

Predella journal of visual arts, n°50, 2021 www.predella.it - Monografia / Monograph 

Direzione scientifica e proprietà / *Scholarly Editors-in-Chief and owners:*
Gerardo de Simone, Emanuele Pellegrini - predella@predella.it

Predella pubblica ogni anno due numeri online e due numeri monografici a stampa /
Predella publishes two online issues and two monographic print issues each year

Tutti gli articoli sono sottoposti alla peer-review anonima / All articles are subject to anonymous peer-review

Comitato scientifico / *Advisory Board:* Diane Bodart, Maria Luisa Catoni, Michele Dantini, Annamaria Ducci, Fabio Marcelli, Linda Pisani†, Neville Rowley, Francesco Solinas

Redazione / *Editorial Board:* Elisa Bassetto, Elisa Bernard, Silvia Massa

Collaboratori / *Collaborators:* Vittoria Cammelliti, Nicole Crescenzi, Roberta Delmoro, Paolo di Simone, Michela Morelli, Michal Lynn Schumate

Impaginazione / *Layout:* Sofia Bulleri, Rebecca Di Gisi, Vittorio Proietti

Predella journal of visual arts - ISSN 1827-8655

The Berlin and Washington busts of the *Young Saint John the Baptist* and the altered legacy of Desiderio da Settignano

In memory of Michael Knuth

At least three surviving Florentine painted terracotta busts of the young John the Baptist appear to derive from the same mid-fifteenth-century model. The style and high quality of that model, once attributed to Donatello, are recorded in photographs of a stucco and cloth version formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, apparently lost in the Friedrichshain fire. Those photos argue strongly for Desiderio da Settignano as the creator. Comparisons suggest that the terracotta busts embody a late-Quattrocento rethinking of the popular model, by sculptors who changed the exuberant and optimistic expression of Desiderio's invention to a more contemplative and anxious mood, consistent with the "culto interiore" promoted in the sermons and writings of Savonarola. The artist or artists are unknown, but candidates might include Giovanni d'Andrea, Leonardo del Tasso, and Desiderio's son Bernardino.

Among the first sculptures to enter the National Gallery of Art was a painted terracotta bust of the young John the Baptist, with open mouth and downcast, half-closed eyes (fig. 2). Accessioned in 1937 as a work of Donatello, the bust was reassigned in the late twentieth century to Benedetto da Maiano¹. It merits renewed attention for its connection with another bust of the boy Baptist, once in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin but disappeared in the Friedrichshain fire in 1945, attributed by several scholars to Desiderio da Settignano (fig. 1)². The relationship suggests a central place for the Washington Baptist in a group of works that show how certain late Quattrocento sculptors responded to Desiderio's creations and re-interpreted his psychology.

The Berlin bust, like its Washington counterpart, had been acquired as a creation of Donatello³. Its principal material, plaster, prompted suggestions that it was a cast derived, with some modification, from the more substantial Washington terracotta⁴. Yet through the twentieth century the Berlin plaster was repeatedly ascribed to Desiderio. The attribution, cautiously broached before 1933 by the great photographer of Desiderio's work, Clarence Kennedy⁵, was seconded in the Donatello monograph by Hans Kauffmann in 1935⁶. Leopold Planiscig gave the Berlin bust a place in his 1942 monograph on Desiderio – three years before the Friedrichshain fire⁷. Although Janson in his 1957 Donatello monograph recalled the Berlin Baptist as «clearly Desideriesque», its destruction put an end to more detailed exploration of its relationship to Desiderio for half a century⁸. We owe a debt of gratitude to our late colleague Michael Knuth for inviting us to consider

the Berlin bust again, in a talk at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence during the conference on Desiderio da Settignano, held there and at Villa I Tatti, in May 2007. As the screen lit up with his images of a work which we in Washington had regarded as a mere copy of our presumed Benedetto da Maiano Baptist, it became clear that Kauffmann, Kennedy and Planiscig were probably right. The lost Berlin bust, made of polychromed plaster and plaster-soaked cloth, was the earlier creation, and the creator must have been Desiderio. In the posthumously published text of his paper, Knuth wrote «Discussion of this vanished work still presents a great challenge for Quattrocento studies»⁹. Here I want to take up his challenge.

Caution is of course essential in interpreting a work known only through photographs, which can moreover give differing impressions. Photos apparently suffused with ambient light (figs. 3, 10) suggest a doll-like stiffness in the facial features of the Berlin bust, while a photo with more modulated lighting (fig. 1), perhaps directed from above, more effectively brings out modeling to convey movement and animation. The bust was besides much restored, with campaigns of overpaint that raised the eyebrows and narrowed and brightened the lips. The once-detached head was put back in position, and broken tufts of hair were replaced with open, almost free-standing ones. The unruly hair, with one (repaired) lock arching over the crown of the head, inspired Schubring to imagine the bust as a creation quickly improvised to adorn an open-air altar set up in the street along the procession route for the June 24 feast day of Saint John the Baptist, with hair looking tousled by the wind¹⁰. The hair treatment prompted Knuth to wonder if the bust might have been a later creation, closer to the approach of the young Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608) or Francesco Mochi (1580-1654)¹¹.

Photo comparisons nevertheless lead us repeatedly back to Desiderio. Kennedy's attribution proposal may in fact have been inspired by his own photographs. A resemblance is clear, for instance, in Kennedy's profile shots of the Berlin bust and the festoon-bearer on the right of the Marsuppini tomb (figs. 5, 6)¹², comparable for their high cheekbones, sharp-edged curving eyelids, a gasping mouth with visible teeth, and a tuft of hair flying up above the forehead. Planiscig singled out the same figure in making his own Desiderio attribution for the Berlin bust¹³. Even if the young marble festoon-bearers were carved at least partly by assistants, as often suggested¹⁴, the clay, wax or plaster models from which they worked would have been Desiderio's.

Also striking is a comparison with the Marsuppini Christ Child (fig. 4) in his bands of thin, clinging drapery, with brows lifted high above eyelids that broaden and taper in sinuous curves. As in the Berlin bust, locks of hair sweep across

his forehead, and his cheeks begin to draw back in a smile. There are besides resemblances to Desiderio's Louvre tondo of c. 1453, in particular the thin panels of dimpled cloth that twist and swoop over the shoulder of the Christ Child¹⁵. Especially close to the Berlin boy, it seems to me, is a figure with opposite but equally open expression: the Saint John the Evangelist of the San Lorenzo *Pietà*, of the early 1460s (fig. 7)¹⁶. The marble face, there tightened in a grief-stricken grimace, has similar high cheekbones, lifted brows, sharpened eyelids, and surfaces invaded by crescent-shaped locks. Another sculpture at San Lorenzo, long attributed to Donatello but now widely accepted as a work of Desiderio, was also likened to the Berlin bust as early as 1903. This is the terracotta bust of a young deacon, usually identified as either Saint Laurence or Saint Leonard. Caglioti has recently proposed it as the "testa" of the young Cardinal of Portugal for which Desiderio received a payment in 1463, and suggested it was later repurposed as the bust of a saint¹⁷.

