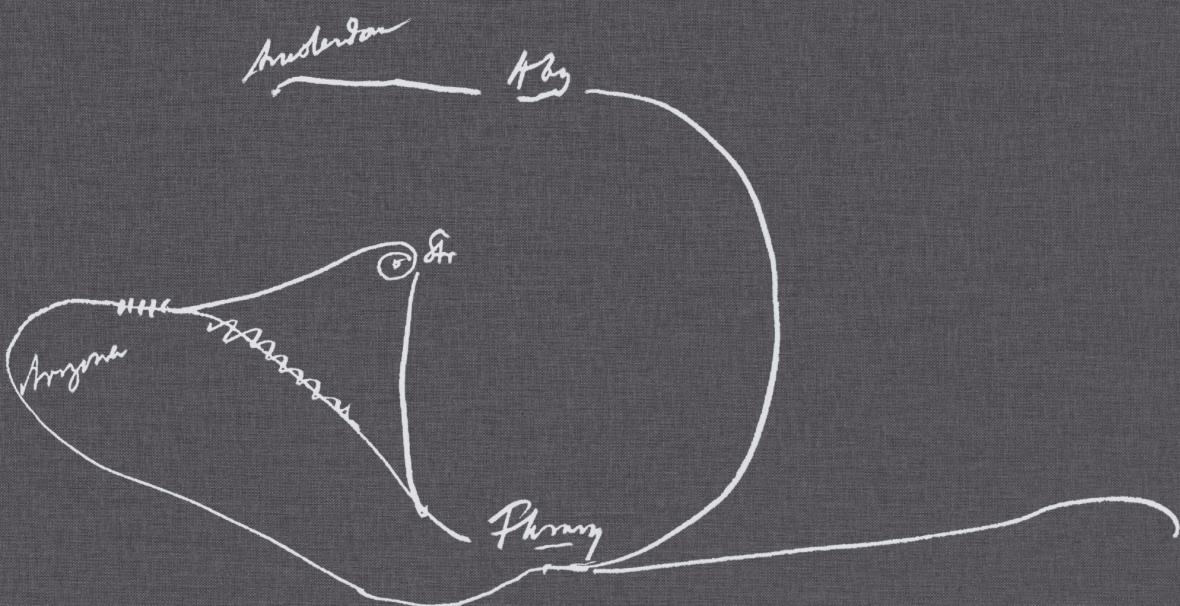


ABY WARBURG
**BILDERATLAS
MNEMOSYNE**
– The Original



ABY WARBURG BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE — The Original

Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil
In Cooperation with The Warburg Institute
and Haus der Kulturen der Welt





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TABLE OF CONTENTS

UNDER THE SIGN OF MNEMOSYNE Bill Sherman	8
THE BILDERATLAS IN THE 21 ST CENTURY Bernd Scherer	9
THE MNEMOSYNE AND ITS AFTERLIFE Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil	11
THE MAKING OF WARBURG'S BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE Claudia Wedepohl	14
FRAGMENT OF AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE Aby Warburg With an Editorial Note by Claudia Wedepohl	20
ON THE RECOVERY OF THE BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE AND THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE CAPTIONS Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil	21
KEY TO CAPTIONS	22
BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE	23
PRELIMINARY VERSIONS AND UNNUMBERED PANELS	151
CONCORDANCE	173
INDEX	176
REFERENCES	180
EXHIBITIONS	181
BIOGRAPHIES	182
COLOPHON	183

UNDER THE SIGN OF MNEMOSYNE

We at the Warburg Institute work under the sign of memory. Indeed, every time we cross the threshold into our building, we walk under a sign bearing the name of Mnemosyne, the Greek goddess of remembrance and the mother (with Zeus) of the Nine Muses. In the 1920s, when the German historian of art and culture Aby Warburg designed his legendary library in Hamburg—the *Kulturschaffliche Bibliothek Warburg* (K.B.W.)—he asked the architect to inscribe the name of Mnemosyne on the stone lintel above the door. And in 1957, when the institute bearing Warburg's name was given its new home in London, the same sign, this time engraved in wood, was installed in the entrance.

When I give tours of the Warburg Institute I often start in front of this sign, not just because it is the first thing we see when we enter the building but because it captures, in a word, the *genius loci*—both the presiding deity and the spirit of the place. Warburg is best known as an art historian, but the Warburg Institute has never been a centre for art history alone. Its books, courses, events and publications are devoted to everything we need to know in order to put images into context, to track the movements of culture through time and space. It is where, I sometimes say, we come to remember how to remember.

Warburg's *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*—the famous atlas of images shown in this book and in the exhibition for which it is being published—set out to map the collective memory of old ideas, motifs and gestures. In the century since it was created, the project has itself become part of our collective memory. Warburg's unfinished *magnum opus* has haunted our cultural, curatorial and artistic work over the last few decades and taken on the kind of iconic status afforded to modernity's other foundational projects such as Walter Benjamin's *Passagenwerk* (better known, in English, as the *Arcades Project*). Benjamin's work was inspired, in part, by Warburg's, and the two projects were deeply marked by the times in which they were created. Both were ambitious, experimental and ultimately unfinishable; both reinvented inherited forms of inquiry and communication; and both suffered from the traumas inflicted by National Socialism. Benjamin's life was disrupted, and prematurely ended, by the rise of the Nazis. Warburg died before that development, but only a few years after his death it forced his Library and Institute into exile.

When the materials used by Warburg found their new place in London (and it took twenty-five years before they settled into their permanent home), they became absorbed into the evolving collections and shifting obsessions served by the Institute's library, archive and photo collection. The great art historian Ernst Gombrich

(who worked at the Warburg Institute from 1936 to 2001 and directed it from 1959 to 1976) had been hired to turn the fragmentary *Bilderatlas* into the finished publication Warburg had wanted; but he found the project impossible and turned his attention to a biography of the Institute's founder and to the creation of his own texts on images—including *The Story of Art*, the world's best-selling book on the subject.

Outside the Institute, interest in Warburg's *Bilderatlas* has steadily grown and may well be greater now than it has ever been. The *Bilderatlas* has been the subject of monographic studies, and entire sections of journals are devoted to it. It has inspired countless artistic projects and, in the last decade, a series of major exhibitions: after all, the project offers new forms of association and argument familiar to artists and curators alike, and it makes the connections between research and display visible and even vital. Through these projects, Warburg's work has been credited with both killing and inventing art history, and his peculiar methods described as both a sign of madness and a stroke of genius. But the Warburg Institute itself—where all of Warburg's working materials are housed—has for the most part served as the keeper of memories rather than the active agent in these enterprises.

The exhibition at Berlin's Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKB) has given us the opportunity to revisit Warburg's most mysterious work. The effort of its curators Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil was fundamental in the recovery of the last-known version of the *Bilderatlas*.

For this they used—for the first time since 1929—Warburg's original materials with some one thousand images on more than sixty cloth-covered panels. We are grateful for the inspiration (and perspiration) of our partners in Germany, and have used the moment to carry out a complete campaign of conservation and photography that will give the *Bilderatlas* a new life for generations of scholars and artists. And we are delighted to be working with Hatje Cantz on a fresh facsimile that will present the reconstructed original materials (as seen until now in reproductions of Warburg's black and white photographs of the project as it stood when he died) for the first time in full colour and in the large format demanded by the dense array of images.

The exhibition and the book will give new viewers and readers a place at what Warburg liked to call 'the workbench in the laboratory of the study of civilisation'. It will create future memories of past culture, bringing us together under the sign of Mnemosyne.

Bill Sherman
Director of The Warburg Institute, London



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Fig. 1 MNEMOSYNE, inscription above the entrance door of the Kulturschaffliche Bibliothek Warburg (K.B.W.), today Warburg-Haus, Hamburg.
Fig. 2 MNEMOSYNE, inscription above the inner entrance door, The Warburg Institute, London.

THE BILDERATLAS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Aby Warburg's *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, created in the late 1920s, remains a central methodological touchstone for the process of knowledge generation in our times. These are times of upheaval and change: Globalisation and post-colonialism are challenging the Western art canon, not only its reach—in the context of global art strategies, this is now simply being extended to the rest of the world while neglecting the Eurocentrism it involves—but in its fundamental approach of separating art from social, political and economic processes.¹ Meanwhile, established discipline-based knowledge systems have proven to be no longer adequate for either getting to grips with or mapping the processes of globalisation, let alone reflecting the transformations of the Anthropocene, which are upsetting the equilibrium of the planet's ecosystem and climate.²

This begs the question of alternative cultural practices for dealing with our own times. That is the context in which the true significance of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* project becomes apparent: not as historical artefact, but as a living aesthetic and cognitive process of utmost relevance to our age, above and beyond its specific content.

Aby Warburg developed his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* in the aftermath of the calamity of the 'Great War', which shook Europe's 'civilising project' to the core, and with it the existing knowledge systems and their institutions. For Warburg personally, the aftermath of the war led to a nervous breakdown and psychosis. Only after prolonged treatment by the psychiatrist Ludwig Binswanger at a sanatorium in Kreuzlingen did the door open for the representational process of the *Bilderatlas*, which Warburg undertook in the last years of his life.

In his response to the crisis of civilisation, Warburg returned to a strand of work on human visual memory he had begun before the war: the study of art as anthropology. Long before the First World War, Warburg had developed an entirely original understanding of Antiquity and the Renaissance, consciously setting himself apart from colleagues, whom he accused of 'border police bias' (*grenzpolizeiliche Befangenheit*) in their efforts to derive eternal values from the art of those periods. Seen from today's perspective, it is remarkable that his programme already contains the seeds of interdisciplinarity.

Warburg was interested not in a definable sphere of art, but in the long-term existence of images, inscribed into memory as forms giving visual shape to affects. The profound crisis of civilisation facing both Warburg personally and society as a whole penetrated deep into the emotional world of both those responsible for and those touched by the crisis. Here—departing from a modern linear notion of time in which the past precedes the present—memory is understood not as a locus where something past is recalled, but as one element of a multi-layered, living consciousness.³

The visual constellations that Warburg created in 1928/29 on a series of large panels comprising the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* can be understood as cultural techniques that used spaces and surfaces to reveal the layers of memory and the web of relationships manifested in them.⁴ In this venture, Warburg harnessed the possibilities for the technical reproduction of both images and sculpture. His visual archive, amassed over decades using the medium of photography, allowed him to establish relationships between the works on the panels, independently of their temporal and geographical origins and thus—following Walter Benjamin—to generate particular constellations between the images. These transcend not only the boundaries of space and time but also those between artistic and ethnological objects, in pursuit of an anthropological approach. There is an aspect of performance to the presentation of the panels in space and the images on their surfaces. Warburg's intention was not to speak via images but to use images as vehicles for experience and thought.⁵ The panels invite the viewer to participate in the production of meaning, moving between panels as if leafing through a book, and through his or her perception forging ever new connections between the images. In this sense the surface of the panels

functions as an experimental mechanism in the Foucauldian sense. Warburg's comments underline the special importance he attributed to the specificity and concrete nature of the individual images. It is not general connections he is after, but rather the specific nature of each one (comparable to Leibnitz's monads). It is the viewer's acts of perception that draw relationships between the singularities. Insight emerges from a process of navigation between panels and between images, on the one hand, exploring entirely tangible relationships between the images arranged by Warburg; on the other, opening up a fundamentally unbounded space of possibility for viewers to create their own dynamic relationships. The process consciously avoids defining meanings, while the spaces between the images allude to the realm of the unknown. In other words, we are navigating without a complete map in spaces that connect the known and the unknown.

Recalling the cultural techniques presented in the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* is of enormous significance in the context of today's social crises and transformation processes, which can no longer be comprehended using the categories of existing knowledge systems. It is cultural techniques of this kind that open up new ways of relating to the world, beyond existing canonical and discipline-bound ordering systems. Techniques that enable us to experience and negotiate colonial power asymmetries and the planetary repercussions of human activity. Given that the violence of colonial relations as well as the material and technological transformations of our time are having just as profound an effect on the contemporary psyche as the First World War did on Warburg's contemporaries, the content dimension of the *Bilderatlas* plays an important role here. This would, however, require—very much in the spirit of Warburg's methodological—new archives to supplement the existing ones and to serve as the material basis for new movements in thinking and perception.

Various exhibitions since 1993 have presented Warburg's panels in their original size, with new reproductions on each occasion.⁶ In spring 2019 Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil combed through the Warburg Institute's Photographic Collection for the exhibition at Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW). Their meticulous detective work, supported by the Institute, located almost all the 971 original images for Warburg's *Bilderatlas* (in a collection containing more than 400,000 items). Thanks to their dogged tenacity, the original reproductions of Middle Eastern, Greco-Roman and Renaissance art—which Warburg himself mounted on panels in 1929—can now be presented to the public for the very first time. Their patient recovery also forms the basis for the panels in this volume.

Bernd Scherer
Director of Haus der Kulturen der Welt, Berlin

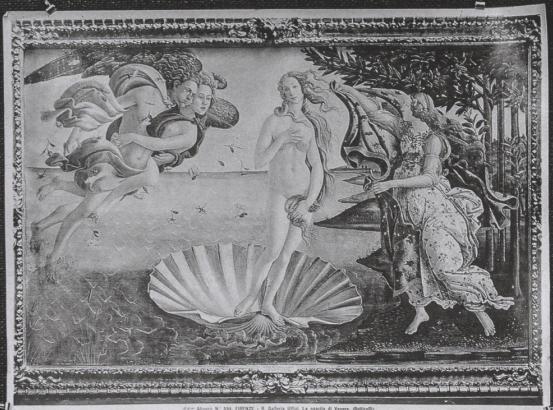


Fig. 1

1 The associated questions and issues are discussed in the HKW project 'Kanonfragen'.
2 HKW addresses this in the 'Anthropocene Project'.
3 The HKW project '100 Years of Now' builds on that insight.
4 On the following see also Georges Didi-Huberman, *Das Nachleben der Bilder* (Berlin, 2010).
5 In the *Bilderatlas* Warburg developed an alternative visual language of his own, which was different from the existing representational systems of the time. The HKW project 'The New Alphabet' explores such alternative forms.
6 The first reproduction of the entire *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* was presented by Transmediale Gesellschaft Daedalus at the exhibition *Mnemosyne: Aby Warburg*, held in 1993 at the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna.

Fig. 1 *Idea Vincit*, 1926, design by Otto Heinrich Strohmeyer, commissioned by Aby Warburg from his sketch, linoleum cut, 20 x 29.8 cm, signed by Strohmeyer (1926) and Warburg, March 31, 1927. Postage stamp design to pay tribute to the Locarno Treaties, 1926. Collection of fluid archives. Courtesy of ZKM | Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe.

39



THE MNEMOSYNE AND ITS AFTERLIFE

Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil

Viewed retrospectively, the story that led to the creation of the Mnemosyne Atlas in 1929 could be told as a linear sequence of events. General preconditions played a role, including the steadily improving possibilities of technical reproduction in the early twentieth century and the rapid expansion of book publishing over the same period. There were also specific aspects attributable to decisions made by the Warburg family and Aby Warburg himself, above all the autonomy with which he was able to expand his research. Specific precursors are also identifiable, hints of the form that was to emerge in the late 1920s. There is a logic to the trajectory, especially when we consider the content, for Warburg's final work draws together the research of the previous decades. Nevertheless, we are dealing with the invention of an instrument hitherto unknown to—and for decades rejected by—scholarship. Thus nobody should be surprised that there were difficulties associated with this project. It was only after Warburg's death, however, that they proliferated in a quite different form with grave consequences. Hence we must keep in mind the fact that the *Bilderaltas* for so long remained largely invisible or appeared to be lost, as another of the mysteries inherent to this exceptional work.

