

LEONARDO STUDIES

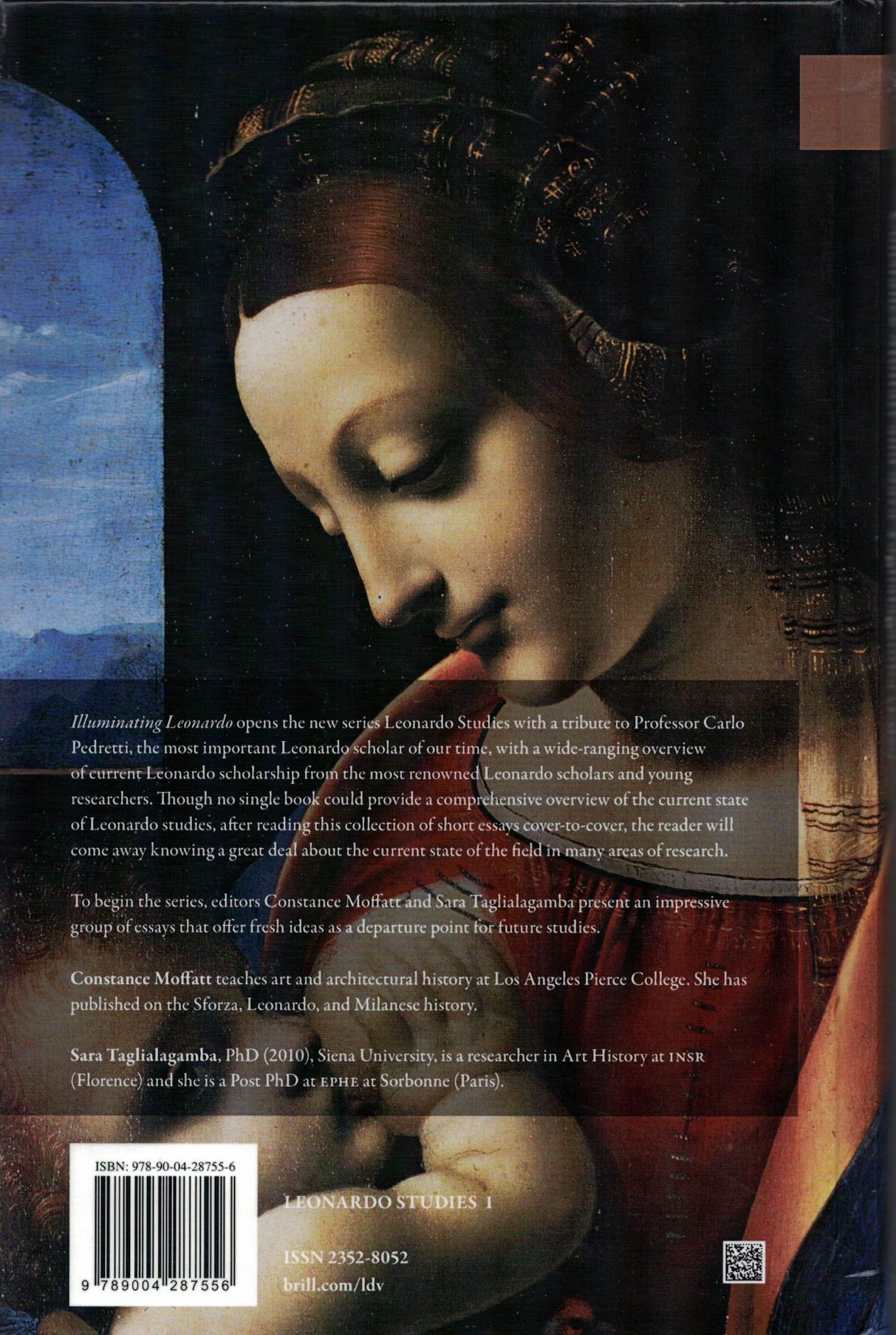
# Illuminating Leonardo

*A Festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating His  
70 Years of Scholarship (1944–2014)*

*Edited by*

Constance Moffatt and Sara Tagliagamba

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*Illuminating Leonardo* opens the new series Leonardo Studies with a tribute to Professor Carlo Pedretti, the most important Leonardo scholar of our time, with a wide-ranging overview of current Leonardo scholarship from the most renowned Leonardo scholars and young researchers. Though no single book could provide a comprehensive overview of the current state of Leonardo studies, after reading this collection of short essays cover-to-cover, the reader will come away knowing a great deal about the current state of the field in many areas of research.

To begin the series, editors Constance Moffatt and Sara Tagliagamba present an impressive group of essays that offer fresh ideas as a departure point for future studies.

Constance Moffatt teaches art and architectural history at Los Angeles Pierce College. She has published on the Sforza, Leonardo, and Milanese history.

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VOLUME 1

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copy of d'Adda's book in the Internet Archive,<sup>16</sup> and high-resolution digital images of all Calvi's notes, presented in the sequence in which they were found in his copy of d'Adda's book, on the author's academia.edu page.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> <<https://archive.org/details/DAddaLeonardoELaSuaLibreria1873>>.

<sup>17</sup> <<https://independent.academia.edu/MaxMarmor/Documents>>.

