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Lorenzo de' Medici's bust in Berlin: (dis)order and (mis)fortune of a casting tradition

No portrayal has likely done more to crystallize the image we have of Lorenzo de' Medici than the Renaissance terracotta bust in the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Credited with spreading what is his most largely attested depiction, more than a dozen of casts following this typology contributed to its diffusion throughout Europe. Yet, since the nineteenth century, the alternating concerns for one cast or another, and the conflicting assumptions about their origin, reflect the long-nurtured (and long-contested) hope for works to be reconciled with a Renaissance production – to which none belong. Tracing their descent, not from the Washington terracotta, but from a marble version the Florentine artist Aristodemo Costoli (1803-1871) made of it, most of these copies have led to contradictory information, hindering any cohesive overview of the network. Acquired in 1839, the Berlin copy led to the same delusion, but, unlike its siblings, it took over the task of carrying this casting tradition into the next century, until damage sustained during the Second World War made it too inconvenient for any further reproduction. Following this tradition's most privileged, and incidentally most ill-fated version, this paper retraces the development of this production, tracking back the casts and reassessing their sequence in the nineteenth century and beyond, with the aim of establishing some order in the scholarly vicissitudes this network has undergone for more than two centuries.

It is an imposing image; a stately character thoroughly clothed in sophisticated garments, swathing a figure frozen in a severe, almost anxious look. Like most of what was remembered of Lorenzo de' Medici's appearance, the Berlin bust in the Bode-Museum is no exception (inv. no. 184, fig. 1, 2). The Florentine ruler is represented wearing a dark blue sleeveless gown (*lucco*) from which protrude the brown-red sleeves of the doublet he wears underneath (*farsetto*); over the gown, a tight strip matching the doublet's colour winds from one shoulder to the other, dangling against his chest; his head is adorned with a particular headgear (*cappuccio*) consisting of a stuffed ring (*mazzocchio*) and a side flap hanging to the left (*foggia*) – all in accordance with the common dress of affluent men in fifteenth-century Florence¹.

Despite the number of works accounting for this type of portrayal, two Renaissance terracotta busts shaped alone the two patterns we actually got of it: a widely known version at the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (fig. 3) and a second, slightly different in execution, in a private collection in Florence (fig. 4)².

The latter, however, can fairly be said to have contributed little in conveying Lorenzo's image. Spared from publicity by long-lasting, ever private Florentine ownerships, the bust has been of such scarce influence as to have never left a single echo in the arts, remaining the unique iconographical evidence of the kind

so far. If our knowledge of this portrayal is then so indebted to the Washington bust, the reason is not because all surviving versions were inspired by it, but because they have reproduced it in the strictest way possible. Indeed, unlike variants fashioned in the style, they are all copies obtained by casting process³.

In this regard, it might be worthwhile to disabuse the reader of an outdated, yet durable fallacy from the outset: save the Renaissance bust in Washington, none of the versions derived from it can claim so old an origin. As shall be seen below, stemming from the renewed but belated interest in this work during the nineteenth century, their inception goes back no further than the 1830s. Accordingly, it is within this modern fortune and the casting tradition it triggered that the Berlin bust discussed in the following pages belongs.

Even though the interrelation between these copies is a rather logical one, the fact that they were not systematically obtained from the Washington model, but also from one another, at varying times and extents, caused this network to be repeatedly misunderstood by scholars. Through fragmentary, often-isolated records made of these various casts, the sporadic attention paid to this network has offered sparse insights at best – which have ultimately contributed more confusion than clarity to the issue.

Needless to say, as a casting production, problems of recognition have been at the core of such a confusion, chiefly driven by the difficulty (and the failure) of determining which cast descended from which, if not which was which. In the worst cases, the distinction in the “reproduction chain” between one cast and another has even coalesced, resulting in a turmoil of contradictions we still have to face when approaching these works.

The aim here is not to provide a comprehensive study of this modern tradition of casts. In the end, besides those whose trace has been lost since they were last recorded, others are still likely awaiting discovery. Partial as it may be, unravelling the extant network has nonetheless been an ongoing concern in considering the Berlin bust. If this helped in replacing the work within the production it partakes, it obliquely enabled to take stock of the situation along this tradition of casts related to the Washington typology, bringing about a network whose long-missing, though tentative, overview is first suggested at the end of this paper.

For any copy of the Washington model, as for ours, one has to rely on the studies carried out on that bust to understand the iconographical grounds they share. Because of the thoughtful regulation Lorenzo seemingly applied to the display of his own imagery, attempts to identify the purpose of so prominent an image have pointed towards two suitable events⁴. A first occurred in 1478, in the aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy, when wax life-sized figures of Lorenzo were

produced and placed in churches, both as a thanksgiving for his survival and a political statement to call up his rule⁵; a second occurred in 1515, when Lorenzo's son Giovanni triumphantly entered Florence as Pope Leo X, on the occasion of which a figure of his father was reported in the procession's decor⁶. Regardless of the purpose for which this iconography was first set, either serving as votive effigies or dynastic recalls, it is certain that the production it ensued was met with some success. Enough at least to still be available in the middle of the sixteenth century and accepted as a trustworthy likeness, to judge by the Uffizi portrait made in Bronzino's workshop decades after Lorenzo's death (fig. 5)⁷.

With regard to likeness, discussions over the Washington terracotta have raised a prime concern about whether the face had been an artist's free creation, or whether it had depended on Lorenzo's true features and if so, by what means. On the basis of a thorough examination of Lorenzo's portrayal, Alison Luchs has proved the first option can be definitely discarded. As a matter of fact, since the second amounts to either closely modelling the face after a mask (if not the sitter) or incorporating a cast obtained from a mask into the bust⁸, a compromise between the two techniques was reached, as demonstrated by the finger marks found inside the head and the subsequent hand-modelled enhancement of some facial features⁹. Both indicating that, prior to incorporation, the clay was pressed into a mold (and not modelled *ex nihilo*), while the modelling was guided by an accurate facial record. Reviewing the physiognomic arguments that convincingly led Luchs to deduce so would be pointless, as they are the same to which any copy of the Washington bust should refer. In support of the author's view, a detail is nevertheless worth further discussion, inasmuch as the Washington terracotta, together with the privately owned in Florence and another – yet from a different typology – in the Národní galerie of Prague (fig. 6), are the only ones among Lorenzo's Renaissance portrayals to introduce it¹⁰.

Ranging from contemporaneous descriptions that have reported his absence of smell and nasal voice, up to modern studies that have sought medical explanations for these disorders, if there is one feature of Lorenzo's to which literature has paid morbid attention, that feature is his nose¹¹. Unlike any other evidence, however, what these busts account for is more than a bulbous, broad, or crooked shape that most scholars have written about and most depictions have shown. Full-face, the deformity proves anything but anecdotal, consisting of a single sinuous recession which runs virtually along the left side of the nasal ridge, starting after the bones and waning towards the tip, as the cartilage takes over. From another perspective, had this recession stemmed from reality, we would be actually witnessing the mark left by a nasal septum deviation.

That such a deformity on the Washington typology did not originate in a craftsman's fantasy is confirmed by its presence in two other works. The first is the aforementioned private terracotta which, precisely because it is more likely to be related to the Washington's by collateral rather than linear kinship¹², hints at least at one common earlier source carrying the same peculiarity. The second is Lorenzo's death-mask, whose invaluable record favorably brings a first occurrence forward as early as his death in 1492 (fig. 7)¹³. The conclusive touchstone, yet, ruling out any technical incident that would have been reproduced from that mask onward lies in the morphological evidence of Lorenzo's skull (fig. 8)¹⁴. By the inflation of the right bone, together with the distortion of the internasal suture rightward, such a recession is not only confirmed as a genuine physical outcome, but also as a "congenital defect" only conceivably passing on to works tracing their descent from an uncompromising reflection of reality (be it the sitter's physical face or his facial cast). Though it is still challenging to figure out how many intermediates might have separated the Washington bust from Lorenzo's face (if any), it is plain that only an exceptionally knowledgeable source could have ensured the presence of so dramatic a feature¹⁵.

The primacy of this faithful terracotta bust over the modern casts we have at hand is evidenced by a fortuitous incident. Again, the portrait made in Bronzino's workshop serves as a useful basis for verification, for while giving an insight into the fashion of the time showing what a *cappuccio* really was, it also indicates where all these busts went wrong. Despite correspondingly displaying the *foggia* hanging to the left, the scarf-like strip over the tunic was actually meant to be part of the headgear from which a longer strip (*becchetto*) should have dangled from the right top, before twisting around the shoulders as it does¹⁶. As the latest analysis and restorations have pointed out, the Washington bust would be still reflecting this fashion, had its *becchetto* not been broken and lost at some undetermined time, and the break point over the shoulder not been fancifully repaired through a plaster addition¹⁷. This erroneous repair, resulting in an ear-shaped protrusion as if the scarf-like strip were a completely separate piece of cloth, has since been removed during the latest conservation treatments. In the meantime, however, it had already operated as a hallmark giving any copy away, for by molding process all casts have accurately perpetuated the same idiosyncrasy.

Unfortunately, neither the breaking nor the odd repair are dated so to give a *post quem* for these copies¹⁸, but a further information related to the Washington bust obliquely does. When the latter was acquired in Florence in the early 1830s by the English collector Lord John Sanford, the value of this terracotta owed more to the alleged attribution to Michelangelo than to the mask it might have

drawn on. It is therefore no surprise that an outpouring of interest concomitantly manifested with the time it was to be packed and sent to England in summer of 1837, along with the collection gathered in Italy and transferred to the Sanford's estate in London, later moved to Corsham, Wiltshire¹⁹. First to ask for a cast was the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence²⁰, and it is coincidentally from a late letter drafted in 1851 by the academy's director Luca Bourbon del Monte that crucial information is revealed. Answering his counterpart in Siena who had requested some copies from the Florentine collection of casts, Bourbon del Monte slipped a momentous clue for the entire casting tradition: first stating that Lord Sanford had commissioned the Florentine artist Aristodemo Costoli (1803-1871) to make a cast of the terracotta in order to carve a marble version, but also that it is from this very marble that all further copies had been cast²¹.