But let us begin by retracing some easily comprehensible initial steps. When planning a lecture about Dürer in Hamburg in 1905, Warburg organised a small exhibition for his audience, with exhibits illustrating his thought processes. At the same time he commissioned three plates to be printed that reproduced some of the works discussed in the lecture as a hand-out for the audience.¹ Both aspects, the exhibition and the three prints, are significant steps on the long road to the *Bilderaltas Mnemosyne*, which was originally conceived as a book project. It was in no way foreseeable—and still less intended—that the process of creating them would end up with images mounted on panels that have more in common with the medium of the exhibition. Our knowledge about this aspect of the story is itself a stroke of fortune; not always do archives grant such insights into how a workshop employs its resources for such experiments. Another unexpected turn is that the panels—ultimately the only result of the project—were inaccessible despite being comprehensively documented in photographs. In a sense they could even be said to have been invisible, as the originals in fact appeared to have been lost and the hitherto published reproductions were scarcely legible.

Even before the Dürer talk, Warburg had expanded the scope of his research to include the entire Early Renaissance, and soon he was also speaking of the necessity of publishing a major work on the period. It is in this connection that the first mention of an 'atlas' appears. But at that time the terms '*Bilderaltas*' (lit.: 'atlas of images') and '*Tafel*' (panel)² had no more than very general meanings in the publishing context. A '*Bilderaltas*' was a volume of illustrations, which at that time still had to be printed using a different technique and on paper that was different from the text volume it accompanied. The same applied to plates included in a text volume: they were always bound separately, either as individual folios or sections usually at the back. The '*Bilderaltas*' had been a product in its own right since the late nineteenth century, as a large-format stand-alone picture book focusing on a particular field of knowledge. It tended to be didactic and consisted principally of plates containing multiple smaller, individual illustrations. In other words, it prioritised an attractive appearance, while the explanatory texts were mostly general and brief. Advances in printing technology after the Second World War allowed a free combination of text and image, and as a result the old terms, '*Bilderaltas*' and '*Tafel*', fell into disuse. Today they are used almost exclusively in association with Warburg's project—lending them an air of significance and exclusivity that they did not originally possess.

By the time Warburg held a series of lectures in Hamburg in 1909, the scope of his argumentation was already as broad as the later *Bilderaltas*: a highly condensed succession of seven chapters starting with Petrarch and ending with Dürer. To clarify the order

of projected images he prepared a scheme that resembles the outline of the *Bilderreihen* (series of images) that he was not to produce until sixteen years later.³ His quickly sketched thoughts clearly demonstrate the necessity for a different form. The complexity of the connections he wished to demonstrate between the works now transcended the linear confines of the slides he was still using at the time.

On 20 April 1914 Warburg gave a lecture on 'The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal in Early Renaissance Painting' at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, condensing no less than twelve hundred years of visual history into his talk.⁴ There was something demonstrative about the act of collapsing such distances, connecting them with the reverberations of particular forms, gestures and images, and with the tensions involved in their actualisation. Warburg wanted to make the ungraspable tangible; he wanted to know how something that now appeared so self-evident originally came into being. This was a journey from the Arch of Constantine built in Rome in 315 AD to the fresco of the Battle of Constantine painted in the Vatican in the 1520s. A journey from the suppression of Classical Art to the conflicts triggered by its rediscovery in the fifteenth century.

Just four months later, Europe's rulers plunged the continent into war. Warburg turned his visual research to the contemporary news media, conceiving sketches for three panels that are structured like a two-page spread in a magazine.⁵ This detour into the violence of war propaganda might appear remote from his actual research interest: art history. What it did reveal was the material base shared by both: the modern communication technologies that were decisive for the life of images, for their movability or mobility, but which in 1914 also bore responsibility for the deaths of human beings.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, expeditions seeking to bring art and architecture of all epochs from the remotest outposts to the major Western cities were systematically using modern recording techniques. The Age of Mechanical Reproduction had begun—under conditions of colonial power driving territorial expansion externally and pursuing scientific rigour internally. The cultural assets that photography had rendered mobile were supposed to benefit the education of the home population. One prime example of the drive for modernisation and its intimate ties to industrial progress was the initiative of the British elites that led to the founding of the South Kensington Museum (today Victoria and Albert Museum). Every available form of reproduction was used to present art from all eras in the form of a permanent world exhibition. The most spectacular manifestation was the life-size reproduction of Trajan's Column, which is still on display at the V&A today.⁶

Collecting reproductions was also a widespread artistic practice at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷ On the walls of academies and studios they elucidated possibilities, suggested interpretations and supplied guidance within a canon that was largely based on the study of Antiquity and saw itself as realising the ideals of that age. Occasionally the possibilities to manipulate elements of

Translation by Meredith Dale

- 1 Marcus A. Huttig, *Die entfesselte Antike: Aby Warburg und die Geburt der Pathosformel in Hamburg* (Cologne 2012).
- 2 The term normally refers to 'plate' in English, but specifically in connection with the *Atlas* it denotes 'panel'.
- 3 Giovanna Targia (ed.), *Aby Warburg - Il primo Rinascimento italiano, sette conferenze inedite* (Turin 2013); sketch p. 145 ff.
- 4 Martin Treml, Sigrid Weigel and Perdita Ludwig (eds.), *Aby Warburg: Werke in einem Band* (Berlin 2010), p. 281 ff.; held in Florence on 20 April 1914.
- 5 Steffen Haug reconstructed these panels while a Frances Yates Fellow at the Warburg Institute (2017/18), in the scope of a project on the First World War.
- 6 'Saving' the past is frequently understood to mean 'rescuing from deterioration' or 'bringing back to life'. This stance is often discernible in the self-perception of colonial collections vis-à-vis artefacts arriving from distant cultures.

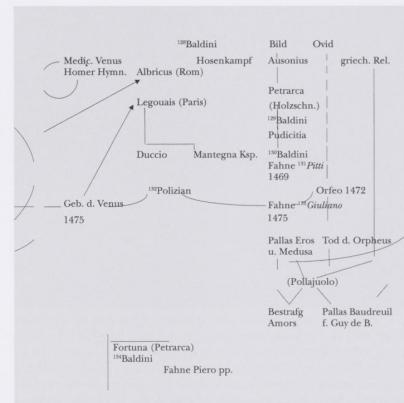


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Fig. 1 Panel 39, Original photograph of the K.B.W. in Hamburg, last version, autumn 1929, WIA (see p. 10).

Fig. 2 Detail of a schematic view, depicting a sketch by Warburg, preparing the third of the seven lectures 'Einführung in die Kultur der italienischen Frührenaissance', 1908/1909 (WIA, III, 75,3,2, fol.35), published in: Aby Warburg, II rimo Rinascimento italiano - Sette conferenze inedite, edited and commented by Giovanna Targia, Milan 2013, p. 145 ff.

Fig. 3 'The International Exhibition of the Book Industry and Graphic Arts was very much larger than this image is able to convey. The sequence of which it is part shows representations of the cosmos, including some of the images used in the *Bilderaltas* on panels B, 20, 21 and 22. The official guide includes an illustrated section that documents the exhibition very well: *Halle der Kultur, Internationale Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphik* (Leipzig 1914).

form offered by printed reproductions on paper even led to experiments resembling the techniques of collage and montage that were to emerge in the twentieth century.

Ever since Wölfflin's study of Renaissance and Baroque style, it has become evident that the way art appears in books has direct effects on how it is understood, a phenomenon that became a subject of discussion on more than one occasion.⁶ But instances documenting how reproductions were treated in academic contexts are few and far between. Warburg made use of the possibilities of photography and spoke of its advantages, and we know a surprising amount about his practice because he always painstakingly documented his work and carefully considered every step.⁷ But otherwise little is known about the ways media were used in scholarship. The *International Exhibition of the Book Industry and Graphic Arts*, which was staged in Leipzig shortly before the First World War, represents an exception in this respect; partly on account of the specific field, copious use was made of illustrations.⁸ Karl Lamprecht, one of Warburg's teachers, was involved, and the form and content exhibit astonishing similarities with the *Bildereihen* and the *Bilderatlas*.

Another early example of systematic utilisation of reproductions falls in the immediate post-war period. In 1918 Fritz Saxl, since 1912 one of Warburg's closest collaborators, organised a series of didactic exhibitions in Vienna in which he used exclusively reproductions.⁹ Little is known about his concept, but he plainly wanted to bring art as a medium of knowledge to broader sections of the population and to persuade the public to consider questions that had been drowned out by the clamour of war propaganda. When Warburg returned to Hamburg from the sanatorium in 1924, Saxl prepared a little exhibition to welcome him, using visual examples from Warburg's areas of research. One of the myths around the genesis of the *Bilderatlas* is that this was the moment when Saxl showed the 'revenant' new possibilities for working with art and laid the foundations for the *Bilderatlas*. In reality, this is not based in fact. Warburg had begun creating a photographic collection at a very early stage, both to advance his own research and to communicate his findings. Creating *Bildereihen* and using illustrations to communicate his findings to a small circle of listeners was already part of his practice before the First World War. The *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (K.B.W.) systematically expanded this instrument; once the new building had been completed in 1926 it also possessed a photographic laboratory and new techniques for reproduction.

Leaving aside the actual importance of Saxl's exhibition, the two researchers decided then and there—perhaps swayed by the possibilities of photography—to create a *Bilderatlas* on the history of the Renaissance. Gertrud Bing, a doctoral student of Erwin Panofsky's, entered the inner circle at this point and quickly became Warburg's personal assistant. She was ultimately the person most closely involved in the evolution of the *Bilderatlas*. A broad understanding of the concept of enlightenment was crucial to the concept. The idea was that the book should open up a new perspective on the established values of art, both for experts and for a wider audience. Warburg became the driving force of the project, but always understood it as a collective undertaking. 'Our Atlas' did indeed emerge piece by piece out of the 'research community' at the Warburg Library. The *Bildereihen* installed in the reading room between 1926 and 1928 represented its first stage.¹⁰ Presentation in semi-public contexts was generally preceded by intense internal discussions or even trial sessions. Then Warburg gave his audience detailed explanations about the subjects and media of the complexly structured image constellations. Various external guests were invited, depending on the occasion, and all those who studied, researched or taught at the Warburg Library were able to attend.

Vertical-format panels were used for the first time in spring 1928. These were boards covered with dark Hessian, roughly 150 centimetres high and 125 wide. The format was a major shift; until then the *Bildereihen* had been horizontal.¹¹ Realisation in book form was plainly on the agenda and they were taking the standard

publication format into account. By October 1929 three more or less clearly distinct versions of the *Bilderatlas* had been produced, all of which are documented in photographs.¹² The first, from 1928, encompassed forty-three panels. The second, with sixty-eight panels, was the most extensive and can be dated to autumn 1928, before the trip to Rome where the 'dress rehearsal' for the *Bilderatlas* was to take place, Warburg's legendary lecture at the Biblioteca Hertziana.¹³ After returning from Italy Warburg fundamentally revised the concept, applying a chronological structure and developing the final version.¹⁴ While the content of the panels, of which there were sixty-three by this stage, is noticeably clearer in the third iteration, new inconsistencies appeared in the numbering sequence: a gap between No. 8 and No. 20 and a smaller one between No. 64 and No. 70. Certain panels now bore more than one number—No. 28–29, No. 50–51 and No. 61–64—where Warburg

7 See Roberto Ohrt, 'Die Erinnerung im Archiv ihrer technischen Reproduzierbarkeit', in: *Café Dolly, Picabia, Schnabel, Willumsen. Hybrid Painting*, Willumsens Museum Frederiksund 2013.

8 Heinrich Wölfflin: *Renaissance und Barock: eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien* (München, 1888). (Published in English translation in 1966 as *Renaissance and Baroque* by Cornell University Press, translated by Kathryn Simon.)

9 Explicitly in Aby Warburg, 'Bildeskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum' (Leipzig, 1902), in idem, *Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike: kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, reprint of the 1932 edition, edited by Gerrtrud Bing with Fritz Rougemont. Published as *Gesammelte Schriften*, Studienausgabe, vol. I, 1, and vol. I, 2, edited by Horst Bredekamp and Michael Diers (Berlin, 1998), pp. 89 ff., esp. p. 101; see also Mick Finch, 'The Technical Apparatus of the Warburg Haus', *Journal of Visual Art Practice*, vol. 15, no. 2–3, pp. 94–106.

10 Halle der Kultur, *Internationale Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphik*, Leipzig 1914. We are grateful to Marcus A. Hurttig for pointing us to this exhibition, which was reportedly seen by 2.3 million visitors. See also Aby Warburg: *Mnemosyne Bilderatlas Rekonstruktion – Kommentar – Aktualisierung*, exh. cat. ZKM (Karlsruhe, 2016).

11 Steffen Haug, 'Fritz Saxl's Exhibitions in Vienna (1919)', in *Image Journeys: The Warburg Institute and a British Art History*, edited by Joanne W. Anderson, Mick Finch and Johannes von Müller (Passau, 2019), pp. 105–13. It has, regrettably, proven impossible to locate any photographic documentation on the exhibitions.

12 Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. II 2, *Bildereihen und Ausstellungen*, edited by Fleckner and Woldt (Berlin, 2012). The book fosters the impression that 'Bildereihen' were only produced in the preparatory stages for the *Atlas*. There is various evidence for the self-conception of the 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft' (research community) that formed at K.B.W., first and foremost: the 'Widmung' (dedication) to Aby Warburg, in Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Hamburg, 1926); and the collective journal of the Warburg Library, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. VII: 'unser Atlas', p. 148.

13 It is not possible to determine the dimensions any more precisely, because the position of the camera in relation to the panels varied.

14 The second—and most extensive—version is in fact documented with three different sets of numbers; the content and extent of the panels varies little. Occasionally the numbers were also amended on the negatives.

15 On the lecture at the Biblioteca Hertziana see Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. II 2, *Bildereihen und Ausstellungen* (see note 11).

16 Research on the early versions is nascent. Katia Mazucco distinguishes five different stages of the *Atlas* (Katia Mazucco, 'Il Progetto Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg', Ph.D. diss., Siena University, 2006); Joacim Sprung, six (Joacim Sprung, 'Bildatlas, åskådning och reproduktion: Aby Warburgs Mnemosyne-atlas och visualiseringen av konsthistoria kring 1800/1900', Ph.D. diss., Copenhagen University, 2011, p. 16 ff.). For the sake of simplicity we will confine ourselves to three versions here; the intermediate versions differ principally in their numbering but to a much lesser extent in the imagery itself. Panels from the early versions have been published only sporadically and unsystematically.

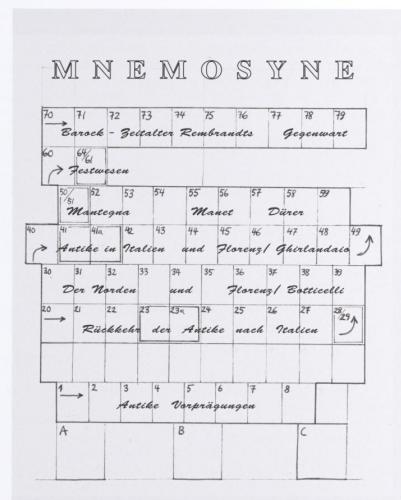


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

Fig. 4 Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne, *The Architecture of the Bilderatlas*, Baustelle 11, 2013.

Fig. 5 Gertrud Bing, Aby Warburg and Franz Alber in the Palace Hotel in Rome, 1929, see also pp. 4–5.

plainly planned to expand the content, and the lower-case letter 'a' identified two others as later additions: No. 23a and No. 41a were presumably inserted at a stage when subsequent panels had already been numbered.