## The *Codex Corazza* and Zaccolini's Treatises in the Project of Cassiano dal Pozzo for the Spreading of Leonardo's Works

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### Introduction

This essay draws on my recent book—written with the support of Carlo Pedretti and in the wake of his studies—about the critical edition and reproduction of the *Codex Corazza*, the apograph by Leonardo kept in the National Library of Naples, as well as on my current studies on the role of the apographs of Zaccolini's treatises at the Laurentiana Library in Florence within the general context of the spread of Leonardo's thinking in Southern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Here I aim to describe the relevance of that work and of the ongoing study supported by our illustrious scholar and friend Pedretti. The two mentioned manuscripts have the same origin: they both are part of the family of apographs drawn up under a massive initiative promoted by Cassiano dal Pozzo in 1640 for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, which aimed at the edition of an anthology of the Ambrosian Leonardo manuscripts. The *Codex Corazza* had to represent the final draft of this "anthology," which was ready to print, but never published. It should have included the edition of Leonardo's texts forming the *Treatise on Painting*—later published in Paris in 1651—and the apographs kept in the Laurentiana Library: these last ones, still unpublished although partially studied, come from lost originals dating back to 1618–1622, drawn by the painter and perspectivist-architect Matteo Zaccolini, a lay brother of the Theatine order, and containing some texts from Leonardo's writings on perspective and theory of shadows and colors. The following analysis of these documents considers the influence of the entire critical and informative work of dal Pozzo on

<sup>1</sup> In both cases, our thanks go to Carlo Pedretti, who was the first to report the existence of those precious manuscripts some decades ago. I was lucky to meet him several years ago, when I was also introduced into the prestigious circle of Leonardo scholars: this represented for me the beginning of an important experience, which has resulted in the publication of the *Codex Corazza* with an excellent introduction by Carlo Pedretti.

Leonardo scholarship and in relation to the influence of the great artist's thought on Neapolitan architecture and engineering in the modern age.

### The Codex Corazza and the Influence of Leonardo in Southern Italy

The Codex Corazza (Naples, National Library, XII.D.79), a precious anthology from Leonardo's manuscripts, was created thanks to a massive initiative promoted by Cassiano dal Pozzo for Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the early 1630s, in Rome and Milan, that was aimed at the collation, transcription, and publication of Leonardo's texts already known at that time. The manuscript (Figs. 2.1–2.3) consists of a collection of texts and drawings on painting, the natural sciences, architecture, and engineering; they come from nondefinitive versions and they were destined to be printed. As said above, this Codex belongs to the same family of manuscripts (even written on the same paper and in the same format and calligraphy) as the apographs of Zaccolini's Treatises and the Codex H 228 inf. kept in the Ambrosiana Library, the basic text for the first French edition of the *Treatise on Painting* dated 1651.

In our work on the Codex Corazza<sup>2</sup> we have followed three lines of research: the study of this apograph with a specific analysis of the manuscript and of its role in relation to Leonardo's texts, along with its lost parts and some hundreds of graphics faithful to the original ones; the story of Vincenzo Corazza, the owner of the manuscript, a leading figure of the literary and scientific Enlightenment in Italy; and finally, the influence of Leonardo's methods in the development of the modern profession of engineer-architect as a "scientist-artist." Through the manuscript sources of the National Library of Naples, the Archiginnasio Library in Bologna, and many other Italian archives, we have been able to reconstruct the complex story of this Codex that belonged to Corazza since 1766. He lived first in his native city of Bologna, then in Rome and at the end of his life at the Bourbon Court in Naples (1784–1499), where he was the tutor of the royal princes, particularly of the future king Francesco I. Thus far, we have matched the relationships between Corazza and many other important personalities of the cultural and political milieu of that time, discussing his passionate studies on Leonardo, and the consequent reflections on his critical thought on art and architecture.

<sup>2</sup> Alfredo Buccaro, *Leonardo da Vinci. Il Codice Corazza nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, ed. Carlo Pedretti, with facs. reproduction and critical transcription, 2 vols. (Poggio a Caiano/Napoli: CB Edizioni/Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2011).

