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The New Genealogical Tree of the Da Vinci Family for Leonardo's DNA. Ancestors and descendants in direct male line down to the present XXI generation*

This research demonstrates in a documented manner the continuity in the direct male line, from father to son, of the Da Vinci family starting with Michele (XIV century) to fourteen living descendants through twenty-one generations and four different branches, which from the XV generation (Tommaso), in turn generate other line branches. Such results are eagerly awaited from an historical viewpoint, with the correction of the previous Da Vinci trees (especially Uzielli, 1872, and Smiraglia Scognamiglio, 1900) which reached down to and hinted at the XVI generation (with several errors and omissions), and an update on the living.

Like the surname, male heredity connects the history of registry records with biological history along separate lineages. Because of this, the present genealogy, which spans almost seven hundred years, can be used to verify, by means of the most innovative technologies of molecular biology, the unbroken transmission of the Y chromosome (through the living descendants and ancient tombs, even if with some small variations due to time) with a view to confirming the recovery of Leonardo's Y marker. This will make available useful elements to scientifically explore the roots of his genius, to find information on his physical prowess and on his possibly precocious ageing, on his being left-handed and his health and possible hereditary sicknesses, and to explain certain peculiar sensory perceptions, like his extraordinary visual quality and synesthesia.

PART I

Foreword

This study presents a synthesis of decades-long research¹ aimed at reconstructing the complete and up-to-date genealogy of the Da Vinci family, and pursues new objectives consistent with tradition, both in terms of methodology and in terms of potentiality and goals.

Historic enquiry crosses centuries and places, heterogeneous documents and personal events, in a dialogue with other disciplines and technologies, in order to

* Translated by Luca Baldoni.

¹ Begun in theory in 1969 and in practice in 1973 by A. Vezzosi. See Vezzosi (2016), p. 169.

reconstruct all the pieces of the long history of Leonardo's family, with extraordinary results for a lineage which was considered extinguished.²

We furthermore aim to contribute to the researches of the international group "The Leonardo Da Vinci DNA Project"³ to understand unknown aspects of Leonardo as a man and an artist, and to try and explain, through the most advanced innovations in biology and genetics, some peculiarities of his numerous talents, beside putting at the service of art history ever more advanced technologies which are able to compare certain biological data with those detectable through non-invasive analysis of paintings and manuscripts.⁴

² We refer in particular to our conference: "Leonardo vive. Attualità leonardiane 2016. Notizie inedite e riscoperte: Leonardo Da Vinci e la sua famiglia dal XIV al XXI secolo. Luoghi e antenati dimenticati e discendenti viventi oggi", Teatro di Vinci, 14 April 2016. The conference remains unpublished, with some partial anticipations (which however summed up research reaching to 2015) in Vezzosi (2016), in the press review and the *News* of the Museo Ideale Leonardo Da Vinci, "Vinci and Leonardo", and in a partial publication (reaching to the grandfather Antonio) in Vezzosi-Sabato (2018).

³ Promoted by the J. Craig Venter Institute, La Jolla (California) and supported by The Richard Lounsbery Foundation <https://www.jcvi.org/research/leonardo-da-vinci-dna-project>.

⁴ In 2000 we had already presented the preliminaries of an archive of fingerprints individuated in paintings, drawings and manuscripts by Leonardo and then in the works of his pupils (like Giampietrino), who followed the same technique of their master using their fingers and their palm. "Leonardo's heritage allows the imagination to create a scenery beyond reality: the inquiry on the materials he used in painting and drawing comes from a reading of his painting "recipes", elaborated also with urine and spit. As he wrote in Manuscript K and F, he also experimented with "human blood" ("dried and distilled it is most powerful") [Ms. F, f. 96v] which he even considered a solvent ("strongly laxative, but it is poison"). On the contrary, in Codex Forster III [f. 39v], he wrote "*Paper for drawing upon in black by the aid of your spittle*. Take powdered gall nuts and vitriol, powder them and spread them on paper like a varnish, then write on it with a pen wetted with spittle and it will turn as black as ink". One can think of an indelible pencil, but the greatest temptation is to follow the tracks of the genius' DNA among his sketches, paintings and manuscripts: Vezzosi (2000), pp. 31-32, 36-37. See also Vezzosi (2018b), pp. 98-101.

The fact that Leonardo used spit to draw on sheets prepared with metallic inks obtained from the chemical reaction between a vegetable tannin and a sulphate is till now, at least in principle, less consistent if compared to traces covered by *velature*, layers of colour and varnish in the paintings. Above for instance traces of epithelial tissue or of skin appendages. Leonardo executed *velature* with drying varnishes and nuances using his fingertips. Could he leave on the work fragments of skin and serum? The theme has become fashionable, and it has been attempted to attribute to Leonardo unlikely or non-autographed works. After the first surveys (see D'Anastasio *et al.*, 2005) with conclusions which however were not always shared (see for instance Ross 2016, pp. 136-137), it is above all necessary to complete a comprehensive survey and a rigorous comparison of all the fingerprints present in Leonardo's *oeuvre*, in order to ascertain with reasonable certainty the morphology and specific characteristics, and to draw significant data at the anthropological, biological and artistic level. See also p. 24, note 113.

The up-to-date reconstruction of the Da Vinci genealogy and the individuation of the direct male lines with living descendants, is the first essential tool to identify the biological traces (from tombs and living persons) necessary to establish a reliable genetic signature of the Y chromosome, in which the indelible profile of Leonardo's personal and family identity is stamped.

Sources and methodology

During the progress of a complex interdisciplinary research which has covered often overlooked sectors, the crossing of data drawn from different disciplines has proved decisive; from historical documents in public and private archives – not only from Tuscany – to direct accounts by the surviving descendants, in a double convergence of the past with the present and vice-versa. In this article we have gathered sufficient and necessary examples needed to demonstrate, through reliable documents, the continuity of the direct male line from ser Piero (V generation) and his son Domenico, Leonardo's brother (VI generation), through to the XXI generation. We have therefore drawn up thirty-seven essential profiles, with a selection of the most relevant biographical data (birth, marriages, children, places, death, burial...) pertaining to each individual.

For the earlier centuries we have also highlighted the property transfers to document the lineage (until 1659 with Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico, VIII generation, and his sons Bartolomeo and Lorenzo, IX).

For the living it has been decided to reduce the information in order to protect their privacy.

Historical trees

After extensive research with documents belonging to the Da Vinci family between the XVIII and the XIX centuries, this theme, leaving aside sporadic and precious researches mainly limited to the XV and XVI centuries, has been overlooked possibly due to the lack of interest in the life events of other family members when compared to the multiplicity and complexity of the themes pertaining to the figure of Leonardo as an artist-scientist.

The historiography of the main historical family trees (in manuscript and printed form) can be briefly summed up recalling those of the Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei in Rome (dated by Uzielli to 1746),⁵ of Gustavo Uzielli (1872)

⁵ Published also in Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 23 (and on pp. 24-25 the handwritten drafts of the family trees by Uzielli and Smiraglia Scognamiglio, published in 1872 and 1900). Biblioteca

and of Nino Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900). The extraordinary work of these pioneers has biographical limits and imprecisions that have here been corrected.

Some partial trees (*alberetti*) have been published in the form of historical notes in editions of Leonardo's biographies, from Vasari's *Lives* to the *Trattato della pittura* (Amoretti 1804 and Manzi 1859), but they are derivative. While the partial manuscript family trees drawn up for legal reasons (for instance that of Carlo Guccianti, 1686-1700)⁶ have proven useful.

Elisabetta Ulivi has published, in an edition edited by us in 2008, her exceptional research with a tree (revised and updated by her in 2009) reaching to the VII generation, with several unpublished documents which have clarified many dates

Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome – henceforth BANL –, Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, XVIII. Santo Monti (1909, p. 14) records, in connection with this *Tree* proposed by Giovan Battista Dei, “the unpublished memories to be summarized, collected by count A.G. della Torre di Rezzonico on Leonardo da Vinci”, and publishes some documents based on “copies of writings held by the descendants of Lionardo da Vinci's brothers [...] and in particular by Dr Antonio di Gio. Piero da Vinci public Notary and Florentine citizen: at present by appointment of his Royal Highness Podestà of Barberino di Mugello [ser Anton Giuseppe]. The said documents were given to me in the original by the said Ser Antonio about twenty years ago, and I, Gio. Battista Dei, drew the Tree of his Family for him, and before I gave them back to him I copied them *de verbo ad verbum*: and now I shall copy them here exactly as they are in their untidy form”. (See also further on, about the dispersion of the Da Vincis' papers).

⁶ BANL, Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, XIII. From 1666 several deeds were produced concerning ser Piero's lineage because of a complicated affair against Venceslao Vinci, who claimed to be the heir of Leonardo's father. In the *Carte Dei* [Archivio di Stato di Firenze – henceforth ASF –, Manoscritti 417: *Carte Dei*, n. 9 (Da Vinci)] we find some annotations and a Da Vinci tree (with data added until 1718) from “ser” Michele to Matteo and Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico and to Guglielmo. With a ruling of “15 September 1666 it is declared that the said Giovanni Vincislao is not a descendant of the said Piero di Guglielmo [...]” (*Carte Dei*, f. 12), but instead of Jacopo di Giovanni di Bartolomeo.

In July 1700 another dispute was registered; it was started by “Piero di Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico di ser Piero da Vinci Florentine citizen” against “Gabbriello di Lorenzo, Agnolo di Agnolo, all from Larini in the commune of Vinci [...] as they unlawfully occupy and possess the properties described at the end of the present document”: “A farmstead with a worker's house [...] and the farmland which belongs to it, with vineyards and wood located in the commune of Vinci in the locality called Capannole [Capannile] within its known borders”. The inspection reaches back to the sixth son of Leonardo's father: “After the death of the said Lorenzo di ser Piero da Vinci without descendants, his estate was transferred to his brother Domenico di ser Piero [da] Vinci and then transferred to his descendant by the said Domenico di ser Piero da Vinci who was his great-grandfather”. Piero di Lorenzo Vinci asks that the Larini be sentenced to relinquish the properties at the center of the dispute and that they pay their arrears “starting from the day of the death of the above-mentioned landlord Lorenzo”. Archivio Storico Comunale di Empoli – henceforth ASCE –, Preunitario, Giusdicenti, 2024, ff. 327r-327v, 342r-342v.

and highlighted some unresolved problems. In 2008 we have drawn up another tree (down to the VII generation) including the Zosos from Bacchereto (place of origin of Leonardo's paternal grandmother) and the Butis from San Pantaleo (the stepfather's family with the mother Caterina).

During the 2016 conference we presented a more updated comprehensive tree (in particular with one of the branches still existing today) and integrated over 150 names, including the women – usually omitted from historical genealogies⁷ – with the tree of the Corsis (whom we have investigated until today), who were related with a collateral branch of the Da Vincis through the marriage of Maria Teresa daughter of ser Anton Giuseppe (XII generation).⁸

The new tree and the database

The new tree which we summarize here corrects and integrates all preceding works.

In this research we have documented four direct male lines (with a fork from Dionisio Vinci, XVII.B.) originating with Domenico⁹ and reaching to the XX century. On Domenico's crucial figure we draw attention to unpublished data (relative to his children and to his burial) drawn from his 1544 *donatio mortis causa* (a gift in prospect of death) and from his 1549 testament (already quoted in other studies on Leonardo's family but not fully understood).

For each direct line we present the scheme of a genealogical tree.

From the XV generation onwards we have gathered data on over 225 individuals.

The living descendants so far identified are fourteen; many of them have collaborated, together with their relatives, to the collection and verification of information with great passion and sensibility, helping enthusiastically to contact other family members and to retrieve new documents and images.¹⁰

In light of the richness of personal stories, as Leonardo Da Vinci Heritage¹¹

⁷ See Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 18-19.

⁸ See pp. 39-40 (*An important branch dies out*).

⁹ The branches of ser Piero's other sons are being revised and rearranged in the database which is being created.

¹⁰ See the acknowledgments at the bottom.

¹¹ It was conceived in 2017 and set up in January 2019 as a non-profit third sector Association to disseminate in Italy and abroad knowledge of Leonardo's life and work and of his territory of origin; to strengthen research activity, popularization, documentation and information on his biography, with particular reference to the genealogy of his family; to safeguard the privacy of his descendants; to promote studies, research and scientific tests relative to Leonardo's and his blood relations' DNA; to safeguard his moral and ethical legacy, with a view to respecting and protecting cultural heritage.

we have decided to put together a future volume where the microhistories of the different nuclei making up the large mosaic of the Vincis' genealogy will be more extensively related. Another important goal is to make known and protect (as far as possible) the places inhabited by the Da Vincis before they finally fall into oblivion and ruin.

In order to make accessible to scholars and the general public, at different levels, the wealth of discovered materials on hundreds of individuals, it has been necessary to envisage a database ("GeniaDaVinci") for the thousands of documents, images, transcriptions, sources, localizations, audio records... in order to preserve and share all the information in a sort of memory casket to be accessed both horizontally and vertically.

The database in progress will be organized according to a relational model, which will allow detailed presentation of information concerning the whole of the Da Vincis' genealogical tree, starting with the first generation all the way down to the living descendants (XXI generation), with the possibility of new entries in the future. The data model is guided by widespread international standards for the management of information in this semantic field; the software tools developed for the archive are structured in web modules devised for the comprehensive and simple managing of contents, their visualization and/or retrieval. The data organization will furthermore allow the automatic and complete generation of the corresponding genealogical tree in graphic form. Both the archive and the software tools will be specifically developed keeping in mind the peculiarities of the data and the level of detail, and they will be organized by historical-analytic criteria as comprehensive as possible.

It will thus be a lot easier to conduct for instance quantitative analysis searches on age, number of children, causes of death, professions, schooling, dwellings, recurrent names, burials, etc.

PART II

Origins

The name of the stream Vincio and of Leonardo's birthplace and hence that of his family derive from the *Salix viminalis* or *purpurea*: in late Latin the *vincus*, *vinci*. In the XIII century, "da Vinci" was a surname typically derived from the toponym of provenance or residence; but for Leonardo's ancestors, and therefore for the descendants of that Michele which is considered to be the progenitor of this genealogy, it transformed itself into a patronymic.¹²

We write it with a capital D to differentiate it from that of other inhabitants of the hamlet itself, some of whom were also notaries (see for instance ser Ranieri "di Vincio", active from 1261, or ser Lippo di ser Cambio *de Vincio*.¹³)

Giovan Battista Dei, drawing up a chronology of events relative to the Da Vinci family, already pointed out that in 1564 Piero di Guglielmo di ser Piero Da Vinci (VII generation) "stated that he descended from Lippo da Vinci, who was Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in 1301".¹⁴

Frequent cases of homonymy were one of the causes of the spread of surnames, which begin to be frequent in Tuscany in the XII century, at least for the most important families. Our "Da Vincis" kept this surname despite being born and living in Florence and being recognized as citizens of Florence (*cives florentini*). Luigi Passerini noted: "I do not know if [the family of the famous painter] belonged to that Lippo da Vinci [...] who had as coat of arms a golden pole placed between two golden stars on an azure background. It is however certain that ser Piero di ser Guido di ser Michele da Vinci, Leonardo's great-grandfather, had already acquired Florentine citizenship in 1381, when he was elected to the Priorato".¹⁵

The simplification in "Vinci" starts progressively with ser Piero's descendants. Ser Anton Giuseppe Da Vinci (1726-1803) will however proudly revive the original surname. As late as the period between 1747 and 1840, the family tomb in the church of Santa Croce in Vinci was also denominated "Da Vinci", and so were called Valentino and his son Paolo (XIII and XIV generation) in the *Libro della Compagnia della buona morte*.¹⁶

¹² See also Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900), pp. 8-9, paragraph "Da Vinci è cognome"; Vezzosi (1979-1987), pp. 20-21; Vezzosi (2016), p. 172.

¹³ See for instance Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 31.

¹⁴ *Carte Dei*, f. 23. Strange statement, especially since Lippo's coat of arms was very different from that of the Da Vincis family. See Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 38.

¹⁵ L. Passerini in Ademollo (1845), pp. 24-25.

¹⁶ See pp. 47, 49.

It is interesting to notice that, between 1580 and 1595, in the *Piante di popoli e strade* of the Capitani di parte Guelfa (ASF), some of the Da Vincis' properties are indicated as "Guglielmi" (that is "of Guglielmo") at the Costareccia, in the Popoli of Santa Croce, San Bartolomeo a Streda, San Pantaleo, and in Anchiano di Santa Lucia in Paterno.¹⁷

We finally point out that on 3 September 1911, when Leonardo di Tommaso (XVI generation, branch A) is in Florence following the theft of the *Monna Lisa* to release a statement to the daily "La Nazione", he clarifies that "the *da* has by now disappeared" and that he, "who considers this suppression a mangling by his countrymen, has urgently reinstated it for the occasion".¹⁸

As Massimo Livi Bacci writes, "fixed surnames are also a sort of genetic marker which has allowed scholars to pursue interesting genetic analysis of populations".¹⁹ The direct branches of the descendants of ser Piero, Leonardo's father, and DNA tests, could make it possible in the future to also ascertain how many of those who bear the surname Vinci²⁰ belong (through family branches which are still being researched) to the new genealogical tree of the Da Vinci family, and to eventually locate further places, memories and documents.

In the period 1498-1510 Leonardo established between Milan and Vaprio the *Achademia Leonardi Vinci*, where diverse activities, from painting to philosophy to the applied arts, were pursued. He had designed six *cartelle* ("plates"), first engraved by a collaborator of his and then by Albrecht Dürer: referring back to his origins, they gave life to "Da Vinci knots" which played with notions of circularity, infinity, and the interpenetration of the arts, knowledge and cultures. They expressed for Leonardo a conceptual signature in the shape of a symbol of emblematic identity.

¹⁷ In the attached description of the streets of Santa Lucia a Paterno we for instance read: "N° 6. A – The main road departing from the tower of Santo Alluccio among properties of the Bracci and Baldacci families on the borders of Santo Amato and Bacchereto, and which terminates on the border of Santa Croce in the properties on the Ridolfis and the Guglielmis, is according to the drawing large [between 5 and 7 *braccia*] and 9945 *braccia* long. F – The road which departs from the main road marked as A in the properties of the Guglielmis and terminates in the ditch of the spring at Carpini, between properties of the Ridolfi and the Guglielmi families, according to the drawing large [2 *braccia*] and 520 *braccia* long [...]". So far this and other transcripts have been presented during conferences, in the *News* of the Museo Ideale Leonardo Da Vinci and in "Vinci and Leonardo" (starting with the Popoli of Santa Croce, San Pantaleo, Santa Maria a Petroio...), from 1997.

¹⁸ See note 295, pp. 52-53.

¹⁹ Livi Bracci (2007).

²⁰ A widespread patronymic in Italy, primarily in the South and in Sardinia, and overseas because of immigration in the XX century.

Notary and notary signs

Several notaries “from Vinci” were active from the XIII century, but the most ancient ancestor of Leonardo documented to date with certainty is Michele Da Vinci: it does not appear that he was a notary; *a posteriori* he will be mentioned as “ser” Michele, presumably to confer dignity and value to the family tradition and to its lineage. No act stipulated by him is known. Not even his son, ser Guido, ever indicates him as “ser”. Uzielli drew attention to the mention of “Ser Michele” in a contract dating from 1339, which he affirms, referring to the *Carte Dei* (f. 15v) and to the entry in the 1339 Fiscal Chamber (unidentified), to be “the most ancient memory of the Da Vinci family”²¹; Dei instead mentions explicitly the 1464 document in which Leonardo’s uncle, Francesco the “cobbler”, appears as “son of the late Antonio di Ser Piero di Ser Guido di Ser Michele”. He does not however use the epithet “ser” in his genealogical tree sketch, even if it appears in the version held in the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei for the above-mentioned encomiastic reasons.

Notary signs, including those of the Da Vinci family, often represented, at least in part, a monstrance topped by a cross. The 1360 *signum* (“seal”) of ser Piero di ser Guido was practically identical to that of his father ser Guido (in 1331-32), but different from that of his brother ser Giovanni.

The seal of ser Piero d’Antonio, Leonardo’s father, featured in the upper part a sort of pine cone alternating black and white: it is the same which reappears in his son ser Giuliano’s extraordinary sign, a highly original, creative and symbolic one, placed on the frontispiece of his Notary books held in the Archivio di Stato of Florence. The lower part is exceptional in that it highlights the symbolism of the act of binding, alluding to the *vincire* of the purple willow: three intertwined rings with a diamond introduce a Medicean iconography which recurs from Botticelli to the ring with an octagonal empty pyramid drawn by Leonardo in the Codex Atlanticus toward 1515. The three tree stumps arranged in a semicircle refer to the Medici’s *broncone* (“branch”) and relate to Leonardo’s emblematic sketch dated to about 1494,²² which we also find in his plans for Medici architecture from 1515. Both symbols, which date back to Cosimo the Elder and Lorenzo the Magnificent, can be traced back to Giovanni di Lorenzo de’ Medici’s Compagnia del Diamante and to Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo’s Compagnia del Broncone.

Emil Möller formulated the hypothesis that Giuliano’s *signum* was elaborated by Leonardo himself in relation to the Sala delle Asse.²³

²¹ Uzielli (1872), p. 53.

²² Codex Foster II, 63r.

²³ Möller (1934), pp. 395-399.

PROFILES*

1)

I. Michele Da Vinci (d. before 1331)

First generation documented to date.

Birth: XIII century or beginning of the XIV century.

Documented: 15 November 1331.

Documented sons one:

Guido (see II generation).

Professional status: does not appear to be a notary despite the 1464 citation.²⁴

Death: before 15 November 1331²⁵.

Historical genealogical trees: *Carte Dei*: “Michele”; BANL (1746): “Ser Michele”;²⁶

* Some dates show a margin of doubt because of the dating in old (Florentine) and common style, in particular as far as the documents about Orbignano are concerned (for which we have tended to leave the original dating for deeds about individuals who are not part of the direct lineage). We have noted frequent errors and approximations for the years (age) both in the earliest documents and in those dating from the early twentieth century, together with errors and *lapsus calami* for the names. We have tried to remedy this crossing data, and in particular relying for the more recent period on direct testimonies by the descendants. From the XV generation, and even in farmer families, it was common to baptize children with several names, but this formality got often lost in life; in some cases people were called by other names or by nicknames.

²⁴ ASF, Arte della Seta 8, f. 76v: “*Franciscus olim Antonii ser Pieri ser Guidonis ser Michaelis de Vincio chalzaiulus populi Sancte Marie supra Portam de Florentia quia juravit pro magistro secundum formam statutorum dicte Artis die vigesimo settimo mensis novembris anno domino millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo quarto [...] dicte artis florentine quoque ideo matricolatus et descriptus fuit in presenti libro matricule [...]*”.

²⁵ Contrary to what was indicated up till now in historical genealogies, Michele had already died in 1331, as it emerges from a deed stipulated in November of that year in Vinci, by his son “Guido son of Michele from Vinci” (“Guido olim Micchaelis de Vincio”). ASF, Diplomatico, Firenze, S. Spirito (Agostiniani), notaio Guido del fu Michele, 1331-2, 15 novembre 1331: “*In Dei nomine Amen. Anno ab eius Incarnatione millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo primo indictione prima die quintadecima mensis novembris § Amadore olim Albizzelli populi sancti Leonardi plebis et comunis Cerreti [...]. Ego Guido olim Micchaelis de Vincio imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius atque notarius publicus predictis omnibus interfui et ea rogatus scripsi et fideliter publicavi*”. Regesto (Tomo 50, f. 102v, S. Spirito di Firenze, Inventario 1913, 117) 8. 15 novembre 1331. Ind. XV: Statement for a mortgage for the sum of 2 florins, and promise of restitution within 6 months underwritten by Amadore son of Albizello of the popolo di S. Leonardo, parish and Commune of Cerreto, in favor of Jacopo di Vanne Saracini of the popolo of S. Felice in Piazza. Done in Vinci. Stipulated by Guido son of the late Michele from Vinci notary.

²⁶ Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, f. 100.

Manzi (1859): “Ser Michele, notaro”;²⁷ Uzielli (1872): “Ser Michele da Vinci, notaio”; Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): “ser Michele notaio”; Monti (1909): “Michele”.

2)

II. Guido di Michele (documented 1331 – d. before 1360)

Second generation.

Son of Michele Da Vinci.

Documented from 1331 as Guido son of Michele Da Vinci (“Guido olim Micchaelis de Vincio”).²⁸

Documented sons two:

Giovanni (doc. from 1357 – d. 1406);²⁹

Piero (doc. 1360 – d. 1417) (see III generation).

Professional status: honorary judge and notary (“iudex ordinarius atque notarius publicus”).

Appointments: Official of the Commune of Empoli.³⁰

Other information: Deed stipulated in Vinci, 15 September 1332.³¹ On 6 April 1348 ser Guido stipulated in the Castle of Vinci the will of the rector of the church of Santa Maria a Faltognano, which will be subsequently copied by his son ser Piero.³²

Death: no later than 1360.

²⁷ Manzi (1859), p. XXVII.

²⁸ The 1312 date in D’Addario, *et al.* (1984), p. 256, appears to be a typo: “The whole genealogy of his [Leonardo’s] family – even leaving aside several names of uncertain kinship – is constellated by notaries with a vast activity documented generation after generation, starting with ser Guido di Michele (from 1312), whose sons, ser Piero (from 1360) and ser Giovanni (from 1359), were active in the Studio and in the highest public offices of Florence [...]”.

²⁹ See note 39.

³⁰ ASF, Signori-Carteggio-Missive, I, f. 109r. See also Arrighi (2019), pp. 52, 68 and n. 23.

³¹ ASF, Diplomatico, Firenze, S. Maria Nuova (hospital), notaio Guido del fu Michele da Vinci, 15 September 1332, Deed at Vinci: *In Dei nomine Amen. Anno ab eius Incarnatione millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo secundo indictione quintadecima die quintodecimo mensis septembris. [...] Ego Guido olim Micchaelis de Vincio imperiali auctoritatae iudex ordinarius atque notarius publicus predictis omnibus interfui et ea rogatus scripsi et fideliter publicavi.* Regesto (Tomo 32, carta 61v, S. Maria Nuova, Inventario 1913, 98): *15 Settembre 1332 Indictione XV:*

Cambiozzo son of Neri Aldobrandini from the Popolo di Santa Trinita in Firenze procurator of Benuccio di Puccio Carini leases for a year to Cambiozzo son of Forestano da Casaline a farmstead with some plots of land in the Commune of Vinci in the locality called Casaline he will have to give half of the whole harvest. Done in Vinci. Stipulated by Guido son of Michele ordinary judge and notary of the said place.