The Washington variant of the Berlin Baptist had been attributed to Benedetto da Maiano, chiefly because of a perceived resemblance to Benedetto's marble statue of the Young John the Baptist of c. 1480, atop the portal in the Sala dei Gigli in the Palazzo Vecchio (fig. 8)¹⁸. General similarities of facial type and hair seem more likely to testify to a common source for the Washington bust and the marble statue. That source could be the lost Berlin bust, or a clay model from which it derived.

In cataloguing the Berlin bust, Schottmüller observed¹⁹ that its costume was made partly of real cloth, soaked in plaster and draped over the shoulders and back (fig. 9, 10). A side view (fig. 5) suggests strips of cloth may even underlie some of the layered locks of hair atop the head. Such a use of cloth is consistent with practices employed by Donatello and by artists in Desiderio's circle. Donatello's *Judith* is to all evidence directly cast from a model that was dressed in actual cloth, the panels arranged and then hardened with glue, finally coated with wax so that their forms could be perpetuated in the most naturalistic possible bronze drapery²⁰. The wooden bust of Saint Constance in the Louvre, by a sculptor close to Desiderio, has a coiffure adorned with plaster-soaked linen bands²¹. The Berlin bust incorporated similar material to display the fall of thin cloth, with sharp edges, creased folds, overlapping panels, and broken-up surfaces. Another work reassigned by several scholars in recent years from Donatello to Desiderio, the terracotta bust of Niccolò da Uzzano (?), in the Bargello²², gave at least one observer the impression that the drapery was formed of cloth panels soaked in liquid plaster and applied to the terracotta²³. While in fact the Bargello bust is modeled entirely of clay²⁴, its sculptor took pains to imitate the forms of twisted

and layered plaster-soaked cloth, similar to what was done on the Berlin Saint John.

The Saint John from Berlin expands opportunities to consider Desiderio as a creator of modeled and cast sculptures, beyond what is suggested by the Niccolò da Uzzano, the stucco Madonna and Child reliefs that he supplied to Neri di Bicci for painting and framing, and the cast replicas (all posthumous?) of his marble Christ Child from the San Lorenzo tabernacle²⁵. It may give an idea of the style of the terracotta «testa d'uno Cristo di terra chotta bellissimo» purchased by Pierozzo Cerbini from Desiderio for one florin in 1459²⁶. Comparing the Berlin Baptist with the Washington bust, and with two other known variants, also sheds light on a process of reinterpretation of Desiderio's inventions that seems to have taken place later in the fifteenth century.

The Washington Saint John appears more monumental, less because of its slightly larger size (48.9 cm high to the Berlin bust's 46.5) than because its forms in general are simpler, more massive and unified (figs. 1, 2). The smooth, rhythmically flowing curves of the mantle replace the «nervously searching line» and «quivering drapery surfaces»²⁷ characteristic of Desiderio, manifest in the Berlin bust. In the profiles, the tousled disorder of the Berlin boy's hair contrasts with rhythmically arranged strands on the Washington Baptist (figs. 11, 12).

The comparison also brings out the different expressive quality of the Washington bust. While the Berlin boy seems eager to engage the world, the Washington boy's gaze conveys thoughts directed inward (fig. 16). His more frontal gaze lends solemnity, contrasting with the Berlin boy's turning movement and glance to the side, and his eyes bulge slightly under descending lids that come between him and his audience. Their edges form broad, simple arcs, without the sinuous swoop and swell of the eyelids in the Berlin bust. The chin projects less emphatically in the Washington saint, and the corners of his open mouth do not draw back into the incipient smile of the Berlin boy, who seems full of good news he is bursting to tell (figs. 10, 11). As Paul Vitry put it in an article on the Dreyfus collection in 1907, the Berlin boy seemed «less grave but more juvenile and perhaps more ardent, with the eyes and mouth more mobile»²⁸. The Washington sculptor's stress on simplified, rhythmic design seems to underline his subject's detachment from the world.

The Berlin bust or its model evidently won considerable popularity. In addition to the Washington bust, two other surviving terracotta Baptists appear to descend from it. One, slightly smaller (fig. 13; 45 x 45 x 23 cm) and simpler in its forms and repeatedly overpainted, is in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum²⁹. A privately-owned example 46 cm high (fig. 14), formerly in the Goldschmidt

collection, has been stripped of most of its paint but retains green traces on the mantle at the back that correspond with the color scheme of the Washington bust; it was placed on loan at the Princeton University Art Museum in 2017³⁰. Thermoluminescence tests on each of the three terracottas has yielded a range of dates consistent with Renaissance rather than nineteenth-century origins³¹. The simplified, more regular forms and the hairstyles characteristic of the later Quattrocento – longer, winding in unified waves away from the face at the sides, the ends curling under and bulging out to wreath the base of the neck at the back – suggest the terracottas postdate the Berlin bust.

The furry texture of John's camel-hair shirt, modeled up in tufts in the three terracotta busts, points up their individuality. The fur was absent in the Berlin version as we know it; photographs show the panel closest to the chest as essentially flat. While the Berlin bust might have represented a different boy saint who did not wear a hairy garment, the costumes on the works based on it indicate it was understood early as the Baptist. Conceivably the camel's hair on the Berlin bust was once modeled in detail in a panel replaced after damage; or perhaps the plaster bust was created as a basic model for sculptors who would be expected to work up their own versions of details like the fur. Differences in the hair and drapery in each terracotta indicate this happened. Similar as they are, none is an exact replica of the Berlin bust or of one of the others. Even if moulding may have played some part in their production, as certain correspondences of fold and hair forms in the Washington and ex-Goldschmidt busts might suggest, each maker expressed individual character in the handling of movement and details. While the Washington bust has more meticulously defined hair and teeth, for instance, it lacks the multiple soft folds that the Goldschmidt bust's sculptor modeled in the drapery over the right shoulder and across the back. In addition, the Goldschmidt boy turns his head more sharply to his left, in a movement seemingly closer to that of the Berlin Baptist. While the stripped surface of the Goldschmidt bust complicates an assessment, a working hypothesis might propose it as the earliest surviving replica of the Berlin model, followed by the Washington bust, with the smaller and simpler Gardner bust based on the latter; yet the Gardner bust has softer, less monumental drapery treatment and a freestanding, undercut lock of hair which, even if repaired, corresponds to the Berlin coiffure as the others do not. Future conservation studies may shed further light on the relationships.

