Preface to the 500th anniversary edition of 2019

The focus of this book, whose 2019 expanded edition marks the 500th anniversary of the artist's death, are the works of Leonardo as well as a wealth of original sources, which are discussed in depth in the ten chapters of the main text. The accompanying references and further reading can be found in the Bibliography (pp. 253–266) and in the catalogue section, which also offers a critical appraisal of Leonardo scholarship to date. The analyses in the main text approach Leonardo's works from the perspective of their socio-cultural context and the history of their respective genres. They concentrate upon a "historical explanation of pictures" (Baxandall 1985) and interpret the content of Leonardo's paintings against the backdrop of context and pictorial tradition. In the main text I have furthermore sought to show that Leonardo's theoretical and scientific ideas can likewise only be understood in full against the backdrop of their historical contingency. The same approach underpins the comprehensive section on Leonardo's drawings, which has been expanded with a chapter on his manuscripts.

For publications within the field of Leonardo scholarship in recent years, the reader is directed here to the specialist bibliographies (Bibliography, Section 4, p. 266). In the following pages there is only room to pay tribute to the most important discoveries. These include the painting of *Christ as Salvator Mundi* presented to the public in 2011 and sold on 15 November 2017 at auction in New York, whose design undoubtedly goes back to Leonardo (fig. 2; see Cat. XXXII). This is evidenced by two autograph studies by Leonardo for Christ's draperies (Cat. D40–41) and by other versions of the subject that were produced in his workshop or within his circle. A *Salvator Mundi* formerly in the collection of the Marquis de Ganay, a second in San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, and a third in the Detroit Institute of Arts are all variants from Leonardo's circle (figs. 4, 7 and 9). Two *Salvator Mundi* paintings from the former Stark and Worsley collections are only documented by old photographs (figs. 10-11). Like the New York *Salvator Mundi,* they depict Christ as Saviour making the sign of blessing with his right hand and holding a crystal orb in his left. Other variants, which were probably also executed on the basis of Leonardo's *Salvator Mundi* design, show a portrait of Christ without crystal orb or gesture of blessing (fig. 8).

The New York *Salvator Mundi* is a high-quality, albeit heavily restored Old Master painting (see below), on whose completion it is likely that Leonardo was directly involved. But the viewpoint, regularly expressed since 2011, that the New York *Salvator Mundi* represents a wholly autograph work by Leonardo himself, remains particularly problematic. Doubts over such an attribution arise out of three circumstances. Firstly, in contrast to other original paintings by Leonardo, the New York *Salvator Mundi* is not mentioned in early sources. Secondly, the painting's provenance can only be traced back securely to the start of the 20th century. Thirdly, following its rediscovery in 2005, the evidently badly damaged painting has undergone radical restoration, the start of which in 2005 does not appear to be documented at all (Modestini 2014, p. 142). A documentation of all the restoration works carried out, announced several times since 2011, has still not been published, which casts the previous process of authentication into a bad light and makes it impossible to pass final judgement on the New York *Salvator Mundi.*

We need only look at certain details of the painting for the problematic nature of the recent restoration to become apparent. An example is an omega-shaped fold in Christ's draperies, which is located to the left of the intersecting ornamental bands of his outer garment. This detail is already present in one of the two drapery studies by Leonardo (Cat. D41) and is also found in the *Salvator Mundi* paintings from the Ganay Collection (fig. 4), San Domenico Maggiore (fig. 7) and the Worsley Collection (fig. 11). It is least stylized and comes closest to Leonardo's original drawing in the Ganay *Salvator Mundi.* In the New York *Salvator Mundi,* by contrast, the omega motif has shrunk to a barely legible cipher. This reduction of a detail that is also of iconographical interest (Snow-Smith 1982, pp. 58–61) allows two conclusions: either the execution of the omega motif in the New York *Salvator Mundi* is not by Leonardo himself, or