³² Cianchi (1953), p. 65.

Historical genealogical tree: Giusdicenti 2024 (1700)³³: the ancestor Guido (the father Michele does not appear); *Carte Dei*: “ser Guido di Michele 1339”; BANL (1746): indicated as the son of Ser Michele and “Florentine notary 1339”; Uzielli (1872) and Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): son of Ser Michele / “Florentine notary who stipulated in 1339”.

3)

III. Piero di Guido (doc. 1360 – d. 1417)

Third generation.

Son of ser Guido Da Vinci.

Documented from 1360.³⁴

Wife: Bartolomea di Francesco Dini, documented in a Spoglio della Gabella dated 1406.³⁵ Her son Antonio mentions her in Catasto entries (1427, 1431, 1451) among the adjoining owners of his estate in Campagliana: “Monna Bartolomea widow of ser Piero di ser Ghuido”.³⁶

Documented sons one:

Antonio (b. ca. 1371/72 – d. 1460/62) (see IV generation).

Undocumented daughter: Paola.³⁷

Professional status: ordinary judge, notary.³⁸ His brother Giovanni, also a notary,³⁹

³³ ASCE, Preunitario, Giusdicenti, 2024, f. 327r.

³⁴ He stipulated his first deed at Santa Maria a Monte on 30 May 1360 (“olim Ser Guidonis”). ASF, Archivio Generale dei Contratti, notaio Ser Piero di Ser Guido da Vinci.

Atto nel castello di Santa Maria al Monte. In Dei nomine amen anno a Incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo LX^o indictione XIII die penultimo mensis mai actum in Castris Sancte Marie ad Montem [...] Ego Pierus olim ser Guidonis de Vincio civis florentinus imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius atque notarius publicus predictis omnibus interfui et ea rogatus scribere scripsi.

³⁵ Ulivi (2008), p. 10, n. 20.

³⁶ ASF, Catasto (1427), 67, f. 159r.

³⁷ An hypothesis orally suggested by Renzo and Francesco Cianchi. It was made public as a question (Pagola?) in Vezzosi (2008), p. 31.

³⁸ Cianchi (1953), p. 66: “Nominated by count Guido da Battifolle, palatine count of Tuscany, from the family of the Conti Guidi, and previously lord of Vinci, on 16th June 1360”.

³⁹ Ser Giovanni married Lottiera Beccanugi; father of Frosino, he died before 1406 (in Spain?). See Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 37, 47: “Ser Giovanni stipulated, also for the Studio Fiorentino [...]; the first deed dates to 29 June 1357, in Cerreto Guidi in the locality of Ficaiola, and concerns the dowry of Gemma, wife of Bettino degli Anchianesi from Vinci; later on we find him in the Mugello, Siena, Florence, Pontorme, Castelfiorentino, Pistoia. Prior to our study, the information had been handed down that he and his wife were unaccounted for between 1367 and 1406, when Lottiera appears again [...] in Barcelona on 26th February 1406 [...] as widow of ser Giovanni and with no mention of a son. We now know that a deed of “riformagioni” was stipulated by ser Giovanni at “Rofornati, in the county of Bologna, on 29th Aprile 1370”. ASF,

collaborated with Piero: one stipulated and the other one copied *fideliter*.⁴⁰

Appointments: Florentine Ambassador in Sassoferrato in 1361;⁴¹ scrutineer for the Uffici Maggiori in 1381;⁴² notary for the election of the Potestà in Florence in 1392 and notary to the Signoria in 1413.⁴³

Further information: Deeds of power of attorney to ser Piero on behalf of Lottiera Beccanugi, his sister-in-law (wife of his brother Giovanni) and of her son Frosino⁴⁴: 6 June 1403, 29 April 1404.⁴⁵

Other documents: Registry of notary protocols of ser Piero son of ser Guido, which

Diplomatico, Normali, Riformagioni, 64390, f. 1r.

⁴⁰ See for instance: ASF, Riformagioni, notai Piero di Guido da Vinci, Giovanni di Guido da Vinci, 4 September 1364:

Deed in the church of Santa Cecilia, Florence, parish of San Remigio, Florence.

Item postea eodem anno indictione et die quinto mensis septembris actum Florentiae in populo sancti Remigii.

[...] Ego Pierus filius olim ser Guidonis de Vincio civis florentinus imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius atque notarius publicus predictis omnibus et singulis dum agerentur interfui et ea rogatus scripsi et fideliter publicavi etc.

Ego Johannes olim ser Guidonis de Vincio imperiali auctoritate iudex ordinarius publicusque notarius florentinus predittis omnia ex auctentico publice scripto et sumpto manu predicti Pieri notarii sumpsi et hic fideliter exemplando scripsi et publicavi et in publicam formam redegei ideoque me subscripsi et signum meum apposui consuetum.

Regesto (Tomo 67/1, f. 226v, Riformagioni di Firenze, Inventario 1913, 140):

1364.4 September. Indictione II. Appointment made by the five officials of the Studio generale fiorentino of messer Donato Ricchi Doctor in Law to lecture for one year on the Codice di Studio for a salary of 100 golden florins, half to be given at Christmas, and the other half at Easter.

On 5 September the said election was presented to the appointee by Andrea son of Piero Procurator of the Officials, and accepted. The deed happened in Florence. It was stipulated by Ser Piero son of ser Guido da Vinci, Florentine citizen and notary, and copied by ser Giovanni on behalf of the notary ser Guido.

⁴¹ See Cianchi (1953), p. 67.

⁴² See *Carte Dei*; Alberetto in Manzi (1859); Uzielli, *Albero manoscritto* (Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale –henceforth BNCF –, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 83, f. 2].

⁴³ Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900), p. 144, excerpt from the Priorista Fiorentino della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli Vittorio Emanuele III, Cod. cart. X.A.22, f. 181; Marzi (1910), p. 496: “Pierus ser Guidonis Michaelis”.

⁴⁴ Research is ongoing concerning the reasons for Lottiera’s move to Barcelona and the likely progeny of Frosino di ser Giovanni (without taking into account baseless fantasies).

⁴⁵ See Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 72-75 (transcript on p. 74). In Barcelona Lottiera signs in favor of her brother-in-law ser Piero di ser Guido, “Florentine notary”, the deed of power of attorney of 6 June 1403 concerning the care of all the estate that she owned in via San Michele Berteldi in Florence. On the basis of this proxy Ser Piero di Ser Guido will be able to sell the house of Lottiera mentioned by Dei.

opens with a deed dated 30-10-1391 (stipulated in Vinci) and closes with the by now famous personal note which was added by his son Antonio concerning the birth of his four children and of his grandson Leonardo.⁴⁶

Houses: Florence: Popolo of San Frediano, Quarter of Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago; Popolo of San Michele Berteldi (today the church of San Michele and Gaetano in piazza Antinori), Quarter of Santa Maria Novella, Gonfalone Leon Bianco; Vinci?

Place of work: Santa Maria a Monte, Empoli, Firenze, Uzzano, Vitolini, Vinci.

Will: in favor of his son Antonio (?).⁴⁷

Death: 11-8-1417.

Burial: Florence? Vinci?

4)

IV. Antonio di Piero (b. ca. 1371/72 – d. 1460/1462)

Fourth generation.

Son of ser Piero di ser Guido Da Vinci and Bartolomea di Francesco Dini.

Birth: ca. 1371/1372 (based on the age declared in the portate al Catasto).⁴⁸

Documented: 1 May 1402 in Alcludia (Morocco); 10 March 1404, Barcelona;⁴⁹ 9 December 1414: appears for the first time in Vinci;⁵⁰ portate al Catasto from 1427 to 1458.

Wife: Lucia di ser Piero di Zoso da Bacchereto, Florentine notary. She belonged to a family of notaries and landowners, also dedicated to ceramics. Lucia, born between

⁴⁶ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16912, from 1391 to 1411, notary ser Piero di ser Guido.

⁴⁷ Cianchi, R. (1953) pp. 67 and ff. also for the precise date of death: “Ser Piero married Bartolommea di Francesco Dini of the Popolo of S. Frediano in Florence, belonging to the Gonfalone del Drago, in whose house it appears that he went to live because we find it stated as his dwelling in the will he made on 5 January 1415, stipulated by the notary Ser Jacopo di Lorenzo Guidini da Castellari. The will was however very likely drafted in Vinci, because in that year the said notary found himself in that Commune to serve as a notary to the Podestà. Ser Piero di Ser Guido died on 11 August 1417 and left his son Antonio as his only heir. The widow continued to live in Florence”. In the volume of the notary mentioned by Cianchi without indication of the precise catalogue location (now identified in the Notarile Antecosimiano 11150, ex I61), the will of ser Piero is not present. There is however a deed from December 1414 in which Antonio di ser Piero is named as resident in the popolo di San Frediano; it has been pointed out to us by Francesca Fiori from ASF who speculates that the sentence “it was presumably done in Vinci” could lead us to conclude that the author himself did not locate it, or that he was not present at the topical date.

⁴⁸ Antonio’s age in his Catasto entries: 1427, 56 years (born 1371); 1431, 59 years (b. 1372); 1433, 61 years (b. 1372); 1442, 70 years (b. 1372); 1447, (because of a repeated error) 70 years; 1458, 85 years (b. 1373).

⁴⁹ For the discovery that Antonio was a merchant in Morocco (Alcludia and Fez) and in Spain (Barcelona) see Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 60 and ff.

⁵⁰ See note 57.

1393 and 1396, dies between 1469 and 1480. The properties of the Zosos at Bacchereto (house and jug kiln) will pass on to ser Piero, Leonardo's father.⁵¹

Documented children four:

Piero Frosino (born 1426 – died 1504) (see V generation);

Giuliano (b. 31-05-1428; d. before 1431)⁵²

Violante Elena (b. 31-05-1432);⁵³

Francesco Guido (b. 14-08-1436 – doc. 1504/5).⁵⁴

Professional status: merchant in Morocco (Alcudia, 1402) and in Spain (Barcelona, 1404);⁵⁵ small landowner, farmer;⁵⁶ procurator in legal disputes;⁵⁷ stipulated con-

⁵¹ In the Catasto of 1458 she is listed as being 64 years old; she does not appear in that of 1480. In 1371 a progenitor of Leonardo, Zoso di Giovanni, born in 1334, lived with his family in Bacchereto in the “room in the hamlet”; he was a potter, documented until 1403. His son Piero (b. 1367) will be the father of Lucia, Leonardo's grandmother; he was a notary like the other paternal great-grandfather Da Vinci (also named Piero, see above III generation). In the Estimo of 1412, the description of two of his properties is of great interest: “In Toia a house with a courtyard and farm land; and “At the cross at Toia farmland with olive trees and vineyards”, where in 1480 the “jug kiln” will be mentioned. About the relationship with the Zoso family and with Leonardo's ancestors and second cousins, see Vezzosi (2020), pp. 26, 37-39.

⁵² He does not appear in Antonio's Catasto entry of 1431.

⁵³ She is proven to be the wife of Simone d'Antonio from Pistoia in a letter of 23 May 1453 to the notary ser Ludovico di Luca di Simone from Pistoia; ser Piero intercedes in favor of “Simone my brother-in-law” in a dispute with his brothers. See Bruschi (2019), p. 176 and ff. In the Catasto entry from 1458 his father Antonio mentions also Simone among the creditors for the remaining part of Violante's 160 lire dowry. Violante's husband is not to be identified with Antonio da Pistoia, who was mistaken by many for a long time with the poet Antonio Cammelli, considered to be native of Vinci. The relationship between Violante and her husband Simone, and her brother ser Piero and her nephew Leonardo, continued in time and was more complex than was previously believed. We leave them as an open question while the research on their house and burial place continues. In the sheet 18 (*recto* and *verso*) of the Codex Atlanticus, dated to about 1478 when Leonardo was staying in the area of Vinci, Bacchereto and Pistoia (where he probably collaborated on the *Madonna di Piazza* and on the Forteguerra monument in the cathedral), we find calligraphic proofs with some names of friends and relatives: Bernardo di Simone could be a cousin, son of aunt Violante? See Vezzosi (2008), p. 34 and 2016 conference.

⁵⁴ On Francesco see: Uzielli (1872), p. 146; Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900), p. 135; Beltrami (1919), p. 2; Möller (1939) p. 73; Cianchi (1953), pp. 69, 70; Cianchi (1975), p. 67; Villata (1999), pp. 3, 7; Vezzosi (2001), p. 40; Arrighi (2005), pp. 118-119; Vecce (2006), pp. 21, 35. On him and his wife Alessandra Amadori, who was individuated by Ulivi (2008), see in part. pp. 29-32.

⁵⁵ See Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 60-65.

⁵⁶ Concerning Antonio's statement in the 1427 declaration (“I said Antonio am 56 years of age without any training and I have never held office”) see Cianchi (1953), p. 69; Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 61; Arrighi (2019), p. 52.

⁵⁷ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 11150, f. 59r: deed of 9 December 1414, in which “Antonius

tracts even if he wasn't a notary.⁵⁸

Offices: Procurator of Frosino di ser Giovanni Da Vinci⁵⁹ in Barcelona. In the Catasto of 1431 he writes: "I said Antonio am 59 years of age without any training and I have never held office".⁶⁰ In the genealogical tree published by Manzi in 1859⁶¹ (and in the manuscript one from Uzielli⁶²) we read (though the information is not verified): "Antonio. Among the *squittini* in 1433".

Houses: Firenze (Popolo of San Michele Berteldi, Quarter of Santa Maria Novella, Gonfalone Leon Bianco; and Borgo San Frediano, Parish of the Quarter of Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago); Barcelona; Vinci.⁶³

Documented work places: Alcudia (Morocco); Barcelona; Vinci.

Estate: In 1427 he already owned, among others, the house at the Costareccia and resided in Vinci, where he did not yet have a house and lived in that of a creditor of his.⁶⁴ Only in the Catasto entry of 1433 he declares the "small house where I live located in the hamlet of Vinci with a small orchard".

ser Pieri ser Guidi populi Sancti Fridiani de Florentia procurator et procuratorio nomine ut dixit Iuliani Pieri Fedis de Vincio" appears for the first time in Vinci: it is a deed of reconciliation of the parties concerning their quarrels, and Antonio di ser Piero di ser Guido, resident in the popolo di San Frediano in Firenze, acts as procurator for one of the two parties.

In the sale deed which follows (ff. 59r-59v), stipulated in the popolo di San Giorgio in Porciano, commune of Lamporecchio, Domenico di Bertone (father of monna Lisa, who in 1452 will be a witness at Leonardo's baptism) purchases some land in San Pantaleone di Vinci; the Florentine notary ser Piero di ser Guido, Antonio's father, is also mentioned.

⁵⁸ Antonio, while not being a notary, kept the register of his father's notary protocols (this could provide him with an income), with deeds stipulated between 1391 and 1411, concerning people from the surroundings of Vinci, even between San Pantaleo di Vinci and Lamporecchio. In the last page of the Notarile Antecosimiano 16912, 1426-1452, he annotated the birth and baptism of his four children and of his grandchild Leonardo. He drafted private agreements such as the one of 18 October 1449, for which he interrupted a game of cards in the house adjacent to the Commune mill in Vinci (ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, Convento 43, filza 12, ins. 5, n. 1): erroneously Uzielli [(1872), p. 56] and other scholars have thought that the episode took place in Anchiano. See Möller's clarification (1952), p. 98 and Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 61.

⁵⁹ For the first identification of Frosino di ser Giovanni Da Vinci and Lottiera Beccanugi as ancestor and cousin of Antonio see Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 49 and ff.

⁶⁰ ASF, Catasto 343, f. 149v.

⁶¹ In the Le Monnier edition of Vasari's *Lives* (1851), p. 40, picked up by Manzi (1859), p. XXVII, but not present in the edition of the *Trattato* (1872), p. 48.

⁶² BNCF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 83, f. 2.

⁶³ Before 1426, based on the birth of his son Piero Frosino and on the 1427 Catasto entry.

⁶⁴ According to the researches carried out with Francesco Cianchi on the possessions of the Vinci family (unpublished). See also Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 60-61 and Cianchi (1953), pp. 69-70.

Heirs: Piero Frosino, Francesco Guido.⁶⁵

Death: between December 1460 and September 1462.⁶⁶

Burial: Vinci (Santa Croce) or Florence (“in the church of Santo Spirito”⁶⁷)?

5)

V. Piero Frosino di Antonio (b. 1426 – d. 1504)

Fifth generation.

Son of Antonio di ser Piero Da Vinci and Lucia di ser Piero di Zoso from Bacchereto.

Birth and Baptism: Vinci, 19 April 1426.⁶⁸ More than likely his second name was an homage to his father’s cousin, a merchant in Barcelona.

Extramarital affair: Caterina (b. ca. 1427 – d. 1494, Milan?⁶⁹)

Documented sons one: (1)⁷⁰ **Leonardo** (b. 15-04-1452 – d. 02-05-1519) (see VI.A. generation).

First marriage: 1453.⁷¹ *Wife*: Albiera di Giovanni Zanobi Amadori (b. 1433/37 – d. 1464; sister of Alessandra, wife of Francesco di Antonio Da Vinci, Leonardo’s favorite uncle. Albiera died “of child birth” on 15-6-1464, a year after she had given

⁶⁵ Division of Antonio’s riches: ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 19456, 1486, f. 47v.

⁶⁶ There exists a deed dated 20 December 1460 by “ser Piero di Antonio di ser Piero da Vinci” for the chapel of the saints Giovanni and Biagio in the church of Santa Croce in Vinci: as “olim” is not stated, we can infer that Antonio was still alive. On 18 September 1462, “his son Piero is listed among the witnesses of a title deed of the notary Antonio di Adamo di Grazia as *Ser Piero olim Antonii Ser Pieri de Vincio*” (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 735, f. 85v) [Ulivi (2008), p. 11 and n. 21]. It therefore appears that our earlier hypothesis that Leonardo’s almost unreadable note “[...] 5 July 1458 / Antonio [...]” (Codex Atlanticus, f. 81r, datable to ca. 1509) was a remembrance of his grandfather’s death, is erroneous.

⁶⁷ BNCF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 82, f. 51r.

⁶⁸ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16912, 1426-1452, f. 105v: “On Friday 19 April a son of mine was born; was baptized by Cristofano Masini, who lives in the Fondaccio in Florence; Pietro di Giovanni Donati from Vinci; ser Filippo, priest of the church of Sant’Andrea in Vinci; Piero di Malvolto da Vinci, Chancellor from Petroio, residing in Empoli. The said boy was christened Piero and Frosino. Further witnesses were Stefanino di Ciecchetto di Baratto and monna Antonia di Biagio di Malebuccio and Michele di Marcho Lippi from Streda, commune of Vinci”.

⁶⁹ See p. 27 (*Caterina in Milan*).

⁷⁰ We have provided a progressive numbering in parenthesis to facilitate the count of ser Piero’s children. On ser Piero’s marriages, wives and children see in particular Ulivi’s survey (2008) with documents and bibliography, and Ulivi (2009), *Appendice 2*, pp. 144-160; further evidence on the burials in the Badia Fiorentina in Leader (2017).

⁷¹ Möller (1952), p. 104: “After the Epiphany of 1453”. See Uzielli (1872), p. 62 and *Genealogical Tree*: “marriage 1452”. On Albiera see also Ulivi (2008), pp. 8-11 and Vezzosi (2008), pp. 18-21.

birth to Antonia; mother and daughter were buried in the church of San Biagio (also called Santa Maria Sopra Porta).

Documented children one: (2) Antonia Francesca (b. 16-06-1463 – d. 21-07-1463).⁷²

Second marriage: ca. 1466 (between 1465 and 1467).⁷³ *Wife*: Francesca Nicolosa di ser Giuliano Lanfredini (b. 5-12-1449 – buried 21-02-1474). She is the first to be buried in the new family tomb in the Badia Fiorentina.⁷⁴

Third marriage: 25-05-1475. *Wife*: Margherita Innocenzia di Francesco di Jacopo Giulli⁷⁵ (b. 30-12-1457 – buried 26-08-1485 in the Badia Fiorentina.⁷⁶)

Documented children seven:

(3) Antonio Matteo (b. 26-02-1476 – d. before May 1532); marries Nanna di Giovanni Luperelli (doc. 1509, 1522);

(4) Maddalena Maria (b. 4-11-1477 – buried 27 or 29 November 1477⁷⁷ in the Badia Fiorentina);

(5) ser Giuliano Salvestro (b. 31-12-1478 – buried in the Badia on 03-05-1525);⁷⁸ marries Alessandra di Giovanni di Antonio Dini;

(6) Lorenzo Miniato (b. 24-10-1480 – buried 30-12-1544 in the Badia⁷⁹);

⁷² Bearing the names of her grandfather and uncle, she was baptized on 16 June 1463, buried in San Biagio on 21 July 1463. See Ulivi (2008), p. 59, fig. 13.

⁷³ See Ulivi (2008), pp. 12-14.

⁷⁴ Concerning the modifications of the Badia, Monti (1909, p. 29) already wrote: “In the year 1663 the floor of this Badia of Florence belonging to the monks from Cassino was done up, and all ancient tombs were destroyed, and new ones were ordered, with similar headstones, and all gravestones in marble with the Coats of Arms and the Inscriptions thereon were walled in in the walls and floor of the adjacent cloister, where on the western wall there is the headstone of the ancient tomb of these da Vinci, with their Coat of Arms in marble and metal, and with these letters surrounding it: SER PETRI ANTONII SER PETRI DE VINCIO ET SVORVM MCCCCLXXIII”. On the Badia and the tomb’s position see Leader (2017), pp. 10 and ff.

⁷⁵ See Ulivi (2008), pp. 15 and ff.

⁷⁶ *Ead.*, p. 19 and n. 57; Leader (2017), p. 6, n. 45.

⁷⁷ Ulivi (2008), p. 70, figs. 32-33.

⁷⁸ He will lead the dispute against Leonardo; he will inherit the estate in Bacchereto (which will be transmitted to his descendants) and ser Piero’s notary books. See Vezzosi (2020), pp. 59, 64, 66. “He carried on his profession in the same notary office which belonged to his father, between 1504 and 1507”, Ulivi (2008), p. 27, n. 101.

⁷⁹ Leader (2017), pp. 9, 11, 21, 22, quotes the *Libro dei defunti* in the BNCF (f. 18r): “And on 30 December [1544] Lorenzo di S[er] piero davinci was laid to rest in his grave beside the choir gate and the compagnia della misericordia buried him because he was a poor man”. Cianchi (1977, note 18) refers to him as a wool trader, Provveditore della Dogana in Livorno and author of a *Confessionario* and of a *Libro di Patientia*. His date of death was given by Cianchi as 1531 based on the *Carte Dei*, the *Collezione genealogica Passerini* [BNCF, Passerini 192 (Da Vinci)] and a notary deed of 12-06-1539 (concerning the arbitration between Guglielmo and Domenico,

(7) Violante Caterina (b. 27-11-1481); marries Francesco di Domenico Buonamici on 23 July 1503;⁸⁰

(8) Domenico [Matteo] (b. 21-2-1483 – [d. before 20 March 1485]);

(9) **Domenico** [Benedetto] (b. 20-3-1485, baptized the following day – d. 1563) (see generation VI.B.).

Another son of ser Piero: (10) Bartolomeo Paolo (b. 29-6-1485, baptized on 1 July; buried in the Badia Fiorentina on 15 or 19 December 1485⁸¹): his mother could not be Margherita, who less than three months earlier had given birth to Domenico Benedetto. This notwithstanding he is buried in the Da Vinci family tomb.

Fourth marriage: 12 November 1485.⁸² *Wife*: Lucrezia Alessandra di Guglielmo di Gherardo Cortigiani (baptism: 5-3-1459, buried in the Badia Fiorentina on 16-12-1531.)

Documented children nine:

(11) Guglielmo Francesco Romolo, named after his paternal and maternal uncles (b. 21-10-1486, bapt. 25-10, d. 1486, buried in the Badia Fiorentina on 5-12 of the same year⁸³);

(12) Margherita Romola (b. 16-12-1487);⁸⁴

(13) Benedetto Francesco Romolo (b. 18-3-1489 – d. at Vinci in 1530);⁸⁵

(14) A small girl “daughter of Ser Piero and carried to the Badia” on 5 May 1490;⁸⁶

(15) Pandolfo Vittorio (b. 28-7-1490 – d. 1506/1520);⁸⁷

(16) Guglielmo Francesco Romolo (b. 06-06-1492 – d. before 02-06-1551⁸⁸);

in which Lorenzo is recorded as having died eight years previously). See p. 35. Ulivi (2008, p. 24) also gives 1531/2 as Lorenzo's date of death, referring to two 1532 property deeds (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 3465, ff. 69v-70r), based on which both Lorenzo and his brother Antonio appear to be dead. See even Uzielli (Teostene) (1895), pp. 15-21 and Pacetti (1952).

⁸⁰ Ulivi (2009), pp. 65, 66 and n. 3, 147-8, doc. 11.

⁸¹ Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore – henceforth AOSMF –, Registri Battesimali 5 (1482-1492), Maschi, f. 55r. Ulivi (2008), p. 18 and p. 73, fig. 38. Leader (2017), pp. 3, 11. The baptismal records are available online: <http://archivio.operaduomo.fi.it/battesimi/>.

⁸² ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 19169, ff. 32r-32v. Ulivi (2009), p. 65 and 145-146, doc. 5.

⁸³ Ulivi (2008), in part. p. 80, figs. 46 and 47; Leader (2017), pp. 4, 11.

⁸⁴ AOSMF, Registri Battesimali 224 (1482-1492), Femmine, f. 89v. Ulivi (2008), p. 21 and fig. 48. Ulivi (*Genealogical Tree* in 2008, 2009) hypothesizes her date of death between 1495 and 1531. See also note 150.