Thus it stands beyond doubt that version three was not intended to be the final one. This is easy to explain: Warburg died on 26 October 1929. Some of the photographs documenting the final configuration were certainly taken only after his death. He had applied the new chronological structure to almost all the panels, but was far from finished. Obtaining an overview of the order and numbering was both necessary and difficult. We identified twenty panels in earlier versions whose images are completely absent from the last, and are therefore reproduced in a large format for the first time in the present volume.¹⁷ Because the new structure involved sweeping changes these panels no longer fit into the gaps in the last version, and creating new spaces to accommodate the different chronological stages of their development would have meant renumbering the entire sequence. Nevertheless, an almost unimaginable that topics as important as *Persius* or *Bildpropaganda zur Zeit Luthers* were simply to be dropped.

At the time, in 1929, the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* was neither conceived as an exhibition nor was it ever shown in its entirety. Along the curved shelf structure of the oval reading room – the backdrop for the *Bilderräumen* – there was only space to show about ten panels at a time. The room's architecture, in which Warburg himself had been essentially involved, nevertheless played a notable role in structuring the *Bilderatlas*. Warburg appeared to have developed the panels in groups of ten (continuing with No. 20 and No. 70 respectively after the two gaps), within which a degree of coherence can be identified: Nos. 1 to 8 showing art in Antiquity, the 'ancient models'; Nos. 20 to 27 for the return of the Gods from Arabian exile and their journey to the Palazzo Schifanoia; Nos. 28–29 to 39 for the first phase (Florence, until Botticelli); No. 40 to 48 for the second phase, until Ghirlandajo, the 'Nymphe', and Fortuna; Nos. 49 to 59 for the after-effects (Mantegna, Rome, Raphael, Manet, Michelangelo, Dürer); Nos. 60 to 61–64 for the Age of Neptune, with the conquest of the Atlantic as the new key to power; Nos. 70 to 76 for Rembrandt and Antiquity; and Nos. 77 to 79 for the present day and a kind of résumé (counterbalancing the three introductory panels, which are identified by letters).

Gertrud Bing, Fritz Saxl and Edgar Wind, the most dedicated members of the K.B.W., pursued the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* publication project until well into the 1940s, in the latter stages at the Warburg Institute in London, where this unique laboratory of cultural studies remained safe from the Nazis. When it was shipped in December 1933 the collection comprised about fifteen thousand photographs, including more than two thousand images Warburg had selected for the *Bilderatlas*. It is unlikely that the Gestelle (as Warburg himself sometimes referred to the wooden supports for the panels) made it to London; they certainly never reappeared. Gertrud Bing engaged Ernst Gombrich in 1936 specially to prepare the *Bilderatlas* for publication. All he had to show in 1937 was a wispy intimation, but nothing that could ever have come close to the realisation of the intended book. Bing pursued her project of publishing Warburg's late work into the 1940s, but was unable to assert herself against Gombrich.¹⁸

That is not where the story ends, unfortunately. For his failure to fulfil his task, Gombrich blamed the initiator of the project. In his so-called 'Intellectual Biography' he characterises Warburg as lacking the necessary organisational talent and methodological rigour to complete the *Bilderatlas*.¹⁹ In other words, its creator's 'shortcomings' were etched into the *Bilderatlas* as an irresolvable structural or conceptual problem. This assessment was to determine the *afterlife* of *Mnemosyne* for decades and ultimately represents one central reason why the original illustrations lay neglected in the Photographic Collection of the Warburg Institute for almost a century. While researchers came to believe that the *Atlas* had been lost, in fact the

971 photographs had been sorted back into the Photographic Collection at some point in the course of the 1930s – without any record of exactly where. The last remaining evidence of the individual elements on the sixty-three panels was lost in the 1940s when the Collection was indexed iconographically at Rudolf Wittkower's instigation. By 2019 the Photographic Collection had grown to about four hundred thousand items: a sea of images out of which the originals now had to be recovered.²⁰

In its final version the *Bilderatlas* remains a fragment, abruptly truncated in the process of its development. Yet it bears no resemblance to a kaleidoscope, where the next rotation might create a new random pattern of pretty colours. The panels definitely gain in precision from the first version to the last; they are increasingly more clearly structured and more legible. It would be unreasonable and unproductive to treat them as a transient moment in an ever-changing process, whether professing sympathy for their 'artistic character' or – as Gombrich does – alleging a lack of scientific rigour. All presentations of the *Bilderatlas* prior to this volume, whether in book form or an exhibition, have been based on the black and white photographs from the 1920s.²¹ For the viewer today our recovery of the original relativises the effect of uniformity and strengthens – to put it bluntly – the impression of chaotically distributed visual components (which precisely reflects the prejudices of critics and supporters in the past). Therefore, at first glance 'the original' might appear to confirm what so long stood in the way of it being properly appreciated. Lack of clarity and the revelation that it is a work in progress might distract from the precision of the content or simply cause irritation, but the visibility of the different sources also highlights the experimental nature of the undertaking. The element of montage becomes more apparent, the impulse to extract something new from the sources as well – and this we must grant Warburg, even if we understand his conceptual venture as a struggle for clarity and more keenly comprehend the thoughts he is formulating between the images. In the dimensions in which they have been rendered in this volume the reproductions now permit the panels to be examined in detail. It thus becomes possible to make proper use of them and should help dispel the long-standing reservations.

To a certain degree, the original colour tones of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* lead back to the moment of its invention, and as such to all the difficulties associated with an endeavour for which there were virtually no precedents. Not all of these difficulties were resolved – and at this point it is obsolete to do so – but neither can we simply pass them over. Warburg's book would certainly have had a different appearance. The panels were not conceived as the final manifestation of his project. Yet in this form they offer us a two-fold opportunity: on the one hand, to explore the full complexity and precision of a process that was interrupted on 26 October 1929 and to face the same challenge as Warburg did; on the other hand, the productivity engendered by the fragmentary and incomplete nature of the work need not be constrained by demands for a definite conclusion. Instead, we hope that the present publication will serve as a tool for future expeditions.

It is therefore not our intent to retrieve reproductions and present these as 'originals'. First and foremost, we wish to pay tribute to a body of work that Warburg sought to shape until the very end of his life, aiming to achieve thematic precision and a certain openness, which he felt was crucial to maintain towards the aesthetic material he explored. He occasionally characterised his method as 'polyphonic' and 'multi-dimensional', which is why the *Bilderatlas* was so exceptionally difficult to complete.²² Up to now, this appreciation of his work has been denied to him. In itself, this book required a particular form, size and quality; and although we know we could not realise the work that Warburg had hoped to accomplish, his ambitions – and the vast potential provided by the library he created – were key to our endeavour: 'I use the books like instruments in a scientific laboratory.'



Fig. 6

View into one of the eight corridors of the Photographic Collection, The Warburg Institute, London, during the research project, May 2019.

17 On pp. 152–171. Creating an index for these panels was beyond the resources of the present project. The concordance (p. 173 ff.) gives pointers for thematic orientation.

18 The Gombrich version was presented to Max Warburg on the occasion of his seventieth birthday and is referred to in the literature as the 'Birthday Atlas' ('Geburtstagatlas'). Some of its 'panels' have been published in various books as historical documents. On the unfortunate relationship between Gombrich and the Warburg Institute see Claudia Wedepohl, 'Critical Detachment – Ernst Gombrich as Interpreter of Aby Warburg', in *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus*, vol. 12, *The Afterlife of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*, edited by Uwe Fleckner and Peter Mack (Berlin 2015).

19 Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, 2nd ed. (Chicago 1986).

20 For details of the recovery, see our contribution 'On the Recovery of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* and the Completion of the Captions' in this volume, p. 21.

21 The first series of exhibitions was initiated by Daedalus in Vienna in 1993, the second by the research group *Mnemosyne* in 2012 (Hamburg, 8. Salon). Both produced black-and-white reprints to investigate the *Bilderatlas* in detail.

22 Warburg used the 'multi-dimensional' panels as tools in his quest for constructing the *Atlas* until the final days of his life. Thus, it is erroneous and misleading to assume that in the summer of 1929 he would employ a folder with unbound plates as a solution to the difficult question of the most optimal form of publishing the *Atlas*. In fact, he had already found this 'one-dimensional solution' 24 years earlier in the course of preparing his Dürer lecture. Cf. Christine Kreft Adolph Goldschmidt and Aby M. Warburg (Weimar 2010), *Warburg in his letters to Goldschmidt*, pp. 145 and 220. The concluding quotation is taken from a letter written in 1918, see: Dorothea McEwan, *Ausreisen der Ecken. Die Aby Warburg–Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1919* (Hamburg 1998), p. 16.

THE MAKING OF WARBURG'S BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE

Claudia Wedepohl

Aby Warburg's *Bilderatlas* has come down to us as a series of black-and-white glass negatives of 63 panels displaying 971 items—photographic reproductions, newspaper clippings, postcards, advertisements, postage stamps, booklets and book pages, sketches drawn by his wife Mary and two original prints—attached to these panels with clamping hooks. The panels, wooden frames (c. 120 × 150 cm) covered with Hessian, were photographed in the Reading Room of Warburg's library, the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg at Heilwigstraße 116 in Hamburg. They are drafts for the large-format plates of a *Bilderatlas*, conceived as the visual component of a comprehensive, multi-volume book publication project with the overall title *Mnemosyne*, remembrance. It was never published; indeed, not even its final form was agreed upon, but we know that one of the volumes was to have contained source texts relevant for the argument Warburg was making with his selection of pictures and his commentaries. He planned to devote another volume to the major themes of the *Bilderatlas*, whilst the *Bilderatlas* itself was conceived as a sequence of plates, bound or unbound.

By taking artefacts out of their physical environments and inserting them into the artificial medium of a book through reproductions, Warburg was following a tradition that had gained ground in the eighteenth century.¹ Only the capacity to select and arrange objects in printed works, an essential aspect of the history of the book, allowed the comparative study of art, a development fundamental for establishing the disciplines of archaeology and art history. The '*Bilderatlas*', a large-format publication that foregrounded images usually taken from the realm of cultural or natural history, was introduced in the nineteenth century as a didactic tool. Such publications were conceived to appeal to a broad lay public, including students, rather than to a select scholarly audience, and as such can be seen as following the model of the popular single sheets of images called '*Bilderbogen*'. The young Aby Warburg possessed at least one of these, the *Art Historical 'Bilderbogen'*, Arranged for Use in Academic or Public Lectures and for Teaching History or Theory of Taste at Gymnasiums, Middle Schools and Girls Schools from 1881–83 [Fig. 1].² The work, consisting of '*Bilderbogen*' and a textbook, is mentioned in a letter he wrote to his mother from Florence in November 1888, asking her to send this book to him, just as he was embarking on a semester of study of fifteenth-century art with the Breslau art historian August Schmarsow.³

1. REPRODUCTIONS

In Florence Warburg came to appreciate the possibilities of photography as a new means of reproduction, while at the same time aware of its limitations, and immediately began to build up a collection. He became a frequent customer at Fratelli Alinari, which had opened in the 1850s, selling photographs that document the history of Italy. Warburg ended up overspending his already generous budget and had to ask his father for additional funds; it was at this point that he began to argue that he was laying the foundations for his own future library and photo collection.⁴

Family subsidies allowed him to print five commercially acquired reproductions based on photographs in his dissertation on Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus and Primavera*, published in 1893; this was still unusual at the time, even if the reproductive technique of printing the full tone range of a photograph, so-called halftone reproduction, was becoming commercially viable in the eighteen-nineties. It was during these years that photographs were introduced into the genre of the '*Bilderatlas*', although engravings were often still of much better quality. Warburg supplemented the photographs in his dissertation with two woodcuts and a drawing of a sarcophagus, all reproduced from published works. Until the 1920s and indeed in his *Bilderatlas* he relied on graphic works of this kind whenever he wished to emphasise the outlines of classical sculpture, reliefs in particular.

In both his 1905 lectures on Albrecht Dürer—'Dürer as Man and Artist' (the inaugural lecture for his exhibition of reproductions

of Dürer's drawings in the Hamburg Volksheim, a welfare institution) and 'Dürer and Italian Antiquity' (his contribution to the annual conference of German philologists, addressing the origin and transmission of a pathos-laden style)—Warburg was clear about the falsity of photographs. Robbing works of colour, giving a distorted sense of scale, just like images projected from a *Skrioptikon* (also called a *Laterna magica*), a prototype of the slide projector, they would, he thought, never be able to replace the unmediated impression of the original.⁵ Still, he recognised that photographs were methodologically indispensable. Nothing similar to Alinari's stock of photos was then available for purchase in Germany. The most important supplier was Ad. Braun & Cie, likewise founded in the 1850s. Although Warburg had used Braun's photographic reproductions not just for his dissertation but also for his Dürer exhibition, Braun's catalogue of photographic reproductions of works of art did not include all the images relevant to his projects. In 1909, when his own collection numbered a few thousand reproductions, he launched an initiative to document German monuments systematically to replace the use of postcards.⁶ Nevertheless, throughout his life he hired photographers to take photographs of objects he needed for closer inspection and comparison, including, as early as 1901, Fratelli Alinari to photograph Lorenzo de' Medici's children in Ghirlandaio's *Confirmation of the Rule of St. Francis* in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita in Florence [Fig. 2]; later he also asked his collaborators, first Wilhelm Printz then Fritz Saxl, to photograph manuscript illuminations in libraries throughout Europe. Quality, including faithful colour reproduction, was important to Warburg. When necessary, he worked with hand-coloured photographs (which he called surrogates), and some of these found their way onto the panels of his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*.

In 1925/26, when the new building of the K.B.W. was under construction next to Warburg's house at Heilwigstraße 114, Fritz Saxl, Warburg's librarian and deputy, began making inquiries about a photo reproduction machine. This machine was a so-called *Rectigraph* of the type Photo Clark, produced by Heinrich Jantsch in Überlingen; it was acquired in August 1926 when space was found in the new building for a photographic studio [Fig. 3]. Designed to reproduce manuscript pages, the Photo Clark soon became key to the preparation of the *Bilderatlas*, for it allowed the reproduction of images without negatives. With the hiring of an in-house photographer, first Carl Hansen and a short time later Carl Hoff, the preparation of reproductions and the recording of Warburg's arrangements of photographs on screens and panels became a new focus of library activities, so much so that by January 1928 Warburg was able to remark that without the photographer

My sincere thanks are due to Elizabeth Sears for her critical reading of this text, her suggestions and corrections to my English. Translations of titles are either taken from English editions of Warburg's works or are my own.

- 1 Cf. Ulrich Keller, 'Visual Difference: Picture Atlases from Winckelmann to Warburg and the Rise of Art History', *Visual Resources* 17, 2001, pp. 179–199.
- 2 Ernst Arthur Seemann, *Kunsthistorische Bilderbogen für den Gebrauch bei akademischen und öffentlichen Vorlesungen, sowie beim Unterricht in der Geschichte und Geschmackslehre an Gymnasien, real- und höheren Töchterschulen zusammengestellt*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1881–83).
- 3 WIA [Warburg Institute Archive], FC [Family Correspondence], Aby to Charlotte Warburg, 1 November 1888.
- 4 WIA, FC, Aby to Charlotte Warburg, 7 January 1889.
- 5 WIA, III.60.1, *Dürer als Mensch und Künstler*, fol. 1: 'Die Photographie ist eine große einschmeichelnde Betrügerin, sie raubt die Farbe, zeigt ein falsches Format, gerade wie auch das vergrößerte Lichtbild ganz falsche Vorstellungen erweckt.' III.61.6.1, *Dürer und die italienische Antike*, p. 5: 'Durch das Faksimile in Ihrer Hand besitzen Sie ja die so sehr norwendigen Mittel, um den etwas brutalen Vergrößerungsstil des leider unbenötigten Skrioptikons zu korrigieren.'
- 6 WIA, GC, Aby to Fritz Warburg, 24 April 1909.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

- Fig. 1 Ernst Arthur Seemann, *Kunsthistorische Bilderbogen*, vol. 2, plate 201, Leipzig 1881.
- Fig. 2 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Confirmation of the Rule of St. Francis*, detail of Lorenzo de' Medici's children, Cappella Sassetti, Santa Trinita, Florence. Photograph by Fratelli Alinari, commissioned in 1901 by Aby Warburg.
- Fig. 3 Photo Studio at the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg, Hamburg, with Rectigraph 'Photo Clark', 1926.

