

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF JUDITH IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ART

BY

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## Preface

My original project for a Master's thesis was to investigate and discuss the iconography of Judith and Holofernes in Italian Renaissance and Baroque art. That the magnitude of such an undertaking did not strike me at its inception must kindly be blamed on naivete. It was not long before I discovered that the plan was unfeasible given the time and space I had to devote to this thesis. I therefore decided to end my investigation at ca. 1600, and finally, this limitation being insufficient, to end it ca. 1520-1530 to include Venetian High Renaissance examples.

Judith was not unknown in medieval iconography; consequently the first chapter is devoted to supplying a sort of background inspection of the heroine's pre-Renaissance appearances. The second chapter represents an attempt to discover where and when the political interpretation so often associated with Judith began and how it developed. This investigation is centered in Florence.

The third chapter consists of a brief survey of Judith's appearances in areas other than Florence, and of interpretations other than political. In all, the thesis attempts to cover several facets of this adaptable lady. Many works have been purposely omitted in this study; many

more, undoubtedly, remain unknown to me. I make no claim to mentioning every Renaissance example. Hopefully this work is not merely a catalog, but rather a purposeful investigation of a subject which, though it may not have been calling for someone to rescue it from obscurity, is extremely interesting and one involved not only with Renaissance art, but also history, philosophy and religion.

The thesis, in ending, draws no overall conclusion; I hope, rather, that it will have presented some idea of Judith's versatility and of the facility of the Renaissance mind which endowed her with the power to represent diverse abstract ideas.

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## CHAPTER I

Though the immediate prototype, be it literary or graphic, for any one depiction of Judith may differ from country to country, from century to century, it can be established that each separate version is but a variation springing from a single source, the Apocryphal Book of Judith. In order to fully understand the iconography of Judith in any given period one must examine the source of the story and establish some pattern for its depiction from the time of inception to the period in question. In beginning such a survey one is immediately faced with the problem of dating the appearance of this anonymous, extra-canonical Hebrew story.<sup>1</sup> Scholars are generally agreed that it was probably written in the second century B. C. during the period of the Maccabean conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes (167-134 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> Some writers, however, contend that it could have been written as late as 70 A. D..<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this paper the earlier dating has been accepted, as the evidence supporting it is most convincing.

That the reader may have some point of reference in following the arguments and descriptions which will comprise the remainder of this paper, there follows a brief résumé of the story of Judith:

Nebuchadnezzar, angered by insubordination of subject peoples, despatches Holofernes with numberless

forces to subdue all the peoples to the west. Most submitted at once, but the Israelites, recently returned from their captivity, prayerfully prepared to resist. An Ammonite leader named Achior warned Holofernes that God would help the Israelites; Holofernes angrily thrust him from the camp, and the Israelites received him kindly into their stronghold at Bethulia. Holofernes cut off Bethulia's water supply, and after severe suffering the people made their leaders promise to capitulate if no deliverance came in five days. The rich and pious widow Judith lectures the leaders on their lack of faith, prays at length, changes her sackcloth for elegant attire, and goes to the enemy camp, taking permissible food with her in a bag. She remains as Holofernes' guest for three days, eating her own food, however, and going out to pray. On the fourth evening he arranges an elaborate feast, with transparent intentions, but when the two are left alone he is heavy with wine. Judith cuts his head off, [gives it to her maid who puts it in her bag of food] and returns to her people. [On entering the city she is met by the priest Uziah.] At the sight of [the head] Achior is converted, and Judith raises a hymn of thanksgiving. Discomfited by the loss of their leader, Holofernes' host is easily defeated. Judith resumes her sackcloth, rejects many offers of marriage, and dies highly respected at the age of 105.<sup>4</sup>

This story does not seem to be a true record of historical events; geographical and chronological data is at variance with what is known to be fact. What then is the Book of Judith?

Moses Hadas makes a very good point for its dependence on Hellenistic romances and mentions certain affinities to Herodotus as well as a very close parallel in the Lindian Chronicle.<sup>5</sup> The latter, though composed ca. 99 B. C., is the retelling of a story which undoubtedly had an older tradition, and which probably antedates the Judith story. It concerns a people cut off from their water supply who agree to wait five days for deliverance. Before the deadline their enemies are vanquished and they are saved. It

was a lady who accomplished this feat, but rather than a Jewish widow it was Athena herself who rescued the people of Lindus. Certain narrative points are too similar to deny a connection. So then, there seems to be a reliance on the all-pervading culture of the Hellenes. But the significance of the story of Judith is greater than its form and narrative borrowings.

To discover its raison d'être one must examine this tale for its symbolic significance and try to ascertain its effect upon the initial reader. The name of Judith, for instance, is the feminine of Judah; Bethulia can be translated as "City of God".<sup>6</sup> The heroic actions of Judith represent not one real woman's faith and piety, but rather demonstrate to a besieged people that seemingly insurmountable odds can be overcome. Such exhortation naturally would be necessary in time of war. It is in the quality of exhortation that the Book of Judith most closely approaches the canonical books of the Old Testament. Like Deborah, Judith rescued her people, and her killing of Holofernes can be compared to Jael's murder of Sisera.

It was as a book of the Old Testament that Judith was introduced into the West. A Greek translation from the Hebrew original was included in the Alexandrian "Septuagint". From Alexandria this version of the Bible was dispersed throughout the Christian world. Also from Alexandria came the practice of allegorical exegesis of the Bible. This is an important fact in light of the medieval

interpretation of Judith in particular and of the Old Testament in general. Allegorical exegesis originated with Church Fathers such as Origen who felt that certain passages of the Bible were absurd if taken literally, but that these same passages had significance if seen as typological prefigurations of the New Testament.

In the late fourth century the Book of Judith was established as canonical. St. Jerome (346-426), though he is said to have preferred the Hebrew Canon,<sup>7</sup> was forced by the strength of tradition to use the "Septuagint" as his source when translating into the Vulgate. Thus the "apocryphal" (Jerome was the first to use this word for these "hidden" later works) books were included in the most popular bible of the Middle Ages and their canonical authority was not seriously questioned until Martin Luther removed them from his Bible in 1532.

Having thus briefly shown the evolution of the Book of Judith from extra-canonical into Catholic Canon it is now possible to be more specific in tracing first the literary and then the graphic expressions of her story through the Middle Ages. Perhaps the first extant Bibles in which the story of Judith is included are the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus. Both date from the fourth century and are written in Greek. After the fourth century she will of course have been part of any copy of the "Vulgate". The Book of Judith also received its share of allegorical exegesis.<sup>8</sup> This, along with other

patristic typology, was compiled and slightly expanded by Isadore of Seville (560?-636) in his Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum and later in the ninth century by Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780-856). The works of these two men were subsequently incorporated in the Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo (ca. 809-849).<sup>9</sup> Émile Mâle describes this collection as "the book which bewitched the Middle Ages by its quality of precision and remained famous until the Renaissance".<sup>10</sup>

Approaching somewhat closer to the Renaissance and returning to Italy it is important to establish the use of Judith by perhaps the two most significant writers of the Trecento; namely, Dante and Petrarch. Dante's references are purely medieval. In the Purgatorio, Canto XII (lines 58-60) he presents the death of Holofernes and ensuing rout of his men as symbolic of the fall of Superbia. In the Paradiso, Canto XXXII (line 10) Judith is one of the eight blessed members of the Old Covenant who surround the Virgin Mary.<sup>11</sup> Petrarch's brief but important references to Judith occur in the Triumph of Chastity and the Triumph of Fame. They will be discussed at greater length below.

There were other references to this biblical heroine in the literature of the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> Great delight was undoubtedly found in the narrative elements themselves in those quarters where the allegorical interpretation did not dominate. In England, for instance, there appeared a

tenth century poem in which Judith was transformed into an Anglo-Saxon lady of some physical prowess.<sup>13</sup> Further elaboration would overstate the point that there was a continual literary tradition for the story of Judith throughout the Middle Ages.

This literary tradition did undoubtedly give birth to and sustain the graphic tradition. It has been noted that allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament dominated patristic as well as later medieval exegesis. It is natural, then, to assume that the depictions of Old Testament scenes would follow much the same pattern. This being so there are certain premises that can be laid down, certain iconographic principles which can be established at the outset. First and foremost is the fact that seldom if ever did an Old Testament scene or character appear in isolation, but seems always to have been linked either to a larger cycle or to a New Testament scene which it pre-figured.<sup>14</sup> Since the narrative aspects were secondary very often only the figure and its identifying symbol or symbols were shown. Of course the most simply conceived plans were those found in the catacombs. From these beginnings were derived larger fresco and mosaic cycles. Book illustration, especially that of the Bible, also developed in conjunction with architectural decoration.

Exactly when Judith first entered the repertoire of subjects used by painter or mosaicist is not known. Perhaps the earliest extant example of her inclusion in a

cycle can be found in the frescoes of Santa Maria Antiqua (VIIIc.) in Rome.<sup>15</sup> There she is shown greeting Uzziah on her return to Bethulia. She carries the head of Holofernes, an act that signifies the salvation of her people, just as the Virgin Mary carried the salvation of the world when she was greeted by Elizabeth.<sup>16</sup> Thus the scene prefigures the Visitation.

The Bible of St. Pauls-Outside-the-Walls was produced in the ninth century in Italy. In it the story of Judith appears in a triple tiered narrative cycle which includes a number of scenes. A narrative cycle is also found in the Bible of Farfa, XI c. (Cod. lat. 5729).<sup>17</sup> Frances Godwin points out that by the twelfth century the tradition of narrative scenes in Bibles gives way to initial illustration or single unframed figures at the beginning of a book of the Bible. In these cases the decapitation is generally shown. It is, of course, the climax of the story and can be expected to receive the greatest amount of attention. A beautiful example of this type is to be found in the Bible of Stephen Harding, XII c. (Dijon, Bibl. Comm. mss. 12-15-7).<sup>18</sup>

Other than Bibles there are a number of very important medieval manuscripts in which Judith appears. Perhaps the most important is the Speculum Humanae Salvationis (XIV c.). In it subjects are arranged in groups of four, three types to an antitype; i. e. three Old Testament or mytho-historical scenes for every one derived from the

New Testament. On one page the Virgin Mary is shown conquering Satan with the Symbols of the Passion. The accompanying scenes represent Jael and Sisera, Tomyris with the head of Cyrus, and Judith and Holofernes. Judith's similarity to Jael has already been mentioned; her association with Herodotus' Tomyris will be mentioned again below. It is in the Speculum that the association with the Virgin Mary is most clearly laid out.

The other works in which Judith plays a part are the Hortus Deliciarum (ca. 1159-1175), in which a cycle of the events from the story occur, and the Speculum Virginum (1100-1150).<sup>19</sup> In the latter work she is represented as a "virtuous woman" in conjunction with the virtue of Humilitas. Here again Judith is visualized as a prototype of the Virgin.

One of the most extensive coverages of the story of Judith can be found in the sculpture of Chartres Cathedral. Begun early in the thirteenth century, the north transept represents an advance not only in execution, but also in iconography. "For the right portal", Katzenellenbogen writes, "the planners of Chartres Cathedral worked out a highly original kind of program. Not only were most of the figures and figure scenes new on a church façade, but the ideological system achieved by their combination was equally bold in concept."<sup>20</sup> Judith here is represented alone as a jamb figure; a slender, lyric lady whose feet rest on a dog, the symbol of her fidelity to her dead

husband Manasseh. As Manasseh typifies the "pagan rite", Judith, as his wife, symbolizes the Law of the Old Testament. The archivolt scenes which rise over her head narrate in five scenes the actions of the Hebrew heroine. Katzenellenbogen gives a detailed description and an interpretation based on the writings of Hrabanus Maurus.<sup>21</sup>

The preceding examples furnish a general survey of Judith's appearances in medieval art. A more particular survey of Italian examples might help to clarify later discussions of borrowing and development. It has already been established that from the seventh century Judith could be seen in Santa Maria Antiqua and that in the ninth century she appeared in the Bible of St. Pauls-Outside-the-Walls. Two late eleventh century Bibles, one north Italian (fig. 1) and one from Parma (fig. 2) incorporate the single figure variety of Judith which appears in the margin at the beginning of her Book. The Princeton Index to Christian Art lists only one fourteenth century manuscript which contains a miniature of Judith.<sup>22</sup> Frances Godwin mentions another<sup>23</sup> and Didron points out that a 1324 copy of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis was executed in Italy.<sup>24</sup>

Outside the realm of manuscript illustration there are two very important appearances of scenes from the story of Judith. In the late thirteenth century the fall of Holofernes was included as one of the ten floor tiles in the older portion of Siena Cathedral. These tiles are said to

be the source of Dante's descriptions in the Purgatorio, Canto XII.<sup>25</sup> Here the Judith story appears opposite that of Tomyris. The pattern of pairing antique and Christian figures is maintained throughout; the five tiles on the right side represent Old Testament scenes while those on the left deal with mytho-historical subjects. The figures here, as in the Purgatorio, are exemplary,<sup>26</sup> and it can be assumed that the fall of Superbia is the interpretation proper for Holofernes' defeat in both cases.

A mid-fourteenth century fresco cycle which may have been painted by Guariento (ca. 1320- ca. 1370) was to be found in the Chapel of the Captain of the People in Padua. Though the chapel was destroyed in 1769 some of the ceiling frescoes, among them one depicting Judith, were saved and are now in the Padua Museum. Unfortunately the work is so mutilated that it cannot be definitely attributed; undoubtedly the poor condition explains the fact that it is almost never reproduced. Van Marle explains that Judith appeared with a number of other Old Testament figures; e.g. Adam and Eve, Abraham, Isaac.<sup>27</sup> Lack of documentary support limits one in offering an interpretation for the scene. Circumstantial evidence, however, supplies a number of clues to its composition.

Guariento's style is known to have sustained Byzantine influences. In light of late Paduan versions of the Judith story and their seeming dependence on the "Byzantine Guide to Painting" it might be assumed that Guariento

had taken his iconography from the "Guide" and in turn influenced later painters. This problem will be taken up more fully in Chapter III.

The appearance of Petrarch in Padua in ca. 1348 and the fact that he suggested subjects to Guariento for a number of lost frescoes,<sup>28</sup> may lead one to suspect a possible political implication in the figure of Judith. The suspicion is heightened when one becomes aware that there was an early fourteenth century tradition of anti-tyranny literature in Padua; e.g. Albertino Mussato's (1261-1329) Eccerinis (1315). This information is tantalizing and worth recording, but it is also ultimately insufficient for making any definite assumptions. The strong medieval tradition and the fact that Judith's appearance is in conjunction with other Old Testament figures seem to suggest that she should be interpreted as a New Testament prototype.

Typological interpretation persists throughout the Renaissance; cases in point will be mentioned below. There is, however, what is sometimes called a "Renaissance" interpretation of Judith. This will be the subject of the following chapter.

Notes

1. The Book of Judith is "extra-canonical" in Jewish and Protestant religions, but is still accepted as a part of Catholic canon.
2. See M. A. Brockington, A Critical Introduction to the Apocrypha (1961), p. 6, and Bruce M. Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha (1957), p. 51.
3. e.g. Émile Mireaux, La Reine Bernice; cited by Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien (1956), p. 329.
4. Moses Hadas, Hellenistic Culture (1959), p. 165.
5. Ibid., p. 164.
6. Brockington, loc. cit..
7. Ibid., p. 104.
8. For Patristic references to Judith see J. P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus (referred to hereafter as Patrol.): Ambrose, vol. XVI, cols. 169, 170, 246, 1197; Jerome, vol. XXIII, col. 412.
9. For works mentioned above see Patrol.: Isadore, vol. LXXXIII, cols. 116, 148; Hrabanus Maurus, vol. CIX, col. 541ff.; Walafrid Strabo, vol. CCIII, col. 731-739.
10. Émile Mâle, The Gothic Image (1959 Harper Torchbook edition), p. 138.
11. Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (1963 Harper Torchbook edition), p. 367. The author discusses the "personnel of the Commedia".
12. Petrus Comestor, Historia Scholastica (ca. 1168) Patrol., vol. CXCVIII, col. 1475-1490; Hugo de S. Victoire, "Sermon LXXXV", Patrol., vol. CLXXV, col. 743-748.
13. Albert S. Cook (ed), Judith, an Old English epic fragment (1904).
14. This point is stressed by medieval scholars Émile Mâle and Adolf Katzenellenbogen.
15. Josef Wilpert, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien, Vol. II, taf. 161.

16. Visitation typology suggested by Louis Réau, op. cit., p. 330. The particular "salvation" interpretation, however, is my own.
17. For illustrations of both Bibles see Frances Godwin "The Judith Illustration of the Hortus Deliciarum", Gazette des Beaux Arts (1949), pp. 29 and 31.
18. Ibid., p. 43.
19. For illustration of the Hortus Deliciarum see Godwin, op. cit., p. 27; for Speculum Virginum see A. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (1939), pl. VII.
20. A. Katzenellenbogen, The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral (1964 edition), p. 67.
21. Ibid., p. 69ff.
22. Attributed to a follower of Biadaiolo master, Milan: Coll. Hoepli, LXIX.
23. See Note 47, Chapter II.
24. A. N. Didron, Christian Iconography (1886), p. 204.
25. Ibid., p. 247.
26. Curtius, op. cit., p. 363.
27. Raimond van Marle, Italian Schools of Painting (1924), Vol. IV, p. 112.
28. Anne Fitzgerald, "Guariento di Arpo", American Academy in Rome Memoirs (1931), p. 170.

## CHAPTER II

"After the flight of the Medici in 1494, the bronze group of Donatello-- Judith with the dead Holofernes-- was taken from their collection and placed before the Palazzo della Signoria... with the inscription, 'Exemplum salutis publicae cives posuere 1495'."<sup>1</sup> Jacob Burckhardt was not the first to mention this fact, nor certainly was he the last. In historical and art-historical discussions of the Renaissance it often appears. One is tempted to infer from this oft-repeated account that during the Renaissance Judith was generally considered to represent the tyrannicide, the vanquisher of tyrants. What one can in fact infer is that in 1495 Donatello's Judith was thus looked upon and was used for that purpose. What then of those other representations of this heroine which were painted or sculpted or engraved before and after this date, but which figured less prominently in the history of the time and were thus allowed to pass, if not unnoticed, at least without recorded contemporary interpretation?

If Petrarch be considered the first Renaissance man and his citation of Judith be awarded the distinction of "the first Renaissance literary example", then there intervenes between this first citation and the events of 1495 a period of about one-hundred and fifty years. Judith does

not seem to have been identified with tyrannicide during the Middle Ages; certainly in an age when all power derived from a universal Church, in an age when scholasticism dominated intellectual life, so secular an interpretation of a Biblical story would be, if not unthinkable, at best unpopular. In many areas of endeavor the fourteenth century, even in Italy, still saw the domination of scholasticism; but it also saw the beginnings of Humanism. Is it possible, scholasticism notwithstanding, that the interpretation which was read into Donatello's Judith in 1495 had its roots in a work created in the early years of Italian Humanism? This chapter will attempt to prove that it is not only possible, but probable. Though the source of a secular interpretation may be found, however, does not preclude the continuation of a medieval or religious view of Judith. In tracing the development of one interpretation there will be cause to mention the occurrence of others.

It may be of value at this point to deal more specifically with Petrarch's references to Judith. In the Triumph of Chastity, which was written between 1340 and 1344, Minerva appears as Chastity,<sup>2</sup> who, after she has conquered and bound Love, is surrounded by a group of ladies each famous for the virtue she represents. Petrarch claims that there was a "host of holy women", but that he would only describe "... some in the forefront/ of truest honor." Of these "The Hebrew Judith, wise and chaste and strong" is the only Biblical heroine. Her peers in this convocation

of virtuous ladies, however, are of particular interest. They are all classical personages; Penelope, Virginia and, most important, the Roman Lucretia, whose association with Judith in later Renaissance painting will be of particular significance. David, who was often associated with Judith in the Middle Ages and who in the Renaissance was again coupled with her iconographically, appears earlier in the poem in conjunction with a description of the battle between Chastity and Love.

It is in the Triumph of Fame that the second and only other mention of Judith occurs in Petrarch. In this poem she is but one in a long parade which includes both men and women. Once again Judith is the only Biblical woman, and once again her companions are of classical origin. Tomyris precedes her in the procession, as do Cleopatra and Zenobia. Judith is described as "... widow brave/ who reft her foolish lover of his head."<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most important point to be noted in regard to the mention of Judith in these poems is her association with Lucretia, who in paintings of the Renaissance was to become a symbol of Republican freedom.<sup>4</sup> It is not impossible that it was in Petrarch's poem that Lucretia's later reputation was established. Is there reason to believe that Judith, by association, came to share much the same reputation?

Petrarch was one of the first Humanists to view classical history in terms of its didactic value for contempor-

ary politics. Livy, says Myron Gilmore,<sup>5</sup> was Petrarch's favorite historian and Republican Rome his ideal. Now it was Livy in his First Book of Roman History who told the story of Lucretia.<sup>6</sup> It concerns the fall of Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh king of Rome, and the rise to power of Lucius Junius Brutus, first consul of republican Rome. After having been ravished by Tarquinius Sextus, son of Superbus, Lucretia stabs herself, thereby inciting family and friends to unseat the Tarquins and establish a Republic. This brief account of her story is sufficient to show that Lucretia was indeed a pillar of chastity as well as an effective symbol of republicanism.

But what of Judith? There is an Early Christian reference which links her at least temporally with Lucretia. St. Augustine, in The City of God (De Civitate Dei) heads chapter XXVI of Book XVIII "The Romans were freed from their kings, and Israel from captivity both at one time". In the body of the chapter, after having set down a number of events which all occurred about the same time, he continues:

The story of Judith fell out also in the same times, which they say the Jews receive not into their canon. The seventy years therefore being expired in Darius' reign, the Jews had their full freedom; Tarquin the Proud being the seventh king of Rome, who the Romans expelled, and never would be subject to any more king,<sup>7</sup>

This, incidently, seems to be Augustine's only reference to Judith, a fact that there will be cause to mention again below.

It seems safe to assume that Petrarch knew St. Augustine's City of God. Judging from Ernst Robert Curtius's re-

marks the erudition of the late medieval scholars-- and it must be remembered that Petrarch was educated in a medieval system-- was overwhelmingly far-reaching; the most intricate interweaving of sources was the rule rather than the exception.<sup>8</sup> Humanists, too, though their aims may have been different, still seemed to take great pains to couch their messages in a system of erudite cross-references and obscure allusions. So then perhaps it is less safe, but still possible, to assume that Petrarch came to associate Judith and Lucretia by way of St. Augustine's reference. Of course it must be remembered that Tomyris is also mentioned and that Judith and she were associated in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis; but Tomyris is only described in the Triumph of Fame which is of later date than the Triumph of Chastity. Then, too, Jael also figures into the Speculum representations, yet she is bypassed by Petrarch as are any number of other chaste and famous Biblical women.

Though Judith was reportedly chaste and her story was well known, the choice of her as representative of chastity and fame to the exclusion of all other Biblical heroines was unprecedented. That Petrarch should choose her, and further that he should link her with Lucretia, suggests that perhaps he was commenting on more than Chastity. His use of David in the earlier Triumph also adds strength to the contention that he was inserting a political comment into a non-political poem.

If, as Wilkins contends,<sup>9</sup> the first two Triumphs were

written between 1340 and 1344 there would be good reason for the Florentine Petrarch to comment on the state of political affairs in his native city. In 1342 the "Duke of Athens", a tyrant in that he had no legal claim to authority, was established as ruler of Florence.<sup>10</sup> Considering Petrarch's penchant for the republican form of government it would be strange to think that he did not comment. To insert his comment in a poem he was writing at the time would not be uncommon. Many a political view of Dante's is expressed in The Divine Comedy.<sup>11</sup> The relative calm of Petrarch's reaction, should it require explanation, may be due to the fact that it was written as a reminder after the tyrant had been put down in 1343.

A good deal of time has been spent thus far in an attempt to establish the possibility of a political interpretation of Judith as she appears in the Triumph of Chastity. If the association with Lucretia be accepted as connoting republican feelings, and if the sentiment be recognized as being particularly expressive of contemporary events in Florence, then it is permissible to read into the figure of Judith some of the same symbolic qualities which Donatello's presentation of her evoked for the Florentines in 1495.

That a limited tradition of anti-tyranny literature did exist before Petrarch and that a much greater tradition grew up after can be proved. Perhaps mention of just two examples, one earlier and one contemporary with Petrarch's

will be sufficient to strengthen the points made above. Albertino Mussato,<sup>12</sup> in his play Eccerinis, expresses the hatred of tyranny which was prevalent in Padua ca. 1314. His play is original in many ways, perhaps most original, paradoxically, in being a "copy". This drama, the first known play of the post-classical period in Italy, is dependent on Seneca for its form, and expresses secular, not religious, ideas. By virtue of his advanced thinking and his finding of patterns in antique literature, Mussato is called a Humanist. "In the time of Albertino Mussato," says Hans Baron, "Padua had preceded Florence in producing the first example of a civic culture fused with classicism."<sup>13</sup> It is important to establish that it was this sort of civic humanism which eventually gave rise, in Florence at least, to the interpretation of Judith as a tyrannicide.

Perhaps the earliest indisputable reference to Judith in connection with republican sentiment and tyrannicide can be found in the letters of Cola di Rienzo. Sometime Consul of the re-established Republic of Rome, sometime ragged exile, Cola di Rienzo was one of the most dynamic figures of the mid-Trecento. In May, 1347, with the blessings of the Pope and the moral support of Petrarch he revolted against the nobles of Rome, and having won his battle proclaimed the restoration of the Republic. November of that same year saw the counter-revolt of the nobles which was successfully resisted by the new Consul. In a letter addressed to the Commune of Florence and dated Nov-

ember 20, 1347 Cola begins a paragraph: "Et ecce iterum a Judith alter occiditur Olofernes, ita quod infra. VIII dies inimici sint omnes aliqui occisi, aliqui carceri nostro dati et aliqui ignominiose conflicti" ( And behold again by Judith is another Holofernes slain. Thus within eight days are all the enemies given over to us, either killed or imprisoned in this ignominious conflict.)<sup>14</sup>

Gilmore claims that at the time of the initial revolt Petrarch "intervened with conceptions resurrected from the past."<sup>15</sup> Is it not possible to assume that the effectiveness of Judith as a symbol of republican effort against tyrants who wish to enslave was one of the "concepts" he suggested to Cola? However he may have come to employ Judith in this manner, Cola di Rienzo's reference to her in the letter quoted above demands a political interpretation.

One can be sure, on the basis of the information supplied thus far, that as early as the 1340's Judith was looked upon as a symbol of tyrannicide. It follows then that the interpretation given to Donatello's statue in 1495 was not original. But it would still be incorrect and unfair to assume that all Judiths created between ca. 1340 and 1495 can similarly be interpreted.

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New iconography is most often dependent on a literary prototype; new interpretations of old iconography usually arise when men see in a familiar figure or object the reflection of contemporary situations. Instances also a-

rise in which iconographic similarities allow an artist to borrow the figure type of one character to represent another. Conversely, when two figures possess iconographic similarities, especially when one figure is the personification of an abstract idea and the other one historic, the latter may come eventually to represent the abstract idea. There are two cases in point, one of which is doubly significant in being expressive of some of the political ideas mentioned above. The two works referred to are frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (active 1324-1345) in Siena.

In the fresco of Good Government in the Palazzo Pubblico there are two figures of Justice. The seated figure to the far right represents the legal aspects of justice and sits in attendance to the enthroned figure of "Good Government" (fig. 3). In her left hand she holds a crown which symbolizes the reward which is given to the just, while in her right hand she bears a sword and on her knee the head of an enemy of the commune. On the left side of the picture is another depiction of Justice, here in her more universal aspects. Above her head hovers the figure of Wisdom who carries the scales. In the left hand "saucer" an angel demonstrates the duties of legal Justice, for with one hand she crowns a figure and with the other she severs the head of a villain. This latter conception of Justice is an adaptation of the figure by Giotto found in the Arena Chapel, Padua. The figure attendant on "Good Government," however, is quite original; Justice, although

often depicted with a sword as her attribute, had seldom if ever before been seen with a head on her knee. There seems to be no reliance on any Judith figure for this representation. Rather, let it be suggested that this figure in a famous fresco may have lent to later Judiths the power to represent the negative aspects of legal Justice, by virtue of the association of iconographic attributes. After all, did not Judith, in killing Holofernes, exercise the right to destroy the evil which endangered her Bethulia just as the figure of Justice implies the right of the commune to destroy its enemies? The possibility of extending this association to an actual work will be enlarged upon below.

The other fresco by Lorenzetti which is of interest for its association with Judith is that of The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Morocco in S. Francesco, Siena (ca. 1330). In the gables of the Sultan's throne are six full-length figures. The inside female figure which carries a head in her left hand (fig. 4) has been variously identified as Minerva, Wisdom, and Wrath.<sup>16</sup> The limits of this paper do not allow a lengthy discussion of the interpretations; what is important is that whoever the figure represents she seems to be based on the traditional Italian depiction of Judith found in medieval illustrated Bibles (fig. 1). Erwin Panofsky says of the Lorenzetti "Minerva" that it is "unthinkable without the painter's familiarity with classical originals".<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the costume

is based on an antique prototype, but the pose, gesture for gesture, can be found in the Munich Bible. But then, there are a few rather primitively conceived remnants of a classical prototype even in the costume of the manuscript Judith. All of this seems to support the point brought out above that a painter who is about to depict a new character may look to other figures with similar attributes for inspiration.

All of the examples cited thus far, both literary and pictorial, occurred before ca. 1350, and the later graphic examples are not representations of Judith. She herself did not appear in a Florentine work of art until 1435. It has been said that after the Black Death there was a general return to a more medieval, hieratic and transcendental kind of art.<sup>18</sup> This was undoubtedly prompted by a return to a less secular view of life. The occurrence of this interregnum between ca. 1350 and ca. 1400, between Petrarch and the early civic humanists, may help to explain why a figure of Judith sporting classical garb and symbolically carrying a new expressive significance did not appear earlier.

Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455) was the first major artist of the Renaissance to create a Judith (fig. 5). It is a traditional conception in that it appears not in isolation, but within an extensive Old Testament program. This is, of course, the program of the "Gates of Paradise", and Judith, appearing beside the relief of David, is but

on of the twenty eight "prophets" which fill the frame of the doors. Richard Krautheimer claims that Judith falls into the category of figures "... presented as typological counterparts to the narrative scenes, forming in the limited sense of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis a parallel anagogical forecast of a New Testament scene. Judith, to the left of the David panel, carries the head of Holofernes and, like David's victory over Goliath, foretells the salvation of mankind and Christ's victory over death."<sup>19</sup> He then refers the reader to St. Augustine's Enarratio in Psalmum 33. Unless a reader is very well versed in the works of Augustine or checks the reference, this statement would lead him to believe that it was Augustine who associated Judith and David, and he also who supplied the typological interpretation. This is not the case. St. Augustine only mentions Judith once in his works,<sup>20</sup> and that reference has been noted above (p. 17). Also misleading is the allusion to the Speculum, for though both are mentioned, Judith is associated with the Virgin's triumph over Satan and David with Christ's. That they may both represent Christ's victory over death is possible; what can justly be questioned are the references Krautheimer cites to support this interpretation.

That author readily admits that he can find no one explanation which will unify all of the figures on the door. In fact, there are a number of "prophets" whom he cannot definitely identify. In as much as there is still room

for doubt about the iconographic totality of the "Gates of Paradise", and since an unequivocal interpretation of the Judith has not been found, the way is still open for investigation and the presentation of alternate solutions.

Krautheimer suggests that the doors are dependent not on a medieval tradition, but on patristic literature. He expands this by positing the possible reliance of the first six panels on St. Ambrose. If this is so, could not Ambrose be looked to for the interpretation of other figures? He mentions Judith a number of times and sees her variously as an exemplar of "Sapientia", "Castitas", "Prudentia", "Fortituda", "Modestia".<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it is as representative of one of the Cardinal Virtues that she takes her place beside David. The feats of both characters certainly bespeak the possession of Fortitude.

There is another possibility. Perhaps both David and Judith reflect some political ideal prevalent in Florence at this time. Krautheimer spends a number of pages developing the theory that the last relief, The Meeting of Solomon and Sheba, contains an allusion to the impending meeting for reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches (1438-1439).<sup>22</sup> In the crowd watching the encounter of the two royal personages Krautheimer identifies Ambrogio Traversari, Florentine humanist and a moving force in bringing about the East-West reconciliation. This same Traversari, along with Niccolo Niccoli, is given credit for suggesting much of the iconography for the "Gates of Paradise".