⁸⁵ Struck the by plague, he made a will in Vinci's Lazzaretto; he was buried in the Badia Fiorentina on 30 October 1531.

⁸⁶ “Daughter of ser Piero laid to rest in the Badia” on 5 May 1490. Arte dei Medici e Speciali 247, f. 4v; ASF, Ufficiali poi Magistrato della Grascia 190, f. 204v. Ulivi (2008), pp. 22, 82, figg. 55 and 54.

⁸⁷ AOSMF, Registri Battesimali 5 (1482-1492), Maschi, f. 137r. Ulivi (2008), pp. 21, 81 fig. 50.

⁸⁸ AOSMF, Registri Battesimali 5 (1482-1492), Maschi, f. 75v. He marries Marietta di Lo-

(17) Bartolomeo Vittorio (b. 30-7-1493, bapt. 02-08, d. 1532/34);⁸⁹

(18) Giovanni Francesco Romolo (b. 9-1-1499 – d. 1549);⁹⁰

(19) A small girl, Lucrezia (b. 14-3-1505).⁹¹

Other children of ser Piero:

(20) Pierfilippo, buried in the Badia on 10 April 1516.⁹² It is interesting to note that ser Piero (after Leonardo and Antonia) had sixteen children, besides at least two probably illegitimate ones, starting only at the age of fifty with his third and fourth wives. *Professional status:* Notary from 1449⁹³ to 1504;⁹⁴ land-owner and entrepreneur (houses, farmland, mill, kilns). He had his notary study in Florence in a plot owned by the Badia Fiorentina in via del Palagio del Podestà⁹⁵ (via Ghibellina, opposite today's Museo del Bargello.)

Among his offices: 1474: notary for the wine tax (*gabella del vino*);⁹⁶ 3 May 1478: elected among the three officials and procurators of the Commune of Vinci;⁹⁷ 1485:

nardo Buonaccorsi (b. ca. 1504 – d. 1584; buried in the Badia at “80 years”); buried in Santa Lucia a Paterno (Vinci). (Will: ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 19594 ins. 4, ff. 488-489v). Ulivi (2008), pp. 22-27 and n. 99.

⁸⁹ AOSMF, Registri Battesimali 6 (1492-1501), Maschi, f. 23v. Ulivi (2008), pp. 21, 81 fig. 52. His wife Margherita (doc. 1560) was buried in the Badia in 1569. Leader (2017), pp. 9-10.

⁹⁰ AOSMF, Registri Battesimali 6 (1492-1501), Maschi, f. 111r. Ulivi (2008), pp. 21, 82 fig. 53. He will name his son Leonardo (doc. 1567).

⁹¹ Buried in the Badia. Leader (2017), pp. 8, 11.

⁹² Ulivi (2008), p. 34; Leader (2017), pp. 4, 9, 11.

⁹³ Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900, pp. 10-11) has discovered his first contracts: in Florence on 7 March 1449 (old style 1448), in Pisa (at least forty contracts from 12 March 1450), and in Vinci on 29 June 1453. It is remarkable that he stipulated a deed in Pisa on 23 January 1451 and one in Florence the following day.

In the *Inventario sommario* of the Notarile Antecosimiano (2015-2020) at the ASF, there are twenty folders belonging to ser Piero, from number 16823 (ex P349) to number 16842 (ex P357), drawn up from 1458 to 1504.

⁹⁴ See n. 102.

⁹⁵ This is documented by a 1456 deed (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16824, f. 48r, 12 luglio 1456: “Actum Florentie, in Populo Sancti Stefani Abbatie florentine, in apotheca residentie mei Petri notarii infrascripti” [Done in Florence, in the Popolo of Santo Stefano of the Badia Fiorentina, in my own dwelling, Piero the said notary] and by the debt that his father, Antonio, declared in the Catasto entry of 1458 as a duty of ser Piero toward the Badia.

⁹⁶ ASF, Tratte 174, f. 262v (offices of ser Piero). Arrighi (2019), pp. 54, 66 n. 44.

⁹⁷ “... convocato, congregato et cohadunato, publico et generale consiglio Comunis et hominum Comunis et Universitatis castri Vincii, Comitatus Florentiae, ad sonum campanae [...] fecerunt eorum et totius dicti Comunis syndicos et procuratores prudentes viros Ser Petrum olim Antonii Ser Petri de Vincio predicto et notarium et civem florentinum [...],” ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 6173, f. 231. On the right sheet (f. 232r) starts the document with the conces-

notary to the Signoria of Florence.⁹⁸

*Main houses*⁹⁹: Vinci; Florence: (from 1457) Borgo dei Greci, with his first wife Albiera Amadori; (1462-1467) Piazza del Palagio di Parte Guelfa (where the church of Santa Maria sopra Porta or Sopr'Arno, or San Biagio, stood. He lives together with his brother Francesco who had married Alessandra Amadori, sister of Albiera); (beginning of 1467) between Piazza della Signoria and Chiasso dei Baroncelli or of "Messer Bivigliano"; (late October 1467-1480¹⁰⁰) at the corner between via delle Prestanze (now via dei Gondi) and Piazza San Firenze; (from 1 March 1480 until his death) via Ghibellina (toward the Canto alla Briga), in the house which had been owned by Vanni di Niccolò di ser Vanni and where he had met "the slave Caterina" before Leonardo's birth; here he lives with his wife Lucrezia.

Inheritance: The sequence of events surrounding ser Piero's inheritance, which was to be divided among the four sons from his third wife Margherita (Antonio, Giuliano, Lorenzo and Domenico) and the fourth, Lucrezia, with her five sons (Benedetto, Pandolfo, Guglielmo, Bartolomeo and Giovanni), is very complex.¹⁰¹

Burial: Florence, Badia Fiorentina, 11 July 1504.¹⁰²

sion of the perpetual lease of the mill in the Commune of Vinci to ser Piero and Francesco, in the presence of Leonardo, who, despite his illegitimate status, was the prospective usufructuary. See also Arrighi (2005), pp. 129-130; *Ead.* (2019), pp. 294-296; Vezzosi (2008), p. 94; Ulivi (2008-2009), pp. 20 ff.

⁹⁸ Vezzosi (1989), p. 19; Marzi (1910), p. 505.

⁹⁹ On ser Piero's dwellings see in particular Ulivi (2007) and *Ead.* (2008), p. 92; Vezzosi (2008), pp. 34-36, 40-41; on the house in Via Ghibellina see also Kemp-Pallanti (2017), pp. 76-78. Concerning the estate, we are systematically updating the lists (put together during long researches with the information presented at conferences, in the *News* of the Museo Ideale Leonardo Da Vinci or only partially published) in view of a monographic publication and of the database of "GeniaDaVinci".

¹⁰⁰ Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900, pp. 26, 134) mentions (without providing an inventory number) a document from which it appears that in 1476 ser Piero had chosen as his place of residence the monastery of Santa Maria a Monte, of which he was a *procuratore*.

¹⁰¹ On 15 December 1505, the Officials of the *pupilli* ("wards") of the Commune of Florence gained guardianship "of the children and heir of the said ser Piero di Antonio da Vinci who were still minors, because he did not leave a will and because of a waiver of monna Lucrezia" his fourth and last wife. Benedetto "of about 16 years of age", Pandolfo of 15, Guglielmo of 13, Bartolomeo of 12, Giovanni of 7. ASF, Magistrato dei pupilli avanti il Principato, 183, f. 143r. On 3 August 1506, on Lucrezia's order, some expensive and showy clothes which had belonged to ser Piero (a robe with sleeves of red satin, a white sleeveless one from Perpignan, and one "of double twill with figures and flowers of red satin") were auctioned off among five "secondhand dealers" for a profit of "47 lire and 11 small soldi". ASF, Magistrato dei pupilli avanti il Principato, 249, f. 201r.

¹⁰² Ser Piero did not leave a will and continued to exercise his profession until a few days

Leonardo's mother. An up-to-date summary¹⁰³

While in Florence ser Piero married Albiera Amadori, Caterina went to live with Accattabriga¹⁰⁴ in Campo Zeppi, in the parish of San Pantaleo, in an old farmstead

before his death. Was therefore his death a sudden event? Already Uzielli (1872), p. 73 had ascertained that ser Piero's last deed dates from 26 June 1504; recently Anne Leader (2016, pp. 7-8 and notes) has identified a document from 6 July 1504 where ser Piero is mentioned for having informed Don Tommaso that a certain Margherita Piaciti, whose will the notary himself had drafted, had stipulated an obligation for the heirs to donate every year twelve barrels of wine to the Benedictine monks of the Badia Fiorentina (ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse, Badia di Firenze, 1299-1808, 78, vol. 262, f. 103).

The documents concerning the date of death and inhumation are not univocal: "Ser Piero da Vinci, on the 10 laid in the Badia" (ASF, Arte dei Medici e Speciali 247, f. 186r); "Da Vinci. I remember how on 11 July 1504 Ser Piero da Vinci, our notary, died, and he was buried in his family tomb in the church at the foot of the choir" (BNCF, Conventi Soppressi da ordinare, Badia, vol. 2, str. 1, Libro dei morti, f. 3r); "Da Vinci. 1504: Sere Piero da Vinci 11 luglio" (BNCF, *Ivi*, f. 248v). Leonardo recorded in two notes (Codex Arundel, f. 272r and Codex Atlanticus, f. 196v) the death of his father as having happened on Wednesday 9 July; this was erroneous, since 9 July 1504 was a Tuesday. Possibly Leonardo's mistake helps us to identify the exact day of his father's death: not Tuesday 9, or Wednesday 9, but Wednesday 10 July, with the burial taking place the following day, Thursday 11? See also Vezzosi-Sabato (2019), pp. 110-111; Leader (2017), pp. 20, 22.

¹⁰³ In view of the complexity of the documentary materials, of hints and deductions, and since Caterina is not crucial in the present reconstruction of a direct male genealogy, we postpone her treatment to a future monograph, and we summarize here only the essential points. On Caterina and San Pantaleo, see also Vezzosi (2014).

¹⁰⁴ His name was Antonio di Piero di Giovanni Buti del Vacca (sometimes named also "del Cischia"). In the 1427 Catasto Antonio is mentioned for the first time, of "1 year", together with eighteen family members. In some respect he appears to be a subordinate to the Da Vincis; he came however from a not insignificant family: for instance, all four adult sons feature in the "Registrum Officiorum Vinci" from 1396 (ASF, Statuti del Comune di Vinci, n. 935). At least until 1449-1453 Antonio managed the kiln of the convent of San Pier Martire in Mercatale di San Donato which twenty years later will be refurbished by ser Piero and by his uncle Francesco (Vezzosi 2020, pp. 54-59).

Leonardo's step-father was also often present as a witness to deeds stipulated in Florence by ser Piero and by ser Baldassarre di Piero di Zoso, brother of his aunt Lucia. In 1478, in his capacity as counsellor of the Commune of Vinci, he was present when ser Piero was nominated mayor of the Commune, and together with Francesco he rented the mill from the Commune itself (see p. 26 *Some documents about his family relationships* and notes).

He does not reappear after the 1487 Catasto (in which Caterina appears as of "60 years" – ASF, Catasto 1130, f. 29r) and he presumably dies before Caterina reaches Leonardo in Milan in 1493. He had five children with Leonardo's mother. In the 1487 Catasto the only son, Francesco (like Leonardo's uncle) is stated as having died in Pisa aged twenty-six "from a springal"; he was probably a soldier. The daughter Piera, so named possibly in homage to Leonardo's father

(of historical standing since 1337)¹⁰⁵ in the countryside a little more than 2 km from Vinci.

The role and identity of Caterina are of fundamental importance in the life of the artist-scientist.

After forty-seven years of research started by Vezzosi in the footsteps of Renzo Cianchi, and then continued with Agnese Sabato,¹⁰⁶ we are able to articulate the only more than likely hypothesis, that is that Leonardo's mother was the "slave Caterina" of Vanni di Niccolò di ser Vanni. The identification also rests on compatibility and exclusion: despite researches conducted by several scholars, no other Caterina that could have been Leonardo's mother has been located in or around Vinci. It has been recently demonstrated that she could not be identified with Caterina di Bartolomeo di Lippo, that is of Mattoni, because the latter did not marry Accattabriga but was instead the wife of Taddeo di Domenico di Simone Tielli, a neighbor.¹⁰⁷ So far other Caterinas have proven improbable: for instance the one who in 1452 would have been fourteen years old rather than twenty-five,¹⁰⁸ or the orphan who was entrusted as a ward to ser Piero in Pisa in 1449.¹⁰⁹

The "slave Caterina" whom ser Piero wrote down in Vanni's will of 1449 is to date the only credible mother of Leonardo, without contraindications. Yet we lack definitive proof and her origins remain obscure. On the basis of archival documents, Caterina di Vanni is the only one whom Leonardo's father certainly met and frequented in the period preceding Leonardo's conception and birth.¹¹⁰ Ser Piero could have gotten Caterina pregnant in mid-July 1451 when he was stipulating deeds in

or to Accattabriga's parents (Piero and Piera), was born before 1454, two years after Leonardo. When she got married on 21 January 1475, in the house of Campo Zeppi, Accattabriga was named in the marriage act as "Mastro Antonio" (ASF, Notarile Angelo Dinuzzi, vol. I, f. 120). The second daughter Maria was born around 1457; the third, Elisabetta, or rather Lisa Betta, born around 1459, had three daughters: Maddalena, Antonia and Lucrezia. The last one, Sandra, is stated as being twenty-four years old in the 1487 Catasto. In 1504, the first-born Piera is referenced as being a widow of "fifty years" and the head of the family at Campo Zeppi. Accattabriga and Caterina have started to emerge from the many legends and the few historical facts only thanks to Renzo Cianchi (1975).

¹⁰⁵ Vezzosi (1989), p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Vezzosi with Renzo Cianchi from 1975; Fallaci (1975); hypothesis published for the first time Vezzosi (2001), p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ ASF, Catasto 871, anno 1459, f. 63r (stated age 24); Catasto 1052, anno 1480, f. 309r (stated age 40). The thesis is in Kemp-Pallanti (2017), pp. 84-99. Also Ulivi (2008-2009, pp. 11-14), who defines it "A red herring".

¹⁰⁸ *Ead.*, pp. 14-19.

¹⁰⁹ Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900), p. 6; Beck (1988), pp. 7, 11 n. 12.

¹¹⁰ Cianchi, F. (2008), in part. pp. 12, 15.

Florence. Vanni made a will which left to his wife Agnola the ownership of the “slave Caterina” with “the freedom to have her at her disposal”. With the postscripts of 29 November 1449 ser Piero included his rights to the usufruct of Vanni’s house in via Ghibellina “in all respects as the said ser Piero will see fit”. He furthermore had himself named executor of the will. Vanni died on 4 October 1451. At that time there were in Florence over five-hundred slaves. A 1452 provision “contra deviantes sclava” included the abuse of somebody else’s slave as a serious and prosecutable misdemeanor.¹¹¹ On 3 February 1452 (old style) a proxy was stipulated for the grandfather Antonio, concerning a reserved agreement between his son ser Piero and Vanni’s heirs; this was not made public, but it solved the dispute leaving to monna Agnola the house in via Ghibellina for life.

In the Catasto entry of 1458, Antonio declared the “missing amount” from the income from the house in via Ghibellina.

Agnola substituted the “slave Caterina” with a maid who was paid twelve florins a year, the same wage of Lorenzo di Credi, Verrocchio’s collaborator together with Leonardo.

To conclude, Agnola lost the slave, and ser Piero had to renounce the house until Agnola’s death. Finally, in 1480 Leonardo’s father took possession of the house as stipulated in Vanni’s testament, and here he spent the rest of his life, to then leave it to his sons (Bartolomeo and his sculptor’s son Pierino da Vinci will live there). As she was a slave she had no family and Leonardo was hence brought up in his paternal grandparents’ house; it was furthermore impossible to know her patronymic. Once she became a widow it seems natural that she reached her son in Milan. The Anonimo Gaddiano states that Caterina was of “good blood” as was the case with the most beautiful and defiant slaves. Leonardo was baptized in the presence of well-known witnesses (all neighbors in Vinci), who celebrated ser Piero’s first son even if he was illegitimate. Caterina is not even mentioned in the recollection of the grandfather Antonio.

She was deprived of any right; she was not a woman of good or even noble standing, whose family would not have allowed a similar treatment; and she found herself forced to marry Accattabriga. Antonio Da Vinci knew well the slave trade of the Datini company from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Even considering the Statutes and the customs of the time, the abuse of a respectable girl would have caused a scandal with serious consequences. Other facts are in favor of Caterina having originated in distant countries; from Leonardo’s being left-handed and writing in reverse, to his interest in the East.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Sabato (2008), p. 27.

¹¹² In 2005 the Institute of Biology and Anthropology of the University of Chieti has published a preliminary analysis of the fingerprints of Leonardo which we have gathered, noting a

The fact remains that we are not in a position to know if Caterina was from Caffa¹¹³ or Constantinople.

We further deem significant and fascinating the hypothesis that Leonardo was born from a genetic interaction of two different haplotypes, that is from the characteristics of two different populations: could this be the origin of Leonardo's genius?

A story similar to that of "Caterina schiava" concerns the most prestigious son of ser Piero and brother of Leonardo, ser Giuliano, who had an illegitimate daughter, Margherita (b. 15-06-1513), with a *famula* ("maidservant") named Sandra, whom he did not marry. Instead, he got married with Alessandra di Giovanni di Antonio Dini, from a good family, in August of the following year. Ser Giuliano kept his illegitimate daughter at home with him and his wife; he gave her a part of his inheritance (while appointing his legitimate daughter Violante, born in 1517, as universal heir) and entrusted her post mortem protection to his brother Lorenzo.¹¹⁴

6)

VI.A. Leonardo di ser Piero (b. 1452 – d. 1519)

Sixth generation.

Illegitimate son of ser Piero di Antonio Da Vinci and Caterina.

Birth: Vinci, 15 April 1452, "at 3 o' clock at night" (about our 10:30 p.m.).¹¹⁵

In the Catasto entry of 27-28 February 1458 (a. f. 1457) of the grandfather Antonio (but written by ser Piero) the number of "mouths" in the family is stated, among

generally middle-eastern character. D'Anastasio *et al.* (2005), p. 61. See also p. 2, n. 4.

¹¹³ See Sabato (2008), p. 28. Caffa is the only city indicated by Leonardo in his map of Europe (Codex Atlanticus, f. 1006v, ca. 1495). A. Vezzosi, *Attualità di Leonardo e Raffaello*, in the Proceedings of the St. Petersburg conference, Hermitage Museum, 30-31 October 2019 (forthcoming publication).

¹¹⁴ See also Ulivi (2009), pp. 72-77, 158-160.

¹¹⁵ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 16912, 1426-1452, f. 105v: "1452. A grandchild of mine was born, son of ser Piero my son, on 15 April on a Saturday at 3 at night. He was named Lionardo, and was baptized by priest Piero di Bartolomeo da Vinci, with as witnesses Papino di Nanni Banti, Meo di Tonino, Piero di Malvolto, Nanni di Venzo, Arrigo di Giovanni Tedesco, monna Lisa di Domenico di Brettone, monna Antonia di Giuliano, monna Niccolosa del Barna, mona Maria daughter of Nanni di Venzo, monna Pippa di Previcone". The famous remembrance of the grandfather Antonio specifies that the baptism was officiated by Piero Bartolomeo from Vinci, parish priest of the church of Santa Croce, in the presence of ten witnesses, all living in the surroundings of the house of the Da Vincis. It is certain that in the church of Vinci, anticipating the Council of Trento, there already was a baptismal font, at least until a 1505 parotal visit, when the Bishop's substitute visited the "fontes baptismatis", which were locked and rich in clean and clear water. Archivio Vescovile Pistoia – henceforth AVPt –, Visite pastorali, Vescovo Niccolò Pandolfini (1504-1505), III-R, 67, 3, busta 2, ins. 4, f. 241r. The Pieve of Sant'Ansano was far away from Vinci.

which: “Lionardo illegitimate son of the said ser Piero, born to him by Chaterina who is at present the wife of Achatabriga di Piero del Vacca from Vinci, of 5 years”.¹¹⁶ On the condition of illegitimacy, the artist will express himself ironically in *facetiae*.¹¹⁷

Some documents related to his patronymic

Since his first Florentine period Leonardo is known in Florence as son of ser Piero Da Vinci; for instance: “Lionardo di ser Piero da Vinci painter” (inscription of the *Compagnia dei pittori* before 1472¹¹⁸); “Lionardo di ser piero da vinci who stays with Andrea Verrocchio” (anonymous accusation of sodomy, 1476);¹¹⁹ “Lionardo ser Pieri de Vincio pictori” (commission of the altarpiece for the chapel of San Bernardo in the Palazzo della Signoria, 1478¹²⁰); “Lionardo di ser piero da vinci” (assignment of the altarpiece with the *Adoration of the Magi* for the convent of San Donato in Scopeto).¹²¹ An extraordinary piece of information is the bequest by the painter Alesio Baldovinetti to the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova from 23 March 1499 (old style), stipulated by “Ser piero di leonardo da vinci notaio fiorentino”: evidently the son was more famous than the father.¹²²

Some documents about his family relationships

On 3 May 1478 ser Piero was nominated as one of the three *sindaci* and *procuratori* of the Commune of Vinci.¹²³ In the same announcement, the Council of the Twelve and that of the Sixteen¹²⁴ approved the perpetual concession¹²⁵ of the mill belonging to the Commune to ser Piero Da Vinci and to Francesco, including their legitimate

¹¹⁶ ASF, Catasto 795, c. 503r. A different version: ASF, Catasto 909, c. 498. The other “mouths” were: “The said Antonio, of 85 years; Monna Lucia [di ser Piero di Zoso da Bacchereto] my wife, of 64 years; ser Piero my son, of 30 years; my son Francesco, who lives in the *borgo* and does nothing, of 22 years; Albiera, wife of the said ser Piero, of 21 years”.

¹¹⁷ “Someone reproached a good man that he was not legitimate. To which he answered that he was legitimate in the orders of the species and of nature, but that he [the reproachful man] was a bastard in one order, because his manners resembled more those of an animal than of a man, and that in the law of man he had no certitude of being legitimate” (Codex Madrid II, f. 65r.) It is a dense and harsh thought, which leads one to ponder on the equality of all mankind; the biting irony appears to disclose Leonardo’s suffering.

¹¹⁸ ASF, Accademia del disegno, 1, f. 11v; Accademia del disegno, 2, f. 93v.

¹¹⁹ ASF, Ufficiali di notte e conservatori dell’onestà dei monasteri, 18, registro 2, f. 41v.

¹²⁰ ASF, Signori e collegi, 94, f. 4v.

¹²¹ ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 140, 3, f. 74r. For these and further citations see also Arrighi-Bellinazzi-Villata (2005), with preceding bibliography.

¹²² Milanese (1878), p. 597.

¹²³ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 6173, f. 231v. Arrighi (2005), pp. 129-130.

¹²⁴ “Antonius Pieri Andree” that is Accattabriga, Leonardo’s stepfather, was also a member of the Council of the Sixteen.

¹²⁵ “Ad livellum et fictum perpetuum”. [For a perpetual rent out].

and natural children, explicitly including Leonardo himself despite the fact that he was a *spurio* (illegitimate) son and that a legitimate heir to ser Piero, Antonio, had been born two years previously.¹²⁶

“Francesco d’Antonio in Florence and *compari* [companion] in Bacchereto [...]”¹²⁷ is the first explicit memory of Leonardo in the Montalbano, which does not concern Vinci but Bacchereto, where the young artist certainly frequented his grandmother’s family home with the kiln located at Croce a Troia which belonged to his uncle, ser Baldassarre di ser Piero di Zoso, and was later acquired by his father ser Piero. Here Leonardo had his first experiences with terracotta, as will later be the case with his nephew, the sculptor Pierino Da Vinci, with his “clay puppets”. Also in Bacchereto Leonardo will have six second cousins from the Zoso family; the notary ser Giovanni di Baldassarre and five women (Loretta, Francesca, Bartolomea, Caterina, and Dorotea, who is listed among the “mouths” of ser Piero Da Vinci in the Catasto entry of 1495), whose husbands we have identified.¹²⁸

Letter to his father, written in a non-specular script, ca. 1503: “Dearest father, on the last day of the previous month I received the letter you wrote to me, which gave me at the same time joy and sadness. Joy because through it I learnt that you are healthy, for which I thank God; sadness because I learnt of your annoyances”.¹²⁹

Caterina in Milan

Around 1480, we find a revealing note in the Codex Atlanticus (195r): “Tell me how things go on there and what Caterina wants to do”; it is logical to infer that he refers to his mother. Caterina is mentioned by Leonardo two more times, in the Forster III and the Ms. H: in the first with the recollection of her arrival in Milan (“16 July

¹²⁶ The assignment prescribed that the Da Vincis had to restore the building to make it functional again with the possibility of also building another one; it is obvious to think that Leonardo, who was present during the deed, might have been involved in the structure and in hydraulic technology. From 1480 onwards the “little mill with one millstone” was recorded as being managed by the uncle Francesco, until the dispute and the interruption of the contract, as Arrighi (2019, pp. 298-300) has demonstrated. On 12 January 1489 he was still mentioned, as opposing party to the Commune, in the controversy surrounding the mill “held in perpetual lease by ser Piero, Francesco and Leonardo” (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 1576, f. 17v).

¹²⁷ Codex Atlanticus, f. 878v (ex 320v-a).

¹²⁸ On this topic see Vezzosi (2008), pp. 22, 28, 42-43; *Id.* (2020), in particular pp. 25-36, 54-68. Leonardo’s experiences with clay and terracotta are multifarious and surprising; from the diverse uses of “clay to make tankards”, to the applications of the potter’s wheel, to the practice of “comparison” (“An unfired vessel can be amended, but not a fired one”, he writes in the Codex Trivulziano, f. 38r).

¹²⁹ Codex Atlanticus, f. 178v.