'the elaboration of the "new method" would not be possible'.⁷ This new method was being realised in the *Bilderatlas* project. In the 1920s Warburg worked on it actively for more than three years in which he drafted and recorded several preliminary versions of the *Bilderatlas* whose roots in his earlier work are deep and had been a long time growing.

2. THE GENESIS OF WARBURG'S BILDERATLAS THE ORIGINS: 1905–1909

A miniature *Bilderatlas*, printed to be distributed among the audience of his 1905 lecture 'Albrecht Dürer and Italian Antiquity', can be recognised as prototype for Warburg's *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*.⁸ This early *Bilderatlas* took the form of a folder with three unbound plates, printed in large format: two facsimile reproductions of the *Death of Orpheus* (Dürer's version and that of an anonymous Italian engraver—the works he was focusing on), and a third preceding plate that was an assemblage of comparative material, namely three vase paintings of the same motif from the fifth century BC and a Quattrocento *spalliera* painting depicting the story of *Orpheus and Euridice* by Jacopo Sellaio [Fig. 4]. Warburg introduced his comparative examples to demonstrate the use of *Pathosformeln*, visual formulas conveying strong emotion, as a cross-cultural theme. The comparison was sparked by his conviction that pathos formulas were shaped by subconscious memories, the collective repository of physical and emotional experience that derived ultimately from primitive religious ceremonies. Preserved in 'engrams' in the nervous system, Warburg believed, the memories were not susceptible to evolution or altered by changing historical circumstances. With this type of comparative material he was thus putting the form of the traditional *Bilderatlas* in strikingly new ends.

Warburg conceived the small *Bilderatlas* devoted to Dürer's *Death of Orpheus* even as he began working towards the publication of a major *Atlas* on 'The Entry of Classicising Pathos into the Artistic Style of the Early Florentine Renaissance'. This *Atlas* comprised materials he had gathered during his stay in Florence from 1897 to 1902.⁹ It was to have illustrated his (never finished) study of the influence of antique models and primordial pathos formulas on the style of fifteenth-century Florentine secular art, a style originally shaped, as he would show, by contemporary Northern European imports. In order to organise the pictorial apparatus of this more comprehensive work, Warburg made use of a massive ledger containing thirteen ink renderings of artefacts, drawn by his wife Mary, a trained artist. These drawings copy classical and early medieval coins and medals as well as late medieval frescos and Quattrocento cassoni featuring depictions of triumphal processions, either en face or en profile. They served as placeholders for photographic reproductions of objects to be represented in his *Bilderatlas* [Fig. 5].¹⁰ Some other single folio sheets give an idea of both the content and the layout of the projected *Bilderatlas*. In the style of his later *Bilderräthen*, his image series, Warburg sketched plates with constellations of images [Fig. 6]. Each sheet has a title relating to a prospective chapter on the formation of style in Italian literature and art: the reintroduction of triumphal processions *all'antica* by Petrarch, the transformative role of the prints of Baccio Baldini and the promotion of pathos-laden motives, in particular sacrificial deaths like *Orpheus*, by Angelo Poliziano.¹¹ The atlas format—here horizontal, emulating the *Bilderbogen*—would have allowed a comparative reading of images, while the author's accompanying book—as the fragments of the introduction to the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, written in 1929, demonstrate—would have presented and explained, in broad terms, the chronological progression. The idea of publishing the plates (atlas) and the text (book) of his major comprehensive work in separate volumes, an idea taken up in the 1920s, can thus be found early in Warburg's working papers. Elsewhere Warburg spoke of the *Bilderatlas* as a *Typhenatlas*, atlas of types. *Typhen-* refers to an abstraction that has materialised in concrete form, a concept inspired by Warburg's training in both biology and archaeology where the external form

(*morphe*) or contour of a plant or figure was deemed to define its nature.

In November 1906 Warburg acquired *Tafeln* (boards or panels), not further described, to work out 'the disposition of the large book'.¹² Two years later, after having tried various systems for the disposition of his pictorial apparatus, but without having made significant progress towards finalising templates for a printed *Bilderatlas*, he again recorded his idea of creating a *Bilderatlas* with reproductions, this time giving it a new, more comprehensive title, 'The World of the Ancient Gods and the Early Renaissance in North and South'.¹³ In the meantime Warburg had been widening his thematic scope beyond the expression of motion and emotion to star symbols and moralised allegories, both being a form of afterlife of classical mythology. He subsequently placed as much emphasis on the cross-cultural transmission and transformation of ideas as on the persistence of pre-coined expressive formulas and the artistic exchange of such formulas in a shared cultural territory. To present these different forms of renewal of the ancient heritage as aspects of one coherent story became a new challenge.

In February and March 1909 Warburg presented his new, much more comprehensive approach to the afterlife of Antiquity in fifteenth-century Italy in a series of seven lectures each in itself with a strong thematic emphasis on individual developments, such as Petrarch's influence on Early Italian Renaissance art, and the relationship between Mantegna and Dürer. In the preparatory notes he tried a new form of 'genealogical' diagram to highlight both the migration and the interdependence of ideas, forming a complex network rather than a linear narrative.¹⁴

1911–1917

Although the constantly increasing complexity of his project prevented Warburg from bringing his substantial book and the accompanying *Atlas* to completion, the idea of preparing a printable *Bilderatlas* never died, despite the obvious restrictions the narrative of a printed work imposed on his project. In the years after his mental breakdown at the end of the First World War that sent Warburg to psychiatric clinics (1919–24), the *Bilderatlas* again became his focus, although he had been working on the project steadily prior to this. We have proof that he borrowed *Gestelle*, support frames, for his *Tafeln* (later also called *Scheerwände*, partition walls) to illustrate a lecture titled 'On Astronomical Prints from Old and Modern Times' in his own house at Heilwigstrasse 114 for an audience of laymen, the Gesellschaft für Bücherefreunde, a society of bibliophiles, in February 1911;¹⁵ and he continued to use *Gestelle* for lectures and informal talks at his home until 1917. One example is his talk on

7 Aby Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, with entries by Gerrtrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, edited by Karen Michels and Charlotte Schöell-Glass (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Studienausgabe VII [Berlin, 2001]), p. 186: 'Ohne den Photographen im Hause würde die Entfaltung der "neuen Methode" nicht möglich sein'.

8 Cf. Michael Diers, 'Atlas und Mnemosyne, Von der Praxis der Bildtheorie bei Aby Warburg', in *Bildtheorien: Anthropologische und kulturelle Grundlagen des Visualistischen Turn*, edited by Klaus Sachs-Hombach (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), pp. 181–213.

9 WIA, III.10.1, *Notes and Drafts for Habilitation Project*, fol. 98: 'Der Eintritt des antikisierenden Pathos in die künstlerische Formensprache der Florentiner Frührenaissance'.

10 WIA, III.10.3, *Notebooks-Diaries, 1894–1918*, pp. 31r, 56r.

11 III.61.1, fol. 48–58.

12 WIA, III.10.3, p. 64v: 'Dispositionstafeln für das große Buch angeschafft'.

13 WIA, III.71, *Schematismus der Pathosformeln*, pp. 79/80: 'Die antike Gotterwelt und die Frührenaissance im Norden und im Süden'.

14 Aby Warburg, *Il primo Rinascimento italiano. Sette conferenze inedite*, edited by Giovanna Targia (Turin, 2013).

15 WIA, III.81.1.1, *Über astrologische Druckwerke aus alter und neuer Zeit*.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

Fig. 4 Der Tod des Orpheus. Bilder zu dem Vortrag über Dürer und die italienische Antike, presented by A. Warburg, Hamburg 1905, plate 1.

Fig. 5 Mary Hertz, ink drawings after Late Roman and Early Christian coins and medals depicting triumphal processions, c. 1906, WIA, III.71, p. 11.

'Luther's Date of Birth' on 6 September 1917 [Fig. 7] whose research culminated in his long essay 'Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther'.¹⁶ When away from Hamburg and forced to rely on slides, Warburg would at least mention the not yet materialised *Bilderatlas*, for example in the conclusion of a lecture in Göttingen in 1913, titled 'The Migration of the Ancient Gods before Their Entry into the Italian High Renaissance'. On this occasion he described his images as 'just preliminary materials for a roadmap to a world atlas illustrating the history of education, unfortunately not yet existing'.¹⁷

TWO STRANDS: 1926–1928

Warburg's reflections during his recovery from his mental breakdown, specifically his thoughts about culture as a site of memory and preserver of history, were fundamental in the search for a theoretical basis for all his works on the afterlife of Antiquity, both mythical and classical; yet, the first time a *Bilderatlas* is explicitly mentioned in the 1920s is in Warburg's jottings for his classes on the 'Artistic Culture of the Early Florentine Renaissance', taught in 1925/26 at the recently founded University of Hamburg. Warburg's notes for the final session in February 1926 contain a comprehensive list of prospective panels for an *Atlas*.¹⁸ In a report from May 1927 he referred to these classes as being instrumental in conceiving (or rather reviving) the idea of a *Bilderatlas*. Preparations had forced him to review all his older materials, that is, virtually everything he had collected in Florence for the book and atlas he had projected between 1903 and 1909.¹⁹

The idea of returning to his *Bilderatlas* did not materialise immediately. In August 1926, Warburg mentions a *Bilderatlas* for the Claudius Civilis (Rembrandt's *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* of 1661/62 in the National Museum, Stockholm). We find this note in the *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, the journal kept since the opening of the new K.B.W. building in May 1926; its function was to document day-to-day business, events and internal discussions. Warburg was probably referring to a *Mappe* (folder) to accompany the planned publication, by B. G. Teubner, of his programmatic lecture of 26 May 1926 on the relationship between drama and art in seventeenth-century Holland, 'Italian Antiquity in the Age of Rembrandt'.²⁰ At the same time he revived his consideration of the interconnection between commercial trade routes and the migration of images and ideas, going back to research he had conducted in the early 1900s on the business relations of the earlier Medici and other Florentine bankers with Flanders and their role as collectors of Flemish artworks, which subsequently influenced the local style of painting.²¹

Warburg's entries for 1926/27 in the *Tagebuch* seem to refer to two different types of atlas: a topical one, relating to a particular object or motif such as the *Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis* or the *Death of Orpheus*; and the comprehensive *Bilderatlas* (later called *Mnemosyne*), which was now becoming the focus of his efforts. Early in 1927, on the occasion of a lecture by Max Dittmar Henkel of the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam on illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he created an image series, *Bildereihe*, of such illustrations, and called this series of panels an 'Ovid-Atlas' [Fig. 8].²² In the same month, February 1927, and probably related to this, Warburg described the concept of his *Bilderatlas* in a letter to his brother Max, in charge of the Hamburg bank M.M. Warburg & Co. and in this capacity a major funder of the K.B.W. He had 'taken the decision', Aby wrote, 'to summarise the results of [his] research in an "atlas of types" as far as they relate to the influence of Antiquity on European culture'. This kind of publication would offer 'a firm yet adjustable frame' for all his materials.²³

Entries in the *Tagebuch* from the summer of 1927 until Warburg's death on 26 October 1929 record almost every step in the conceptual and technical development of the project. Much of it takes the form of a dialogue between Warburg and his closest collaborators, Fritz Saxl and Gertrud Bing, usually starting with Warburg's progress

description as an invitation to comment critically on the *Bilderatlas'* developing concept. On 30 July 1927, before his departure for a summer retreat, he writes 'the framework for the entire Atlas is taking shape' and he goes on to say that its theme would be the 'enduring power of ancient expressive values' to 'imprint' themselves onto artefacts. He also expresses the aspiration to outline a 'grammar of the languages of gestures' that highlights a 'morphological law': the experience of rituals, either 'mythical-religious' (in the Greek world) or historical-political (in the Roman world) as 'coining devices' for the 'realm of expressions of tragic passion', in other words pathos formulas.²⁴

In the same year, 1927, Warburg began to conceive a documentary photographic exhibit on the pre-history of astronomy for the Deutsches Museum für Wissenschaft und Technik in Munich, which had moved to a major new building in 1925. The display—only posthumously realised in the *Hamburg Planetarium*—was built on a *Bildereihe* compiled for attendees of the annual conference of Orientalists in Hamburg in October 1926. This initiative, undertaken in close collaboration with Saxl, had prompted an extension

- 16 WIA, III.90.3, *Luthers Geburtsdatum*; A. Warburg, *Heidnisch-antike Weisung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten* (*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 26, 1919, [Heidelberg 1920]).
- 17 WIA, III.84.1, *Die Wanderungen der antiken Götterwelt vor ihrem Eintritt in die italienische Hochrenaissance*, p. 81: 'Die heute abend allenfalls kinematographisch vorübergehenden Reisebilder aus den Wandertagen der heidnischen Götter sind eigentlich vorläufige Materialien für eine Verkehrsmappe zu einem leider noch nicht existierenden bildungsgeschichtlichen Weltatlas'.
- 18 WIA, III.95.2.6-2.3, *Übungen über die künstlerische Kultur der Florentinischen Frührenaissance*.
- 19 WIA, I.9.8.4, *Report on Warburg's and the K.B.W.'s Activities between Autumn 1925 and May 1926*, fol. 1.
- 20 WIA, III.101.2, *Italienische Antike im Zeitalter Rembrandts*; Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 544.
- 21 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 8.
- 22 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 82.
- 23 WIA, FC, Aby to Max Warburg, 22 February 1927, 'Ich habe den Plan gefasst, in einem grossen Typenatlas meine Forschungsergebnisse zusammenzufassen, so weit sie sich auf den Einfluss der Antike auf die europäische Kultur beziehen. Diese Art der Publikation würde einen festen Rahmen, der auch gleichzeitig verstellbar ist, für mein gesamtes Material ergeben.' For a first reconstruction of the project see Peter van Huisstede, 'Der Mnemosyne-Atlas. Ein Laboratorium der Bildgeschichte', in Aby M. Warburg, *Ektatische Nymphe ... trauernder Flussgot*. Porträt eines Gelehrten (Schriftenreihe der Hamburgerischen Kunstsammlungen, 2) edited by Robert Galitz and Brita Reimers (Hamburg, 1995), pp. 130–71.
- 24 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 127: 'Der Gesamtrahmen für den Atlas formuliert sich (kulturwissenschaftliche Betrachtung) von der überlebenden Prägekraft antiker Ausdrucksweisen im europäischen Geisteshaushalt (Kulturrat). Dabei wäre eine Sprachlehre des Gebärdensprachen im Umfange zu liefern: Formenschatz und Satz Ordnungsprinzipien. Eine morphologische Maxime würde sicherlich werden: Das kulturelle Erlebnis (griechisch-mythisch-religiös oder römisch-historisch-politisch) als Prägewerk der Ausdrucks- und tragischer Erfahrungen.'
- 25 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 147: '[Saxl] Zur Publikation ist die Atlasform sicher die richtige. Und zwar muß die Sache so wie im Völkerkunde Museum gemacht werden: es gibt zwei Abteilungen a) die Material-Sammlungen, auch diese im einzelnen geordnet, etwa nach chronologisch-topographischen Gruppen, b) die systematische Synopsis Perseus, Saturn, die Wandlungen des Mikrokosmos-Männchens und so weiter. [Warburg] excellent! Ich hoffe aber daß der gemeinsame Nenner gefunden wird, um auch die "Umformen der Gebärdensprache" im Atlas (Teil II) zu publizieren (Perseus als Gestirn im Titel). [Saxl] Es ist zu überlegen, welcher Publikations-Titel zuerst in Angriff zu nehmen ist. [...] [Warburg] Das noch so reiche Material wird nur durch die beigegebende Wanderkarte und religionswissenschaftliche Psychologie wirklich lebendig werden.'

