

ACHADEMIA
LEONARDI
VINCI

*Journal of Leonardo Studies
& Bibliography of Vinciana*

Edited by

CARLO PEDRETTI



THE ARMAND HAMMER CENTER FOR LEONARDO STUDIES AT UCLA

Volume IX, 1996

GIUNTI

ACHADEMIA LEONARDI VINCI

*Journal of Leonardo Studies
& Bibliography of Vinciana*

Edited by

CARLO PEDRETTI



Volume IX, 1996



GIUNTI

CONTENTS

Presentation	JOCHEN PRANGE	7
Editorial / Editoriale		8, 9
Abbreviations		10
I. Leonardo Studies		
N.d.P. [C.P.]		13
La fisionomia naturale di Leonardo: una traccia giovanile e alcuni sviluppi	DOMENICO LAURENZA	14
Leonardo's Early Work on the Pinhole Camera: The Astronomical Heritage of Levi ben Gerson E.	BROYDRICK THRO	20
Appendix I. Leonardo's Early Studies of Shadows, including CA, f. 187 r-a, v-a: Parallels with the Pinhole Camera and Anticipations of Francesco Maurolico's <i>Photismi</i>		42
Appendix II. Leonardo's Astronomy: Sources and Authorship of the Codex Huygens		51
The Dart Caster	CARLO PEDRETTI	55
Appendix. Leonardo's Other Texts on Throwing		69
The Battle of Anghiari: A Speculative Reconstruction of Leonardo's Design Process	CLAIRE J. FARAGO	73
Mural Perspective as Cinemascope: Story-board to Production	CARLO PEDRETTI	87
Leonardo's Lost Robot	MARK ELLING ROSHEIM	99
Appendix. Leonardo's 'Automobile' and Hans Burgkmair's Gala Carriages [M.E.R.]		109
II. Bibliography and Documents		
Ghost and Apocripha: God to Us All [C.P.]		113
Quella puttana di Leonardo	CARLO PEDRETTI	121
Appendice. I manoscritti 'inediti' di Leonardo ricercati da Giuseppe Bossi a Napoli: autografi o apografi?		136
The Bibbona Church [C.P.]		140
A New Madonna of the Yarnwinder	NATHALIE GUTTMANN	141
'Domanda Benedetto Portinari ...'	CARLO PEDRETTI	143
Appendice I. Pattini come chiodi		149
Appendice II. La sequenza originale dei fogli 91-100 del Ms. B di Parigi		150
<i>Primitiva paupertas</i> : Leonardo come Francesco	SANDRA MIGLIORE	153

The Reading Room / La Sala di Lettura: 1. Il pittore che ha perduto la sua dama [SANDRA MIGLIORE] 2. Chastel millimetrico [CARLO PEDRETTI] 3. Beckford 'inventore' del Libro di Pittura di Leonardo [GLORIA FOSSI]	159
The Book on Painting. A Bibliography [C.P.]	165
Carlo Pedretti's Publications, 1985-1995 NATHALIE GUTTMANN	191
Gleanings [C.P.]: 1. a New Dürer Drawing after Leonardo? [PATRICIA TRUTTY-COOHILL] 2. Americana Aftermath [PATRICIA TRUTTY-COOHILL] 3. The Daverio Manuscript 4. 'Finestra d'aguchia' 5. 'Uno che seg<g>a' 6. Naked in the night	205
III. Events (Lectures, Colloquia, Exhibitions, Auctions, &c.)	
Is a Museum of Art a No Place for a Leonardo Codex? [C.P.]	211
Deluges after Leonardo: Basquiat & Matta [C.P.]	218
The Price of Ugliness: Snippets Sold & Bought [C.P.]	219
A Chronicle of Events, 1995 [C.P.]	221
Views & Previews: The Sale of a Symbol. Part Two What's in a Name A Leonardo Project for Piombino The Europe of Leonardo Project The Caen Congress The Vatican St. Jerome Restored	227
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	235
TEΛOΣ	237
Note to Contributors	238
Avviso agli Autori	239

The Bibbona Church

[C. P.]

Sempre uno edificio vole essere ispicato d'intorno a volere dimostrare la sua vera forma (A building ought always to be detached all round in order to show its true shape).

Paris MS. B. f. 39 v. c. 1487-90 (Richter, § 753).