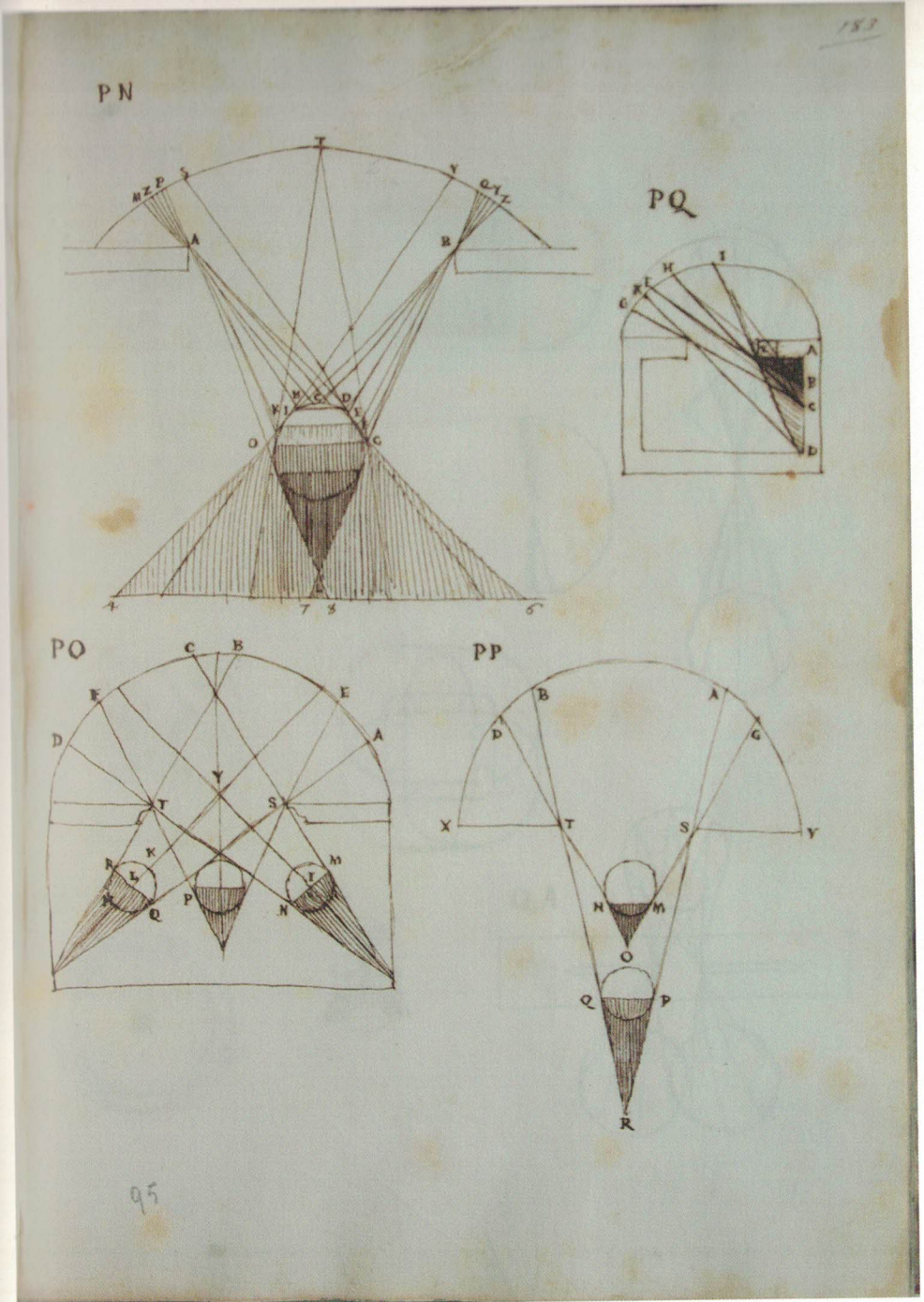


FIGURE 2.1 Codex Corazza. Lighting and construction of shadows in architectural interiors

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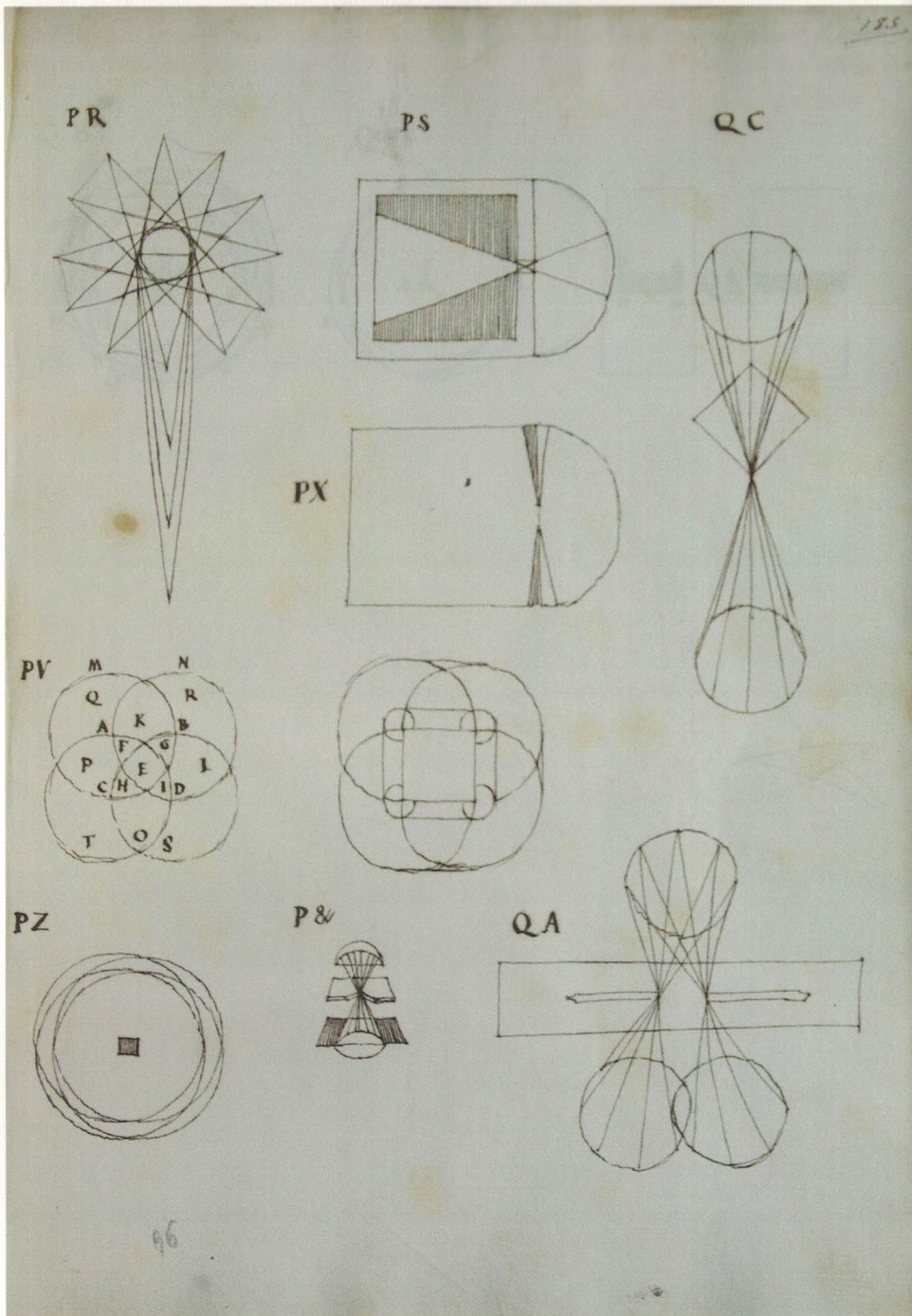