The information is admittedly tenuous, but the marble in question, which is signed and dated 1837, is still held at Corsham (fig. 9)²². Although it is of no help in dating the odd repair on the terracotta (if not proving it occurred before²³), it decisively readjusts the lineage for every cast following the Washington typology. As we look at them, the debt reportedly owed to that marble openly breaks through the slight but clear-cut rationalization that Lorenzo's figure had undergone passing through Costoli's hands on occasion of this carving. Once compared against the Washington bust, the difference on these casts manifests in the disappearance of the crow's feet around the eyes, the smoothing of the uneven texture of hair and eyebrows, and the overall redefinition of the hairlocks, which are all identifying features of Costoli's intermediary work. Like the Berlin bust, most of the casts counted thus far can be ascribed to this marble on the grounds of this visual evidence (whenever available) or, failing that, on what can be inferred from the scanty information about their pedigree.

In an undated letter Sanford addressed to Edward Nicholls Dennys, the next owner of the terracotta who purchased it around 1841, three casts are already reported²⁴. The first is indeed the one Sanford sent to the Accademia di Belle Arti in Florence, presently missing, though recorded on-site as late as 1851²⁵. The second, allegedly in terracotta and otherwise undocumented, was sent to Sanford's «old friend» [William G.?] Coesvelt. Although none of them could be traced back, the third, «presented to the Society of Arts in Edinburgh», has a good claim to be the plaster cast still in Edinburgh today, which significantly entered the collection of the College of Art in 1837 (fig. 10)²⁶.

Perhaps to keep a vivid memory of the terracotta he was to auction around 1841²⁷, Sanford commissioned a polychrome plaster cast, today still on display on the staircase in Corsham Court (fig. 11)²⁸. Plausibly intertwining with the

latter, a polychrome version (whose medium cannot be determined) was once held in the Bailey collection in Lynton, Devon, as suggested by a picture dated 1905 showing the Octagonal room in the estate of Lee Abbey (fig. 12)²⁹. Likewise, the only evidence of the cast delivered to the Accademia in Siena in 1852 lies in the letter drafted by Bourbon del Monte³⁰. Eventually, two more casts are to be added: a polychrome plaster in Forlì, still in storage in the Musei Civici, but whose diverging details call for further investigation as to determine which one of Costoli's mold was used (fig. 13)³¹; and another, also in polychrome plaster, in the collection of Count Valentin Zubov in Saint Petersburg as early as 1909, whose whereabouts are unknown³².

Closing the loop of this first generation of casts, Costoli reverted to the subject in 1859 with a second marble version, now in the Villa Medicea of Careggi (fig. 14)³³. Departing from the typology through a more personal treatment, particularly evident in the neo-classical turn given to the curly hair, this final marble never garnered yet the same popularity that the first had achieved.

Even if it has to be counted among the aforementioned group, the fortune of the Berlin cast urges it to be considered apart, being the only version on which the tradition would rely. Thus far, the only evidence we have of its provenance is second-hand information from Wilhelm Bode, relying on a source, otherwise unknown to us, that recorded the bust as having been acquired in Florence and then offered to the Berlin Royal Museums in 1839 by the Florentine painter Cesare Mussini (1804-1879)³⁴. Despite being born in Berlin, the artist is better known for his ties with the intellectual circle and worldly life of Florence, as well as a rather successful career at the Accademia di Belle Arti, where he had eventually been appointed as a professor in 1834³⁵. This notwithstanding, the circumstances under which Mussini and the Museums established contact remain unclear.

Although we might surmise a connection within the connoisseurs' circle in Italy, Mussini's records show just how rooted he was in the Prussian cultural and political scene, making a connection in Berlin just as plausible³⁶. In this regard, it might be significant to consider that the artist returned to Berlin for the first time since his childhood in 1838 – one year before the actual donation of the cast, but also one year after Costoli had his marble carved and ready to be molded³⁷. Such serendipitous timing allows us to imagine not only his donation being contemplated in Berlin, but also for the possibility of two interlocutors standing out, like Ignaz Maria von Olfers (General Director of the Royal Museums from 1839 to 1869) and Gustav Friedrich Waagen (director of the Gemäldegalerie from 1830 to 1868). As we shall see, besides the common pursuit of new acquisitions at that time with the aim of replanning the royal collections through filling the gaps,

both provide circumstantial evidence of more or less direct links with Mussini, sufficient to plausibly support their involvement in this specific trade³⁸.

Given the situation in 1839, accounting for Mussini's position in the very academy that had just received a cast from Costoli's marble in 1837 and his professional proximity with the latter in those years³⁹, one would expect him to be fully aware of the provenance of his gift to be presented in Berlin in due form: a plaster, which was cast from a modern marble, which was carved after a Renaissance terracotta.

Startlingly enough, however, the Museums did not document the chain of events as such and, in so doing, accidentally omitted the leading role Costoli played in it, as evidenced by a single but definitive statement made when Waagen first discussed the cast, attributing the work to the circle of Antonio Pollaiuolo (c. 1431-1498)⁴⁰.

Why the knowledge of Costoli's involvement did not spread in a timely manner proves puzzling, considering how many opportunities there were for it to be released by the Florentine academy⁴¹. Ultimately, Waagen's blunder just adds to the disappointment since, despite accounting for no less than two visits to the Corsham Court collection, he still missed the opportunity to collect the information himself⁴². In any event, however ill-fated the circumstances were on either side, the pedigree of the Berlin cast never came to light.

Who lured who is anyone's guess. It is certain, yet, that relationship between Mussini and the Berlin curators were regarded as trustworthy, for besides the *Lorenzo de' Medici*, at least two other busts are known to come from the artist: a long assumed *Niccolò Machiavelli* (inv. no. 183), entering the collection as gift in that same year 1839⁴³; and a so-called *Piero Soderini* (inv. no. 174), entering as a purchase in 1840⁴⁴.

Although the lack of archives prevents verification of Mussini's involvement in other specific artworks, there is no doubt that his aid in this hunt went beyond sculpture, and that it was far more fruitful than we can possibly appraise today⁴⁵. This is further confirmed in Mussini's autobiography, which indicates how his collaboration garnered sustained praise, enough for him to record that «as I was going back to Italy, he [King Frederick William III] charged me to buy artworks for his museum whenever they could be found on sale. I did my best and, in March of 1843, I was awarded the Order of the Red Eagle»⁴⁶.

If we were thus to present Mussini's *bona fide* in light of the above, any willful deceit related to Lorenzo's cast would be inconsistent with the pattern. Whoever the mysterious craftsman, whether Mussini had been insufficiently concerned about the provenance of his gift or the Berlin Museums who had been too

enthusiastic, or both, the memory of Costoli's contribution in this tradition simply vanished – at quite lightning speed, given the short time elapsed between the inception of the marble (1837) and the donation of its plaster copy (1839)⁴⁷.

As a result, lacking the chronological limit the marble would have set, the date of the cast intuitively shifted towards the closest, earlier work of the typology lying in the Washington bust. Such an overrating would prove tenacious, as the cast was to be considered a Renaissance work from that point onward for over a century, before Pope-Hennessy put forward the hypothesis of a nineteenth-century origin⁴⁸.

Until this happened, however, the situation had been favorable enough to give the work its finest hour. Indeed, its acquisition could not have intervened at a more decisive turning point, as the frenzy for the terracotta reproductions was reaching its climax with the departure of the Sanford collection to London (1837) and the ensuing awareness that the bust could be whisked off to an unpredictable and no longer reachable location. Such fear would prove justified much later, when the terracotta would definitively leave overseas to New York in 1921⁴⁹. In the meantime, the gap left by its departure out of Italy to England had obliquely provided the Berlin copy its highest value, as it became the only polychrome version of the typology still publicly available, as well as the only copy mistakenly regarded as coeval with its terracotta relative. Accordingly, while all the casts taken from Costoli's marble marked the end of the line, the Berlin version was the one through which the tradition lived on.

From this cast, Carl L. Becker (1843-1917) devised the drawing for an engraving which was to illustrate Ludwig Geiger's *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland* in 1882 (fig. 15)⁵⁰, and which was shortly after reused for John C. Ridpath's *Cyclopaedia of Universal History* in 1885 (fig. 16)⁵¹. It thus comes as no surprise if Bode himself relied on the cast for two frontispieces published in 1883 and 1902 (fig. 17, 18)⁵², even though the longing for this bust would soon broaden beyond prints.

In 1908, Ivan Tsvetaev, who was in charge of the collection of casts at the University of Moscow, ordered from Bode himself a polychrome plaster copy made by the Berlin Gipsformerei for the upcoming Museum of Fine Arts to be opened in 1912 (today the Pushkin Museum), which is still the best example of what the Berlin bust would have looked like, had it not been damaged (fig. 19)⁵³. Besides a second plaster made by the Berlin casting factory for its own collection (fig. 20)⁵⁴, a third was sent to Florence by the spring of 1929, for the opening of the Museo Mediceo housed in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (fig. 21)⁵⁵. Despite the absence of any explicit mention in the guide made for the occasion, it nevertheless contains

a picture showing the interior view of a room, where the bust is shown on display over a sideboard on the wall⁵⁶. Going unmentioned again in the catalogue of the *Mostra Medicea* (1939), the plaster was chosen to illustrate the promotional postcards created for the exhibition (fig. 22). Although attempts to find this cast have failed thus far, it is certain that it came out unscathed from the 1966 flood of the Arno, as pictures documenting the rooms after the event still show the bust over the same sideboard from its first display⁵⁷.