1 THE WELL-KNOWN map at Windsor, RL 12683 (Richter, pl. CXII), c. 1503-4, showing the western part of Tuscany with the Tirrenian coast at the top, includes a considerable number of large and small towns, each identified with its name written by Leonardo in the regular manner, that is, from left to right. On the upper left, facing the sea, there are the hill-towns of Bolgheri and Bibbona, which are located at about five kilometers from one another. Between the two, in the plain, is shown the huge structure of a church with large cupola, apparently octagonal, topped by a conspicuous lantern. Though the drawing is about a quarter of an inch in size, it conveys the effect of a monumental building the like of Florence Cathedral with Brunelleschi's cupola.

2 This is one of the very few unidentified spots in the whole map, indeed the only one shown in a scale that approaches that of a whole town. For more than thirty years, in fact since the early 1960s, I have been wondering about this mysterious detail, and only recently Guido Lopez, a contributor to this journal and the owner of a country house at Bolgheri, was able to solve the problem the moment I brought it to him. And so in a summer day of 1995 we went together to the outskirts of Bibbona to visit Santa Maria della Pietà,¹ an imposing Greek-cross church as developed from a square plan the way it is shown time and again in Leonardo's early studies of ecclesiastical architecture in Paris MS. B, c. 1487-90, and on related sheets of the Codex Atlanticus. Like the

4-10

¹ A thorough account of the history and style of this church is found in Gemma Landolfi and Maddalena Paola Winspeare, *Bibbona. Guida ai beni storici e artistici*, 1994, pp. 85-117 (with full bibliography). I should like to thank Dr. Lucia Borghesan of the Municipality of Leghorn for a copy of this publication.

later Santa Maria della Consolazione at Todi, built about 1508 by Cola da Caprarola on a Bramante plan, the Bibbona Church stands out in the open field and could be observed from the top of the fortified walls of the town as shown in Leonardo's drawing – a vantage point comparable to that which is taken by the viewer of an architectural model in order to appreciate its 'true form'.

The building is known to have been planned by Ranieri da Tripalle and Vittorio Ghiberti, son of Lorenzo, who are in fact recorded in newly discovered documents for having followed its construction entrusted to bricklayers and stonemasons from Vicenza since about 1482. By 1492 it was completed, as shown by an inscription still *in situ* on the architrave of the main entrance door:

DIVAE VIRGINI PORTAM HANC C. BIBON.
SVA IMPENSA ISTITUIT FACIENDAM. MCCCCXCII

The church was built in order to have its main altar incorporate the tabernacle that used to stand by the road in the open field with an image of the Virgin with the Dead Christ painted on stone and said to have performed miracles since the end of the eighth century. A reference to it is also in Luca Landucci's *Diary* under the year 1482.⁴ The portent was also known to Girolamo Savonarola, who wrote in poetical, passionate terms about it. By the end of 1482 Leonardo was already in Milan and it is unlikely that the news about the miraculous image had reached him, though it is more probable that he had come to be informed of the plans for the new church. One sheet of the Codex Atlanticus, f. 362 r-b, v-b, c. 1487-90, contains several studies of centrally-planned churches, and next to the plan and elevation of a Greek-cross church on the recto

4, 5

⁴ Landucci's entry reads as follows: 'E in questo tempo si parlava d'una divozione di Nostra Donna trovata a Bibbona, d'un tabernacolo fuori di Bibbona un trarre di balestro; ch'è una Vergine Maria a sedere con Cristo in braccio come si levò di croce, come si dipingono l'altre Pietà. La quale cominciò msino a dì 5 d'aprile 1482, la quale si trasfigurava, cioè diventava d'azzurra rossa, e di rossa poi nera e di diversi colori. E questo dicono avere fatto molte [volte] insino a questo dì [...]' (At this time there was much talk about the worship of an image of Our Lady at Bibbona, or rather in a tabernacle about a bowshot from Bibbona. It is, namely, a Virgin seated and holding the dead Christ in her arms, after He has been taken down from the Cross, a scene called *Pietà*. This worship began on the 5th of April, when it was transfigured: that is, it changed from blue to red, and from red to black and divers colors. And this is said to have happened many times between then and now [...]). On the basis of style, the painting cannot be earlier than the mid-fifteenth century. For the documentation concerning the church, see Giuseppe Marchini, 'Vittorio Ghiberti architetto', in *Scritti di stona dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, Rome, 1962, Vol. II, pp. 187-202.