Niccoli is also identified by H. W. Janson as the possible source of an earlier bit of iconographic interpretation.<sup>23</sup> In 1416 Donatello's David, originally carved ca. 1408-1409, was requisitioned from the Cathedral by the Signoria who installed it in the Palazzo Vecchio after having Donatello adapt it for its new purpose. This purpose is suggested by the inscription which is reported to have accompanied the statue: "PRO PATRIA FORTITER DIMICANTIBUS ETIAM ADVERSUS TERRIBILISSIMOS HOSTES DII PRAESTANT AUXILIM" (To those who bravely fight for the fatherland the gods will lend aid even against the most terrible foes).<sup>24</sup>

So then, expanding on and combining the suggestions of two recognized scholars, could one not put forward the theory that since historical and, to an extent, political allusions may be seen in one panel of the "Gates of Paradise" that they can also be read into another? Could it not be suggested that since Niccoli is linked with both Donatello's David and Ghiberti's doors that he may have recommended a political interpretation for the David relief, and extending this, that the Judith, already used in a similar context by Cola di Rienzo and perhaps by Petrarch, might have been placed as she is to strengthen this interpretation?

Leaving the realm of probability for that of reality, it is necessary to say something about the figure of Judith itself. Comparing it to the Munich Bible (fig. 1) one sees that the pose is in the Italian medieval tradition; the lowered left hand holds a head which is curiously small in

proportion to the figure of Judith. This, of course, can be explained by the fact that the symbolic quality is more important than the reality of the event. In her right hand Judith carries a scimitar, raised above her head in a gesture of triumph. The costume which she wears, with its dynamic drapery, recalls a classical maenad figure from a Bacchic Sarcophagus.<sup>25</sup> One sees here, then, the wedding of a medieval pose with classical drapery which rather aptly reflects Ghiberti's position as a transitional figure between the Gothic and Renaissance.

Donatello (1386-1466) was an artist wholly of the Renaissance.<sup>26</sup> His statue of Judith (fig. 6) is perhaps the most famous depiction not only by virtue of its intrinsic excellence, but also because of the major part it played in the political history of Florence. H.W. Janson dates this work ca. 1456.<sup>27</sup> A document recently discovered by Dr. Gino Corti and published by Frederick Hartt helps to strengthen the argument for this dating, while at the same time it rather impairs Mr. Janson's theory that the Judith was originally cast for a Sienese client.<sup>28</sup> For if this document, which is concerned with payment of money to Donatello for supplies, does in fact refer to the Judith it would seem to support the contention that some member of the Medici family dealt out the commission.

There is a reference which places this statue in the Medici Palace garden at least by 1464.<sup>29</sup> This same letter cites two inscriptions which were found at that time on

the base which supported the figures. The first read: "Regna cadunt luxu surgent virtutibus urbes caesa vides humili colla superba manu" (Kingdoms fall through luxury, cities rise through virtues; behold the neck of pride severed by humility). The second appeared as follows: "Salus Publica Petrus Medices Cos. Fi. liberati simul et fortitudini hanc mulieris statuem quo cives invicto constantique animo ad rem pub. redderent dedicavit" (Piero son of Cosimo de' Medici has dedicated the statue of this woman to the liberty and fortitude bestowed on the republic by the invincible and constant spirit of the citizens).<sup>30</sup>

Janson points out that the former is probably earlier due to the difference in the "ethos" between it and the latter. "The first one," he says, "is couched in the terms of moral theology, the second in those of civic virtue."<sup>31</sup> Basing his discussion primarily on the first portion of the earlier inscription, Edgar Wind has shown that certain iconographic elements such as the cushion and the Bacchic reliefs can only be explained in terms of a Sanctimonia-Luxuria interpretation of Judith and Holofernes.<sup>32</sup> Earlier writers such as Kauffmann, says Wind, stressed the more obvious Humilitas-Superbia meaning which is expressed in part by the medallion-- a rearing horse, symbol of Superbia-- worn by Holofernes. There is also a medieval tradition of this interpretation, an example of which, that appearing in the Speculum Virginum, is mentioned above.<sup>33</sup> The Lux-

uria interpretation finds literary support in the Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of Durandus.

The name of Holofernes, says Wind, was translated in medieval textbooks as Enervans vitulum saginatum (he who weakens the fattened calf). In the Biblia Pauperum and the Speculum Humanae Salvationis Holofernes is paralleled with the Devil whom the Virgin Mary crushes, but by power of his name he is that devil by whom man is tempted and seduced; therefore he can be seen as incontinence or Luxuria. Once having established this interpretation one is able to translate the cushion into the pluma Sardinopolis, an attribute of Luxuria, and the putti on the base can be seen as a further development of the same theme. Wind sees further proof for this interpretation in the fact that Judith is fully clothed (Sanctimonia) while Holofernes is nearly naked (Luxuria).

This creating of symbols in the costumes, if a reference to Sanctimonia-Luxuria is really to be found, did not originate with Donatello. His statue seems to owe something of its composition to a twelfth century manuscript, or a derivative thereof, which is now in the Vatican Library (fig. 2). Certain iconographic similarities are too striking to ignore. Perhaps most unique is the fact that in the manuscript Judith seems to be stepping on the hand of her victim while in the work by Donatello the illusion is transformed into fact. The manuscript Holofernes also seems to be sitting; this was taken over by Donatello. It

will be noticed too that in the painted version the figure of Judith is heavily clothed while that of Holofernes is nearly naked. Despite the singularity of certain aspects of the manuscript composition it can be seen that this illustration essentially follows in the path of the Italian medieval tradition. Judith is depicted with a sword raised in her right hand while with her left she clutches the hair of Holofernes (cf. fig. 1).

Donatello's is the first free-standing statue of Judith encountered thus far and may well be the first to have occurred in the Renaissance. It is also the first version which exists independent of other Old Testament scenes. Janson would like to believe that it was done for a client in Siena; what proof there is for this attribution he presents, but he readily admits that it cannot be proven conclusively.<sup>34</sup> That this statue could have been used in Siena he feels can be supported by the fact that "the symbolic implications of the subject admit a great variety of possible purposes".<sup>35</sup> If it was to represent for a Sieneese one or more of the virtue-vice relationships discussed above one may wonder why Judith rather than the more popular Virgin figure should have been requested. Then, too, there seems to have been no tradition of Judith's being looked upon as a political symbol in Siena.

Janson makes a point of the fact that Donatello in this work refers to himself as FLORENTINUS.<sup>36</sup> He uses this fact to support his contention that it was done for

a non-Florentine client. The only other alternative that he can see to explain such a signature is that Donatello was asserting his affiliation because he seemed to have been forgotten while he was away in Padua from 1443 to 1453. There may be another answer. If this work was actually done for the Medici and it originally carried the inscription "Regna cadunt..." which is noted above, could not Donatello, by adding FLORENTINUS, be asserting his pride in being a part of the "city" which is implied in the legend?

If the Judith in the "Gates of Paradise" be interpreted as expressive of some political sentiment with which she had still earlier been associated in literary works could not the Judith of Donatello be likewise identified? If Cosimo de' Medici commissioned this work-- and there is reason to believe that he did, for the fact that he favored Donatello is mentioned by Vespasiano<sup>37</sup>-- then both the theological and the political implications can be accepted and explained. Vespasiano makes the following statement: "Now Cosimo, having applied himself to the temporal affairs of the state, the conduct of which was bound to leave him with certain matters on his conscience-- as is the case with all those who are fain to govern states and take the leading place-- awoke to a sense of his condition, and was anxious that God might pardon him the possession of his earthly goods."<sup>38</sup>

That this statement was made in reference to Cosimo's commission of the Monastery of San Marco is of no great

importance here. What is important in the statement is the picture of the man of state, the man of wealth who is also conscious of religious demands, of his eternal salvation. Cosimo was a man of the Renaissance in matters of state, but he was a man of the Middle Ages in matters of religion.<sup>39</sup> If such a person were searching for a symbol which reflected both the spiritual and the temporal aspects of his personality he could scarcely do better than to choose Judith; her association with republicanism had already been established, and her medieval reputation for piety and virtue was generally accepted.

Ferdinand Schevill has pointed out that during his "reign" as leader of Florence, Cosimo had continually to wage major and minor battles, with soldiers on the battlefield as well as with diplomats in the conference room.<sup>40</sup> He was generally successful, managing finally with the Peace of Lodi, April 11, 1454, to establish a kind of balance of power that assured an uncertain peace which lasted until Piero de' Medici's expulsion from Florence in 1494. If the statue of Judith was commissioned in 1455 or 1456 it might well have been Cosimo's way of commemorating his triumph at Lodi. It would seem, if this were the case, that the earliest inscription ("Regna cadunt...") was probably affixed when the work was first executed. The opposition of Sanctimonia-Luxuria and of Humilitas-Superbia have already been stressed; one needs only to emphasize the opposition of Regna and urbes to give a rounded view

of the possible significance of this statue. Let it be noted too that his Judith, though triumphant, is still vigilant.

Having thus proffered a possible reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of Donatello's Judith, it is now possible to proceed to the statue's subsequent uses and appearances. First there must be a discussion of the second of the two earliest inscriptions.<sup>41</sup> One reads immediately that it was composed by Piero, or at least at his request, and that in it Piero dedicates the statue to the "spirit of the citizens". This would help to support the assertion made above that it was initially meant as a personal symbol for Cosimo and only later extended as a memorial to the citizenry of the Republic. Janson suggests a very plausible reason for this inscription. "It is possible," he says, "... that the second inscription was occasioned by Piero's victory in 1466 over the conspirators led by Luca Pitti; to turn a personal triumph into a triumph of the citizenry at large would certainly have been a clever political gesture."<sup>42</sup>

It is interesting to recall at this point the difference in the "ethos" of the two inscriptions which Janson mentions. Cosimo's-- if it is his-- reflects his religious as well as his political views; it makes one aware that his roots were medieval. There is a rather more outspoken secular quality about Piero's inscription that marks it as the creation of a fully Renaissance, civic

humanist mind.

One other inscription, that mentioned by Burckhardt, was added and the two already mentioned were erased, at a later date. Rather than discuss the events surrounding the change at this point perhaps it would be better to maintain a chronological sequence and proceed to works which appeared between the time of Piero's inscription and the one which now adorns the statue.

There is some reason to believe that a small bronze Judith (fig. 7) which is now in the Detroit Institute of Arts should be discussed next if this chronological restriction is to be observed. As the work is undated and undocumented there is also reason for doubt. But since it is a work of sculpture and owes something of its composition to Ghiberti and Donatello it can serve as the last member of a sculptural triad and thereby find a definite compositional, if not a strictly chronological, place in this paper.

E. P. Richardson, former director of the Detroit Institute, has called this work a Verrocchio. Valentiner, his predecessor in Detroit, attributed it to Pollaiuolo.<sup>43</sup> Mr. Richardson points out some similarities between this small Judith and the David by Verrocchio: the hand on the hip, the treatment of the fingers of that hand, correspondences of facial type. He is not very successful, however, in explaining some of the less artfully contrived portions of the work, such as the awkward position of the right arm

and the rather gross combination of hand and sword hilt. Perhaps these "failings" which appear in the photograph are merely the result of reducing a three-dimensional object to two dimensions. Mr. Richardson does, however, admit that there is a "relative crudeness" which he would like to believe is due to the fact that this is an early work. Yet it is known that Verrocchio was trained as a goldsmith before he began work as a sculptor; the author himself makes a point of this fact. It can be assumed, then, that he was no beginner as a manipulator of his material nor a novice in the realm of design. But, for the sake of this discussion, Mr. Richardson's expertise will be admitted.

In terms of composition it can plainly be seen that this Judith follows the earlier two masters' pattern which itself was maintained in deference to a medieval tradition. The most striking difference is the absence of the head of Holofernes in the Verrocchio piece. As there seems to be no inscription to tell the viewer that it is Judith, one might assume that the figure acquired that appellation by virtue of its correspondence with the Judith type.

She raises her right arm, brandishing the scimitar above her head. The weapon is held with four fingers and thumb around the grip; this and the "S" curve of the hilt recall Donatello's Judith. It will be noticed that the sword which Ghiberti's Judith holds has a straight hilt and that the index finger is placed over it. The sleeves

are similar in both Donatello's and Verrocchio's statues, but the treatment of the dress of the latter is somewhat different from that of either of its predecessors. The flutter of the skirt recalls the "running" figures of Benozzo Gozzoli and Fra Filippo Lippi. The movement is not at all the same as that created by the circular flow in the garments of Ghiberti's figure, while it is more active than the heavy drapery found in Donatello's Judith. Then too, Verrocchio's figure is girdled at the waist and hip while Donatello's and Ghiberti's are bound directly below the breast. The reason for so minute a discussion of the elements of similarity and digression in these works should become obvious as the necessity for further comparisons arises.

It is extremely difficult to discuss a work such as this small bronze Judith, which comes down to us without a date or proof of authorship, and with no information about its original owner. Richardson attempts a comparison between this work and an early "fine manner" engraving of Judith (fig. 10) which is dated ca. 1465-80. He suggests that the print is dependent on the sculpture; then he goes on to say:

Hind suggests that the engraved Judith goes back to two or three drawings by Maso Finiguerra in the Picture Chronicle in the British Museum; but he also suggests that some of the Otto prints may go back to works of art in the Medici collection. It seems to me that, in spite of obvious differences in detail, the engraving and the Detroit bronze are related to each other. The print would offer evidence that the bronze was well known in its day, and it is tempting to think that the bronze Judith, like the bronze David (companion symbols of liberty to the Florentine mind),

might both have once belonged to the great Medici collection.<sup>44</sup>

Let it immediately be pointed out that Mr. Richardson misquotes, or at least misreads, Hind. In volume I of Early Italian Engraving that author states: "it is not impossible that some of the subjects of the Otto Prints may go back to pictures in the Medici collection."<sup>45</sup> There is also reason to believe that Richardson is wrong in suggesting that the engraved Judith is dependent on Verrocchio's bronze. This matter will be taken up later in the chapter. In order to fully evaluate the problem, however, there is a work which must be discussed first.

Sandro Botticelli (1444-1510) painted Judith at least seven times. The earliest extant version (fig. 9), generally dated ca. 1470, is that which is now in the Uffizi. Its dimensions are far from monumental,<sup>46</sup> but its importance in the evolution of the Judith figure is very great indeed. One is immediately aware of the difference in the conception between this painting and the works of sculpture examined above. No longer is the heroine carrying the head, raising her sword in triumph and warning. Botticelli's Judith is seen returning to Bethulia with a lowered sword in her right hand while in her left she holds an olive branch. The head of Holofernes is still shown, but now this symbol of the fate of the enemies of Florence is relegated to a less dominant position and is carried by the maid. Behind and below the two foreground figures can be seen the city of Bethulia with the head of Holofernes displayed from its

walls and all around the routed army of the Assyrians. A companion picture, to which Horne believes the Judith panel was originally attached, shows the Discovery of the Body of Holofernes (fig. 8). For this latter panel Frances Godwin feels there may be a fourteenth century prototype:

There is... a Bible from Naples, in Vienna, in the Staatsbibliothek (ms. 1191) of the late XIV c., which on fol. 204, depicts the unusual scene in which the eunuch finds the corpse of Holofernes at the right, while, at the left, Judith and her hand maiden enter the doors of Bethulia from which the head is displayed.<sup>47</sup>

The Bible of St. Pauls-Outside-the-Walls also shows the two scenes within a series.

Botticelli appears to have incorporated the narrative events rather artfully, while stressing not so much the climax as the events which followed the decapitation. It would seem that as Donatello's statue symbolizes "Regna cadunt luxu surgent virtutibus urbes caesa vides humili colla superba manu", Botticelli's pictures illustrate the phrase. In the left hand panel one sees the sensuous, naked, headless body of Holofernes lying upon a luxurious couch in a richly hung tent. The horse which is so dominant a part of the composition might possibly be read as a realistic translation of the medallion which Donatello's Holofernes wears. In the other panel is seen a mild mannered, obviously humble and virtuous Judith who brings peace to her city. The fall is emphasized by the rout of the enemy soldiers before the city walls.

It is intriguing to think that perhaps Botticelli might, in these small pictures, be interpreting the legend which he may very well have read on Donatello's statue in the Medici gardens. This is the very broadest kind of conjecture, and there is no denying that Botticelli's conception of the story is quite different from Donatello's; nevertheless, both might represent the phrase found on the base of the Donatello Judith. The fundamental difference in the conception of the heroine herself in these two works is very interesting, and in either case is most expressive of the age in which it was created. The possibility that Cosimo de' Medici had commissioned the Donatello statue has already been discussed, as has the effectiveness of this work as a symbol of Cosimo's personality and his reign. A brief discussion of Lorenzo de' Medici and his age may help to explain some of the varying conceptions seen in Botticelli's picture.

A product of the "new learning", Lorenzo represented the full flowering of the Renaissance idea of Virtù. The dichotomy between medieval education and the demands of statecraft which seemed to have plagued Cosimo was no longer apparent in his grandson. H. A. Enno van Gelder has attempted to describe the Humanist and Neoplatonic religious attitudes which pervaded the age, and more directly, the circle of "il Magnifico". He describes the new concept of salvation, which interprets it not as something for which one must strive to the exclusion of all world-

ly activity, but rather as the natural result of a life fruitfully and actively spent. The author stresses, however, that very rarely was formal religion abandoned; rather, it was re-evaluated.<sup>48</sup>

The natural result of this new view was an intensification of interest in the activities of man. Mental as well as physical prowess was much admired. Elegance of dress and carriage along with subtleties of language, literature and statecraft were expected. The revived interest in man's activities brought about a greater awareness of man's environment. All of this did not begin, but rather culminated with Lorenzo de' Medici; for by the last decades of the Quattrocento, Humanism had become the dominant force in Florence.

Botticelli, perhaps better than any other artist, was able graphically to express his age. Elegance and subtlety and erudition are the essence of his art. He had assimilated the findings of the "progressives", the "running" figures as well as much of the charm of Fra Filippo Lippi, the figure style of Pollaiuolo; and yet he always transformed anything he borrowed into something uniquely his own. Botticelli's identification with his city and his age is probably best exemplified in the changes wrought in his style and iconography due to changes in the political and religious environment of Florence.

Perhaps a few words about the political situation in Florence ca. 1470 will help to explain the iconography of

Botticelli's earliest Judith. In the year before, Lorenzo, at the death of his father Piero, became head of the Medici Bank, of the Medici family and of the government of his city. One can assume that his attitude toward the duties of a leader of Florence was somewhat different from his grandfather's. With the knowledge that he was educated in the school of Humanism one can surmise that Lorenzo preferred peace to war, for as Enno van Gelder points out, the humanists felt that man was only able to philosophise in an atmosphere of peace.<sup>49</sup> A point has already been made of the fact that Judith carries an olive branch predominantly displayed while she lowers the sword. The element of warning is not missing, and yet one feels that this Judith's actions were prompted as much by her desire to preserve peace as to save her city. There is no need to establish proof of Botticelli's association with the Medici in the late 1470's and 1480's, for portraits of the family exist from those years. Botticelli is also known to have been associated with the scholars of the Medici circle, and it is not unlikely that this association began as early as 1470. It has been suggested above that perhaps Cosimo de' Medici may have looked upon Donatello's Judith as a kind of personal symbol; proof of his son Piero's later use of the figure as representative of the "constant spirit of the citizens" has also been supplied. There seems, then, to have been a close relationship between the figure of Judith and the Medici. That Botticelli may have

been interpreting the inscription on the Donatello Judith is conjecture, but certainly not impossible. Considering iconographic details such as the lowered sword and the olive branch and their political implications it seems likely that the work was done for someone who was involved in the government of the city. This, of course, would mean at least a member of the Medici entourage if not a member of the family. At any rate, Botticelli was reinterpreting a subject which by his day had become familiar, and was known in Florence in association with the Medici.

The familiarity and popularity of Judith as a subject is reflected in the fact that it was chosen for one of the earliest Italian engravings. This is the Otto print mentioned above (fig. 10).<sup>50</sup> Once again there is an association with the Medici, for at least one engraving in the series is thought to depict Lorenzo de' Medici.<sup>51</sup> In reading the various comments made on this print and in noting the numerous sources suggested for the figures one becomes aware that there was a tremendous amount of interplay among the artists of the Florentine group which produced it. John Goldsmith Phillips, in the caption which he supplies with a reproduction of this print, claims that it is "executed by Baldini about 1460-1480, after a drawing in Finiguerra's Picture Chronicle".<sup>52</sup> It will be shown that this is an oversimplification. It has already been pointed out that E. P. Richardson feels that the figure is based on Verrocchio's Judith. Hind lists a number of figures in

the Picture-Chronicle which may have contributed to the figure of Judith and puts forward the possibility that the Goliath on the "Gates of Paradise" relief may have been the source of Holofernes.<sup>53</sup> Aby Warburg describes Judith's headgear and points out a classical prototype.<sup>54</sup> A close inspection and some comparisons will uncover borrowings from still other sources.

In comparing the figure of Judith-- which, being engraved, is reversed-- to the "Amazon" (fig. 11) from the Picture-Chronicle it is obvious that there is a similarity, but not a direct copying. An almost exact copy, in reverse, can be found in the Jason and Medea in the Otto group. The one variation in this engraving lies in the band of material which encircles but does not rest on the shoulders of Medea. It recalls nothing so much as the drapery similarly displayed on the figure of Judith in the "Gates of Paradise". A comparison of Ghiberti's figure to the Picture Chronicle "Amazon" reveals similarities, as in the bodice of the dresses. The drapery flying away from the hip of the drawn figure seems to be the translation of an element rather more formally presented in the carved Judith. Phillips illustrates a number of instances in which the creator of the Picture-Chronicle borrowed from Ghiberti's door,<sup>55</sup> never taking over a figure completely, but varying the costume and/or facial type. The engraver, in creating Medea, may have returned to the original source of the Chronicle figure for the element of the "scarf".

Looking again at the engraved Judith, and comparing it this time to the Medea figure it becomes apparent that the treatment of the material rising from the waist over the shoulder is similarly contrived in both. That on the Medea circles around while Judith's flows freely behind. This difference may be due to the compositional limitations of the former print. Since the Medea is a direct copy of an earlier work and the Judith a more composite creation it might be conjectured that the scarf motif was borrowed from the Jason and Medea print and that the Judith must be dated later.

There are elements in this figure of Judith which are not explained by any of the authors mentioned above, and there are a number of very direct borrowings which they failed to see. It may seem a minor point that the feet of the "Amazon" and the Medea and of Verrocchio's Judith are bare and that the Judith in the print wears a kind of toeless boot. One need only compare this treatment to that of the feet of Botticelli's Fortitude, ca. 1470, to find the prototype; there is a toe-for-toe and boot-for-boot correspondence-- in reverse. It will also be noticed that the Fortitude figure wears a headdress which bears wings and is studded with a large pearl over the forehead. The engraver seems to have taken over this motif, enlarging the wings and failing in an attempt to recreate the pearl.

Botticelli's work can be examined for other borrowings. The neckline of the dress in the engraving, for instance,

is like that in the Uffizi Judith (fig. 9). The rising, relatively unbroken line of the neck and head are very similar in both works, as is the treatment of the hair. It has been shown that the feet in the print are probably reversed copies taken from Botticelli's Fortitude. Yet it is obvious that the elements taken from his Judith are not reversed. Conjecture once again takes the fore. If elements such as the left arm were copied and then reversed in the process of printing, the head of Holofernes would appear to be held in Judith's right hand. To avoid this situation the engraver may have traced the outline of desirable elements on a relatively transparent paper which he would then have reversed while transferring these elements to a composite drawing. This contention is supported by the strong correspondence in the outlines of the left sleeves of both the painted and the engraved Judith while the sleeves themselves are rather differently treated. Then too, those elements which could not be copied are very awkwardly realized. Observe the overly large left hand which clutches the hair of Holofernes and the ill-connected right arm which lifts the sword. The skirt of the dress is very much of a type rather than an original conception and does seem to be more similar to the Verrocchio Judith than to any other work so far discussed. It is possible that they were derived from the same source, or one from the other.

Until John Phillips this engraving was usually called

"Anonymous". That author attributes it to Baccio Baldini, whom he seems intent on resurrecting from obscurity. This engraver is mentioned by Vasari who claims "il quale non havendo molto diesgno, tutto quello, che face, fu con invenzione, e disegno di Sandro Botticelli". Phillips translates this to read that "Baccio Baldini..., since he lacked skill as a draughtsman, worked after the designs of Sandro Botticelli."<sup>56</sup> This translation suggests, and Phillips tries to prove, that Botticelli did designs expressly for Baldini to engrave. It would seem more likely that Vasari was saying that Baldini used the ideas (invenzioni) and designs of the painter as they appeared in finished paintings or drawings, but not as created necessarily for engraving. It is most probable that the engraver of this print-- and certainly the draughtsmanship is weak enough to suggest the Baldini described by Vasari-- had access to the shops of many artists and in more than one place he might well have copied forms and figures which he could use in his work.

As for the significance of this figure, it is most likely expressive of moral rather than political sentiments. These prints were originally meant to be used as decoration for a lady's work box or "Spice Box".<sup>57</sup> Humilitas is a virtue represented by Judith and often recommended to women; or perhaps one could interpret her as Fortitude by virtue of her borrowing of the head gear of Botticelli's figure. Then too, she could represent a prototype of the

Virgin Mary as seen in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis. There may be further evidence to support this interpretation.

Another Otto print, slightly smaller than the one already discussed, is also identified as Judith (fig. 12). There are similarities between these two prints; the decapitated bodies are nearly the same, though reversed, and the faces of the ladies themselves are of a type. The smaller print also owes something to Botticelli's Fortitude. This time not merely the headdress, but the armoured breast plate and sleeves as well, and the unique manner in which two plaits of hair are brought around to the front of the dress. Horne comments on this motif in the Fortitude:

There is one piece of invention in the picture which is peculiarly characteristic of Botticelli;... the fastidious fancy with which the hair is tricked with pearls, and brought down in two long plaits over the shoulders, and between the breast. Such an arrangement of the hair is found repeated in one of the figures of the Graces, in the picture of the "Spring" in the Florentine Academy.<sup>58</sup>

He goes on to say that this mannerism was "siezed upon, and exaggerated, by imitators of Botticelli."<sup>59</sup> This print certainly is a case in point.

There are incongruities which become evident when one realizes that this figure is called "Judith". It is a clearly stated and important part of this heroine's story that she was dressed in her most beautiful garments in order to make Holofernes the victim of her charms. The lady in this engraving wears armour and a helmet. Though the

head she carries is a duplicate of that carried by the Judith in fig. 10, this may not be due to the fact that both are Holofernes, but that the artist was bereft of originality. There seems to be a less abstract background in the smaller print, a greater sense of space and landscape, though the trees are no less stylized. The logical question is whether there is any other character beside Judith who would be shown with a sword and a body, but dressed in armour and placed in a landscape. Tomyris, who decapitated Cyrus, would be shown in armour for she had conquered her foe's army in battle. She is said to have found his dead body on the battlefield and to have cut off his head. As Tomyris' action was an act of revenge for the death of her son there would be no overt sign of triumph (e.g. a raised sword).

If this is Tomyris, and she certainly conforms to that character more than to Judith, then her appearance, if not truly in conjunction, at least in a series with Judith would obviate a typological interpretation. In the absence of definite proof one must simply conjecture that both figures were seen as prototypes of the Virgin and therein followed a tradition that had arisen in the Middle Ages.

Very little has been written about the next work, and those writers who have commented are not in agreement. The Dahlem Museum Catalog in listing the Judith (fig. 13) from its collection attributes it to Domenico Ghirlandaio

(1449-1494). Raimond Van Marle<sup>60</sup> and Bernard Berenson<sup>61</sup> give it to David Ghirlandaio (1452-1525). Obviously documentary evidence is missing, but there is at least a date, 1489, which is found in the tablet held by a Triton in the frieze behind the maid. The architectural background will be recognized as similar to that used by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the frescoes in Santa Maria Novella and is of no particular significance to the story. It is not impossible, however, that the figure with the Medusa shield-- obviously Minerva-- in the relief behind Judith is meant to reinforce the significance of that figure. A parallel between this Biblical heroine and the mythological goddess is not hard to justify in terms of certain iconographic similarities, especially in an age when much less was siezed upon to allow the classical to appear in conjunction with religious elements. The figure of the maid will be recognized as the same one who attends the birth of John the Baptist in Domenico's fresco. The basket which in that work held fruit here contains the head of Holofernes. The idea of the "returning" Judith and of the head being carried by the maid owes its conception to the Uffizi Judith (fig. 9) though in the Ghirlandaio the vitality that marked Botticelli's Judith is replaced by a rather stolid and posed figure who lacks any expressive quality.

If there is any political or religious significance in this picture it is masked by the decorative elements. Nevertheless, it would seem that by this time the figure

of Judith would engender a number of associations, not the least of which would recall an attachment to the Medici family. Domenico Ghirlandaio is known to have painted members of the Medici family and circle, and it is not impossible that this small panel of a by then popular subject was done for someone in the group.<sup>62</sup>

This much cannot be said for a Judith (fig. 14) attributed to Matteo di Giovanni (ca. 1435-1495). Mention is made of this work by the Sienese master-- if it is indeed by him-- because it seems to be based on a Florentine prototype. Van Marle does not list a Judith in the oeuvre of Matteo, but a number of experts concur in this attribution.<sup>63</sup> The three-quarter length view of the figure is similar to that found in other works by Matteo, and the physical type is reminiscent of his characters. Van Marle points out that nearly all of this painter's work dates after 1470 so it may be assumed that this work does as well. Though there seems to have been no tradition of any political interpretation of Judith in Siena it must be remembered that the medieval religious interpretations were universally recognized. The dearth of information rules out even conjecture as to its original interpretation,<sup>64</sup> but one can trace certain iconographic elements and suggest sources. The pose, for instance, follows a familiar pattern. The finger over the hilt of the sword and the tilt of the head as well as the flowing piece of drapery suggest a knowledge of Ghiberti's Judith, while the right angle of

the right arm and the manner in which Matteo's figure holds the head recall Donatello's statue.

It is mentioned above that only three examples of Judith's appearance in Italian art of the fourteenth century have been found. It must be assumed that she was not then an overly popular subject, especially for a single figure representation. If her popularity had risen by the 1470's and 1480's it would seem to have been due to a Florentine development. That she had become a favored subject is further substantiated by the painting of Matteo di Giovanni which was done in Siena, but based on Florentine prototypes.

While extending her popularity to other areas, however, Judith still retained a popularity among Florentine artists. In 1495 Botticelli painted another small panel of Judith, but before that date he included the figure and scenes from her story in at least two other important works.

In the Calumny of Apelles (fig. 15) Judith is represented three times. Once alone, in the niche behind the dais, and again in the reliefs below and above this "statue".<sup>65</sup> In the upper frieze Judith is found placing the head of Holofernes in a bag held by the maid, while in the lower, which is partially obscured, the two figures are seen returning to Bethulia as in the early panel by Botticelli. The former scene, not found in this survey thus far, seems to be based on a North European type and may

have been derived more directly from a wood block print found in the Biblia Vulgare of Niccolo Malermi.<sup>66</sup> This Bible, published in 1493, owes its conception to German vernacular printed volumes such as the Cologne Bible of 1470-80.<sup>67</sup> The compositional type of a Judith before the tent of Holofernes was also to be found in the North of Italy before 1493, but compositional similarities seem to support the contention that in this case the Malermi Bible was the source. The primitive quality and the stiffness of the original, however, were eliminated by Botticelli as he combined the figures of Judith and her maid in a very lyric compositional arc.

The large figure of Judith in the niche is conceived in rather an original way. There is a departure from tradition in the placement of the head on the ground next to her feet. Such a tradition did exist in the  Davids  of Donatello and Verrocchio, however, and may have been adopted from either of those figures for use in this picture. There is a quality of monumentality and detachment about this Judith which suggests that her association with the narrative of her own story is secondary to her significance as representative of an abstract idea. What this idea may have been can perhaps best be found in examining her association with the figures involved in the main scene.

Considering the social and political atmosphere of Florence during the reign of Piero de' Medici (1492-1494), it seems probable that this picture represents more than

simply the recreation of a famous work by Apelles as described by Lucian and Leon Battista Alberti.<sup>68</sup> More likely it is expressive of an actual situation wherein some person was the victim of calumny. Altrocchi mentions a poem entitled The Triumph of Calumny which was written by Bernardo Rucellai after he had been dismissed as advisor to Piero de' Medici. From reports of Piero's whims and his inability to judge his friends and advisors wisely it appears that a number of people who had held high positions during Lorenzo's rule fell from favor during Piero's.<sup>69</sup>

Vasari mentions this work as "a painting on panel of the 'Calumny of Apelles', wherein Sandro has divinely imitated the conceit of that ancient painter; and he made a gift of it to Antonio Segni, his very good friend."<sup>70</sup> Considering that this work was not a commission it may be looked upon as a comment on a personal situation. There is a legend, repeated by Altrocchi,<sup>71</sup> which claims that the face of Midas is that of Piero de' Medici and that Botticelli had asked his friend not to show the picture until after the artist's death. Often this type of tale has some basis in fact or at least reflects the possibility that Botticelli may have lost his respected position in the Medici household during Piero's reign. Then too, the painting may simply imply a more general criticism of a leader guilty of listening to and acting upon slanderous information.

How does all of this apply to the figure of Judith?

First one might examine her relationship to the other decorative figures. Of the niche statues Horne identifies by name and with certainty only three; Judith, St. George, on the central pier, and David to his right. These are, of course, the three most dominant figures. They have in common their having vanquished dangerous enemies, and David and Judith, at least, had been associated with the destruction of enemies of the Republic. But perhaps the figure of Judith, which is more abstractly realized than usual could also represent Justice and therein foretell the impending vindication of "Innocence".<sup>72</sup> The fact that she is placed behind the false or misguided Judge helps to support this interpretation as does the fact that the head and sword accompany her as attributes rather than as displayed symbols of victory. In this they recall the head and sword held by "Justice" in the Good Government fresco by Lorenzetti (fig. 3).

The knowledge that Judith was associated with the Medici lends an element of irony which heightens the effect of the picture. It rather suggests Actaeon's being torn to pieces by his own dogs. There will be reason to mention this irony of association again below; first, however, a few words about The Tragedy of Lucretia (fig. 16).

This work is dated on stylistic grounds slightly later than the Calumny of Apelles.<sup>73</sup> Judith appears here only in the narrative panel above the left hand portal. On the right side of the relief she is seen returning to Be-

thulia with her maid and on the left placing the head of Holofernes in a bag. The figures and conception of this relief are too similar to the ones just discussed to require comment here. Once again Judith's relationship to the main narrative is of primary importance.

Horne, in discussing this work, merely remarks that Botticelli never seems to tire of the Judith motif.<sup>74</sup> Certainly on the grounds of what has already been said it is obvious that Judith's appearance here is more than decorative. Petrarch's linking of the two heroines has been established, as has Judith's later connection with Florentine republican freedom. Though later Renaissance and Baroque artists were to pair Lucretia and Judith this may be the earliest graphic example of a combination of their stories.

It seems likely that this picture was prompted by a political situation in Florence. In 1494 there were both internal and external threats to the Republic. Lorenzo's son Piero had proven himself less talented than his father at beguiling the populace into believing that he was anything but sole ruler of the city. As the people lost their respect for the head of the Medici family the power he possessed began to express tyranny and a threat to the freedom of the Republic.

The external threat of the French invasion must also have affected the equilibrium of the city and been seen as another possible blow against republican freedom. On

the basis of the association of Judith and the Medici one might feel that her inclusion in this picture should rule out the first interpretation, and yet the main story of Lucretia is concerned not with defending a city against an invader, but with the putting down of an unjust king and the subsequent establishment of a Republic.

Ferdinand Schevill points out that after the expulsion of Piero, Savonarola "on recognizing the danger to the newly won civil freedom of an indefinitely prolonged agitation, ...resolutely stepped into the political arena and in a succession of fiery sermons delivered in the Cathedral declared in favor of the democratic principle as represented by the Grand Council... . By January, 1495, the new government was set agoing amidst extraordinary rejoicings. For the time being the Popolari or democratic party swept everything before it."<sup>75</sup> It is not unlikely that Botticelli, even before 1494, was affected by the Friar's devotion to "democracy"; that he was disenchanted with Piero de' Medici seems obvious. The artist was not alone in his sentiments, and perhaps the person for whom the Lucretia panel was executed wanted a reminder of the Florentine dedication to freedom.

This latter supposition brings up the possibility that the painting was done after Piero's expulsion in 1494, and in as much as it includes Judith and David,<sup>76</sup> the same two figures which were taken from the Medici gardens and placed before the Palazzo Pubblico in October,

1495, perhaps it may post-date that event. Then too, Botticelli's use of these figures in this work, reflecting as they do the earlier inclusion in the Calumny of Apelles, may have suggested to the Opera their potential expressiveness.

The Tragedy of Lucretia and Botticelli's latest panel of Judith (fig. 17) are stylistically related and must have been painted at approximately the same time. Horne dates the latter work ca. 1494. In it the painter has depicted a figure which has arisen out of an older tradition, and yet one which is expressive of a whole new set of values. Though the tent of Holofernes was seen in the reliefs in the Calumny of Apelles and The Tragedy of Lucretia it will be remembered that Judith was found before it, placing the head in a bag. Here she is seen emerging, suggesting that she has just completed her deadly mission. She holds aloft not the sword, but the head, and thereby emphasizes the immediacy of the action. This is heightened by the fact that Judith looks at the head of her victim. In the other works discussed thus far the expression of triumph and a promise for the future can be read into the raised sword and the out-turned gaze of the heroine. All of this is missing here. Judith seems far more aware of her action than of the results, or at least she appears to be unwilling to consider the ramifications of her deed. One feels that the killing of Holofernes was for Judith not an heroic act, but a necessity, and

that the result will not necessarily be peace or triumph.

The insecurity suggested by Judith's inability to divorce herself from the immediacy of her action is echoed in the almost manneristic conception of the figure. The attenuated torso and diminutive extremities create a discordant note signaling, as in other works, the breakdown of the harmony found in Botticelli's paintings of the 1480's. Following the trend of the Judith-Medici association one might put forward the theory that Botticelli, having painted this after the exile of Piero, was expressing some doubts, if not about the justice of the deposition, at least about the results of such an action.

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At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that an assumption that during the Renaissance Judith was looked upon as a tyrannicide could not be made on the grounds of an event which dated from 1495. This was not to be understood as a denial that such an interpretation was possible earlier, but rather as a starting point for an investigation into the sources of that interpretation. Throughout the course of the chapter possible political implications were pointed out while at the same time mention was made of a continuing medieval tradition in composition as well as in allegorical interpretation.

In only one instance did the discussion lead to an appraisal of other than a Florentine work of art, and in that case it was due to the work's dependence on a Floren-

tine prototype. As this chapter is restricted primarily to an investigation of political implications relegated to Judith in Florence, her appearances in other cities have been ignored; in no other area did there seem to be the same identification of the figure with republican freedom.

There can be found in the evidence and conjecture put forward for inspection that the growth of a political interpretation was rather systematic and cumulative. The seed can be said to have existed in St. Augustine, the roots with Petrarch. The full flowered expression of Judith's potential power as a symbol of political significance occurred in October, 1495 when Donatello's statue was placed before the Palazzo Pubblico to commemorate the exile of Piero de' Medici. At that time the legend EXEMPLUM.SAL.PUB.CIVES.POS.MCCCCXCV replaced the two mentioned above. Janson points out that this inscription "was surely composed with reference to Piero's dedication, of which it is a sort of ironic echo; the cives now erect a monument of their own to the salus publica."<sup>77</sup>

This discussion of Judith's occurrence in the art of Florence, besides revealing the political significance of the figure, has also been helpful in introducing a number of types of representations. It has been shown that there was a medieval type uniquely Italian, and that this was adopted and adapted by Ghiberti and Donatello as well as by painters and an engraver. With Botticelli one finds a greater interest in the narrative aspects of the story.

In a sense the conception had come full course, for in very early medieval Bibles such as the Bible of St. Pauls-Outside-the Walls or the Farfa Bible many scenes were displayed on a large cycle page. During and after the twelfth century, Bible illustration was reduced to historiated initials or single figures, rather like pictorial notations, at the beginnings of chapters or books. It was in this manner that the Italian medieval Judith was developed (figs. 1 and 2). As the abstract gave way once again to a desire for narrative and reality many old types were exhumed and modernized. Botticelli's depictions are cases in point.

Botticelli's latest Judith seems to have been the last in a series of depictions into which a political interpretation could be read. With the return of the Medici, and even before, her popularity suffered a reversal and she is hardly seen again in Florence until the seventeenth century. In the remaining chapter the further development of compositional types in other areas, and some later interpretations of Judith will be examined.

Notes

1. Jacob Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (1955 edition), p. 38.
2. "She wore that day, a gown of white, and held the shield that brought Medusa to her death." p. 44 Ernest Hatch Wilkins, The Triumphs of Petrarch (1962) Judith reference, p. 45.
3. Ibid., p. 83.
4. Lucretia's later significance in Renaissance art will be mentioned below.
5. "The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History", Facets of the Renaissance (1963), p. 76.
6. B. O. Foster (translator) The Histories of Livy, pp. 201-5.
7. Book XVII, Chapter XXVI (Dutton Everyman Edition).
8. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (1963 edition), p. 365.
9. op. cit., p. 3.
10. Ferdinand Schevill, Medieval and Renaissance Florence (1963 edition), pp. 220-222.
11. Of special interest is his placement of the "tyrannicide" Brutus in the last circle of hell, Canto XXXIV, lines 65-6.
12. Curtius, op. cit., pp. 215-221.
13. Crisis in the Early Italian Renaissance (1955), p. 102.
14. Cola di Rienzo, Epistolarii (1890), letter xxvii. Translation mine, with corrections and suggestions from the Classics Dept..
15. op. cit., p. 78.
16. Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art (1960), p. 152; George Rowley, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1958), p. 82; Maurice Shapiro, "The Virtues and Vices in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Franciscan Martyrdom", Art Bulletin (Sept. 1964), p. 369, respectively.

17. loc. cit..
18. Millard Meiss, Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death (1964 edition).
19. Lorenzo Ghiberti (1956), p. 175.
20. This statement is made on the basis of the generally reliable index to J. P. Migne's Patrologie Coursus Completus, Vol. CCXIX.
21. St. Ambrose, De Viduis, Book I; Patrol., Vol XVI, cols. 245-246.
22. op. cit., pp. 80-88.
23. Donatello (1963 edition), pp. 5-7.
24. Ibid., p. 5. On page 7 Janson treats the further influence of Niccoli on Donatello.
25. Krautheimer, op. cit., fig. 140.
26. Panofsky, op. cit., p. 162ff. The author discusses Donatello's position as one of the three originators of Renaissance style.
27. op. cit., p. 202.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 198.
30. John Pope-Hennessy, Italian Renaissance Sculpture (1958) p. 285.
31. op. cit., p. 200.
32. "Donatello's Judith: a symbol of 'Sanctimonia'", Journal of the Warburg Institute (1937-8), pp. 62-3. The following two paragraphs comprise a résumé of Wind's ideas and so individual references will not be supplied.
33. See first chapter, p. 8.
34. op. cit., p. 203.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 202.
37. Memoirs (1963 Harper Torchbook edition), p. 224.

38. Ibid., p. 218.
39. For further comment see Schevill, op. cit., pp. 354-370.
40. Ibid.
41. see above, p. 15.
42. op. cit., p. 200.
43. E. P. Richardson, "Bertoldo and Verrocchio; Two Fifteenth Century Bronzes", The Art Quarterly (Autumn, 1959), p. 205. Valentiner attribution also cited.
44. Ibid., p. 213.
45. p. 87.
46. 10 5/8 x 8 1/4 inches.
47. Frances Godwin, "The Judith Illustration of the Hortus Deliciarum", Gazette des Beaux Arts (1949), p. 46, note 43.
48. The Two Reformations in the 16th Century (1961), p. 6ff.
49. Ibid., p. 37.
50. see above, pp. 37-8.
51. Aby Warburg, Gesammelte Schriften (1932), pp. 83-4.  
The author claims that one of the Otto prints (Hind A. IV. II) represents Lorenzo de' Medici and Lucrezia Donati.
52. Early Florentine Designers and Engravers, illus. 91.
53. Arthur M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving (1938), Vol. I, p. 88.
54. op. cit., p. 84, note 2.
55. op. cit., illus. 41-43.
56. Ibid., p. 42.
57. Warburg, op. cit., p. 79.
58. Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli (1908), pp. 23-4.
59. Ibid.
60. Italian Schools of Painting (1924), Vol. XIII, p. 146.

61. Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School (1963), p. 72.
62. There is some evidence of repainting made obvious by the transparent sword and the rather strange circular line of the drapery over the stomach of Judith, as if she had originally held something. This may possibly have been a case of adapting an older picture to a new subject. I have found no information which might explain the seeming adaptation.
63. Bernard Berenson, W. Suida, G. Giocco, A. Venturi: attributions furnished by the Kress Foundation accompany the picture.
64. There is some speculation that this panel may once have been one in a series of heroes and heroines. See Primary Catalog of the National Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., 1941.
65. The photograph in this case has been unfortunately cropped. The original painting shows the scenes as described in this passage.
66. For discussion of this Bible and a reproduction of the Judith print see Edgar Wind, "Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling", Italian Studies (1960) pp. 312-327.
67. For reproduction see James Strachen, Pictures from a Medieval Bible (1961), p. 103.
68. Rudolf Altrocchi, "The Calumny of Apelles in the Literature of the Quattrocento", PMLA (1927), p. 472.
69. Ibid., pp. 485-491.
70. Horne, op. cit., p. 265.
71. op. cit., p. 487.
72. For a discussion of the vindication of "Innocence" and his rescue by "Justice" see Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology (1962 edition), p. 84, note 64.
73. Horne, op. cit., p. 265
74. Ibid., p. 286.
75. op. cit., p. 442.
76. Horne, loc. cit.; he identifies the figure on the pedestal as "David".
77. Donatello, p. 200.

### CHAPTER III

A survey such as this chapter proposes to make is better undertaken on the basis of geography rather than chronology, for a number of representations which appear at approximately the same time are not always reliant one on the other, but serve to express the artistic milieu in which they were created. That there may be a sense of organization, a rather arbitrary route from Florence to Venice has been set up, and from Venice again to the south so that this investigation might end in Rome, center of culmination for the Renaissance.

Francesco Francia (ca. 1450-1517) was the leading Bolognese painter during the last years of the Bentivoglio reign. He painted for that family a fresco which in its day was very famous; but its day was brief. It, along with the palace it served to decorate, was destroyed in 1506 after having existed for less than five years. Vasari, however, left a description of this painting:

Here the master represented the camp of Holofernes, with numerous sentinels on foot and on horseback, who are watching the tents. While the attention of these guards is given to other parts, a woman, clothed in the garb of a widow, is seen to approach the sleeping Holofernes; she has seized his hair, heavy with the damps of sleep and the heat of wine, in her left hand, and with the right she is striking the blow that is to destroy her enemy; close behind her there stands an old wrinkled handmaid, in whose face there is, of a truth, the expression of a most faithful servitude;

she fixes her eyes intently on those of her mistress, whom she seeks to encourage, and she bends herself down as she holds a basket, in which to receive the head of the sleeping lover.<sup>1</sup>

That there may have been some political reference in the origin of this fresco seems to be precluded by the fact that it was done for a recognized tyrant. It is more likely that the narrative action of the story itself was the point of interest, and that, if present, extra-narrative implications were religious.

The circumstances surrounding the destruction of this work are interesting, especially in light of what was found to be the case in Florence. It was Julius II who unseated the Bentivoglio. Bologna was a papal city which had long since ceased to pay homage to Rome. The Pope, in an attempt to unite and strengthen the Papal States, personally lead an army against those tyrants who would not recognize his power. He was ultimately successful.

The route to Bologna leads through Cesena, a small town where Francia was working on a commission. The Pope had the artist, who was originally a goldsmith, execute medals which were to be passed out when the Pope entered the city. The inscription read: BONONIA.PER.JVLIVM.A.TYRANNO. LIBERATA.<sup>2</sup> The Bolognese, once liberated from their tyrant, set about to destroy all that which had been identified with the Bentivoglio. The palace was one of the first things to be burned, and with it the Judith fresco.

The Bolognese do not seem to have been interested in Judith as a symbol of tyrannicide; rather, the fresco was

but one more of the oppressor's possessions which had to be destroyed. The kind of ironic use to which Judith was put in Flornece was only possible because in that city there had been a long personal and political association between the figure and the Medici. This was obviously missing in Bologna. For the citizens of that city it was Julius, and not Judith, who symbolized deliverance.

Though the large painted version is lost there are a number of drawings of Judith by Francia (fig. 18).<sup>3</sup> If the drawings are representative of the vitality which the fresco possessed it must have been very exciting indeed. There is proof that Francia's drawings of Judith were famous and desired even in his own day. There was supposed to have been a letter from Raphael to Francia in which the former apologizes for not sending a promised portrait. He goes on to say, "...vi mando intanto... un altro disegno, ed è quello di quel Presepe...: se in contraccambio riceverò quello della vostra istoria della Giuditta, io lo reporrò fra le cose più care e preziose." (I send you instead another drawing, that of the Nativity; if in return I should receive that of your history of Judith I would place it among things most dear and precious)<sup>4</sup>

In the Morgan Library drawing Judith is seen placing the head of Holofernes in a bag held by her maid. It has already been shown that Botticelli depicted the same scene in The Calumny of Apelles and The Tragedy of Lucretia and that his choice of this particular moment may have been

prompted by a block print in the Malermi Bible. It will be brought out below that Mantegna, too, chose to represent Judith directly after the decapitation of Holofernes. There would seem to have been a number of possible prototypes for this particular depiction, but in no other picture does the body of Holofernes appear in front of Judith, and surely in no other work is he propped up on his elbows that he might seemingly have a better view of the action! The clean cut of the wound and the inexpressive faces, the flutturing drapery and flowing hair, the crooked fingers and spread toes, in short the decorative quality of the drawing, destroy any sense of realism and thereby exclude any feeling of horror at what could be, and was to become at the hands of Baroque painters, a bloody scene.

The signed drawing (fig. 19) by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) which is dated 1491 is the only depiction of Judith by that artist which is generally accepted by all Mantegna scholars.<sup>5</sup> Mantegna grew up and was trained in Padua, and it was pointed out in the first chapter that the Guariento depiction of Judith could be found in that city. It was also stated that Guariento was influenced by Byzantine painting. In the absence of an illustration of his work one must rely on conjecture to decide which scene from the story of Judith this Trecento artist might have chosen to represent. That he may have relied on the Byzantine tradition is altogether possible, and as Mantegna's drawing reflects something of that tradition he may have based his composi-

tion on the earlier master's.

The Byzantine Guide to Painting, a sixteenth century version of which was discovered at Mt. Athos, is supposed to have originated in the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup> The last Old Testament scene is described as that of "The righteous Judith who slays Holofernes":

A lofty city, below it many tents are visible within which soldiers are asleep. In the midst is one tent decorated with ornaments of gold. Within it is a golden bed, on which lies Holofernes, beheaded, his body enveloped in a gold embroidered quilt. Judith, clad in sumptuous apparel, stands before him bearing in one hand a bloody sword, while with the other she places the head of Holofernes in a wallet which her servant holds for her. The same city is seen again further on. Men upon its walls hold banners and carry the head of Holofernes on the end of a pike. Outside the town the Jews pursue their enemies.<sup>7</sup>

It can plainly be seen that the central event, Judith placing the head of Holofernes in a "wallet", is the one used by Botticelli, Francia and Mantegna, and the whole scene appears in the Cologne Bible and again, slightly reduced, in the Malermi Bible.<sup>8</sup> Under the circumstances it is difficult to ascertain on which source exactly later depictions depend, but it seems quite evident that Mantegna's is but a more intimate version of the Byzantine variety.

The Dublin Judith,<sup>9</sup> a grisaille with touches of color, shows the heroine before Holofernes' tent; here again she is placing the head in a wallet. Ellen Duncan points out that the linen used for this work is cut from the same bolt as that used by Mantegna for his pictures of The Judgement of Solomon (Louvre) and Samson and Delilah (Nat. Gal., London) and she conjectures that the three works were part of

a series which was "intended to illustrate the deeds or misdeeds of women."<sup>10</sup> Such an interpretation seems logical, and there is no reason to believe that there was any political significance to be found in these pictures of Judith.

The drawing now in the National Gallery, Washington (fig. 21) would seem to have been the source for an engraving by Mocetto (fig. 20),<sup>11</sup> but Erika Tietze-Conrat thinks that both drawing and engraving are based on a lost original by Mantegna.<sup>12</sup> The fresco which is in the Funerary Chapel of Andrea Mantegna, S. Andrea, Mantua (fig. 22a) is dated 1497 by Kristeller,<sup>13</sup> but Tietze-Conrat dates it ca. 1516, after Mantegna's death.<sup>14</sup> At any rate, it is based on that artist's style and composition. The accompanying fresco (fig. 22b), showing the displaying of the head after Judith's return to Bethulia, is quite novel in the sixteenth century in Italy, but has some tradition in Northern Europe.<sup>15</sup>

Judith's heroic quality, and the fact that she could easily be adapted to the classical treatment which Mantegna preferred may account in part for her appeal to him. That she was popular with the general public is attested to by the fact that Mantegna's versions were engraved in order that they might reach a wider audience. Undoubtedly in a humanistic society there was a great deal of interest in the heroic deeds of Judith exclusive of any religious or political overtones.

Ludwig Justi suggests that the fondness for portrayal of antique subjects came late to Venice, and had not really

reached there by the late years of the Quattrocento. It was this fact that caused Giorgione to paint a Judith (fig. 23) in ca. 1497 instead of a Venus or a Daphne as he was to do later.<sup>16</sup> Justi claims the the picture was for someone's home and that with it the painter wanted to "delight and captivate" the viewer. Judith, being biblical, was an acceptable subject, and, as has been shown, she was an adaptable creature. Giorgione was obviously more interested in the serene feminine figure and in the poetic landscape than in the narrative action in which Judith had been involved.<sup>17</sup> No city is to be seen, no tents to suggest the presence of battle. The head of Holofernes is found at Judith's feet, the sword at her side; in these positions they serve only as attributes to identify a figure who might otherwise be, as George Richter points out, "one of the young ladies of the Venetian aristocracy."<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Byzantine Guide also states that Judith may be represented minus narrative trappings as a holy woman of the Old Testament. Her description, "The Righteous Judith, who cut off the head of Holofernes: young", can hardly be called restrictive. Certainly Giorgione's Judith is young, and the head and sword tell the viewer that she did indeed remove the head of Holofernes.

In the same tradition is the engraved Judith (fig. 24) of Jacopo de' Barbari (1450 - ca.1515), again a full length figure dressed in rather classical garb, holding the head

and sword which identify her as Judith. This figure's expression has been called "wistful"; perhaps simpering would be a better word. A look at other figures by de' Barbari will reveal that the face, along with the tilt of the head, are typical of that engraver's work.

Acceptability and popularity seem to have prompted the choosing of Judith as a subject. If an engraver who is famous for his female figures engraves the figure of an already popular female his print would seem to be assured of success. It is obvious that for the engraver as for Giorgione the fact that the figure could be identified as Judith was secondary. Of prime interest was the creation of a lyric type of figure and, in Giorgione's case, placing that figure in a landscape. Nevertheless, the religious and typological significance which was emphasized in connection with medieval depictions of Judith must have been associated, by power of long tradition, with later works such as these.

Venice also saw the development of the Judith portrait. Religious significance and narrative action having become less important, it seems a logical progression in a humanistic society that a real person should take over the role of the heroine. Three nearly contemporary Venetian painters did Judith portraits, all of which can be dated in the 1520's and 1530's.

Vincenzo Catena (1480-1531) was a pupil of Bellini, and a friend of Giorgione. His Judith (fig. 26) according to

Robertson,<sup>19</sup> is a late work. The compositional format will be familiar to anyone acquainted with early Cinquecento Venetian portraiture. The parapet and the window opening to a landscape are typical. Typically Venetian in other ways is the portrait (fig. 27) by Palma Vecchio (1480-1528). The amplitude of the figure and the textural richness of the garments are expressive of a society fond of sensual pleasures.

The Judiths of Palma and Catena are both accompanied by a sword and the head of Holofernes. Only the latter, the head, is found in a painting (fig. 25) by Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547). As there is a tradition of Salome portraits<sup>20</sup> there might seem to be some confusion in identifying this figure. In fact Wilhem Bode, after having called the figure Judith, describes her as laying her hands on "das Haupt des Johannes".<sup>21</sup> As the portrait retains the name Judith in Luitpold Dussler's monograph on Sebastiano, there must have been some agreement reached.<sup>22</sup>

The most obvious reason for a woman's wanting to be depicted as the biblical Judith would of course be that she was her namesake. Then too, a widow might feel that the association was appropriate. Whatever the reason, such portraits of ladies conceived in the guise of historical characters were extremely popular in Venice in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

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Having thus briefly examined the North Italian ex-

amples there remain but three other works to be discussed; of these, two are Sieneese and the last is the Judith painted by Michelangelo on the Sistine Ceiling.

The Judith (fig. 28b) painted by Sodoma (1477-1549) is dated by Emil Jacobson ca. 1504.<sup>23</sup> This Judith, like that of Giorgione, stands in a landscape which incorporates neither the camp of Holofernes nor the city of Bethulia, but which seems rather to exist for its own sake. The figure, expressing no emotion, carries the attributes which identify her, but it is obvious that the diminutive sword would be insufficient for removing the head of Holofernes in two strokes as the story specifies. The pose of the figure seems to suggest a Florentine prototype, especially for the manner in which Judith carries the head in her left hand. The emotional expressiveness which would have been found in a Florentine work, however, is missing here.

Jacobson suggests an allegorical interpretation for this Judith which would depend on her association with figures of Lucretia (fig. 28c) and Caritas (fig. 28a). The three could represent the "Theological" virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity. Lucretia, by virtue of her fidelity to her husband, would represent Faith; Judith, because she delivered her people from a desperate situation, is seen as Hope; the "Caritas" figure, quite obviously, is Charity.<sup>24</sup> In light of the prevalent fondness for allegory in the latter Renaissance and the seeming correspondence in the treatment of these three subjects, such an interpretation seems

very possible. It is, in any event, one more to add to an already extensive list.

The Judith (fig. 29) of Domenico Beccafumi (1486-1551) is not quite so easy to interpret, for very little information is available on this work. It is possible to see in the figure the influence of Michelangelo; the landscape is similar to those found in Sieneese paintings, e.g. Sodoma's Judith. The former would suggest a date for this picture after the artist's Roman sojourn (1510-1512). The Mannerist quality so obvious in the elongation of the figure, the exposed breasts and the smallness of the head of Holofernes might suggest a date later in Beccafumi's career, perhaps even after 1530. This Judith is mentioned here not so much as an example of yet another interpretation (though the figure is so generalized that more than one is possible), but to show that the figure of Judith retained some of its popularity in Mannerist painting.

In discussing the treatment of Judith thus far there has been cause to mention some of the most famous artists of the Renaissance. It seems formally appropriate to close this survey with an examination of the Judith painted by perhaps the greatest Renaissance artist. Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (1508-1512) has been examined and interpreted and discussed so extensively that simply a synopsis of the literature would fill volumes. There seems to be general agreement, however, that the four corner spandrels, of which a scene from the story of Judith is one (fig. 30), represent

"four miraculous salvations of the chosen people".<sup>25</sup> Since the interpretation, in a broad sense, seems to offer no problem, this discussion will deal mainly with the composition.

The moment which Michelangelo chose to present is the same one used before him by Botticelli, Mantegna and Francia, but his treatment of it is different than that of any of these masters. It is interesting to note that the head of Holofernes is not being placed in a bag, but rests on the head of the maid and is being covered by Judith. Botticelli was the first to adopt the idea of having the head born aloft by the maid, but when that artist painted the scene outside the tent (e.g. in The Tragedy of Lucretia) he showed Judith inserting the head in a sack while the accompanying "Return to Bethulia" scene showed the maid carrying Holofernes' head on her head. Michelangelo seems to be showing Botticelli how he might rid his work of this ambiguity.

De Tolnay states that the rear view of Judith is "an anti-heroic interpretation".<sup>26</sup> He feels that Michelangelo wished to show that Judith's actions were fated and that she had no control over them. This reading is possible, but the author does nothing to support it by claiming that "Judith, horrified, casts a furtive glance at the mutilated body of Holofernes as if to see the last tremblings of her victim."<sup>27</sup>

Edgar Wind asserts that Michelangelo drew upon the Malermi Bible for his composition. It would seem unlike-

ly that the wood block print from that Bible was the direct source; it might, however, have been an influence indirectly through Botticelli. Undoubtedly Michelangelo came into contact with that artist's work. The composition of the Malermi Bible print has been shown to rely on a Byzantine tradition, the same which gave rise to a number of North Italian versions. A comparison of Michelangelo's Judith and the drawing by Mantegna (fig. 19) will reveal certain similarities. Both figures have their backs to the viewer-- and there is nothing unheroic in Mantegna's Judith-- both have a band of drapery falling diagonally from shoulder to waist, and both have squared off necklines. It is not impossible that Michelangelo might have known this drawing or a lost painting which was derived from it or perhaps a similar drawing. Kristeller states that there was a Judith by Mantegna listed in the inventory of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492.<sup>29</sup>

Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling exists as one of the great symbols of the High Renaissance, yet its cyclical composition is based on a medieval, even an early Christian tradition. The Sistine Judith, in representing "salvation", echoes the Judith which appears in the seventh century cycle of St. Pauls-Outside-the-Walls. Throughout this paper, which is concerned mainly with the Renaissance, an attempt has been made to show that medieval tradition was maintained even though new-- sometimes secular, sometimes religious-- interpretations appeared. Michelangelo's depiction of Ju-

dith embodies both the old and the new and in so doing stands as a powerful example of continuity-in-change, as well as a fitting culmination for this discussion.

Notes

1. Giorgio Vasari, Lives of Seventy Painters, Sculptors and Architects (1917), Vol. II, p. 308.
2. George Williamson, Francesco Raibolini, called Francia (1901), p. 4.
3. There are other versions of this drawing; one in the Louvre, on vellum, as well as another copy also in that museum. The Albertina has a red chalk copy.
4. Carlo Cesare Malvasia, Felsina Pittrice Vite de' Pittore Bolognesi (1841), p. 47. This author seems to be the only one to mention this letter that is dated Sept. 5, 1508.
5. E. Tietze-Conrat accepts the Widener and Dublin Nat. Gal. paintings and dismisses the Kress drawing and the S. Andrea fresco. Kristeller accepts the Dublin work and the fresco, but doubts the Widener Judith. Schwabe ("Mantegna and his Imitators", The Burlington Magazine (1918) ) says Dublin "may be", but is secondary, as is the Widener.
6. A. N. Didron, Christian Iconography (1886), p. 180.
7. Ibid., p. 288.
8. See above, p. 53.
9. For an illustration see E. Tietze-Conrat, Mantegna (1955), Illus. 123.
10. "The National Gallery of Ireland", The Burlington Magazine (1906-1907), p. 7.
11. Hind, op. cit., p. 164. The author suggests Mocetto's dependence on this drawing.
12. op. cit., p. 208.
13. Paul Kristeller, Mantegna (1902), p. 348.
14. op. cit., p. 188.
15. For this information I depend on suggestions transmitted verbally by Dr. W. Stechow.
16. Giorgione (1926), p. 29.

17. This picture has been cut down; originally the landscape extended five inches on either side. See George Richter, Giorgio da Castelfranco (1937), p. 65.
18. Ibid., p. 81.
19. Giles Robertson, Vincenzo Catena (1954), p. 29.
20. Sebastiano himself did a Salome which is dated 1510; see Luitpold Dussler, Sebastiano del Piombo (1942), illus. 2.
- 21 "Ein Paar Neuaufgefundene Gemälde des Sebastiano del Piombo", Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen (1914), p. 6.
22. op. cit., p. 128.
23. Sodoma und das Cinquecento in Siena (1910), p. 29.
24. Ibid., p. 31.
25. Charles de Tolnay, The Sistine Ceiling (1945), p. 93.
26. Ibid., p. 95.
27. Ibid.
28. "Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling", Italian Studies (1960), p. 327.
29. op. cit., p. 468.

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Fig. 1 "Judith", Munich Bible

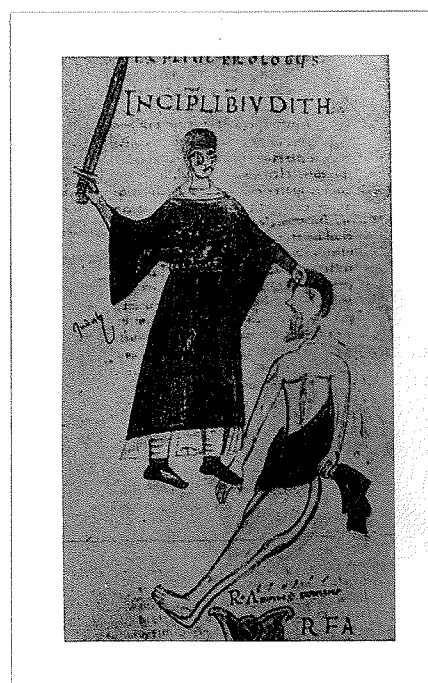


Fig. 2 "Judith", Bible from Parma

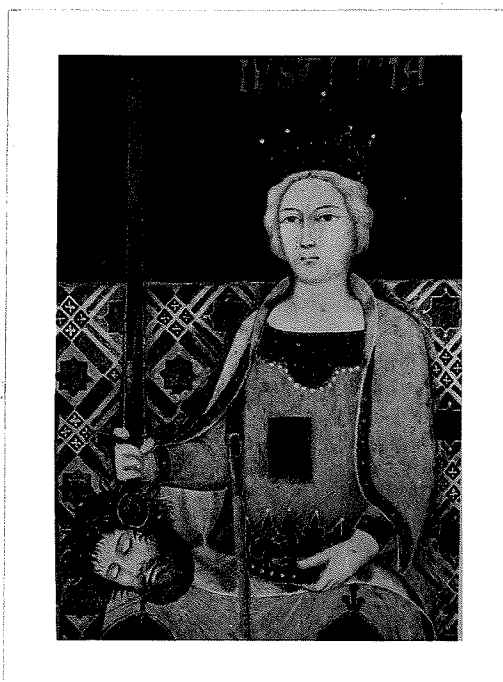


Fig. 3 "Justice", Ambrogio Lorenzetti



Fig. 4 "Minerva" (?), Ambrogio Lorenzetti



Fig 5 Judith, Ghiberti

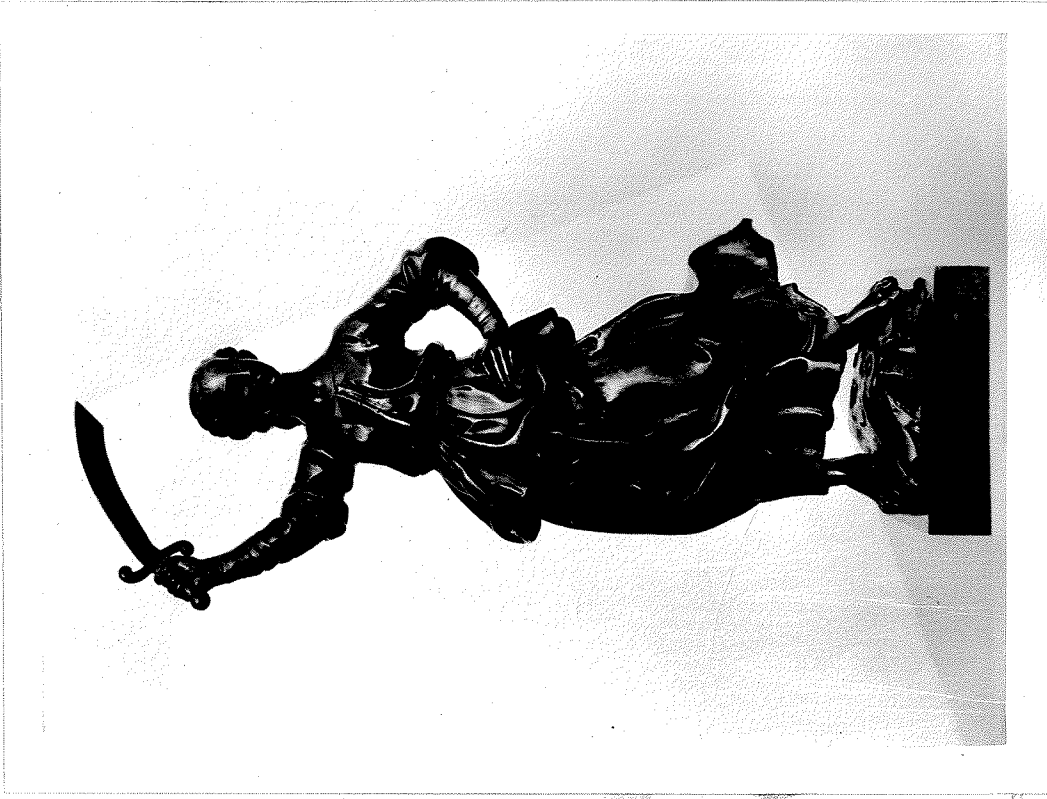


Fig. 7 Judith, Verrocchio (1)

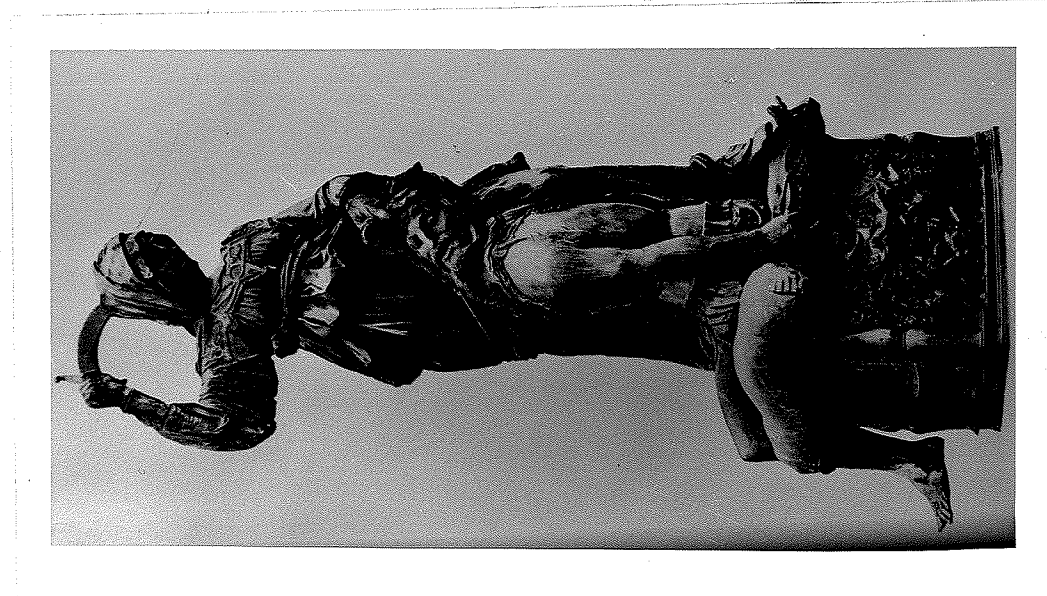


Fig. 6 Judith, Donatello

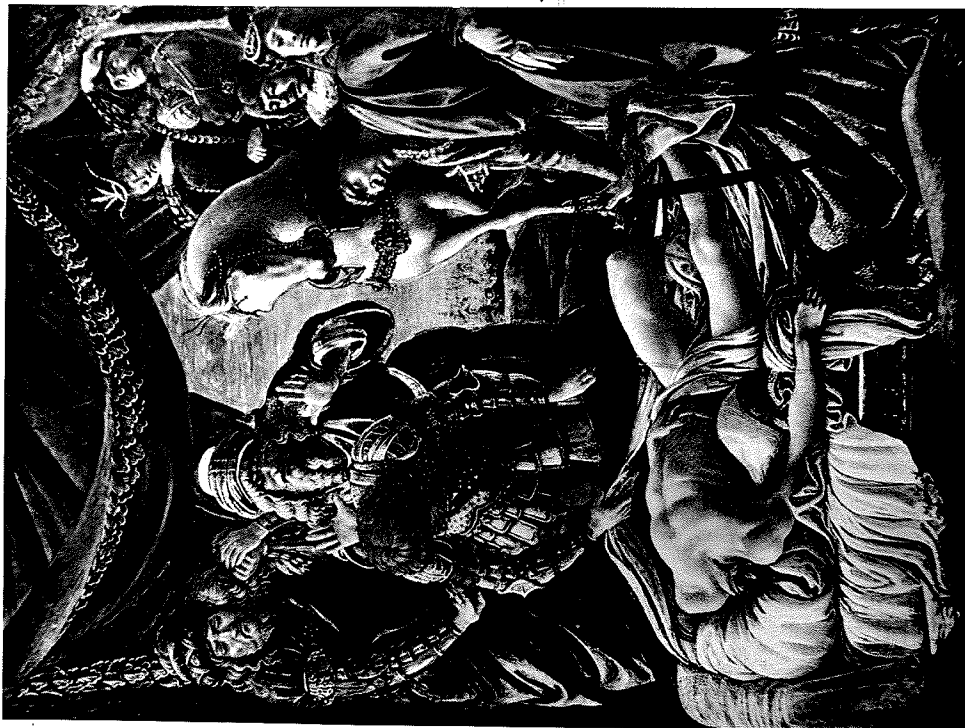


Fig. 8 Discovery of the Body of Holofernes.  
Botticelli

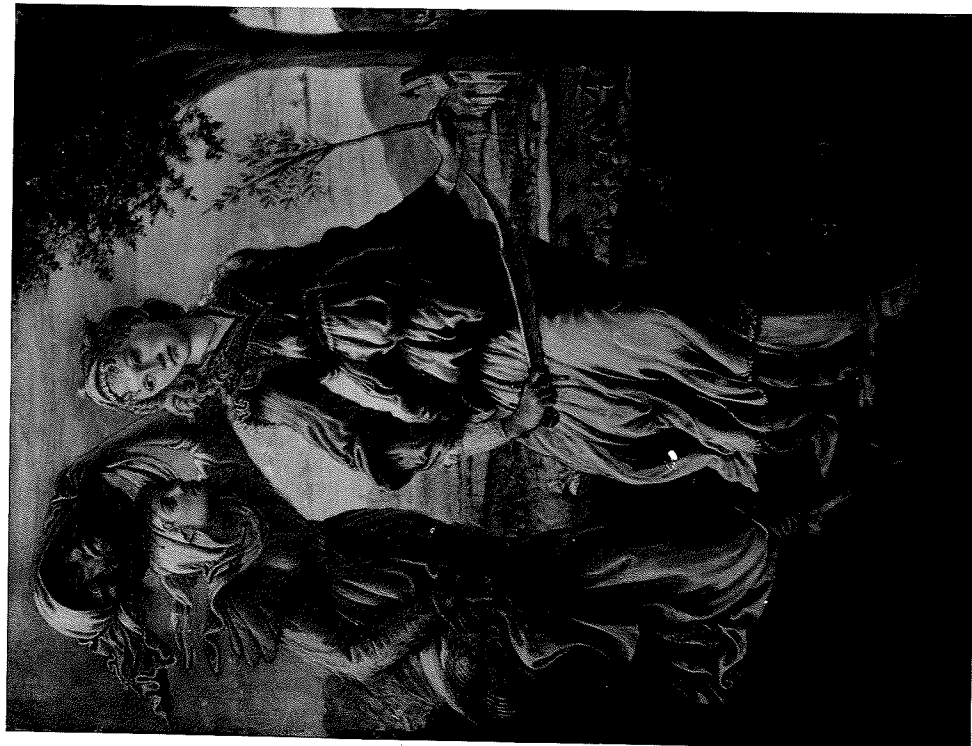


Fig. 9 Judith, Botticelli



Fig. 10 Judith, Otto Print



Fig. 11 "Amazon", Picture Chronicle



Fig. 12 Tomyris (?) Otto Print

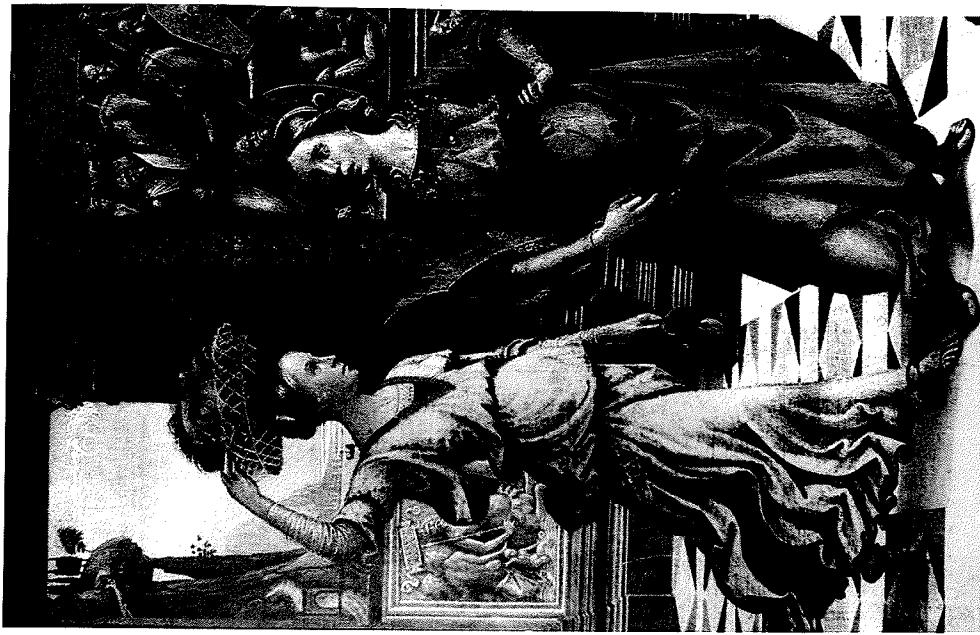


Fig. 13 Judith, D. Ghirlandaio



16. Matteo di Giovanni: *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Kress Collection, New York

Fig. 14 Judith, Matteo di Giovanni

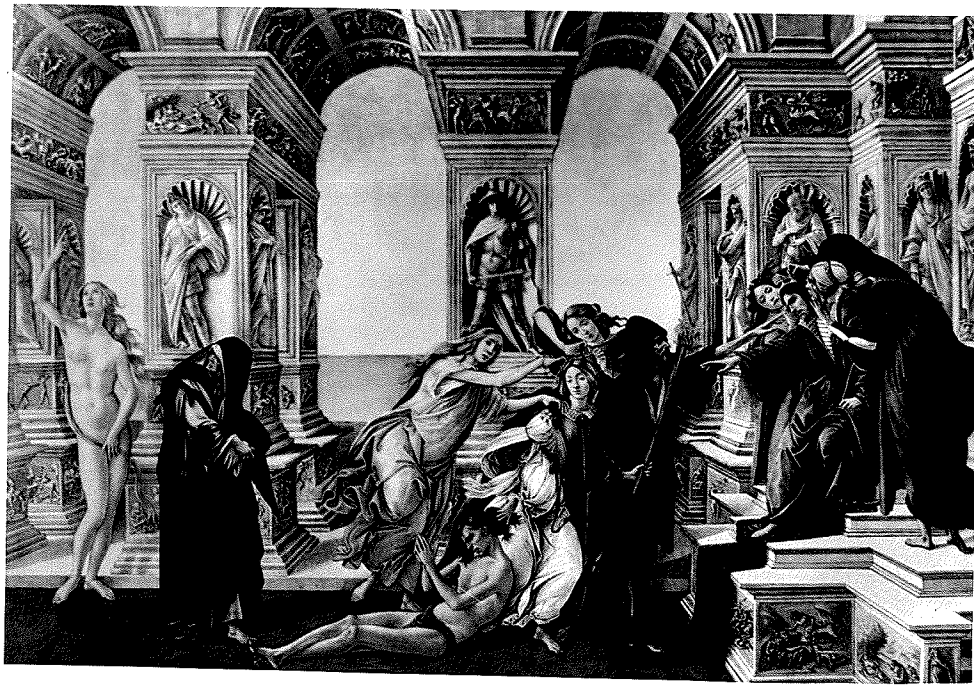


Fig. 15 The Calumny of Apelles, Botticelli

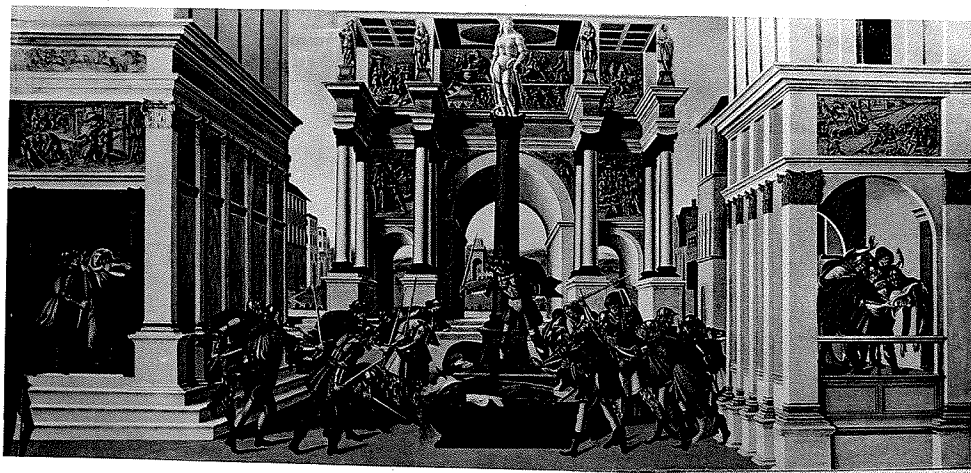


Fig. 16 The Tragedy of Lucretia, Botticelli



Fig. 17 Judith, Botticelli

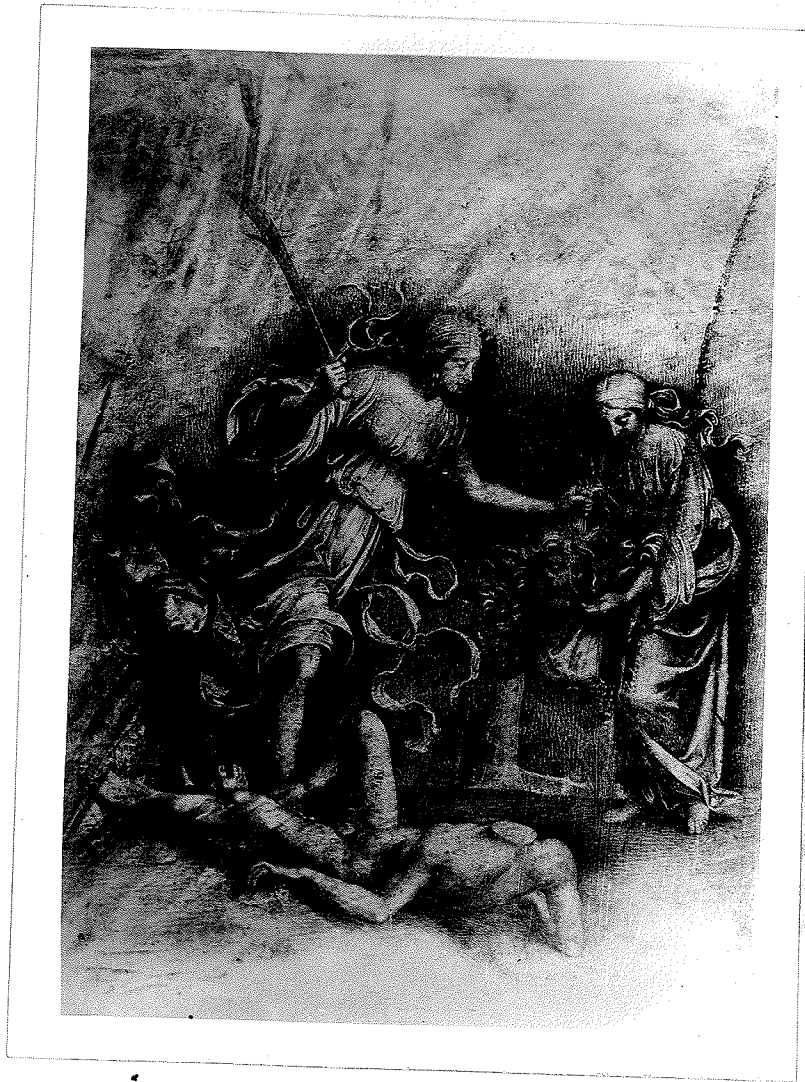


Fig. 18 Judith, Francia



Fig. 19 Judith. Mantegna

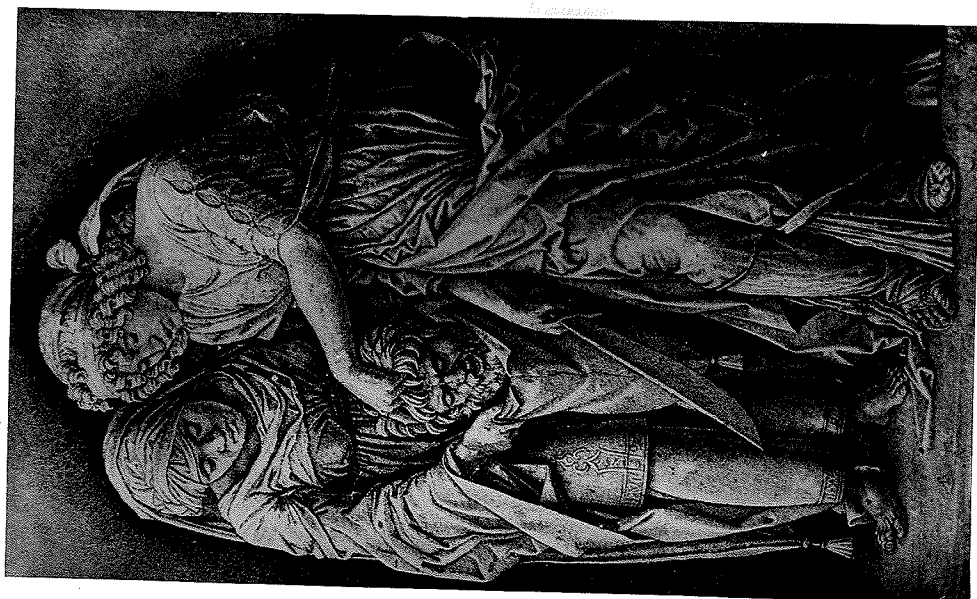


Fig. 21 Judith, Mantegna



Fig. 20 Judith, Mocetto

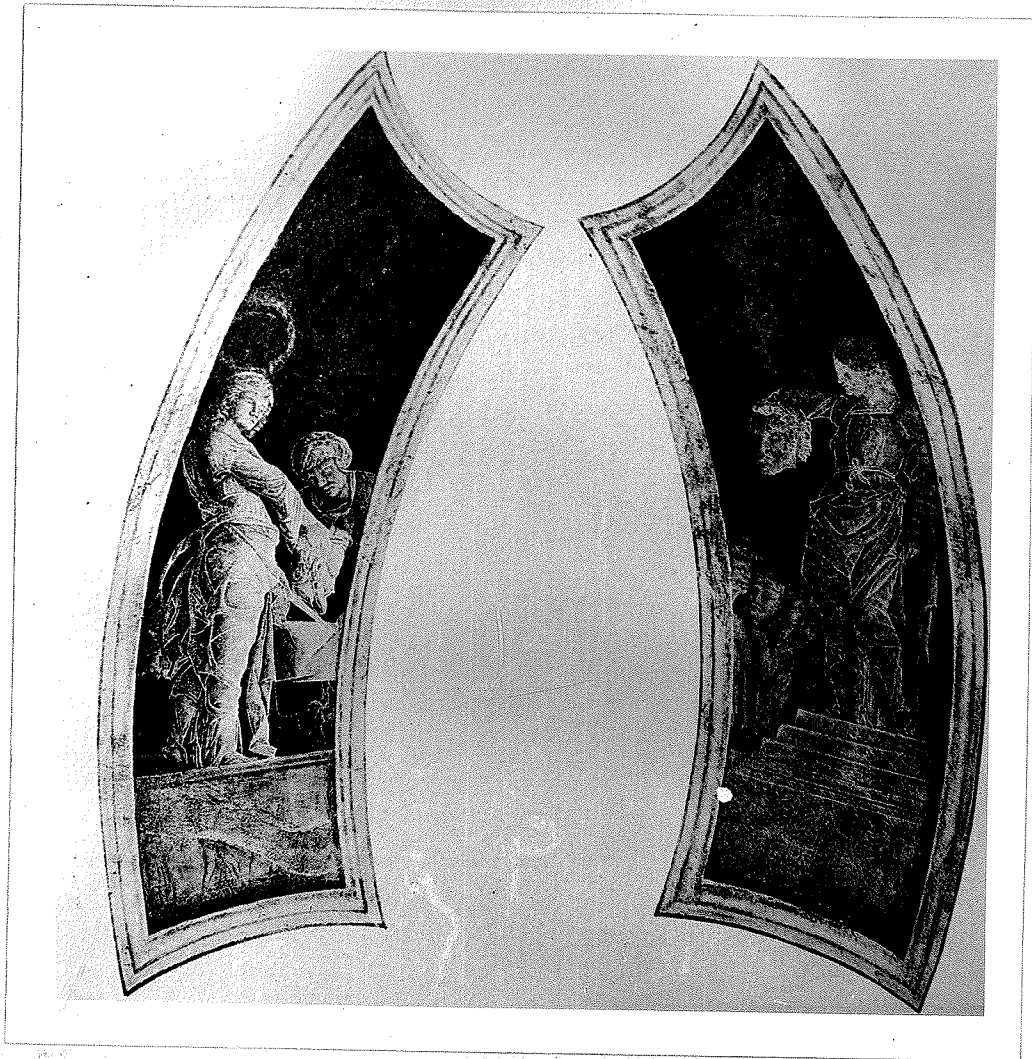


Fig. 22 a. Judith Before the Tent of Holofernes; b. Judith Displays the Head to the Bethulians , after Mantegna

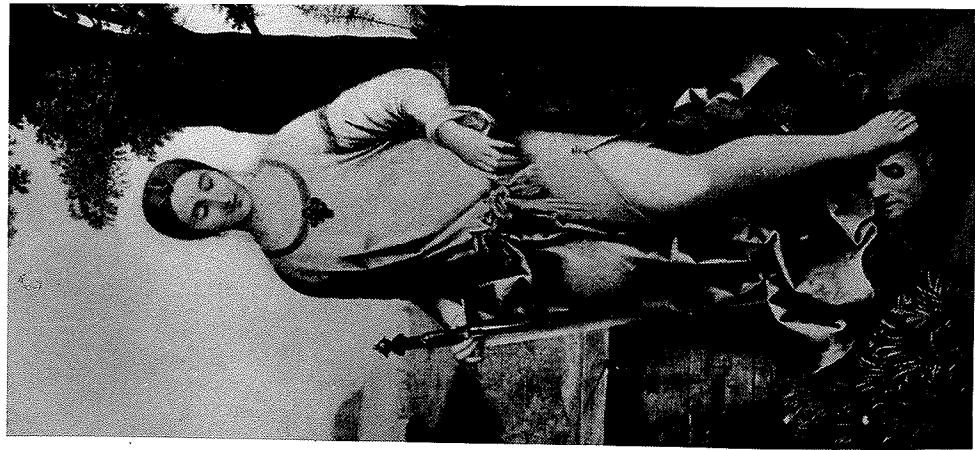


Fig. 23 Judith, Giorgione

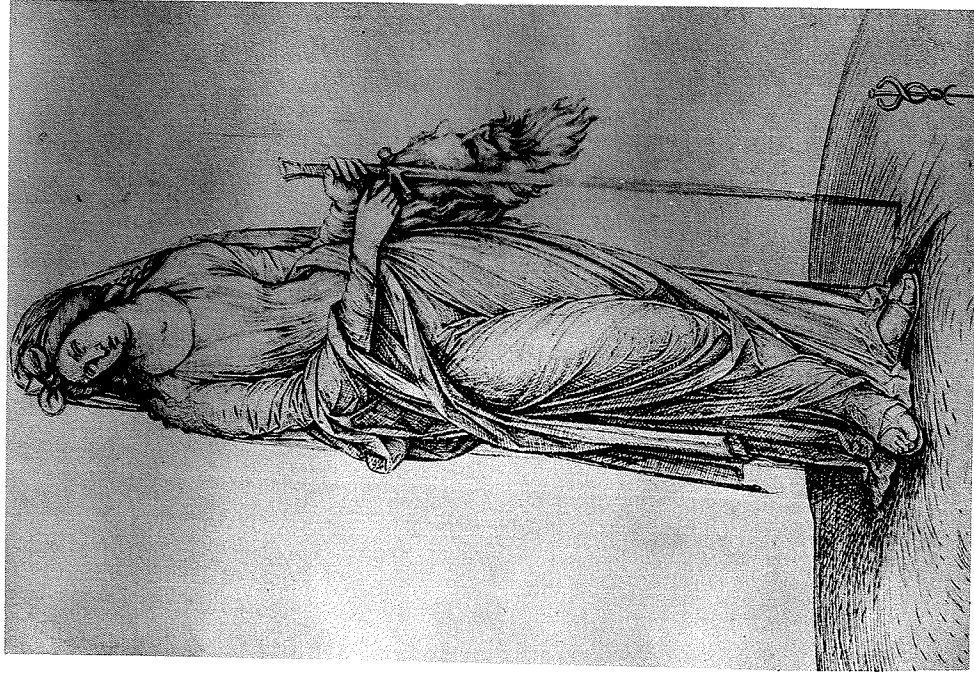


Fig. 24 Judith, Jacopo de' Barbari



Fig. 25 Judith, Sebastiano del Piombo



Fig. 26 Judith, Vincenzo Catena



Fig. 27 Judith, Palma Vecchio

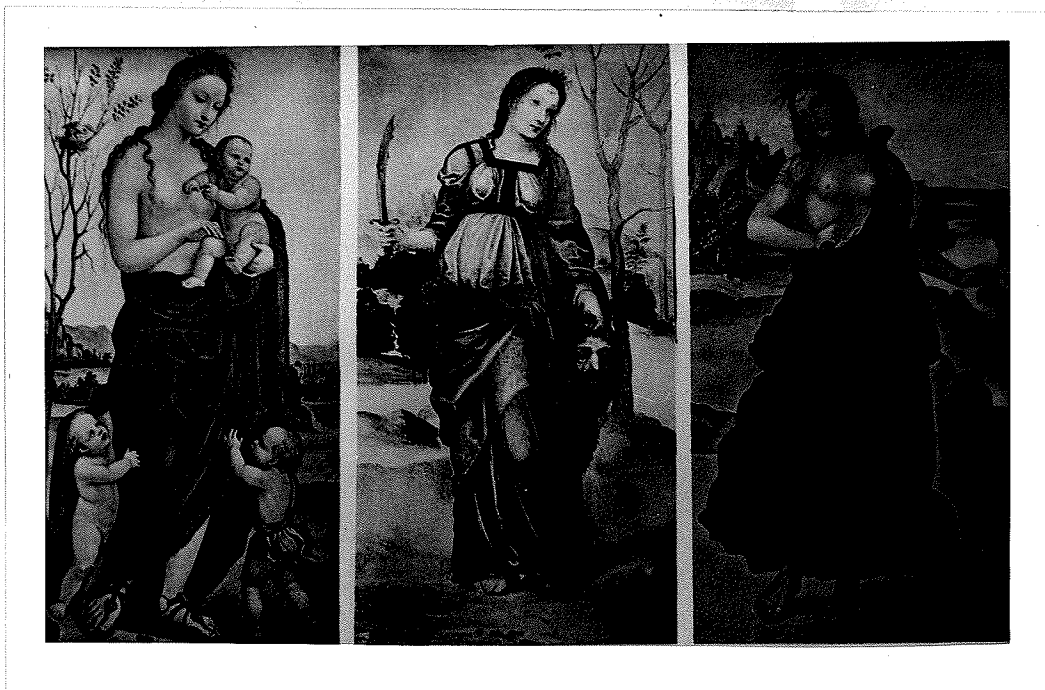


Fig. 28 a.Charity; b.Judith; c.Lucretia. Sodoma



Fig. 29 Judith, Beccafumi



Fig. 30 Judith (Sistine Ceiling), Michelangelo

Approved P. Ward Bunde

Dated MAY 20, 1965