Following the opening in 1929, the cast of the Museo Mediceo was molded in turn the next year by the artist Luigi Lelli in the making of another copy for the collection of casts of the newly built Istituto d'Arte in Florence (today Liceo Artistico di Porta Romana) where he had been appointed as a professor and charged with providing the school with new works (fig. 23)⁵⁸. Eventually, the Scuola d'Arte "Pietro Selvatico" in Padua asked to the Istituto a copy in 1934: marking the last typological bust found so far, the work was among the losses owed to the bombing of February of 1945, only surviving in a picture of a classroom (fig. 24)⁵⁹.

Coincidentally, if wartime events brought this casting tradition to a halt, they also defaced the cast on which it had depended. Considering the bubbles and cracks widely scattered over the lifting and crumpling of the paint layers on the facial area, the Berlin bust no longer appears as Waagen or Bode might have observed it. In 1939, a full century after the work had entered the collection, by the outbreak of war the galleries were closed and the cast went entangled, along with countless other Berlin artworks, in the troublesome evacuation plans which were to be relentlessly revised until 1945⁶⁰. Even though the damage might suggest the opposite, the work seemingly never shared the fate of the Friedrichshain bunker, where the greatest part of the collection of sculpture was eventually left in storage, burning in the two fires that spread in May of 1945⁶¹.

Despite constant resorting and updating, the numerous lists which indeed accounted for the whereabouts of the Berlin artworks during the war consistently show that crate 21 which contained Lorenzo's bust never moved through Friedrichshain⁶². First reported in the Zoo bunker, there it remained until the arrival of the Red Army, figuring significantly on the list of artworks which were seized on-site upon the German defeat and routed to the Soviet headquarters in the Berlin district of Karlshorst⁶³. Ending up among the confiscations later dispatched to Saint Petersburg and Moscow, the cast was stored in the State Hermitage Museum, from where it was eventually returned to Germany in 1958, finding its way back to the museum which had meanwhile taken late Bode's name⁶⁴. With regard to the condition of the bust, unless a sudden change caused it to be sent to Friedrichshain (notwithstanding the consistency of the cross-

checks provided by the lists along the way), we are bound to assume that the work remained where it had been systematically recorded, sustaining damage elsewhere, at a later time⁶⁵.

Analysis is still to be carried out to shed light on the upheavals the bust might have undergone. Whatever happened between the onset of the war and the piece's restitution, the Berlin bust had nevertheless already been effective in this casting tradition, serving as the privileged channel for a new momentum in its diffusion.

Challenging as it is to single out the casts vaguely described only as «in Italy» or «in Paris», other copies which have gone unnoticed will undoubtedly be recovered and add to the appraisal of the legacy left by the terracotta⁶⁶. Upon its departure in 1837, the ardent attention paid to the bust propelled it to become Lorenzo's most sought-after portrayal in sculpture, as evidenced by the relentless demand for casts based on the Washington typology for almost a century after. Ironically, as the casts multiplied, compensating for the iconographic rarity, the scholarship on the subject was losing count and track of their sequence, with occasional contributions of corrupted and contaminated information. So much so that the network turned into a breeding ground for delusion and misinformation, as is so aptly demonstrated in the Berlin version.

This might explain why, when the Berlin Royal Museums were offered the cast, neither the curators nor probably Mussini could imagine the plaster to be anything but a true vintage masterpiece, rather than a mere reproduction. This mistaken prospect notwithstanding, the cast had become the most comprehensive and reliable depiction of the typology in Europe, carrying the terracotta into a final twentieth-century revival – all the while paying Costoli another extensive, though unwitting tribute.

- 1 For these garments, see C. Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence. Families, Fortunes, & Fine Clothing*, Baltimore-London, 2002, pp. 311 (*lucco*); 51, 160, 307 (*farsetto*); 149-151, 304-305 (*cappuccio*). For the significance of the *lucco*, see also E. Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence*, London-New York, 2016, pp. 38-44.
- 2 For the bust in Washington (inv. no. 1943.4.92, dated 1513-1520), see A. Luchs, *Lorenzo from Life? Renaissance Portrait Busts of Lorenzo de' Medici*, in «The Sculpture Journal», 4, 2000, pp. 6-23 and M. Belman, A. Luchs, S. Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color: The Conservation of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, in *Facture*, 1. (*Renaissance Masterworks*), ed. by D. Barbour, M. Gifford, New Haven-London, 2013, pp. 32-57. For the bust in Florence (dated 1515-1520), formerly in the Volpi collection, see *Nello splendore mediceo. Papa Leone X e Firenze*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Museo delle Cappelle Medicee-Casa Buonarroti, 25 March – 6 October 2013), ed. by N. Baldini, M. Bietti, Firenze, 2013, pp. 368-369, cat. 9 and R. Ferrazza, *Elia Volpi e il commercio dell'arte nel primo trentennio del Novecento*, Pisa, 1985, p. 449, note 120. Considering the puzzling over life-sized dimensions (80x80 cm) and differing details of

the latter, I defer to Planiscig's opinion according to which «i due busti, pur servendosi di un comune modello primo, viv[on]o indipendenti l'uno dall'altro» (letter from Leo Planiscig to Elia Volpi, 5 October 1934, published in E. Volpi, *Lorenzo de' Medici. Busto in terracotta opera di Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488)*, Città di Castello, 1935, n.p.).

- 3 For variants, see for example the versions based on Andrea del Verrocchio's *Christ the Redeemer*, recently discussed in *Verrocchio: il maestro di Leonardo*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi-Museo del Bargello, 9 March – 14 July 2019), ed. by F. Caglioti, A. De Marchi, Venezia, 2019, pp. 302-305, cat. 10.3a-c.
- 4 Luchs, *Lorenzo from Life?*, cit., pp. 7-8. On Lorenzo's policy about self-image display, see M. Bullard, *Lorenzo il Magnifico. Image and Anxiety, Politics and Finance*, Firenze, 1994, chapter 2.
- 5 Vasari reported three life-sized sculptures (with head, hands and feet) the creation of which was charged to Orsino Benintendi by Andrea del Verrocchio: one went to the Chiarito church (Florence), dressing the garments Lorenzo showed himself to the public after the attack; a second to the Annunziata (Florence), dressing the *luccho*; a third to Santa Maria degli Angeli (Assisi), G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, ed. by P. Barocchi, 3, Firenze, 1971, pp. 544. Warburg was first to suggest a connection between these votive wax figures and the Berlin bust, A. Warburg, *Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum. I. Domenico Ghirlandajo in Santa Trinita. Die Bildnisse des Lorenzo de' Medici und seiner Angehörigen*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 11, note 2. Aligning with Warburg, this connection was made for the Washington bust by U. Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools XIV-XIX Century*, London, 1976, p. 44, note 21, and has been taken up ever since. On these votive busts, see bibliography in Belman, Luchs, Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color*, cit., p. 38, note 14 and p. 39, note 16. See also below note 16.
- 6 I. Ciseri, *L'ingresso trionfale di Leone X in Firenze nel 1515*, Firenze, 1990, p. 69, note 59.
- 7 For this portrait (inv. 1890 no. 865, dated 1555-1565), see *Bronzino. Pittore e poeta alla corte dei Medici*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 24 September 2010 – 23 January 2011), ed. by C. Falciani, A. Natali, Firenze, 2010, pp. 144-147, cat. II.17b. The connection with the Washington bust was made by G. Passavant, *Verrocchio: Skulpturen, Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, London, 1969, p. 212, app. 4; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th-18th Centuries*, 1., Firenze, 1981, p. 29 and 2., Firenze, 1983, p. 1140, cat. 74,6; Luchs, *Lorenzo from Life?*, cit., p. 9 and Belman, Luchs, Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color*, cit., p. 32. Considering that each fold of the garment matches exactly with those of the terracotta, it is plain that the workshop relied, if not on the Washington bust, at least on the same production from which it stemmed.
- 8 Fundamental contributions on works with related technical aspects and their literature are in G. Gentilini, *Il Beato Sorore di Santa Maria della Scala*, in «Antologia di Belle Arti», 52-55, 1996, p. 17, note 4 and p. 28, note 64. For recent discussions on the use of facial cast, see J. Kohl, *Casting Renaissance Florence: the bust of Giovanni de' Medici and indexical portraiture*, in *Carving, Casts & Collectors. The Art of Renaissance Sculpture*, ed. by P. Motture, E. Jones, D. Zikos, London, 2013, pp. 58-71 and M. Siebert, *Totenmaske und Porträt. Der Gesichtsabguss in der Kunst der Florentiner Renaissance*, Baden-Baden, 2017, especially pp. 129-139 (for incorporation technique); 139-149, 184-195 (for modelling technique).
- 9 For finger marks, see Belman, Luchs, Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color*, cit., pp. 48-49. For hand-modelled enhancement (as for the deepening of the scar between the eyebrows and the inflating of the lower lip), see Luchs, *Lorenzo from Life?*, cit., p. 15.