The former attribution of the Washington bust to Benedetto da Maiano was argued partly from its resemblance to the introspective wood Magdalen in Santa Trinita (figs. 15, 20). Vasari described that polychromed statue as begun by Desiderio and completed by Benedetto. Documents published by Waldman

in 2000, however, revealed that the Magdalen was indeed commissioned from Desiderio around 1458, and finished after he died in 1464, but not by Benedetto da Maiano. The assignment went instead to the otherwise little-known Giovanni d'Andrea. A teenage assistant to Verrocchio in 1469, Giovanni maintained a connection with the shop after the master's death in 1488³². He must have worked on the Magdalen between c. 1470 and his own death before 1499. The fact that payment was still due in 1499 suggests that the final work went on in the 1490s.

Perhaps Giovanni was chosen to finish the Magdalen because his master Verrocchio, so in sympathy with Desiderio's style³³, was not available. The appraisal in 1499, valuing Giovanni d'Andrea's work at 25 ducats – as opposed to ten florins worth of work by Desiderio on the unfinished statue – suggests Giovanni was responsible for much of the carving, and certainly most of the surface and expression³⁴. But since he took over a project begun by Desiderio, he had the departed master's work-in-progress – and perhaps even Desiderio's model or drawings – before his eyes. The hipshot pose, the open mouth showing teeth, and the hands absent-mindedly fingering her hair recall the Martelli Saint John the Baptist in the Bargello, a marble statue probably begun by Donatello but completed by Desiderio³⁵. As a documented work recording an interpretation of Desiderio's concept by a sculptor a generation younger, the Santa Trinita Magdalen has special importance. The process it exemplifies, of rethinking a model in which Desiderio explored the state of mind of a saint, seems to have parallels in several works considered here: the Washington Baptist, its two cognates, and at least one other late Quattrocento sculpture.

The Magdalen was invoked by Ursula Schlegel in her attribution proposal, to a follower of Desiderio around 1475, for a polychromed terracotta bust known as Saint Elizabeth that survives at the Bode Museum in Berlin (figs. 17, 19)³⁶. The subject's intense gaze, from eyes set within hollows in a faceted, careworn face, is remarkably like that of the Magdalen (fig. 20). An inscription visible on the wooden plinth of the Berlin bust reads «SANTA. HELISABETTA. REGINA» (Saint Elizabeth the Queen); but Michael Knuth reported that these words belong to the second of two painting campaigns on the bust. Thus, they do not necessarily record the original identity of the subject³⁷. The woman might even have been intended as a stoic Mater Dolorosa; her deep-set eyes, sunken cheeks, and salient chin and cheekbones bear a notable resemblance to Desiderio's grieving Virgin of the San Lorenzo *Pietà* (fig. 18). The drapery arrangements are also similar but rendered more orderly and symmetrical in the Berlin bust. While thermoluminescence results from the Berlin Rathgen-Forschungslabor in 1985 indicated a date range for the Saint Elizabeth between c. 1567 +/- 42 years, thus c. 1525-1609³⁸, TL dating

is not so precise as to preclude production in the 1480s or 1490s. The similar faces suggest that the bust could be another work of Giovanni d'Andrea, the Verrocchio assistant who completed Desiderio's wooden Magdalen.

The brooding contemplation of the Washington and Boston Baptists has counterparts in the Santa Trinita Magdalen, and in other works more securely datable c. 1490/1500. A polychromed marble Saint Fina in San Gimignano, for instance, probably by Pietro Torrigiano c. 1495-1496, conveys a similarly grave and introspective piety (fig. 21)³⁹. Young faces marked by uneasy fervor proliferate in Botticelli's *Mystic Nativity* of 1500/1501 (fig. 22). The style and iconography of that painting, with its apocalyptic inscription, have often been associated with anxieties stirred in Florence by events of the turbulent decade before the half-millennial year 1500, and in particular with the preaching and martyrdom of Savonarola between 1490 and 1498. Debate continues about evidence of Savonarola's impact on the arts. While Condivi reported that the voice of Savonarola rang in Michelangelo's memory, the sculptors most specifically recorded as adherents of the friar are Andrea della Robbia and his sons Francesco (Fra Ambrogio) and Marco (Fra Mattia), who professed at San Marco in 1495 and 1496, respectively; and Baccio da Montelupo⁴⁰. None of them can be closely associated with the works discussed here.

The moods conveyed in the busts of saints and the Magdalen can of course be found in works produced before Savonarola settled in Florence. Their character, however, is consistent with certain essential messages of his sermons – less about art than about right ways of living. Images like the Washington and Boston Baptists, the Berlin Saint Elizabeth and the Santa Fina evoke his calls for simplicity, modesty, and penitential meditation, the “culto interiore” or inward devotion that he set in opposition to worldly delights in art and life. An artist or patron sympathetic to Savonarola's messages, even if not an overt follower, might have imagined saints with the psychology of these⁴¹. The change in mood from the Berlin Baptist to its descendant in Washington could have presented a new, sterner version of the city's patron saint as a devout role model for young Florentines⁴².

Secure attributions for the terracotta busts considered here may never be possible. Giovanni d'Andrea, the completer of the Magdalen and a good candidate for authorship of the Saint Elizabeth, is also worth considering for the Washington Baptist. Eventual discovery of his death date before 1499 may help to narrow down the dates for all three⁴³. Another attribution, to Leonardo del Tasso in the 1490s, has recently been proposed for the Washington bust⁴⁴. There is also the tantalizing fact that Desiderio's son Bernardino, born in the early 1460s shortly before or even just after his father's death, matriculated in the guild of

the Maestri di Pietre e Legnami in November 1489⁴⁵. Towards 1520 Bernardino's name appears among assistants paid by Michelangelo, perhaps for stonework at San Lorenzo⁴⁶. While as yet we have no documented sculpture by Bernardino, he must have been active in the 1490s. Conceivably he grew up with works like the fragile Berlin bust of the boy Baptist in the family home and eventually produced his own interpretation, setting out from his absent father's models to develop a self-conscious, penitentially anxious expression better suited to his own time. He could also have made such a model available to other sculptors, who might have produced their own versions in response to continuing demand.