4 there is a note not by Leonardo: 'benedictus de benedictis de pisis amicus Leonardj deuincj de florentie'. With all probability this is the same person as recorded in the annals of the Florentine Studio recently published by Armando Verde (Pistoia, 1977, Vol. II, t. I, pp. 167-9). Benedetti was a *scolaro* in law at Pisa where he graduated in 1491 after a protracted student life. In 1499 he was Orator at Venice and died there in 1500. It is probable that about 1487-90 he was in Pavia or in Milan, where he professed himself a friend of Leonardo's. Whether he was interested in architecture or not, he might have been informed of the architectural projects in the area of Leghorn at the time of his school days in nearby Pisa. The construction of the Bibbona Church was in fact completed in 1492, a year after his graduation. The best-known church of the same time was of course Santa Maria delle Carceri by Giuliano da Sangallo al Prato, also dating c. 1492, with which the Bibbona one is sometimes compared. And it is sometimes suggested that the ground plans of Santa Maria degli Angioli and Santo Spirito in Paris MS. B, ff. 11 v-12 r, reflect a Leonardo meeting with Giuliano in Milan in 1492 as recorded by Vasari (IV, 276). This is of course an impossibility because the drawings certainly predate that meeting. In fact, MS. B cannot be later than 1490, and those particular drawings show the same touch of the pen and color of the ink as the notes on the same pages in the style of the 1489 anatomical studies. It is however quite possible that this kind of information circulated quickly, just as it is not to be ruled out the possibility that Leonardo had been more directly involved with the plans for the Bibbona Church since it could well be that he was informed of them even before leaving Florence in late 1482. In Vasari's account of Leonardo's earliest activity in Florence (IV, 20), reference is made to architecture, with the specification that he made 'many drawings of both ground plans and other buildings, and was also the first who, still a very young man, discussed about the canalization of the Arno River from Pisa to Florence'. Leonardo's early excursions in the territory might have brought him to the site where the Bibbona Church was to be built. As the character of this structure is so emphatically reflected in his early studies of ecclesiastical architecture, one may wonder why, when he happened to see the actual building some ten years after it was completed, he decided to include it in a map of technical nature, where each town is designated by name for reference, and where this particular structure stands alone, out of scale and unidentified.

A New Madonna of the Yarnwinder

NATHALIE GUTTMANN

THE EXHIBITION on the theme of Leonardo's Bridges organized by Carlo Pedretti and first shown in three locations in Sweden – Malmö, Stockholm and Göteborg – from 1993 to 1995, failed to include the ex-Reford version of the *Madonna of the Yarnwinder*,¹ but the revised edition of the same exhibition, which is now touring the world after the stops in Germany and Holland (Speyer, 1995, and Rotterdam, 1995-6), will be featuring an unpublished early version of it. This is a privately owned painting (oil on wood, 43.5 x 34.7 cm) recently sold in England and now privately owned. Of some thirty or so copies known of the subject, this is unquestionably the best after the two versions that have come to be recognized as products of Leonardo's studio under the direct supervision and even participation of Leonardo himself, namely the Buccleuch and ex-Reford ones.² As such, it incorporates elements of both, e.g. the emphatically flattened-out face of the Virgin, just as in Leonardo's well-known figure study at Windsor, the highly convincing detail of the stratified rock formation at bottom right, and the atmospheric rendering of a chain of Alpine mountains in the far background, far more Leonardian in character than those in the ex-Reford version. Different elements of the landscape are introduced in the mid-distance – the upstream view of a river flanked by a town with a bridge and by a long, winding road that leads up to a smaller town, on the left, and a promontory of dense vegetation on the right. The type of buildings may suggest at first a northern artist, but this is precisely the type of landscape that Bernazzano contributed to the paintings of Cesare da Sesto. A comparable detail appears even in a small sketch on a French sheet of Leonardo's geometrical studies, CA, f. 90 v-b, c. 1517-18. This newly discovered *Madonna of the Yarnwinder* is being studied by Carlo Pedretti.

¹ C.P., 'The Swedish Courier', in *ALV Journal*, VIII [1993], 245.

² C.P., 'The Mysteries of a Leonardo Madonna, mostly Unsolvable', in *ALV Journal*, V [1992], 169-75 (with full bibliography).