- 10 For the bust in Prague (inv. no. P 5473, dated late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries), see *Terra[cotta]. Plastika a majolica italské renesance/Sculpture and Majolica of Italian Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Prague, Národní galerie, 15 December 2006 – 15 April 2007), ed. by Petr Přibyl, Praha, 2006, pp. 26-29, cat. 10 and J. Chlábek, *Italské renesanční sochařství v českých státních a soukromých sbírkách*, Praha, 2006, pp. 222-226, cat. 106.
- 11 See Niccolò Valori («pressis naribus, voce admodum rauca [...]. Olfactu penitus caruit»); Jacopo Nardi («una certa dolce e grave e grata pronunzia, del che era mancato [...] che per la strettezza del naso pareva sempre che fusse fioco») and Francesco Guicciardini («la pronunzia e boce roca e poco grata perché pareva parlassi col naso»), fully transcribed in N. Valori, *Vita di Lorenzo de' Medici*, ed. by E. Niccolini, Vicenza, 1991, p. 46; J. Nardi, *Istorie della città di Firenze*, ed. by L. Arbib, 1., Firenze, 1838, p. 25 and F. Guicciardini, *Storie Fiorentine dal 1378 al 1509*, ed. by R. Palmarocchi, Bari, 1931, p. 80. For clinical views of Lorenzo's absence of smell and voice disorders, see E. Panconesi, *Lorenzo il Magnifico in salute e in malattia*, Firenze, 1992, pp. 53-55 and C. Ponticelli, C. Salimbeni, *La sindrome di Lorenzo*, in «Acta Otorhinolaryngologica Italica», 12, 1992, pp. 507-512.
- 12 See above, note 2.
- 13 For the mask, see *Gesichter der Renaissance. Meisterwerke italienischer Portrait-Kunst*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, Bode-Museum, 25 August – 20 November 2011-New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 19 December 2011 – 18 March 2012), ed. by K. Christiansen, S. Weppelmann, München, 2011, pp. 182-184, cat. 56 and M. Sframeli, *La maschera di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Vicende e iconografia*, Firenze, 1993.
- 14 A morphological and anthropometric survey of Lorenzo's skull was made by S. Mainardi, *Le ricognizioni antropologiche di personalità storiche avvenute in Firenze dal 1871 al 1989 nella documentazione delle istituzioni antropologiche fiorentine*, M.A. thesis, Università degli Studi di Firenze, a.a. 1989, especially pp. 85-86 (for the nasal bones). I am grateful to Donatella Lippi who also made available the studies based on the X-rays realized by Giuseppe Genna in 1947.
- 15 At first glance, the domes of the nose showing through the skin would rule out a derivation from the extant death-mask. On the latter the area is damaged enough to not show such detail, and there are reasons to assume that it appeared so from the inception: being the most salient part, the fresh plaster is most likely to have stuck in, or broken when the mold was removed (on mold oiling [*insaponatura*] and nose breaking risks, see indeed C. Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, chap. CLXXXIV). Yet, the inflated area above the upper eyelid creases and the schematic rendition of the eyebrows, indented outside in and bottom upwards, are distinctively reminiscent of some plaster flaws of that mask, which the bust could not conceivably have taken from elsewhere, except from another version of the death-mask or its derivative. In this light, it is congruent to imagine the domes as part of the reworking of some facial features (see above, note 9), having possibly relied on an already enhanced version of the mask.
- 16 See Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence*, cit., p. 304. Though interestingly suggested in Luchs, *Lorenzo from Life?*, cit., pp. 17-18 and Belman, Luchs, Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color*, cit., p. 40, the connection between this unusual wrapping and the Chiarito votive wax described by Vasari proves to be hazardous if we consider the distinction Vasari expressly made between the garments of the Chiarito version and the *lucco* of the Annunziata one (see above, note 5).
- 17 For this repair, see Belman, Luchs, Sturman, *A Renaissance of Color*, cit., pp. 45-46, note 31. A virtual reconstruction of the terracotta's original appearance is at p. 53, fig. 22.

- 18 See below, note 23.
- 19 A transfer between May and June can be inferred from B. Nicolson, *The Sanford Collection*, in «The Burlington Magazine», 97, 1955, p. 208, note 10, and from Sanford himself, who announced his departure from Florence «the next month» in an undated letter, related yet to the nomination received at the end of April of 1837 of his wife Elizabeth as honorary academic of the Accademia di Belle Arti of Florence, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze (hereinafter AABAFi), filza 26, 1837, inserto 30, letter from J. Sanford to the academy's director Antonio Ramirez de Montalvo. At Sanford's death in 1855, the collection passed by inheritance to the Methuen family in Corsham Court through the marriage of his daughter and only child, Anna Horatia Caroline (1824-1899).
- 20 For this cast, see below, notes 21 and 25.
- 21 Among the ten copies of «alcuni stupendi ritratti di scarpello antico [...] ed altri non meno belli dei nostri quattrocentisti» asked by the Siena academy, that of Lorenzo's bust (ranking second in order of importance), was expected to be made from the cast «ricavato dalla Terra cotta già nello studio del Sig. Prof. Costoli», AABAFi, filza 41B, 1852, inserto 135, list from the academy's director in Siena Luigi Mussini to L. Bourbon del Monte, 13 December 1851. This is likely why the Florentine academy preferred then to clarify the situation so extensively: «La terracotta originale fu venduta a Lord Sanford. Il prof. Costoli per altro ne serba un buon calco, che gli servì per farne una copia in marmo dal quale sono cavati tutti gli esemplari che sono in Firenze, come, p. e. quello che è nella scuola de' Bassorilievi. Il prof. Costoli per altro non ha nessuna difficoltà di far fare un secondo calco sul calco suo». Followed by a note adding further detail: «La original terracotta di questo busto, creduto con ragione di Michelangiolo, la comprò dal pittore Liverati lord Sanford. Ma prima di portarlo in Inghilterra egli dette commissione al prof. Costoli di farne un calco, e da quello eseguirne una copia in marmo. Su questa copia fu gettata una forma a buona, e riprodottine vari esemplari che questo signore inglese regalò a diversi, ed uno all'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze, della quale è socio. Il prof. Costoli però serba tuttavia il calco fatto sulla originale terra cotta, che ha un'impronta più schietta ed una esecuzione più gagliarda degli altri cavati dal marmo del Costoli stesso. Io gli ho domandato se si contenterebbe che fosse fatto un calco nel calco originale; ed egli mi ha risposto che non ha nessuna difficoltà, molto più trattandosi di servire un Istituto di Belle Arti», *ivi*, letter from L. Bourbon del Monte to L. Mussini, 20 December 1851. However knowledgeable this note was, Carlo Ernesto Liverati's position within the pedigree of the bust calls for further investigation, insofar as Sanford's account book (recording his purchases from 1832 to 1836) registered the bust apparently on 5 May 1836 as «Abercrombie bust of Lorenzo de' Medici» (Cadbury Research Library, MS968 [*Italian account book of Rev. John Sanford*], p. 58). For the relationship between Sanford and Costoli, see B. Matucci, *Aristodemo Costoli. "Religiosa poesia" nella scultura dell'Ottocento*, Firenze, 2003, pp. 35-41.
- 22 G. Yates, *Catalogue of Paintings, belonging to the Rev. J. Sanford; collected in Italy, from 1815 to 1837*, London, 1838, p. 32, cat. 191, given as «Copy of Lorenzo il Magnifico. (By Costoli, of Florence.)».
- 23 The Corsham Court collection holds a watercolour made by the copyist Giuseppe Gozzini (1806-1886) which represents the terracotta already accounting for the repair (Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Photothek, inv. no. 242014). This is likely the earliest visual account of the bust, as the payment for this watercolour was registered in Sanford's account book on 10 August 1836 (Cadbury Research Library, MS968, p. 61). For Gozzini's

- career, see A. Torresi, *Un pittore tra Firenze e Ferrara: Giuseppe Gozzini*, in «La Pianura», 3, 1997, pp. 95-98.
- 24 The letter is known thanks to Dennys' letter to the editor published in *The Art-Union*, October 1843, p. 262. When Sanford sold the terracotta is unknown, it is certain yet that it did not remain in his collection for long, since the bust was said by Dennys to have been on sale «about two years since» in a London gallery (Yates & Son).
- 25 The cast might be the one recorded in the 1870 inventory as «Lorenzo il Magnifico – Busto», AABAFi, *Inventario Generale dei Mobili*, 1870, no. 2479. Although the cast is missing from the previous inventory (started in 1848), it is worth noting that a «Busto di Lorenzo de Medici» was indeed the theme announced in July of 1837 for the annual drawing contest, which is likely to have relied on this newly arrived cast, AABAFi, filza 26, 1837, inserto 70.
- 26 For this cast (inv. no. 012), see National Archives of Scotland, Board Minutes of the National Galleries of Scotland, NG 1/1/37, p. 139, 6 December 1837 (noted as gift from the art agent Andrew Wilson who had it bought in Florence) and NG 1/3/25, p. 287, 7 December 1837. The terracotta-like appearance was added in 1980. I am grateful to Margaret Stewart for checking these documents on my behalf and providing me with the picture.
- 27 See above, note 24.
- 28 Probably considered as a mere ersatz, this would explain why the work is unmentioned in the printed catalogue of the collection, unlike the terracotta (Yates, *Catalogue of Paintings*, cit., pp. 29-31, cat. 189). Relying on two discordant documents giving the terracotta two different provenances (AABAFi, filza 41B, 1852, inserto 135 [mentioning Carlo Ernesto Liverati, see above, note 21] and Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection*, cit., p. 43 [incorrectly mentioning Emilio Santarelli]), Matucci was misled into thinking there were two terracotta busts, suggesting the extant plaster at Corsham to be the terracotta in Yates' catalogue (Matucci, *Aristodemo Costoli*, cit., p. 39 and note 253). Evidence that Yates' entry did not erroneously refer to the plaster, but indeed to the lately auctioned terracotta now in Washington, lies in a Corsham Court copy of the catalogue, where a penciled note reads «sold» beside the corresponding entry (private communication by Lord James Methuen-Campbell, 7 March 2018). Examples of the practice for the seller to keep a cast of the sold original are in A. Moskowitz, *Forging authenticity. Bastianini and the Neo-Renaissance in Nineteenth-century Florence*, Firenze, 2013, p. 15, note 77.
- 29 Charles Bailey (c. 1767-1855) had been Sanford's agent. In the absence of documents for the plaster now in Corsham and for the bust pictured in Lynton, it is still possible to imagine both busts to be the same. For another possible provenance, it is also worth noting that Lee Abbey is less than 60 km away from Quantock Lodge, where the terracotta was when it passed into the Labouchère collection (then, by inheritance, in the Stanley collection) from c. 1850 to 1920. I am grateful to Lord James Methuen-Campbell for bringing the bust to my attention and George Thomas for providing me with the picture.
- 30 I could find no evidence of the delivery, but it can be inferred from a note of the Florentine academy which approved the creation of the cast, and from the actual delivery of one of them (AABAFi, filza 41B, 1852, inserto 135, letter from L. Mussini to Ferdinando L. Strozzi, 28 February 1852). On the expansion of the academy's collection of casts under Luigi Mussini's leadership, see F. Petrucci, *Appunti sulla didattica nell'Ottocento: l'esportazione dei calchi in gesso da Firenze alle scuole d'arte della Toscana*, in *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze. Scultura, 1784-1915*, ed. by S. Bellesi, Pisa, 2016, pp. 225-229. Attempts to contact

the academy have remained unanswered thus far. A comparison between this cast and the others would be all the more valuable as it is the only one reportedly made from the mold of Costoli's original cast of the terracotta (see above, note 21).