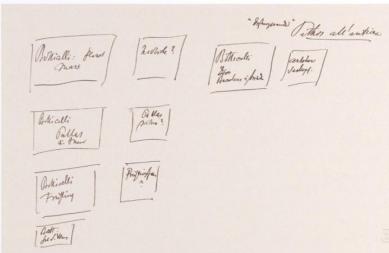


Fig. 6

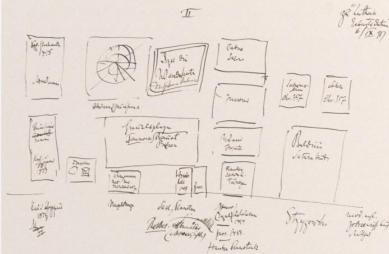


Fig. 7



Fig. 8 Aby Warburg, sketch for *Bildereihe* panel titled 'Distanzierendes Pathos all'antica' (Distancing pathos all'antica), 1905/06, WIA, III.61.1.1, fol. 6.

Fig. 7 Aby Warburg, sketch for a *Bildereihe* accompanying his lecture 'Luther's Geburtsdatum' (Luther's date of birth) on 6 September 1917, WIA, III.90.3.6, fol. 2.

Fig. 8 Aby Warburg, *Bildereihe* with illustrations of Ovid's works, titled 'Urwort leidenschaftliche Gebärdensprache' (Primordial Words of a Pathos-laden Language of Gestures), photographed at the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg, Hamburg, February 1927.

of the *Bilderatlas*'s scope to include the evolution of images of the cosmos. It also sparked the idea of including theoretical elements – a so-called systematic digest – which Warburg designated as 'the map of migration routes' and 'religious psychology'.³⁵ When Warburg travelled to Florence for several weeks in September 1927, Saxl undertook to firm up the ground plan for the *Bilderatlas*, and saw it as imperative to somehow combine 'primordial forms of the language of gestures' with 'astrology'; he suggested adopting common themes such as 'the liberation from monstrosity', treating the afterlife of antique images of Perseus, both mythological and astral.³⁶ In November 1927, eventually, after intensifying his search for precursors of fifteenth-century mythography, Saxl suggested a markedly rigid structure for the *Bilderatlas*, consisting of around 550 reproductions divided into three groups:

1. The transformation of ancient gods and demons in the Middle Ages and their restitution in the Renaissance;
2. Tradition and reception of ancient pathos formulas in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance;
3. The transformation of individual figures and forms in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.³⁷

But Saxl's attempts to bring a strict order to Warburg's rapidly evolving and expanding ideas did little to come to grips with the complexity that made it impossible to turn all aspects of the *Bilderatlas* project, specifically the theoretical premises, into a printed book. This state of constant evolution is registered in the search for an appropriate title, that is, one that would point to the core of the project.³⁸

By March 1928 the 'first volume' of the Atlas was displayed in the old reading room in Warburg's home, next to the new library. Bing called this first volume, that is, the collection of images on panels, the 'methodological introduction, almost the manual on how to use the entirety of the pictorial material devoted to the afterlife of antiquity that will follow in the second volume'.³⁹ What drove Warburg at this time to try to finish the work was the desire to take a completed *Bilderatlas* to the United States on a planned, but never realised trip later in 1928. His intention was to promote his method at the most prominent and influential of American universities. Accordingly, he pushed for an agreement with a publisher, either Friederichsen De Gruyter or his regular publisher Teubner, and discussed costs and layout with Saxl,⁴⁰ without, however, having finalised the order of the whole. In early May 1928 Warburg settled on six major themes, ranging from courtly Burgundian realism to ancient and revived pathos formulas, astrology, festivals and drama and including the dynamics of contemporary political symbolism *all'antrica*. He displayed all his materials, 670 reproductions on forty panels, spread out over three rooms in both the old and the new buildings; he also tried to find a way to integrate a further roughly seventy images on Perseus,⁴¹ none of which he would manage to include in the last series of 1929 either.

Warburg's collaborators, Hamburg students and visitors to the library would later recall his work on finalising the drafts for the printed book, first from March to May 1928, and again in August and September 1928, ordering ever more *Gestelle* for his panels. Alfred Neumeyer, who participated in one of Warburg's seminars, recalled that 'as in the preparation of a battle plan the individual components would be moved around and supplemented until hitherto invisible relationships revealed themselves by the juxtaposition of images'.⁴² The first photo session to record the disposition of forty-three panels took place in the week of 7 May 1928 after Warburg had left Hamburg for medical treatment in Frankfurt am Main, from where he asked for further modifications.⁴³ Between the first and the second photo session – which occurred between 28 August and 13 September 1928, just two weeks before his departure for Italy (instead of America) where he stayed until June 1929 – Warburg re-organised his materials, with great difficulty, according to subject

categories and topological aspects, shifting cosmology from the second half of the series to the beginning. He believed that illustrating both the practice and the history of converting constellations in the heavens from powerful demons into abstract symbols was a significant new way of demonstrating the 'self-awareness of thinking men', assuming that 'the development from the concrete to the abstract' follows 'an organic cycle in the human capacity to reflect'.⁴⁴ On 28 August 1928, the second series, comprising seventy-seven panels with 1292 reproductions, was ready and photographed, but soon Warburg made further changes to make his argument visually clearer. Three weeks later a new order was established. Some panels had to be re-photographed, others were added; all in eleven panels differed from the series of 28 August. On 1 September Warburg called the 'preliminary' new sequence definitive; on 26 September 1928 he left Hamburg for Italy.⁴⁵

SYNTHESIS: 1929

The aim of Warburg's prolonged trip to Italy together with Bing and Franz Alber as assistants was to collect more materials and resolve unresolved problems. The journey's highlight was a lecture at the Biblioteca Hertziana in Rome on 19 January 1929, for which he intentionally displayed photographs on very large, purpose-built horizontal screens, [Fig. 9], rather than using slides, to introduce parts of his *Bilderatlas* to an international community of scholars. Dictated lecture drafts of the opening and conclusion of the lecture provides valuable information on how he was then interpreting his constellations of images. Compiling the lecture helped to shape what was to be the central chapter of the *Bilderatlas*, devoted to Ghirlandaio as a poignant representative of the tensions involved in the development of fifteenth-century style. A local

26 WIA, GC, Fritz Saxl to Aby Warburg, 4 October 1927: 'Wir müssten dann für jedes der Probleme folgende Stufen haben: 1. Antikes Vorbild 2. Mittelalterliche Handschrift 3. 15. Jahrhundert im Westen 4. 15. Jahrhundert in Italien und 6. Barocke Gestaltung und Theater. Fraglich ist mir, wie die Astrologie einzubauen ist. [...] Man müsste dann schon den Grundplan so anlegen, dass man die Idee der "Urformen der Gebärdensprache" verbindet mit der Kosmologie. [...] Erwa unter dem Schlagwort: Befreiung von dem Ungeheuer, antike Perseusdarstellungen, a) mythologischer, b) astraler Art.'; GC, Fritz Saxl to Aby Warburg, 6 October 1927.

27 WIA, Ia, 1.7.1: 'Der Atlas, wie er wirklich jetzt vorliegt, umfasst meiner Schätzung nach ungefähr 550 Bilder, die in zwei grosse Gruppen geordnet sind. 1. Der Gestaltwandel der antiken Götter als Olympier und Dämonen im Mittelalter und die Restitutio[n] ihrer antiken Formen in der Renaissance. 2. Tradition und Rezeption antiker Pathosformeln in Mittelalter und Renaissance. 3. Formwandel einzelner antiker Gestalten in Bildformen in Mittelalter und Renaissance.'

28 For some of the titles see Ilsebil Barta Fiedl and Christoph Geissmar (eds.), *Die Beredsameit des Leibes. Zur Körpersprache in der Kunst* (Salzburg and Vienna, 1992), pp. 171–72, and Huistede, *Mnemosyne-Atlas*, pp. 151–52.

29 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 217: 'Das Buch, das jetzt im alten Saal aufgestellt ist, ist der erste Band des Atlas, die methodologische Einführung und quasi Gebrauchsanweisung zur Verarbeitung des gesamten Bildmaterials, zum Nachleben der Antike, das im 2. Band folgt.'

30 WIA, GC, Friederichsen publishers to Aby Warburg, 14 May 1928; GC, Fritz Saxl to Aby Warburg, 26 May 1928.

31 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, pp. 252–54.

32 Alfred Neumeyer, 'Four Art Historians Remembered: Woelflin, Goldschmidt, Warburg, Berenson', *Art Journal* 31/1, 1971, pp. 33–36, here p. 35.

33 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p. 254.

34 WIA, FC, Aby to Max Warburg, 5 September 1928: 'Das allgemein Bedeutsame besteht nun darin, dass ich dadurch Material zur Selbsterkenntnis des denkenden Menschen einliefern, dass ich den Weg der Konkretion zur Abstraktion nicht als ausschließende Gegensätzlichkeit sondern als organischen Kreislauf im menschlichen Denkvermögen auffasse und nachweise.'

35 Warburg, *Tagebuch*, pp. 337–38.



Fig. 9

Fig. 9 Warburg's suite at the Palace Hotel, Via Vittorio Veneto 62, with a large panel built for his lecture at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, April 1929.

photographer was hired to record the constellations of images at the end of the Hertziana event; this yielded twenty vertical photographs. The photographer was commissioned again in May to photograph another five 'plates' the size of the original screens, recording further thoughts about sequence and placement.³⁶ At this point Warburg felt he had reached a conclusion and made repeated attempts to dictate an introduction to the *Bilderatlas*.

The transcultural idea of ascent to heaven, the turning point of understanding the physics of the universe and the subsequent discovery of the infinitude of space, dominated the research he undertook on the Italian journey. Back in Hamburg, at the meeting to constitute a K.B.W. Kuratorium, an advisory board, on 29 August 1929, Warburg convinced his brothers to give him free rein for the *Bilderatlas* project for the following two years.³⁷ Until his death he continued to work on both selection and sequence, and recorded the changes almost daily. He passed away on 26 October 1929 without having completed the project. Sometime after this date sixty-three numbered and an unknown number of unnumbered panels were photographed of a *Bilderatlas* clearly incomplete. Most striking is the gap between panels 8 and 20, a lacuna of 11 numbers. Warburg was possibly trying to finalise the so-called development of Perseus as a fighter against monsters, for him a mythical incarnation of the human soul in its struggle against evil, or to identify materials to illustrate the impact of Giordano Bruno's thought, the early modern philosopher for whom myths were an allegory of cognition. Only recently had he recognised his works as key to the story he wished to tell through his *Bilderatlas*.

3. THE PRINTED BILDERATLAS

On 8 April 1929, feeling he was approaching the conclusion of the project, Warburg noted a programmatic title in the *Tagebuch*, namely: 'Mnemosyne. The awakening of the pagan gods in the (era of) European Renaissance as an energetic coining of expressions of value. An attempt at an art-historical cultural science, 2 volumes of text. In addition, an atlas of about 2,000 images. Indexes by Gertrud Bing. By Aby Warburg'.³⁸ This was the largest number of illustrations posited during the entire process of planning for a printed work. Yet, only three weeks before his death, Warburg wrote quite differently, suggesting only about 500 to 600 images on circa 200 plates in two *Mappen*. He also then spoke of two additional volumes to supplement the plate volume, one containing commentary and sources, the other an explanation of the five major themes of the *Bilderatlas*, namely, 'A. Sphaera barbarica', 'B. Gestus heroicus' (i.e. the pathos formula), 'C. Ascent to Mount Olympus', 'D. Surviving Demons', and 'E. Rembrandt's Holland and Italian Antiquity' as well as 'The Leyden Bottle as Hamlet-problem'.³⁹ This record indicates that he wanted to reduce the number of images on each printed plate drastically and to keep the plates (as strongly recommended by Saxl) moveable instead of fixing their order in a bound volume. We can presume a structure very similar to the slim folder distributed in October 1905 at his Dürer lecture, containing three plates combining full-size images and a comparative panel with smaller reproductions. In a letter to Saxl, written in May 1928, Warburg had called this kind of layout with large images accompanied by comparative visual material an *Archetypus* (archetype), accompanied by an *ikonologischer Spiegel* (iconological mirror).⁴⁰ That a layout very different from the photographed drafts of the *Bilderatlas* was at least considered is confirmed by letters from Saxl written in 1927 and 1928, where he spoke of 200 plates with one image each and urged Warburg not to print the illustrations 'as small as stamps'.⁴¹

Throughout the process of its making, with the production of a book in mind, Warburg meticulously recorded the number of images pinned on panels and their original medium [Fig. 10]. In December 1927 one of several student assistants had been asked to catalogue all photographs selected up to that point, and Saxl and Warburg together discussed storage and a new system for ordering

the existing collection of reproductions. Later, in July 1929, Warburg called attention to Bing's task to compile a comprehensive index. The index did not materialise, but a significant number of extant glass negatives of works to be reproduced in the *Bilderatlas* prove that preparations for the production of steel cliché plates (also known as prototypes) for its printing were under way when Warburg died.

Fig. 10 Aby Warburg, notes on panels 1-8 of the last version of his *Bilderatlas*, 19 October 1929, WIA, III.102.6.1, fol. 11. (see p. 19)

³⁶ Warburg, *Tagebuch*, pp.402, 448.

³⁷ Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p.497.

³⁸ Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p.434: 'Mnemosyne. Das Erwachen der Heidengötter im (Zeitalter der) der europäischen Renaissance als energetische Ausdruckswertbildung. Ein Versuch kunstgeschichtlicher Kulturwissenschaft. 2 Bände Text. Dazu ein Atlas mit etwa 2000 Abbildungen. Indices von Gertrud Bing. Von Aby Warburg.'

³⁹ Warburg, *Tagebuch*, p.543: '"Mnemosyne". Bilderreihen zur Untersuchung der Funktion vorgeprägter antiker Ausdrucksweisen bei der Darstellung bewegten Lebens in der Kunst der Europäischen Renaissance. Atlas von circa 200 Tafeln (2 Mappen) (circa 5-600 Abbildungen). 2 Bände Text: I Tafel-erklärungen und Dokumente. II Darstellung. (A. Sphaera Barbarica B. Gestus Heroicus) C. Auffahrt zum Olymp D. Überlebende Daemonen) E. Das Holland Rembrandts und die italienische Antike. Die Leydener Flasche als Hamlet Problem.'

⁴⁰ WIA, GC, Aby Warburg to Fritz Saxl, 23 May 1928: 'Sie suchen sich die ältesten und besten Typen mit historisch einwandfreien Darstellungen aus und photographieren und publizieren sie vollständig [...] Dieser Archetypus müsste begleitet sein von einem ikonologischen Spiegel, der Parallelkomposition bringt, die wir nach unserem Auswahlprinzip der Pathosformel nach der Auswahl jener ovidianischen Motive treffen, die für die Mnemosyne wichtig sind (Lauf, Verfolgung, Raub, Griff nach der Locke [Perseus, Fortuna], Schmerz, Tod, Sieg, Schlacht, Triumph).'

