



The restoration of Leonardo da Vinci's
Adoration of the Magi
Rediscovering a masterpiece

edited by Marco Ciatti and Cecilia Frosinini



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RESTORATION

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An archipelago of symbols and memories: Tradition and innovation in the architectural background of Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi* Emanuela Ferretti

As observed earlier in this volume in the reflections dedicated to the distinctive or "autoptic" description ("seeing for oneself") of the individual elements that form Leonardo's architectural palimpsest in the *Adoration of the Magi*, and earlier in the two preparatory drawings in the Louvre and the Uffizi, there emerge two points of focus, or a conceptual pair: the ponderous ruined building and the shed of the Nativity.

From the preliminary graphic studies to the painting we see a progressive simplification of the scene taking place, a gradual abstraction of language—in syntax and vocabulary—and a systematic distilling of the marks of the drawing tools in the depiction of the fictive architecture. However, the question of what we see in the painting inevitably remains open (and perhaps impenetrable) with respect to what the final outcome might have been as work continued on the evidently unfinished painting, now clearly defined thanks to the studies carried out by the Opificio delle Pietre Dure during the most recent conservation (pl. II).

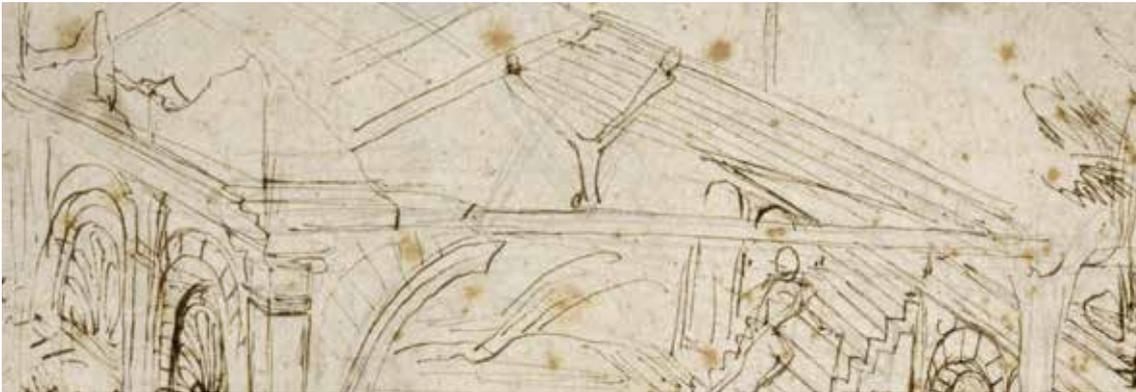
Most likely, this particular process of *reductio*, defining the evolution of the concept behind the architectural background, is in keeping with the inventive process underlying the structure of the painting's composition in both iconography and iconology. Here, among the various components that enrich the overall representation, nature (evoked by rocks, mountains, water and trees) gradually gains a very prominent role, on the symbolic level as well as in the general perspectival organization. It seems useful, therefore, to outline some of the architectural content supporting the figural and expressive structure of the work.

The polarization of the scene is already present in the Louvre drawing: on the one hand, the majestic building on the right, and on the other the extraordinary composition in the center, where the shed is "united" with a classicizing type of architecture, producing a most interesting hybrid of architectonic and symbolic elements. This type of solution does connect with former or contemporary works as in Botticelli or in Filippino, as we have had occasion to affirm.¹ At the

same time it shows a specific originality that seems to evoke a sense of something else.

The connection between wooden architectural structures and stone ones might be interpreted as a visual rendering, or better the crystallization on a sheet of paper of a metamorphosis that Leonardo captures highly effectively in the moment it occurs. According to this hypothetical interpretation, the wooden parts of the construction that sustain the roofing petrify, materializing before the observer's eyes, almost as if they were fossils surviving the passage of time and its consequences, as suggested by the abundant vegetation that characterizes the structure, which is defined by classicist elements.² Therefore, it might represent a very well-known Vitruvian *topos*, especially treasured by humanistic culture, that would complement the feature of Leonardo's drawing that fully reflects contemporary iconography, that of the Holy Family sheltering among ruins. I am referring here to the shift from the original shelter, primordial and *natural*, to the architecturally defined construction held to be the direct and concrete affirmation of civilized culture; and the theme intersects with the notion that the architectural order has a wooden origin.³ It is also important to stress that precisely this passage in the Second Book of Vitruvius' *De Architectura*⁴—a work re-discovered by Poggio Bracciolini in 1414 (or 1416), though it was known, at least in Italy, since the Middle Ages—had already been adopted in a literary key, in fact, in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia degli Dei*.⁵

The Vitruvian text in Quattrocento Florence held a significance for artists as well,⁶ before and after Sulpicio da Veroli's printed edition (1486, or 1487–1488),⁷ and this marked the cultural history of the Renaissance city, especially for the Medicean and Laurentian context: the inventory of 1495 records three Vitruvius manuscripts in the library that belonged to Lorenzo the Magnificent and his predecessors.⁸ Another Vitruvian codex in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, with annotations by Poliziano added between 1480 and 1489, may have been the one in the library of San Marco in Florence



1. Leonardo da Vinci, detail of preparatory drawing for the *Adoration of the Magi*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques, inv. RF 1978r

in Leonardo's day, where the Medici circle would certainly have had access to it. Poliziano's *postilles* are in the Second Book in the part on the discovery of fire, immediately before the passage about the original shed.⁹ Poliziano himself, who had strong ties with Lorenzo, had the Vitruvius text printed, together with the *De Aqueductu* by Frontino (1496), and left evident traces of this interest of his in the *Seconda Centuria*.¹⁰

Therefore the way in which Leonardo devises this passage using the structural members of the roof to connect the two parts—the *all'antica* structure and the shed—is especially meaningful. The supporting timber part is formed of purlins and rafters and a kind of truss, where the fork-shaped brace is drawn like the Y-shaped branching of a tree (or as Vitruvius writes, *furcis*).¹¹ This sort of linkage may be read as the part where the metamorphosis from beam or trunk into an entablature takes place. Vitruvius describes the genesis of this element in his discussion of the architectural order¹² (fig. 1). It also seems important to underline that the interpretation we propose here is not without material evidence: soon thereafter, at the end of the 1490s in the Milan of Lodovico il Moro (where as we know Leonardo was present), the evocation of the wooden origin of architecture following the lesson of Vitruvius is shown by the trunk-like columns or "colopne a tronchoni," as they are called in the late-fifteenth-century documents,¹³ or "a tronconi a uso d'alberi tagliati" as Vasari defines them, in the cloister of the canons of Sant'Ambrogio, attributed to Bramante (1492–1494).¹⁴ Identifying the metamorphosis from nature to architecture had thus at that time become a recurring and recognized theme not only for philology, but also appeared in the nomenclature used in worksite accounting records, and was to become a central theme for iconography in studies on Vitruvius in the following century.¹⁵

The key role of nature, part of Leonardo's way of thinking, as we have seen from the drawing in the Louvre and the *Adoration*, would only later permeate the

artistic culture of the mature Renaissance. This interest also seems to recognize the function of nature as a framework for the rules behind architectural construction and style, as well as for its basic components. Leonardo's perfect accordance with the Vitruvian text is therefore permeated by the founding principle and archetype of building according to timeless rules, whose very existence is anchored in nature rather than being animated by a search for classicist qualities and ornaments.