FIGURE 2.2 Codex Corazza. Lighting and construction of shadows in architectural interiors

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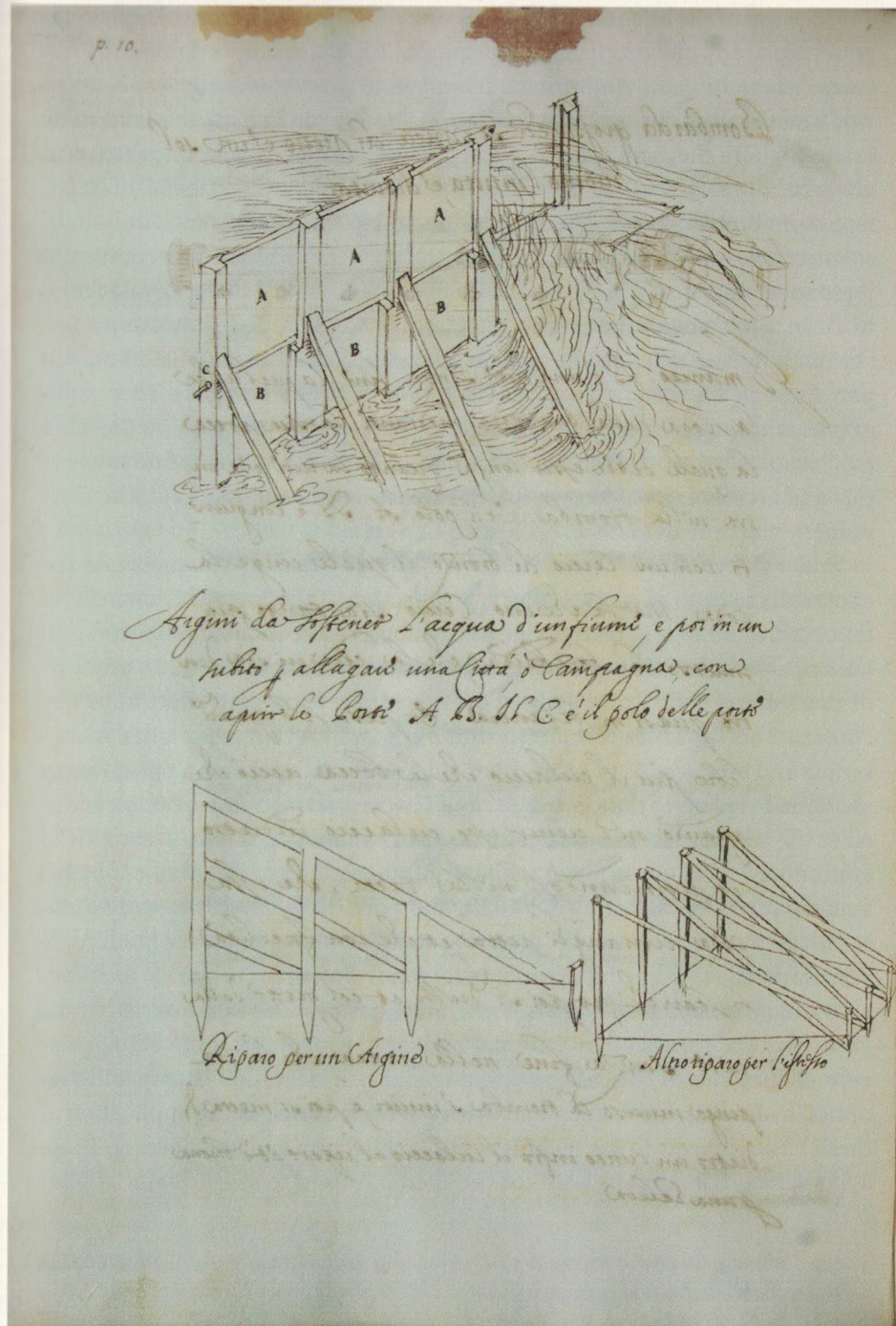