⁴¹ WIA, GC, Fritz Saxl to Aby Warburg, 6 October 1927, 26 May 1928.

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1. - 9 A. Or
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8. - 32 Mr. thos

FRAGMENT OF AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE

Aby Warburg

CLAUDIA WEDEPOHL, EDITORIAL NOTE

The short text we are publishing here in German and English translation represents the final version of Aby Warburg's last attempt to write an introduction to his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*.¹ After two consecutive approaches that resulted in independent texts, Warburg dictated the present text on 11 June 1929. Through several publications this fragment has become known as the very first paragraph of Warburg's much longer introduction to the *Bilderatlas*.² The longer version was established by Ernst Gombrich in 1936 on the basis of all extant fragments. While working on these fragments for his edition of Warburg's *Bilderatlas* (which he never concluded), Gombrich marked the independent texts 'D', 'C', 'B' and 'A' in chronological order of their origin and edited them, following his understanding of their contents, in their new alphabetical order to form one continuous text.³

According to Warburg's library journal, the *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, he began dictating the introduction to the *Bilderatlas* to Gertrud Bing in Naples on 27 May 1929 (D); while subsequently in Florence he re-worked this part of the text and then wrote a second part on 8 June (C). Two other fragments carry the dates 10 June (B) and 11 June 1929 (A) in Warburg's hand. Whilst Warburg himself numbered the corrected typescript of the texts he had begun to dictate on 27 May and 8 June consecutively, suggesting that this was intended as one continuous text, the fragments dated 10 and 11 June seem to represent completely new attempts to write an introduction to the *Bilderatlas*. In his edited version of the introduction Gombrich also included another text, marked 'E', dated 4 July 1929 by Warburg. In terms of date and contents, this fragment most probably relates to Warburg's separate attempt to produce a summary of the lecture he held at the *Biblioteca Hertziana* on 19 January 1929 for the *Biblioteca's* Annual Report.

ABY WARBURG, EINLEITUNG

Bewusstes Distanzschaffen zwischen sich und der Außenwelt darf man wohl als Grundakt menschlicher Zivilisation bezeichnen; wird dieser Zwischenraum das Substrat künstlerischer Gestaltung, so sind die Vorbereidungen erfüllt, dass dieses Distanzbewusstsein zu einer sozialen Daueraktion werden kann, die durch den Rhythmus vom Einschwingen in die Materie und Ausschwingen zur Sophrosyne jenen Kreislauf zwischen bildhafter und zeichenhafter Kosmologik bedeutet, deren Züngelhaftigkeit oder Versagen als orientierendes geistiges Instrument eben das Schicksal der menschlichen Kultur bedeutet.

Dem sei zwischen religiöser und mathematischer Weltanschauung schwankenden künstlerischen Menschen kommt nun das Gedächtnis, sowohl der Kollektivpersönlichkeit wie des Individuums, in einer ganz eigentümlichen Weise zu Hilfe: nicht ohne weiters Denkraum schaffend, wohl aber an den Grenzen des psychischen Verhaltens die Tendenz zur ruhigen Schau oder orgiastischen Hingabe verstärkend.

Es setzt die unverlierbare Erbmasse mnemisch ein, aber nicht mit primär schützender Tendenz, sondern es greift die volle Wucht der leidenschaftlich phobischen, im religiösen Mysterium erschütterten gläubigen Persönlichkeit im Kunstwerk mitstillsbildend ein, wie andererseits aufzeichnende Wissenschaft das rhythmische Gefüge behält und weiterträgt, in dem die monstra der Phantasie zu zukunftsbestimmenden Lebensführern werden.

Um die kritischen Phasen im Verlauf dieses Prozesses durchschauen zu können, hat man sich das Hilfsmittel der Erkenntnis von der polaren Funktion der künstlerischen Gestaltung zwischen einschwingender Phantasie und ausschwingender Vernunft noch nicht in vollem Umfang der durch ihre Dokumente bildhaften Gestaltens möglichen Urkundendeutung bedient. Zwischen imaginären Zugreifen und begrifflicher Schau steht das hantierende Abtesten des Objekts mit darauf erfolgender plastischer oder malerischer Spiegelung, die man den künstlerischen Akt nennt. Diese Doppelung zwischen antichaotischer Funktion, die man so bezeichnen kann, weil die kunstwerkliche Gestalt, das Eine auswählend, unrrissklar herausstellt, und der augenmässig vom Beschauer erforderten, kultisch erheischen Hingabe an das geschaffene Idol schaffen jene Verlegenheiten des geistigen Menschen, die das eigentliche Objekt einer Kulturwissenschaft bilden müssten, die sich illustrierte psychologische Geschichte des Zwischenraums zwischen Antrieb und Handlung zum Gegenstand erwählt hätte.

Der Entdämonisierungsprozess der phobisch geprägten Eindruckserbmasse, der die ganze Skala des Ergriffenseins gebärden-sprachlich umspannt, von der hilflosen Versunkenheit bis zum mörderischen Menschenras, verleiht der humanen Bewegungsdynamik auch in den Städten, die zwischen den Grenzen des Orgasmus liegen, dem Kämpfen, Gehen, Laufen, Tanzen, Greifzen, jenen Präsenten unheimlichen Erlebens, das der in mittelalterlicher Kirchenzucht aufgewachsene Gebildete der Renaissance wie ein verbotenes Gebeit, wo sich nur die Gottlosen des freigelassenen Temperaments tummeln durften, ansah.

Der Atlas zur *Mnemosyne* will durch seine Bildmaterialien diesen Prozess illustrieren, den man als Versuch der Einverteilung vorgeprägter Ausdruckswege bei der Darstellung bewegten Lebens bezeichnen könnte.

ABY WARBURG, INTRODUCTION

We may arguably denote conscious distanciation between the self and the outside world an act fundamental to human civilisation. When this interspace becomes the soil in which artistic creation grows, the preconditions are met for this consciousness of distance to perform a permanent social rôle; in its rhythmic alternation between engaging with subject matter and disengaging to approach *sophrosyne* this rôle entails that orbiting between pictorial and symbolic cosmo-logic whose sufficiency or failure as an orienting, intellectual tool is in fact a reflection of the fate of human culture.

Memory, both of the collective body of humanity and the individual, comes to the aid of artistic man in a very specific way as he vacillates between religious and mathematical world views: it does not necessarily create *Denkraum*, but rather it intensifies, at the utmost poles of the psyche's behaviour, the tendencies towards calm contemplation and orgiastic abandon.

The faculty of memory activates the mneme of our enduring, inherited constitution, but its intention in doing so is not primarily to protect: rather it employs the full force of the person—passionately fearful, unsettled by religious mystery, faithful—as stylistic co-shaper in the artwork, just as on the other hand science, which records, retains and passes on the rhythmic structure in which the monsters of our imaginations become the life-leaders that determine our future.

In the fathoming of the critical phase that take place over the course of this process, one expedient has not yet been exploited to the full extent of the interpretation made possible by the records of the images fashioned by artistic creativity: recognition of the rôle played in artistic creativity by polarity—between imagination that engages and reason that steps back. Between grasping with the imagination and conceptual vision falls the physical sensing of the object and the reflection of this as either sculpture or painting—what we denote the artistic act. The quandaries of intellectual man bring about this coupling between an anti-chaotic function (as we can call it, because the form of the artwork selects a single configuration, emphasising this with a clear outline) and abandon to the idol created (as required by the eye of the beholder and demanded by religion), and it is these quandaries that would necessarily constitute the actual object of a science of culture that had selected as its subject an illustrated psychological history of the interspace between urge and action.

The process of dedemonising the body of inherited impressions formed by fear—a process that with its gestural language encompasses the whole gamut of possessed states from helpless introversion to gory cannibalism—lends the dynamics of human movement, even at the intermediate stages that lie between the extremes of the orgiastic (fighting, walking, running, dancing, grasping), that imprint of unearthly experience that cultivated Renaissance man, who grew up subject to the discipline of the medieval Church, viewed as forbidden territory, where only the godless of unbridled disposition might frolic.

Through its image materials the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* intends to illustrate this process, which one could define as the endeavour to assimilate intellectually preformed expressive values in the depiction of life in motion.

1 Warburg Institute Archive [WIA], III.103.4.1.1.

2 Ernst H. Gombrich's edited version of Warburg's introduction to the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* was first published in Ilsebl. Barta Fiedl and Christoph Geissmar (eds.), *Die Beredtsamkeit des Leibes. Zur Körpersprache in der Kunst* (Salzburg and Vienna, 1992), pp. 171–73. This text was translated into English with an introduction by Matthew Rampley: Aby Warburg, 'The Absorption of Expressive Values of the Past', in *Art in Translation* 1 (2009), pp. 273–83.

3 A typescript of Gombrich's version of the introduction was part of a draft text volume (WIA, III.109.5.2), compiled in 1937 to demonstrate progress with the on-going editorial work and presented to Aby's brother Max Warburg on his 70th birthday. The 1992 edition preserves Gombrich's A–D sections (D containing D and E), separated and marked by these letters, whereas in Aby Warburg's *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (*Gesammelte Schriften, Studienausgabe*, II.1), edited by Martin Warnke in collaboration with Claudia Brink (Berlin, 2000), pp. 3–6, the introduction is printed as one continuous text.

ON THE RECOVERY OF THE BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE AND THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE CAPTIONS

Roberto Ohrt and Axel Heil

After Ernst Gombrich failed to get the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* into a publishable form in the 1930s, a number of lists identifying individual images remained in the Warburg Institute Archive. Dorothee Bauerle was able to draw on these sources, which had been written by Gombrich himself, Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, when she conducted the first comprehensive investigation of the *Bilderatlas* in the late 1970s.¹ But when her pioneering *Gespenstergeschichten für ganz Erwachsene* was finally published in 1988 it was thoroughly ignored in scholarly circles. Bauerle turned her back on art history and left her research notes to the Transmediale Gesellschaft Daedalus. The Viennese group—whose members included variously Werner Rappel, Gudrun Swoboda, Wolfram Pichler, Marianne Koos, Gerhard Fischer, Andrea Siml, Michaela Heintz, Christine Dorner and Marion Deike—began its research around 1990 and published the entire *Bilderatlas* with a rather complete set of captions in 1994. Until 2007, however, copyright considerations meant that this publication could only be disseminated as accompanying material for exhibitions.² Daedalus exhibited the *Bilderatlas* in an approximately scale reconstruction for the first time in 1993.³ Another decisive advance in knowledge about the origins of the *Bilderatlas* during this period was Peter van Huisstede's Ph.D. thesis, *De Mnemosyne beeld-atlas van Aby M. Warburg: een laboratorium voor beeldgeschiedenis* (1992), which for the first time also indicated the number of prior versions.⁴ The Daedalus captions appeared in expanded form in the *Bilderatlas* that Martin Warinke published in 2000 in the context of Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*, but they still contained various errors and omissions.⁵ These were only sporadically corrected in the translations—into French, Italian, Spanish, Hebrew, Japanese and Polish.

In May 2012, the Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne in Hamburg launched a long series of events and exhibitions on the *Bilderatlas*. The group's members included Marcel Hüppaufi, Jochen Lempert, Christian Rothmaler, Katharina Schulte, Philipp Schwab, Kolja Golub, Regine Steenbock, Knut Wittmaack and us. We focused above all on developing a commentary on each panel; the captions were only occasionally checked and corrected. In spring 2016 we asked the Warburg Institute if we could search its Photographic Collection for the original images from the 1920s for two panels. The idea was to show panel 32 and 48 as part of an exhibition of the reconstruction of the *Bilderatlas* by the Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne planned for the following summer at the Zentrum für Kunst und Medien (ZKM) Karlsruhe at the invitation of Peter Weibel.⁶ Most of the images that Warburg had handled himself were located relatively quickly, so we were encouraged to expand the experiment and search for the 'origins' of all panels. In autumn 2016, we gained the support of David Freedberg, then Director of the Warburg Institute, who gave us the go-ahead for the project. He had intended to show the original version of the *Bilderatlas* in London, but resigned as director just a few months later. This left the project hanging until the appointment of Bill Sherman. In 2018 Haus der Kulturen der Welt (HKW) in Berlin responded positively to our proposal to stage an exhibition on the recovery of the original version, and this initiative led to a revival of the cooperation with the Warburg Institute. Sherman put great effort into finally making our undertaking possible. Lorena Gay had continued the search for the original images in the interim, but had only been able to pursue this as a sideline. Some periods of intense research in the Photographic Collection in March and May 2019 achieved the result we had hoped for, identifying about 80 percent of the originals for the *Bilderatlas* as a whole.⁷ We were supported by Claudia Wedepohl and the Photographic Collection team, and crucially

by Lorenza Gay, Mateusz Sapija, Susanne Förster and Amirkhan Saifullin also worked with us at various times in the Photographic Collection while Joacim Sprung and Giovanna Targia supplied valuable pointers from afar. The work of checking, correcting and improving the captions only began during the preparations for the present publication, for which Berenice Kortsk assisted the research team.

We felt it would be useful to expand the information provided in the captions where it was possible to locate the information in the short time available, we added the dimensions of the illustrated works and the sources Warburg used. In all cases we endeavoured to determine the current attributions of authorship, while also indicating what Warburg assumed (or could have assumed) at the time. Aside from purely descriptive matter, we retained all information supplied by the captions published in the *Gesammelte Schriften* edition. In the end less than a dozen of the 971 images still lack certain data on location, place of publication or authorship. The numbering system used in the *Gesammelte Schriften* was retained on the grounds that it has become the international standard, even if it is inconsistent in places.

The groundwork for reproducing the panels—as seen on the right-hand pages of the folio volume—was laid in August 2019 at the Warburg Institute. All the original documents from the last version of the *Bilderatlas* that had been located by that point were arranged on panels (150 × 125 cm, covered with black fabric) in accordance with the historic photographic documentation of summer/autumn 1929. The new photographs taken by Tobias Wootton in London were remastered by Christian Ertel who subsequently created the digitally optimised composite files for this book.

Where it was not possible to find the originals in the Warburg Institute we drew on the Photographic Collection and the Warburg Institute Library to identify substitutes. Strictly reproducing each irregularity of the arrangements on the panels was not our primary concern. Apart from anything, in certain cases we were forced to use "originals" that had been altered in the interim, for example cropped or remounted. Keeping the provisional character of Warburg's work was uppermost. Thanks to the kind support of Bill Sherman and Uwe Fleckner we were also able to access materials from the collections of the Zentralstelle für wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Universität Hamburg. We also drew on data from Daedalus and from the archive of Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/fluid.

1 Dorothee Bauerle, *Gespenstergeschichten für ganz Erwachsene. Ein Kommentar zu Aby Warburgs Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (Münster 1988).

2 Transmediale Gesellschaft Daedalus, *MNEMOSYNE-Bilderatlas. Zur Ausstellung im Kunsthaus Hamburg* (Munich and Hamburg 1994).

3 By 2007 the exhibition *Mnemosyne: Aby Warburg* had been shown in venues including Hamburg, Stena, Florence, Rome, Tel Aviv and Venice.

4 See Peter van Huisstede, "Der Mnemosyne-Atlas. Ein Laboratorium der Bildgeschichte", a German summary of van Huisstede's voluminous work, in Robert Galitz and Britta Reimers (eds.), *Aby M. Warburg: Ekstatische Nymphe trauernder Flussgot: Portrait eines Gelehrten* (Hamburg 1995).

5 Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*—*Studienangabe*, vol. 2, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, Martin Warinke and Claudia Brink (eds.), (Berlin 2000).