In the *Adoration* this idea is given greater clarity and importance by the creation of a rocky exedra around the Virgin and Child that reinforces the significance of the holy group, not only as the fulcrum of *content*, but also as the center of the panel's composition, almost a second *omphalos* in the work in addition to the focus point of its perspective placed in the tree. The identity of every element, whether natural or constructed, and the message they bear, are reinforced by the contrast that the artist skillfully formulates by visually emphasizing it with such forceful expressiveness.

The interpenetration of nature and architecture in the structure in the center of the drawing in the Louvre, with the shed that becomes an actual architectural construction, leads us to seek the conceptual origins of this interpretation in the context of the Garden of San Marco, that is in the Medici circle and in the intellectuals around Lorenzo.¹⁶ For this purpose, we may recall the episode of the highly prestigious commission for the *Pala della Signoria*: the young Leonardo substitutes Piero del Pollaiuolo on January 10, 1478,¹⁷ shortly after the assigning of this work to the older, esteemed master, and receives a partial advance payment, which was never reimbursed despite the fact that painting was not executed (in fact it was still recorded as due in the first decade of the sixteenth century). This episode is well-known, but it is still worth considering that this change in plans could only be explained through the direct intervention of Lorenzo himself. If one looks at the names in the Signoria when the decision was made

to assign the painting to Leonardo, one can recognize not only Medici loyalists—as would be logical after the reform of 1471—but also some of Lorenzo's acolytes.¹⁸

Thus, another piece of the puzzle takes shape, unraveling the experiences of the young artist in Florence in the years before his Milanese sojourn, though its outlines are still in part undefined; this was a period when some of his interests would deepen, including those in Vitruvius and Alberti. Based on these reflections, it becomes clearer that only the Medici environment could provide Leonardo with such an approach to Vitruvius in all its complexity, and with its refined (and at the same time erudite) attention to the relationship between nature and architecture.

We may also observe an element in the Louvre drawing that distinguishes the portion of building that the shed connects to, a particularly well-defined classicist architectural detail formed of a series of arches on piers and pilasters with entablatures. We have already taken into consideration the possibility that they might be blind arches (that is, closed and embellished with a special decorative motif in the form of a shell).¹⁹ In any case this component, whose syntax is particularly complex, is one that was already present in Florentine painting,²⁰ although not continuously; furthermore, it may be seen in actual Florentine architecture. It occurs in the vestibule of the sacristy of Santo Spirito, on the *piano nobile* of the façade of Palazzo Cocchi Serristori in piazza Santa Croce, and in the courtyard of the palazzo of the chancellor Bartolomeo Scala (another key figure in the Laurentian milieu).²¹ These buildings are attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo, Lorenzo's favorite architect.²² Giuliano da Sangallo was also one of the Florentine artists who together with Cronaca, more than others, possessed a profound knowledge of the monuments of ancient and late-ancient Rome. This is shown by the numerous measured plans, studies and reconstructions of classical buildings contained in his substantial graphic oeuvre (fig. 2).²³ Connections between Leonardo and some aspects of Giuliano's activity have more than once entered the scholarly literature and will certainly offer material for further study.²⁴

Consequently, the Louvre drawing shows how Leonardo adds a memorable phrase to the language of architectural culture, which at that time²⁵ was occupied with expanding awareness of the incomplete and indistinct palimpsest furnished by the remains of classical architecture—at least until the innovative and proto-archeological approach of the following century.²⁶ The antique was appreciated for its expressive *varietas* rather than rigor of composition or grandiloquent spatial complexity.

In general, all of this proceeds hand in hand with theoretical developments, thanks to the almost contemporaneous printed publications that would soon



2. Giuliano da Sangallo, *Arch of Gallienus*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Barberiniano Latino 4424, fol. 25v

be available (as mentioned above): on the one hand, the first printed edition of Vitruvius appears in the 1480s in Rome, on the other, the first edition of Alberti's *De Re Aedificatoria* comes out in the Florence of Lorenzo the Magnificent (at the end of 1485). Bernardo Alberti was behind this particular initiative, which proved to be long and complex, while a document discovered by Mario Martelli more than fifty years ago testifies to the participation of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici.²⁷ His role among Leonardo's possible patrons still needs to be thoroughly investigated but is important to mention. In fact, his idealized portrait may be seen in Filippino Lippi's *Adoration of the Magi* dated 1476 (fig. 7, p. 34). However considering the noticeable effort Lippi took to adapt Leonardo's composition, it is possible to think that a former ideal portrait of Pierfrancesco may be found in the unfinished *Adoration* in the figure of the young King with long hair kneeling on the left (fig. 3).²⁸ Pierfrancesco de' Medici may have had an even more important role in the first edition of the *De Re Aedificatoria* than that of Lorenzo the



3. *Adoration of the Magi*, detail of the kneeling King

Magnificent himself, who Poliziano addressed in the dedicatory letter that opens the first printed edition of Alberti's treatise: it was most likely composed, in fact, "to assure with his cultural authority [that of Lorenzo] the approval of the work"²⁹ rather than being proof of his direct intervention in the printing of the volume, as is often asserted in the literature on Alberti, though without objective evidence.