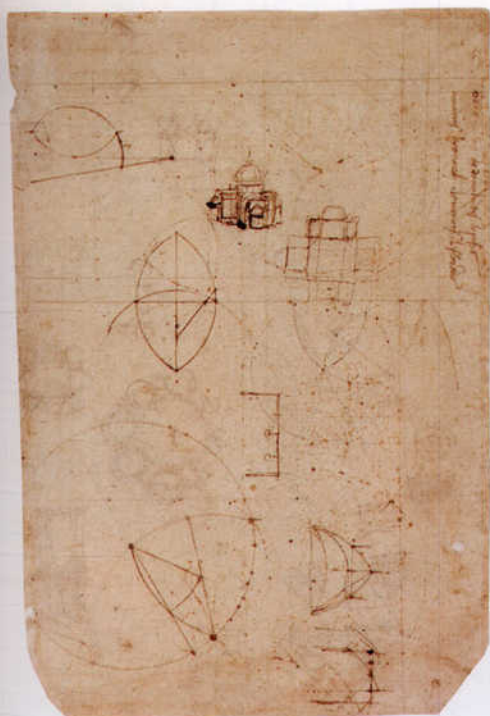
1. Windsor, RL 12682 (actual-size detail), c. 1502.



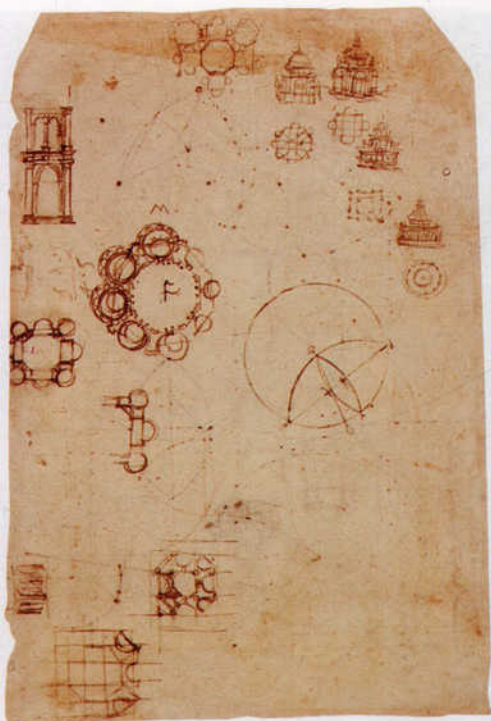
2. Enlarged detail of Figure 1.



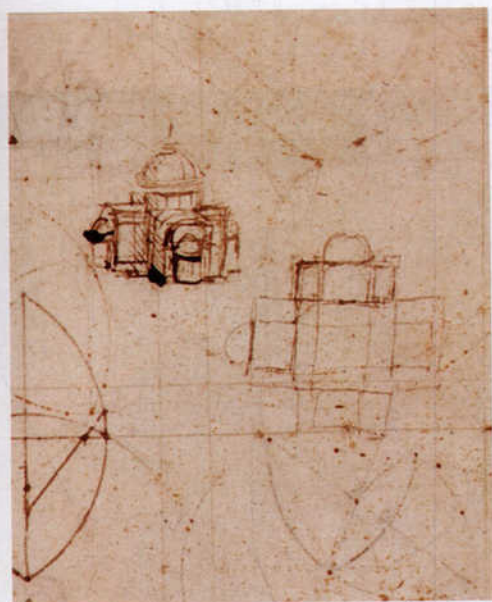
3. Bibbona, Santa Maria della Pietà, c. 1492.



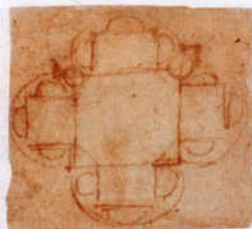
4. CA, f. 362 r-b, c. 1487-90.



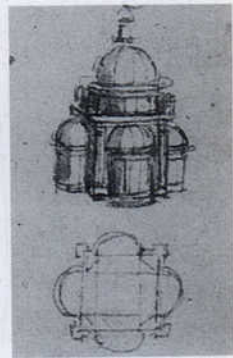
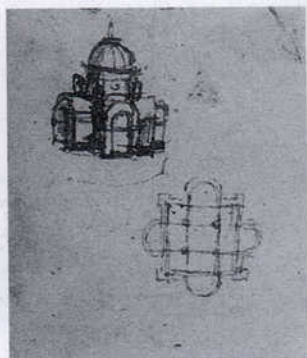
5. CA, f. 362 v-b, c. 1487-90.