6 Exhibition: *Aby Warburg—Mnemosyne Bilderatlas: Rekonstruktion. Kommentar, Aktualisierung*, ZKM | Zentrum für Kunst und Medien Karlsruhe, 1 September to 13 November 2016.

7 It is probably only a matter of time before another 10 percent turn up, while the rest is likely lost for good.



Fig. 1

Fig. 1 'Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne Bilderatlas' Reconstruction—Commentary—Revision. Exhibition view, ZKM | Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2016, photo: Tobias Wootton

KEY TO CAPTIONS

The page with the captions for each panel begins with translations of Gertrud Bing's notes, which she probably prepared as guidance for Ernst Gombrich and are found in almost all publications of the *Bilderatlas*. The next element is a diagram of the panel closely following the appearance of the reconstructed panels, with all numbers as given in *Gesammelte Schriften*.

The first line of each caption supplies the name of the artist or author and information on authorship.

A/ stands for anonymous

Attributions to artists or schools are indicated thereafter, followed by any relevant information on geographical provenance in brackets.

If the work has a title of its own, this is indicated in the original language followed by an English translation. In most cases there is no proper title and an English designation is used.

The explanations contain information on the research history, such as earlier attributions or information on sources used by Warburg. As well as the current locations, earlier ones are listed where possible and meaningful.

In all cases, height is followed by width followed by depth. Unless otherwise noted, the dimensions indicate the sheet size in centimetres. If no precise measurements were available, the sizes of manuscripts are given according to the historical system: 2° (folio), 4° (quarto), 8° (octavo).

[1] Numbers in brackets provide information about the following group of images/captions which all refer to the same object. The sub-numbers contain specifications that are not common to all, as well as the technique used.

For multi-image mounts the inscription is given only once.

The following symbols supply information on the status of the documents in the recovery of the original *Bilderatlas*:

- Original reproduction presumably used by Warburg in 1929
- Original reproduction with original passe-partout
- Same motif but from a different photograph from the Photographic Collection at the Warburg Institute
- Facsimile/reproduction substituted from the image pool of WIA or Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/fluid (produced for the 2020 exhibition at HKW)

The following symbols supply information on the status of the documents used by Aby Warburg in the 1920s:

- PH** Photograph (original gelatin silver prints, Photo Clark prints, press photos, agency photos by Alinari e.a.)
- PR** Print (woodcut, etching, newspaper clipping or other printed matter)
- BK** Illustration taken directly from a book, or cut out of an auction catalogue, or printed plate from a portfolio
- ST** Stamp
- DR** Drawing (sketch, watercolour, outline drawing by Mary Hertz, Aby Warburg or others)

TB indicates the page number where the entire panel or the individual work is mentioned in the collective journal of the Warburg Library: A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, eds. K. Michels and C. Schoell-Glass (Berlin 2001), vol. 7.

BR indicates that a work was used in one of the *Bilderrheinen* (image series): A. Warburg, *Bilderrheinen und Ausstellungen*, ed. U. Fleckner and I. Woldt (Berlin 2012), vol. 2.2. This information was not supplied in earlier editions of the *Bilderatlas*, although conversely *Bilderrheinen und Ausstellungen* does contain references to the *Bilderatlas*. The page number with a slash followed by the item number is given.

VERSO indicates notes from the reverse side of the original images, regardless of who wrote them or when (whether before or after 1929). We did not attempt to attribute notes to specific individuals. The point is solely to convey the information to the extent that it represents more than just a caption. Spelling errors have been corrected.

RECTO indicates inscriptions given on the front of the original, mostly as printed text below the reproduction of the image but also sometimes in handwriting.

O.T.P. indicates inscriptions on the original window passe-partouts, which were used for presenting the images in exhibitions. Not all of which are reproduced in this book. Most of them are written in white ink, some are stencilled. Some original photographs are larger than the part visible in the passe-partout. Some inscriptions probably date from after 1929.

Illustrations in the captions: where a decisive detail is not sufficiently discernible in the reproduction of the panel—even in folio format—it is added in the required size following the caption.

In all cases where paper or card mounts had been used in the last version (summer/autumn 1929) but were no longer with the item in the files of the Photographic Collection, we substituted similarly coloured materials in order to reproduce the overall appearance of the panels as faithfully as possible.

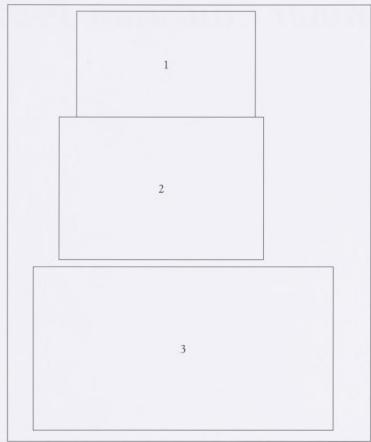
We decided not to (re)produce passe-partouts or imitate lettering styles. The handwritten panel numbers (A, B, C, 1–79) were extracted from the original negatives and inserted digitally into the composite image files.

**ABY WARBURG
BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE**

Last Version
summer / autumn 1929

Panel A

Different systems of relationships in which mankind is involved: cosmic, earthly, genealogical. The equation of all these relationships in magical thinking, since separating ancestry, place of birth and cosmic circumstances already presupposes an intellectual feat. 1) Orientation. 2) Exchange. 3) Social classification.



1 REMMET TEUNISSE BACKER

Sterre Kaert of Hemels Pleyen, waer door met kan wete hoe laet dat het is over de gehele aerkloot op alle meridiiane en polus hoogte, en op wat lengte en breet, de voorz sterre staen, bezuyde en benoorde de Linia Aequinoctiael | Celestial Plan, by Which One Can Know What Time It Is all over the Earth on any Meridian and Polus Height, any Length and Width, the Aforementioned Stars Stand, South and North of the Equinox

Depiction of the sky with constellations. From: Remmet Teunisse Backer, Korte verklaringe over t hemels-pleyn, zijnde daer acter by gevoeght de tafels der vaste sterre, Enkhuizen, 1684 | Coloured etching on copperplate | 54.2 × 64.2 cm

PR | TB | BR 120/2, 196/1

2 K.B.W., AFTER ABY WARBURG'S INSTRUCTIONS

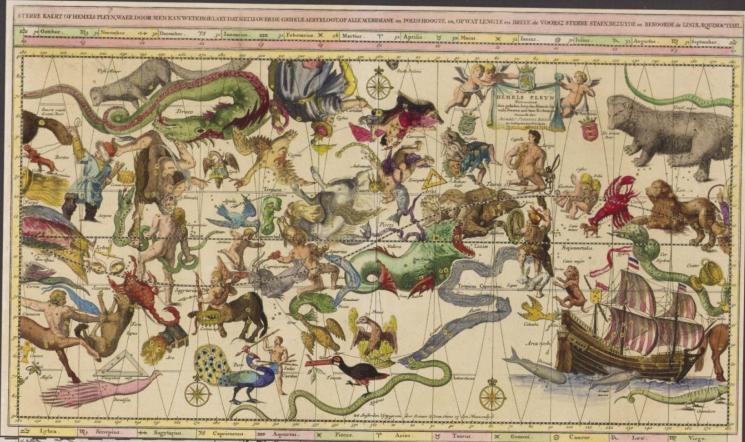
Die "Wanderstrassenkarte" des Kulturaustausches zwischen Norden-Süden, Osten-Westen | The Road Map of Cultural Exchange Routes Between North-South and East-West 1928 | Ink on paper | 35.5 × 54 cm | London, The Warburg Institute

DR | TB 9, 29, 37 | BR

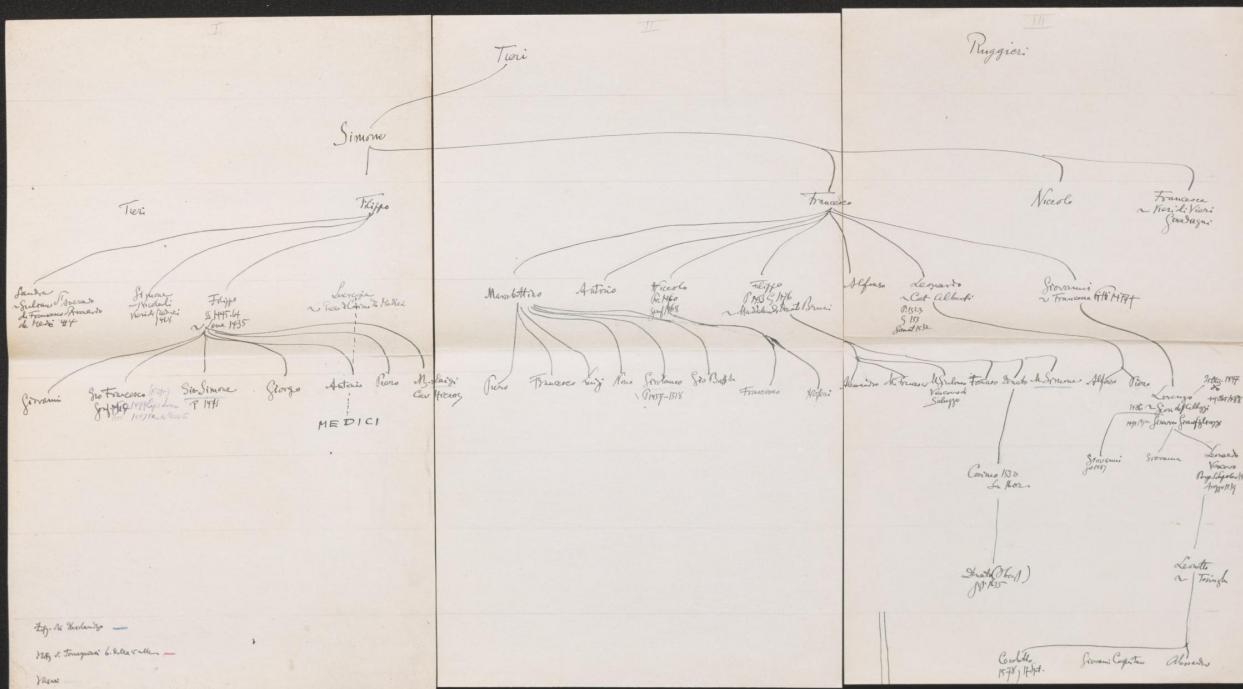
3 ABY WARBURG

Stammbaum der Familie Tornabuoni | Genealogical Tree of the Tornabuoni Family 1905 c. | Ink on paper | 56 × 35 cm | London, The Warburg Institute

DR | TB | BR



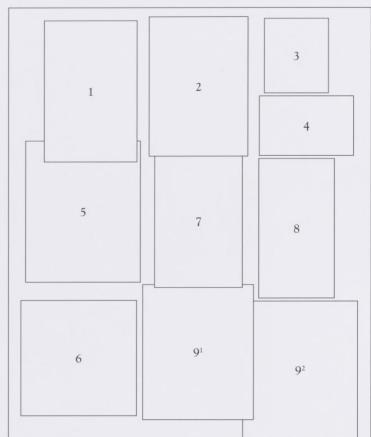
A



Panel B

Different degrees in the application of the cosmic system to mankind. Harmonic correspondence. Later reduction of harmony to abstract rather than cosmically contingent geometry (Leonardo).

TB 46



1 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Man in the Circle of Cosmic Forces

Representation of a vision by the St. Hildegard of Bingen. From Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber Divinorum Operum* | 1210–1230 c. | Manuscript illumination | 39 × 25.5 cm | Lucca, Biblioteca Statale, cod. 1942, c. 9r
□ PH | TB | BR 222/4

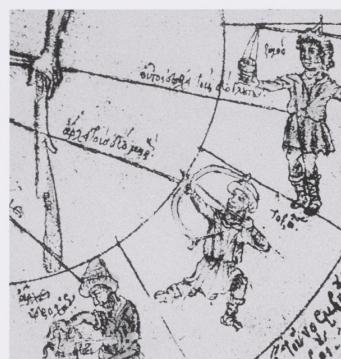
O.T.P. *Der Mensch im Kreis der Kosmischen Gewalten. Darstellung einer Vision der Heiligen Hildegard von Bingen (XII Jahr.) Lucca, f. 9r | Man in the circle of cosmic forces. Representation of a vision by the St. Hildegard von Bingen (12th century)*



2 A / BYZANTINE

Figura partes corporis exhibens quinque zodiaci signo subiectas | The Figure Showing the Parts of the Body that Are Subjected to the Different Zodiac Signs
From: *Scientific and Magical Compendium* | 1450 c. | Manuscript illumination | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Gr. 2419, fol. 1r
□ PH | TB | BR 206/12

O.T.P. *Herakles als Weltenherrscher, seine Körperteile den Tierkreiszeichen zugeteilt | Hercules as world-ruler, his body parts allocated to the zodiac signs*



3 LIMBOURG BROTHERS, BARTHÉLEMY D'EYCK ET JEAN COLOMBE (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO MASTER OF RENÉ DE ANJOU OR JEAN AND PAUL DE LIMBOURG)
Zodiac Man

From: *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* | 1411–1440–1485 | Manuscript illumination | 29.4 × 21 cm | Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 14v
□ PH | TB 183 | BR

VERSO "Cumon in Revue Archéologique 1916, I, p 1ff."

4 JOHANN HEINRICH VOIGT
Advice for Bloodletting

From: Johann Heinrich Voigt, *Verbesserter Hamburgischer Historien Calender auff das 1724. Jahr Christi: darinnen vollenföhret wird: die Geschichte Orlians, Abyssinian Printzen, wie er in die türkische Schlaverey gerahleten, sich durch einen Thier-Kampf wieder frey gemacht, und endlich glücklich wieder angelanget und die Regierung angetreten: nebst anderen alten und neuen Wunder-Geschichten und Merckwürdigkeiten (...), wie auch der Gregorianische als Julianische Calender | Improved historical calendar of Hamburg on the 1724th year of Christ: therein included: the history of Orlans, Abyssinian prince, how he got into Turkish slavery, freed himself through fighting an animal, and at last returned happily and began governing: along with other old and new miracle stories and oddities (...), as well as the Gregorian and the Julian calendar, Hamburg (Sehl, Conrad Neumanns) 1723 | Printed book | 21 × 16 cm closed 21 × 32 cm opened | London, The Warburg Institute, FAH 5270
□ BK | TB | BR 222/3*



5 A / BAVARIAN

Zodiac Man
From: Petrus de Dacia, *Biblia quedam pauperum* (...) | 1340–1350 | Manuscript illumination | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 19414, fol. 188v
□ PH | TB | BR 222/1

O.T.P. *Einteilung des Körpers nach den Tierkreiszeichen zum Zweck des Aderlassens (Deutsche Handschrift des XV. Jahrh.) | Division of the body according to the zodiac signs for the purpose of bloodletting (German manuscript from the 15th century)*

6 JOHANNES VON CUBA [JOHANN WONNECKE AUS KAUB]
Almanach auf das Jahr 1499 | Almanac for the Year 1499
Detail with the bloodletting figure | Basel (Lienhart Ysenhut) 1498–1499 | Woodcut | 2° | Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, AU V13:13/14
□ PH | TB | BR 222/2

O.T.P. *Aderlassen zu guter und böser Frist und seine Folgen (Kalender, Basel 1499) | Bloodletting in good and evil times and its consequences (Calendar Basel 1499)*



7 LEONARDO DA VINCI

Vitruvian Man

1490 c. | Pen, ink and wash drawing | 34 × 24 cm | Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia
□ PH | TB | BR 222/5

8 HANS VON KULMBACH

Proportional Study of a Man

1513 | Pen and ink drawing | 27.7 × 14.9 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH | TB | BR 222/6