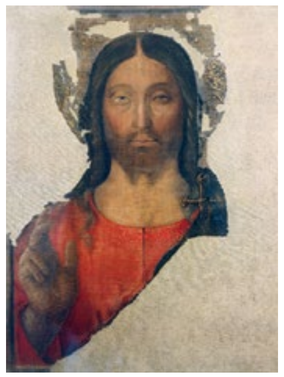

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Fig. 1:
Melozzo da Forlì
Salvator Mundi, 1480–1482
Oil on panel, 54 x 40.5 cm
Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Palazzo Ducale

Fig. 2:
Workshop of Leonardo, after a design by Leonardo and with Leonardo's participation
Christ as Salvator Mundi, 1507 or later (?)
Oil on walnut, 65.5 x 45.1–45.6 cm
Private collection, planned for Louvre Abu Dhabi (2017 state)

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Fig. 3:
Workshop of Leonardo, after a design by Leonardo and with Leonardo's participation
Christ as Salvator Mundi, 1507 or later (?)
Oil on walnut, 65.5 x 45.1–45.6 cm
Private collection, planned for Louvre Abu Dhabi (2011–2014 state)

Fig. 4:
Circle of Leonardo da Vinci
Christ as Salvator Mundi
Oil on walnut, 68,6 x 48,9 cm
Privatse collection, formerly Marquis de Ganay Collection, Paris, auctioned at Sotheby's, 28 May 1999, lot 00020, Important Old Master Paintings, sold for US$332,500

it testifies to the scale of the painting's damaged state of preservation. The problematic nature of the restoration is highlighted, too, when we compare the photographs of the New York *Salvator Mundi* published since 2011. From an examination of these widely disseminated images, it is plain that the painting has been altered since its first public presentation in 2011. Thus the photographs published between 2011 and c. 2014 show, in the right half of the picture (i.e. on Christ's left shoulder), a whole series of drapery folds of differentiated shape (fig. 3). The exact course of these folds and their shadows can be made out without difficulty even behind the crystal globe which Christ is holding in his left hand. By contrast, the photographs taken in 2017 (fig. 2) reveal a simplification of the drapery folds in this area, as well as a reduction in their number. Their course beneath the orb has likewise been simplified and is less clearly visible.

An impression of the nature of this alteration is also conveyed by a comparison with a photograph taken around 1904, which shows the painting in a state prior to the restorations carried out as from 2005 (fig. 5). Here the drapery folds behind the crystal orb run visibly further, as is the case in the new photographs of the New York *Salvator Mundi* published between 2011 and 2014. In the upper area of Christ's left shoulder, however, the 1904 photograph corresponds to the state of the New York *Salvator Mundi* at the time of its auction in November 2017 (fig. 2). A look at a version of the *Salvator Mundi* formerly in the collection of the Marquis de Ganay is equally illuminating (fig. 4): here, the drapery folds above the crystal orb come closest to the 2011 state of the New York *Salvator Mundi* (fig. 3). The same detail in the variant in Detroit (fig. 9), by contrast, corresponds more closely to the New York *Salvator Mundi* in its current state. These comparisons prove, in other words, that even after its exhibition in 2011, and during the period in which it was being marketed in the years up to 2017, the New York *Salvator Mundi* was altered through its restoration in a questionable manner. The special characteristics of the New York *Salvator Mundi* include its iconic presence, its sfumato effects and hence its extraordinarily atmospheric impact. These effects are already partially present in a *Salvator Mundi* painting from Forlì, which served Leonardo as a visual source (fig. 1). In view of the currently insufficient documentation of the restoration campaign, however, it remains unclear to what extent this sense of aura goes back to interventions by the restorer. At all events, photographs taken immediately after the painting's rediscovery in 2005 show a *Salvator Mundi* that is somewhat less atmospheric in its effect (Modestini 2014, p. 141f; 2018, p. 412).