The three Baptist busts, the Santa Trinita Magdalen and the Berlin Saint Elizabeth all show debts to models by Desiderio, who in the late Quattrocento was perhaps being rediscovered, or more probably had never been forgotten⁴⁷. The Baptists may offer a case study of repeated variations on an admired model, embodied in the lost Berlin bust, in Renaissance works produced years or decades after the original⁴⁸. The busts reshape Desiderio's vibrant naturalism into more monumentally simplified forms, imbued with a sense of rhythmic order. In their psychology these sculptures – the Washington Baptist in particular – show a pronounced introspective gravity. Such a mood suits identities as monastic saints who withdrew from the world. Yet the comparison with Desiderio's extrovert Berlin Baptist suggests that this more contemplative state of mind was a deliberate choice rather than an iconographic requirement. Their debts to creations by Desiderio encourage us to consider ways in which other sculptures made toward 1500, during the years of turmoil in Florence following the death of Lorenzo de' Medici and the French invasion of Italy, might embody a reconsideration of Desiderio's more engaged and open humanity. The sculptors who rang changes on his models were perhaps looking back at the earlier Renaissance through the experience of a sorely shaken city, to be acknowledged in uneasy expression and countered by the monumentality of the incipient Cinquecento.

Ideas discussed here were broached in a talk at the Provo/Athens Renaissance Sculpture Conference at Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee, October 31, 2008, and developed further in a presentation on "The Wake of Desiderio" for the Italian Art Society and Samuel H. Kress Foundation at the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Florence, June 8, 2011. The Clarence Kennedy photographs among the illustrations come from his Studies in the History and Criticism of Sculpture: vol. 3 (Certain portrait Sculptures of the Quattrocento, published 1928) for the Berlin Baptist; vol. 2 (Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini by Desiderio da Settignano and Assistants, published 1928) for fig. 4; vol. 5 (The Tabernacle of the Sacrament by Desiderio da Settignano and Assistants, published 1929) for fig. 7. I am grateful to Melissa Beck Lemke for assistance with these images, and to Neville Rowley for invaluable help in updating the discussion.

- 1 The Washington Baptist, inv. no. 1937.1.130 in the National Gallery of Art, measures 48.9 x 52 x 26 cm. It belonged to the Andrew W. Mellon Collection, and before that to the collection of Gustave Dreyfus in Paris, acquired by Duveen Brothers in 1930. Hubert Goldschmidt has found new evidence, which he will publish in a forthcoming book on the Dreyfus collection, that Eugène Piot purchased the bust in Italy in 1846 or 1847, and that it was acquired by Charles Timbal between 1863 and 1868. For early references see C. Perkins, *Donatello*, in «Gazette des Beaux-Arts», 25, 1868, p. 312, and P. Vitry, *La collection de M. Gustave Dreyfus I. - La sculpture*, in «Les Arts», 72, 1907, pp. 5, 9-10. Documents on the 1976 attribution change from Donatello to workshop of Benedetto da Maiano, and in 1984 to Benedetto himself, are in the curatorial file at the National Gallery of Art. The bust is mentioned by L. Pisani, *San Giovannino Battista nei busti del Rinascimento Fiorentino*, in *Kopf/Bild: Die Büste in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. by J. Kohl, R. Müller, München-Berlin, 2007, pp. 211-233, p. 232, no. 27, as «Benedetto da Maiano (?)». In May 2012 the bust's designation was changed, for reasons discussed here, to «c. 1490, probably after a model by Desiderio da Settignano». Recently an attribution to Leonardo del Tasso in 1490/1500 has been proposed for both the Berlin and Washington busts (A. Bellandi, *Leonardo del Tasso, Scultore Fiorentino del Rinascimento*, Paris, 2016, pp. 66, 150 fig. 163, 254 (cat. III 6, the Berlin bust), 255-256 (cat. III 7, the Washington bust) 256, fig. 255. The bust was cleaned and studied by Marie Stewart, conservation intern and later Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in Object Conservation at the National Gallery of Art, from 2009 to 2013. I am grateful to her for useful discussions of the largely original polychromy, some later paint on costume elements, and repairs to the knot on the chest, the proper right shoulder, and the truncation. On an earlier cleaning see A. Luchs, *Duveen, the Dreyfus Collection, and the Treatment of Italian Renaissance Sculpture: Examples from the National Gallery of Art*, in «Studies in the History of Art», 24, 1990, pp. 34-35.
- 2 *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste. Skulpturensammlung*, ed. by L. Lambacher, 7. *Skulpturen, Möbel*, Berlin, 2006, p. 137, no. 1793, citing F. Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barock. Die Bildwerke in Stein, Holz, Ton und Wachs. Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, p. 9 (as Donatello?). For full bibliography and attribution history see the online entry by N. Rowley, 20 May 2016, <<http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=Externallnterface&module=collection&objectId=1063468&viewType=detailView>> (last accessed 19 July 2021). For a brief, stimulating discussion of the Berlin Baptist see M. Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano und seinem Umkreis zugeschriebene Bildwerke in Berlin*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, ed. by J. Connors, A. Nova, B. Paolozzi Strozzi, G. Wolf, Venezia, 2011, pp. 189-204. The Washington bust is there illustrated, on p. 203, as «Florentine, second half fifteenth century [?]».
- 3 Height 46,5 cm; acquired from Stefano Bardini, in Florence in 1891; Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke*, cit., p. 9.
- 4 Texts in NGA curatorial files; Rudolph Wittkower in 1937, however, opined that the Washington Saint John, then ascribed to Donatello, «can only be regarded as a repetition from Donatello's atelier of the better bust in Berlin». See his *Sculpture in the Mellon Collection*, in «Apollo», 26, 1937, pp. 79-84, esp. p. 82.
- 5 Kennedy's idea was recorded by Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke*, cit. as a hypothesis broached with caution: «Als autor kommt – nach Cl. Kennedys u. a. vorsichtig geäußerten Hypothese, Desiderio in betracht». Charles Seymour, in writing about the Washington bust as Donatello, observed that the «far gayer but much overpainted

