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Attributed to Antonio Lombardo
(Venice, c.1458–1516, Ferrara)

The Death of Lucretia

c.1508–16

marble relief

48.3 x 42.9 x 10 cm;

19 1/8 x 16 7/8 x 4 in

Provenance

Private collection, Europe, since the 1950s;
Sale, Christie's, London, 29 July 2020, lot 15;
Private collection.

Literature

Classic Evening Sale: Antiquity to 20th Century, Christie's London, 29 July 2020, lot 15.

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This beautiful and refined relief is a masterpiece of Italian Renaissance sculpture. Previously entirely unknown to scholars, its appearance on the art market in 2020 was one of the most important art-historical discoveries of recent years.

The sculpture depicts the Roman heroine Lucretia as she commits suicide by plunging a dagger into her stomach below her right breast, following her violent rape by Sextus Tarquinius. She is flanked on her left by an elderly man, presumably her father, Spurius Lucretius, and on her right by a young woman, probably her maidservant, who appears to cry out. The figures stand upon a small integral base, curved at the left and right edges, with Lucretius's left foot projecting over it. Behind the figures are three columns, the one on the left fluted, the others plain, and the beginnings of arches. Holes on the top edge of the relief seem to confirm that there was originally a separately carved top section, which would have completed the arches. Lucretia originally held a small dagger, the hilt of which, now lost, was probably made of metal, inserted into a small hole in her right hand. Other than the loss of the top section, the relief is overall in very good condition, with just some minor losses, such as Spurius Lucretius's left toes, and the fingers of Lucretia's left hand. Some areas that would not have been particularly visible have been left unworked – for example, the back parts of Lucretia's head, or the father's left thumb.

The story of the noble Roman woman Lucretia, her rape and the subsequent redemption of her honour through suicide was immensely popular in Italy and elsewhere in Europe during the Renaissance period. Lucretia was one of a group of mythological and historical women who were regarded as exemplars of nobility and female virtue and whose stories were recounted in literature, especially Boccaccio's tremendously popular *De mulieribus claribus*,¹ and in art.² The Italian retellings of Lucretia's story were derived from earlier Latin texts, including Ovid and, in particular, the account given by Livy in his *History of Rome* (Book I, chapters 57–9).³ From the late fifteenth century, Italian translations of Livy's history of Rome began to appear, notably an influential edition with woodcut illustrations in Venice in 1493.⁴

The events recounted by Livy and subsequent authors took place in 509 B.C., when Roman troops were camped outside the city of Ardea during a siege. The group included Sextus

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Tarquinius, the son of the Roman king, and his kinsman Collatinus. In the course of a drinking bout, the men began to debate whose wife was the most virtuous, Collatinus loudly proclaiming that his Lucretia would unquestionably win any such competition, but that they should test the matter for themselves by riding to visit their respective spouses. The party, by now the worse for drink, set out for Rome, to find Sextus Tarquinius's wife and other royal princesses enjoying a banquet and disporting themselves frivolously. They rode on to Collatia, where Lucretia was, on the other hand, discovered 'still in the main hall of her home, bent over her spinning and surrounded by her maids as they worked by lamplight'. Taken with her beauty and virtue and, perhaps, smarting a little from the comparison with his own wife's behaviour, Sextus Tarquinius became consumed with sexual desire. A few days later and unbeknown to Collatinus, he again travelled to Collatia, where he was graciously welcomed as a guest and given a room. Once the household was asleep, Tarquinius crept to Lucretia's bedroom with his sword in hand, threatening Lucretia and confessing his passion for her. When the woman refused to submit, Tarquinius further threatened to kill both her and a slave, whose body he would place in the bed alongside hers. Faced with the prospect of utter shame for herself and her family, Lucretia finally submitted. However, after Tarquinius had left, she quickly sent to Rome for her father, Spurius Lucretius, and to Ardea for her husband, Collatinus. Each came with a companion, Spurius Lucretius with Publius Valerius and Collatinus with Lucius Junius Brutus. Explaining to the men that although her body had been defiled, her soul remained pure, the disconsolate Lucretia demanded from them a pledge to punish Sextus Tarquinius: "It is up to you", she said, "to punish the man as he deserves. As for me, I absolve myself of wrong, but not from punishment. Let no unchaste woman hereafter continue to live because of the precedent of Lucretia." She took a knife she was hiding in her garments and drove it into her breast. Doubling over, she collapsed in death.'