[in sanguine pencil] Today 16 July 1493 Caterina arrived”¹³⁰) and in the second in a list of payments and expenses (twice “Caterina *soldi* 10” dated 29 January 1494¹³¹). Finally, in the Codex Forster II (f. 64v), datable in view of the *ductus* around 1495, he lists the expenses for her burial.¹³² The rare mentions in our possession seem to decisively confirm the hypothesis that she was Leonardo’s mother, and attest the continuity of an intense emotional relationship which lasted over forty years despite not being documented in other sources and not sufficiently highlighted in the artist-scientist’s biographies. Leonardo’s apparent coldness in calculating the expenses of her burial will recur in the artist’s memo on his father’s death.¹³³

The dispute with his brothers

On 12 August 1504 his uncle Francesco made a will (a summarized version of which has come down to us)¹³⁴ leaving Leonardo as his heir for life.¹³⁵ In 1505, after his

¹³⁰ Codex Forster III, f. 88r.

¹³¹ Ms. H, f. 64v.

¹³² “Expenses for the [death] burial of Caterina [...] all together 123 *soldi*, including the doctor”, four priests and four clerics, “the transportation of the dead”, the “placing of the cross”, and five burial men. In a document discovered by Edoardo Villata in the Archivio di Stato in Milan, which refers to the parish of Saints Nabore and Felice at Porta Vercellina, we read that “Thursday 26 June 1494: Chatarina from Florence, of 60 years, died of tertian fever” (in Latin in the document). See Villata in Arrighi-Bellinazzi-Villata (2005), p. 154. He put forward the reasonable hypothesis that she is Leonardo’s mother, despite the generic name and provenance and the fact that the age is seven years younger when compared with the 1487 Catasto. Curiously, Richter (1883), vol. II, p. 416, in the note to paragraph 1372, states that Caterina died in 1519 and that Leonardo never mentions her in his manuscripts; the author speculates that the Caterina mentioned in the Codex Forster III (f. 88r) could be a servant (*Id.*, p. 423).

¹³³ “(~~mercoledì morì alle~~) Addì 9 di luglio 1504 in mercoledì a ore 7 morì ser Piero da Vinci notaio al palagio del podestà. Mio padre a ore 7 era d’età d’anni 80 [in fact 78] e lasciò 10 figlioli massci e 2 femmine”, Codex Arundel, f. 272r; “Mercoledì a ore 7 morì ser Piero da Vinci a di 9 di luglio 1504. Mercoledì vicino alle 7 ore”, Codex Atlantico, f. 196v. [“On Wednesday 9 July 1504 at 7 o’clock ser Piero da Vinci, notary at the palazzo del Podestà, my father, died at 7 o’clock; he was aged 80 (in fact 78), and he left 10 sons and 2 daughters”; “On Wednesday 9 July 1504 at 7 o’clock. He died around 7 o’clock.”]

¹³⁴ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 21437, f. 198r. See Milanese (1879), p. 46; Cianchi (1984), pp. [97]-104.

¹³⁵ Francesco’s estate, in the 1498 Decima, presented on March 28, 1495 (ASF, Decima Repubblica 8, ff. 405r-405v), consisted of “a house with farmed land [...] in Colombaia” (side note “From 1532 belonging to Guglielmo”); “a ruined and uninhabited house” in the hamlet of the castle of Vinci, neighbouring with “my brother ser Piero”; “a plot of land [...] in the locality called Linari or Mercatale” (side note : “From 1532 to monna Lucrezia”); “a house located in the castle of Vinci [...] for my own dwelling”; “a plot of farm land [...] in the locality called

death, an exasperated dispute started with the brothers, guided by ser Giuliano, who did not intend to recognize Leonardo's rights. In the Codex Atlanticus (f. 571r) the artist writes "You bore ill feelings toward Francesco [...] and even worse ones toward me". The sentence is even more significant because Leonardo feels that he is being treated "not like a brother, but like somebody most alien" and "pulled into this trap". He was even forced by his brothers to pay the duties on his uncle's inheritance without receiving its benefits: in particular "you do not want to give back the money lent for the Botro farmstead to the legitimate heirs".¹³⁶

A letter that Giuliano's wife, Alessandra Dini, had written in Florence on her husband's behalf (who was in Rome like Leonardo himself) on 14 December 1514,¹³⁷ is significant in showing a newly found harmony; and lastly a part of the artist's inheritance (money and land in Fiesole¹³⁸) left to his brothers.

Croce a Tigliano" (side note: "In 1532 belonging to Guglielmo da Vinci".) Between 21 and 24 June 1505 the Signoria of Florence ordered a survey of the farms of Botro (instead of Linari) and of Colombaia and of the plot at Croce di Tigliano to ascertain the quantity of the goods inherited for life by Leonardo. The sequence of events will unfold with a series of authoritative letters in support of the artist: the letter of Leonardo's client for the *Madonna dei fusi*, Florimond de Robertet, on behalf of the king of France, Louis XII (26 July 1507); the one by Charles d'Amboise, governor of Milan and Marshal of France (15 August 1507); the one written by Agostino Vespucci, a collaborator of Machiavelli, on behalf of Leonardo to cardinal Ippolito d'Este (18 September 1507). In December 1505, the preliminary settlement between Lucrezia Cortigiani on one side, on her own behalf and as guardian of her sons Benedetto, Pandolfo, Guglielmo, Bartolomeo and Giovanni, and on the other ser Giuliano, on his own behalf and for his brothers Antonio, Lorenzo and Domenico, terminates with an explicit reference against Leonardo: "*in aliquibus de dictis bonis que pertinerent Leonardo filio naturali dicti Ser Petri tamquam bona que fuerunt Francisci fratris dicti Ser Pieri quibus pro predicta non intendimus in aliquo preiudicare*" [for some of these properties, which concern Leonardo, the natural son of the said ser Piero, as well as the goods that belonged to Francesco, the brother of the said ser Piero, for the above reasons we do not intend in any way to anticipate a disadvantageous judgment]. ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 11540, ff. 130r-133v, 20 December 1505, almost entirely transcribed by Ulivi (2009), pp. 156-158.

The core of the dispute was thus reached. It is to be noted that in this document Costareccia was not included among the properties granted to the part of Margherita's children; it was eventually apportioned to Domenico.

¹³⁶ On the margin we read: "Didn't you let him enjoy them in life, so long as they would come back to your children? Couldn't he have lived many more years? Yes? Now pretend that I am him. You wish I was the heir so that I couldn't, as heir, ask you the money that I am owned by Francesco".

¹³⁷ Codex Atlanticus, f. 780v: "I forgot to ask you to recommend me to your brother Lionardo, a most excellent and original man".

¹³⁸ Letter by Francesco Melzi to Leonardo's brothers, 1 June 1519, in Uzielli (1872), pp. 208-209. The original has disappeared.

Documented children: none.¹³⁹

Main places of residence and work: Vinci; Firenze; Milano; Roma; Amboise.

Professional status: artist-scientist, “universal genius”.¹⁴⁰

Inheritance and estate: Milan, Fiesole, Vinci.¹⁴¹

Health condition: In Rome he frequented some doctors and on 8 October 1515 he asks to be accepted into the *Confraternita della Pietà dei Fiorentini* in Rome, a “confraternity of good death”: maybe the artist had some health problems and was thinking about his last days?

When on 10 October 1517 Antonio De Beatis visits his workshop in Amboise, he observes and notes his health conditions: Leonardo has “a certain paralysis in the right [hand]”, and therefore cannot “paint with the delicacy he was used to”, although being left-handed “he is able to draw and to teach others”.

Will: 23 April 1518.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ In the fifth issue of his journal “*Achademia Leonardi Vinci*” (1992, pp. 120-121), Carlo Pedretti published and commented a document from the Archivio di Stato in Florence which had been pointed out to him by Gino Corti: it was a letter dated 4 February 1479 (old style 1478) sent by Giovanni Bentivoglio (Lord of Bologna, with whom Leonardo’s father had dealings) to Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence, concerning a certain “Paulo di Leonardo da Vinci from Florence” [ASF, Mediceo avanti il principato 37, f. 49. See also Villata (1999), p. 11, n. 12], a young trainee carver. He had been invited to Bologna to “cleanse and remove himself from bad companies” and a “bad life”. The coincidences pertaining to the name and relations are relevant, all the more so if we consider how Leonardo is called in the contract for the purchase of a plot of land in Fiesole: “Leonardo ser Petri de Vincio de Florentia” (ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 18270, f. 45v). Pedretti expressed some appropriate doubts, starting with the probability of a case of homonymy. Vezzosi (2000, p. 40) explained in the image caption: “The mysterious *Paulo de Leonardo da Vinci da Firenze*, apprentice in the art of inlays mentioned in a letter from Giovanni Bentivoglio to Lorenzo de’ Medici dated 8 February 1479 (old style 1478): was he a pupil of Leonardo’s? A son? Or a simple coincidence?”. Could he be another illegitimate son of ser Piero, who might have desired to keep the news secret? Further research would have been needed, but the press spread the news with clamour causing misunderstanding. Recently the Bolognese scholar Pier Luigi Perazzini has pointed out to us the document which erases any doubt (Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Fondo notarile, notaio Giovanni Andrea Garisendi, 7/9, busta n° 1, 1495-1501): on 15 June 1499 a certain “Giovanni son of Antonio from Florence” purchased a house with land at the “Spedalazzo” in Roncizio, in the name of the daughter and wife of the dead Paolo, a wood artisan son of Leonardo da Vinci from Florence (“*quondam Pauli olim Leonardi de Vincio de Florentia*”). This Leonardo was therefore already dead at the time when Da Vinci was about to leave Milan and return to Tuscany. This curious and insidious case of homonymy has thus been cleared.

¹⁴⁰ The bibliography on “universal” Leonardo is immense; Martin Kemp has created *The Universal Leonardo Project*; Vezzosi has published several monographs between 1996 and 2019.

¹⁴¹ See n. 135.

¹⁴² Notary Guillaume Boreau. The original has disappeared. Some copies are extant, among

Death: 2 May 1519.

Burial: Church of Saint Florentin, Royal Castle of Amboise, 12 August 1519.¹⁴³

Historiography: among the printed sources of Leonardo's biography, the main one is Vasari, who introduced several misunderstandings, mistaking the father with the uncle and with the brother Giuliano;¹⁴⁴ concerning the artist's age and death ("he drew his last breath in the arms of the king, aged 75 years", instead of 67);¹⁴⁵ before him, the Anonimo Gaddiano had stated that Leonardo died at the age of seventy-two.¹⁴⁶

Leonardo's "most beloved brother" was not Domenico

We can date to about 1506 a letter with affectionate tones, but also containing bitter and biting reflections, written by Leonardo to his "most beloved brother", who has so far often been erroneously identified with Domenico.¹⁴⁷ Leonardo learnt that this brother was about to become a father, and warned him that while he was cheering he was instead creating an enemy.¹⁴⁸

As Domenico married in 1536, this letter could have been addressed to him only if it was question of an illegitimate son, or of a son born from his first (and unknown to us) wife; neither is there any record that a son of ser Piero became a father around those years. In any case, before Leonardo's death the only possibility is with Giuliano (after the reconciliation), and with his daughters Margherita, born illegitimate in 1513,¹⁴⁹ and Violante, in 1517. Otherwise, we should speculate that in reality Leonardo addressed himself to friend for whom he had a brotherly affection.

"One of the branches which has reached us" (Guglielmo) and "the progenitor of the living" (Domenico)

Upon ser Piero's death, Leonardo writes that his father had left behind ten sons and two daughters, "including himself".¹⁵⁰ Therefore in 1504 he would have had eleven

which the one written by Venanzio De Pagave (Milano, Biblioteca Melzi) and that in the *Carte Dei*. For a part of the bibliography see Villata (1999), p. 278.

¹⁴³ See pp. 80-82.

¹⁴⁴ See Vezzosi (2008), pp. 42, 352.

¹⁴⁵ http://vasari.sns.it/cgi-bin/vasari/Vasari-all?code_f=print_page&work=Giuntina&volume_n=4&page_n=36.

¹⁴⁶ "And he died near Ambosia, a town in France, aged 72, in a place called Cloux where he had his dwelling". Milanese (1872), p. 223.

¹⁴⁷ See for example Marinoni (1952), pp. 208-209 and Brizio (1952), pp. 641-642.

¹⁴⁸ Codex Atlanticus, f. 541v: "[...] With all his energies he will desire liberty, which will not happen without your death".

¹⁴⁹ Born on 25 June 1513 from a certain Sandra, his *famula*. Ulivi (2009), pp. 72-76.

¹⁵⁰ Codex Arundel, f. 272r: "On 9 July 1504, on a Wednesday at 7 o' clock, my father the notary ser Piero da Vinci died at the palace of the *podestà*; he was 80 years of age, and he left 10

living siblings from his father's side, to whom we must add seven which were born premature and another one who was presumably also illegitimate (Pierfilippo?). Among these nine brothers of Leonardo's, Domenico was identified starting in 1772 as the "progenitor of the living"¹⁵¹ (and his lineage is the one we pursue here), while Guglielmo's progeny, considered in the XIX century "one of the branches which had reached us"¹⁵² through his nephew Piero, will be the object of a separate research. In the documents concerning the division of Piero di Guglielmo's property dating from April 1599, two of his sons are attested as living faraway from Tuscany: Leonardo in Avignon, Piero in Naples; friar Guglielmo in Siena. Guglielmo, in his will of 15 May 1624, will bequeath all his inherited estate, including the house in Anchiano and many original papers of the Da Vinci family, to the Convent of Santa Lucia alla Castellina on the hills of Florence.¹⁵³ The continuity of Guglielmo's descendants is at present being investigated; it might for example be detected through a Neapolitan branch of the nephew of Piero di Piero di Guglielmo di ser Piero.

Domenico Matteo and Domenico Benedetto

In an unpublished letter including information received from Möller and now superseded, Renzo Cianchi wrote: "Domenico (precisely Domenico and Mattio) was ser Piero's fourth legitimate son, born from his third wife Margherita [...]. He was born on 21 February 1483 (according to the common style 21 February 1484 [...]). Domenico's year of birth, and that of his siblings, is obtained from ser Piero's entries

sons and 2 daughters". The daughters must have been: (7) Violante Caterina and (12) Margherita Romola.

¹⁵¹ Durazzini (1772), p. CXXVII. Among the children of ser Piero and Lucrezia, Guglielmo was the most prolific. He had at least five descendants with his wife Marietta di Leonardo Buonaccorsi: three sons and two daughters. His son Piero generated eight (six sons and two daughters who will become nuns). Guglielmo inherited most of ser Piero's mobile and immobile goods, including the houses of the Da Vincis in the hamlet and in Anchiano (ASF, Decima Repubblica, 9 Quartiere S. Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, [1495] 1498, 2, f. 1163): "A farmstead with an almost ruined house, and a little house begun for the landlord, with agricultural land, olive trees, fruit trees, vineyards and wood", which ser Piero had bought after 1480 from the convent of the Servi Friars of Florence for 130 large golden florins, and "a small farmstead with a ruined house and one with a damaged roof, divided in different parcels [...]", which ser Piero himself had bought in 1493 from Maria, wife of Ambrogio di Baronto di Nanni da Vitolini, for 50 large golden florins. The overall income was valued at over 22 florins. Guglielmo made his will on 13 May 1542, stating that it was his desire to be buried (an exceptional case) in Santa Lucia a Paterno and not in the Badia Fiorentina, where his wife Marietta and also his son Piero were buried. See (16) Guglielmo Francesco Romolo among ser Piero's sons.

¹⁵² Amoretti (1804), p. 14; *Alberetto* in Manzi (1859).

¹⁵³ Vezzosi (2016), p. 132.

for the Catasto and the *Decima*; the day and the month were communicated to me by the renown Rev. Prof. Emil Möller, who drew them from the baptismal registers of the Opera del Duomo of Florence.¹⁵⁴ Piero's illegitimate children were all born and baptized in Florence [...].¹⁵⁵

Five documents from 1483-1485 frame an important question concerning Domenico, son of ser Piero and Leonardo's half-brother, from whom the direct lineage which is the object of this study originates. Two of ser Piero's sons were indeed baptized with the same first name: Domenico Matteo, on 21 February 1493, and Domenico Benedetto, on 20 March 1485.

Ulivi (2008) has for the first time published the exact date of birth of both Domenicos.¹⁵⁶ Before Ulivi only one Domenico was known. In the Lincei genealogical tree the birth date of Domenico is missing; in the *Carte Dei* the age of 12 is stated in connection with the 1498 *Decima*; in Uzielli (1872) we find the date 1486, probably inferred from the same *Decima* source. The same date is proposed by Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900), Monti (1909) and Beltrami (1919).

It is obvious to think that, as it was common, the second Domenico (Benedetto) received the same name of the first Domenico (Matteo) because the latter had died.¹⁵⁷ The most plausible hypothesis is therefore to indicate the second, Domenico Benedetto, as the "progenitor of the living".

There is another fact which opens up a further question; in the same year, 1485, on 29 June, only three months later, the birth of another son of ser Piero, Bartolomeo Paolo, is registered; clearly Domenico Benedetto and Bartolomeo Paolo could not have been given birth by the same mother Margherita (who was buried on 26 August 1485 in the family tomb in the Badia.) Was Bartolomeo illegitimate, or possibly born from Lucrezia, married by ser Piero on 12 November 1485?¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ But the exact date is 21 February 1482 (old style), therefore 1483 (common style).

¹⁵⁵ Typescript Cianchi 1982, unpublished. Vezzosi's Archive.

¹⁵⁶ Ulivi (2008), pp. 34-35 and figs. 37, 68.

¹⁵⁷ See for instance the case of another child of ser Piero and Lucrezia Cortigiani who will be baptized on 2 August 1493 with the name of Bartolomeo Vittorio (see above, n. 17 among ser Piero's children), and who is mentioned in the 1495 *Decima* as of "1½ years of age". A slight imprecision emerges from the 1498 *Decima* Repubblica presented by ser Piero in 1495, where Domenico is listed as being "12 years old". ASF, *Decima* Repubblica, 9, Quartiere S. Spirito Gonfalone Drago, 1498, 2, f. 1165r, handed in by ser Piero on 31 March 1495. See Cianchi (1977), p. 17 n.1; Ulivi (2008), p. 35 and n. 147. A similar case is that of Dorotea (named in 1495 among ser Piero's "mouths", even though she was the daughter of his cousin ser Baldassarre di Zoso, and declared to be "13 years of age", while she was "three months old" in the 1480 *portata*.)

¹⁵⁸ Bartolomeo is probably to be identified with a "youth of ser Piero" buried in the Badia but without a name on 15 or 19 December 1485. See also the dates in the two relative documents in Ulivi (2008), figs. 39 and 40, p. 73. Even if he was not Margherita's child he was buried in the family tomb because ser Piero's third wife was already dead.

The problem of the two Domenicos and of the lineage from Domenico Matteo or from Domenico Benedetto (which it seems reasonable to solve in favor of the second) does not affect the continuity of the direct male line since the father was, in both cases, Piero.

7)

VI.B. Domenico di ser Piero (b. 1485 – d. 1563)

Sixth generation.

Son of ser Piero di Antonio Da Vinci and Margherita di Francesco Giulli.

Birth: Florence, Popolo di San Pier Maggiore,¹⁵⁹ 20 March 1485 (old style 1484), baptized on 21 March.

Marriage: 22 November 1536.¹⁶⁰ *Wife:* Fioretta di Stefano di Vittore da Bacchereto.¹⁶¹

Documented children four:

Lorenzo (b. post 1536 – d. 1594) (see VII generation);

Antonio (b. post 1536 – doc. 1544);¹⁶²

Margherita (b. post 1536 – doc. 1549);

Maria (b. post 1536 – doc. 1549).

Professional status: land owner. It is not yet clear which was Domenico's profession in Florence, besides administering ser Piero's inheritance.

It does not appear that Domenico ever practiced the profession of notary; the title "ser", often associated with his name in several coeval and posthumous documents, could be, as it was common, simply honorific, meaning *Signore*. In his 1549 will he clearly declares: "Domenico popularly called Ser Domenico, excellent son of Ser Piero di Antonio di Ser Piero di Guido, citizens of Florence".¹⁶³

Further documents: Domenico features several times in the Notarile Antecosimiano, in the Decima Repubblicana, in the papers related to the accounts of the Spedale di Santa Maria Nuova;¹⁶⁴ between 1513 and 1535 he is present in the lists of the Com-

¹⁵⁹ In the house in via Ghibellina, where ser Piero had met "the slave Caterina".

¹⁶⁰ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 19593, atto n° 178, c. 546. The marriage was stipulated by the same notary, Giovanni Stefani di Pier Paolo da San Miniato, who in 1544 received his first will (see further on). The ceremony took place in the church of Santa Maria al Pruno and not in Bacchereto.

¹⁶¹ He for instance compares as a witness in a baptism on 23 February 1560.

¹⁶² From the will we learn that the daughters were married and lived somewhere else. Presumably Antonio died before 1563, the year when Domenico's estate was transferred solely to Lorenzo.

¹⁶³ "Domenico vocatus Ser Domenico vulgari sermone et filius egregii vir Ser pieri Antoni Ser pieri guidi cives florentini".

¹⁶⁴ For example: 20 December 1505: ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 11540, ff. 130r-133v; 15 May 1512: Notarile Antecosimiano 3457, ff. 69r, 70r; 27 August 1520: ASF, Decima Repubblicana, Quartiere di S. Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, f. 343. Further documents are held in the Archivio Vescovile in Pistoia.

pagnia dello Spirito Santo di Vinci, together with his brothers Guglielmo, Giovanni and Bartolomeo, as “Ser Domenicho di Ser Piero davinci”.¹⁶⁵

Further information: Documents of the Archivio di Stato of Florence and of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei confirm, through the sequence of the *arroti* (property transfers), the dates and the transfer in 1517 of a portion of ser Piero's estate to his children, and in particular to Domenico in 1534, from Domenico to Lorenzo in 1563, and then to the later descendants. The fact that Domenico's properties were “placed in the care of” his son Lorenzo in 1563 confirms the date of his death.

Will: At the Costareccia, Domenico made a *donatio mortis causa* on 14 April 1544 and a will which annulled the preceding deed on 26 August 1549.¹⁶⁶ In this document he declares that he has received the inheritance of his brother Lorenzo, dead before time, which he shared with his other brother Guglielmo. He nominates as heirs all his legitimate and natural sons born from his marriage with Fioretta di Stefano di Vittore, and if some of them are still minors he wishes for them to be put under the care of the Ufficiali dei pupilli. He wants his daughters Margherita and Maria to be allowed to go back to live with their mother if they become widows. He declares as “his universal heirs Lorenzo and Antonio, his legitimate and natural sons, in equal parts”.

Dwellings: Florence: via Ghibellina; Orbignano, Costareccia (today still in the Commune of Vinci, but belonging to the parish and fraction of Santa Maria del Pruno in Orbignano, a church in the Commune of Lamporecchio).

Inherited estate: a document from 9 December 1504¹⁶⁷ shows ser Piero's bequest to his daughters Margherita and Lucrezia. The properties acquired by Domenico at the Costareccia are evaluated at 330 florins and with a modification on the margin at 550: it is among the highest values together with those of San Bartolomeo a Streda (to Guglielmo) and of Croce a Toia di Bacchereto (to Giuliano).

Properties of ser Piero declared in 1495, and then passed on to Domenico in 1532: “A farmstead with farmer's house, with about ten bushels of land to be sown, partly farmed, partly planted with vineyards, partly with olives, and partly wooded, located in the popolo of Santa Maria al Pruno, Commune of Vinci, county of Florence, in the locality called Costereccia, bordering at I with the road, at II with myself, at III with the stream, at IIII in part with the heirs Pagolo di Piero del Festa, and in part with myself; including the above-mentioned plots of land which I have added to the said farmstead on several occasions”.

¹⁶⁵ Archivio del Comune di Vinci, Registro della Compagnia dello Spirito Santo di Vinci, 1513-1769, Preunitario, 440.

¹⁶⁶ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 19594, ins. 5, ff. 602r-v. The will was stipulated by the notary Niccolò Bellucci: Notarile Antecosimiano 2159, ff. 231r-232v.

¹⁶⁷ ASF, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese 43, Santa Lucia alla Castellina, 11, ins. 2, N. 1, ff. nn.

There follows a list of other plots at the Costareccia, “in the place called Sonnia”, and in the Commune of Lamporecchio (“place called Gorgo Secco”), in Orbignano and in the Valley of Orbignano, with vineyards, olive trees, wood, and “willows” which yielded “yearly: wheat 40 bushels, wine 18 barrels, oil 6 barrels, fodder 4 bushels” for a total of “21 florins, 2 soldi, 6 denari”.¹⁶⁸

On 27 May 1532, his brother Lorenzo Miniato left his properties half to Domenico and half to his brother Antonio’s two sons (Francesco and Giovanni Maria); on the same day Francesco and Giovanni Maria made a *donatio mortis causa* to their uncle Guglielmo di ser Piero. Furthermore, on 7 October 1532 Giovanni Maria sold to his uncle Guglielmo a plot located in the Popolo di Santa Croce in Vinci.¹⁶⁹

Death: before 20 January 1563.¹⁷⁰

Burial: Orbignano, Santa Maria del Pruno.¹⁷¹

A solved misunderstanding: Domenico, Lorenzo and Antonio

A problematic nexus, arising from a series of misunderstandings, seems to be the one concerning Lorenzo di Domenico’s birth (he is so far documented only in 1563), another hypothetical son (Vincenzo, mentioned –evidently by mistake– as Boba’s husband¹⁷² in a baptism from 1561¹⁷³) and Domenico’s death. In view of the *donatio mortis causa* (1544) and above all of the 1549 testament, we now know that Domenico and Fioretta, besides Lorenzo, had three more previously unknown children: a son, Antonio,¹⁷⁴ and two daughters, Margherita and Maria.

Further documents hence integrate and correct the traditional genealogical tree providing answers to several questions, including the fact that Domenico had become father of Lorenzo at the age of seventy-eight in the year of his death. This perplexity has erroneously created suspicions concerning Lorenzo’s legitimacy, casting a doubt

¹⁶⁸ ASF, Decima Repubblica, 9, Quartiere S. Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, 1498, 2, ff. 1161r-v.

¹⁶⁹ ASF, Notarile Antecosimiano 3465, ff. 69v-70r. Ulivi (2008), pp. 86 (fig.) and 24, n. 85. In 1539 there will be a dispute between Guglielmo and Domenico concerning these possessions.