- stucco version» in Berlin «on a suggestion by Clarence Kennedy is now attributed to Desiderio da Settignano» (C. Seymour, *Masterpieces of Sculpture from the National Gallery of Art*, Washington DC, 1949, p. 175). The Berlin bust had figured in a photo campaign by Kennedy, whose results were published in his *Studies in the History and Criticism of Sculpture*, 3. *Certain Portrait Sculptures of the Quattrocento*, Northampton, MA, 1928, plates 16-21. It is captioned in the table of contents: «The Young Saint John; terra-cotta: number 28, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin, Attributed to Donatello». Michael Knuth discovered a color photo published by A. Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, 3. *Die Renaissance in Italien*, ed. by Georg Gronau, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 79-80, plate IV, as Donatello; reproduced in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2011, cit., plate XXVIII.
- 6 H. Kauffmann, *Donatello*, Berlin, 1935, p. 241, no. 478.
 - 7 L. Planiscig, *Desiderio da Settignano*, Wien, 1942, pp. 26-27, 45, plate 37 (the Berlin bust).
 - 8 H.W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, 2. *Critical catalogue*, Princeton, 1957, p. 240, note 4. In I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano*, Milano, 1962, pp. 81-82, 88 no. 17, fig. 57, the Berlin bust is illustrated as an example of «desinenze artigianali» of Desiderio's style from the second half of the Quattrocento, even if «molto interessante». She noted that it served as a model for two other versions, perhaps for impecunious clients, including the "weak" reproduction in Washington. The lost Berlin bust is not discussed in G.C. Vines, *Desiderio da Settignano*, PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1981, or A.V. Coonin, *The Sculpture of Desiderio da Settignano*, PhD dissertation, Rutgers University, 1995, or in *Desiderio da Settignano. Sculptor of Renaissance Florence*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello; Paris, Musée du Louvre; Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, 2006-2007), ed. by M. Bormand, B. Paolozzi Strozzi, N. Penny, Washington DC, 2007.
 - 9 Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 199: «Die Diskussion zu diesem verschollenen Stuck stellt also nach wie vor eine grosse Herausforderung für die Quattrocento-Forschung dar».
 - 10 P. Schubring, *Donatello (Klassiker der Kunst)*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1907, plate XL and XLI. I am grateful to Lee Ewing for helpful suggestions about the differing photographs.
 - 11 Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 198.
 - 12 For the Marsuppini tomb, completed c. 1459, see T. Mozzati in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 118-123.
 - 13 See note 7.
 - 14 See for instance G. Gentilini in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 42-45, proposing attributions for the festoon-bearer on the right to the young Benedetto da Maiano, and the one on the left to Verrocchio; discussed further in *id.*, *L'amorevolezza del maestro. Compagni e discepoli di Desiderio, 'giovane eccellente nella scultura'*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2011, cit., pp. 101-122, esp. pp. 111-116. For the possibility that the young Verrocchio was active in Desiderio's workshop, especially on the Marsuppini tomb, and for echoes of Desiderio in Verrocchio's work, see also D. Covi, *Andrea del Verrocchio: Life and Work*, Firenze, 2005, pp. 24-28, 49, 59-60, 92-94, 103, 253; for proposals concerning Benedetto da Maiano as an assistant of Desiderio see D. Carl, *Benedetto da Maiano. A Florentine Sculptor at the Threshold of the High Renaissance*, Regensburg-Turnhout, 2006, esp. pp. 39-47.
 - 15 For the Louvre tondo see N. Penny in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 180-183, and A. Luchs, 'Cosi si specchi': *Speculations on Medici Patronage and Purposes for Desiderio's Louvre Tondo*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2011, cit., pp. 1-16.

- 16 For the San Lorenzo tabernacle, completed 1461, see T. Mozzati in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 228-235. For the Pietà in particular see A. Wright, 'Touch the truth?': *Desiderio da Settignano, Renaissance relief and the body of Christ*, in «Sculpture Journal», 1, 2012, pp. 12-26.
- 17 The Berlin bust of a youth was compared with the San Lorenzo terracotta bust by A.G. Meyer, *Donatello*, Bielefeld-Leipzig, 1903, pp. 38-39, cited by Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 204, note 7. For the portrait proposal, to be argued in detail later, see F. Caglioti, *Donatello misconosciuto: il 'San Lorenzo' per la pieve di Borgo San Lorenzo*, in «Prospettiva», 155-156, 2014 (2015), pp. 2-99, esp. p. 8, and *id.*, in *A nostra immagine. Scultura in terracotta del Rinascimento da Donatello a Riccio*, exhibition catalogue (Padua, Museo diocesano di arte sacra San Gregorio Barbarigo, 2020), ed. by A. Nante, C. Cavalli, A. Galli, Verona, 2020, pp. 44-45, 63, and note 25 below.
- 18 See note 1. Carl, *Benedetto da Maiano*, cit., pp. 112-114, discussed the Sala dei Gigli statuette as reflecting Benedetto's training with Desiderio. Her book does not mention the Washington bust of John the Baptist.
- 19 Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke*, cit., p. 9.
- 20 On Donatello's practice see R. Stone, *A New Interpretation of the Casting of Donatello's Judith and Holofernes*, in *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, ed. by D. Pincus, Washington DC, 2001, pp. 54-69, esp. pp. 54-55, 59-60, 63-65. Stone notes that the use of cloth in the model for the *Judith* was first discussed by Bruno Bearzi in 1951.
- 21 For the Louvre bust see *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 154-159, including a technical study by Agnès Cascio and Juliette Lévy; and M.-L. Marguerite in 'Fece di scultura di legname e colori': *Scultura del Quattrocento in legno dipinto a Firenze*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 2016), ed. by A. Bellandi, Firenze, 2016, pp. 196-197, cat. 18.
- 22 U. Schlegel, *Zu Donatello und Desiderio da Settignano. Beobachtungen zur physiognomischen Gestaltung im Quattrocento*, in «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», 9, 1967, pp. 135-155, esp. pp. 144-152; F. Caglioti in *The Renaissance Portrait from Donatello to Bellini*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, Bode-Museum; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011-2012), ed. by K. Christiansen, S. Weppelmann, New York, 2011, pp. 126-128, the bust as from Desiderio's workshop, c. 1450-55; A. Rosenauer, *Der sogennante Niccolò da Uzzano – Donatello oder doch Desiderio?*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2011, cit., pp. 21-30.
- 23 J. Pohl, *Die Verwendung des Naturabgusses in der italienischen Porträtplastik der Renaissance*, Würzburg, 1938, p. 49, on *Niccolò da Uzzano*: «Das Gewand ist, ebenso wie bei der Berliner Giovanninobüste [he notes Kauffmann's Desiderio attribution for that], die wohl für einen Prozessionsaltar geschaffen war, auf mechanischem Weg gebildet. Es ist echtes schweres Tuch, mit Gips getränkt und um die Schultern drapiert».
- 24 I am grateful to Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi for confirmation (e-mail message, 16 May 2012).
- 25 On uses of plaster in Quattrocento and early Cinquecento sculpture, especially Florentine, see E. Marchand, *Plaster and Plaster Casts in Renaissance Italy*, in *Plaster Casts. Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by R. Frederiksen, E. Marchand, Berlin-New York, 2010, pp. 49-79. Numerous stucco sculptures by Desiderio, mostly reliefs derived from his marble Madonnas or the models for those, were sent to Neri di Bicci for painting; see G. Gentilini, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 36-38, 46-47, 197-199 and T. Mozzati, *ivi*, pp. 200-202 (cat. 16), 204-206 (cat. 17), 210 (cat. 19). A document unfortunately not cited in that catalogue records that Desiderio in October 1463 was paid 2 florins «per una testa del Chardinale di Portoghallo». "Testa" could mean either head or