The heated debates over the condition and attribution of the New York picture have thrust questions of content into the background. One possible historical frame of reference is suggested by the painting's references to devotional portraits of Christ. Of particular interest in this regard are the prayers to St Veronica popular in Leonardo's day, which in 15th and 16th-century book illumination were often accompanied by pictures of Christ as Salvator Mundi. The text of the prayer was thereby introduced or accompanied by miniatures either of St Veronica's veil, a portrait of Christ in the Ecce Homo tradition, or half-length representations of Christ as Salvator Mundi. Highly significant in this context is the prayer spoken in front of the picture of the Saviour, which opens with the words "Salve sancta facies". The person praying thus addresses the Holy Face directly before their eyes. The "Salve sancta facies" prayer is bound up with the hope that devotions performed before the eyes of the Redeemer will help reduce a person's punishments in Hell and ensure that they pass directly into the realm of the blessed, where in the last days they will stand before the divine countenance itself.

Miniatures taking up the theme of praying directly before the Holy Face can be found in many of the illuminated manuscripts of this period, for example in a book of hours illustrated around 1515 by Simon Bening and today housed in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Ms M399, fol. 194v; fig. 13). Here a gold-framed representation of Christ as Salvator Mundi is surrounded by the faithful in prayer and a number of

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Fig. 5:
Leonardo da Vinci and Workshop (?)
Christ as Salvator Mundi
Photograph of 1904

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Fig. 6:
Wenzel Hollar
Christ as Salvator Mundi, 1650
Etching, 24.6 x 19 cm
Royal Library, Windsor Castle

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Fig. 7:
Girolamo Alibrandi
Christ as Salvator Mundi
Tempera on panel, 66.5 x 46.5 cm
Naples, San Domenico Maggiore

Fig. 8:
Giacomo Salaì
Head of Christ, 1511
Oil on panel, 57.5 x 37.5 cm,
Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana

angels. The people praying thus seem to have already reached Heaven through their devotion. What is also striking is that the faithful are arranged as if they were gathered around a panel painting of the Salvator Mundi. A Flemish prayer book dating from the same period, today in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, also shows the Salvator Mundi as a panel painting, whereby here the act of worshipping the image of Christ is relocated to a small predella painting (the skilful representation across the base; Ms 1058-1975, fol. 13v; fig. 14).

A portrait produced around 1460 by the Netherlandish artist Petrus Christus (fig. 12) allows us to picture how a Salvator Mundi might appear in the context of private devotion. Seated in the centre of the painting is an elegantly dressed young man with a small book in his right hand. Pinned up on the wall in the background is a somewhat tattered sheet from an illuminated prayer book or a single woodcut print bearing a portrait of the Saviour and, below it, the prayer of St Veronica laid out in two columns. In terms of its function, the New York *Salvator Mundi* thus probably belongs to the private devotional practice of the early 16th century associated with the prayer "Salve sancta facies".

The rediscovery of the New York *Salvator Mundi*, its restoration, its attribution to Leonardo and its spectacular auction in 2017, overshadowed another important event which deserved no less attention: the completion of the restoration of Leonardo's *Adoration of the Magi* (Cat. X) commenced in 2011. In this case the findings are not only much clearer, but have also been presented in several documentary publications (Ciatti/Frosinini 2017; Il cosmo magico 2017). It is beyond the scope of this preface to discuss all the results of the restoration and the diagnostic investigations that accompanied it, and we shall therefore focus on just a few key points.

In the view of its restorers, the surface dirt covering the *Adoration of the Magi* was compelling grounds in itself to carry out a thorough cleaning. The extensive nature of this layer of dirt had always been visible to the naked eye. The coats of varnish added after the 1500s, for example, had left clear traces: even in subdued lighting, it was possible to see that they had been applied with a coarse brush, leaving rough streaks, and had positively soaked up grime over the centuries. Restoration was also deemed necessary in view of the painting's poor state of preservation. Some types of damage could be traced back to the fact that the wood employed was evidently not of the best quality, resulting in the warping of individual panels and in damage to the paint layer, in particular at the butt joints.

