, as documented in an agreement of 1617 regarding work on the Mazenta house that affected the property boundary.¹⁶⁸ With such familial and neighborly ties, one can imagine the ease of passing on mobile items not specified in the confiscation inventory, particularly when the neighbor is a sister who had probably attended to the care of the children soon after their mother's death.

While many details remain to be clarified, there is good reason to believe that the six manuscripts Mazenta retained in 1589 never left Milan and became a part of Arconati's collection by the middle of the second decade of the Seicento. Once the heritage of Pompeo Leoni was released by the courts for the sale

that Federico Borromeo had been anticipating eagerly since 1615,¹⁶⁹ Galeazzo Arconati managed to procure drawings, printings, and another six small notebooks and, as we saw earlier, the valuable Codex Atlanticus.¹⁷⁰ This brought his total number of Leonardo volumes to 13. By excluding the oversized Codex Atlanticus and adding in Borromeo's manuscript on light and shadow (ms. C), the total number of portable notebooks Mazenta could identify was 13. In this way, he fashioned a story that slanted the truth enough to make his family look valiant.

Conclusion

When Zaccolini traveled to Milan, he must have obtained access to autograph Leonardo manuscripts through his friendship with Muzio Oddi. Oddi provides a bridge to Federico Borromeo, Galeazzo Arconati, Ercole Bianchi, and Alessandro Mazenta, all of whom we can associate with Leonardo notebooks that never passed through the hands of Pompeo Leoni. Although we do not know if Zaccolini gained access to the Leoni-Calchi household before many of their Leonardo manuscripts and drawings were purchased by Galeazzo Arconati, we do know the Leoni heirs admitted many visitors to their famous collection at the Casa degli Omenoni, which Girolamo Borsieri described in great detail in his *Supplimento* to Morigia's *Nobiltà di Milano*.¹⁷¹

Whichever came first, Zaccolini's interest in Leonardo's writings or his trip to Milan, we can imagine a connection arising from his skill at mir-

¹⁶⁶ Conti (note 137), pp. 67–69. Conti, p. 69, also cites Arconati's later purchase from the Leoni heirs, documented in the account book of Giovanni Battista Calchi in ASMi, Notarile, 30848, of "un quadro di Giganti" and "un San Giorgio del Parmegiano", each valued at 150 *scudi*; the same document records less valuable sales up to Calchi's death on 2 March 1641.

¹⁶⁷ Ferrario (note 25), p. 30, states that Margherita's marriage is documented in the Arconati Visconti family archives in Gaasbeek Castle, Lenick, Belgium, cart. 3 and cart. 12, doc. 18.

¹⁶⁸ Giacomini (note 154), p. 207.

¹⁶⁹ Alessandro Rovetta, "Leone Leoni, Federico Borromeo, e l'Ambro-

siana", in: *Leone Leoni tra Lombardia e Spagna*, ed. by Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Milan 1995, pp. 45–61, relates that five days after the Calchi ordered an inventory on 20 July 1615, Federico Borromeo wrote to Abbot Ludovico Besozzi that they must act quickly to take advantage of the opportunity to purchase plaster casts and paintings.

¹⁷⁰ Bambach (note 40), IV, pp. 29–31, and *eadem* (note 153), p. 15, identified these notebooks as Paris mss. A, B (bound with the codex on the flight of birds), H, I, K, and Trivulzius.

¹⁷¹ Borsieri (note 151), pp. 67f. See the discussion in Di Dio (note 144), p. 150.

ror writing. Dal Pozzo attributed this mastery to the Theatine's emulation of Leonardo da Vinci,¹⁷² while Leone Allacci described how Zaccolini exploited his skill at writing backwards to play practical jokes on his friends.¹⁷³ Perhaps Zaccolini was the kind of left-handed individual for whom writing backwards comes easily,¹⁷⁴ and this may have been why at least one owner of a Leonardo manuscript gave him access.

Lacking documentation, we cannot ascertain exactly when Zaccolini went to Milan. I believe the most likely time is the early 1610s, when the Theatine church of Sant'Antonio Abate was undergoing the construction and decoration of numerous chapels, some frescoed on-site, others with canvases sent in from Venice and Bologna. During these campaigns, the fathers in Milan could have benefited from Zaccolini's knowledge and skills. Perhaps he also met Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574–1625), who was engaged in decorating the Acerbi chapel in Sant'Antonio

Abate in 1610¹⁷⁵ and who owned a copy of Leonardo's abridged *Trattato*, as stated in an inscription on the flyleaf of *vm2* indicating that its former owner was Bernardino Lanino (1512–1578).¹⁷⁶ If the two did indeed meet, Procaccini may have been inspired by Matteo Zaccolini's teachings on perspective and color as much as Zaccolini was inspired by his encounter with Leonardo's autograph manuscripts.

When searching for a dissertation topic on color, Carlo Pedretti suggested I look at Zaccolini. The research presented here developed from research for an edition and translation of Zaccolini's Prospettiva del colore scheduled for publication with Cambridge University Press in 2021. I wish to thank the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz for providing library access, Brown University for providing online access to JSTOR and other subscription sites, and Claire Farago for crucial support in the early stages of my recovery and research on the heritage of Leonardo da Vinci.

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¹⁷² In his biography of Zaccolini in BUM, ms. H 267, fol. 27v.

¹⁷³ Leone Allacci, *Animadversiones in antiquitatum etruscarum fragmenta ab Inghiramo edita*, Paris 1640, p. 141.

¹⁷⁴ Janis Bell, "Zaccolini e Milano: nuove indagini, nuove attribuzioni", in: *L'eredità artistica e culturale di Matteo Zaccolini*, conference proceedings Cesena 2019 (forthcoming).

¹⁷⁵ Simonetta Coppa, "La cronologia della cappella Acerbi in S. Anto-

nio abate a Milano", in: *Arte lombarda*, 58/59 (1981), pp. 85–99: 98; see also Andrea Spiriti, "La fabbrica milanese di Sant'Antonio Abate: novità e proposte", in: *Studia borromaica*, XXII (2008), pp. 283–301; Rosaria Greco Grassilli, "Lorenzo Garbieri e la commissione per Sant'Antonio Abate in Milano: notizie biografiche e artistiche", in: *Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, n. s., LX (2010), pp. 189–224.

¹⁷⁶ Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. 5372.

Abbreviations

ASMi	Archivio di Stato di Milano
BAMi	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
BUM	Bibliothèque Universitaire, Montpellier
BUU	Università degli Studi Carlo Bo, Biblioteca Area Umanistica, Urbino

Abstract

This essay focuses on Zaccolini as a key figure in the study of Leonardo da Vinci's writings in Rome in the early years of the seventeenth century, a study that culminated in the publication of the *Trattato della pittura* in Paris, 1651. The author presents evidence for the circulation in Rome of manuscript copies of Leonardo's abridged treatise during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century and suggests a revised reading of letters relating to the publication planned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the 1630s, under the direction of Cassiano dal Pozzo.

Re-evaluating the purported connections between Zaccolini, dal Pozzo, and individuals in Milan, the author shows that Muzio Oddi's friendship with Zaccolini supports the hypothesis that the Theatine perspective painter went to Milan between 1610 and 1617. During these years, Leonardo's autograph manuscripts were dispersed among the collections of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, art dealer Ercole Bianchi, the heirs of Pompeo Leoni, and friends of the nobleman and collector Guido Mazenta. Since Mazenta was exiled from Milan in 1608 and his goods were confiscated, the author proposes that Galeazzo Arconati obtained six notebooks from the Mazenta long before he purchased the Codex Atlanticus and several small notebooks from the heirs of Leoni.

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