Lucretia's death had profound consequences for Roman history, as Brutus seized the opportunity of the horrendous circumstances of the rape and dishonouring of Lucretia to stoke outrage against the ruler of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, and his family. This led quickly to their expulsion and replacement by a new and long-lasting monarchy.

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On its appearance at auction in 2020, the relief was attributed to the Venetian sculptor Antonio Lombardo, whose father, Pietro Lombardo (1435–1515), ran the leading architectural and sculptural workshop in Venice in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with the active participation of Antonio and his brother, Tullio (c.1455–1532). In 1506 Antonio left Venice for Ferrara, where he worked until his early death in 1516 for Alfonso I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1476–1534), one of the greatest patrons of art in Renaissance Italy. The artistic styles of both Antonio and Tullio are based on a refined form of classicism and in many respects are closely similar. It is, nevertheless, possible to distinguish Tullio's severe and usually rather dry classicism from the fuller and more empathetic style of Antonio. As Anne Markham Schulz has observed, this can best be done by comparing the two reliefs of the *Miracle of the Repentant Son* and the *Miracle of the Speaking Baby*, made by Tullio and Antonio respectively for the Chapel of Saint Antony in the Basilica di Sant'Antonio in Padua (figs 1 and 2) during the years around 1500–5: 'a comparison of the brothers' two reliefs shows Tullio to possess an appreciation of structure and hierarchy analogous to systems of scholastic reasoning, and so obsessive a sense of order, so pronounced a tendency toward abstraction, that Antonio's composition appears by contrast almost casual'.⁵ Other subtle differences can be discerned in the two brothers' work, including the modelling of draperies, the treatment of hair and the sense of volume in figures.

The attribution of the *Death of Lucretia* to Antonio when it was offered at auction is very likely to be correct, although the high degree of symmetry and spatial organisation in the relief is perhaps more characteristic of Tullio's approach to sculpture. But the evidence for attribution to Antonio is compelling: for example, the strong sense of volume in the three figures, the use of a drill for the hair of the elderly man, the engagement between the protagonists and the powerful psychological intensity, discussed further below. The relief may for example be compared with two larger multi-figure reliefs, the *Virgin and Child with Saint George and a Donor* from the workshop of Antonio Lombardo, formerly in the Church of San Domenico in Ferrara (fig. 3),⁶ and the relief depicting the *Healing of Anianus* that flanks the doorway to one of the entrances to the former Scuola Grande di San Marco in Venice (fig. 4), paired with Tullio's relief of the *Baptism of Anianus*.⁷

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Antonio's most celebrated work is the extensive series of figurative and decorative reliefs made for the *studio dei marmi* created by Alfonso I d'Este for the Via Coperta of his palace in Ferrara, almost all of which are now in the Hermitage, St Petersburg.⁸ Most of the surviving panels, one of which is dated 1508, are largely decorative, but in the Hermitage are two large figurative reliefs depicting *The Contest between Minerva and Neptune for the Possession of Attica* and *The Forge of Vulcan* (fig. 5), conceivably made for another room in the Via Coperta.⁹ The figure of Vulcan is directly based on the famous antique sculpture of Laocoön, that had been discovered in 1506. Although these reliefs are very different in their conception from the *Death of Lucretia*, several stylistic parallels are apparent: the drapery of Minerva and that of the woman at left in the *Death of Lucretia*; the magnificent rendering of nude figures; the handling of the beards in the figures of Vulcan and of Spurius Lucretius in the present relief.

However, the closest comparisons, and the best context for the *Death of Lucretia*, are to be found in the well-known group of independent, smaller-scale reliefs of subjects from mythology and Roman history that have long been associated with Antonio Lombardo and his circle.¹⁰ With just one or two exceptions, these reliefs are all vertical compositions, measuring mostly around 40 by 25 cm, with a single figure occupying much of the compositional space. The figures stand upon an integral projecting ledge and are carved in high relief, to the extent that many are almost free-standing. There is a rather random selection of male subjects, from the god Mars to the hero Hercules, the Homeric Greek archer Philoctetes and the Roman hero Mucius Scaevola. On the other hand, the female themes, other than the *Venus Anadyomene* (fig. 6), form a more coherent series of famous virtuous women, all of whom came to a tragic end, mostly at their own hands: Cleopatra, Dido, Eurydice, Lucretia, Portia. As well as the relief of *Cleopatra* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes,¹¹ another of this subject, once in the Mazarin collection, has been recently rediscovered at Wilton House (fig. 7).¹² Most of these reliefs feature a carefully lettered Latin inscription along the base identifying the subject, absent from the *Death of Lucretia*.