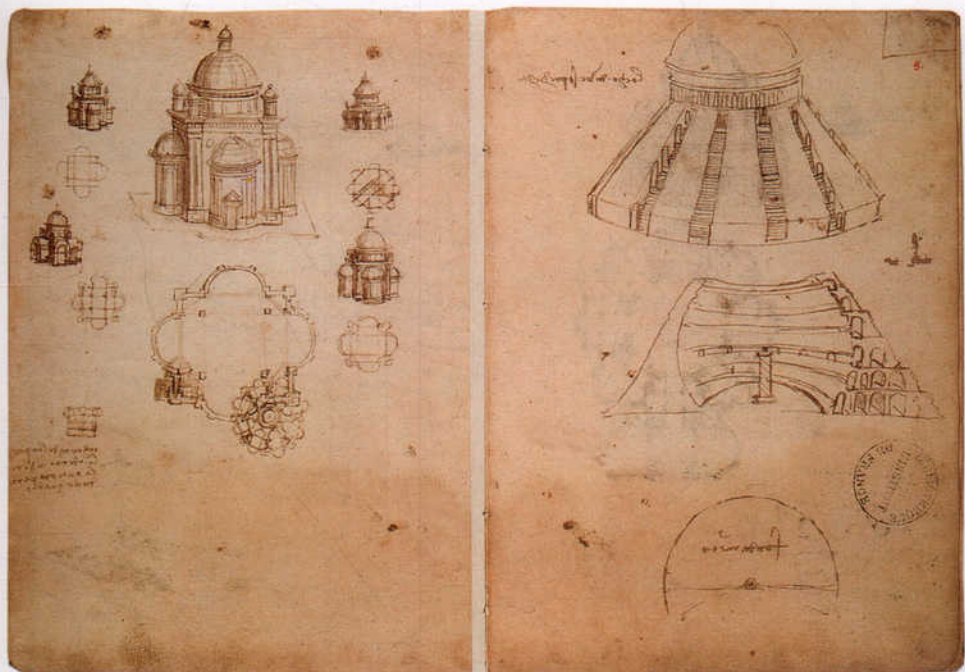
6. Detail of Figure 4.



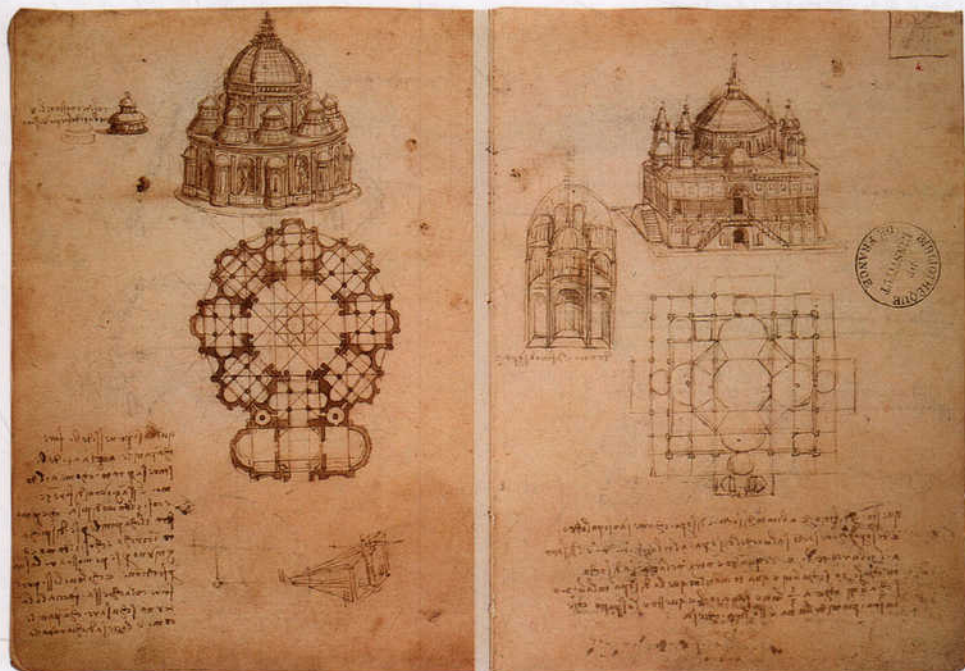
7 and 8. CA, f. 348 v-b, c. 1487-90.



9 and 10. Details of Paris MS. B, f. 91 v (3 v), c. 1487-90.



8. Ms. B, ff. 92 v-93 r (2 v-3 r), c. 1487-90.



9. MB. B, ff. 93 v-94 r (3 v-4 r), c. 1487-90.