bust, and the document has been assumed to refer to a death mask, formed from clay or plaster in a mold taken from the face of the deceased Cardinal, presumably to serve the Rossellino as a model for the tomb effigy; see F. Hartt, G. Corti, C. Kennedy, *The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, 1434-1459, at San Miniato in Florence*, Philadelphia, 1964, pp. 53, 82, 86, 143-144, doc. 8. But Caglioti has proposed that Desiderio made a portrait bust of the young cardinal, and that it survives in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo. See note 17. For replicas of the San Lorenzo *Christ Child*, including many stucco casts, see A.P. Darr, P. Barnet, A. Boström, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1., *Eighth to Sixteenth Century*, London-Turnhout, 2002, pp. 110-111, cat. 56, and M. Bormand in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 236-250, esp. cat. 26. It is not certain whether any casts were made in Desiderio's workshop before the sculpture was placed on the tabernacle, rather than after its temporary removals in the 1490s and later periods.

- 26 «Una testa d'uno Christo di terra chotta bellissimo comperai da desiderio», published by A.V. Coonin, *New Documents Concerning Desiderio da Settignano and Annalena Malatesta*, in «The Burlington Magazine», 137, 1995, pp. 792-799. See also Coonin, *The Sculpture of Desiderio da Settignano*, pp. 200-201, 208-209, 234, doc. G. For a Desideriesque terracotta bust of the Christ Child in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, proposed by Coonin as a relevant type of work, see *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., p. 58, fig. 31. For the 1459 bust as more probably an adult Christ see P. Hélas, *Ondulationen zur Christusbüste in Italien (c. 1460-1525)*, in Kohl, Müller, *Kopf/Bild*, cit., pp. 153-209, esp. p. 161.
- 27 Vines, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 47.
- 28 Vitry, *La collection de M. Gustave Dreyfus*, cit., pp. 9-10.
- 29 C.C. Vermeule III, W. Cahn, R. van N. Hadley, *Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, Boston, 1977, p. 114, no. 142. The Boston bust, bearing layers of paint from multiple campaigns over the centuries, was purchased from Julius Böhler in Munich in 1897. Study of its clay and polychromy in relation to those of the Washington bust are published in J. Chloros, V. Talland, H. Salmon, C. Uram, *Italian Renaissance Polychrome Terracotta Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, in *Glass and Ceramics Conservation 2010. Interim Meeting of the ICOM-CC Working Group* (Corning, NY, 3-6 October 2010), ed. by H. Roemich, Corning, NY, 2010, pp. 210-217.
- 30 The bust lent to Princeton comes from the former Otilie Goldschmidt-Przibram collection in Brussels, where it was attributed to the workshop of Donatello. It was published in *Collection Goldschmidt-Przibram de Bruxelles: catalogue des tableaux, sculptures, bronzes, eaux-fortes de Rembrandt, bijoux, médailles, émaux de Limoges, meubles, tapisseries, pendules, porcelaines de Vienne et de Saxe, etc.: Galerie Frederik Muller & Cie, les mardi, mercredi et jeudi 17, 18, 19 juin 1924*, lot 90, Amsterdam, 1924. I am grateful to Martin Gammon for calling it to my attention, and to the owners for permission to study it and publish it here. Special thanks are due to the late Antoinette Goldschmidt Gray (1946-2018).
- 31 Thermoluminescence testing on the Washington bust, undertaken in connection with research carried out by conservation fellow Marie Stewart at the National Gallery of Art, resulted in a report of 15 April 2010 from Doreen Stoneham of Oxford Authentication Ltd, indicating it was last fired between about 1300 and 1600. Results for the Gardner bust, published in Vermeule, Cahn, Hadley, *Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum*, cit., p. 114, no. 142, indicated a date between 1360 and 1500. For the ex-Goldschmidt bust, a report dated September 12, 2000 on a thermoluminescence test of two samples by Helen

Burge of Oxford Authentication Ltd. gave a date range for the last firing between 1300 and 1600.