The reliefs were first discussed as a series by Julius von Schlosser, who attributed them to Antonio Lombardo on the basis of comparison with the sculptures from the *camerino di*

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alabastro in the Hermitage.¹³ However, just a few years later Leo Planiscig identified the majority as the work of the Paduan sculptor Giovanni Maria Mosca, known as Padovano (active 1507–73),¹⁴ attributions that have more recently been confirmed by Anne Markham Schulz, who further proposed the four versions of the *Philoctetes* as Mosca's work.¹⁵ The attribution of most of these reliefs to Mosca has been widely but by no means universally accepted,¹⁶ while the *Pan and Luna* in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, is generally accepted as the work of Mosca's master, Antonio Minello (c.1465–1529).¹⁷ The only relief in the series that is now universally accepted as the work of Antonio Lombardo is the *Venus Anadyomene* in the Victoria and Albert Museum,¹⁸ in which the beautiful figure of Venus is stylistically close to the figure of Lucretia in the form of the face and the modelling of the torso.

The refined modelling of form in the *Death of Lucretia* can also be compared with another work recently attributed to Antonio Lombardo that recalls the single-figure mythological reliefs but on a much smaller scale, a bronze relief depicting *Victory*, which also appeared on the market in London in 2020, when it was identified as probably an allegory of Alfonso d'Este's victory in the Battle of Ravenna in April 1512. This jewel-like small sculpture has recently been acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 8).¹⁹

The attribution of the *Death of Lucretia* is therefore secure, and the relief may be placed within the context of a series of other works by Antonio Lombardo and members of his circle. When it was sold, it was suggested that the upturned head of Lucretia and her opened mouth were derived from the head of one of the sons of the Trojan priest Laocoön in the celebrated antique marble group that was discovered in Rome in 1506. This would date the relief to the period after Antonio Lombardo had moved from Venice to Ferrara, to take up the position as court sculptor to Alfonso I d'Este. It could have been made at any time between about 1508 and the sculptor's death in 1516. The relief stands out for its size, the number of figures within the composition and its quality. But beyond these physical attributes, the sculpture appears to be truly exceptional in its treatment of its subject.

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There are many depictions of the death of Lucretia in Renaissance art, in paintings, prints, sculpture and maiolica. Some, especially a series of Florentine *cassone* and *spalliera* paintings, show Lucretia dying amidst a small crowd.²⁰ Only very few follow more closely the description by Livy, Boccaccio and others in which it is implied that the heroine committed suicide before a very small group of people consisting essentially of her father, her husband and their two companions. These include a *spalliera* panel of around 1517–18 by the Sienese painter Andrea del Bresciano (c.1530–c.1569) which was made together with allegorical paintings of *Hope* and *Charity*, Lucretia here symbolising *Faith*.²¹ Another rare instance is a painting from the 1490s made in the Ferrarese workshop of Ercole de' Roberti (c.1455/6–1496) depicting Lucretia, in contemporary dress, standing before her husband, Collatinus, and father, Spurius Lucretius (fig. 9).²² Together with two other surviving panels, this painting formed part of a series of images of famous women and was also very probably a commission from the Este rulers of Ferrara, for whom the *Death of Lucretia* is also likely to have been made.

However, most fifteenth- and sixteenth-century images of the death of Lucretia show the heroine alone, very often depicting her naked or semi-clothed. A good example is the relief of the *Death of Lucretia* attributed to Mosca, in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore,²³ but there are many more. Many of these depictions are to varying degrees voyeuristic, even titillating, a reminder that the principal audience for such images was male. One important reason why the subject of Lucretia was so popular among Renaissance males was the fact that the story exalted faithfulness and chastity, the fundamental qualities expected from a wife. As Baldassare Castiglione explained, 'countless evils result from the incontinence of women which do not do so from the incontinence of men . . . therefore . . . it is wisely made the rule that women are allowed to fail in everything else, and not be blamed, so long as they can devote all their resources to preserving that one virtue of chastity, failing which there would be doubts about one's children . . .'²⁴

At first sight, with Lucretia's drapery sensuously slipping away to reveal her naked torso, the *Death of Lucretia* might be thought to follow the popular pattern of these slightly lubricious representations. Indeed, this sculpture is very carefully designed to focus the viewer's

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attention on the woman's torso, with the v-shape of the falling drapery and the directional folds of the lower draperies of her two companions designed to lead the eye towards the vulva, while, conversely, the arms of the maidservant and of Spurius Lucretius direct attention towards the act of stabbing, but also provide a sort of frame for Lucretia's breasts. In her death throes, Lucretia is shown with her eyes closed and mouth wide open. Best seen if the relief is viewed from the left, there are very few parallels in Renaissance art for her extraordinary expression, hardly less ambiguous and subversive than Saint Teresa of Avila's as she experiences her vision of God, as sculpted by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) more than a century later.