Equally fascinating insights have been obtained with diagnostic imaging (fig. 15). According to the latest findings, there can no longer be any doubt that Leonardo drew the 70 or so figures of the composition directly onto the support, in freehand and without the use of a cartoon or any other transfer techniques. The painting is thus fundamentally a huge sketch, which bears witness to the artistic spontaneity of its maker. The spectacular infrared reflectograms bring to light even Leonardo's famous method of "rough composition" ("componimento inculto", TPL 189; Gombrich 1966), otherwise known only from his drawings. The artist thereby developed his figures out of a confusing multitude of dynamic compositional lines. This process is particularly apparent in the group of people on the right-hand edge of the *Adoration of the Magi*. In the restored painting it is now also possible to see more clearly a number of motifs to which Leonardo would regularly return over the course of his career, such as the group of battling horsemen, as well as his spontaneous exploration of figures in several different positions.

From these investigations, it has also emerged that Leonardo's painting technique in his *Adoration of the Magi* is closely related that of his *St Jerome* (Cat. IX). The idea, occasionally put forward in recent years, that the *St Jerome* dates from Leonardo's first Milan period (Syson/Keith 2011), can therefore be dismissed. It is possible that the improved legibility of the *Adoration of the Magi* will also allow us to understand its iconography more clearly. Thus we might speculate whether the striking luminosity of the restored painting has an intended meaning. Whatever

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Fig. 9:
Giampietrino
Salvator Mundi
Oil (?) on panel, 65 x 47.5 cm
Detroit Institute of Arts

Fig. 10:
Circle of Leonardo da Vinci
Christ as Salvator Mundi
Oil (?) on panel, 63.5 x 49.5 cm
Formerly Viktor Stark Collection, Zurich, current whereabouts unknown

Fig. 11:
Circle of Leonardo da Vinci
Salvator Mundi
Oil (?) on panel, 62.5 x 48.8 cm
Formerly Worsley Collection (prior to that Yarborough Collection) current whereabouts unknown

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the case, light is indeed one of the painting's themes. According to the Gospels, the Three Wise Men were guided to the Christ Child by a powerful light source, the Star of Bethlehem. The young man to the left of the tree in the middle ground is pointing towards this star with the index finger of his right hand. The bearded old man is shielding his eyes from its brilliance with his raised right arm. And if divine light is a central theme of the picture, then a role is perhaps also played by the metaphysics of light set out a few years earlier by the Augustinians (Fehrenbach 1997), for whom Leonardo had embarked on the painting.

Diagnostic imaging has also played a key role in the investigation of other Leonardo paintings. Infrared reflectography has thus revealed two very different underdrawings beneath the London version of *Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks* (Cat. XVI). Evidently Leonardo had originally intended to show not the Virgin with the Infant Christ and Infant St John together with Archangel Uriel, but a very much simpler Adoration scene with the Virgin and Child (Syson/Billinge 2005; Syson/Keith 2011). This first underdrawing was probably executed by Leonardo himself and can be linked in compositional terms with some of his original sketches. Only the second underdrawing (fig. 17) corresponds to the figural arrangement that is seen in the two versions of the *Virgin of the Rocks* and which, moreover, directly reflects the patron's wishes (see Ch. III).

Diagnostic scanning likewise contributed to the findings yielded by the restoration of a previously disregarded copy of the *Mona Lisa* in the Prado in Madrid (fig. 18). The results are discussed in a monumental catalogue on the *Virgin and Child with St Anne* (Cat. XXVII; Delieuvin 2012) published in conjunction with an exhibition in the Louvre in Paris. During their investigations of the Madrid *Mona Lisa* copy, the conservators discovered a luminous pale blue, Leonardesque rocky landscape in the background, concealed beneath later overpainting in black. They also established that the dimensions and outlines of the female sitter in the Prado copy correspond exactly to the Louvre original. It is likely, therefore, that the copyist employed a cartoon made by Leonardo as the starting-point for his own painting (Gonzáles Mozo in Delieuvin 2012, pp. 234–239).