¹⁷⁰ The “Libro dei morti” of the parish of Orbignano starts on 1 August 1592 and therefore we cannot find in it the entry relative to his death before 20 January 1563 and to his burial.

¹⁷¹ Based on the last will and testament of 1549.

¹⁷² Diminutive of Zanobia?

¹⁷³ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati 1559 al 1579, II-A, 152 r, 1, f. 12r: “And on 30 March [1561] a baby named Salvador was baptized, whose father is Batista di Piero. Witnesses Mariano di [deletion] Giachino, mona Boba di Vincenzo di Ser Domenicho, mona Domenicha di Raffaello di Andrea Vezosi”. But “Boba di Vincenzo di Ser Domenico” is an error: she clearly was Lorenzo’s wife, as it appears also from other documents.

¹⁷⁴ Among the 1640 dead is registered the death of “Lucrezia di Antonio Vinci”, who was buried “in the grave underneath the Loggia” on 5 November. AVPt, Orbignano, Morti (1592-1631), II-A, 116 r, a-2, n. 121.

on the continuity of Domenico's lineage. Domenico died after 10 and before 20 January 1563 (Florentine old style 1562): this is confirmed by two documents, one from 10 January registering the birth not of Lorenzo, but of Margherita, Domenico's granddaughter,¹⁷⁵ and one of a baptism on 20 January in which Fioretta, Domenico's wife, features as a widow.¹⁷⁶

In preceding genealogical trees, it was speculated that Lorenzo di Domenico had lived at least until 1579, but the document about his burial bears the date of 20 January 1594. Lorenzo, his mother Fioretta and his wife Boba, acted as witnesses for a number of baptisms in the churches of Orbignano and Vinci.

8)

VII. Lorenzo di Domenico (b. post 1536 ? – d. 1594)

Seventh generation.

Son of Domenico di ser Piero Da Vinci and Fioretta di Stefano di Vittore da Bacchereto.

Birth: post 1536 (?)¹⁷⁷

Documented: baptism godfather on 25-1-1562 and on 5-9-1562,¹⁷⁸ and for example in the 1534 Decima with postscripts for 1563 and for 1593.¹⁷⁹

Wife: Boba (buried on 17-04-1608¹⁸⁰).

Documented children six:

Margherita (bapt. 10-01-1562 [1563]);¹⁸¹

Domenica (bapt. 22-05-1564; marriage: 12-01-1583 [1584] with Battista di Michele di Battista Menichetti);

¹⁷⁵ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1590 al 1606, II-A, 152 r, 1, f. 38v: "And on 10 January a girl was baptized; she was named Margherita [di] Lorenzo di Domenicho di Ser Piero da Vinci [...]".

¹⁷⁶ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1590 al 1606, II-A, 152 r, 1, f. 30r: "Bartolomeo son of [Bartolomeo] Domenicho was baptized on 20 January [1562, i.e. 1563]. Witnesses father Francesco di Davit from Lamporechio, mona Maria servant of the said ser Francesco, mona Fioretta widow of Ser Domenico di Ser Piero da Vinci".

¹⁷⁷ Year in which his parents married.

¹⁷⁸ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1559 al 1579, II-A, 152 r, 1, ff. 26v, 30r.

¹⁷⁹ ASF, Decima Granducale 3577, Quartiere Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, 1534, ff. 387v-388r.

¹⁸⁰ AVPt, Orbignano, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116 r, a-2, c. 12r: "(237) Boba who was the wife of Lorenzo di Ser Domenico was laid to rest in the Cloister on 17 April 1608". She appears as witness to a baptism on 15-12-1584: "Boba donna di Lorenzo di Ser Domenico da Vinci".

¹⁸¹ See above, n. 175.

Simona (bapt. 11-12-1571 – d. 8 years),¹⁸²

Simona (bapt. “on 8 February 1579 [1580]”¹⁸³ – d. 1595¹⁸⁴);

Pietro (Piero) (b. 1582 – d. 1652?) (see VIII generation);

Antonio (doc. 1593¹⁸⁵ – buried: 25-05-1624¹⁸⁶).

Inheritance: in 1563 the estate inherited by Domenico passed on through *aroto* n. 219 to his son Lorenzo.¹⁸⁷

Dwellings: Orbignano, Costareccia.

Burial: in the *Libro dei morti* from Orbignano we read: “Lorenzo di Ser Domenico di Ser Piero was buried in the cloister under the kitchen on 20 January 1594”.¹⁸⁸ If the date was in Florentine style, it would indicate 1595 (common style), but Renzo Cianchi, in a typescript of his from 1982,¹⁸⁹ transcribes Lorenzo di Domenico’s death registration with the date January 1593 (hence 1594 in the common style). The document, necessary to support the request for the transfer of registration of the ownership of properties, reads as follows: “On 30 January 1593. I, father Baronto di Leonardo Comparini rector of the church of S. Maria del pruno in Orbignano in the Bishropic of Pistoia and parish of Lamporecchio, witness that Lorenzo di Ser Domenico di Ser Piero from the Commune of Vinci, belonging to the above-mentioned *popolo* was buried inside the cemetery of said church on 20 of the present month as

¹⁸² AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1559 al 1579, II-A, 152 r, I, f. 87r. See also Bruschi (1997), p. 16, n. 30.

¹⁸³ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1559 al 1579, II-A, 152 r, I, f. 141v.

¹⁸⁴ AVPt, Orbignano, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116 r, a-2, f. 2r: “Was buried on 18 January 1595 [1596] aged 12”. See also Bruschi (1997), p. 16, n. 30.

¹⁸⁵ As per *aroto* n. 291 (BANL, Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, fasc. XIII). He appears as a witness in several weddings from 17-02-1597 to 01-11-1615. On 15 April 1595 his wife “donna Lucrezia di Antonio di Lorenzo di Domenico di Ser Piero” is documented as godmother in a baptism.

¹⁸⁶ AVPt, Orbignano, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116 r, a-2, f. 27r. His daughter Margherita marries Domenico di Antonio di Battista Orlandini on 24-01-1621. AVPt, S. Maria a Orbignano, Matrimoni dal 1575 al 1630, II-A, 116 r, a-1, f. 46r.

¹⁸⁷ ASF, Decima Granducale 3577, Quartiere Santo Spirito, Gonfalone Drago, 1534, ff. 387v-388r: “N° 62 - Lorenzo di Domenico di ser Piero da Vinci. Today 29 July 1563 Florins 1.15. 3 from Domenico his father gonfalone detto 455 n° 219 Florins 1.15.13 // Lorenzo on the other hand must receive on 28 February 1593 Florins 1.15.3 - to Antonio da Vinci in this *aroto* 159 291 Florins 1.15.3.” See also BANL, Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, fasc. XIII: *Discendenza della famiglia Da Vinci e passaggi di proprietà in base agli arroti dal 1480 al 26 aprile 1686*. See also Salvi (1983), p. 38; Ulivi (genealogical trees in 2008, 2009, 2017): “doc. 1563-1579” and for preceding bibliography *Ead.* (2008), p. 25, n. 90.

¹⁸⁸ AVPt, Orbignano, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116 r, a-2, f. 1v: “Lorenzo di Ser Domenico di Ser Piero was buried in the cloister under the kitchen on 20 January 1594”.

¹⁸⁹ Typescript Cianchi 1982.

it can be seen in the Book of Dead, and because it is the truth. I the above-mentioned father Baronto have myself written the present document on this day of the above-mentioned year in Orbignano". The 1593 date is consistent with the year of the transfer of properties from Lorenzo to Piero and Antonio; if it dates to before 25 March it corresponds to 1594 (date of the burial). The difference of one year does not however affect the continuity of the direct lineage.

An important branch dies out

At the start of the XVII century, two branches originate from Piero di Lorenzo: that of Bartolomeo (extending to today), and that of Lorenzo which will reach to ser Anton Giuseppe¹⁹⁰ (XII generation) and finally to his son Vincenzo Leonardo (b. 11-05-1761), who died young in 1793. This family maintained possession of the Costareccia in Orbignano,¹⁹¹ but "after an unsuccessful aggression, they moved to Vinci in the house they owned".¹⁹² As it is stated in the Stati delle anime, they moved to Vinci in the Martellis' house adjacent to the dwelling of the Corsis, in which the daughter Teresa (b. 12-12-1756) lived with her husband Michelangelo¹⁹³ and his relatives. At their death they were put to rest in the family tomb in the church of Santa Croce in Vinci.¹⁹⁴

His father Giovanni Piero (XI generation), who was *podestà* (a magistrate), already solemnly signed "Johannes Petrus Petri Laurenti da Vinci". His son ser Anton Giuseppe was, following the family tradition, a notary, and continued to use the family

¹⁹⁰ He was podestà in Vinci, Barberino di Mugello and Scarperia; Vicchio; Castelfiorentino and Pomarance.

¹⁹¹ Uzielli copied the coats of arms of the Vincis and of the Salomonis which were present in one of the houses (BNCF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 2, f. 42). He had already seen them, describing them as "altered" and "faded", in the course of his "Trip to Vinci", without identifying that of "some other family connected to the Vincis". On 27 August 1930, Renzo Cianchi and Emil Möller, following their traces, visit the Costareccia, but the coats of arms have disappeared. "Where have they ended up?", writes Cianchi, who on that occasion was informed by the German scholar of Domenico's date of birth and of his second name [Matteo] (see p. 32-34.) (Type-script Cianchi 1982).

¹⁹² BNCF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 82, f. 9.

¹⁹³ Michelangelo Corsi is the ancestor of another famous illegitimate child, Franco Corsi, known artistically as Zeffirelli. The wedding was celebrated on 01-07-1794.

¹⁹⁴ See also the *Table* of burials in Vinci compared with Uzielli's manuscript (BNCF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 82, f. 53r), pp. 64-65. On 30 April 1872 Uzielli consulted in the house of the Corsis, "in an old paper scroll", the will of Anton Giuseppe dated 18-04-1795 in which he had expressed his last wishes: "he wishes to be buried in his own grave which exists in the church of Santa Croce di Vinci"; "forgives Pier Matteo Vinci the debts he owns to him" and nominated "universal heirs his two daughters who had married into the Corsi and the Galletti families" [Maria Teresa and Maria Orsola Carolina]. See Uzielli-Signorini (1999), pp. 28, 46.

surname in its full form. We know that he was working on a genealogical tree, in which he had included his three living children as well as the deceased ones marked by a cross.¹⁹⁵ Despite his great expectations for his son, who was not by chance given the second name of Leonardo, he was not fortunate enough to see his progeny continue in the male line. Ser Anton Giuseppe knew both Giovan Battista Dei and Antongioseffo della Torre di Rezzonico, two of the protagonists of the “affair” concerning Leonardo’s papers and the family archive, which for most of the XVIII century must have still been intact.¹⁹⁶

9)

VIII. Pietro (also called Piero) di Lorenzo (b. 1582 – d. 1652?)

Eighth generation.

Son of Lorenzo di Domenico Da Vinci and Boba.

Baptism: 01-09-1582.

Documented: in 1593 the estate of ser Piero inherited by Domenico and then by Lorenzo were assessed at the Decima and then transferred to his sons Piero and Antonio. On 18-09-1605 he is registered as son of “ser Domenico” during a marriage in Orbignano.¹⁹⁷

Decime 1593/1614: Antonio and Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico;¹⁹⁸ 1614/1620: Piero di Lorenzo.¹⁹⁹

Marriage: 09-11-1603. *Wife:* Maddalena di Bartolomeo di Paolo Comparini di Or-

¹⁹⁵ There is trace thereof in Uzielli’s manuscript, which for instance mentions Colomba. In the tree preserved in the Vinci papers at the Accademia dei Lincei, Uzielli added the names of “ser Giuseppe” before that of Antonio di Giovan Piero [XI generation, a branch that will die out] and of his children (“Maria Teresa; Orsola; Domenico Vincenzo Leonardo; Orsola”).

¹⁹⁶ The Corsi as well played a role in the dispersion of the Da Vincis’ papers. In 1872 Antonio Corsi showed for example to Uzielli in Vinci “a book of notes of the Vinci family running from the year 1638 to the year 1696”, and he confessed that he believed that “the marquis Mazenta himself could have become the owner of the searched documents”. The historian believed he had convinced Corsi (who had “lent the genealogical tree to Mazzetti and Comparini”) of his responsibility “toward history” as regards the dispersion of the manuscripts. The series of events has been reconstructed in the 2016 conference in Vinci. See also Uzielli-Signorini (1999), pp. 46-47. See also section *The dispersion of the estate and documents*.

¹⁹⁷ AVPt, II.A, Stati Antichi, 116 r, 1, Santa Maria a Orbignano, Matrimoni dal 1575 al 1630 e Cresimati del 1627, f. 30r.

¹⁹⁸ <https://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/archiviodigitali/riproduzione/?id=188798&ua=57> [3 December 2018].

¹⁹⁹ <https://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/archiviodigitali/riproduzione/?id=189976&ua=59> [3 December 2018].

bignano (d. 04-06-1660).²⁰⁰

Documented children seven:

Lorenzo (bapt. 03-07-1605²⁰¹ – d. 1671?²⁰²);

Bartolomeo (b. 1608 – d. 1696) (see IX generation);

Ansano (Sano) (b. 31-03-1607 – bur. 07-10-1607);²⁰³

Domenica (b. – d. 1611: “Domenica di Piero di Lorenzo Vinci a baby was buried in the cloister on 6 September 1611”²⁰⁴);

Domenico (bapt. 19-03-1612 – d. 20-8-1613, “was buried in the cloister”²⁰⁵);

Boba (d. baby 05-09-1616, “was buried in the cloister”²⁰⁶);

Lisabetta (d. baby 17-01-1621);

Professional status: documented as a miller (October 1612-April 1613) in father Baronto Comparini's mill located on the stream of Lecreto in the Commune of Vinci, popolo of Orbignano.²⁰⁷

Dwellings: Orbignano, Costareccia.

Death: 1652?²⁰⁸ In 1659 the properties inherited by Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico will pass on, according to arroti n. 46 and 47, to his sons Bartolomeo and Lorenzo.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁰ AVPt, S. Maria a Orbignano, Matrimoni dal 1575 al 1630... Cresimati dell'anno 1627, II-A, 116 r, a-1, f. 28v: “On 9 November 1603. (118) Piero di Lorenzo di Ser Domenico from the commune of Vinci and the popolo of Santa Maria del Pruno in Orbignano has married Magdalena di Bartolomeo di Pavolo Comparini in the said place and in my own presence, Father Baronto Comparini [...]”.

²⁰¹ AVPt, Santa Croce di Vinci, Battezzati dal 1590 al 1606, II-A, 152 r, 3, n. 175. He lived with his family in Lamporecchio in the farmstead with a mill at Greppiano, as stated in the 1653 Stato delle anime: “Lorenzo di Piero (42 years), his son Piero (21), his wife Caterina (42), his daughter Maddalena (16), his mother Maddalena (70), his brother Bartolomeo (40), his son Matteo (12), his wife Caterina (22), his daughter Maria (1), his apprentice Gregorio (15)”.

²⁰² Based on that year's transfer of property as in arroto 119.

²⁰³ AVPt, Orbignano, Battezzati dal 1606 al 1614, II-A, 152 r, 4, f. 5r; AVPt, Orbignano, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116 r, a-2, f. 11r: “222. Sano di Piero di Lorenzo di ser Domenico was buried in the cloister. On 7 October 1607”.

²⁰⁴ AVPt, Morti dal 1592 al 1631, II-A, 116r, A-2, n. 312.

²⁰⁵ *Ivi*, n. 340.

²⁰⁶ *Ivi*, n. 380.

²⁰⁷ Archivio Storico di Empoli, Mulini, 1612-1616, 1892, f. 9r. Photo AV, 1977.

²⁰⁸ See the 1653 Stato delle anime (transcribed in note 201), where Piero di Lorenzo is no longer mentioned.

²⁰⁹ “Concerning the property of the said Piero di Lorenzo da Vinci -Decima 1618, 379-, his Possessions, in the Year 1659 in accordance with Arroto n° 46 and 47 were transferred in part to Bartolomeo di Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico di ser Piero da Vinci -122- and in part to Lorenzo di Piero di Lorenzo di Domenico di ser Piero -197- and from the said Lorenzo his Possessions, in the Year 1671 in accordance with Arroto n° 119 were passed on to Piero di Lorenzo di Piero di

10)

IX. Bartolomeo di Piero (b. 1608 – d. 1696)

Ninth generation.

Son of Piero di Lorenzo Da Vinci and Maddalena di Bartolomeo di Paolo Comparini.*Baptism:* 27-09-1608.²¹⁰*Documented:* witness to a wedding on 17-10-1666.²¹¹*Wife:* Caterina; in the 1693-1695 Stati delle anime she is recorded as being of “65 years”.²¹²*Documented children* two:**Matteo** (b. ca. 1641/43 – d. 1689) (see X generation);Maria (confirmation 12-10-1660²¹³).*Dwellings:* Orbignano, Costareccia. Bartolomeo’s house was in the “Locality called alla Buca”, when his mother Maddalena, widow of Piero Vinci, died there on 4 June 1660.²¹⁴*Death:* 15-12-1696.²¹⁵*Burial:* Orbignano.

11)

X. Matteo di Bartolomeo (b. ca. 1641/43 – d. 1689)

Tenth generation.

Son of Bartolomeo di Piero Vinci and Caterina.

Lorenzo di Domenico di ser Piero da Vinci -399- Carlo Guccianti”. BANL, Carteggio “Archivio Linceo n. 78”, XIII; *Carte Dei*, f. 24.

²¹⁰ AVPt, Battezzati dal 1606 al 1614, II-A, 152 r, 4: “Today 27 September 1608. Bartolomeo son of Piero [di Lorenzo] di Domenico Vinci and of Magdalena his wife was baptized by the priest Vincentio di Tommaso Bianconi; witness Giovanni di Domenico Bianconi; witness Madalena di Giovanni”. (Precise date also in the BANL genealogical family tree: “born 27 September 1608”).

²¹¹ AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, f. 64v, the same where his son Matteo’s wedding is also registered.

²¹² AVPt, Orbignano, II-A, 116 r, a-7. The Stato delle anime from 1693 is interesting in that it reveals that the long-lived Bartolomeo di Piero with his wife Caterina moved in with their son Matteo’s household (he had died in 1689).

²¹³ AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, c. 100r. She marries Gabriello di Leonardo Sensi on 30-01-1678 (*Ivi*, f. 74v).

²¹⁴ *Ivi*, f. 27v.

²¹⁵ *Ivi*, f. 262r: “On 15 December 1696. Bartolomeo di Piero Vinci of 96 years of this parish requievit in Domino in his home in the locality named La Costareccia having previously received the Holy Sacraments of Confession, Viaticum and Last Rites and recommended his soul through me Bartolomeo Andreini Prior of this church and he was laid to rest in the grave in the male section”.

Birth: about 1641/1643.²¹⁶

First marriage: 19-09-1666.²¹⁷ *Wife*: Agata di Michele Tarabusi (died “at the age of ca. 24 years”, buried 08-04-1669).²¹⁸

Second marriage: 22-07-1670²¹⁹. *Wife*: Caterina di Niccolò Ciani di Spicchio di Empoli (b. 29-10-1701).²²⁰

Documented children five:

Bartolomeo (d. 06-08-1705 “of 44 years”);²²¹

Niccolò (b. ca. 1673 ?);²²²

(Pier) Lorenzo (b. ca. 1675/79 – d. 07-08-1703 “of 28 years”²²³);

Domenica (d. 23-07-1694 “of 10 years”);²²⁴

Domenico (b. 1684/7 – d. 1752) (see XI generation).

Dwellings: Orbignano, Costareccia.

Burial: Orbignano, 31-05-1689.²²⁵

12)

XI. Domenico di Matteo (b. 1684/1687 – d. 1752)

Eleventh generation.

Son of Matteo di Bartolomeo Vinci and Caterina di Niccolò Ciani.

²¹⁶ Based on the age of the death registration and on the 1653 Stato delle anime (Lamporecchio). This date is likely also in view of that of his first marriage (1666), when he would have been twenty-one/twenty-three. The Stati delle anime provide contrasting evidence.

²¹⁷ AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, f. 64v.

²¹⁸ *Ivi*, f. 35v.

²¹⁹ *Ivi*, f. 68v.

²²⁰ *Ivi*, f. 2r.

²²¹ AVPt, Orbignano, Matrimoni e Morti dal 1700 al 1748, II-A, 116 r, a-5, n. 62 (men's sector). Marries Maria di Giovanni di Domenico Ciofi on 29-12-1704 (*Ivi*, n. 16).

²²² Niccolò is present in Uzielli's family tree (with the names of two brothers: Domenico and Lorenzo). He is mentioned again in the Stati delle anime from 1677 and in later ones. In the one from 1718 he is registered as being fifty-five, and in that of 1728 as fifty-six.

²²³ AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, n. 30 (men's sector). Confirmation: 15-05-1689 (*Ivi*, f. 134v); marriage 11-02-1703 (*Ivi*, n. 5), wife: Maddalena di Luca di Stefano Ciattini (d. 30-07-1703).

²²⁴ AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, n. 137.

²²⁵ *Ivi*, c. 116r: “(95) On 31 May 1689. Matteo di Bartolomeo Vinci of about 46 years of age, after receiving the Holy Sacraments requievit in Domino in his house in the locality called La Costareccia and was buried in the tomb in the male sector by me father Bartolomeo Andreini Prior”.

Birth: between 1684 and 1687.²²⁶

Documented: confirmation 22-09-1693.²²⁷

First marriage: ante 1713? *Wife:* Elisabetta di Francesco Ciampi (d. 03-06-1720, “of about 42 years”).²²⁸

Documented children four:

Agata (b. ca. 1711 – d. 28-08-1725);²²⁹

Pier Matteo (doc. 1713/14 – d. 1799) (see XII generation);

Maria Caterina (b. ca. 1716);²³⁰

Maria Anna (b. ca. 1720 – d. 19-10-1767).²³¹

Second marriage: 05-01-1721. *Wife:* Maria Domenica di Carlo Menichetti.²³²

Documented children three:

Elisabetta (bapt. 20-12-1721);²³³

Anna Caterina (bapt. 1-10-1723);²³⁴

Maria Agata (bapt. 11-10-1726).²³⁵

Professional status: farmer.

Dwellings: Orbignano: Costareccia, Capannile; Vinci: casa Bracci, bordering with the Compagnia dello Spirito Santo, adjacent to the “small gate of the *borgo*”.²³⁶

²²⁶ Uzielli (1872) infers the date of death (“1684”) from the age indicated in the death registration; in the 1693 Stati delle anime he is written down as being six (he would therefore have been born in 1687, but he was probably too young to be confirmed in the same year. Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): “n. 1664”, but it is probably a typo.

²²⁷ In the Pieve di Lamporecchio. AVPt, Orbignano, Libro dei Morti, Matrimonii e Cresimati (1646-1701), II-A, 116 r, a-4, f. 135r.

²²⁸ AVPt, Orbignano, Matrimoni e Morti dal 1700 al 1748, II-A, 116 r, a-5, n. 236. AVPt, Stato delle anime, Prioria di Orbignano, Anno 1718, II-A, 116r a-7, f. 28v: “Niccolao di Matteo Vinci 55 / Domenico brother 30 / Lisabetta di Francesco Ciampi wife 36 / Agata daughter 9 / Pier Matteo 5 / Maria Caterina 2 / Giovanni Pietro di Andrea Martelli house-boy 13”.

²²⁹ AVPt, II-A, Stati Antichi, 116 r, 5, Orbignano, Matrimonii e Morti dal 1700 al 1748, f. 38v: “On 28 August 1725. Agata daughter of Domenico di Matteo Vinci of about 14 years requievit in Domino in her home in the locality called Costareccia”.

²³⁰ She is two in the 1718 Stati delle anime.

²³¹ APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1., n. 56: “She was buried in the tomb of her Family opposite the Porta Maggiore in this church of Vinci”. As the birth date is inferred from the years indicated in the death document, it is not certain that she is a daughter from the first wife.

²³² AVPt, AVPt, Matrimoni e Morti dal 1700 al 1748, II-A, 116 r, a-5, f. 83v, n. 19. She is Domenica Vinci who died on 16-11-1770 “of 80 years”, “buried in her Family tomb”. APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1., n. 294.

²³³ AVPt, Vinci, Battezzati 1699-1727, II-A, 152r, 7, f. 83r.

²³⁴ *Ivi*, f. 88v.

²³⁵ *Ivi*, f. 98v.

²³⁶ In 1727 Domenico still lived in Costareccia, with his wife Domenica and their children

Death: Vinci, 05-12-1752.²³⁷

Burial: Vinci, Church of Santa Croce.

13)

XII. Pier Matteo (also known as Piero o Pietro) di Domenico (b. ca. 1713/1714 – d. 1799)

Twelfth generation.

Son of Domenico di Matteo Vinci and Elisabetta Ciampi.

Birth: ca. 1713/1714.²³⁸

Marriage: 04-02-1742.²³⁹ *Wife:* Maria Dorotea di Giovanni Paolo Menichetti (d. 07-04-1775).²⁴⁰

Documented children nine:

Maria Orsola Costanza (b. 17-11-1742 – d. 1811);²⁴¹

Paolo Ambrogio (b. 06-12-1743 – d. 03-04-1775);²⁴²

Agata (in subsequent Stati delle anime a cross appears next to his name), Pier Matteo, Maria Caterina, Elisabetta, Anna Caterina and the brother Niccolò. AVPt, Stato delle anime, Orbignano (1721-1725 [but 1728]), f. 77r. From 1747 he lived in the house of the Ospedale bordering with the Compagnia, and worked the small attached farmstead of San Biagio, previously owned by the Hospital (Archivio Parrocchiale Vinci – henceforth APV –, Stati delle anime 1748-1750). See Cianchi (1977), p. 4.

²³⁷ APV, Morti dal 1700 al 1748, II.5.1., n. 65: “5 December 1752. Domenico di Matteo Vinci of 68 years in the house of the farmstead belonging to Signor Antonio Bracci called the Ospedale his last dwelling, gave his soul to God in Communion with the Holy Church this said day at 6 in the morning, having previously received the Holy Sacraments that is Penitence and the Viaticum on 26 November administered by me father Biagio Antonio Comparini Priest, and the Last Rites on the above-mentioned 2, and the recommendation of his Soul and assistance in his last agony by father Alessandro Luigi Bicci Chaplain, and the funeral happening the above-mentioned day at 5 in the evening he was buried in the grave in the middle of this Church of Vinci”.