In truth, there is very little in the *Death of Lucretia* that could be described as titillating. Instead, imbued as it is with a quiet and solemn intensity, it illustrates, to an extent that can hardly be paralleled in any of the many other Renaissance images of the subject, Lucretia's death as a noble sacrifice.

A fundamental influence, hardly surprising in the work of the Lombardo family, is the pervasive influence of the antique, first in the composition, with the array of three standing figures reminiscent of some Hellenistic and Roman sculpted votive reliefs – for example, a marble relief with the god Sarapis and a Ptolemaic queen in the British Museum.²⁵ The torso of Lucretia, which displays all the idealising qualities of Hellenistic sculpture, is very likely to have been directly inspired by an antique marble, such as the *Venus Anadyomene* now in the Museo Archaeologico in Venice (fig. 10).²⁶ This very beautiful sculpture could certainly have been known to Antonio Lombardo, since it was in the collection of Domenico Grimani (1461–1523), Cardinal Patriarch of Venice, who bequeathed it to the Venetian state in 1523. More surprisingly, perhaps, a powerful Christian element may also be perceived in the *Death of Lucretia*. Although suicide was regarded by the Roman Catholic church as a mortal sin, Lucretia's modesty and devotion to her chastity appear to have ensured for her a certain acceptance within the broader Christian canon. She was thus used to personify the Christian virtue of Faith in Andrea del Bresciano's painting in Siena. Several instances are known of sixteenth-century paintings of Lucretia paired with images of the penitent Magdalen, while a diptych with the Virgin and Child and a male donor painted in about 1530 by Jan van Scorel

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(1495–1562) has, on the reverse of the panel with the male portrait – thus visible when the diptych was closed – a depiction of the naked Lucretia stabbing herself.²⁷ The Christian association is more subtly but powerfully evident in one of the most widely diffused sixteenth-century images of Lucretia, Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving based on a drawing by Raphael, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 11). In both drawing and print Lucretia's raised arms clearly allude to the Crucifixion, but the Christian parallels are even more evident in the drawing, with Lucretia's eyes raised upwards, as it were towards heaven.²⁸

The Christian resonances are likewise subtle in the present sculpture but would surely have been apparent to contemporary audiences. The bold presentation of Lucretia recalls the exposition of the suffering Christ in some versions of the *Ecce Homo* – for example, the painting by Andrea Mantegna of around 1500 in the Musée Jacquemart-André.²⁹ The *Death of Lucretia* shares the startling immediacy of Mantegna's central figure, if not the grotesque accompanying figures. The lamenting maidservant and the gently solicitous father, as well as Lucretia's left hand held wide open in supplication, ineluctably also point towards other Christian iconographies popular at the time in Venice and northern Italy, the Blood of the Redeemer and the Pietà. An onyx cameo in the British Museum (fig. 12) and a closely related terracotta relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum show Christ as the Man of Sorrows, closely flanked by the Virgin, Saint John and other figures, with his hands held out towards the viewer.³⁰ The cameo, in particular, captures the quiet intensity of the grief being experienced by Christ's mother and by Saint John, 'the disciple Jesus loved', an emotional quality that is likewise so strongly present in the responses of the father and maidservant in the *Death of Lucretia*. While her sacrifice is never anything other than a proper means by which to preserve the perceived order of things, the parallels in the *Death of Lucretia* with Christian iconography emphasise and enhance the viewer's empathy with Lucretia and the nobility of this wronged woman. This empathetic grief arguably reaches its highest expression in this period in the art of Giovanni Bellini (c.1430/35–1516) and his Pietà compositions (fig. 13), which stimulate in the viewer what can only be described as a 'noble grief', their quiet dignity quite different from the frenzied acts of sorrow to be seen in, for

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example, the great Lamentation scenes of Donatello. As a fellow Venetian, Antonio Lombardo would have been more than deeply familiar with Bellini and his work.