On the surface, the significance of the Madrid copy lies in the fact that certain details can be made out more clearly here than in Leonardo's original painting. This is true of the landscape background, for example, and the folds and decorative trimming of Lisa's dress. Of greater interest, however, are two further insights. Firstly, the investigations point to the conclusion that the copy was executed at the same time as Leonardo's original. This argument is supported by small changes that are common to both portraits and which have been revealed by diagnostic imaging. The close cooperation this implies between master and pupil is not unusual. A number of investigations over the past few years have in fact shown that Leonardo produced or designed paintings of which his pupils made copies and variations (Cat. XXIII–XXIV, XXVIII–XXIX). We also know from written sources that Leonardo occasionally made his own improvements to the works being carried out by his pupils (see p. 149).

It is surprising, secondly, that an autograph portrait by Leonardo was copied in the master's workshop while the original was still in progress. It is possible that Leonardo saw the commission for the *Mona Lisa* as an opportunity to teach one of his pupils the finer points of portraiture. Arguing in favour of the didactic nature of the Madrid copy is the clear discrepancy between its fidelity to detail in the figure, and its greater freedom in other areas. Thus the copyist has reproduced the many folds of Lisa's dress and the filigree ornament around her low neckline with pedantic precision. In other parts of the composition, however, he has allowed himself astonishing departures. A case in point are the slender columns and their bases that are barely visible in the Paris painting and which bound the pictorial space to the left and right. In the Madrid copy these differ from one another in an interesting detail: the base of the column on the right obeys a different perspective construction to its counterpart on the left, since its plinth, with its two visible sides, descends no longer vertically but at a slight angle onto the supporting parapet. This

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Fig. 12:
Petrus Christus
Portrait of a Young Man, 1450-1460
Oil on oak, 35.4 x 25 cm
London, The National Gallery

Fig. 13:
Simon Bening and Workshop
Miniature from the Da Costa hours
Salve Sancta Facies, Christ as Salvator Mundi, c. 1515,
Parchment, book page 17.2 x 12.5 cm
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms M399), fol. 194v

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Fig. 14:
Artist unknown
Miniature from a Flemish book of hours (Bruges)
Salve Sancta Facies, Christ as Salvator Mundi, c. 1510
Parchment and gold, book page 19.6 x 13.2 cm
Cambridge (US), The Fitzwilliam Museum (Ms 15677) fol. 13v

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combination of precise imitation and surprising deviation from the original suggests an experiment in perspective.

There is a sense of experimentation, too, in the treatment of the landscape background in the right half of the picture. For whereas the copyist has adopted the rock formations on the left almost exactly, he has taken greater liberties on the right. Thus the rocks in the lower right-hand background are rendered in a far more differentiated fashion, but thereby appear almost stereotypical. Such comparisons of the two portraits also make it clear that the greatest correspondences between original and copy are found in the left-hand side, while the greatest differences are found on the right. It would seem that the copyist proceeded from left to right and in so doing increasingly distanced himself from his visual source. It is possible a striking departure in the colour of Lisa's sleeves, which in the Paris painting are executed in a mustard tone that corresponds in visual terms with the ochres of the middle ground, is also experimental in nature (cf. ill. pp. 162/163). The copyist has opted instead for a reddish fabric that introduces a lively colour contrast in place of the homogenous tonality of the original painting. The Prado *Mona Lisa* confirms what the results of diagnostic imaging of other works have already suggested: Leonardo's workshop produced paintings not only based on his designs but also based on his paintings even before the originals were finished. And in the case of particularly important commissions, Leonardo stepped in to perfect the results.

An insight into the efficient operation of Leonardo's highly skilled workshop was offered by the above-mentioned Paris exhibition devoted to Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne* (figs. 19–20). It thereby appears that Leonardo contributed primarily the innovative figural composition, while his pupils were able to elaborate the landscape backgrounds in very different ways, either to suit their own taste or to meet the expectations of potential customers (fig. 21). The almost complete lack of vegetation in Leonardo's primeval landscapes is thereby replaced, in many of these workshop versions, by flourishing trees and gentle meadows. The uncompromising barrenness of Leonardo's landscapes was evidently not to everyone's taste in this epoch. A further focus of the Louvre show fell upon Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St Anne* and its accompanying sketches and preliminary studies. The Paris painting had previously undergone a programme of complete restoration whose results, however, take some getting used to and have thereby sparked some controversy. In a similar fashion to Michelangelo's frescos in the Sistine Chapel following their restoration a few years ago, we now find ourselves confronted with an intensity of colour that, in the case of the *Virgin and Child with St Anne*, no longer entirely corresponds with the image of Leonardo that we have held for centuries.

With the rigorous cleaning of the darkened and dirty varnish, the painting has also lost areas of sfumato, the subtle blurring and shading that lend Leonardo's works their unique atmosphere and are considered his trademark. The difference between Leonardo's sfumato and the clearly less suggestive appearance of paintings by his workshop is demonstrated by a look at the Madrid *Mona Lisa*. The copy largely lacks the aura of the sfumato so typical of Leonardo, which essentially results from two effects. The first is the original sfumato that Leonardo consciously sought to achieve with numerous pigment-like glazes and varnishes; the second is the strengthening of this impression of soft transitions as the varnish has darkened with age. These two effects are inextricably bound up with one another, since the varnish was intentionally applied by the artist himself but subsequently became the carrier of a patina that only formed over the course of time (Zöllner 2013). This overlap between the effect originally intended by Leonardo and the patina acquired over the centuries is what the *Virgin and Child with St Anne* has possibly now lost as a consequence of its restoration.

Another remarkable discovery concerns Leonardo's portrait of Lisa del Giocondo and has been yielded by what has become known in the art-historical literature as the "Heidelberg Cicero". The name refers to an early edition of the letters of Cicero, published in 1477 and today

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Fig. 15: Infrared reflectogram of Leonardo's
Adoration of the Magi, 1481/82
Oil on panel, 243 x 246 cm
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1594
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Fig. 16 and 17: **Outline diagram of the first and second underdrawings of the *Virgin of the Rocks***
Diagrams created by Rachel Billinge on the basis of infrared reflectography
London, The National Gallery

Fig. 18:
Workshop of Leonardo da Vinci
Copy of the *Mona Lisa*, c. 1503–1516 (?)
Oil on panel, 76.3 x 57 cm
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

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Fig. 19:
Leonardo da Vinci
Virgin and Child with St Anne, c. 1503–1519
Oil on panel, 168.4 x 113 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 776

Fig. 20:
Virgin and Child with St Anne
(before restoration)

Fig. 21:
Workshop of Leonardo da Vinci
(Giacomo Salai?)
Copy of the *Virgin and Child with St Anne*, c. 1514–1516 (?)
Oil on panel, 104.8 x 75,6 cm
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

housed in Heidelberg University Library, whose margins contain numerous hand-written annotations by Florentine chancellery secretary Agostino Vespucci. Some of these marginal notes contain brief but highly illuminating comments by Vespucci on three paintings by Leonardo da Vinci (Burke 2008; Probst 2008; Schlechter 2010). In a marginal note dated October 1503, Vespucci draws a parallel between the antique painter Apelles and his way of working as described by Cicero, and his own countryman Leonardo. Cicero observes that Apelles, in a painting of Venus, executed her head and bust with particular artistry but left the rest of her body unfinished. Commenting on this passage, Vespucci writes: "The painter Apelles. Thus Leonardo da Vinci does in all his pictures, as for instance in the head of Lisa del Giocondo and that of Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary. We shall see what he will do with regard to the Great Council Chamber, concerning which he has just reached an agreement with the Standardbearer. October 1503" (Apelles pictor. Ita Leonardus Vincius facit in omnibus suis picturis, ut enim caput Lise del Giocondo et Anne matris virginis. Videbimus, quid faciet de aula magni consilii, de qua re convenit iam cum vexillifero. 1503 Octobris.) Vespucci's annotation represents not only the earliest written reference to Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, but one of the earliest sources of information on the artist's work as a whole. It is a particularly fortunate find, too, since few such comments – speaking in specific terms about not one but several artworks still in the process of completion – have come down to us from the period around 1500.