²³⁸ The age is given based on the Stati delle anime: 1718: 5 years; 1750: 36 years; 1787: 72 years; 1788: 73 years; 1791: 77 years (he would have been born in 1714); 1799: 91 years (hence he would have been born ca. 1718). In the death document he is declared to be “of about 90 years”. The 1728 Stato delle anime is not reliable because according to it Pier Matteo would have only been eight. He was furthermore confirmed in 1721, therefore he could not have been born in 1718.

²³⁹ AVPt, Orbignano, Matrimoni e Morti dal 1700 al 1748, II-A, 116 r, a-5, ff. nn.

²⁴⁰ APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1., n. 340. She was also buried in the family sepulchre in the church of Vinci.

²⁴¹ AVPt, Orbignano, Battesimi, II-A, 153 r, 5, n. 220. Born nine months after the marriage; received confirmation in 1751.

²⁴² Birth and death documents in: AVPt, Orbignano, Battesimi, II-A, 153-r, 5, n. 157; APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1., n. 338 (see n. 5 in *Table*, p. 64) Uzielli (1872) lists him as Giovan

Maria Elisabetta (b. 03-02-1745 – d. 08-02-1815);²⁴³

Lorenzo (b. 28-06-1746 – d. 17-08-1747);²⁴⁴

Maria Teresa (b. and bapt. 09-12-1747);²⁴⁵

Valentino (b. 1750 – d. 1817) (see XIII generation);

Maria Assunta (b. 29-11-1752²⁴⁶ – d. 15-3-1807);

Domenico Maria (b. 19-06-1754²⁴⁷ – d. 01-02-1817);

Maria Maddalena (b. and bapt. 12-12-1757).²⁴⁸

Dwellings: Orbignano: Costareccia; Vinci: “in the house known as the Ospedale belonging to signor Antonio Bracci at the bottom of the castle of Vinci his dwelling”, Beneventi, Doccia.²⁴⁹

Death: Vinci, 19-10-1799 (“of about 90 years”).²⁵⁰

Burial: Vinci, “at the Compagnia”.

Paolo (from Lincei’s tree), “d. 1765”.

²⁴³ AVPt, Orbignano, Battesimi, II-A, 153 r, 5, n. 219; confirmed in 1756 with her sister Teresa. After death she was buried in the “tomb of the Compagnia” (APV, Morti dal 15-8-1811 al 1874, II.5.2, n. 66.)

²⁴⁴ *Ivi*, n. 281. AVPt, Orbignano, Matrimoni e Morti from 1700 to 1748, II-A, 116 r, a-5, n. 111: “Lorenzo di Pier Matteo Vinci of one year and two months, in the house known as the Ospedale belonging to Signor Antonio Bracci at the bottom of the castle of Vinci which was his dwelling, gave up his Soul to God in Communion with the Holy Church and the funeral being officiated by me father Biagio Antonio Comparini Prior he was laid to rest in the children’s tomb in this church of Vinci”. In the XVIII century, young Lorenzo appears to be the first of the family who was buried in Vinci (see n. 1 in *Table* p. 64) This implies that Pier Matteo’s family had already moved there.

²⁴⁵ AVPt, Orbignano, Battesimi, II-A, 153 r, 5, n. 338. Baptism witness: Anna Caterina di Domenico Vinci; confirmed in 1756 with her sister Elisabetta. She will marry Giuseppe Santini: their daughter Maria Teresa was born in Vinci on 17-12-1785 (d. 17-03-1807; see n. 25 in *Table*, p. 65).

²⁴⁶ *Ivi*, n. 162.

²⁴⁷ *Ivi*, n. 219. Confirmed in 1769 with his sister Maria Maddalena. Dies in Vinci and is buried “in the family tomb” (APV, Libro dei morti dal 15-8-1811 al 1874, II.5.2, n. 118; see n. 17 in *Table*, p. 65)

²⁴⁸ AVPt, Orbignano, Battesimi, II-A, 153 r, 5, n. 366; confirmed in 1769 with his brother Domenico.

²⁴⁹ APV, II.9.3, Libro dello Stato dell’Anime di S. Croce a Vinci (1787-1810); APV, II.9.4, Libro dello Stato dell’Anime di S. Croce a Vinci (1811-1826).

²⁵⁰ APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1, in “the house of the illustrious Sig. Giulio Dainelli da Bagnano” (see n. 10 in *Table*, p. 64).

14)

XIII. Valentino (also known as Valente) di Pier Matteo (b. 1750 – d. 1817)

Thirteenth generation.

*Son of Pier Matteo di Domenico Vinci and Maria Dorotea di Giovanni Paolo Menichetti.**Baptism: Vinci, 02-03-1750.*²⁵¹*Documented: confirmation 20-5-1756, Pieve di Sant'Ansano; Compagnia della Buona Morte of the parish of Santa Croce in Vinci (1815, 1816).*²⁵²*Marriage: Vinci, 22-02-1778. Wife: Maria Domenica di Baronto Vignozzi.*²⁵³*Documented children seven:*Maria Dorotea (d. 23-03-1777),²⁵⁴**Paolo Maria** (b. 1778 – d. 1840) (see XIV generation);Maria Dorotea (b. 15-12-1780),²⁵⁵Antonio Giuseppe (b. 21-04-1782 – d. 12-02-1804)²⁵⁶;Maria Anna (b. 23-09-1783 – d. 28-01-1858)²⁵⁷;Maria Annunziata (b. 23-01-1786 – d. 10-12-1786),²⁵⁸

²⁵¹ APV, Nati dal 1748 al 1811, A II.1.1, n. 72. At n. 73 the birth of his future wife is registered.

²⁵² In the *Libro della Compagnia della buona morte* (APV), “Da Vinci Valentino” and “Da Vinci Domenico” are enrolled and paying in 1815 and 1816. “Da Vinci Maria Domenica” and also “Da Vinci Paolo di Valentino” (though residing in Montespertoli) remain regularly enrolled and paying until 1820; Dorotea Vinci until 1831. See also Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), p. 43, fig. 13.

²⁵³ APV, Matrimoni, II.3.1., n. 124. Domenica was born on 24-03-1750 and died on 13-08-1845 “aged 95 years and 6 months”. She was a “farm laborer” (Archivio Parrocchiale di Bottinaccio – henceforth APB –, *Libro dei Morti del Popolo di S. Andrea a Bottinaccio...*, 1812-1842). Paolo (08-11-1778) was born nine months after the marriage.

²⁵⁴ APV, Morti dal 1748 al 1811, II.5.1., n. 369: “was buried in the Vincis’ family tomb” (see n. 7 in *Table*, p. 64)

²⁵⁵ Textile worker; married with Antonio Pasquinucci (02-06-1809), tenant farmer, farm laborer; children: Maria Prassede Cherubina (b. 04-05-1819), Maria Anna Settima (b. 11-08-1821); Giuseppe Bonaventura (b. 15-06-1821) (AVPt, Registro delle nascite, II-F, 141-1 (1818-1829), nn. 51, 171, 320). They lived in the Popolo di Santa Lucia in Paterno.

²⁵⁶ In the birth document he is called Antonio Giuseppe; in the death registration only Antonio. Uzielli confuses this Antonio, son of Valentino, with ser Anton Giuseppe Da Vinci (who dies on 21-05-1803, in the Martelli house in the Castle and having been for some time mentally impaired he only received the last rites; “was buried in the Vincis tomb”.) See n. 11 and n. 12 in *Table*, p. 64.

²⁵⁷ AVPt, Stati nuovi, Vinci, 141 b/9, Morti, 1851-1860, n. 189. Married to Luigi di Angiolo Cavallini (04-02-1815).

²⁵⁸ Baptism witness: Maria Teresa di Pier Matteo Vinci.

Maria Annunziata (n. 02-05-1792, batt. 03-05-1792).²⁵⁹

Dwellings: Vinci: Beneventi, Doccia, Santa Barbara.²⁶⁰

Death: Vinci, 22-05-1817.²⁶¹

Burial: Vinci, Santa Croce.²⁶²

15)

XIV. Paolo Maria di Valentino (b. 1778 – d. 1840)

Fourteenth generation.

Son of Valentino di Pier Matteo Vinci and Maria Domenica di Baronto Vignozzi.

Birth and baptism: Vinci, 07 and 08-11-1778.²⁶³

Marriage: Bottinaccio²⁶⁴, 25-01-1813. *Wife*: Maria Cherubina di Giuseppe Niccolai and Rosa Bellucci (b. 19-11-1856).²⁶⁵

Documented children eleven:

Antonio Gaspero Maria (b. 23-10-1813);²⁶⁶

²⁵⁹ Textile worker, tenant farmer; married (21-09-1814) to Giuseppe di Angiolo Cavallini (farmer, tenant farmer); children: Maria Teresa (b. 15-10-1810 – d. 23-10-1818); Stefano (d. 10-06-1822); Ester (d. 12-06-1822 “of 3 years”); Stefano Pietro Leopoldo (b. 25-12-1822); Maria Ester (b. 24-10-1824 – d. 28-02-1825); Maria Teresa (b. 22-10-1818); Maria Teresa Laura (b. 12-03-1826). AVPt, II-F, 141-1, Registro delle nascite (1818-1829), nn. 27, 193, 342, 419; APV, Morti dal 1811 al 1874, nn. 217, 218, 775. They live (and die) in a “rented house belonging to Santa Barbara in the castle of Vinci”. Another daughter Carolina Cavallini (married name Romanelli) with her sister Teresa Laura (married name Santini) will be interviewed by Uzielli in 1872.

²⁶⁰ APV, Stato dell’Anime della chiesa prioria di S. Croce di Vinci fiorentino, a. 1787-1810: “House belonging to Santa Barbara located in this castle of Vinci”. While Paolo di Valentino had moved and worked in Botinaccio, four households of the Vinci clan lived in the Santa Barbara house in Vinci: Valentino’s (with his wife and his brother Domenico) and those of his three daughters (Anna, Annunziata and Giovacchino Mandriani, son of Orsola). In the early-nineteenth century the family’s direct male lineage thus died out in Vinci.

²⁶¹ APV, II.5.2, Libro dei morti dal 15-8-1811 al 1874, n. 72.

²⁶² See n. 16 in *Table*, p. 65.

²⁶³ APV, II.1.1., Nati dal 1748 al 1811, n. 1142. Uzielli, in the manuscript table of the dead, specifies the date (but 7-12-1778) in rapport to the manuscript genealogical tree where he wrote “b. 1775?”; corrected in the printed version to “1778”. See n. 18 in *Table*, p. 65.

²⁶⁴ Commune of Montespertoli. For the place and the toponym see p. 76 and n. 324.

²⁶⁵ Farm laborer, tenant farmer. http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+napoleonico/Montespertoli/Matrimoni+pubblicazioni/1813/1216/005179934_00235.jpg.html [5 April 2017].

²⁶⁶ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+napoleonico/Montespertoli/Nati/1813/268/005192006_00519.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0, n. 133 [7 April 2017].

Giuseppe (b. 1814? – d. 25-05-1815 “of about twenty months”²⁶⁷);
 Tommaso (b. 06-05-1815? – d. 10-06-1815 “of five months and four days”²⁶⁸);
 Antonio (b. 18-05-1817);²⁶⁹
 Valentino Casimiro (b. 03-03-1819²⁷⁰ – d. 13-03-1819²⁷¹);
Tommaso Gaspero Maria (b. 1820 – d. 1887) (see XV generation);
 Pietro (b. 20-09-1823 “of 10 years”);²⁷²
 Pietro Maria (b. 26-10-1823²⁷³ – d. 13-07-1824²⁷⁴);
 Settimio (Settimo) Bonifazio Maria (b. 14-05-1825 – d. ca. 1853);²⁷⁵
 Maria Serafina (b. 13-07-1829 “of few months”²⁷⁶);
 Leonardo (b. 14-12-1830 “of few days”²⁷⁷).

Professional status: tenant farmer, farm worker; caretaker and furthermore tenant of the Convent.

Dwellings: Vinci: Beneventi, Doccia; Montelupo Fiorentino; Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent). In 1802 he does not feature with his family in Vinci, however he paid the membership fee for the *Compagnia della Buona Morte* of Vinci until 1820. In 1813, Paolo, a resident of Montelupo, was awarded the lease for the management of the Convent with 17 cells (or rooms), the Sanctuary and the vegetable garden.²⁷⁸ In the same year, he gets married and lives in Bottinaccio. Also in

²⁶⁷ APB, Libro dei Morti del Popolo di S. Andrea a Bottinaccio..., 1812-1842.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1817/38/005179971_00236.jpg.html, n. 19 [5 April 2017]. Uzielli (1872) and Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900) get the dates wrong: b. 1782 – d. 1804.

²⁷⁰ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1819/148/007540400_00434.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0 [3 April 2017].

²⁷¹ APB, Registro dei morti. Dal 1818 al 1829, n. 4.

²⁷² *Ivi*, n. 21.

²⁷³ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1823/66/005176469_00458.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0, n. 154 [6 April 2017].

²⁷⁴ APB, Registro dei morti. Dal 1818 al 1829, n. 25 and APB, Libro dei Morti del Popolo di S. Andrea a Bottinaccio..., 1812-1842, 13 luglio 1824.

²⁷⁵ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1825/90/005176449_00193.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0 [3 April 2017]. In the Stati delle anime of the parish of Bottinaccio he is registered with the name Settimo and with a birth date of 4 May 1825; in that of 1853 a cross appears next to his name.

²⁷⁶ APB, Registro dei morti. Dal 1818 al 1829, n. 48.

²⁷⁷ *Ivi*, n. 59.

²⁷⁸ Archivio Frescobaldi: Anno 1813, *Process - report of delivery of the convent, church and*

1815 he was asked by the chancellor of San Casciano to “renounce his rights over the entire complex;” Paolo agreed, allowing “the church of Santa Maria della Pace to be reopened for worship.” He was then a sacristan.²⁷⁹

From 1815 he appears as “lease holder from the convent of Butinaccio” (for the family contribution of that year, 1815, he pays no taxes; from 1817 he pays 2.10 lire).

Death: Bottinaccio, 21-04-1840, “at 11 and ½ in the evening” “aged 65”.²⁸⁰

Burial: Bottinaccio.²⁸¹

16)

XV. Tommaso Gaspero Maria di Paolo (b. 1820 – d. 1887)

Fifteenth generation.

Son of Paolo Maria di Valentino Vinci and Maria Cherubina Niccolai.

Birth and baptism: Bottinaccio, 26 August 1820.²⁸²

First marriage: 20-11-1842. *Wife:* Maria Teresa di Agostino Boldrini and Assunta Martini (b. 1815 – d. 08-03-1857²⁸³).

Documented children eight:

Leonardo Lorenzo Maria (b. 1843 – d. 1918) (see generation XVI.A.);

Paolo Maria (b. 31-03-1845 – d. 21-05-1845 “of two months”);²⁸⁴

Raffaello Maria (b. 1846 – d. 1925) (see generation XVI.B.);

A stillborn girl (02-09-1848);

Emilio Paolo (b. 1849 – d. 1938) (see generation XVI.C.);

Maria Clementina (b. 29-06-1851 – d. 1865?);

garden to Paolo Vinci tenant. The document was kindly reported to us by Domenica Gentile (2006), doc. XVII, pp. XXXIV-XXXV, who identified and transcribed it for her thesis.

²⁷⁹ *Ead.*, pp. 132-133.

²⁸⁰ http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Morti/1840/1298/005186499_00457.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0 [5 April 2017].

²⁸¹ APB, Libro dei morti del Popolo Sant’Andrea a Bottinaccio (1812-1842).

²⁸² Tommaso was born at 12 am and was baptized in the ancient church of Santa Maria a Coeli Aula in Bottinaccio the following day.

http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1820/148/007540405_00180.jpg.html?g2_imageViewsIndex=0 [5 marzo 2016].

²⁸³ Boldrini died “aged 36”, possibly after giving birth to a son who died six hours later and was not baptized.

²⁸⁴ His uncle Settimio Vinci was godfather for the baptism. http://dl.antenati.san.beniculturali.it/v/Archivio+di+Stato+di+Firenze/Stato+civile+della+restaurazione+1816-1860/Montespertoli/Nati/1845/936/005178884_00206.jpg.html [6 March 2016]

Luigi (b. 06-12-1854);²⁸⁵

A dead child (06-03-1857).

Second marriage: 30-07-1859. *Wife:* Maria Fiorini.

Documented children three:

Enrico (b. 03-05-1860 – d. 8-05-1860 “of 9 days”);

Gherardo (b. 09-12-1861²⁸⁶ – d. 13-02-1879);

Angiolo (b. 1869 – d. 1917) (see generation XVI.D.).

Further information: In 1865 he pays 10 florins for the feast of 25 May in the church of Bottinaccio; the marquis Frescobaldi pays 20; most of the parishioners only 1.

Tommaso played a crucial role in the events concerning the Da Vinci's original documents, also in connection with the Frescobaldis and Gustavo Uzielli.²⁸⁷

Professional status: carter.

Dwellings: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent).²⁸⁸

Death: Bottinaccio, 09-12-1887.²⁸⁹

Historiography: Uzielli (1872) mentions him without dates; Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): “b. 1820 – d. 188...”. Others erroneously: “Tommaso still lived in Bottinaccio in 1910”.²⁹⁰

On Tommaso's children: Uzielli: “Leonardo, Raffaello, Emilio, Luigi, Gherardo, Angelo”; Smiraglia Scognamiglio: “Leonardo, Luigi and Gherardo in Montelupo Fiorentino; Angelo, Emilio, Raffaello in Montespertoli”.

²⁸⁵ Another branch which is currently being investigated.

²⁸⁶ Uzielli (1872) states 1862 as the year of birth. In Bottinaccio's 1861 *Stati delle anime*, with reference to Tommaso's family we find a note added on a glued sheet: “Maso [Tommaso] had a son on 9 December or September – called Gherardo / Rosi housemaid had a son”.

²⁸⁷ Uzielli mentions Tommaso Vinci from Bottinaccio in connection with the documents preserved by the family: “the Frescobaldi who was his master had promised to get him a position in exchange for them, if he found them important”. The scholar visited Bottinaccio in 1869 and bought what he found: “the archive once owned by Anton Giuseppe Da Vinci, which was seen by Dei and the count Peruzzi, but deprived of the documents copied by them”. From the Conference Vezzosi-Sabato, Vinci, April 2016. BNCf, Uzielli, Striscia 82; see also Uzielli (1872), p. 41 and Uzielli-Signorini (1999), p. 32.

²⁸⁸ Convento of the Padri dell'Osservanza di San Francesco, then, after Napoleon, Suppressed Convent “property of the signore Frescobaldi”. According to the oral testimony of some descendants from different branches, the convent had been offered to the Vincis who however refused it, but with the clause that the family could reside there for life. The last descendant to live in the convent was Leonardo di Giovanni Vinci (1920-1995).

²⁸⁹ APB, Libro dei morti della Parrocchia di Sant'Andrea a Bottinaccio cominciato nell'anno 1812. Because of a mistake in the 1886 *Stati delle anime* his sons Emilio, Luigi, Leonardo and Raffaello are registered as being sons of “the late Tommaso”.

²⁹⁰ Nanni-Testaferrata (2004), p. 110, n. 2; Bruschi (2008), p. 116.

17)

XVI.A. Leonardo Lorenzo Maria di Tommaso (b. 1843 – d. 1918)

Sixteenth generation.

Son of Tommaso Gaspero Maria Vinci and Maria Teresa Boldrini.*Birth:* 03-09-1843²⁹¹; *baptism* 04-09-1843 (godfather his uncle Settimio Vinci).*Marriage:* ante 1869. *Wife:* Serafina di Giovannino Francioni and di Caterina Pagnani (d. 18-12-1902).*Documented children* six:Teresa [Clementina ?] (b. 09-04-1869 – d. 18-04-1910);²⁹²**Armando** (b. 1875 – d. 1945) (see generation XVII.A.);

Paolo (b. 1872);

Fiorindo (b. 1876);²⁹³Assunta (b. ca. 1880 – d. 26-11-1887) and a twin.²⁹⁴*Professional status:* carter; wine seller.*Further information:* on 3 September 1911, a few days after the theft of the *Mona Lisa*, the daily “La Nazione” published in the “Cronaca di Firenze” section, on p. 4, an interview with Leonardo di Tommaso titled “Parlando con Leonardo da Vinci...” (“A chat with Leonardo da Vinci...”).²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ In the Archivio storico of the Commune of Montespertoli the indicated date is 3 September 1843, at 21, and that of the baptism is the following day; at the registry office of Montelupo the birth is indicated as 04-09-1843.

²⁹² APB, Stati delle anime from 1868, where in a note added on the back side with another pencil we read: “Teresa b. on 9 April 69”. She is recorded in the Stati delle anime in Bottinaccio until 1889 (19 years); then the family moves to Montelupo (Ambrogiana); she no longer appears in the 1901 census. The single name Clementina appears in an entry of the registry office of Montelupo Fiorentino, with her parents’ names, the date of birth (09-04-1869), the date of marriage (07-07-1895), and the date of death.

²⁹³ The 1901 census records the birth date “(October) 1876”. In the Stati delle anime from Bottinaccio he is recorded as being four in 1885.

²⁹⁴ APB, Stato delle anime, 1881.

²⁹⁵ Article located thanks to Matteo Bellucci, grandchild of Tina di Giovacchino Vinci. The journalist has not given the proper weight to the value of this meeting, and in particular to the mention of the family book (“libro di famiglia”).

“A chat with Leonardo da Vinci...”

Today Leonardo da Vinci paid a visit to our newspaper... He is about seventy years old, with a puffy and ruddy face, and very white moustaches and goatee. He lives at the Ambrogiana (outside though, make no mistake) and works as a carter. He is a direct descendant of the painter of Monna Lisa del Giocondo. And he is proud about it. He is so proud about it that it seemed impossible to him that in these days when so much has been and is being said about Leonardo and his purloined masterpiece nobody contacted him (not only a namesake but also... a relative of the Vinci painter) to know something ...about what? Oh! My God, not even he knew precisely what; yet something could have been asked. [...] And he, Leonardo da Vinci, now that the smiling Lisa had disappeared from the Louvre, had not been sought by anybody... Possible?

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent); Montelupo Fiorentino: Ambrogiana (from 1891²⁹⁶).

Death: Montelupo Fiorentino, 29-10-1918.

Burial: Montelupo Fiorentino.

Historiography: Uzielli (1872): Leonardo “b. 1845”, next generation: Paolo “1871”; Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900) adds that Leonardo “lives in Montelupo Fiorentino” like his son Paolo.

In Montelupo people talked at length of this unexplainable event and every time that a new face appeared in the village and walked in the direction of Leonardo's house certain people eyed it from the windows and from the shops. – Might he be a journalist? - No the journalist did not come. In the Vinci's house (the “da” has now disappeared; but Leonardo, who considers the suppression a mangling of his countrymen, has urgently put it back for the occasion), therefore, the discussions were even more animated. – You must go to Florence... – they said to Leonardo. – Who knows – added another one- that it might not be advantageous for them too ... - But what could I say about the theft of the Gioconda? – “Eh! Who knows ... That affair of the book could, for instance ... And, on the basis of the question of the book, today Leonardo da Vinci paid us a visit. The introduction has provoked in us, we confess it, a certain emotion ... Talking with Leonardo da Vinci was something we did not expect. The good man first explained to us how and why he had deliberated (or rather he had been convinced) to come to Florence; how and why on which we have already reported. He came reluctantly: but his reluctance was won over by the fear of depriving his family, by not coming, of a little reputation (which for them is a synonym of glory). Even more so because of the affair of the book. And he told us about it “In my home, the old fatherly home in Bottinaccio, there was, since times immemorial, an old book, shaped like a missal, bound in vellum. This was the family book. On the first page there was the genealogical tree in which Leonardo also featured, the one that painted the picture stolen in America ... – No, sorry in France... – Actually, it is the same. ... – As you like it! – ... This book had thus been in my home for centuries and centuries... And imagine that I played with it when I was a kid ... One day, about thirty years ago, two gentlemen asked my father to have the book saying that with it they wanted to rewrite the history of Leonardo da Vinci. And my father (as they gave him 200 lire as a deposit) gave the book over with the agreement that they would give it back to him when he so wished. – Well? – This followed. My father had a fall ... – What did he do? – He fell from the cart ... – Ah! Well! – ... And since he damaged his memory ... – He forgot about the book?... – No, he actually remembered it too much. He went back to the gentlemen in whose care it was and instead of getting it back he got 50 more lire and evened out ... – And then? – Afterwards we heard no more of that book ... Leonardo da Vinci at this point has paused looking for what we were expecting: the conclusion. Which was this: - Now I wonder if the disappearance of the book might have some relation with the theft of the Monna Lisa... We stared at our caller. Poor soul! To say no would have certainly caused him a great pain. He hung from our lips. Eh! Sir – we have then told him – all could be in this crazy world!... [...] (R. M.)”

²⁹⁶ Archivio Parrocchiale dell'Ambrogiana – henceforth APA –, Stato d'anime, 1891: the family nucleus of Leonardo son of the late Tommaso is registered with his wife and four children, including Armando.

18)

XVII.A. Armando di Leonardo (b. 1875 – d. 1945)

Seventeenth generation (branch A).

Son of Leonardo Lorenzo Maria di Tommaso and of Serafina Francioni.*Birth:* Bottinaccio, 01-10-1875.*Marriage:* Montelupo Fiorentino, 28-08-1902. *Wife:* Carolina (Carlina) di Cesare Nardini and Adele Romagnoli (d. 16-12-1914).*Documented children* four:

Nella (b. 03-06-1903 – d. 08-04-1974);

Ada Anna (b. 03-01-1906);

Leonardo (b. 1909 – d. 1958) (see XVIII generation, branch A);

Ada (b. 29-01-1914 – d. 1980);

Professional status: carter, glass-maker.*Places:* Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent); Montelupo Fiorentino: Ambrogiana, Erta (from 1891; census 1936).*Death:* 09-01-1945.