FIGURE 2.3 Codex Corazza. River banks



The story of the Neapolitan Codex is part of a larger and more complex story of Leonardo's manuscripts and apographs. The manuscripts donated by Galeazzo Arconati to the Ambrosiana Library in 1637 were taken by Napoleon in 1796 and then transferred from the National Library in Paris to the Institut de France, where they still remain, except for the Codex Atlanticus, which was given back in 1815. Some of those that arrived in England after the fall of Napoleon were brought to the British Museum and to the Victoria and Albert Museum; others were destined for the Leicester and Ashburnham collections, and loose sheets still reside in the Royal Library at Windsor and in the Royal Library in Turin. But some of the French manuscripts were mutilated, missing a few sheets that were taken in the nineteenth century, and reconstructed only in part through the apographs at the beginning of the last century. These apographs are the transcriptions carried out between 1637 and 1640 by Cassiano dal Pozzo, secretary to Cardinal Barberini in Rome. Dal Pozzo, a fine intellectual and art scholar, was known for his extensive collecting and reproductions of many classical artworks in his Museo Cartaceo.

Under the control of Arconati, the Ambrosian Friars in Milan created the apographs to be used as the basis for a collection of the "best of Leonardo,"—that is, an anthology of texts aimed at creating a digest of Leonardo's work.<sup>3</sup> In the same period dal Pozzo drew up a text aimed at forming the editio princeps of the *Trattato della Pittura*, edited in Paris in 1651 with many illustrations by Poussin. This work was completed with a commentary on the original manuscripts and on the basis of some other old Ambrosian apographs, taken from a shortened version of the *Libro di pittura*. This important apograph, now located in the Vatican Library,<sup>4</sup> was compiled by Leonardo's pupil Francesco Melzi around 1546 from the original manuscripts, according to the plan set by his teacher; it was unknown by dal Pozzo and published only in the early Nineteenth century. The apographs preserved in Milan and in Naples contain some selections taken from the original texts folios drawn by Leonardo between 1490 and 1518 in Milan, Florence, Rome, and Amboise. The work was led by dal Pozzo who, as requested by Cardinal Barberini, went beyond the editio princeps of the *Trattato*, discussing painting and representation theory and also optics, hydraulics, mechanics, and earth sciences, as well as the application of these basic subjects to the techniques of architecture and engineering. These apographs are important both for the methods used to select material from

Leonardo's texts and for the intrinsic value of the transcriptions with their precious images. As Pedretti has shown, they allow us to replace lost originals in some cases, or help in reading technical details illustrated sometimes by Leonardo with pictures that are difficult to understand because of the scale of the design or of their physical condition.

Thus, the Codex Corazza represents the most extensive and advanced compilation yet of the anthology that was prepared for printing, and offers an opportunity to piece together the intricate story of those manuscripts, the connections between the originals and the apographs, and the importance of those texts in relation to the precious technical-scientific and artistic insights of Leonardo. Moreover, we have been able to deepen the story and the importance of the Codex in relation to the spread of Leonardo's lessons in modern and contemporary Southern Italy. The success of Leonardo's research methods has assumed in our study the importance it deserved in order to outline a precise survey of the roots of the *scienziato-artista*, a figure created in the early modern age but defined later during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in its professional and institutional role, before the specialties introduced during the twentieth century. At first we have had to clarify the meaning given to the *scienziato-artista* since the age of the Enlightenment: this is the real crux of the history of modern engineering, to which we dedicated a book and an exhibition at the State Archives of Naples.<sup>5</sup> We have picked up the thread again of that experience to look for the origins of that profession during the early modern period.

The definition of *scienziato-artista*, referring to Leonardo or to "post-vanvitelliani" architect-engineers (or even to the engineers working in the *Corpo di Ponti e Strade* before the unification of Italy) may indicate both the theoretical-practiced professional and the double figure of a scientist-experimenter of new principles and of an artist creator of beautiful forms, worthy of being included in the field of fine arts; in short, an adherent not only of professional rules but also of aesthetic principles.<sup>6</sup> So we can understand how this definition, adopted as a synonym for an engineer, immediately shows a sense of entirety that constituted a real threat for the architects of academic training, who

3 Carlo Pedretti, "Copies of Leonardo's lost writings in the ms. H 227 inf. of the Ambrosiana Library." *Raccolta Vinciana* 19 (1962): 61–105.

4 Carlo Pedretti, ed. *Libro di pittura: Il Codice urbinato lat. 1270 nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Leonardo da Vinci*, critical transcription by Carlo Vecce (Florence: Giunti, 1996).

5 Alfredo Buccaro, Fausto De Mattia, eds. *Scienziati-artisti: Formazione e ruolo degli ingegneri nelle fonti dell'Archivio di Stato e della Facoltà di Ingegneria di Napoli* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2003).