- 31 The cast (inv. no. 3535) was listed among other versions by T. Trapesnikoff, *Die Porträt Darstellungen der Mediceer des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1909, p. 50. An earlier mention is in E. Calzini, G. Mazzatinti, *Guida di Forlì*, Forlì, 1893, p. 95 (wrongly given as a terracotta copy).
- 32 The cast was listed among other versions by Trapesnikoff, *Die Porträt Darstellungen*, cit., p. 50. Founder of the Russian Institute of Art History in Saint Petersburg, Count Valentin P. Zubov (1884-1969) tried to offer it to the Hermitage in 1911, which readily rejected it as a forgery, T. Ismagulova, *Итальянские сувениры графов Зубовых (История одного скульптурного портрета)*, in *Россия-Италия. Общие ценности. XVII Царскосельская научная конференция*, ed. by I.K. Bott, Saint Petersburg, 2011, pp. 230-234. See also below, note 53.
- 33 Inv. no. 188. Previously attributed to Gaetano Grazzini (L. Zangheri, *Ville della provincia di Firenze. La città*, Milano, 1989, p. 17), Costoli's signature and date have been recently rediscovered by L. Brunori, *Per Aristodemo Costoli pittore: la Santa Filomena di Careggi restaurata*, in *Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze. Pittura, 1784-1915*, ed. by S. Bellesi, Firenze, 2017, p. 112. The misattribution was likely owed to the statue of Lorenzo made by Grazzini for the Loggiato of the Uffizi (1837-1840), for which he indeed relied on a cast made from the Washington bust: «Deesi notare che il volto è tratto con perfetta similitudine da un busto antico figolino di Lorenzo scopertosi non ha guari, e riconosciuto lavoro di Michelangelo», M. Missirini, *Di ventotto statue in marmo consacrate ad altrettanti uomini illustri Toscani*, Firenze, 1838, p. 13. Sanford's agreement to provide Grazzini with a cast is confirmed in the letter to the editor published in *The Art-Union*, cit.
- 34 W. Bode, *Die Skulpturen und Gipsabgüsse der christlichen Zeit*, in *Zur Geschichte der Königlichen Museen in Berlin. Festschrift zur Feier Ihres Funfzigjährigen Bestehens Am 3. August 1880*, Berlin, 1880, p. 120. Taken up in Schottmüller's both catalogues, F. Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barocks: in Marmor, Ton, Holz und Stuck*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 94-95, cat. 236; *ead.*, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke der Renaissance und des Barock*, 1. *Die Bildwerke in Stein, Holz, Ton und Wachs*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1933, p. 152, cat. 184.
- 35 The most recent discussion on Cesare Mussini's career and intellectual network is in M. Amedei, *La famiglia e la vita del pittore Cesare Mussini alla Palazzina dei Servi*, in *La Palazzina dei Servi a Firenze. Da residenza vescovile a sede universitaria*, ed. by C. De Benedictis, R. Roani, G. Romby, Firenze, 2014, pp. 79-99, with up-to-date literature at p. 80, note 20.
- 36 There are reasons to believe that Mussini's relationships in Berlin were mainly owed to his father, Natale, who made his name as cantor for the Queen mother of Prussia, Federica Louisa of Hesse-Darmstadt (1751-1805), before moving to Saint Petersburg in the first two decades of the nineteenth century as cultural advisor to the Tsar Alexander I (1777-1825). Evidence of Mussini's connections is scattered throughout his autobiography and various letters in the Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati di Siena (hereinafter BCIS), Fondo Cesare Mussini.
- 37 Leaving Florence on 30 November 1837, Mussini remained in Berlin from 17 May to 19 August 1838 (BCIS, Fondo Cesare Mussini, *La Vita di Cesare Mussini. Pittore di Storia*,

- narrata da lui medesimo con Aggiunte e Note di sua Moglie e suo Figlio*, Firenze, 1876-1881, pp. 34, 37). The purpose of his journey was his father's death: as king Frederick William III had been paying for his father's pension since his retirement and their move to Florence in 1818, the aim was to obtain from the King a widow's allowance for his mother, *ivi*, pp. 8, 31, 34-35.
- 38 A focus on Waagen's role along this planning process is in C. Stonge, *Making private collections public: Gustav Friedrich Waagen and the Royal Museum in Berlin*, in «Journal of the History of Collections», 10, 1998, pp. 61-74. For an extensive view on the Altes Museum organization after the opening in 1830, see C. Vogtherr, *Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums*, in «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», 39 (supplement), 1997, chapter IV, part 3.
- 39 While studying at the academy, both won the five-year residency in Rome in 1828, BCIS, Fondo Cesare Mussini, *La Vita di Cesare Mussini*, cit., p. 15 and Matucci, *Aristodemo Costoli*, cit., p. 8. In addition, it is worth noting that from November 1836 to April 1837 Costoli rented a studio in the Palazzina dei Servi (Florence), on the same floor where Mussini had his home and studio as well, Archivio della SS. Annunziata, *Libro dei Pigionali*, 1818-1848, fol. 119 and BCIS, Fondo Cesare Mussini, *La Vita di Cesare Mussini*, cit., pp. 65-66.
- 40 G. Waagen, *Ueber die Bildwerke des Mittelalters und der späteren Zeit im königl. Museum zu Berlin*, in «Kunstblatt», 63, 1846, p. 253. Taken up in the catalogue of sculptures by C. Tieck, *Verzeichniss der antiken Bildhauerwerke*, Berlin, 1847, p. 92, cat. 674.
- 41 Further embarrassment can be added when considering that the director in Siena to whom the information was to be released in 1851, Luigi Mussini, was none other than Cesare's brother (see above, notes 21 and 30).
- 42 To all evidence, Waagen never saw the terracotta on display at Corsham Court. His first visit to the estate was in 1835, when the work had not yet entered England (G. Waagen, *Works of art and artists in England*, 3, London, 1838, pp. 88-110). The second was in 1856/57, when it had already passed in the Labouchère collection (*id.*, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, pp. 394-399). That is indeed where Waagen recorded it for the first time (*id.*, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 2, London, 1854, p. 287). For the dates of his travels in England and Corsham Court, see G. Waterfield, F. Illies, *Waagen in England*, in «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», 37, 1995, p. 50 and T. Borenius, *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Corsham Court*, London, 1939, p. XIV. Even assuming Waagen saw the marble during his second journey, it is highly likely that the memory of Costoli's role in the casting tradition had by then been lost with Sanford's death in 1855.
- 43 Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke* [1933], cit., p. 66, cat. 183 and p. 152, cat. 184. The busts were probably given simultaneously, considering their inventory number appears sequential, though inverted, as early as 1847 (Tieck, *Verzeichniss*, cit., p. 92, cat. 674 [Lorenzo de' Medici] and 675 [Niccolò Machiavelli]). The so-called *Machiavelli* derives from the marble bust in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (inv. no. 71, dated 1495), as already recognized in W. Bode, *Italienische Portraitsculpturen des XV. Jahrhunderts in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1883, p. 27. For this little-surveyed marble and its sparse bibliography, see A. Wright, *The Pollaiuolo Brothers. The Arts of Florence and Rome*, New Haven-London, 2005, p. 143, note 159 and L. Ettliger, *Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo*, New York, 1978, pp. 170-171, cat. 67.
- 44 Schottmüller, *Die italienischen und spanischen Bildwerke* [1933], cit., p. 151, cat. 174. Although Mussini's involvement in this purchase was only explicitly recorded by Bode (*Die Skulpturen*

- und Gipsabgüsse, cit., p. 120), an elusive letter might refer to it: «Au moment de partir pour Munic, je m'empresse, Monsieur, de vous accuser réception du buste en terre cuite. Je vous suis infiniment reconnaissant de la peine, que vous vous êtes donnée pour nous faire avoir cette belle pièce à un prix bien raisonnable. C'est un chef d'œuvre dans son genre, et le genre est bon. Sa Majesté qui vient de la voir, m'a témoigné Sa satisfaction de ce que cette belle pièce est ajoutée aux collections du moyen age», BCIS, Fondo Cesare Mussini, white folder, letter from I.M. von Olfers to C. Mussini, 18 August 1841.
- 45 Olfers declined Mussini's offer for some architectural features («morceau d'architecture») related to a so-called chapel by Brunelleschi, and for a fresco (?) by Perugino («tableau sur mur»), *ivi*, letter from I.M. von Olfers to C. Mussini, 24 March 1843. Interestingly enough, while discussing the Berlin bust of Marietta Strozzi (inv. no. 77), bought in the wake of Waagen's journey to Italy (1842), Bode surmised the involvement of «the painter Mussini» for this acquisition as well, W. Bode, *Desiderio da Settignano und Francesco Laurana: Zwei italienische Frauenbüsten des Quattrocento im Berliner Museum*, in «Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen», 9, 1888, p. 210. As it stands, it is more plausible that Bode was referring to Cesare, and not his brother Luigi as assumed in *Le Printemps de la Renaissance. La sculpture et les arts à Florence, 1400-1460*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 23 March – 18 August 2013-Paris, Musée de Louvre, 26 September 2013 – 6 January 2014), ed. by M. Bormand, B. Paolozzi-Strozzi, Paris, 2013, p. 506, cat. X.17.
- 46 «M'incaricò, tornando in Italia, di acquistare per il suo Museo oggetti d'arte quando se ne trovassero in vendita. Feci meglio che poteva e nel Marzo 1843 mi decorò dell'ordine dell'Aquila Rossa», BCIS, Fondo Cesare Mussini, *La Vita di Cesare Mussini*, cit., p. 35. As Frederick William III died in 1840, Mussini was thus awarded by his son, Frederick William IV, unlike what the text suggests.
- 47 The phenomenon for copies regarded as originals, as memory of the originals gradually fades out, is discussed in G. Gentilini, *Giovanni Bastianini e i falsi da museo* (part 1), in «Gazzetta Antiquaria», 2, 1988, pp. 41-42.
- 48 J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, in «Apollo», 99, 1974, p. 260 and note 102 (tempering for a nineteenth-century repainting, if not a nineteenth-century forgery as expressed in the text). A late repainting was already assumed in W. Bode, H. Tschudi, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epoche*, Berlin, 1888, p. 47, cat. 148.
- 49 The bust went on sale on 16 July 1920 in London (Sotheby's, London, 16 July 1920, pp. 6-7, no. 17), where it was purchased by the art dealer Joseph Duveen (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Zentralarchiv [hereinafter SMB-ZA], IV-NL Bode, 6163, letter from J. Duveen to W. Bode, 2 August 1920), who sold it in 1921 to Clarence H. Mackay, New York (*Duveen Brothers Records, 1876-1981, Bulk 1909-1964*, box 481 [reel 336], invoice from J. Duveen to C.H. Mackay, 1 August 1921)..
- 50 L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*, Berlin, 1882, p. 188. The list of illustrations reads: «Terracotta-Büste [sic] des Lorenzo Magnifico. (Von Carl Leonh. Becker nach dem Original im königl. Museum zu Berlin gezeichnet.)», p. 582.
- 51 J.C. Ridpath, *Cyclopaedia of Universal History*, 2, part I, Boston, 1885, p. 437.
- 52 Bode, *Italienische Portraitsculpturen*, cit., p. 31 and *id.*, *Florentiner Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1902, p. 1.
- 53 Inv. no. II.2.B 421. According to Tsvetaev, the tones of the Pushkin cast were made lighter in anticipation of the natural darkening over time (I. Tsvetaev, Y. Nechaev-Maltsov, *Пепелушка 1897-1912*, 4. (1906-1912), ed. by A. Baranova, M. Aksenenko, Moscow, 2011, p. 179,

- no. 833, letter from I. Tsvetaev to Yury Nechaev-Maltsov, 3 September 1908). I am grateful to Tamara Minina and Irina Skoptsova for bringing the document to my attention. For Tsvetaev's role in the museum, see E. Pravilova, *The Trouble with Authenticity: Backwardness, Imitation, and the Politics of Art in Late Imperial Russia*, in «The Journal of Modern History», 90, 2018, pp. 536-579. In light of the above, it seems rather implausible to identify this cast with the one in the Zubov collection as suggested by Ismagulova, *Итальянские сувениры*, cit., p. 237, see also above, p. 8.
- 54 The plaster (inv. no. 2460) was first recorded in Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Verzeichniss der in der Formerei der Königl. Museen käuflichen Gipsabgüsse: ägyptische, vorderasiatische, griechische und römische Bildwerke, sowie Bildwerke des Mittelalters, der Renaissance und Neuzeit*, Berlin, 1914, p. 81. See also *Near life: The Gipsformerei – 200 Years of Casting Plaster*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, James-Simon-Galerie, 30 August 2019 – 1 March 2020), ed. by V. Tocha, C. Haak, M. Helfrich, Berlin, 2019, p. 257.
- 55 In Langedijk's daunting catalogue on Medici's portraiture, the bust (inv. no. 0136) reportedly carried the mark «GIPSFORMEREI DER STAATL. MUSEEN BERLIN» (Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici*, cit., 2., p. 1161, cat. 74,28b), which is indeed consistent with the form used by the Berlin Museums' casting factory between 1873 and 1934 (W. Schwan, *Oft übersehene Kleinigkeiten. Was verbirgt sich hinter Abgussmarken?*, in *Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gipsabguss-Sammlung(en)*, ed. by N. Schröder, L. Winkler-Horaček, Rahden, 2012, p. 115). For the involvement of the Berlin Museums in sending this cast in Florence, see below, note 58.
- 56 In the catalogue, its presence is to be sought among the «dipinti originali, calchi, fotografie da sculture, pitture, miniature, stampe e gemme incise» representing Lorenzo, N. Tarchiani, *Il palazzo Medici Riccardi e il Museo Mediceo*, Firenze, 1930, p. 44 and table IX.
- 57 Raffaello Bencini/Archivi Alinari, Florence, BEN-F-014078-0000 and BEN-F-014079-0000. It is worth noting that from 1973 onward, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi is no longer mentioned as a location for the cast in the Alinari catalogues.
- 58 Confusion has been made between this cast (inv. no. 1337) and a different one (inv. no. 1523), also in the school collection but taken from a portrait of Lorenzo carved by Ottaviano Giovannozzi in 1825 (Uffizi, inv. 1921 no. 15). The first was correctly inventoried in F. Rossi, *Museo dei calchi in gesso. Catalogo delle opere esistenti*, Firenze, 1933, p. 56, cat. 1581 («Busto di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Museo di Berlino») and Istituto Statale d'Arte di Firenze, *Catalogo dei calchi in gesso*, Firenze, 1956, p. 86, cat. 1337 («Lorenzo il Magnifico, Busto. Museo di Berlino»), on both occasions marked 60x60 cm; the second in Rossi, *Museo dei calchi in gesso*, cit., p. 77, cat. 2181 («Busto grande di Lorenzo il Magnifico. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi») and Istituto Statale d'Arte di Firenze, *Catalogo*, cit., p. 104, cat. 1523 («Lorenzo il Magnifico. Busto»), on both occasions marked 36x62 cm. Inversion of the two casts, with consecutively mixed-up discussions, were later made for the corresponding entries in *Donatello e il primo Rinascimento nei calchi della Gipsoteca*, exhibition catalogue (Florence, Istituto Statale d'Arte, 19 December 1985 – 30 May 1986), ed. by L. Bernardini, A. Caputo Calloud, M. Mastrorocco, Firenze, 1985, pp. XXVII, 246, cat. 250 (with inverted inventory number and dimensions, and the Berlin original wrongly given as a marble) and *La scultura italiana dal XV al XX secolo nei calchi della Gipsoteca*, ed. by L. Bernardini, A. Caputo Calloud, M. Mastrorocco, Firenze, 1989, pp. 107-108, cat. 69 (with inverted inventory number). Arrangements and requests from the Istituto to the Museo Mediceo (with some details about the version offered by the Berlin Museums to the Museo Mediceo) are in the Archivio dell'Istituto Statale d'Arte (hereinafter AISA), filza 1930 (I), protocollo 653 and 662.

- 59 Arrangements between the art school and the Istituto are in AISA, filza 1930 (II), protocollo 102 and 159. For the bombing, see M. Iral, *Il Selvatico nei suoi 150 anni di storia. I primi cento anni, in 150 anni del Selvatico. La scuola delle arti di Padova*, exhibition catalogue (Padua, Palazzo Zuckermann-Stabilimento Pedrocchi-Musei Civici agli Eremitani, 14 October 2017 – 28 January 2018), ed. by L. Attardi, Padova, 2017, p. 47. I am grateful to Luisa Attardi for providing me with the picture.
- 60 After first being secured in museum storage, most of the Berlin collections were split between the two newly built (and allegedly safer) flak towers: once in 1941, after the completion of the bunker at Tiergarten (Flakturm Zoo); then in 1942, after the completion of the bunker at Friedrichshain park (Flakturm Friedrichshain). The decision in March 1945 to clear the towers caused a final piecemeal dispersal to Hattorf (Ransbach mine), Merkers (Kaiseroda mine) and Grasleben, since these operations were indefinitely suspended the following month when bombings made road transport too dangerous. For these evacuation plans, see I. Kühnel-Kunze, *Bergung – Evakuierung – Rückführung. Die Berliner Museen in den Jahren 1939-1959*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 19-37.
- 61 For these events, see V. Rastorguev, *From a Russian Perspective. Notes on the History of the Italian Sculptures from the Berlin Museums in the Custody of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, 1945-2015*, in «Jahrbuch Preussischer Kulturbesitz», 51, 2015, pp. 166-169. On the basis of the condition of the cast, its presence at Friedrichshain was assumed by P. Feist, *Florentinische Frührenaissance Plastik in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig, 1959, p. 34.
- 62 SMB-ZA, I/SKS 129, fols. 1, 11, 50, 93. Accordingly, the crate is missing from any list of artworks present at Friedrichshain. This includes the list made in 1942 (SMB-ZA, I/SKS 140), the list made in 1945 before the transfer to the salt mines (SMB-ZA, I/SKS 136), the list made in 1945 with the residual artworks after the transfer, and the list of artworks which had then burned (both in SMB-ZA, I/SKS 146).
- 63 The crate is missing from the list of artworks transferred from the Zoo to the salt mines in March of 1945 (SMB-ZA, I/SKS 141, fol. 33). For the list reporting the transfer of the crate from the Zoo to Karlshorst, see SMB-ZA, I/SKS 134, fol. 5.
- 64 Leaving Berlin on 27 September 1945 and arriving in Saint Petersburg on 13 October, the bust was unpacked in the State Hermitage Museum on the 27 (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art, fund 962, inventory 6, file 1238, p. 4 and file 1261, p. 96). Presence of the bust in the museum is furthermore recorded in the catalogue of the special exhibition held in the Hermitage in 1958, *Выставка произведений искусства из музеев. Германской Демократической Республики. Каталог*, exhibition catalogue (Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, 7 August – 10 September 1958), ed. by M.A. Gukovsky, Leningrad, 1958, p. 72 (wrongly dated after 1430 instead of 1530, as it used to be since Schottmüller's first catalogue of 1913). The bust figures among the list of artworks from the museums of the GDR to be returned from the Hermitage (Department of scientific documentation of the State Hermitage, Op. 1, D. 10/2, pp. 40-51).
- 65 It should be noted that upon unpacking in Saint Petersburg (see above, note 64), no information is given about the condition of the bust. I am grateful to Anastasia Yurchenko for checking these documents on my behalf.
- 66 Listed with other versions related to the Berlin bust, the versions in Italy and Paris (whose medium is not specified) are mentioned in Bode, *Italienische Portraitsculpturen*, cit., p. 27.

TYOLOGICAL TRADITION

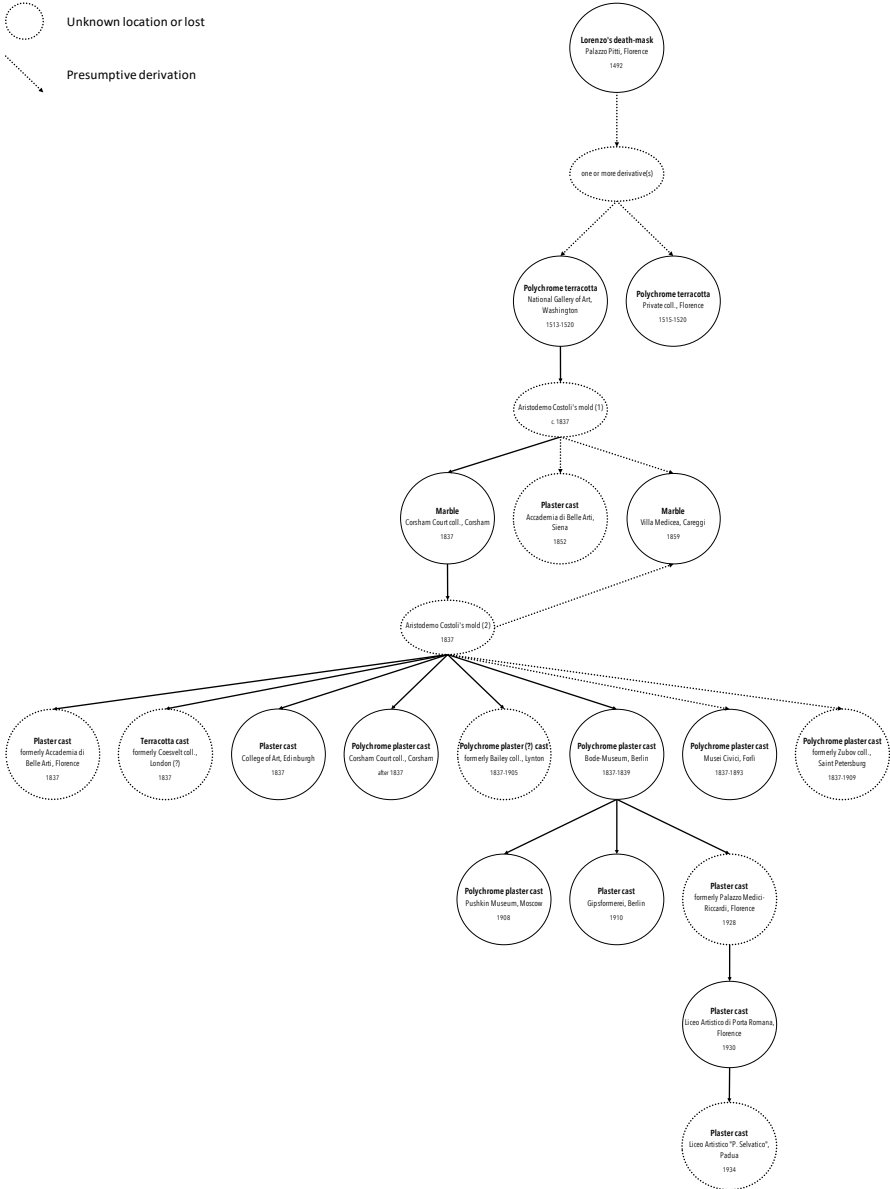
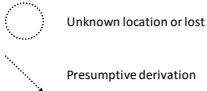




Fig. 1: Florentine artist, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (after 1945 condition), 1837-1839, polychrome plaster. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst (housed at the Bode-Museum), inv. no. 184.
Photo: © Fabio Gaffo.



Fig. 2: Florentine artist, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (before 1945 condition), 1837-1839, polychrome plaster. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. no. 184. Photo: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst.



Fig. 3: Florentine artist, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1513-1520, polychrome terracotta.
Washington, National Gallery of Art, inv. no. 1943.4.92.
Photo: © National Gallery of Art, Washington



Fig. 4: Pietro Torrigiano (attributed), bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1515-1520, polychrome terracotta. Florence, private collection (formerly Elia Volpi collection).
Photo: © courtesy of the owners.



Fig. 5: Agnolo Bronzino (workshop), portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1555-1565, oil on tin, 16x12,5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1890 no. 865. Photo: © Antonio Quattrone (courtesy of Ministero della Cultura).

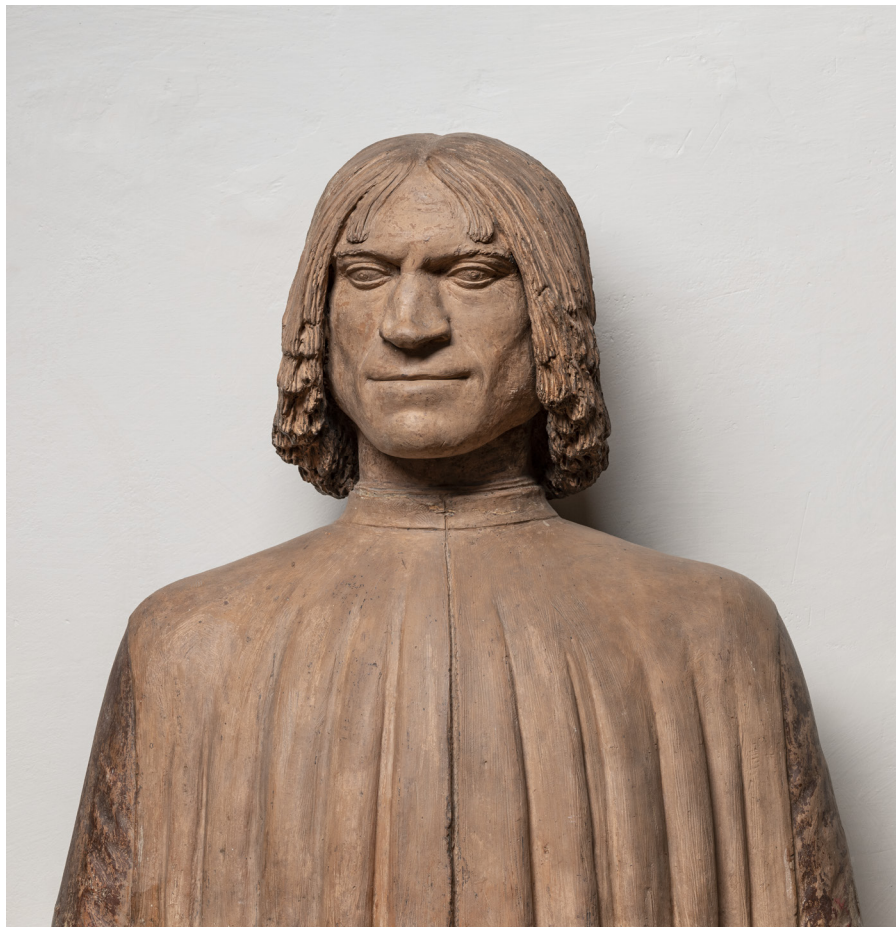


Fig. 6: Florentine artist, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, terracotta (with traces of polychromy). Prague, Národní galerie, inv. no. P 5473.

Photo: © National Gallery Prague 2021.



Fig. 7: Orsino Benintendi (?), death-mask of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1492, stucco mounted on panel, 21,5×16×8 cm (mask), 58×44×5 cm (panel). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Tesoro dei Granduchi. Photo: © Claudio Giusti (courtesy of Ministero della Cultura).

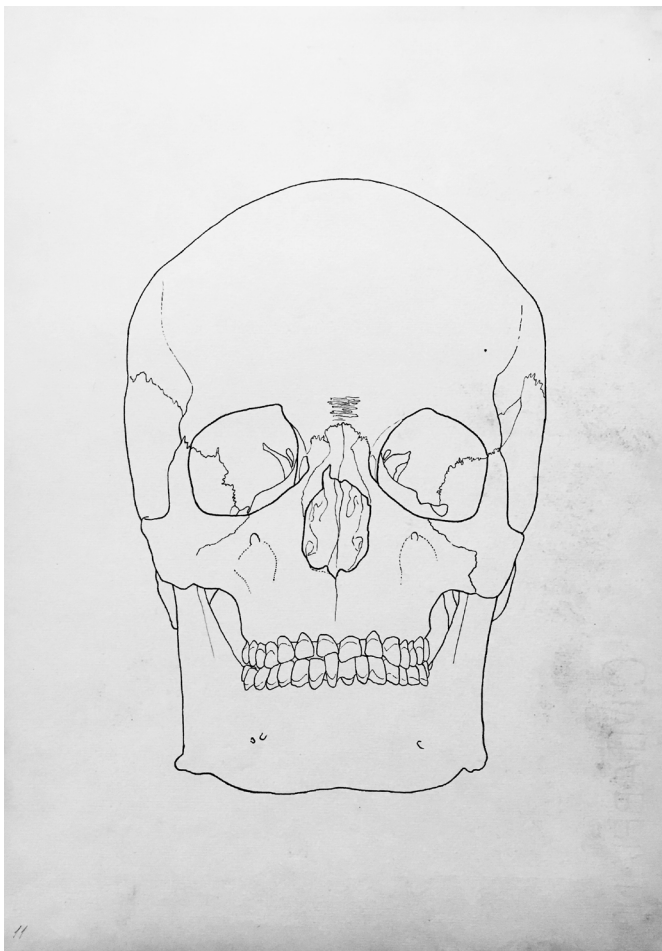


Fig. 8: Giuseppe Genna, drawing from X-ray of Lorenzo de' Medici's skull, 1947.

Florence, Archivio Genna.

Photo: © Archivio Genna (courtesy of D. Lippi).



Fig. 9: Aristodemo Costoli, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1837, marble.
Corsham, Corsham Court collection.

Photo: © Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.



Fig. 10: Aristodemo Costoli (?), head of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1837, plaster (with late repainting). Edinburgh, College of Art, inv. no. 012.
Photo: © Margaret Stewart.



Fig. 11: Aristodemo Costoli (?), bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, after 1837, polychrome plaster.
Corsham, Corsham Court collection.
Photo: © Corsham Court collection.



Fig. 12: Interior view of the Octagonal room, c. 1905.
Lynton, Lee Abbey.
Photo: © Lee Abbey Archive.



Fig. 13: Unknown artist, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1837-1893, polychrome plaster.

Forlì, Musei Civici, inv. no. 3535.

Photo: © Archivio fotografico Musei Civici di Forlì.



Fig. 14: Aristodemo Costoli, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1859, marble.

Florence, Villa Medicea di Careggi, inv. no. 188.

Photo: © Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Hürken, an die Spitze des Staates stellen. Piero war 1469 nach nur fünfjähriger Herrschaft gestorben; er hatte mannigfach zu kämpfen gehabt und hatte doch nicht vermocht, alle Gegner zu besiegen, die sich ihm entgegenstellten. Machiavelli hat eine merkwürdige Rede überliefert, die Piero kurz vor seinem Tode vor den florentinischen Großen hielt, eine Rede, welche die Eigenartigkeit der Stellung der Mediceer, den Widerstand der Großen sehr gut charakterisirt. Piero spricht zu ihnen: „Ihr beraubt den Nachbar



Büste des Lorenzo Magnifico. Terracotta. (Berlin, Königl. Museum).

seiner Güter, Ihr verkauft die Gerechtigkeit, Ihr entzieht Euch den bürgerlichen Entscheidungen, Ihr unterdrückt die Friedliebenden, Ihr erhebt die Uebermüthigen. Ich glaube nicht, daß in Italien sovieler Beispiele von Heftigkeit und Habgucht sind, wie in dieser Stadt. Hat Euch Euer Vaterland deswegen das Leben gegeben, damit Ihr es ihm nehmt? Euch siegreich gemacht, damit Ihr es zerstört, Euch gebt, damit Ihr es tabelt?“

Zu solche verdirrte Verhältnisse trat Lorenzo als Herrscher ein, mehr ein Jüngling als ein Mann, wider seinen Willen das Mahnwort des Vaters bewährend: „Bedenke, daß Du vor der Zeit alt werden sollst.“

Er war ein hochgewachsener Mann, mit schwarzen Haaren, fahler Gesichtsfarbe, mit einer Stimme, die meist einen heisern Klang hatte, liebenswürdig

Fig. 15: Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (engraving by Carl L. Becker).
Photo: L. Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*,
Berlin, 1882, p. 188.

The strife between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines continued to vex the people of Florence during the greater part of the thir-



DANTE.

teenth century. In the year 1282 the government was again revolutionized, and fortunately for the city the new political forms which were instituted were more stable than those which had preceded them. The Republic continued for several hundred years without undergoing further political upheavals, and notwithstanding the dissensions to which Florence, in common with her sister republics, was troubled, her growth in wealth and population continued without abatement. Her census showed a list of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom no fewer than twenty-five thousand were armed militia.

The intellectual activity of the Florentines was equal to that of the Venetians, and at an early date in the Middle Ages there were evidences of a revival of letters and art, for which at a subsequent period the city was destined to become the most famous in Italy. At the close of the thirteenth century the illustrious Dante walked about the public places of the city and muttered to himself the dolorous strains of the *Inferno*. The republican form of government in Florence proved

favorable to the spread of the new culture. In the fifteenth century the great family of the Medici gained an ascendancy in Florentine affairs which resulted in the overthrow of the popular forms of government, but was by no means discouraging to the literary and artistic tendencies of the people. Indeed, it was under the patronage of this family that Florence achieved her greatest glory. The origin of the celebrated House dates back to the age of Charlemagne. In the middle of the fourteenth century Giovanni de Medici commanded his countrymen in a war with Milan; but in this age the greatest of the family were Cosmo and Lorenzo, sons of Giovanni. The House of Medici was at its highest estate from the middle to the close of the fifteenth century, when Lorenzo, surnamed the Magnificent, filled all Europe with his fame. In 1471 he was made treasurer of the Holy See, and was for a season in great favor with the Pope. Afterwards, however, he succeeded in effecting an alliance between Florence, Venice, and Milan, for the express purpose of resisting the encroachments of the papacy.



LORENZO THE MAGNIFICENT.

At this Sixtus IV. became deeply incensed at his foreign minister, and henceforth strove with all his power to break the influence of

Fig. 16: Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (engraving by Carl L. Becker).

Photo: J.C. Ridpath, *Cyclopaedia of Universal History*, 2, part I, Boston, 1885, p. 437.



II.

Ein ebenso wesentlicher Stilunterschied in der plastischen Darstellung des Bildnisses, wie durch das Material, ergibt sich dadurch, daß das Bildnis entweder auf der Fläche oder frei in voller Rundung dargestellt werden kann, daß es also entweder als Reliefportrait oder als eigentliche Büste gegeben wird. In der italienischen Plastik ist die Büste die ältere Darstellungsart. Bei der Wiedergabe des Oberkörpers, der «Büste» des Menschen, sind wesentliche stilistische Unterschiede in der Auffassung ausgefloßen; kleinere Verschiedenheiten ergeben sich jedoch daraus, ob der Künstler die Büste als Abschnitt oder Ausschnitt des Körpers — wenn ich so sagen darf — betrachtet. Während des Quattrocento ist ersteres für Büsten in Marmor oder in weicherem Material, letzteres dagegen für die Bronzebüsten fast die aus-

Fig. 17: Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (engraving by Ludwig Otto).

Photo: W. Bode, *Italienische Portraitsculpturen des XV. Jahrhunderts in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1883, p. 31.



ENTWICKELUNG DER FLORENTINER
PLASTIK UND IHRE STELLUNG INNERHALB
DER RENAISSANCEKUNST ITALIENS.

Florenz ist die Heimat der neueren Kunst; im Boden der Arnostadt keimte die junge Pflanze, hier setzte sie ihre ersten Knospen an und entfaltete durch Jahrhunderte immer neue prächtige Blüten. Diesen Ruhm hat sie unbestritten genossen und wird sie weitergeniessen, wenn auch der Norden seine eigene, bedeutende Kunst daneben entwickelt hat und Oberitalien, unter Einflüssen vom Westen wie vom Osten, der italienischen Kunst wiederholt bedeutende Lebenselemente zuführte, welche die letzte grosse Epoche der Malerei in Italien zeitigten.

In keinem Zweige der Kunst gebührt Florenz dieser Ruhm so uneingeschränkt wie in der Plastik. Hatten im Mittelalter die toskanischen Nachbarstädte Pisa und Siena den ersten grossen Anlauf genommen, so übernahm Florenz schon im Trecento die Führung; die Plastik der Renaissance hat von hier ihren Ausgang genommen, sie hat hier alle Phasen ihrer Entwicklung durchlaufen und schliesslich hier auch ihre Umgestaltung zum Barock vorbereitet. Wie die antike Skulptur in der griechischen, so gipfelt die Skulptur der christlichen Zeit in der florentinischen

Bode, Florentiner Bildhauer.

1

Fig. 18: Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici (engraving by unknown artist).
Photo: W. Bode, *Florentiner Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1902, p. 1.



Fig. 19: Gipsformerei (Berlin), bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1908, polychrome plaster.
Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. II.2.B.421.
Photo: © Vasily Rastorguev.



Fig. 20: Gipsformerei (Berlin), bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1910, plaster.

Berlin, Gipsformerei, inv. no. 2460.

Photo: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / Gipsformerei, Philip Radowitz.



Fig. 21: Gipsformerei (Berlin), bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1928, plaster.
Formerly Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, inv. no. 0136.
Photo: © Fratelli Alinari 1953, Archivio Alinari, Firenze.



Fig. 22: Postcard for the *Mostra Medicea*, 1939.

Florence, private collection.

Photo: © Fabio Gaffo.



Fig. 23: Luigi Lelli, bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, 1930, plaster.
Florence, Liceo Artistico di Porta Romana (formerly Istituto d'Arte), inv. no. 1337.
Photo: © Fabio Gaffo.



Fig. 24: Interior view of a classroom, before 1945.
Padua, Liceo Artistico "Pietro Selvatico".

Photo: © Biblioteca storica del Liceo Artistico "Pietro Selvatico" di Padova.