19)

XVIII.A. Leonardo (known as Nello) di Armando (b. 1909 – d. 1958)

Eighteenth generation (branch A).

Son of Armando di Leonardo Vinci and Carlina Nardini.*Birth:* Montelupo Fiorentino, 02-05-1909.*Marriage:* Montelupo Fiorentino, 30-10-1934. *Wife:* Tosca Mancioi (b. 06-08-1911– d. 11-12-2006).*Documented children* three:**Paolo** (b. 1935 – **living**) (see generation XIX.A.);

Carla Paola (b. 09-08-1940 – living);

Gabbriella (b. 05-04-1942 – living).

Professional status: mechanic, petrol pump owner, entrepreneur (manufacture of clothes).*Places:* Montelupo Fiorentino: Ambrogiana; Empoli; Milano; Forte dei Marmi.*Death:* 22-04-1958.

20)

XIX.A. Paolo (known as Dalmazio) di Leonardo (b. 1935 – living)

Nineteenth generation (branch A).

Son of Leonardo di Armando Vinci and Tosca Mancioi.*Birth:* Montelupo Fiorentino, 30-12-1935.*Marriage:* 14-04-1963. *Wife:* Adriana Mori (Minucciano, 19-03-1938 – living).*Children* three:

Paola Tosca Clotilde (b. 05-08-1964);

Laila Claudia Giovanna (b. 12-05-1969);

Roberta Angela Sonia (29-04-1971).

Professional status: Porcelain retailer at national level; co-founder of an aeroclub; pilot of planes and boats; author of several inventions, he has filed a number of patents.

21)

XVI.B. Raffaello Maria di Tommaso (b. 1846 – d. 1925)

Sixteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Tommaso Gaspero Maria Vinci and Maria Teresa Boldrini.

Birth and baptism: Bottinaccio, 21-06-1846.²⁹⁷

Wife: Assunta di Giuseppe Borri and di Rosa Gradi (d. before 1886, the year in which Raffaello is listed as widowed in the Stati delle anime).

Documented children one:

Dionisio (b. 1872 – d. 1951) (see generation XVII.B.).

Professional status: sharecropper, farm tenant.

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent, Crocicchio).

Death: 22-05-1925.²⁹⁸

Historiography: Uzielli (1872): “Raffaello b. 1847”;²⁹⁹ Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): “Raffaello b. 1847 married to Verdiniana Torcani – without children”.²⁹⁹

22)

XVII.B. Dionisio di Raffaello (b. 1872 – d. 1951)

Seventeenth generation (branch B).

Son of Raffaello Maria Vinci and Assunta Borri.

Birth: Bottinaccio, 26-11-1872.³⁰⁰

Marriage: 05-05-1894. *Wife*: Verdiana Forconi (b. 1872, dies of the Spanish flu on 29-10-1918).

Documented children ten:

Maria (b. 06-02-1895 – d. 27-02-1895, “aged only 22 days”);

Giovacchino Nicomede Mariano (b. 23-01-1896³⁰¹ – d. 13-06-1970);³⁰²

²⁹⁷ Witness at baptism the uncle Settimio Vinci.

²⁹⁸ Inscription on the ancient tomb: “Vinci Raffaello died on 22 May 1925 aged 79”.

²⁹⁹ Verdiana Forconi (not Verdiniana Torcani) will be Dionisio’s wife. When Smiraglia Scognamiglio publishes his tree, Raffaello’s son, Dionisio, was not only born, but he already had three children.

³⁰⁰ Registry of Montelupo Fiorentino and of Lastra a Signa.

³⁰¹ From oral testimony: 15 September.

³⁰² *Married to* Cesira Natali on 29-04-1922. *Daughters*: Tina, Maria, Pierina, Pierina Marcella. *Places*: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio; Montelupo Fiorentino: Sammontana; Signa. He takes part to the battle of Caporetto, where he is taken prisoner and brought to a prisoners’ camp in Austria. He was awarded a commemorative medal because he saved the life of a superior. *Pro-*

Tito (b. 1898 – d. 1975) (see generation XVIII.B.1.);
 Annunziata Assunta Teresa (known as Nunzia) (b. 15-06-1901);
 Armida (b. 23-03-1903 – d. 23-09-1989);
 Maria Teresa Giuseppa (b. 04-04-1905 – d. 05-06-1905);
 Antonio Giuseppe Francesco (b. 08-07-1907 – d. 02-03-1909);
 Antonio Paolo Giuseppe (b. 28-04-1909 – d. 04-12-1989);
Giuseppe (b. 1911 – d. 2005) (see generation XVIII.B.2.);
 Maria Luisa Gaspera (b. 8-09-1916 – d. 31-10-1923).

Professional status: homesteader.

Further information: Dionisio, who for a time was sacristan at the church of the Ambrogiana, kept a book of remembrances where he registered his children's birth.³⁰³

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent); Montelupo Fiorentino: Sammontana (Podere Pratella); Signa (San Miniato); Carmignano: Santa Cristina a Mezzana (with the children Annunziata, Antonio and Giuseppe);³⁰⁴ Lastra a Signa; Scandicci: Castelpulci (Villa Bianca).

Death: 28-5-1951.³⁰⁵

23)

XVIII.B.1. Tito Ermenegildo Mariano di Dionisio (b. 1898 – d. 1975)³⁰⁶

Eighteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Dionisio di Raffaello Vinci and Verdiana Forconi.

Birth: Bottinaccio, 13-04-1898. Baptized in Santa Maria a Coeli Aula.

Marriage: 13-02-1926 *Wife:* Maria di Lorenzo Nigi (Bottinaccio, 01-07-1898 – d. 1981).

Documented children four:

Otello (b. 1927 – d. 2008) (see generation XIX.B.1.);

Adriana (b. 21-04-1929 – d. 11-04-2019);

Lorena (b. 17-03-1931 - living);

Lina (b. 25-02-1934 – d. 2008).

Professional status: homesteader, worker.

Further information: First world war, 225° infantry; in 1917 he is prisoner of war in Budapest with n° 65787; the family writes to the Pope to receive news and Dionisio

Professional status: homesteader.

³⁰³ Testimony and documents thanks to Giovanni Vinci XX.B.1.1.

³⁰⁴ After Signa, Dionisio's family splits. The reason for the emigration from the homestead in Signa, which was beautiful and flourishing, was the owner sold everything and the new owner kicked out the homesteaders (Dionisio's family), who had to leave in the shortest possible time.

³⁰⁵ Erroneously, in the Stati delle anime *ante* 1940 Tito is registered as "son of the late Dionisio".

³⁰⁶ Giovanni Vinci (see profile n. 25) has been fundamental for information and documents on Tito's branch; he has been passionate about his family's history and a fine researcher, assisted by his sister Marzia.

receives the answer on 22-10-1917 from the Segreteria di Stato di Sua Santità; on 12-07-1920 he has not yet come home and he is in Milan.

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent, Crocicchio); Montelupo Fiorentino: Sammontana (Podere Pratella, where Otello is born); Signa (San Miniato); Montelupo Fiorentino: Pulica, San Quirico (Borgo l'Inferno); Vinci (between 10 October and 15 November 1966, a period which includes the date 04-11-1966³⁰⁷); Montelupo Fiorentino.
Death: 23-04-1975.

24)

XIX.B.1. Otello di Tito (b. 1927 – d. 2008)

Nineteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Tito di Dioniso Vinci and Maria Nigi.

Birth: Montelupo Fiorentino, 18-03-1927.

Marriage: 10-11-1951. *Wife:* Matosca Cubattoli (b. 26-04-1928 – d. 04-03-2011).

Documented children two:

Marzia (b. 28-02-1953 – living);

Giovanni (b. 1958 – living) (see generation XX.B.1.).

Professional status: glas-maker.

Places: Montelupo Fiorentino: Sammontana, Pulica, San Quirico (Borgo l'Inferno); Signa (San Miniato).

Death: 12-01-2008.

25)

XX.B.1. Giovanni (known as Gianni) di Otello (b. 1958 - living)

Twentieth generation (branch B).

Son of Otello di Tito Vinci and Matosca Cubattoli.

Birth: Montelupo Fiorentino, San Quirico (Borgo l'Inferno), 01-05-1958.

Marriage: Lucardo-Montespertoli, 06-06-1985. *Wife:* Patrizia di Dario Gianni (Castelfiorentino, 14-01-1960).

Children: Caterina (n. 20-01-1989).

Professional status: retired (surveyor for the Commune of Montelupo Fiorentino).

26)

XVIII.B.2. Giuseppe di Dionisio (b. 1911 – d. 2005)

Eighteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Dionisio di Raffaello Maria Vinci and Verdiana Forconi.

Birth: Bottinaccio, 07-10-1911.

Marriage: Lastra a Signa, 1940. *Wife:* Ida di Giulio Politi (Malmantile, b. 07-08-1913 – d. 15-08-2008).

³⁰⁷ The day in which the tragic flood hit not only Florence, but the whole basin of the Arno including Montelupo and Spicchio and Sovigliaia di Vinci.

Children two:

Bruno (b. 1943 – **living**) (see generation XIX.B.2.1.);

Mauro (b. 1946 – **living**) (see generation XIX.B.2.2.).

Professional status: homesteader.

Further information: Participates in World War II.

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent); Montelupo Fiorentino: Sammontana (Podere Pratella); Signa (San Miniato); Carmignano (with his father and his siblings Annunziata and Antonio); Lastra a Signa; Scandicci: Castelpulci (Villa Bianca); Lastra a Signa.

Death: 05-12-2005.

27)

XIX.B.2.1. Bruno di Giuseppe (b. 1943 – living)

Nineteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Giuseppe di Dionisio Vinci and Ida Politi.

Birth: Scandicci, 22-10-1943. *Baptism:* Church of Pieve a Settimo.

Marriage: Lastra a Signa, 06-09-1971. *Wife:* Margherita Natali (Lastra a Signa, 25-03-1947).

Children two:

Alessandro (b. 1975 – **living**) (generation XX.B.2.1.1.);

Paolo (b. 1981 – **living**) (generation XX.B.2.1.2.).

Professional status: retired (office worker). Naval gunner during the period from 05-09-1963 to 31-08-1965, he remembers the training cruise in the USA (from 28-05-1964 to 12-09-1964) in Virginia, Florida and Puerto Rico, on board the destroyer,³⁰⁸ in order to test the launch of missiles.

Further information: passion for history and for the history of his family.³⁰⁹

28)

XIX.B.2.2. Mauro di Giuseppe (b. 1946 - living)

Nineteenth generation (branch B).

Son of Giuseppe di Dionisio Vinci and Ida Politi.

Born on 13-05-1946.

Marriage: 13-07-1972. *Wife:* Giuseppina Venturini.

Children two:

Cinzia (b. 1974);

Linda (b. 1982).

Professional status: retired (artisan, upholsterer).

³⁰⁸ Ships belonging to the class of the *Impavido* in the Navy, which followed the class of the *Indomito*, were the first missile units to be designed and built in Italy. They were cutting-edge in the field of detectors and weaponry and were in service between 1963 and 1964.

³⁰⁹ For information and documentation of the families originating from Raffaello (XVI.B), and for other information, his extraordinary memory has been fundamental.

29)

XX.B.2.1.1. Alessandro di Bruno (b. 1975 - living)

Twentieth generation (branch B).

Son of Bruno di Giuseppe Vinci and Margherita Natali.*Birth:* 05-02-1975.*Children* two male twins (b. 2012) (**XXI generation**)*Professional status:* office worker.

30)

XX.B.2.1.2. Paolo di Bruno (b. 1981 - living)

Twentieth generation (branch B).

Son of Bruno di Giuseppe Vinci and Margherita Natali.*Birth:* 16-02-1981.*Children* two:XY (b. 2018) (**XXI generation**);XY (b. 2020) (**XXI generation**)*Professional status:* office worker.

31)

XVI.C. Emilio Paolo di Tommaso (b. 1849 – d. 1938)

Sixteenth generation (branch C).

Son of Tommaso Gaspero Maria Vinci and Maria Teresa Boldrini.*Birth and baptism:* Bottinaccio, 02-10-1849. Baptism on 3 October; godfather: “Signore Frescobaldi di Gherardo”.*Marriage:* ante 1880. *Wife:* Rosa di Gaetano Tinagli and Alessandra Bartolini (b. 1915).*Documented children* four:

Zelindo (b. 1880 – d. 19-11-1898);

Giovanni (b. 1883 – d. 1965) (see generation XVII.C.1.);

Giuseppe (b. – d. 1887);

Maria Agata (b. 1889).

Professional status: carter.*Places:* Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent).*Death:* 27-12-1938.

32)

XVII.C. Giovanni di Emilio (b. 1883 – d. 1965)

Seventeenth generation (branch C).

Son of Emilio di Tommaso Gaspero Maria Vinci and Rosa Tinagli.*Birth:* Bottinaccio, 28-06-1883. *Baptism:* Santa Maria a Coeli Aula.*Marriage:* Parrocchia di San Donato (Livizzano), 1909.³¹⁰ *Wife:* Maria Anna Nerucci³¹⁰ APB, Stati delle anime 1937-1941, schede.

(di Oreste and Palmira Barbetti) (b. 20-07-1884).

Documented children five:

Ilio (b. 1910 – d. 1987) (see generation XVIII.C.);

Rosa (b. 13-02-1912 – d. 11-11-2003);

Ada (b. 22-05-1914 – d. 22-05-2014);

Leonardo (b. 30-09-1920 – d. 29-11-1995);³¹¹

Carmela (b. 22-02-1925 – d. 18-03-2016).³¹²

Professional status: cutter in the leather industry (“industrialist” in the Stati delle anime).

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio.

Death: 27-12-1965.

33)

XVIII.C. Ilio di Giovanni (b. 1910 – d. 1987)

Nineteenth generation (branch C).

Son of Giovanni di Emilio Vinci and Maria Anna Nerucci.

Birth: Bottinaccio, 23-06-1910. *Baptism*: Santa Maria a Coeli Aula.

Documented: Bottinaccio (at the Convent).³¹³

Marriage: Ambrogiana, 1938. *Wife*: Elisena di Settimo Marzi and Annunziata Costoli (Montelupo Fiorentino, b. 13-12-1914 – d. 01-01-2002).

Documented children four:

Loredana (13-02-1940);

Emiliana (25-10-1942);

Lamberto (b. 24-08-1946 – d. 17-07-2015);³¹⁴

XY (29-08-1955 – **living**) (generation XIX.C.);³¹⁵

Professional status: steelworker.

Death: 17-07-2015.

34)

XVI.D. Angiolo (known as Angelo, Angiolino) di Tommaso (b. 1869 – d. 1917)

Sixteenth generation (branch D).

Son of Tommaso Gaspero Maria di Paolo Maria Vinci and Maria Fiorini.

Birth: Bottinaccio, 29-09-1869.

Wife: Margherita Frangini (b. 22-02-1872 – d. 24-05-1961).

³¹¹ He was the last one to live in the Convent, practically until his death. He was an able wood artisan-artist and he created a large model of the Bottinaccio convent. In 1941 (APB, Stati delle anime 1937-1941) he was a soldier in Nettunia and in 1944 a military prisoner. He remained single.

³¹² Lived in Bottinaccio until 1945. *Married* to Vasco Mengoni; *children*: Antonella and Antonio.

³¹³ APB, Stati delle anime from 1911 to 1942, and 1944-1945.

³¹⁴ Lamberto, married to Riesa Colucci, had two daughters: Simona and Paola. He had a strong connection to the Bottinaccio convent and to his uncle, Antonio, his father’s brother.

³¹⁵ Married; father of two sons (**XX.C.1.** and **XX.C.2.**).

Documented children nine:

Dino (b. 04-09-1896 – d. 22-08-1961);³¹⁶

Sabatino (b. 1897 – d. 09-04-1907, “of 10 years”);

Dina (b. – d. 1899, 1 year);

Dina (b. 12-12-1900 – d. 23-03-1991);³¹⁷

Assunta (b. – d. 29-05-1902, “of 1 day”);

Zelindo (b. 01-04-1903 – d. 17-08-1949);

Maria (b. and d. 22-06-1904);

Ottavio (b. 1905 – d. 1949) (see generation XVII.D.);³¹⁸

Maria (b. 27-08-1909 – d. 22-08-1992).

Professional status: carter.

Further information: drafted in 1889-90.

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio (at the Convent, where his wife will remain until 1923).

Death: 23-10-1917.³¹⁹

Burial: Bottinaccio.

Historiography: Uzielli (1872): “Angiolo 1868”; Smiraglia Scognamiglio (1900): “Angelo b. 1868 is single and lives in Montespertoli”.

35)

XVII.D. Ottavio di Angiolo (b. 1905 – d. 1949)

Seventeenth generation (branch D).

Son of Angiolo di Tommaso Gaspero Maria Vinci and Margherita Frangini.

Birth: Sammontana, 14-06-1905.

Marriage: Montelupo Fiorentino, 08-02-1930. *Wife:* Annunziata Vanni di Antonio and Settima Natali (b. 02-05-1908 – d. 06-10-1991).

³¹⁶ Born in Montespertoli on 04-09-1896. In the 1923 Stati delle anime of Bottinaccio he is registered as being twenty-eight years old. Married to Leontina Gualderotti (21-10-1921); childless. Homesteader, sharecropper. *Places:* Montespertoli (18-10-1924); Montelupo Fiorentino (from 14-02-1926); Sammontana (Podere Castellaccio), 1936: Sammontana (Podere Castellaccio); Pratella).

³¹⁷ Married to Antonio Calosi (di Giuseppe and di Giuseppina Falciani from Sammontana) on 29-01-1921. She worked the wicker for bottles, and later made straw hats. *Moves:* from Montespertoli to Montelupo following her marriage; Lastra a Signa (13-05-1924); Scandicci; Montelupo (27-01-1931); Empoli (04/03/1937); Mercatale di Vinci (1942). *Other places:* Sughere, Samminiatello, Carcheri. *Children:* Iolanda, Ilario, Lido, Ada, Giovanna, Giovanni. On 9 March 1940 Giovanni, last of the six children, was born in San Donato in Val di Botte (Empoli); married on 06-08-1967 with Anna Frese in the church of Santa Maria a Petroio (Vinci). He was the first, about thirteen years ago, to direct us to the living descendants.

³¹⁸ APB, Stato delle anime, 1911: the Vinci family is at the Suppressed Convent with the nuclei of the brothers Emilio and Angelo with their respective children (including Ottavio).

³¹⁹ APB, Registro dei morti dal 1912, n. 35: the death of “Angiolo son of Tommaso”.

Documented children three:

Leonardo (b. 20-11-1930 – d. 01-09-1987);

Angelo (b. 28-04-1938 – d. 07-06-1985);

Mario (b. 1945 – d. 2018) (see generation XVIII.D.).

Professional status: homesteader.

Places: Montespertoli: Bottinaccio; Montelupo Fiorentino (from 14-02-1926): Sammontana (Podere Castellaccio, Podere Pratella).

Death: 17-08-1949.

36)

XVIII.D. Mario di Ottavio (b. 1945 – d. 2018)

Eighteenth generation (branch D).

Son of Ottavio di Angiolo Vinci and Annunziata Vanni.

Birth: Montelupo Fiorentino, 23-07-1945. *Baptism*: Santa Maria a Sammontana.

Marriage: Church of Santa Maria a Sammontana, 05-10-1975. *Wife*: Rita Artini (Montevarchi, 03-01-51).

Children one:

Milko (b. 03-09-1976 – **living**) (see generation XIX.D.)³²⁰

Professional status: artisan (blacksmith).

Further information: passionate about astronomy and member of the Gruppo Astrofilo in Montelupo Fiorentino, he took part in the construction of the “Beppe Forti” observatory. In 1997 asteroid 20195 was named after him.³²¹

Death: 30-11-2018.

37)

XIX.D. Milko di Mario (b. 1976 – living)

Nineteenth generation (branch D).

Son of Mario di Ottavio Vinci and Rita Artini.

Birth: Empoli, 03-09-1976.

Professional status: state employee.

Further information: passionate about motorcycling and music.

³²⁰ APA, Sezione Sacramenti, 2 A.S., Scheda di famiglia, 1990.

³²¹ <https://ssd.jpl.nasa.gov/sbdb.cgi?sstr=20195>; https://www.minorplanetcenter.net/db_search/show_object?object_id=20195

TABLE 2. Table of burials in Vinci compared with Uzielli's manuscript one.

Progressive N.	N. in Ms. Uzielli	SURNAME	NAME	FATHER	MOTHER	BIRTH	DEATH	PLACE
1	Vinci	Lorenzo (XIII)	Pier Matteo (XII)	Maria Dorotea Menichetti	28-06-1746	17-08-1747 ("of one year and two months")	Vinci, "buried in the children's sepulchre"	
2	Vinci	Domenico (XI)	Matteo (X)	Caterina di Niccolò Ciani	1684 (1684/1687)	5-12-1752 (68 years)	Vinci "in the grave in the centre of this Church of Vinci"	
3	Vinci	Maria Anna (XII)	Domenico (XI)	First or second wife of Domenico Elisabetta Ciampi / Maria Domenica Menichetti	1720	19-10-1767 (47 years) ("in the Farmhouse of Sig. Bracci called the Ospedale")	Vinci (was buried in her family's Tomb opposite the Main Door of the church)	
4	Vinci	Maria Domenica (Maria Domenica Menichetti, second wife of Domenico (XI))	Carlo Menichetti		1690	16-12-1770 (years 80) (died "in the House of the Signor Bracci")	Vinci, in the Vinci's family tomb	
5	Vinci	Paolo [Paolo Ambrogio (XIII)]	Pier Matteo (XII)	Maria Dorotea Menichetti	1745 (06-12-1743)	03-04-1775 (30 years) (bur. 04-04-1775)	Vinci in the Vinci's family tomb ("was buried in the tomb of his own House located in this Church")	
6	Vinci née Menichetti	Maria Dorotea [Maria Dorotea Menichetti, wife of Pier Matteo (XII)]	Giovanni Paolo Menichetti		1715	8-04-1775 (60 years) (funeral 08-04; "was buried in the Tomb of her own family Vinci located in this Church")	Vinci (in the family sepulchre)	
7	Vinci	Maria Dorotea (XIV)	Valentino [Valentino di Pier Matteo / Valente] (XIII)	Maria Domenica Vignozzi	1750 [impossible date]	23-05-1777 (27 years) [typo by Uzielli: 1717 instead of 1777] (bur. d. 23-03-1777, bur. on 24)	("was buried [...] in the Vinci's family tomb")	
8	Vinci	Maria Annunziata (XIV)	Valentino di Piero (XIII)	Maria Domenica Vignozzi	23-01-1786	10-12-1786	In the Castle of Vinci	
9	Vinci	Vincenzo Leonardo (XIII)	Ser Anton Giuseppe (XII)	Anna Maria Salomoni	11-05-1761 (b. 09-05-1761)	07-10-1793	Orignano ("died in the Castle in Martelli's house", "was buried in his own family's tomb")	
10	Vinci	Pietro (I) [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	Domenico (XI)	Elisabetta Ciampi	1709 (c. 1713/1714)	19-10-1799 (90 years)	In the house of the nobleman Giulio da Bagnano (Vinci, "at the Compagnia")	
11	Vinci	Antonio Giuseppe (XIV)	Francesco [?] [Valentino / Valente (XIII)]	Maria Domenica Vignozzi	1723 (21-04-1782)	21-5-1803 (80 years) (19-02-1804, "of about 20 years")	In the Martelli Castle ("was buried in the Compagnia grave")	
12	Vinci	Anton Giuseppe (XII)	Valentino di Piero [Giovanni Piero (XI)]	Maria Domenica Vignozzi (Maria Spinetta di Giovanni Tesi)	21-04-1782 (1726)	12-02-1804 (21-05-1803; 80 years)	In the Castle of Vinci (Died [...] in Sig. Lorenzo Martelli's house in the Castle; "was buried in the Vinci's tomb")	
13	Santini née Vinci	Maria Assunta (XIII) [widow of Giuseppe Santini]**	Pietro di Domenico [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XIII)]	Maria Dorotea Menichetti	29-11-1752	15-03-1807 [in the house of the Signor Bracci place called Grappina]	Vinci (Sepulchre ("buried in the Compagnia grave"))	

14	Vinci née Salomoni	Anna Maria ("widow of ser Antonio da Vinci")	Giovanni Antonio Salomoni	1734	the house of Sig. Lorenzo Martelli sited in the square of Vinci ⁽¹⁾	buried in the Vinci's tomb in Santa Croce, like her husband and son ^(**)
15	Vinci	Maria Orsola Costanza (XIII) ("widow of Antonio Mandriani")	Pietro Vinci [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	17-11-1742	02-05-1811 ("of ca.70 years") ⁽¹⁾ (in the house of Sig. Onofrio Benacci place called Ripalta ⁽²⁾)	Vinci ("buried in the Compagnia grave")
16	Vinci	Maria Elisabetta (XII)	Pietro [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	1742 (03-02-1745)	9-02-1815 (73 years)	Otonorio dell'Annunziata ("buried in the Compagnia grave")
17	Vinci	Valentino (XII)	Piero di Domenico [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	02-03-1750	22-05-1817	Vinci (family tomb) ("buried in his family's tomb")
18	Vinci	Domenico Maria (XIII)	Piero di Domenico [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	19-06-1754	02-02-1817 ("of 60 years in the house belonging to Santa Barbara")	In the above-mentioned Castle ("buried in his family's grave")
19	Vinci	Maria Teresa Alessandra Giovanna (XII)	Ser Anton Giuseppe di Giovan Piero (XII)	12-12-1756		Orbignano (Popolo)
20	Vinci	Maria Maddalena (XII)	Pier Matteo di Domenico [Pier Matteo / Piero / Pietro (XII)]	12-12-1757		Vinci
21	Vinci	Maria Orsola Carolina (XIII)	Ser Anton Giuseppe (XII)	21-10-1758		Orbignano
22	Vinci	Maria Rosalba Colomba (XIII)	Ser Anton Giuseppe (XII)	16-08-1768		Orbignano
23	Vinci	Paolo Maria (XIV)	Valentino di Piero [Valentino / Valente (XIII)]	07-12-1778 (07-11-1778)	21-04-1840 (dies in Bortinaccio)	In the Castle of Vinci (Bortinaccio)
24	Vinci	Maria Dorotea (XIV) married Ptasquinucci	Valentino di Piero [Valentino / Valente (XIII)]	15-12-1780		In the Castle of Vinci
25	Vinci	Marianna [Maria Anna]	Valentino di Piero [Valentino / Valente (XIII)]	23-09-1783	28-01-1858	In the Castle of Vinci
26	[Cavallini] Vinci	Maria Teresa (2)	Valentino di Piero [Giuseppe Cavallini, husband of Annunziata di Valentino Vinci]	15-10-1810		
27	Santini	Maria Teresa	Giuseppe Santini Maria Teresa di Pier Matteo Vinci (XIII)	17-12-1785	17-03-1807	Compagnia grave

Uzielli's notes:

The dates of birth and death without the month are inferred from the years recorded in the Libro dei Morti

(1) Pietro: also called Piero or Pier Matteo.

(2) She might not have been a Vinci.

In red corrections/additions; in grey Uzielli's chart; highlighted in light yellow: makes buried in the family tomb in Santa Croce.

[*] The error is due to the fact that in the Indice dei Morti (1748-1811) we read "Vinci Antonio di Francesco [by mistake]": Uzielli confuses them (number 11 and 12).

[**] It has been impossible to check again because the folder is momentarily out of place at the APV.

PART III

A geography of memory and for genetic research

The thirty-seven profiles demonstrate the direct continuity of the Da Vincis through one of ser Piero's sons for twenty-one generations.

Three main periods linked to places emerge as generative climaxes:

- the first, until generation V and at the origin of the VI, takes place generally between Vinci and Florence, with relationships with the great families and the city institutions, with ser Piero, Leonardo, and ser Piero's other nineteen children in all;
- the second, from the VI generation with Domenico, who moves from Florence to Costareccia (in the countryside of Orbignano,³²² a border area), until Paolo di Valentino (XIV generation). Paolo, with eleven children, emigrates from Vinci to the (suppressed) Convent of Bottinaccio di Montespertoli, an ideal place for a simple life divided between nature and experimental agriculture, where a numerous community of families was created;
- the third, from Tommaso Gaspero Maria (XV generation), which witnessed the spread of the Vincis (from the XVI generation) in several communes of the middle Valdarno all the way to the Versilia and the Veneto. Four branches originated from Tommaso Gaspero Maria, who had eleven children; Leonardo Lorenzo Maria (XVI.A.); Raffaello Maria (XVI.B.); Emilio (XVI.C.); Angiolo (XVI.D.); from them originates the dissemination in different communes, starting with Montelupo Fiorentino. In particular, from Raffaello Maria (B), who became a widower, only one son was born, Dionisio (XVII.B.), who however will generate ten children, among whom Tito (XVIII.B.1.) and Giuseppe (XVIII.B.2.), creating two branches; whereas nine children will be born from Angiolo (XVI.D.).

In this chronological presentation, we have highlighted – however briefly – some significant elements, like the figure of Caterina, Leonardo's mother, in view of her biological and biographical relevance; Leonardo's relationship with his father and brothers; clarification of the two Domenicos; and solutions to a number of misunderstandings.

³²² Ancient settlement (*Urbiniانو*) ceded in 1254 by the Guidi counts to Florence. See Vezzosi (1989), p. 28. On the border between the county of Pistoia and Florence, the Popolo di Santa Maria al Pruno is still today in part in the Commune of Lamporecchio (in the province of Pistoia) and in part (with Costareccia and Tigliano) in the Commune of Vinci.

The dispersion of the estate and documents

Up until ser Giuliano (XVI generation), the Da Vincis held important offices in civic life, in a context of relations that reached even beyond Italy. The family expansion and the divisions tended to accelerate and add to the disintegration of the family's "means". The fortune accumulated by the enterprising ser Piero (above all a considerable amount of real estate, generally made up of farmland) was progressively dispersed because of hereditary divisions among his nine living children; and also because of some descendants' donations to religious institutions.³²³

The numerous children and descendants are, at the present stage of research, reduced to Guglielmo's and Domenico's branches; from the latter, with Piero di Lorenzo (VIII generation) will be born the two generative nuclei that live at Casareccia. The one of Lorenzo di Piero (IX) resumes the ancient tradition of practising as a notary and holding public offices (Giovanni Piero and ser Anton Giuseppe), with a strong sense of belonging to the family of Leonardo Da Vinci; but it dies out with the XIII generation. The one of Bartolomeo di Pietro (IX) is more directly concerned with farming in the rural dimension of the Montalbano. Between the end of the XVII century and the end of the XVIII, with the twelfth generation, the family returns to the small hamlet of Vinci: Pier Matteo di Domenico is buried in the Compagnia. His several children are also generally involved in agriculture, and some are illiterate. With Paolo Maria di Valentino (XIV) the move to the Commune of Montespertoli takes place, to the Convent of Santa Maria della Pace in Bottinaccio (or Butinaccio or Botinaccio)³²⁴ in the property of the Frescobaldi, where he features as a "tenant"

³²³ This is the case for instance of friar Guglielmo di Piero di Guglielmo (VIII generation), who left to his Carmelite convent of Santa Lucia alla Castellina some properties (including the Da Vinci's house at Anchiano) and many family papers (which are now in the Archivio di Stato in Florence).

³²⁴ On the toponym (and its variants), which derives from *botte* (a vessel to keep water) and *buctinus* (an underground tunnel to gather water, but also "water hole, or walled and closed well") with the suffix *-accio* (note necessarily negative) and other information on the origins of the place, the convent, and the Frescobaldi family, see Romagnoli (2013). The convent, built at the end of the XVI century, was given over to the Franciscan friars of the Observance. It was suppressed twice; the first time by Pietro Leopoldo (but on 24-12-1782 the order was revoked); the second with the French government, and at that time it was recorded as producing no income. Leased between 1813 and 1821, it was bought at auction by the Frescobaldi themselves, who gave it back to the friars. As the grand duke had not authorized the re-establishment, it was destined to private dwellings. Subsequently restored, it is at present run by Sister Lauretana. See also Gentile (2006). Some descendants recount that, according to family tradition, at some point (not better defined) ownership of the convent was offered to the Vincis; the family however refused, reserving their right to remain in it for life (on the last Vinci who lived in the Convent, see p. 60, n. 311; see also pp. 49-50.)

and lodger. He generates eleven children with his wife Maria Cherubina Niccolai, a “farm laborer”, thus guaranteeing the family continuity with the sixth child, Tommaso Gaspero Maria.

The awareness of belonging to Leonardo’s Da Vincis is however present; the descendants of some branches recount that the memory of documents written “in a strange way, in reverse”, sold by the progenitor Tommaso (XV) to some “foreigners”³²⁵, was handed down in the family. It is said that the progenitors of Bottinaccio had been trusted by the Frescobaldi, owner of the farm: they were “paid little but greatly esteemed”. Uzielli writes that “the master Frescobaldi himself [...] had promised to get him a position” in exchange for the documents “if he had found them important”.³²⁶

Tommaso was the accidental protagonist of the intricate events surrounding the Vincis’ papers.³²⁷ Uzielli, during his field researches, came to know from Valentino’s (XIII generation) grandchildren who resided in Vinci, that a part of the documents, jealously handed down from generation to generation, had been taken by “the Vinci from Montespertoli”.³²⁸ The scholar went to Bottinaccio in 1869 and bought what he found to avoid their being sold or “even burnt”, as he affirms with reference to the “papers of Dei, of which some were bought by the State, others by count Luigi Passerini, and the most part sold by the weight...”.³²⁹ He finally handed them over “on 24 October 1873 to the Archeology Section of the XI Congress of scientists held in Rome”, who, in 1880, destined them to the Accademia dei Lincei in whose library they still are.³³⁰

³²⁵ See the article from “La Nazione”, p. 51, n. 300.

³²⁶ Uzielli-Signorini (1999), p. 32.

³²⁷ Priests, librarians, nobles, antiquarians, scholars, collectors, functionaries... For a concise list of names see for instance Vezzosi (2016), pp. 172-173. Concerning the prefect of the Ambrosiana, Baldassarre Oltrocchi, we recall Amoretti’s (1804, p. 168) quote: “In the Palazzo Pitti there is a Maddalena. In the Nicolinis’ house a portrait; perhaps the head that a brother-in-law of Leonardo’s sent in 1536 as a gift to cardinal Salviati, as I learn from a memory of the Vincis’ archive, which I find among Oltrocchi’s notes”. The brother-in-law could have been Zanobi del Piero del Mangano with whom Alessandra Dini remarried in 1527 (after the death of Giuliano, Leonardo’s brother, in 1525). See p. 29.

³²⁸ On the families from Vinci who took part in and were informed of the events see Vezzosi (2016), p. 173. The marquis Antonio Mazenta, in a letter from 3 June 1872, wrote from Bergamo to Tommaso Comparini di Vinci that his father “had exchanged one or two autographs by Lionardo da Vinci in his possession with some prints by Morghen [...]” (BNF, Fondo Uzielli, Striscia 82; Uzielli, 1872, pp. 34, 134.)

³²⁹ Uzielli (1872), p. 31.

³³⁰ Uzielli (1869), pp. 29-30. Uzielli’s wish was that “your Academy [...] might possibly more than myself succeed in easily tracking down the original documents [...], that is Leonardo

Ancient tombs

One of the main goals of this research is to actualize the already outlined collaboration with the “Leonardo Da Vinci DNA Project”, headed by Jesse Ausubel, and with the Department of Biology of the University of Florence, directed by David Caramelli, providing not only sound data to track down biological traces of ser Piero’s direct living descendants, but also locating ancient tombs.

If genealogy sketches a family continuity which is certain from the viewpoint of history, biology needs to verify the persistence of the chromosomic line with several intermediate samples from different centuries, comparing them with fragments detected in the tombs. “Each biological find has its history”.

The Badia

Uzielli locates the tombs of the Da Vincis in Florence in three different places: “the tomb of the Vinci family was in the church of Santo Spirito in Florence”,³³¹ the same coat of arms of ser Piero’s family “is to be found in Florence in the church of San Jacopo tra’ Fossi above a tomb of the Vinci family”³³² (a misunderstanding with the Badia Fiorentina?); “the family sepulchre of the Da Vinci family in the church of the Badia in via del Proconsolo”.³³³

The mention of the bands of red marble and bronze in the Da Vincis’ coat of arms in a lost description by Dei (taken up by Uzielli),³³⁴ leads us to consider that grand duke Francesco I of Lorraine’s antiquarian³³⁵ could have seen the original headstone.

da Vinci’s testament, the letter of Francesco Melzi and the proxy given to Girolamo Melzi by De Vilanis, papers [...] that are no doubt crucial among those that in the past made up the Archive of the Da Vinci family”. In his 1982 typescript, Cianchi recalls that in ser Anton Giuseppe’s house was kept the “Archive with most important documents, among which Leonardo’s will and the letter that Francesco Melzi wrote from Amboise to the Artist’s brothers on 1 June 1519, in order to announce his death”. The scattering of documents belonging to Leonardo’s family was followed by further episodes of spoliation. For instance, the *macchiaiolo* painter Telemaco Signorini, who accompanied Uzielli to Vinci in 1872 and produced the engravings illustrating the publication of his researches, in 1882 received 500 lire [double the amount that Uzielli had paid for the Da Vinci papers] “for mediating in the sale of a Della Robbia [a glazed terracotta representing the large *Madonna col Bambino* dated to 1523]” removed from the Sala del Podestà in the Castle of Vinci, then recovered in London in 1967 at an auction at Sotheby’s thanks to Renzo Cianchi. Vezzosi (1988), pp. 140-141 and fig. 5; *Id.* (1990), pp. 122-123.

³³¹ BNCF, Striscia 82, Fondo Uzielli, f. 51r. See also Uzielli-Signorini (1999), p. 32.

³³² *Ivi*, p. 18.

³³³ With the pseudonym of Teostene (1895), pp. 9-10.

³³⁴ Uzielli (1872), pp. 110-111.

³³⁵ See Baggio-Marchi (1994), in particular pp. 862-830, 869-873.

As regards the family tomb built in 1474 in the Badia by Leonardo's father, thanks to ancient sources and several studies recently updated by Anne Leader³³⁶ we know that twenty-one family members (including relatives) were laid to rest in it, among them at least seven direct male descendants, the last of which was Giovanni di Piero di Guglielmo on 19 March 1614.³³⁷

The radical renovation of the building between 1627 and 1664 and the transfer of the Da Vincis' sepulchre in a "wall of the cloister on the western side" makes it very difficult to find those precious remains, as it was proven already in 1988.³³⁸

Orbignano

A different but no less complicated case concerns the tombs in Orbignano. As evinced by his 1549 will, here published for the first time, Domenico, brother of Leonardo and "author" of the direct lineage, was buried in the cemetery of the church of Santa Maria del Pruno (where at least twenty among his children and grandchildren were laid to rest until the X generation³³⁹). The sites are those mentioned in the death registrations: "in the cloister", "in the graveyard", "in the tomb in the male sector", "in the children's sector", and "in the women's sector underneath the loggia"; nor was it unusual to use free spaces at the limits of the cloister itself.³⁴⁰

The Romanesque church in Orbignano,³⁴¹ besides undergoing radical transformations in the course of the centuries (in particular in the 1600s), features altered architectural structures and burial places which are at present indistinct.

The church of Santa Croce in Vinci

In 1105 (when the territory of the present-day Commune of Vinci belonged to the Guidi counts), a *bolla* of pope Pasquale II, in favor of the bishop of Pistoia Ildebrando, mentions a "Cappella de Vincio". The Guidis kept their possessions (con-

³³⁶ Leader (2017). She has extended her research to include tombs of Renaissance Florence with the *Digital Sepoluario*, <http://sepoltuario.iath.virginia.edu/tombs/home>

³³⁷ Leader (2017), pp. 10, 11, 12.

³³⁸ Research on the Da Vinci tomb in the Badia Fiorentina was launched as part of the exhibitions "Leonardo Scomparso e Ritrovato" (1988) and "Leonardo e l'Europa" (2001).

³³⁹ Typescript Cianchi 1982; Salvi (1983); Vezzosi (2016) and updates in conferences since 2016.

³⁴⁰ For instance Jacopo di Rinaldo Menichetti "buried at the foot of the orange tree in the cloister" in 1598. Salvi (1983), p. 15.

³⁴¹ We brought a group from the "Leonardo Da Vinci DNA Project" there for a visit in 2016. Don Massimo Batignani, prior of the church from 1952 to 1977, promoted the restoration which led to the discovery of ancient sepulchres and of fragments of a fresco from Giotto's school. In the 1970s he provided Vezzosi with precious information and images. See also Vezzosi-Sabato (2018), pp. 40-42.

firmed by Emperor Frederick I on 28 February 1164 and then by his successors) until 1254, when they relinquished them to the Commune of Florence: in the deed dated 12 August the possession of the “Church in the Castle of Vinci” is also mentioned. The church title is specified on 6 May 1255 (“Church of Santa Croce”). The first documented pastoral visit took place on 3 May 1372.

The building was in the Romanesque style with an apse, later substituted by a “tribuna in the Roman style” behind the main altar; at least since the XVI century the oratory of the Compagnia del Corpus Domini was added on the right side. The ancient porch with Tuscan columns in front of the façade was eliminated in the course of the early-XX century restoration.

The enlargement and restoration carried out between 1929 and 1935 were radical and gave the church a neo-Renaissance appearance: the small original structure, with a single nave, was widened to the present-day building with three naves.

Next to the right aisle is located the baptistery in memory of Leonardo, inaugurated in 1952 by the President of the Republic Einaudi.

Leonardo's grave at Amboise

In his last will and testament, Leonardo expressed the wish to be buried “inside the church of Saint Florentin in Amboise”:³⁴² not in the hamlet, but in the castle.

The scholar Venanzio De Pagave (1722-1803) had searched in vain in the second half of the XVIII century for the artist-scientist's grave in the Royal Castle, in the church which had been violated already in the XVI century in the wars between Catholics and Huguenots.

The error – as Arsène Houssaye (lay name Housset) will write in 1869 – was to “have looked for it in the chapel of Saint Florentin under the castle, which was then called Notre-Dame en Grèves and had neither a *collegio* nor a chapter”,³⁴³ contrary to the wish specified in Leonardo's will.

In an article titled “Per le ossa di Leonardo”,³⁴⁴ fifty-six years after Houssaye's finds, the historian of science Antonio Favaro (famous for his *Edizione nazionale* of Galileo's work), reconstructed the events mentioning explicitly also “Leonardo da Vinci's death registration” dated 12 August 1519, on the basis of which the corpse

³⁴² Uzielli (1872), p. 202.

³⁴³ Houssaye (1869), p. 300. The author dedicates the book to his friend count Alfred Émilien O'Hara van Nieuwerkerke, (1811-1892), sculptor and senior official of the Second Empire. From 1849 he was director general of the Imperial museums and he exerted, until 1870, a great influence of Parisian cultural life. Nieuwerkerke shared with Napoleon III and count Waleroski the dream of finding Leonardo's remains.

³⁴⁴ “Il Giornale d'Italia”, 2 giugno 1919, third page.

was laid to rest in the church's cloister.³⁴⁵ In the choir or in the cloister? Why one-hundred days after the death?

On the other hand, as it is known, the fate of the place where the artist had been buried had suffered cruel vicissitudes: senator Pietre-Roger Dacos, to whom Napoleon had ceded the already dilapidated castle, ordered at the start of the XVIII century the destruction of several buildings and in particular the collegiate church of St Florentin with its rectory. Houssaye reports of violent dispossessions and acts of vandalism verging on impiety: "the lead coffins were taken apart without concern for the bones therein contained in order to obtain silver, the children went every day to play with the dead; skulls and shins were nothing but props for a game of ball and pin".³⁴⁶

The famous Arsène Houssaye himself, inspector general of fine art, well connected to French culture of his time and friends of great intellectuals, artists and prominent personalities, had been charged by an imperial commission to conduct investigations aimed at locating Leonardo's sepulchre. Through several digs he found some remains which he identified as Leonardo's grave and bones: some stone fragments of an inscription, several bones and, in particular, an exceptional skull which seemed to perfectly match the shape of the head in the Turin *Self-portrait*³⁴⁷. The news caused a sensation, opinions on Houssaye's endeavour were discordant, and doubt remained that, after centuries of historical events, those remains were really Leonardo's.

In the meanwhile the count of Paris, in order to safeguard the remains found by Houssaye, had them "put in a lead casket, which contained a wooden one, on which this inscription engraved on a zinc plate can be read: *In this casket the bones found in the ruins of the castle of Amboise near the headstone under which it is believed*

³⁴⁵ Favaro did not lend credence to this document, which had it been authentic would have been of great import, and explained: "we believe like Houssaye and Uzielli that no credit should be given to it [...]". Exactly at that time the document had been reproduced by the Leonardo scholar Luca Beltrami "at n. 26 of the *Documenti e memorie riguardanti la vita e le opera di Leonardo da Vinci* [...] which have just now appeared". Favaro furthermore believed that Leonardo's bones were lost. Because of this he commented in a negative way on attempts by Italy in that year to recover the artist's remains from France. He advised instead to pursue the return of Leonardo's codexes still in France to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, "the restitution of which we have never ceased to ask, and which, in 1878, thanks to Cesare Correnti's mediation, we were that close to get back".

Pedretti (2008, pp. 619-620) reminds us (stressing that the episode does not feature in any of Leonardo's bibliographies) that, on the occasion of the centenary in 1952, there was an attempt to renew Houssaye's searches by Prof Fabio Frassetto, an anthropologist from the University of Bologna, at the request of the Ministry of Public Education. The project never came to fruition.

³⁴⁶ Houssaye (1869), pp. 303-304.

³⁴⁷ As King Ross summarized, there were other findings: Italian coins, a silver *scudo*, a pair of sandals which bear the owner's footprint and some locks of blond-gray hair. Ross (2016), p. 135.

that Leonardo da Vinci, who died in 1519, was buried, have been gathered. This was done according to the wish of H.R.H. Luis Philippe of Orléans, count of Paris, on 1 August 1874".

The casket was lowered into a small purpose-built tomb in the Chapel of Saint Hubert,³⁴⁸ with a gravestone carrying the same inscription.

On 2 May 2019,³⁴⁹ for the celebration of the fifth centennial since the artist-scientist's death, the Presidents of the Italian and French Republics jointly visited this grave in order to pay homage to the great Leonardo.

Are the scientific analysis going to start in Vinci?

The church of Santa Croce is gaining in its symbolic significance, not only because Leonardo was probably baptized in it,³⁵⁰ but also because it should be possible to rediscover the Da Vincis' ancient family tomb.

Here was certainly located the tomb of the "Casa", that is the Da Vinci clan; it then stood "at the centre" of the building, "opposite the main door" (until 1929 more to the left than in the present arrangement).

Referring only to direct male descendants, six of the Vincis were certainly laid to rest in the family tomb: Domenico di Matteo (XI); the sons of Vincenzo Leonardo (XIII) from the other branch. Two further males are found "nella compagnia"; the young Lorenzo (XIII, 1747) "in the children's grave".

The burials of Leonardo's grandfather, Antonio (IV generation), and of his uncle Francesco (V) still need to be located: it cannot be ruled out that they are in Vinci.

³⁴⁸ Restored in 1873 by Victor Ruprich-Robert with the advice of the famous Eugène Viollet-le-Duc.

³⁴⁹ On the same day a finding considered, in the second half of the XIX century, to be "Les Cheveux of Leonardo da Vinci", was presented at the exhibition "Leonardo vive" at the Museo Ideale Leonardo Da Vinci. It is a fragment of a lock of hair obtained, through Houssaye himself, from the recovery of Leonardo's presumed remains at Amboise. The provenance is documented through Arsène Houssaye's great-grandchild, Auguste, who on 29 December 1925 ceded it to the American collector Harold K. Shigley (1897-1992).

It is an historical document destined for scientific research; it is not a question of fetishism, a macabre testimony or naive credulity. Obviously it could have an extraordinary biological meaning if it proved compatible with the marker identified by studies on other biological materials (living descendants and graves).

³⁵⁰ See p. 25, n. 117.

Georadar prospecting

Preliminary investigations with the Georadar Stream C (IDS)³⁵¹ took place on the whole surface of the church (the three aisles) in front of the altar. The maximum depth of exploration, which depends on the characteristics of the material in question (as a consequence of the new floor and of the columns), in this specific case reached to about 1.5 meters below ground level. The Stream C system has been used together with georeferencing data from a Stazione Totale Robotizzata Leica TS-50. Several reference points adjacent to the researched area (columns, corners) have been identified in order to perfect the framework. The acquired data has been elaborated with the GRED HD CAD software; thanks to specific filtering and rendering, vertical sections (Profiles) and horizontal maps (Time-slices) at different depths have been produced superimposing the plan of the present church to the original one.

This has produced extremely interesting evidence: the high reflectivity anomalies detected in the two lateral aisles starting at a depth of 50 cm can be traced back to the presence of grave structures corresponding both to the old position of the main door and to the right aisle (ex Compagnia); a circular trace which could belong to the ancient baptismal font has also been located.

Phenotype affinity in the course of the centuries

Two images of Leonardo's face are the most credible: the Turin *Self-portrait* and the profile of "Leonardo/Vinci" at Windsor (RL 12726), generally attributed to Melzi and dated about 1515-1518 (possibly with additions by the master himself in the hair in the bottom right section), or sometimes attributed to another Lombard pupil (including, according to Kenneth Clark,³⁵² Ambrogio De Predis), with an earlier dating in view of the portrait's younger physiognomy. Another interesting XVI-century image represents Leonardo as an old man (and seems to refer to the period of his life when he was hampered in the right hand³⁵³): it is the *sanguigna* drawing on red prepared paper in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice (n. 71), with an ancient inscription on the *verso* and a note ("L. Vincij Effigies" / "Figino da un marmo") by the Milanese Ambrogio Figino, who probably based it on a lost sculpture.³⁵⁴

Several studies have concerned themselves with Leonardo's image, drawing

³⁵¹ Conducted by Gianfranco Morelli's Geostudi Astier with Giulia Pennino.

³⁵² Clark (1968-1969), vol. I, p. 185.

³⁵³ See for instance Vecce (1990) Vecce (1990), pp. 56-58 and Vezzosi (2020 b), p. 59.

³⁵⁴ Published for the first time by C. Pedretti with G. Nepi Sciré, A. Perissa Torrini (2003). See comparisons in Vezzosi (2006), pp. 40-43.

upon literary descriptions and a few iconographic representations.³⁵⁵ There have been some attempts to reconstruct, with different technologies,³⁵⁶ Leonardo's features, in order to hypothetically reconstruct the physiognomy of his face and other physical characteristics. We await progress on a rigorously scientific basis.

Without being a scientific proof, the comparison of the Turin *Self-portrait* with the faces of some of the descendants from the XVII and XVIII generation, reveal surprising morphological affinities. It is an impalpable surfacing of a slender plot through old ancestries, similarities and invisible genetic connections.

Living Heritage

To determine definitively that in the various lineages which have been identified, the Y chromosome has remained unchanged, would be a step forward in the multidisciplinary research into Leonardo's personality, which is to be explored in its full connections. Caution is necessary, within a framework enabling additional perspectives for scientific enquiries.

It is not out of place to frame all of this within the concept of *heritage*, meant not only in traditional terms, but also as a moral legacy, concerning knowledge and safeguards, which invests the cultural patrimony derived from the figure and the manifold aspects of Leonardo's work across five centuries.

This is the living heritage, both cultural and genetic, which the Vinci genius has left to us moderns; it must be studied, published, and applied with awareness and respect.

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³⁵⁵ See for instance Sabato-Vezzosi (2009), also for forgeries.

³⁵⁶ On the basis on Leonardo's likely portraits (see for instance the case presented by Piero Angela with Carlo Pedretti and the Carabinieri RIS of the youthful representation drawn from the *Codice sul volo degli uccelli* from which emerged "the portrait of a Renaissance man with light eyes, a slight beard on his chin, and thin lips"). See Sabato - Vezzosi (2009), p. 12.

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