6 Alfredo Buccaro, "Da architetto 'vulgo ingegnere' a 'scienziato-artista': La formazione dell'ingegnere meridionale tra Sette e Ottocento", in *Scienziati-artisti: Formazione e ruolo degli ingegneri nelle fonti dell'Archivio di Stato e della Facoltà di Ingegneria di Napoli*, ed. Alfredo Buccaro, Fausto De Mattia (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2003), 17–43.

since the mid-nineteenth century, considered the works of engineers to be without any architectural dignity, taking refuge in their conceit of being the only guardians of beauty. During the Napoleonic Age the foundation of the first Italian School of Civil Engineering in Naples (1811) was solely inspired by the "vinciano" complete professional. This figure was destined to survive through the first decades of the twentieth century in the shape of the engineer-architect, by ignoring the progressive fracture between artistic preeminence and building techniques, caused by the application of industry to architecture and shattering only when the figure of the structural engineer would be officially separated from the realm of the architect, the consequences of which still exist.<sup>7</sup>

Our research has therefore concentrated on the double "soul" of this professional and on the importance he has assumed since the beginning of the modern age, thanks to the first model of a technician with a liberal rank, symbolized by Leonardo. Thus, our priority was to start from the vast basic literature on Leonardo's genius, which we have approached owing respect to numerous scholars who have spent their lives on this subject: first of all Carlo Pedretti, then Augusto Marinoni, Alessandro Vezzosi, Paolo Galluzzi, Carlo Vecce, and many others.

A connection with Leonardo is always apparent in Italian modern and contemporary history of architecture and of public works in general, and we find that link in Southern Italy as well: we only have to follow his tracks by reading between the lines of the documents and to try to reconstruct works and careers of our engineers by identifying the significant aspects of their training, due to the acquisition of the scientist-artistic method. In this respect, from the second half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the Revolution in 1799, Neapolitan scientists and philosophers had a direct effect in updating that method, allowing to arrive at the important reforms carried out by the Napoleonic government in those fields. In other words, Leonardo's thought and its spread up and beyond the age of Enlightenment represented the basis for a full realization, even in the professional field, of the transition from an aprioristic and deductive conception to one based on a precise classification and analysis of phenomena to elaborate the "art rules": thus, the figure of Vincenzo Corazza, together with his whole cultural environment, is really emblematic of the "post-Vanvitelli" age, when the heritage of the new theories of the science of building became more and more substantial.

## Matteo Zaccolini and his Work in Rome and Naples on Leonardo's Scientific and Artistic Issues

Let us now understand how this story relates to the history of Zaccolini's treatises (Figs. 2.4–2.5), namely the four apographs derived from them—*De' colori*, *Prospettiva del colore*, *Prospettiva lineale*, and *Descrizione dell'ombra prodotta da corpi opachi rettilinei* (1637–40)—discovered by Pedretti in the Laurentian Library in 1973.<sup>8</sup> These manuscripts were copied in part by dal Pozzo and in part by his copyists from the original lost treatises written by the Theatine Matteo Zaccolini (a perspective painter and architect born in Cesena), who had just prepared for printing the first two tomes (1618–22). While the study of these texts has been the subject of many works by Janis Bell, the second two have never been analyzed particularly from the point of view of the architectural principles, nor in the context of the whole of dal Pozzo's interest in Leonardo.

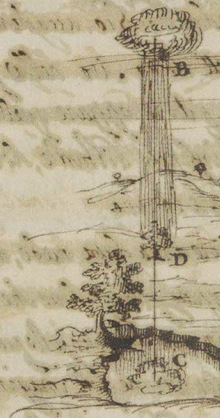
Since the late 1620s, dal Pozzo might have been inspired by Zaccolini's studies for his research project on Leonardo's texts. Zaccolini,<sup>9</sup> who was Domenichino's master and the inspiration for Poussin's principles on painting, was himself influenced by Guidobaldo del Monte, Pietro Accolti, and Ludovico Cigoli in his scientific theories on painting (similar to those by Leonardo), which at that time were reflected in Poussin's Baroque Classicism in France and in Bellori's classicist theory in Italy. Zaccolini's career began in Cesena under the leadership of his teacher—the perspectivist, astronomer, and scientist Scipione Chiaramonte—and then in Rome, in the churches of Santa Susanna, Sant'Andrea della Valle, and San Silvestro, where he took part in completing some large frescoes by painting illusionistic architectural backgrounds; finally, he worked in Naples (1618–23), collaborating on the projects of some new Theatine churches and convents such as Santi Apostoli (where he made the tabernacle in an architectural design and the frescoes of the refectory, with architectural perspectives), Santa Maria degli Angeli at Pizzofalcone (together with Francesco Grimaldi), and Santa Maria della Sapienza in Sorrento. Documentary evidence resides in the National Library of Naples and in the State Archives of Naples; in this city Zaccolini certainly came into contact with the scientist Giambattista Della Porta, who, together with Leonardo and Galileo, inspired his studies on optics and visual sciences.

8 Carlo Pedretti, "The Zaccolini manuscripts," *Bibliothèque d'Umanisme et Renaissance* 35 (1973): 39–53; Carlo Pedretti, "The Zaccolini Manuscripts," in *Leonardo's Writings and Theory of Art*, ed. Claire Farago (New York: Garland, 1999), 258–264.

9 Carlo Pedretti, "The Zaccolini manuscripts" (1973); Janis C. Bell, "The Life and Works of Matteo Zaccolini (1574–1630)," *Regnum Dei* 41 (1985): 227–258.