The contents of the Louvre drawing reveal a sensitivity towards the expressive quality of classical syntax that do not recur in such a weighty form in Leonardo's body of drawings dedicated to architecture: in fact he shows only sporadic interest in the system of the architectural order and its rigid syntactic rules. Instead, his increasing interest in speculative and philosophical aspects—especially technical ones³⁰—in the work by Vitruvius is well-known, although its text does not appear in the two lists of books compiled during his years in Milan.³¹ The renowned drawing of the Vitruvian Man in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Venice is the most famous testimony to this interest. However, in order to be related to what has been said here about the Louvre drawing and the *Adoration*, there is a need to reconnect it to the Florentine and thus Medicean circle, formulating a new hypothesis for research; that is, reflecting on the possibility that Leonardo's attention to the work by Vitruvius started well before his sojourn in Milan.³² As already discussed, the characteristics of the large structure in ruins in the Louvre drawing together with the fragments of stone scattered around

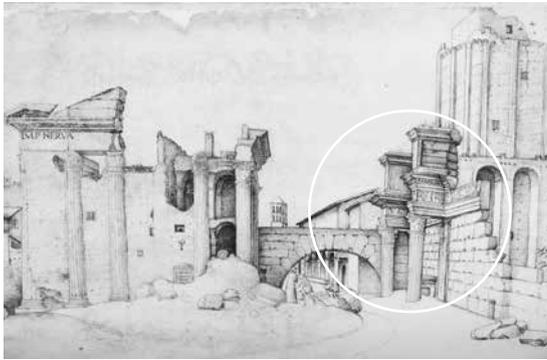
it suggest a collapse, more than a state of abandon due to the passage of the centuries. The monument is defined by the double ramp staircases, perpendicular to its front (probable a citation of the Temple of Claudius in Rome, at the foot of the Palatine) and by the sacrificial altar placed externally.³³ These components therefore suggest that the grandiose building should be recognized as a pagan temple, pointing to a very precise indication of a motif that defines the iconography on which the architectural background is based, that comes from a famous passage of the *Golden Legend*, and was widely represented in contemporary paintings of the same subject.³⁴ Jacopus de Varagine writes in the part dedicated to the Nativity of Christ:

The Virginité of Mary is also shown by this miracle handed down to us by Pope Innocent III: during the twelve years when peace reigned in the Roman world they constructed a beautiful temple in honor of Peace and placed a statue of Romulus within it. They then consulted the oracle of Apollo about how long it would endure and received this answer; "until a Virgin brings forth a child." Therefore the Romans, holding that this was impossible, concluded that it would last for eternity, and inscribed on the entrance to the temple these words: "temple of eternal peace". But on the night the Holy Virgin gave birth the edifice collapsed from its foundations; afterwards in the same place the Church of Santa Maria Nuova was built."³⁵

Renaissance scholars thought that what remained of the Basilica of Maxentius (also known as the Basilica of Constantine) near the area of the Imperial Fora was the Temple of Peace. Many drawings and notebooks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries illustrate this with more or less unlikely and subjective interpretations of its reconstruction.³⁶

In his *Zibaldone quaresimale*, Giovanni Rucellai again refers to the association of the remains of the grand basilica to the building recorded in the *Golden Legend*: "Templum Pacis that is a temple of idols and that the Romans said that it would last until a virgin gave birth and in fact it fell and was ruined the night that Our Lord Jesus Christ was born and there is yet standing a fluted marble column that is twelve braccia around."³⁷ In addition, a chronicle that recounts the memorable ephemeral installation for the feast of San Giovanni in 1454 mentions the eleventh of the "edifices" made for the scenery represented the Temple of Peace with the building of the Nativity, ("Templum Pacis, con l'edifizio della Natività per farvi la sua rappresentazione.")³⁸

In the Louvre drawing we can identify a context related to Imperial Rome in keeping with contemporary paintings (and not only, as we have just said) that refer to the same literary source. The modes and forms



4. Unknown artist of the end of the fifteenth century: *View of the Forum of Nerva with the Colonnacce*, Madrid, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, C. 28-II-12, fol. 57v

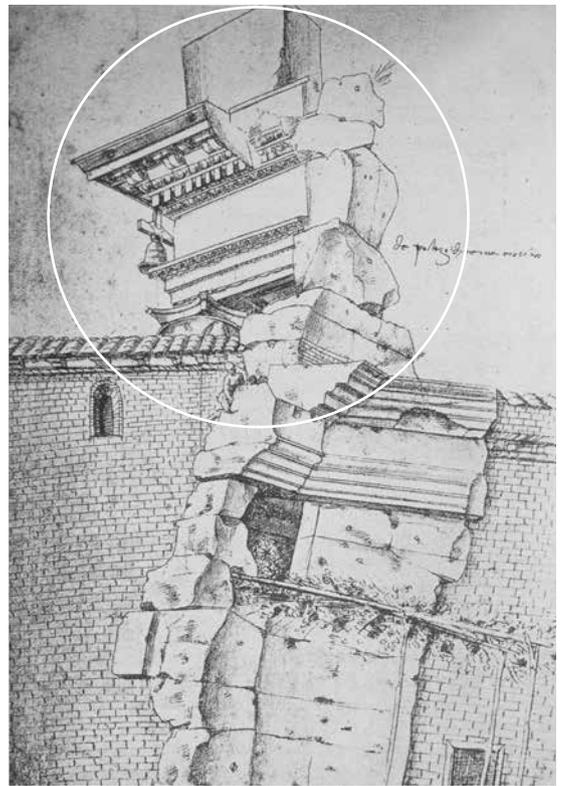


5. Marten van Heemskerck, *View of the Roman Forum from the Palatine Hill*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 79D2, fol. 6r

chosen to make this framework plausible, however, are very original, and testify to Leonardo's proximity to an exceptionally high level of antiquarian culture, that once again makes it reasonable to think he had access to the Garden of San Marco, where he was able to meet artists and intellectuals with diverse backgrounds and cultural experiences.

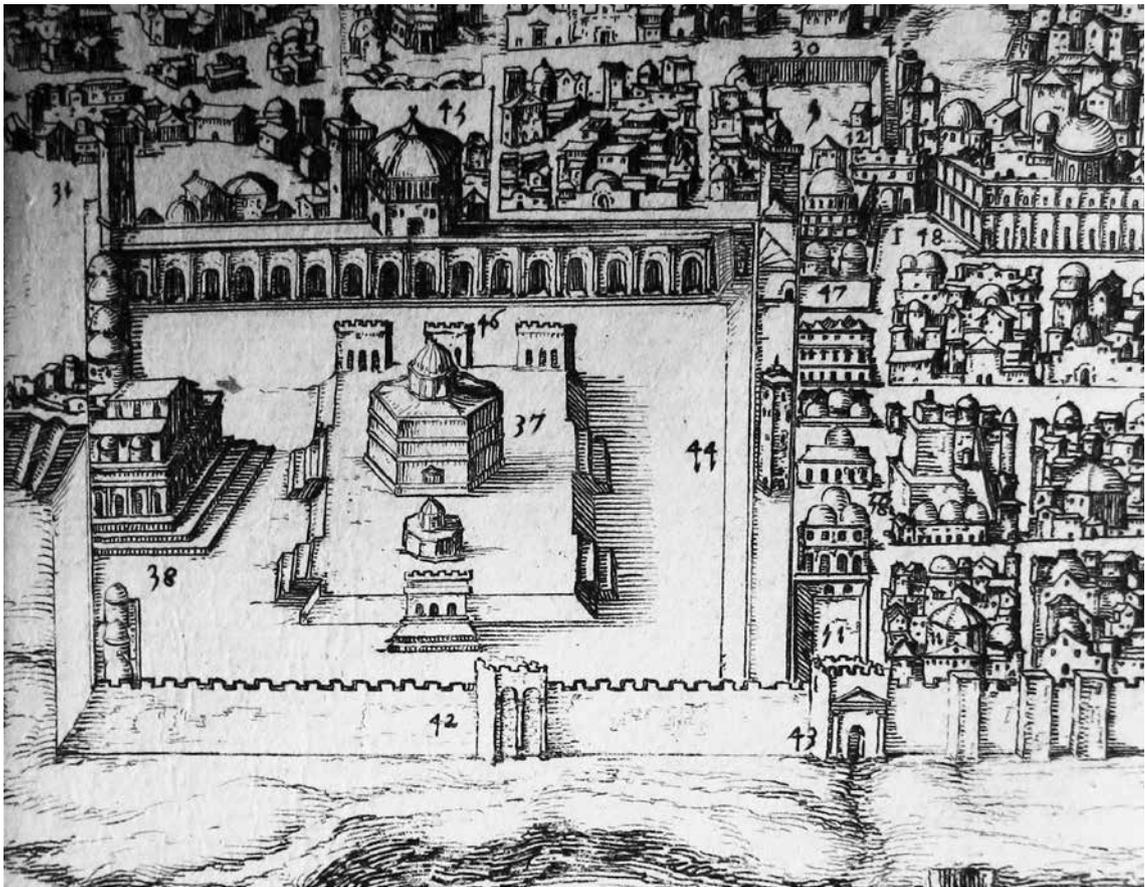
The drawing in the *Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe* of the Uffizi is dominated by the large temple structure, here placed on the opposite side of the sheet. The altar is no longer present and the classicizing elements are lacking,³⁹ however on the right a fragment of architecture may be seen that supports the hypothesis that the scene refers to ancient Rome, overwhelmed by the birth of the Saviour as narrated by Jacopus de Varagine. This detail might be a citation of something present in the Forum of Nerva (also known as the *Forum Transitorium*), known since the Middle Ages and drawn more precisely in the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁰ In particular, the macro-morphology of this element in the part of the entablature that appears as an autonomous "body" above a vertical support, resembles similar structures that characterized that forum's perimeter wall, such as the famous *Colonnacce* (fig. 4), or others less well-known as they have long been destroyed⁴¹ (fig. 5). Another not very different configuration—in terms of overall structure and sequence of the moldings—also characterized the fragment known as the *Spolia Christi*, on the south side of the nearby Forum of Trajan (fig. 6).⁴² In both cases, these structures were widely studied and drawn during the Renaissance, by Francesco di Giorgio, Giuliano da Sangallo, Simone del Pollaiuolo and Bernardo della Volpaia.⁴³ As for the *Spolia Christi*, we should note that Cronaca chose this element as the model for the cornice of Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, and Michelangelo also used it in 1547—after having studied it in drawings—for the front of Palazzo Farnese in Rome.⁴⁴

Only a few elements in the arrangement of the painting's architectural background retain what is found



6. Simone del Pollaiuolo called Il Cronaca, *Drawing of the fragment called Spolia Christi*, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codice II, 1, 49, fol. 50v

in the Louvre and the Uffizi preliminary studies, thus suggesting a possible change in the iconography of the "scenography" that of course modifies the iconological perception of the entire painting. The recent restoration has brought to light several important details that force a broader consideration of the cultural references. The two great columns rising behind the ramps of stairs, in fact, are especially meaningful. The details of the capital of one of them may now be seen: besides the concave abacus typical of the Corinthian order, a



9. Bernardino Amico, detail from *Trattato delle piante, e immagini de' sagri edificj di Terra Santa*, Rome, 1619, plate 44

objects of cult they were bearing would not have impure contacts with the profane."⁵¹

Therefore, it seems plausible that the ruined building represented by Leonardo may be recognized as depicting what remains of the Temple of Solomon, suggested by several figurative elements: the stairs, the porticos/substructures, and the columns with the capital decorated with palmettes. According to the interpretive pathway traced by Richard Krautheimer, referring to a monument through some of its parts or qualities (as well as dimensional relationships, plans, or portions of the façade, that simplify the *exemplum* by their selection), evokes the original. Using it as a model through the medium of art and architecture is a practice that marks Western civilization, and defines a specific concept of "copy."⁵² The theme developed by Krautheimer for the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem could be applied to the Temple of Solomon.⁵³ After all, it is the Rucellai Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in San Pancrazio (1467)—a knowledgeable, harmonious summary of the Florentine Romanesque, the new Renaissance idiom and the Jerusalem-inspired model⁵⁴—that marks a significant point in the complex question that, since the Middle Ages, invokes the tie between Florence (and

other Italian cities) and the Heavenly Jerusalem and earthly Jerusalem and its monuments.

Florentine humanists constructed an ideal connection between Florence and Jerusalem and this was consolidated with further religious significance at the time of Savonarola.⁵⁵ It seems pertinent to cite how—during a staging of the *Festa dei Magi* held at an uncertain date between 1466 and 1469, organized by the Confraternity of the Magi (which since the 1440s represented Medici power)—*the whole of Florence was the 'image' of Jerusalem.*⁵⁶

The analysis of the architectural background of the *Adoration* and its specific and original characteristics thus indicate another possible context for its iconology, following another path already indicated in the literature,⁵⁷ and different from what is suggested by the Louvre drawing (as said above, related to the *Golden Legend*).

Many passages in the Old and New Testament speak of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem (and also of this temple in ruins) connected to the messianic message of Christ.⁵⁸ An equally plausible theme is that found in the *Apocalypse* of John, in which we find that in the "new Jerusalem," the Temple of Solomon no longer exists because "for the temple is the Lord God

the Almighty and the Lamb" (Apocalypse 21:22) and the duality of the building in ruins and the Epiphany of Christ might embody this concept.

In any case, the precise focus on and contextualizing of the theme tied to the presence of the ruins of the Jerusalem temple in the painting by Leonardo da Vinci, together with the adoration of the three wise men and the small crowd gathered around them, and all the other components in the scene must await further study. A strongly interdisciplinary perspective requires focusing on a series of aspects that have remained marginal in the historiographic debate. Examining the religious and cultural environment of the Augustinian friars of San Donato a Scopeto and therefore their role in defining the iconography will be vital, as for the part played by the Medici (although not as direct patrons) and other possible influences in their circle. The same approach ought to guide a search for the fortunes of the Temple of Jerusalem and its idealized image in the artistic culture contemporary to the painting for San Donato a Scopeto, and how it was treated. The fact that the sacred building was the protagonist of the fifteenth-century

frescoes in the Sistine Chapel cannot be ignored, and was perhaps exemplified in its construction following the Biblical model at the request of Pope Sixtus IV.⁵⁹ While the temple in the *Delivery of the Keys* has a central plan (based on the configuration of the "Dome of the Rock," the mosque the Arabs built in the center of the large piazza of the Temple of Jerusalem),⁶⁰ in Sandro Botticelli's *Temptations of Christ*, the construction in the center of the fresco—identified in some of the literature as an image of the Temple of Solomon—shows a sequence of arches in the lower level of the façade, united by their architectural order, like those in the drawing by Leonardo in the Louvre (in a complex play of superimpositions and cross-pollinations both within and outside of the works themselves). Another structure appears in the area of the destroyed temple, drawn by Bernardino Amico—over a century later, but still based on established iconography⁶¹—on the edge of the esplanade, indicating it as the "Temple where the Virgin Mary was presented" (fig. 9). Such a theme of wide-ranging significance will certainly provide the occasion for further examination and new prospects for research.

¹ See my earlier essay in this volume, "Architecture in Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi*: Some observations on morphology, phenomenology and creation of spatial hierarchy," with the relative bibliography.

² This theme has been briefly mentioned, but without contextualizing its philology nor analyzing it, in A. NAGEL–C. S. WOOD, *Anachronic Renaissance*, New York, 2010, p. 305. These scholars affirm paradoxically that the process is reversed in comparison to Vitruvius, that is, that Leonardo represented the passage from stone to wood. I do not agree with this interpretation, and propose other new, independent observations (outlining a potential frame of reference), as may be found in this essay and in its notes.

³ VITRUVIUS, *De Architectura*, II, I, 7–8; and IV, II. See J. RYKWERT, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 183; S. ROMANO, *La capanna e il tempio: Vitruvio o dell'architettura*, Palermo, 1987, pp. 103–122; 183–191.

⁴ VITRUVIUS, II, I, 2–4.

⁵ E. PANOFSKY, "The Early History of Man in a Cycle of Paintings by Piero di Cosimo," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1, no. 1 (1937): 12–30: 16.

⁶ G. SCAGLIA, "A Translation of Vitruvius and Copies of Late Antique Drawings in Buonaccorso Ghiberti's *Zibaldone*," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979): 1–30.

⁷ Enzo Bentivoglio moved the date given most frequently, 1486, to 1487–1488, on the basis of observations about the cultural environment of Cardinal Riario's publishing endeavor: E. BENTIVOGLIO, "Per la conoscenza del palazzo della Cancelleria: La personalità

e l'ambiente culturale del cardinale Raffaele Sansoni Riario," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, n.s., 15–20, no. 1 (1992): 367–74: p. 369 note 36.

⁸ G. MOROLLI, "Fortuna di Vitruvio," in *L'architettura di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, exhibition catalog (Florence, Spedale degli Innocenti, 8 April–26 July 1992), edited by G. MOROLLI–C. ACIDINI LUCHINATI–L. MARCHETTI, Milan, 1992, pp. 194–96.

⁹ V. JUŘEN, "Politiien et Vitruve (Note sur le ms. lat. 7382 de la Bibliothèque Nationale)," *Rinascimento* 13 (1978): 285–92: 292.

¹⁰ V. JUŘEN, "Politiien"; J. M. MANDOSIO, "Filosofia, arti e scienze: L'enciclopedia di Angelo Poliziano," in *Poliziano nel suo tempo*, conference proceedings (Chianciano, Montepulciano, 18–21 July 1994), edited by L. ROTONDI SECCHI TARUGI, Florence, 1996, pp. 135–64; R. NANNI, "La tecnica nel Panepistemon di Angelo Poliziano: Meccanica e Artes sellulariae," *Physis* n.s., 44, no. 2 (2007): 349–76. In the manuscript (unfinished) *Centuria secunda*, several pages are found under the title *Aquae vitruvianae*: V. BRANCA, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*, Turin, 1983, pp. 208, 218–19.

¹¹ VITRUVIUS, II, I, 3.

¹² VITRUVIUS, IV, I, 2–4: P. Gros, *Commento*, in *VITRUVIO, De architectura*, Turin, 1997, vol. I, p. 442 note 82.

¹³ C. BARONI, *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura nel Rinascimento e Barocco*, Milan, 1940, vol. I, p. 44. The citation is from Vasari, who attributes them to Bramantino: G. VASARI, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori [...] di nuovo ampliate* [Florence 1568], in *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, edited by G.

MILANESI, 9 vols., Florence 1878–1885, facsimile edition, Florence, 1906, vol. VI, p. 512.

¹⁴ Christoph Frommel reads the presence of this solution in the cloister-garden differently, believing instead that it connects to the passage of *De Re Aedificatoria* (IX, 1) where Alberti suggests the use of this kind of column in structures connected to gardens for their naturalistic qualities: C. L. FROMMEL, "Chiostrì di S. Ambrogio e il corte della Cancelleria a Roma: Un confronto stilistico," *Arte Lombarda* 79, no. 4 (1986): 9–18: 10; recently, R. SCHOFIELD, "Bramante, Giuliano, Leonardo e i chiostrì di Sant'Ambrogio," in *Giuliano da Sangallo*, edited by A. BELLUZZI–C. ELAM–F. P. FIORE, Milan, 2017, pp. 359–71.

¹⁵ G. MOROLLI, "Raffaello e Vitruvio: Un'ultima amnesia della 'fortuna,'" *Quasar* 6–7 (1991–92): 31–50: 40–41.

¹⁶ See, in this volume, the contribution of Eliana Carrara with bibliography.

¹⁷ L. BELTRAMI, *Documenti e memorie riguardanti la vita e le opere di Leonardo da Vinci in ordine cronologico*, Milan, 1919, docs. nn. 10–11 (ASF, *Deliberazioni dei Signori e Collegi*, 1477–1478, fol. 4r–v and 26r–v). Vanna Arrighi has hypothesized the involvement of Lorenzo il Magnifico in this rivalry between the two artists: V. ARRIGHI–A. BELLINAZZI *Scheda* III.14, in *Leonardo da Vinci: La vera immagine: Documenti e testimonianze sulla vita e sull'opera*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, 19 October 2005–28 January 2006), edited by V. ARRIGHI–A. BELLINAZZI–E. VILLATA, Florence, 2005, p. 127.

¹⁸ Here, for the first time, the names of the members of the Signoria in the first three months of 1478 are transcribed: ASF, *Signori e collegi*,

Deliberazioni in forza di ordinaria autorità, 94, fol. 1 [vecchia numerazione - Primo gennaio 1477 sf] "Signori [Quartiere Santo Spirito] Laurentio domini Antonii domini Laurentii de Ridulfis//Francesco Antonii Tomasi Francesci de A de Antonio// [Quartiere Santa Croce] Alexandro Francisci Sandri fornaciario// Salvi Bertoli Matthei Ghaligario [Quartiere di Santa Maria Novella]// Iacopo Dini domini Ghucci Dini de Ghuccis// Mariotto Marci de Bernardi aromatario alla Palla// [Quartiere di San Giovanni] // Conte Bartolomei Guidacci de Pecoris//Apollonio Johannis Iacopi (cancellato Francisci) domini Nicholai de Baldovinis// Berlinghiero Francisci Francisci de Berlinghieris vexilifero iustitie quartiere S. t."

¹⁹ See, in this volume, Ferretti, "Architecture in Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi*."

²⁰ For example, attributed to Sandro Botticelli or Filippino (in Botticelli's workshop): *Esther and Mordecai before the Royal Palace*, Louvre, inv. R.F.1972.13; P. ZAMBRANO, "Storie a figure piccolo: Filippino Lippi e la narrazione di storie," in P. ZAMBRANO-J. K. NELSON, *Filippino Lippi*, Milan, 2004, pp. 141-179: 149.

²¹ L. PELLECCIA, "The Patron's Role in the Production of Architecture: Bartolomeo Scala and the Scala Palace," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989): 258-91; R. GARGIANI, *Principi e costruzione nell'architettura italiana del Quattrocento*, Rome-Bari, 2003, pp. 353-54.

²² R. PACCIANI, "Firenze nella seconda metà del secolo," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana: Il Quattrocento*, edited by F. P. FIORE, Milan, 1998, pp. 330-73; S. FROMMEL, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, Florence, 2014. To these buildings we can add the inner façade of the church of San Salvatore al Monte (PACCIANI, "Firenze," pp. 360-61), designed by Simone del Pollaiuolo called il Cronaca, already working closely with Giuliano: R. PACCIANI, "Giuliano da Sangallo e Cronaca: Incarichi complementari, carriere divergenti," in *Giuliano da Sangallo*, pp. 141-50.

²³ See recently, *Giuliano da Sangallo: I disegni degli Uffizi*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 16 May-20 August), edited by D. DONETTI-M. FAETI-S. FROMMEL, Florence, 2017.

²⁴ S. FROMMEL, "Giuliano da Sangallo and Leonardo da Vinci: Cross-Pollination or Parallels?," in *Illuminating Leonardo: A festschrift for Carlo Pedretti Celebrating his 70 Years of Scholarship (1944-2014)*, edited by C. MOFFATT-S. TAGLIAGAMBA, Leiden-Boston, 2016, vol. I, pp. 85-99: 85-87.

²⁵ N. DACOS, "Arte italiana e arte antica," in *Storia dell'arte italiana, L'esperienza dell'antico, dell'Europa, della Religiosità*, I, 3, Turin, 1979, pp. 5-68: 22-24; H. GÜNTHER, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance*, Tübingen, 1988.

²⁶ F. P. DI TEODORO, *Raffaello, Baldassarre da Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X*, San Giorgio di Piano, 2003.

²⁷ M. MARTELLI, *Studi laurenziani*, Florence, 1965, p. 191, note 52. On printing Alberti's writings, see: L.

BÖRINGER, "Leon Battista in tipografia: Le stampe del Quattrocento," in *Leon Battista Alberti umanista e scrittore: Filologia, esegesi, tradizione*, conference proceedings (Arezzo, 24-26 June 2004), edited by R. CARDINI-M. REGOLIOSI, Florence, 2007, pp. 621-630: 624-625. Furthermore, see, G. ORLANDI, "Le prime fasi nella diffusione del Trattato architettonico albertiano," in *Leon Battista Alberti*, exhibition catalogue (Mantua, Palazzo Te, 10 September-11 December 1994), edited by J. RYKWERT-A. ENGEL, Milan, 1994, pp. 98-105.

²⁸ The presence of Pierfrancesco de' Medici and sons Lorenzo and Giovanni in the *Adorazione* by Filippino Lippi is recorded by Vasari and discussed in, A. CECCHI, "Una predella e altri contributi per l'*Adorazione dei Magi* di Filippino," in *I pittori della Brancacci agli Uffizi*, Florence, 1988, pp. 59-72; in the essay, the hypothesis that the Medici portraits are represented as a tribute reflecting the new role that the cadet branch of the family would have in Florence following the change of regime in the city after 1494. Recently, the identification has been taken up and defined by J. K. NELSON "L'astrologo e il suo astrolabio: L'*Adorazione dei Magi* di Filippino Lippi del 1496," in *Il cosmo magico di Leonardo: L'Adorazione dei Magi restaurata*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 28 March-24 September 2017), edited by E. D. SCHMIDT-M. CIATTI-D. PARENTI, Florence, 2017, pp. 75-91. If we wanted to sustain the involvement in the commission or a moral reference to these Medici we might also hypothesize the presence of their portraits in Leonardo's panel, as suggested by a certain resemblance between the old man on the left (whom Natali identifies as Isaiah) and the figure with the astrolabe in Filippino's altarpiece, thought by Cecchi and Nelson to be Pierfrancesco di Lorenzo de' Medici. In such a context though, the existence of a possible tie between Leonardo and the cadet branch of the Medici is a theme needing further exploration; as such, for Leonardo's second Florentine sojourn, from notes in the Codex Atlanticus and Codex Arundel brought to light by Carlo Vecce, Leonardo seems to have had a Latin grammar of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, a clear indication of a connection between the figures. From the viewpoint of a revaluation of the account of the Anonimo Gaddiano, and thus the presence of Leonardo in the Garden of San Marco, this is evidence that opens the way for further relations between the artist and the Medici of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco in the years immediately preceding the departure for Milan: C. VECCE, "Libreria di Sancto Marco," *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 5 (1992): 122-25: 124.

²⁹ C. BIANCA, "Le dediche a Lorenzo de' Medici nell'editoria fiorentina," in *Laurentia Laurus per Mario Martelli*, edited by F. BAUSI-V. FERA, Messina, 2004, pp. 51-89: 57.

³⁰ F. P. DI TEODORO, "Le 'rottture de' muri': Cause, rimedi, prevenzione," *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 4 (1991): 158-70: 164-67.

³¹ R. DESCENDRE, "La biblioteca di Leonardo," in S. LUZZATTO-G. PEDULLÀ, *Atlante della letteratura italiana*, Turin, 2010, vol. I, pp. 592-95.

³² In the extensive bibliography, see, *Leonardo: L'Uomo Vitruviano fra arte e scienza*, exhibition catalog (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 10 October 2009-10 January 2010), edited by A. PERISSA TORRINI, Venice, 2009.

³³ The identification of the classical model that rises near the Colosseum is from Howard Burns (1995); see also the discussion in my other essay in this volume: "Architecture in Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi*." Vasari, in the Life of Giuliano da Maiano, recalls that in the first half of the 1460s (that is in the years immediately preceding Lorenzo il Magnifico's Roman trip with Alberti and Bernardo Rucellai, dated, as is known, 1471), exactly in that area, travertine was excavated to be used in the building of the so-called Loggia delle Benedizioni (demolished with the construction of Bramante's new Saint Peter's), documenting a new fortune for monuments in the later Quattrocento (VASARI, *Le Vite*, vol. II, p. 473).

³⁴ A. PINELLI, "Feste e trionfi: Continuità e metamorfosi di un tema," in *Memoria dell'Antico nell'arte italiana: II. I Generi e i temi ritrovati*, edited by S. SETIS, Turin, 1985, pp. 281-352: 290-91, 314.

³⁵ Translated from the Italian edition: JACOPO DA VARAGINE, *Leggenda aurea*, edited by C. LISI, Florence, 1952, p. 50.

³⁶ M. SCHICH, "Terme e basilica di Massenzio," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti: Umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, exhibition catalog (Rome, 24 June-16 October 2005), edited by F. P. FIORE, Milan, 2005, pp. 274-81.

³⁷ GIOVANNI DI PAGOLO RUCELLAI, *Zibaldone*, edited by G. BATTISTA, Florence, 2013, p. 126. In 1471, the son of Giovanni, Bernardo, accompanied his brother-in-law Lorenzo il Magnifico to Rome with Leon Battista Alberti, as described in a document well known to the literature and published in BERNARDO RUCELLAI, "Liber de urbe Roma," in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1725, II, coll. 830-40. At the beginning of the 1520s, Bernardo commissioned Leonardo to make a water clock: C. PEDRETTI, "La macchina idraulica costruita da Leonardo per conto di Bernardo Rucellai e i primi contatori ad acqua," *Raccolta Vinciana* 17 (1954): 177-215.

³⁸ R. HATFIELD, "The Compagnia de' Magi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970): 107-61: 114, note 40.

³⁹ For this structure and the process of simplification that defines it with respect to the Louvre drawing, see my observations in this volume, "Architecture in Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi*."

⁴⁰ H. GÜNTHER, "La rinascita dell'antichità," in *Il Rinascimento da Brunelleschi a Michelangelo: La rappresentazione dell'architettura*, exhibition catalogue (Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 31 March-6

November 1994), edited by H. A. MILLON-V. MAGNAGO LAMPUGNANI, Venice, 1994, pp. 259–305: 291.

⁴¹ A. VISCOGLIOSI, *I fori imperiali nei disegni del primo Cinquecento: Ricerche sull'architettura e l'urbanistica di Roma*, Rome, 2000, p. 83.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 90–91, 140–41, 147–48; A. LALLE, "Il foro di Nerva e il tempio di Minerva: Trasformazioni e utilizzo in epoca medioevale," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 230–34.

⁴³ G. SCAGLIA, "The 'Colonnacce' of Forum Nervae as Cronaca's Inspiration for the 'Cornicione' of Palazzo Strozzi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 35, no. 2-3 (1991): 153–69. This article includes a list of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts in which the Colonnacce and the Spolia Christi appear, though unfortunately the author confuses the two subjects and thus the list, though useful, needs to be carefully checked. See furthermore, B. PINNA CARBONI, "Il foro di Traiano," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti*, pp. 236–238.

⁴⁴ E. FERRETI, "Palazzo Farnese," in *Michelangelo Architetto a Roma*, exhibition catalogue (Rome, 7 October 2009–11 February 2010), edited by M. MUSSOLINI, Cinisello Balsamo, 2009, pp. 144–55; for Palazzo Strozzi, PACCIANI, "Firenze," p. 360.

⁴⁵ "Visionem Ezechielis," in *Dios Arquitecto: J.B. Villalpando y el templo de Salomon*, edited by J. A. RAMIREZ, Madrid, 1991, p. 155 fig. 154.

⁴⁶ In Laurentian Florence, a kind of Corinthian capital emerges which has a palmette under the abacus, (supported by two angular "S" volutes), a decorative motif interpreted as a kind of Christianization of the pagan orders of Antiquity, defining a real "Solomonic order": G. MOROLLI, "L'elocutio' dei capitelli," in *L'architettura di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, pp. 272–77: 277. Leonardo's capital differs from these examples in that the reference to the Corinthian remains only for what regards the abacus. For the form of this capital, see my essay in this volume: "Architecture in Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi*."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ This is the case for Riccardo da San Vittore in his *Visionem Ezechielis* (12th C.), or the descriptions in the form of images of Niccolò di Lira (second half of 13th C.), contained in two texts transmitted in innumerable manuscript copies until the first printed edition in 1481 in Nuremberg: *Biblia latina cum postillae litteralis in vetus et novum testamentum* (1322–1331) and *Postillae moralis in vetus et novum testamentum* (1339): S. TUZI, *Le Colonne e il Tempio di Salomone: La storia, la leggenda, la fortuna*, Rome, 2002, pp. 118–21. The Laurentian Library has a fourteenth-century copy, Plut. 6 dex. 7, from the Library of the Convent of Santa Croce, Florence: the codex contains floorplan reconstructions of the temple. For a summary of the codices, M. T. LAGUNA PAÚL, *Postillae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum de Nycolas de Lyra*, Cadiz, 1979.

⁴⁹ The iconographic sources that schematically show an idea for reconstruction of the (second) Temple of Jerusalem, destroyed in 70 AD by Titus, may have been combined, as is known, both from the descriptions of the pilgrims and travellers (F. CARDINI, *In Terrasanta: Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna*, Bologna, 2002), and from the reading of classicist texts from the late-Antique and high medieval periods, especially Flavius Josephus. The author speaks of the temple both in the *Antichità giudaiche* (VIII, II, 10) which in the *Guerre giudaiche* appears as the most extensive passage (V, 1–5) where the battle taking place outside the temple is described. The printed editions of this last text (after early 1480) would have been widely available, and especially the Italian edition printed in Florence in 1493. In 1495, in the inventory of a Florentine bookshop at the moment of the bookseller's death, 30 copies were recorded of the Italian edition of Flavius Josephus: C. BEC, *Cultura e società a Firenze nell'età della Rinascenza*, Rome, 1981, p. 186. See also R. PACCIANI, "Indicazioni di Gerusalemme antica nell'architettura del primo '500 in Italia," in *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Relazioni tra Genova e Gerusalemme nel Medioevo e nell'età moderna*, conference proceedings (Genoa, 23–24 November 1992), edited by G. AIRALDI, Genoa, 1996, pp. 45–58. As for Alessandro Rinuccini, as told by Franco Cardini (CARDINI, *In Terrasanta*, p. 265) the friar "had quite a few special reasons for being interested in the Holy Land. Aside from the sermons that he might have heard, the convent where he lived was the Florentine center of the worship of the Magi, patronized by the house of Medici; and the annual festival that took place in the city streets on the day of the Epiphany, transformed it into a 'Bethlehem for a day,' where the Savior was acclaimed king." The memoirs of the journey to the Holy Land of Rinuccini can be read in ALESSANDRO DI FILIPPO RINUCCINI, *Sanctissimo peregrinaggio del Sancto Sepolcro 1474*, edited by A. CALAMAI, Ospedaletto, 1993. See also the observations of Di Teodoro on the identification of the Baptistery of Saint John and the Temple of Jerusalem in medieval Florence: F. P. DI TEODORO, "Marmorea Templa: Firenze, identità romana e tutela identitaria," in *Architettura e identità locali*, edited by H. BURNS–M. MUSSOLINI, vol. II, Florence, 2013, pp. 449–71: 462.

⁵⁰ LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI, *L'architettura*, edited by G. ORLANDI–P. PORTOGHESI, Milan, 1966: Libro II, capitolo III (I, p. 108); Libro VI, capitolo IV (II, p. 466); Libro VI, capitolo XI (II, p. 510). Particularly significant for our consideration: Libro VII, capitolo II (II, p. 613) where it speaks of the fire at the "sacri portici di Gerusalemme."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Libro VIII, capitolo VI, II, pp. 706–07.

⁵² R. KRAUTHEIMER, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33.

⁵³ J. A. RAMIREZ, "Evocar, reconstruir, tal vez soñar," in *Dios Arquitecto*, pp. 1–51; K. B. MOORE,

The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: The Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance, Cambridge, 2017, pp. 246–56.

⁵⁴ A. BELLUZZI, "La cappella Rucellai e il tempietto del Santo Sepolcro," in *Leon*, edited by A. CALZONA–J. CONNORS–F. P. FIORE–C. VASOLI, Florence, 2009, vol. I, pp. 103–34: 115.

⁵⁵ A. ROVETTA, "La Gerusalemme Celeste e la città ideale nell'età dell'Umanesimo," in *La città ideale nella tradizione classica e biblico-cristiana*, conference proceedings (Turin, 2–4 May 1985), edited by R. UGLIONE, Turin, 1987, pp. 269–87; "Firenze come nuova Gerusalemme," *ibid.*, pp. 194–218. Also, CARDINI, *In Terrasanta*, pp. 253–57.

⁵⁶ HATFIELD, *The Compagnia*, p. 115. In addition, as mentioned by Franco Cardini, the bond between Florence and the Holy Land was reinforced thanks to the fortunes of the cult of the Magi, see note 48 and note 54.

⁵⁷ A. NATALI, "La predizione di Isaia: Una trama per l'Adorazione dei Magi di Leonardo," in *Il cosmo magico di Leonardo*, pp. 17–33.

⁵⁸ The evocation of Jerusalem and its temple in ruins in the context of the Adoration might be put in relation to the prophecy of the destruction of the Hebrew monument (part of a season of devastation and death), cited in Jesus' words, which appear with some variations in the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke: "And they shall lay thee even with the ground and thy children within thee; and they shalt not leave in thee one stone upon another." (Luke 19:44), echoed as well in numerous Biblical passages (Ezekiel, Daniel, Isaiah, Zacharias). The fall of the temple, in fact, is foretold several times in the Old Testament. Not only is the connection between the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem and the coming of the Messiah found in the prophetic visions of Isaiah, but also in the prophecies in the books of Daniel and Zacharias. In this last, we read that the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, fruit of a terrible season of war, will conclude with a Messianic peace, coinciding with the coming of the reign of God: "That living waters shall flow from Jerusalem. Half of them toward the eastern sea, and half of them toward the western sea; in both summer and winter it shall occur. And the Lord shall be King over all the earth. In that day it shall be—'The Lord is one,' and His name one" (Zacharias 14).

⁵⁹ E. BATTISTI, *Rinascimento e Barocco*, Turin, 1960, pp. 72–95: 85–87. In addition, see, F. BENZI, *Sisto IV renovator urbis: Architettura a Roma 1471–1484*, Rome, 1990.

⁶⁰ RAMIREZ, *Evocar, reconstruir*, p. 15. The Temple of Solomon is presented in this form by Perugino in the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Caen and by Raphael in the *Marriage of the Virgin* in the Brera, Milan.

⁶¹ MOORE, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land*, pp. 246–56.

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