As in Bellini's representations of the Pietà, the role of the viewer is crucial. It is possible that the now missing top section included an inscription that would have helped enhance the engagement of anyone looking onto the relief. The key absent figure from the composition is Lucretia's husband, Collatinus, and perhaps as viewers we are intended to imagine ourselves in his role. One of the most popular reinterpretations of the story of Lucretia's rape and suicide around 1500 was the short *Declamatio Lucretiae*, written in about 1390 by the humanist and Chancellor of Florence Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), which circulated through numerous manuscript versions and became more widely available towards the end of the fifteenth century, when it was published in 1496 as part of a compilation of Pope Pius II's *Epistolae*. Coluccio's text takes the form of a dialogue between Collatinus and his wife,³¹ with Collatinus firstly urging Lucretia not to take her own life, arguing that although her body may have been violated, her soul remained untouched, and that suicide would poison rather than salve her reputation: 'A woman will not be thought to be innocent who afflicts herself with punishment as a criminal.' Collatinus actually uses a sculptural analogy to emphasise Lucretia's resistance and detachment during the act of rape: 'you kept your mind most chaste during the violence of copulation . . . in satiating his lust, instead of granting him a woman of flesh, you offered a marble statue'. Lucretia's reply to her husband and father is a ringing demand to be allowed to choose her own fate, in which she emphasises the injury done to her chastity and her fear that, should she elect to live with the memory of the rape, its horror might with time come to seem less and she might even be tempted in the future: 'if I delay, perhaps shameful acts will begin to please me'. Instead, Lucretia urges her menfolk to seek revenge 'not less courageously than I will perform my murder. Let not Lucretia be given as an example to Roman women so that, on account of my life, they may convince themselves that life is lawful for the unchaste.'

Further evidence for the exceptional nature of the portrayal of the heroine's sacrifice in the present work is the disparate and very different nature of those very few other contemporary representations of the story of Lucretia that match its power. Lorenzo Lotto's great portrait of

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an unknown woman, whose name must have been Lucretia,³² is in its way no less challenging but approaches the subject from an entirely different direction. The beautiful alabaster torso of a woman in anguish, possibly Lucretia, made around 1515–20 by a sculptor in the circle of Cristoforo Solari, gains its power in part through its deliberately fragmentary conception.³³

Consideration of the viewer leads on to who might have originally commissioned and owned the *Death of Lucretia*. It seems very probable that this significant work was made for the duke or a member of his family; perhaps it is no coincidence that the duke's wife bore Lucretia's name, none other than Lucrezia Borgia (1480–1519). Perhaps, too, the remarkably sympathetic treatment of Lucretia in this sculpture owes something to the fact that in the decades around 1500 a number of women in Italy exercised more power and played a more significant role in state affairs than might have been expected, given the prevailing societal norms. Most of these women grew up in the North Italian courts, such as Milan, Mantua and Ferrara, which were notable for the high level of education of the women of the ruling families. If the best-known example is Caterina Sforza (1463–1509), the doughty ruler of Forlì and Imola, Eleonora of Aragon (1450–93), the wife of Duke Ercole I d'Este, played an active role in the government of the Duchy of Ferrara, especially during her husband's absences, while in nearby Mantua Eleonora's daughter Isabella d'Este (1474–1539), Marchioness of Mantua, also on occasion took part in the governance of the territory but, more significantly, became one of the great artistic patrons of her age.

In some of these centres in the latter decades of the fifteenth century a humanist debate even began as to the relative status and equality of women and men. In Ferrara in 1487 the notary Bartolomeo Goggio dedicated to Eleonora of Aragon his 'De laudibus mulierum', a significant early attempt to demonstrate the superiority of women over men, largely by showing how often men failed to achieve the virtues such as chastity that had been traditionally demanded of women.³⁴ It has been argued that Eleonora of Aragon commissioned Ercole de' Roberti's series of famous women, including the panel of the *Death of Lucretia* (fig. 9), with its remarkable depiction of Lucretia, one in which the painter 'avoids visualizing signs of vulnerability or victimhood but focuses instead on Lucretia's

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moment of greatest power'.³⁵ These paintings, hanging in the ducal palace in Ferrara, would certainly have been known to Antonio Lombardo, whose own duchess, the much-maligned Lucrezia, was a distinguished patron in her own right and a remarkably astute businesswoman and property investor.³⁶

The newly discovered *Death of Lucretia* is an exceptional work by any standards. It is both a superbly conceived and executed sculpture in its own right and a carefully considered, fresh and emotionally satisfying interpretation of a well-known but powerful story. Antonio's response to the harrowing subject bears witness to his profound acquaintance with the heritage of classical literature and sculpture, the rediscovery and revaluation of which was at the heart of the Renaissance in Italy. At the same time, the *Death of Lucretia* is a remarkably modern work that draws on Christian themes and, implicitly, alludes to contemporary debate in Ferrara on the dignity and status of women. Ultimately, in its dignified and sympathetic portrayal of the suicide of Lucretia and the responses of her companions, Antonio Lombardo's *Death of Lucretia*, like all great works of art, transcends the centuries since it was made and is as powerful and affecting for us today as it would have been for its first owners.