It is the reference to the *Mona Lisa* that has attracted the most interest, since the earliest notes otherwise relating to the painting date from the years after 1517 and moreover contain conflicting information. The assumption that the portrait today housed in the Louvre indeed shows Lisa del Giocondo is based on the later writings of Giorgio Vasari (1550/1568). This identification was nevertheless lent weight 20 years ago by an archival find in Milan (Shell/Sironi 1991) and was subsequently confirmed by further documents (Zöllner 1993; Pallanti 2008). It still encounters occasional opposition, however (Knauer 2009; Rogers Mariotti 2009; Zapperi 2010; Hatfield 2015). With the discovery of the "Heidelberg Cicero", one of the major grounds for doubt has now been removed. The annotation by Vespucci, who knew Leonardo well, provides firm evidence that the artist was working on a portrait of Lisa del Giocondo in October 1503. To the Florentine chancellery secretary, the *Mona Lisa* thereby evidently seemed sufficiently prominent to be mentioned ahead of the *Virgin and Child with St Anne* and the *Battle of Anghiari*, even though these two other commissions were more prestigious by the standards of the day.

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Proof that the *Mona Lisa* was indeed seen as an important painting even in Leonardo's lifetime is furnished by the young Raphael, active in Florence since 1504, who over the following years produced a number of female portraits based on that of Lisa del Giocondo (cf. ill. p. 165). Suffice to mention here the portrait of Maddalena Doni (fig. 22) and the pen drawing of a young woman (fig. 23), whose position within the pictorial space and the shading of whose face correspond to Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*. Independently of Raphael, a follower of Andrea Solario also looked back to the *Mona Lisa* shortly afterwards in his portrait of Leonardo's patron, Charles d'Amboise, painted around 1507 in Milan. In view of these portraits inspired by Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* and the information in the "Heidelberg Cicero", there can no longer be any doubt that the painting housed in Paris indeed shows Lisa del Giocondo.

The "Heidelberg Cicero" also allows further deductions to be made. Thus Vespucci describes a *Mona Lisa* that is still unfinished: Leonardo has only executed the head. In October 1503, in other words, the highly unusual background landscape did not yet exist. This blank section of the painting is also reflected in the portraits by Raphael and Solario, for their very different backgrounds deviate significantly from the jagged rock formations in the *Mona Lisa*. The wording of Vespucci's marginal note and its relation to the remarks by Cicero furthermore imply that Leonardo commenced all of his pictures by developing the face and parts of the upper body in detail. Confirmation that Leonardo employed – as Vespucci surmises – a working method that took the human face as its point of departure is indeed found in a number of Leonardo's drawings (Cat. 15, 17, 21, 23, 52, 54, 187, 202, 209) as well as in his cartoons and unfinished paintings. In the *Burlington House Cartoon* (Cat. XX), for example, the faces have been modelled in considerably greater detail than the draperies and the background. A similar situation is seen in Leonardo's *St Jerome* (Cat. IX), where the head is substantially more finished than other parts of the painting. Vespucci's annotation thus also testifies to Leonardo's great interest in facial expression, an interest that also characterizes his theoretical writings on art and his scientific studies. *(Zöllner 2019)*

Fig. 22:
Raphael
Maddalena Doni, 1506
Oil on panel, 65 x 45.8 cm
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 59

Fig. 23:
Raphael
Portrait of a Lady, 1504
Pen over chalk, 22.3 x 15.8 cm
Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 3882

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