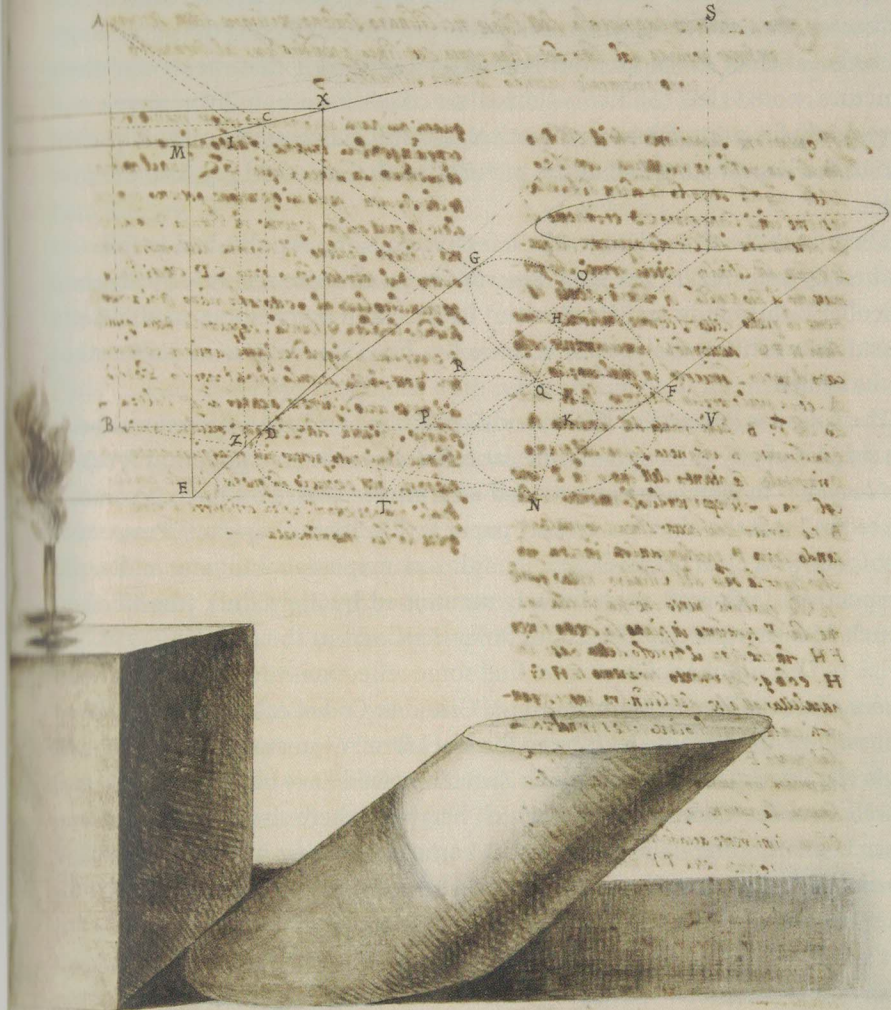
7 Alfredo Buccaro, *Leonardo da Vinci: Il Codice Corazza*, introduction.

la penna, la cui cognizione si potrà intendere operando  
 in p<sup>a</sup> maniera, sia come si è detto la nube B. la cui  
 altezza sopra una orizzontale sia immaginaria l'imag<sup>ne</sup> del  
 oggetto in C. quando in qualivnglia direzione di acqua  
 precipitandosi che la superficie dell'acqua sia al par  
 dell'alt<sup>ezza</sup> di una orizzontale, perciò immaginaria, con qual  
 che istant<sup>aneo</sup> si suppona che ad un'ora cada una p<sup>er</sup>pendicolare  
 sia all'imag<sup>ne</sup> e al par dividendoti tra la nube et l'imag<sup>ne</sup>



si spaziarà di metà, cioè la B.C. in D. si già l'aueremo conse-  
 guita il vno istant<sup>aneo</sup> nel punto di sopra la p<sup>er</sup>pendicolare dal piano  
 orizzontale la quale sarà la B.D. ma anche sapremo che  
 la nube dissolvendoti in pioggia caserà nel sito del punto D.  
 Perciò se alla camp<sup>agna</sup> conosciemo immaginaria in qualche sito  
 il punto D. et si che sia lontano due miglia, con anche  
 sapremo che la nube dissolvendoti cagierà la pioggia  
 nell'

FIGURE 2.4 Codex Zaccolini. "Prospettiva lineale"



pendol<sup>e</sup> insieme con la solida di l<sup>o</sup>g<sup>o</sup> in questa qui-  
 sta che nella p<sup>er</sup>ta fig<sup>o</sup> GQFOE habbiamo descrit-  
 to con altro l<sup>o</sup>g<sup>o</sup> si è parso di penere amo l'altra  
 fig<sup>o</sup> con l'ombra p<sup>er</sup> la pratica della Littera  
 figurata La Lineam<sup>o</sup> occulti non essendo

pari h<sup>o</sup> lo poter per l'ist<sup>ant</sup> con si uer-  
 tulla i paraggi della Torreos d'elli  
 sicome si vede, secondo se da non  
 son pot<sup>er</sup>

FIGURE 2.5 Codex Zaccolini. "Descrizione dell'ombre"

The four volumes were reordered by Pedretti in the current sequence, while in the Codex Montpellier H 267 inf. no. 163 (which includes the interesting biography of Zaccolini by dal Pozzo) the order is *Prospettiva lineale*, *Descrittione dell'ombre*, *De' colori*, *Prospettiva del colore*, probably reflecting the chronological order of their execution; but Pedretti, by analyzing these texts and their structure, noted that the two volumes on colors have a uniform shape and were ready for print, whereas the other two still show an unfinished quality, also in the handwriting and in the pictures, so that he could propose the new order.