- 32 See L.A. Waldman, *The Mary Magdalen in Santa Trinita by Desiderio da Settignano and Giovanni d'Andrea*, in «Pantheon», 58, 2000, pp. 13-18. Payments to Desiderio for work on the statue in 1458 and 1459, discovered by Eric Apfelstadt, were published by Coonin, *New Documents*, cit. Desiderio was paid by Annalena Malatesta through the notary ser Pierozzo Cerbini, who at some point apparently took over the commission; his son Bartolomeo ended up paying in 1499 for completion of the statue. For recent discussion of the Magdalen see S. Cavatorti, in *'Fece di scoltura di legname...'*, cit., pp. 184-185, cat. 12, and J. Celani in *Le corps et l'âme. De Donatello à Michelange. Sculptures Italiennes de la Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Musée du Louvre; Milan, Castello Sforzesco, 2020-2021), ed. by M. Bormand, B. Paolozzi Strozzi, F. Tasso, Milano, 2020, pp. 266-267, cat. 84. The photos reproduced here show it before the removal of later overpaint in a campaign from 1984-1990. See *Maddalena*, in «OPD Restauro», 2, 1990, pp. 155-160 and 133 plates I, II, III. It was newly restored for the 2020 exhibition. Francesco Caglioti has recently identified Giovanni d'Andrea with Nanni Grosso, an eccentric Verrocchio assistant who figures in several anecdotes told by Vasari. See *Verrocchio. Master of Leonardo*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi; Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 2019), ed. by F. Caglioti, A. De Marchi, Venezia, 2019, pp. 46-47.
- 33 For Desiderio as an influence on Verrocchio and probably his teacher, see Covi, *Andrea del Verrocchio*, cit.; C. Seymour, Jr., *The Sculpture of Verrocchio*, Greenwich, CT, 1971, p. 21; T. Verdon, *Pictorialism in the Sculpture of Verrocchio*, in *Verrocchio and Late Quattrocento Italian Sculpture*, ed. by S. Bule, A. Darr, F. Superbi Gioffredi, Firenze, 1992, pp. 25-32, esp. 26-27; F. Caglioti, *Da una costola di Desiderio: Due marmi giovanili del Verrocchio*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2011, cit., pp. 123-150; and *Verrocchio. Sculptor of Renaissance Florence*, exhibition catalogue (Washington DC, National Gallery of Art, 2019-2020), ed. by A. Butterfield, Washington DC, 2019, pp. 5, 50-52, 112, 125, 130, 135, 143, 146.
- 34 Waldman, *The Mary Magdalen*, cit., pp. 15-16.
- 35 *Ibidem*.
- 36 Inv. no. 1575, height 52 cm, width 54 cm (at socle). Sold by Stefano Bardini in Florence, 1888, as from the church of Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi (where its presence is not otherwise documented) and «believed to be the portrait of a devout woman of the Pazzi family» (C. de Fabriczy, *Memorie sulla chiesa di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi a Firenze e sulla Badia di S. Salvatore a Settimo*, in «L'Arte», IX, 1906, pp. 255-262, esp. p. 262, note 27). The bust was catalogued by Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke*, cit., p. 48, as by Antonio Rossellino. Schlegel compared it to the Santa Trinita Magdalen and attributed it to a follower of Desiderio, c. 1475 (in *Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Skulpturenabteilung. Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen von der Spätantike bis zum Klassizismus*, ed. by P. Metz, München, 1966, p. 91, cat. 511). The bust is illustrated in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., p. 156, fig. 99, as Florentine, third quarter of the fifteenth century. Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 203, broached possible connections with Matteo Civitali or Pietro Torrigiano.
- 37 Message from Michael Knuth to Alison Luchs, 3 July 2007. The identity as a sainted queen Elizabeth may have been assigned to the bust well after its production. Knuth, *Desiderio da Settignano*, cit., p. 203, proposed Queen Elizabeth of Portugal, declared blessed in 1516 and canonized in 1625. Paatz had suggested the sainted countess Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207-1231), born a princess in Hungary (W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt

- am Main, 1940-1954, 4. *S. Maria Nuova – S. Pulinare*, 1952, pp. 103 and 119-120, no. 101), but that saint died aged 24.
- 38 Volker Krahn, email message, 16 May 2011, kindly provided information on the thermoluminescence results.
- 39 For the bust of Santa Fina see F. Benedettucci in *Il Giardino di San Marco. Maestri e Compagni del Giovane Michelangelo*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Casa Buonarroti, 1992), ed. by Paola Barocchi, Cinisello Balsamo, 1992, pp. 116-119; F. Petrucci in *L'officina della maniera: varietà e fierezza nell'arte fiorentina del Cinquecento fra le due repubbliche (1494-1530)*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 1996-1997), ed. by A. Cecchi, A. Natali, Firenze, 1996, pp. 98-99, and F. Caglioti in *Puro, semplice e naturale nell'arte a Firenze tra Cinque e Seicento*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 2014), ed. by A. Natali et al., Firenze, 2014, pp. 298-299, noting her «sguardo assorto e soavemente malinconico».
- 40 On the della Robbia and Savonarola see G. Gentilini, *I Della Robbia: la scultura invetriata nel Rinascimento*, Firenze, 1992, 1, pp. 224, 257 and 2, pp. 376-385 and notes; and *I della Robbia e l'arte nuova della scultura invetriata*, exhibition catalogue (Fiesole, Basilica di Sant'Alessandro, 1998), ed. by G. Gentilini, Firenze, 1998, pp. 43-56 and 202-203. For Baccio da Montelupo, whose secure works show little affinity for Desiderio's inventions (even though Baccio was engaged to carve a copy of the San Lorenzo *Christ Child*; note 25), see J.D. Turner, *The Sculpture of Baccio da Montelupo*, PhD dissertation, Brown University, 1997 and a forthcoming monograph on Baccio by David Lucidi. A painted terracotta bust of Christ attributed to Baccio c. 1494/1495 has an expressive character seemingly consistent with the Washington Baptist and the Santa Fina. See *Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia*, 4. C. Giometti, *Sculture in Terracotta*, Roma, 2011, p. 32, cat. 2; for a dating closer to 1506 see David Lucidi, *Contributi a Baccio da Montelupo scultore in terracotta*, in «Nuovi Studi», 19, 2013 (2014), pp. 51-132, esp. 63-64, plate 72. Useful summaries on Botticelli's *Mystic Nativity* and its possible references to Savonarola, Dante, the Italian wars of the 1490s, and millenarian visions include C. Plazzotta in *Sandro Botticelli: pittore della Divina Commedia*, exhibition catalogue (Rome, Scuderie papali al Quirinale, 2000), ed. by S. Gentile, Roma-Milano, 2000, pp. 164-167; and N. Pons in *Botticelli and Filippino. Passion and Grace in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Painting*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, Musée du Luxembourg; Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 2003-2004), ed. by D. Arasse, P. De Vecchi, J.K. Nelson, Milano, 2004, pp. 270-273, cat. 48. See also the works cited in the following note.
- 41 On Savonarola's admonition to «attendete al culto interiore e fate penitenzia» see A. Nagel, *The Controversy of Renaissance Art*, Chicago, 2011, pp. 27 and 291, notes 45-46. The friar's call for penitential introspection is discussed by J. Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence*, University Park, PA, 2004, pp. 158-186, 249-254. On late Quattrocento Florence as a receptive setting for Savonarola's preaching see D. Weinstein, *Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1970, and *id.*, *Savonarola: The Rise and Fall of a Renaissance Prophet*, New Haven-London, 2011. Among the vast literature on Savonarola and art, important discussions (with varying conclusions) include R.M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, Florentine Art, and Renaissance Historiography*, Athens, OH, 1977; M.B. Hall, *Savonarola's Preaching and the Patronage of Art*, in *Christianity and the Renaissance. Images and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento*, ed. by T. Verdon and J. Henderson, Syracuse, 1990, pp. 493-522, and J.K. Nelson, P. Zambrano, *Filippino Lippi*, Milano, 2004, pp. 483-511, notes on pp. 569-573. Other recent investigations of possible artistic responses to Savonarola's ideas, perhaps at the behest of particular patrons, include Nelson in *Botticelli and Filippino*, cit., pp. 276-287; D. Dombrowski,

Die religiösen Gemälde Sandro Botticellis. Malerei als pia philosophia, Berlin-München, 2010, pp. 389-409, and M. Feuillet, *Botticelli et Savonarole. L'humanisme à l'épreuve du feu*, Paris, 2010. For an exhibition touching on his impact see *Money and Beauty. Bankers, Botticelli and the Bonfire of the Vanities*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 2011-2012), ed. by L. Sebregondi, T. Parks, Firenze, 2011, esp. pp. 93-101, 237. Pierozzo Cerbini, who commissioned or took over patronage of the Santa Trinita *Magdalen*, reportedly led the kind of life Savonarola deplored. See Waldman, *The Mary Magdalen*, cit., esp. p. 18, note 13. Whether the Magdalen statue is more likely to express the patron's penitence or a personal interpretation by the sculptor who completed it is a persisting question.