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Figure 1. Tullio Lombardo, *Miracle of the Repentant Son*.
Marble, c.1500–5. © Cappella di Sant'Antonio, Basilica del Santo, Padua

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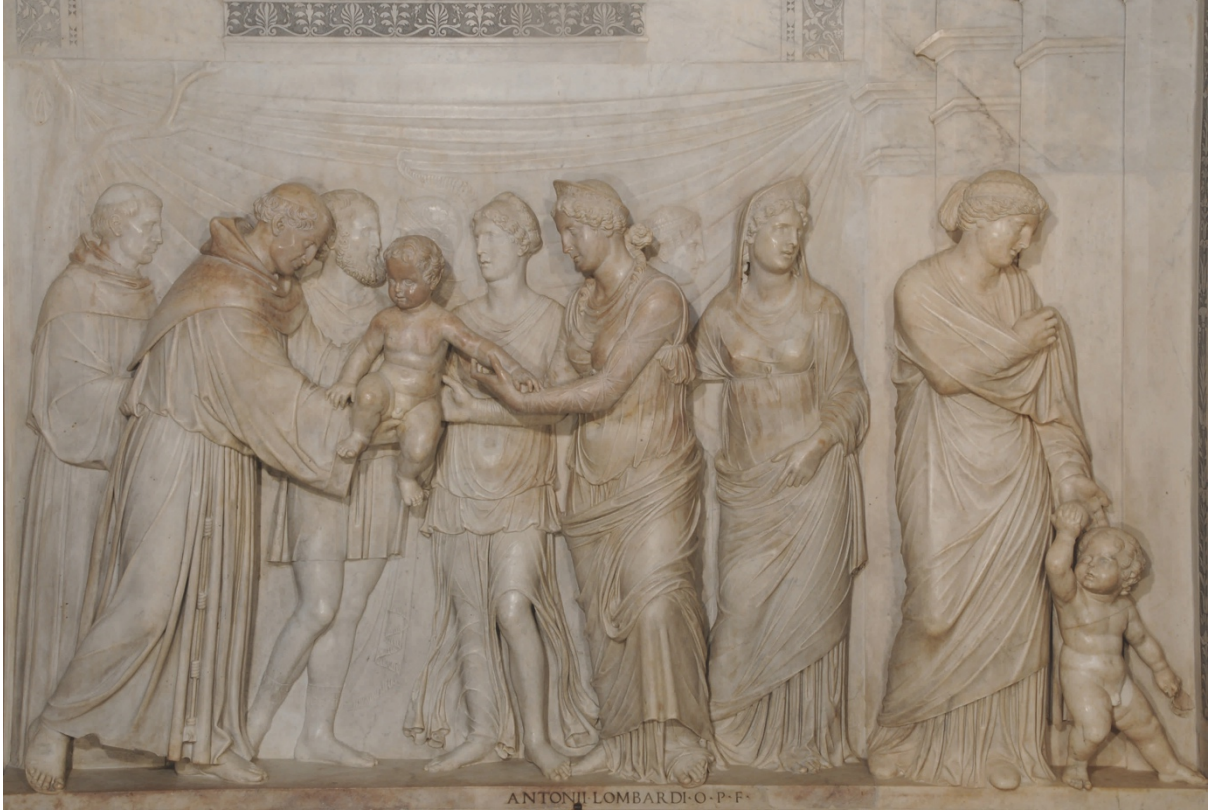


Figure 2. Antonio Lombardo, *Miracle of the Speaking Baby*.
Marble, c.1500–5. © Cappella di Sant'Antonio, Basilica del Santo, Padua

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Figure 3. Antonio Lombardo and workshop, *Virgin and Child with Saint George and a Donor*.

Marble, c.1515. © Musei civici di arte antica, Palazzina di Marfisa d'Este, Ferrara

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Figure 4. Attributed to Antonio Lombardo, *The Healing of Anianus*.
Marble, c.1500–6. Scuola Grande di San Marco, Venice
© Cameraphoto Atre, Venice

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Figure 5. Antonio Lombardo, *The Forge of Vulcan*.
Marble, c.1508–12. © The State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Photograph by Vladimir Terebenin

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Figure 6. Antonio Lombardo, *Venus Anadyomene*.
Marble, c.1510–15. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

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Figure 7. Attributed to Giovanni Maria Mosca, *Cleopatra*.
Marble, c.1520–29. © The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery and Trustees of the Wilton House Trust, Wilton House, Salisbury, UK

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Figure 8. Attributed to Antonio Lombardo, *Allegory of Victory at the Battle of Ravenna*.

Bronze, c.1512. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

© Morton & Eden, London

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Figure 9. Workshop of Ercole de'Roberti, *Death of Lucretia*.

Oil on panel, c.1490. Galleria Estense, Modena.

© The Ministry of Culture - Photographic archive of the Estensi Galleries.

Photograph by Carlo Vannini

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Figure 10. *Venus Anadyomene*, Roman copy after a Hellenistic original.
Marble, 2nd century a.d. © Museo Archeologico, Venice

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Figure 11. Raphael, *Lucretia*.

Pen and brown ink over black chalk, c.1508–10.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
(Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997)

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Figure 12. *The Blood of the Redeemer*, Paduan or Venetian.

Onyx cameo, c.1500. British Museum, London

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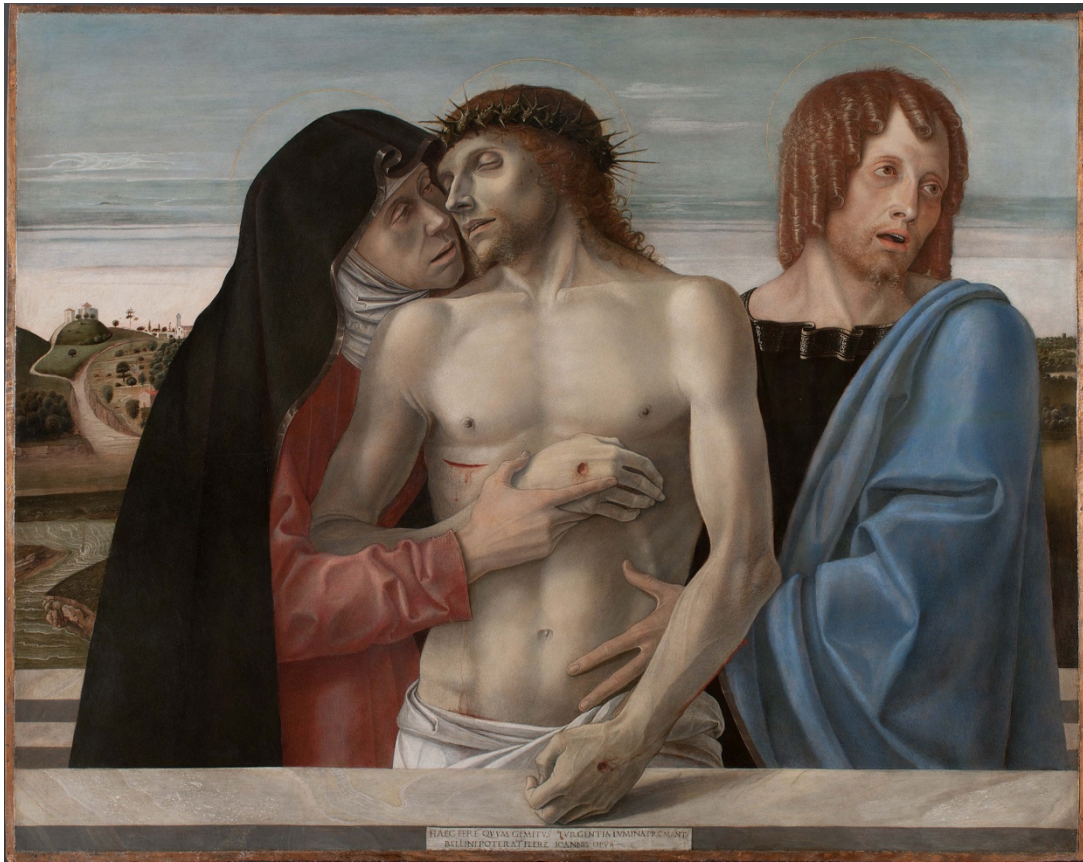


Figure 13. Giovanni Bellini, *Pietà*.

Tempera on panel, c.1465–70. © Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan

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Footnotes

- ¹ G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women*, ed. and trans. Virginia Brown, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 2001, chapter 48, pp. 195–9.
- ² C. L. Baskins, *Cassone Painting, Humanism and Gender in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 128–59; Mario Scalini (ed.), *Lucrezia Romana: la virtù delle donne da Raffaello a Reni*, exh. cat., Milan, 2016.
- ³ For a modern translation, see Livy, *The Rise of Rome: Books One to Five*, trans. T. J. Luce, Oxford, 1998, I.57–9, pp. 66–9.
- ⁴ *Deche di Tito Livio vulgare historiata*, Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, for Lucantonio Giunta, Venice, 11 February 1493. The blocks were used for subsequent editions in 1502 and 1511.
- ⁵ A. M. Schulz, *The Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo*, Turnhout, 2014, p. 35.
- ⁶ L. Laureati (ed.), *Lucrezia Borgia*, exh. cat. (Palazzo Bonacossi), Ferrara, 2002, pp. 170–71, no. 33; M. Ceriana (ed.), *Il camerino di alabastro: Antonio Lombardo e la scultura all'antica*, exh. cat., Milan, 2004, pp. 294–5, cat. no. 77; A. Sarchi, *Antonio Lombardo*, Venice, 2008, pp. 271–3, no. 28, figs. 182, 183, 185, 189.
- ⁷ Schulz, *Sculpture of Tullio Lombardo*, pp. 86–9, figs 225 and 226.
- ⁸ Ceriana, *Il camerino di alabastro*, cat. nos. 1–35; see also W. S. Sheard, 'Antonio Lombardo's Reliefs for Alfonso d'Este's *Studio di Marmi*: Their Significance and Impact on Titian', in J. Manca (ed.), *Titian 500: Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXV*, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 314–57; C. Hope (ed.), *Il Regno e l'Arte: i camerini di Alfonso d'Este, terzo duca di Ferrara*, Florence, 2012, esp. pp. 77–201.
- ⁹ Ceriana, *Il camerino di alabastro*, cat. nos. 1–2; Sarchi, *Antonio Lombardo*, nos. 15–16. See also A. M. Schulz, 'La *Fucina di Vulcano* di Antonio Lombardo: lo stile, la data, il sito ed il significato', in M. Ceriana (ed.), *Tullio Lombardo: scultore e architetto nella Venezia del Rinascimento. Atti del Convegno di Studi, 4–6 aprile 2006*, Venice, 2007, pp. 320–44.
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- ¹⁴ L. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 259–78.
- ¹⁵ Schulz, *Giammaria Mosca called Padovano*, nos. 1 A–B, 4 A–C, 5 A–D, 6, 7 A–B, 12, 13, 18.
- ¹⁶ See, for example, Sergei Androssov's strong defence of the attribution of the St Petersburg *Philoctetes* to Antonio Lombardo in Ceriana, *Il camerino di alabastro*, cat. no. 62, or J. Warren, 'Gaspere Fantuzzi: A Patron of Sculpture in Renaissance Bologna', *Burlington Magazine*, 149, December 2007, pp. 831–5, in which it is argued that the reliefs of *Philoctetes* and *Eurydice* with dedicatory inscriptions on the reverse could have been made in the Lombardo workshop in Ferrara, to which city Gaspere Fantuzzi was exiled in 1512–13; for a summary of the argument, see A. Bayer (ed.), *Art and Love in Renaissance Italy*, exh. cat., New York, 2008, pp. 120–21, cat. no. 49b.
- ¹⁷ A. M. Schulz, 'Two New Works by Antonio Minello', *Burlington Magazine*, 137, 1995, pp. 799–808; Bormand, Paolozzi Strozzi and Tasso, *Le Corps et l'âme*, pp. 368–9, no. 113.

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- ¹⁸ Ceriana, *Il camerino di alabastro*, no. 69; Sarchi, *Antonio Lombardo*, no. 20, fig. 164; most recently, Bormand, Paolozzi Strozzi and Tasso, *Le Corps et l'âme*, pp. 366–7, no. 112.
- ¹⁹ *Coins, Medals, Plaquettes and Banknotes*, Morton and Eden, London, 4 November 2020, lot 8, unsold. Acquired in September 2021 by the Ashmolean Museum with the assistance of David and Molly Borthwick, Sam Fogg Ltd., Trinity Fine Art and many other donors.
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- ³² Penny, *Sixteenth Century Italian Paintings*, pp. 74–91.
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