The first of the two volumes that refer to colors, never published in full, was studied by Janis Bell in her 1983 dissertation<sup>10</sup> and more recently by Stephen Cracolici in his study on "Tarantismo" in Zaccolini (carried out at the Getty Research Institute); the second volume has been the subject of some other works by Bell.

The volumes *Prospettiva lineale* and *Descrittione dell'ombre* have never been the subject of any exhaustive study. Janis Bell has written a paper on *Prospettiva lineale*,<sup>11</sup> in which she announced a future research on this first volume; the second was the object of a short paper by Elizabeth Cropper.<sup>12</sup> *Prospettiva lineale* shows a clear origin from Leonardo's principles about linear and aerial perspectives (although never clearly mentioned by Zaccolini), identified in French Manuscripts A, E, in Codex Atlanticus and in the *Libro di Pittura* by Melzi. In *Descrittione dell'ombre* we find some reflections to be compared with *Ombre e lumi* in French Manuscripts A, C, and in Codex Atlanticus, but above all it might contain some texts from the lost Libro W—mentioned in the book list in the *Libro di Pittura*—to which Zaccolini could have had access in Rome, as well as to the Codex Leicester, which had been there since 1590, and some other Leonardo originals or apographs certainly existing in that city around the end of the century. Therefore, it would be necessary to transcribe both volumes to compare them with Leonardo's known texts.

<sup>10</sup> Janis C. Bell, "Color and Theory in Seicento Art: Zaccolini's 'Prospettiva del Colore' and the Heritage of Leonardo", PhD diss., Brown University 1983.

<sup>11</sup> Janis C. Bell, "Zaccolini's Unpublished Perspective Treatise: Why Should We Care?" in *The Treatise on Perspective: published and unpublished*, ed. Lyle Massey, *Studies in the History of Art*, 59 (Washington, D.C./New Haven: National Gallery Publications/Yale University Press, 2003), 79–104; Janis C. Bell, "Zaccolini and the 'Trattato della Pittura' of Leonardo da Vinci", in *Re-reading Leonardo: The Treatise on Painting across Europe 1550–1900*, ed. Claire Farago (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 127–146.

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Cropper, "Poussin and Leonardo: Evidence from the Zaccolini Mss," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978): 179–182.

In particular, the volumes preserved in the Laurentiana Library derived from the transcription of the original texts written in mirror image by Zaccolini, just as Leonardo did, and mentioned by Cassiano (Codex Montpellier H 267 inf.), Bellori (with some direct references to right-to-left texts, as well as some other texts which Zaccolini drew, in reverse too, from Euclid and Sacrobosco), and a lot of other authors, such as Square, Silos, and Félibien. We have found *De Sphera Mundi* di Giovanni da Sacrobosco in the National Library of Naples (XII.D.54), written in reverse by Zaccolini and probably part of the Albani Library.

In the manuscript Montpellier H 267 inf., Cassiano says that Zaccolini's originals were at the Theatine library in the convent of San Silvestro, but later Silos and Félibien reported them as placed in the Barberini library, where Dughet transcribed most of those texts for Poussin before going together with him to Paris in 1640: there the apographs were certainly the basis for many studies by the great French painter—including those for the publication of the *Trattato della Pittura* in 1651—and for the following discussions at the French Academy. But in 1664 Bellori, in *Nota degli musei*, still puts them at San Silvestro and he also describes them as written in reverse, confirming this remark in his biography of Poussin in 1672. Indeed, the originals may have never arrived at the Barberini library and Dughet may have transcribed them from the copy made by Cassiano at the end of 30s, at the beginning of his important activity of copying from Leonardo's texts.

Bell advanced another hypothesis: that the Laurentian manuscripts are not the copies once existing in the Barberini Library, but others made by Cassiano, later passed directly to the Albani library after the sale of Cassiano's library to cardinal Alessandro Albani in 1713.<sup>13</sup> This placement is still visible in all four volumes and confirmed by Gaetano Marini, the first librarian of the Vatican Library, in a catalogue compiled in 1779–81 (Vat. Lat. 912, ff. 20 r-v); moreover, in catalogue we read about a text in the Vatican Library, titled *Notizie di Pitture Antichità*, in which there were some notes on Zaccolini's life. At the end of that century, with the dissolution of the Albani library, the manuscripts first came into the possession of Guglielmo Libri, to whom they were 'entrusted' to be catalogued by the library of Montpellier (see the inventory made by Libri in 1849), then sold by Libri to Lord Ashburnham in 1849.

Ultimately, the figure of Zaccolini is central to the understanding of dal Pozzo's Leonardo scholarship: Cassiano probably drew his inspiration from Frate Matteo's writings to begin his wide program aimed at the edition of a Vinciana

<sup>13</sup> Janis C. Bell, "Cassiano dal Pozzo's Copy of the Zaccolini Manuscripts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988): 103–125.

anthology, containing the *Trattato della pittura*, the Codex Corazza, and the apographs of Zaccolini's treatises. In conclusion, we are confident that our study in progress, within the context of Leonardo's influence on architectural and engineering thought in Southern Italy between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, may undoubtedly confirm Carlo Pedretti's initial inspired intuition.