- 42 On images of the boy Baptist as a model for the spiritual education of children, with further literature, see B. Paolozzi Strozzi, *Saints and Infants*, in *The Springtime of the Renaissance: Sculpture and the Arts in Florence 1400-1460*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi; Paris, Musée du Louvre, 2013-2014), ed. by B. Paolozzi Strozzi, M. Bormand, Firenze, 2014, pp. 118-129, and Luchs, 'Così si specchi', cit. On the young John the Baptist as a penitent see S. Zuraw, *Marble in Motion: the Running Figure in Florentine Sculpture*, forthcoming.
- 43 The Saint Elizabeth also intriguingly resembles Filippino Lippi's veiled Virgin in the *Double Intercession* altarpiece at the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, a work probably of the mid-1490s, for the Convento del Palco near Prato. See Nelson, Zambrano, *Filippino Lippi*, cit., pp. 489-493.
- 44 Bellandi, *Leonardo del Tasso*, cit., pp. 66, 150 fig. 163, 254-256, attributed the Washington bust to Leonardo del Tasso and dated it 1490/1500.
- 45 C. Kennedy, *Documenti inediti su Desiderio da Settignano e la sua famiglia*, in «Rivista d'Arte», 12, 1930, pp. 243-292, esp. p. 287.
- 46 For Michelangelo's payment of 20 soldi per day to «Bernardino di Desiderio» see L.A. Waldman, *Benedetto da Rovezzano in England and After: New Research on the Artist, His Collaborators, and His Family*, in *The Anglo-Florentine Renaissance. Art for the Early Tudors*, ed. by C.M. Sicca, L.A. Waldman, New Haven-London, 2012, pp. 81-147, esp. pp. 84 and 143, no. 6, citing an undated ricordo in Michelangelo's hand, published by *I ricordi di Michelangelo*, ed. by L. Bardeschi Ciulich and P. Barocchi, Firenze, 1970, p. 257, doc. CCCV.
- 47 The influence of Desiderio on younger contemporaries has been discussed with reference to *Benedetto da Maiano* (Carl, Benedetto da Maiano, cit.); G. Gentilini in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., p. 44; to Verrocchio (see notes 14 and 33); and to Verrocchio's pupil Leonardo da Vinci (K. Weil-Garris Brandt, *Leonardo e la scultura*, Firenze, 1999, esp. pp. 26-29, figs. 49-51; N. Penny, *Desiderio and Low Relief*, in *Desiderio da Settignano*, 2007, cit., pp. 75-85, esp. 83-84).
- 48 The clay of the Gardner bust has a composition sufficiently different from its Washington forerunner to indicate they were not necessarily produced in the same workshop or at the same time; a wider database of clay analyses from Florentine Renaissance sculptures may eventually shed more light on this problem. See Chloros, Salmon, Uram, *Italian Renaissance Polychrome Terracotta Sculpture*, cit., pp. 216-217.



Fig. 1: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung.



Fig. 2: Florentine, after a model attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection. Photo: Lee Ewing.



Fig. 3: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460 (detail). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 4: Desiderio da Settignano, *Christ Child*, detail of Marsuppini tomb, c. 1453/1459. Florence, Santa Croce.

Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 5: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460 (detail, proper right profile). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 6: Desiderio da Settignano and workshop, right festoon-bearer from tomb of Carlo Marsuppini, c. 1453/1459 (detail). Florence, Santa Croce.

Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections,
National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 7: Desiderio da Settignano, *Pietà*, completed by 1461.
Florence, San Lorenzo, tabernacle of the Sacrament.
Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections,
National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC



Fig. 8: Benedetto da Maiano, *Young Saint John the Baptist*, marble, c. 1480 (part.).
Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala dei Gigli.
Photo: Alinari Archives/Art Resource, NY.



Fig. 9: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460 (back). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung.



Fig. 10: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460 (detail, three-quarter view from proper right). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 11: Florentine, after a model attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s (proper left profile).
Washington, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection.
Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Fig. 12: Attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted plaster, c. 1460 (proper left profile). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC.



Fig. 13: Florentine, after a model attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.



Fig. 14: Florentine, after a model attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted terracotta, probably 1480s-1490s. Private Collection.



Fig. 15: Desiderio da Settignano and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Magdalen*, c. 1458/1499, painted wood. Florence, Santa Trinita.

Foto: Gabinetto fotografico del Polo Museale Fiorentino.



Fig. 16: Florentine, after a model attributed to Desiderio da Settignano, *Saint John the Baptist*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s (three-quarter view).
Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection.
Photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Fig. 17: Florentine [Giovanni d'Andrea?], *Saint Elizabeth*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Photo: Antje Voigt.



Fig. 18: Desiderio da Settignano, *Pietà*, completed by 1461 (part.).
Florence, San Lorenzo, tabernacle of the Sacrament.
Photo: Clarence Kennedy Collection, Department of Image Collections,
National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC



Fig. 19: Florentine [Giovanni d'Andrea?], *Saint Elizabeth*, painted terracotta, probably 1490s (three-quarter view). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst. Photo: Antje Voigt.



Fig. 20: Desiderio da Settignano and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Magdalen*, c. 1458/1499, painted wood (detail). Florence, Santa Trinita.

Photo: Gabinetto fotografico del Polo Museale Fiorentino.



Fig. 21: Pietro Torrigiano, *Santa Fina*, painted marble, c. 1495-1496.
San Gimignano, Museo Civico.
Photo: Musei Civici di San Gimignano.



Fig: 22: Sandro Botticelli, *Mystic Nativity*, oil on canvas, 1500/1501 (part.).
London, National Gallery.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons.