

"Lucretiae Statua"

BY WOLFGANG STECHOW

My honour I'll bequeath unto the knife
That wounds my body so dishonoured,
'Tis honour to deprive dishonour'd life;
The one will live, the other being dead:
So of shame's ashes shall my fame be bred;
For in my death I murder shameful scorn:
My shame so dead, mine honour is new-born.

SHAKESPEARE, *The Rape of Lucrece* (ll. 1184-1190)

THE story of Lucretia, the great Roman heroine who after having been violated by Tarquinius plunged a dagger into her breast in atonement for her sinless guilt, has held fascination for many artists. Broadly speaking, renderings of this story fall into three groups: narrative combinations of various scenes pertaining to the legend; dramatic scenes concentrating entirely upon Tarquinius' misdeed; and single figures of Lucretia stabbing herself. The majority of the first group is provided by Italian cassoni of the quattrocento, beginning with the three charming scenes on the chest formerly in the Castello di Vincigliata near Florence¹ and leading up to the magnificent terror of Botticelli's panel in the Gardner Museum in Boston². The second group reaches its climax in the powerful tragedies composed—shortly before and shortly after Shakespeare—by Titian (Cambridge; Vienna Academy) and Rubens (Sanssouci). Only the third group is the subject of the following brief sketch which raises more questions than it can answer. While the narratives of the first group are usually rather simple illustrations of various accounts of the story which were well known even during the Middle Ages, the derivation and success of the third, which springs into sudden prominence at the beginning of the sixteenth century, poses a number of problems. Single representations of Lucretia's death which emphasize the story proper through the addition of her husband and father (and perhaps a few more persons) are comparatively rare³. By far the majority are monologues, either in half-figure or in full length. Here the story as such does not seem to matter; it is assumed that everyone knows it and is prepared to see in the picture the "essence" rather than the "rendering" of it. Lucretia became a symbol: a symbol of chastity, of love or faithfulness unto death ("the verray wyf," as Chaucer called her), per-

1. Paul Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1915, p. 223, no. 21, pl. III. I am disregarding book illuminations and illustrations.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 289, no. 304, pl. LXXII.

3. Interesting examples are: Israel van Meckenem's engraving, B. 168 (still with two preceding scenes in the background); Ercole Roberti (?), Modena (Schubring, no. 563, and R. Longhi, *Officina Ferrarese*, Rome, 1934, p. 90 f.); Holbein's fresco on House Hertenstein, Lucerne; the two later paintings by Sodoma and the Baldung fragment mentioned below.

haps also of patriotism. It is true that it did not take very long before it deteriorated into a "nude" and little else.

As a symbol of chastity the single figure of Lucretia had actually appeared on some non-narrative cassoni such as Cozzarelli's in the Palazzo Chigi-Zondadari in Siena where she was rendered alongside of two other antique heroines, Hippo and Camilla⁴. Even before that, she had been combined with Virginia⁵. Around 1500, she was elected one of the three pagan women who were coordinated with three Jewish and three Christian heroines⁶; it is therefore not surprising that Sodoma's first painting of Lucretia, in the Kestner-Museum in Hanover (fig. 1)⁷, should have been considered a companion piece of a Judith panel in Siena, although this hypothesis seems to be incorrect⁸. The picture in Hanover, probably done as early as about 1505, is quite quattrocentesque in its emphasis on fluttering agitation (which is still reminiscent of the Cozzarelli cassone) and shows none of the statuesque composure of our main group. But with the latter it does share a very important novelty: the tendency toward the nude.

Like Sodoma's, Francesco Francia's Lucretia in Dresden⁹ is placed against a lovely landscape but as a half-figure only. Although done at almost the same time as the former, this picture is on the whole closer to the spirit of the High Renaissance. It seems to be the ancestor of a considerable number of later North-Italian Lucretias in half-figure which share with it the quiet mood, the languid upward glance and the restraint in the display of the nude. A composition by Braman-

4. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 330, no. 468, pl. CXI.

5. An early example from northern book illumination is in the text of Jehan Clopinel de Meun's continuation (1280) of the *Roman de la Rose*: H. J. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Osterreich*, vol. VIII, part VII, 2, Leipzig, 1936, p. 84 (Paris, ca. 1375). Botticelli, too, combined them (Schubring, nos. 304-305). See also W. Soltau, "Lucrezia und Verginia," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXXXX, 1910, pp. 299-306.

6. Jacob Burckhardt, in "Die Sammler," *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, Basel, 1898, p. 415, alludes to a German cycle of the fifteenth century which contains Lucretia and Judith in the kind of combination found in Burgkmair's woodcuts of 1519 (B. 67-69) and later with Cranach (Dresden). It is worth mentioning that Lucretia is not found in the older *Neuf Preuses* groups.

7. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 386, no. 735 (with the older literature), pl. CLVII; Robert Cust, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi*, London, 1906, pp. 85, 165.

8. The opinion that the *Caritas* in Berlin (Schubring, no. 737) belongs together with the *Lucretia* has been disputed repeatedly, but no doubt had been raised with regard to the *Judith* (Schubring, no. 736) prior to S. Lederer, "Sodoma Lukrécia-Képeiről," *Az Országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum Evkönyvei*, II, 1919/20, pp. 41-56, a very important article (see below) kindly translated for me by my colleague, Prof. George A. Lanyi. Discrepancies of measurement, provenance, and setting seem to confirm this doubt which is shared by Enzo Carli in his catalogue of the *Mostra delle Opere di G. A. Bazzi detto Il Sodoma*, Siena, 1950, nos. 8 and 9.

9. No. 49 A. This excellent version of the often repeated composition has been overlooked by the older writers on Francia. Is it identical with the *Lucretia* mentioned by Vasari (Milanesi, III, p. 545) in the *guardaroba* of the Duke of Urbino? N. Pevsner, "Neuerwerbungen italienischer Kunst in der Dresdner Gemäldegalerie," *Cicerone*, XVII, 1925, p. 296, dates it ca. 1506, the Dresden catalogue of 1929 (with a good illustration), ca. 1508. The Northbrook version was carefully described by Waagen, *Art Treasures in Great Britain*, Suppl., p. 94. For others see the note on the picture in Dublin, cat. 1932, no. 190.

tino¹⁰ and Palma Vecchio's picture in the Borghese Gallery¹¹ are characteristic examples of this group but the latter is more fully cinquecentesque and has discarded the landscape background in favor of a dark neutral foil which also appears in Florentine nude half-figures such as Puligo's¹². A picture variously attributed to Parmeggianino and Gerolamo Bedoli¹³ keeps close company, while Giolfino (?)¹⁴ adds the extra stunt of a briskly foreshortened Lucretia who has already collapsed on the floor.

However, in order to fully understand some of the most outstanding representations of Lucretia in the early cinquecento one has to realize—or so it seems to me—that one of the greatest art patrons of the time was a key figure in what almost amounted to a cult of the Roman heroine. This man was Pope Leo X.

Lucretia had been popular in Florence for a long time. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, all had paid their respects to her; Coluccio Salutati had written two rhetorical exercises in one of which her father and husband try to persuade her to abandon her decision while in the other Lucretia upholds the necessity of her suicide¹⁵. Later, the name Lucretia began to abound in the annals of the Medici family. Lorenzo il Magnifico's mother—the grandmother of Leo X—was Lucrezia Tornabuoni. One of Lorenzo's mistresses was Lucrezia Donati¹⁶. Lucrezia was the name

Florence

10. B. Berenson, *Catalogue... John G. Johnson*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 172, no. 267, ill. p. 440. This composition is different from the strongly foreshortened Lucretia in the Sola-Busca collection in Milan, mentioned by B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1932, p. 109, and wrongly identified with the Johnson painting by Schubring under his no. 695.

11. Georg Combsi, *Palma Vecchio (Klassiker der Kunst, XXXVIII)*, 1937, p. 80 (dated ca. 1517–1520). The painting in Vienna (*ibid.*, p. 97), which others have attributed to Titian, is unique in that the woman, dagger in right hand, is held about her left arm by one man who looks at her from behind. It is not quite certain that the picture represents Lucretia.

12. See Creighton Gilbert, *Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, p. 288. A picture in the Borghese Gallery in Rome (no. 75), formerly attributed to Pontormo (F. M. Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo*, New Haven, 1916, p. 179 and fig. 119) or Bronzino, is considered a late imitation by R. Longhi, *Precisioni nelle Gallerie Italiane*, I, Rome, 1928, p. 183. The picture represents Lucretia exhibiting the dagger, not on the point of stabbing herself. In the same gallery (no. 322) is a painting variously ascribed to Vasari, Brina, and Michele di Ridolfo (Longhi, *op. cit.*, p. 207). See also the Tibaldi, reproduced as fig. 153 by G. Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*, Rome, 1945. Here, Lucretia is rendered in full length but seated on her bed as she stabs herself, comparable to Enea Vico's engraving after Parmeggianino (see next note).

13. Naples, Museo Nazionale, no. 125. The attribution to Gerolamo Bedoli was reasserted by S. J. Freedberg (*Parmigianino*, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, p. 221 f.) while others maintain its identification with Parmeggianino's "last work" (Vasari), see A. O. Quintavalle, *Il Parmigianino*, Milan, s. a., p. 185, note 94, pl. 101. On other Lucretia compositions by Parmeggianino see Freedberg, *passim*.

14. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 378, no. 695, p. CLII. Sometimes attributed to Caroto. The picture was destroyed in 1945. See also note 10.

15. Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 3rd ed., II, Berlin, 1893, pp. 438 f. See also *idem*, "Die Lucretia-Fabel und ihre litterarischen Verwandten", *Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Öffentliche Gesamtsitzung am 23. 4. 1883 (= Berichte...*, 1883, pp. 1–36).

16. Aby Warburg, "Delle 'Imprese Amoroze' nelle più antiche incisioni fiorentine", in: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1932, I, pp. 77 ff.

1. Sodoma, *Lucretia*.
Hanover, Kestner-Museum.



of a sister and of a daughter of Lorenzo¹⁷. Now it is true that there existed many other famous Lucrezias at that time—I mention only Lucrezia Borgia and Lucrezia d'Este. However, not only is it quite probable that this fact did favor the existence of Lucretia paintings in such circles (Lucrezia d'Este-Bentivoglio was a patron of Francesco Francia who did one of the earliest single Lucretia pictures)¹⁸ but there is also other important evidence for Leo's very special interest in the legend

17. It is the latter who as a little girl wrote to her grandmother Lucrezia that her brother Giovanni, the later pope, then four years old, asked for more candy: "you had not sent him much recently" (G. B. Picotti, *La jeunesse de Léon X*, Paris, 1931, p. 10).

18. Note the existence of many versions of this picture (above, note 9); also the appearance of St. Lucretia in Ferrara (below, note 31).

and for the special effect of this interest on a number of outstanding Lucretia renderings.

It is reported that when Giovanni Medici was still a (not very hopeful) Cardinal, an ancient statue of Lucretia was dug up in the Trastevere¹⁹. Archaeologists are apt to deny the existence of any antique Lucretia statues²⁰ although Ulisse Aldroandi, writing in 1556, knew of one in Rome which was to receive a new head²¹. But who could have prevented a Medici Cardinal from indulging in the imaginary or real restoration of some mutilated statue as a Lucretia if he happened to "see Lucretia in every woman?" However that may have been, Leo X did compose a longish and rather stilted Latin poem "in Lucretiae statuum"²², and it is certainly not far-fetched to connect this fact with the existence of some early Lucretia renderings which strongly emphasize the statuesque character of the heroine. Putting aside for the moment the question of any concrete resemblance to the Trastevere find, it seems permitted to say that one could hardly imagine a more fitting embodiment of the High Renaissance idea of an ancient Lucretia statue than Marcantonio Raimondi's famous engraving (fig. 2) which engendered a long series of imitations south and north of the Alps. I am inclined to believe Vasari's very explicit statement that the engraver made this work from a design by Raphael, greatly pleasing the latter with this masterpiece of reproduction²³. The general antiqueness of the motif hardly requires comment; it is underlined by the Greek (I) inscription²⁴; with the architecture, Marcantonio lent it a special "Roman" dignity. He copied the landscape from a northern "dernier cri", Lucas van Leyden's *Suzanna*—a fact which fixes the date of Marcantonio's work after 1508 or so, probably by one or two years only. This Lucretia looks clearly more statuesque than Marcantonio's otherwise very similar *Dido*²⁵, and that character was main-

19. Angelo Fabroni, *Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi Vita*, Pisa, 1797, p. 37, and William Roscoe, *The Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth*, 5th ed., II, London, 1876, p. 311, probably going back to *Petri Alcyonii Medices legatus de exilio*, Venice, 1522, which I was unable to consult.

20. "Echte antike Darstellungen existieren anscheinend nicht" (Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, XIII, 1927, col. 1694).

21. Jacob Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

22. Fabroni, *op. cit.*, p. 37; with misprints in Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 430. In contrast to Morani's epigram, quoted below, this poem contains no allusion to husband and father. It is a monologue the first paragraph of which reads as follows:

Libenter occumbo, mea in praecordia
Adactum habens ferrum; juvat mea manu
Id praestitisse, quod Viraginum prius
Nulla ob pudicitiam peregit promptius;
Juvat cruorem contueri proprium,
Illumque verbis execrari asperrimis.

On the merits of Leo's poetry see Picotti, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

23. Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 411; F.-A. Gruyer, *Raphael et l'antiquité*, Paris, 1864, II, pp. 14 ff.; J. Mariette, *Abécédario*, Paris, 1857-58, IV, p. 329. Problems of this kind have been unduly slighted in recent research on Raphael.

24. I have not found this formulation in the better known ancient sources.

25. Both are reproduced in: *Marcantonio and Italian Engravers and Etchers of the Sixteenth Century* (Great Engravers: Edited by Arthur M. Hind), New York, s. a., plates XVIII and XIX.

2. Marcantonio Raimondi,
Lucretia, Engraving.



tained in many of its imitations and emulations among which I mention an engraving by Giacomo Francia who put his Lucretia before a niche²⁶; the completely nude figure of Lucas van Leyden's engraving of ca. 1513²⁷ from which a follower of Konrat Meit adapted his boxwood and bronze versions, thus translating the motif into real sculpture²⁸; and Scorel's free copy after Marcantonio's engraving

26. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI; Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, V, 1948, p. 231; VII, pl. 812.

27. B. 134, based on Marcantonio's *Venus*, B. 311. Thus, the Italian borrowed his landscape from the Northerner, the Northerner his nude from the Italian! For this and the following cf. also Albert Oberheide, *Der Einfluß Marcantonio Raimondi's auf die nordische Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Hamburg thesis, 1933, *passim*.

28. E. F. Bange, *Die deutschen Bronzestatuetten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1949, pp. 70 and 134, pl. 130. Bange considers the possibility that a lost work by Meit himself even antedated and influenced Lucas van Leyden's engraving.

ing²⁹ which—like one of Gossaert's paintings³⁰—appears on the back of a man's portrait, reminding one of the fact that as early as 1422, an inscription on a *cas-sone* had said: "Io di Lucrezia Romana sono lo schiavo."³¹

But Leo X's "statua" seems also to have played a rôle in at least one more "nar-rative" rendering of the legend. Vasari informs us that the pope appointed Sodoma *cavaliere* in recognition of a painting with a "Lucrezia Romana ignuda, che si dava con un pugnale" and in which Sodoma succeeded in making a "bellissimo corpo di femina ed una testa che spirava."³² Although Vasari reports that this picture was made by Sodoma for the pope and offered to him through the services of Agostino Chigi, it can probably be identified with the one made, according to Sodoma's own letter of May 3, 1518, for Francesco Gonzaga but snatched up by Giuliano de' Medici in Florence; and it may surely be identified with the Lucretia picture which became the victim of a long series of epigrams "Pro statua (!) Lucretie Sodome" which their author, Euralio Morani d'Ascoli, published in Siena on February 9, 1517. One of these distichs mentions expressly the figures of Lucretia's father and husband:

"Cur te non duro penetras Lucretia ferro?
Quod tenet hinc consors quod tenet inde pater."³³

According to Vasari, another Lucretia was painted by Sodoma for one Assuero Rettori da San Martino, and this picture, too, showed the heroine "tenuto dal padre e dal marito." Still another Lucretia appears in Sodoma's inventory of 1549. Now there exist altogether three Lucretia paintings attributed to Sodoma, plus complete disagreement between practically all writers on the Sienese master with regard to their relationship to the ones mentioned in the sources. It would be useless here to try a new distribution. However, one might conceivably agree that: 1) the Hanover picture (fig. 1) can hardly be the one made for the pope since it seems a good deal earlier and does not show the additional figures mentioned by Morani³⁴; 2) the painting in Turin is too late to be identified with the one

29. Ernst Heidrich, *Alt-Niederländische Malerei*, Jena, 1910, fig. 154.

30. Dated 1534, coll. Herbert H. Lehmann in New York, now separated from the portrait. See also G. Glück in *The Art Quarterly*, VIII, 1945, pp. 133 ff., for a summary of the Netherlandish paintings of the theme, including another work by Gossaert (the version in the Berlin sale of 1935, mentioned in Glück's note 36, is not identical with his fig. 10).

31. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 337, no. 490. See also Glück, *op. cit.*, p. 136. Glück's note 41 on Dosso Dossi's *Saint Lucretia* in Washington was supplemented by W. Suida's article in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XCI, 1949, pp. 275 ff. (the Guercino altarpiece of 1645 containing St. Lucretia is not "missing" as Suida says on p. 277 but is in Turin as was stated by Voss in Thieme-Becker). Dossi's picture shows a *niche* with a *statue* in it whose pose however remains enigmatic. Another puzzle is Lotto's portrait of a lady holding a drawing with a Lucretia in her hand (National Gallery, London; *Burlington Magazine*, LI, 1927, p. 107).

32. On the following compare the works by Cust, Lederer, and Carli, quoted in notes 7 and 8. The Turin picture is also illustrated in H. Hauvette, *Le Sodoma*, Paris, s. a., p. 41.

33. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 821: "Hinc pater, hinc coniunx lacrimas solantur..."

34. Carli (*op. cit.*, no. 9) has again proposed to identify the painting in Hanover with the one made for Gonzaga and eventually owned by Giuliano de' Medici, but he admits that it is in

3. *Sodoma, Lucretia.*
Budapest, Private Collection.



made for—or diverted to—Leo X; and 3) the picture formerly in the Weber collection in Hamburg and now (?) in private ownership in Budapest (fig. 3), though not as late as the one in Turin, also seems to date later than about 1516. Still, the panel in Budapest, which does show Lucretia held by her father and her husband, might preserve—perhaps as a replica or even a copy—a salient feature of the painting once in the possession of Leo X. It has been pointed out by Lederer that its Lucretia figure, in which the agitation of the picture in the Kestner-Museum (fig. 1) was changed into pathos, and the execution of the deed to the “fruitful moment,” shows an indisputable resemblance to a hellenistic statue whose type

style “prossima” to the *Judith* (which he dates ca. 1510). It is true that he does not consider the picture made for Leo X and described by Morani as identical with the Gonzaga-Medici one (see his remarks to his no. 41, the Turin painting). It has also been argued that the *Weber* picture should be identified with the one made for Assuero Rettori (for which Vasari gives no date). But I find it very hard to believe that the painting in Hanover could have been considered very modern and exciting about 1515; that the picture owned by Giuliano de’ Medici who died in 1516 should really have been another than Leo’s (in spite of Vasari’s version of the story); and that the *Weber* picture should be distinguished by a conspicuously “antique” figure without the reason indicated.

is known to us through a more recently excavated torso in the Museo Nazionale in Rome³⁵ but which might of course have been accessible to Sodoma in another version. This observation raises the question whether Sodoma's Lucretia "statua" retains essential elements of the antique statue discovered in the Trastevere and commemorated in Giovanni Medici's poem, and how Raphael's (or Raimondi's) design fits into this theory. Without claiming to solve this puzzle, I should like to point out that there do exist some close similarities between Sodoma's figure and the one of the engraving (in the reverse), primarily in the way in which a diagonal piece of drapery runs across the upper part of the body, covering one breast, and in the way in which the arm next to the bare breast has been raised horizontally. The first of these two features is also found in the Hellenistic statue which Sodoma's Lucretia approaches closely in the more sensual rendering of the body under the drapery whereas the Lucretia of the engraving, more fully clothed, stands nearer the ancient marble in the emphasis on the torsion of the body. Assuming a very fragmentary state of the ancient work dug up in the Trastevere—whose identification with Lucretia may have been based on accidentals or even a mere whim—it does seem possible that both the engraving and Sodoma's painting have preserved some elements of its actual appearance.

There remains one important question to be touched upon: What position shall we assign *Albrecht Dürer's* Lucretia in this rapid survey? First of all it should be noted that his drawing of 1508 (fig. 4)³⁶ shows the full-length nude on a pedestal and before a sort of niche, statue fashion, while in the painting of 1518³⁷ the background was changed into an interior with an elaborate bed. Thus it seems that Dürer, too, started with the Florentine-Roman Lucretia type in mind. However, I can offer no suggestions regarding the more specific derivation, if any, of this remarkable though awkward—and understandably unpopular—figure. It does seem to me that in the drawing just mentioned, the right arm and hand, with the dagger deeply immersed in the body, are very closely related to Sodoma's picture in the Kestner-Museum (fig. 1) of which the head, too, is reminiscent. But the alteration of this arm as studied in the *detail* drawing, probably also of 1508³⁸, comes much nearer to Francesco Francia's painting in Dresden (closing thumb!), to which the picture of 1518—in which this study was used—is even more closely related by virtue of the less complete, less "brutal" insertion of the dagger. Did Dürer hear of a Lucretia having been excavated in Rome in or before 1508—the same which inspired Raphael's and Sodoma's design? Did he "imagine" such a statue as placed in an architectural setting and take the specific features partly from life, partly from something like Sodoma's early work? Did he realize at once that the deep plunge of the dagger was repulsive and ought to be alleviated and improved by

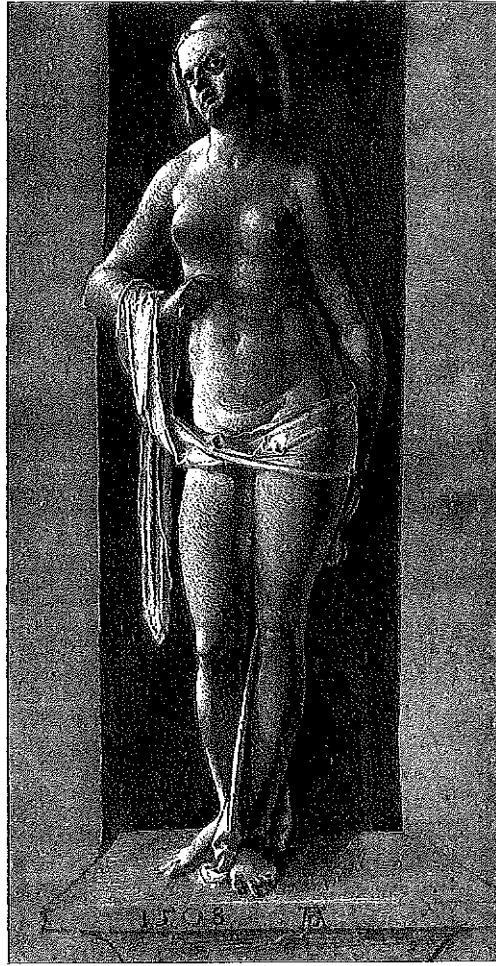
35. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler...*, pl. 474 (related to the "Alcmenes" *Venus*), Lederer, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

36. F. Winkler, *Dürers Zeichnungen*, Berlin, 1937, II, p. 113, no. 436; E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1943, I, p. 121; II, p. 96, no. 932. Beenken's derivation from Leonardo's *Leda* is not convincing.

37. Panofsky, *ibid.*, I, p. 201; II, p. 20, no. 106.

38. Winkler, no. 435; Panofsky, II, p. 120, no. 1209.

4. Dürer, *Lucretia*, Drawing, 1508.
Vienna, Albertina.



something closer to the "fruitful moment," thus achieving a work that was infinitely less elegant and harmonious than Raphael's but superior to it in expressive quality? *Non liquet*. The composition was old-fashioned by 1518 when Dürer introduced the bed as a symbol of Lucretia's guiltless crime, replacing Marcantonio's inscription. By then, Cranach had done his first versions—one, a drawing, as early as 1509, and perhaps itself a reflexion of rumors from Rome although not a full-length "statue"³⁹; Lucas van Leyden had done the successful engraving

39. M. J. Friedländer and J. Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, p. 66. Dr. Rosenberg kindly provided me with a photograph of this drawing which shows a knee-length, half-nude Lucretia.

mentioned above; Burgkmair⁴⁰, Hans Baldung⁴¹, Altdorfer, the Beham, Pencz were soon to follow suit in Germany⁴²; Joos van Cleve, the Master of the Half-Length Figures, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, besides Scorel and Gossaert, and finally Frans Floris in the Netherlands⁴³: all in various degrees of imitation of the Italian monologues, with an increasing predilection for half-figure compositions, away from the statuesque, but also without adding anything of importance to either interpretation or form, and often producing little more than a picturesque nude.

The future lay with the Venetian, not the Florentine-Roman approach. As Jacob Burckhardt saw many years ago, the melodramatic full-length nude held little fascination for the Venetian artists⁴⁴. But the subdued mood of a half-figure clothed in garments of warm colors contrasting beautifully with a relatively sparse display of flesh tones and blond hair—that was a different matter, and in this field, Veronese's incomparable Viennese canvas⁴⁵ by far surpasses Palma's attempts. And it is essentially from Veronese, not from Raphael, that the road leads to the two great Lucretia phantasies of Rembrandt⁴⁶.

40. Cf. note 6; also (for a different woodcut) Oberheide, *op. cit.*

41. Woodcut of 1519 and drawings of 1519 and 1520. Of a more narrative painting of 1530, a fragment with the spectators has survived. H. Curjel, *Hans Baldung Grien*, Munich, 1923, pp. 154, 159, plates 62 and 76; Carl Koch, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens*, Berlin, 1941, nos. 116 and 117.

42. Oberheide, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

43. Glück, *op. cit.*, p. 134. The Floris: Rotterdam, Mus. Boymans, no. 143.

44. *Op. cit.*, p. 415. An exception is the painting in Hampton Court (no. 75) whose old attribution to Titian is regaining favor (*Burlington Magazine*, LXXXI, 1942, p. 185, and H. Tietze, *Titian*, 2nd ed., 1950, pl. 45 and p. 373); but I am not too sure that the "early Titian" in the Munich art trade (W. Suida, *Tizian*, Zürich-Leipzig, 1933, p. 13, pl. III) is a strictly Venetian work.

45. No. 390. *Art Treasures from the Vienna Collections*, 1950, no. 127.

46. National Gallery in Washington and Art Institute in Minneapolis, Bredius nos. 484 and 485. The painting in Washington does show some connection with Marcantonio's engraving (perhaps also with Giacomo Francia's; cf. E. Kieser, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, X, 1941/42, p. 158, also for Rembrandt's drawings of narrative aspects of the story).

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