O.T.P. "Die idealen Proportionen des menschlichen Körpers nach Dürer" | "The ideal proportions of the human figure according to Dürer"

9¹ ATTRIBUTED TO ANTON WOENSAM

The Planetary Man

From: Agricola of Nettesheim, *De occulta philosophia*, Cologne, lib. 2, cap. 27 | 1533 | Woodcut | 15.3 × 13.5 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH | TB 135 | BR

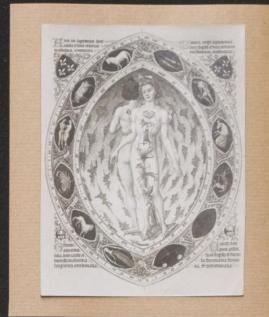
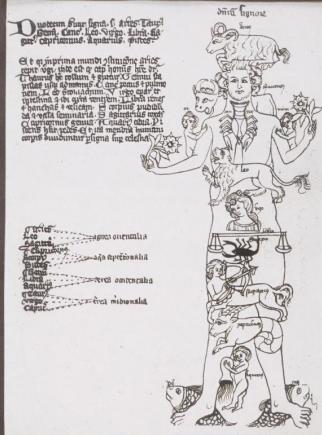
O.T.P. "Der 'Planetenmensch' nach Agricola von Nettesheim (1510) | The 'Planetary Man' after Agricola of Nettesheim (1510)"

9² ATTRIBUTED TO ANTON WOENSAM

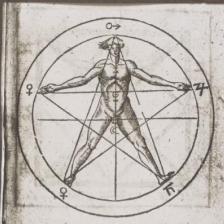
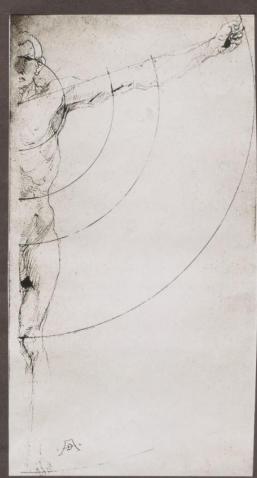
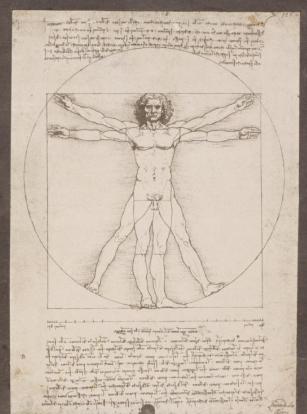
Division of the Hand According to the Planets

From: ibid. | Woodcut | 12.5 × 13.2 cm
□ PH | TB cf. 324 | BR 222/7

O.T.P. "Aufteilung der Hand nach den Planeten von Agricola von Nettesheim (1510) | Division of the hand according to the planets by Agricola of Nettesheim (1510)"

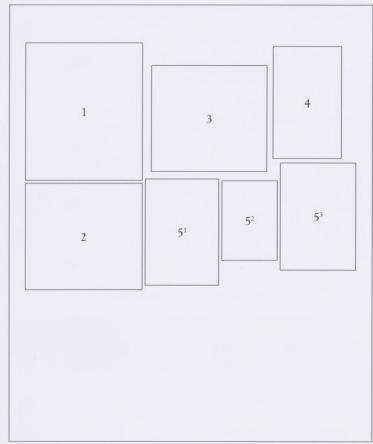


B



Panel C

Evolution in the conceptualization of Mars. Moving away from the anthropomorphizing understanding. Image – harmonic system – symbol.



- 1 A / GERMAN
The Identification of the Planetary Orbits with the Five Regular Platonic Solids
 From: Johannes Kepler, Mysterium Cosmographicum, Frankfurt, 1621 (first edition 1596) | Simplified illustration of the original engraving | 29×19.3 cm
 PH | TB 139, 240 | BR 126/6, 232/4

O.T.P. *Die Identifikation der Planetenbahnen mit den regelmäßigen Körpern aus dem Mysterium Cosmographicum (1621)* | *The identification of the planetary orbits with the regular solids from the Mysterium Cosmographicum (1621)*

- 2 K.B.W.
The Orbit of Mars According to Kepler's Observations
 Schema after Johannes Kepler, Astronomia nova, Heidelberg 1609 | 1927 | Illustration | Hamburg, Zentralstelle für wissenschaftliche Sammlungen, Universität Hamburg
 PR | TB 232/3, 452/3

O.T.P. *Die Marsbahn nach den Beobachtungen von Kepler* | [See: title]

- 3 A / GERMAN
Sonnensystem | Diagram of the Solar System
 The planetary orbits according to modern conception. From: Brockhaus Konversations-Lexikon, 14th edition, Leipzig 1908, vol. 15, p. 55 | 1895 | Illustration | 26 cm (h.)
 PR | TB | BR 232/2

- 4 A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
The Planet Mars and Its Children
 From: Calendrical Housebook of Master Joseph | 1470–1475 | Manuscript illumination | 28×21 cm | Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. d. 2, fol. 269r
 PH | TB 126/7, 220/14, 232/5, 452/1

O.T.P. *Die Kinder des Planeten Mars, links Perseus, halb als Sternbild, halb als europäischer Krieger aufgefasst (aus einer deutschen Handschrift d. 15. Jhdts.)* | *The children of the planet Mars, Perseus left, conceived half as astral image, half as European warrior (from a 15th century German manuscript)*



- 5¹ A/
The Graf Zeppelin over the Japanese Coast Encounters a Plane of the Coastal Defence
 From: Münchner Illustrierte Presse, n. 35, p. 1139 | 1929 | Newspaper clipping | 37×26.6 cm | London, The Warburg Institute
 PR | TB | BR

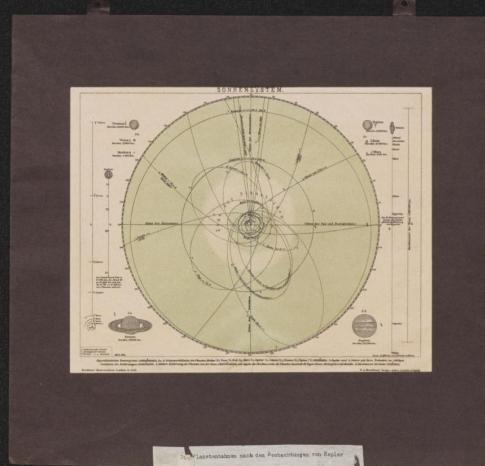
O.T.P. *“Der ‘Graf Zeppelin’ über der japanischen Küste begegnet einem Flugzeug des Küstenwachdienstes”* | [See: title]

- 5² A/
Zeppelin
 From: Hamburger Fremdenblatt, n. 245, evening edition, 4.9.1929, p. 17 | Newspaper clipping | 54.5×40 cm whole page | London, The Warburg Institute
 PR | TB | BR

- 5³ A/
Zeppelin over New York
 From: Hamburger Illustrierte, vol. 11, n. 36, 7.9.1929, front page | Newspaper clipping | 38×26 cm | London, The Warburg Institute
 PR | TB | BR

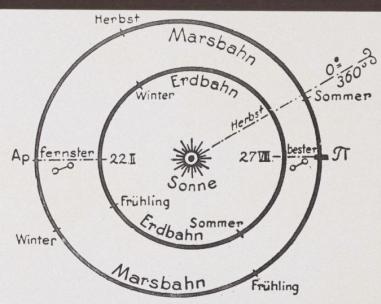


DIE IDENTIFICATION DER PLANETENBAHNEN MIT DEN REGELMÄSSIGEN KÖRPERN AUS DEM MYSTERIUM COSMOGRAPHICUM (1621)



Das Stier der Minnen Hirt., Lazio Perseus, heißt als Gavriella, nach dem
antiken Schreiber aufgerufen. Diese kleine Zeichnung (ausgeweitet 100x100 cm)

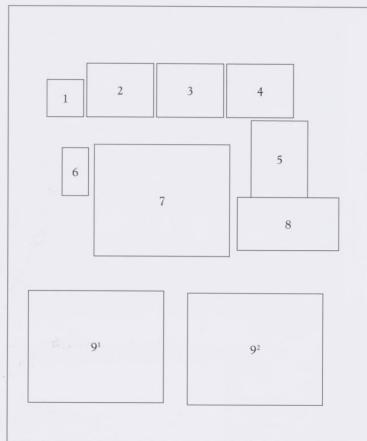
Lithographie nach den Ausführungen von Kepler



Panel 1

Application of the cosmos to one part of the body for divination purposes. Babylonian state faith in the stars. Practice of Oriental origin.

TB 140



1 A / OLD BABYLONIAN

The Liver Tablet

Clay model of a sheep's liver probably used for instructing pupils. From: Alfred Jeremias, Handbuch des altorientalischen Geistes, Leipzig 1913, col.144, fig. 103 | 1900–1600 BC | Clay cast | 14.6 x 14.6 cm | London, British Museum, Middle East Department

□ PH | TB 69, 94 | BR

2 A / HITTITE-BABYLONIAN

Hittite-Babylonian Liver Cast for Divination with Akkadian Inscriptions

From: Ernst F. Weidner, Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy, vol. 4, Berlin 1922, n. 71 | First half 14th century BC | Clay cast, broken | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum

□ PH | TB | BR

3 A / HITTITE-BABYLONIAN

Hittite-Babylonian Liver Cast for Divination with Akkadian Inscriptions

From: ibid., n. 72 | First half 14th century BC | Clay cast, broken | 13 x 11.7 x 3.2 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum

□ PH | TB | BR 126/4

4 A / HITTITE-BABYLONIAN

Hittite-Babylonian Liver Cast for Divination with Akkadian Inscriptions

From: ibid., n. 73 | First half 14th century BC | Clay cast | 11.7 x 9.5 x 3 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum

□ PH | TB | BR

5 A / ETRUSCAN

Liver of Piacenza

Liver model for divination purposes with Etruscan inscriptions | Late 2nd century BC | Bronze model | 12.6 x 7.6 x 6 cm | Piacenza, Museo Civico

□ PH | TB | BR 126/2



6 A / ASSYRIAN

Stela of the Assyrian King Shamshi-Adad V

815–811 BC | Limestone stela | 195.24 x 92.54 x 71.96 cm | London, British Museum, Middle East Department

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Morris Jastrow, Bildersammlung zur Religion Babylonien und Assyriens"



7 A / BABYLONIAN

Kudurru (boundary stone) of King Meli-Sipak II

Detail of the middle section: King Meli-Sipak II presenting his daughter to the moon goddess Nanâ | 12th century BC | Bas-relief limestone | 83 x 42 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

□ PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. *Der babylonische König eine Sterngottheit anbetend | The Babylonian king prays to a celestial deity*

8 A

Menschengleichnis am Himmel | Human Parable in the Stars

Two panels from an exhibition organised by Aby Warburg at K.B.W. 12.-13.9.1927 | London, The Warburg Institute

□ PH | TB | BR



9¹ A / BABYLONIAN

Kudurru (boundary stone) of King Marduk-Zakir-Shumi I

Detail of the top: representations of the constellation of the Pleiades and different Babylonian deities, including Ka-Di, the deity of justice, and Baba, the deity of health | 851–828 BC | Bas-relief limestone, verso | 32.4 x 14.7 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

□ PH | TB | BR 202/3

O.T.P. *Babylonischer Urkundenstein mit Sternbildern | Babylonian document stone with constellations*

9² A / BABYLONIAN

Kudurru (boundary stone) of King Marduk-Zakir-Shumi I

Detail of the top: it records the bequest of land by King Marduk-Zakir-Shumi I to Ibni Ishtar on behalf of the Eanna temple in Uruk | 851–828 BC | Bas-relief limestone, recto | 32.4 x 14.7 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

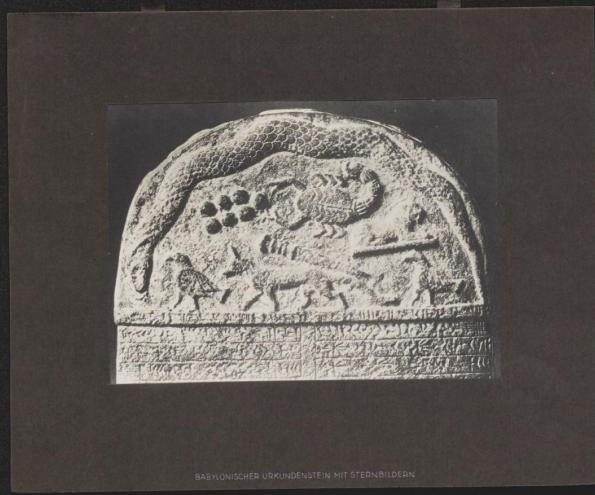
□ PH | TB | BR



I

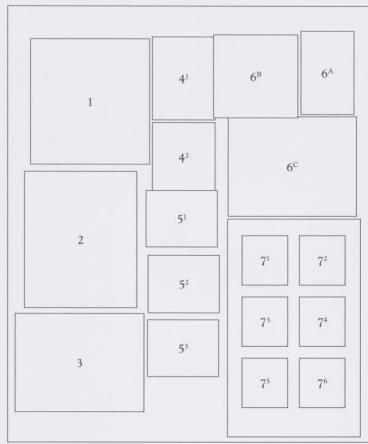


ORIENTALISIERENDER PRAXIK ZUR WIEDERHERSTELLUNG DER ANTIKEN FOND



Panel 2

Greek conception of the cosmos. Mythological figures in the skies.
Apollo. The muses as Apollo's companions.



1 A / ATTIC

Depiction of the Sun and the Stars

Also known as the Blacas Krater. From: Adolf Furtwängler u. Karl Reichhold, Griechische Vasenmalerei, Munich 1921-1932, vol. 3, Pl. 126 | 430 BC c. | Red figure calyx-krater | 33,02 x 30,48 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities

PH | TB | BR 204/2, 416/2

O.T.P. Die aufgehende Sonne verscheucht die als Knaben dargestellten Sterne. Links reitend die Mondgöttin | The rising sun scares away the stars depicted as boys. On the left, the moon goddess rides a horse

2 A / ATTIC

The Rising Sun and Moon

Pyxid lid | 430 BC c. | Clay, red-figure, small bronze ring on the lid, formerly gilded details raised in clay | 5 x 17,5 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung

PH | TB | BR 204/1, 416/4

O.T.P. Sonne (Helios) und Mond (Selene) emportauchend (griech. Vasenbild des V. Jahrh.) | Sun (Helios) and moon (Selene) rising (Greek vase picture of the 5th century)

3 A / ATTIC

The Sun God Rising from the Sea

Detail from: L. Savignoni, The Journal of Hellenic Studies 19, 1899, pp. 9 | 510 BC c. | Black figure Lekythos | Athens, National Museum

PH | TB | BR 204/1, 416/4

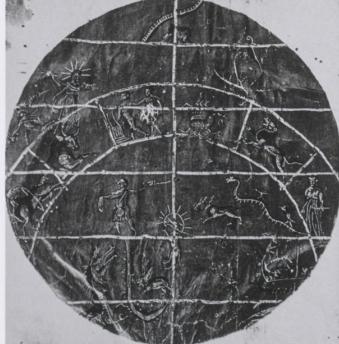
O.T.P. Der Sonnengott aus dem Meer tauchend (griech. Vase des VI. Jahrh.) | The sun god emerging from the sea (Greek vase of the 6th century)

4¹ A / BYZANTINE

Northern Hemisphere

Copy of a Ptolemy manuscript (2nd century) | AD 820 c. | Manuscript illumination | 27 x 19,5 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, f. 4v

PH | TB 139, 176 | BR



4² A / BYZANTINE

Southern Hemisphere

Copy of a Ptolemy manuscript (2nd century) | AD 820 c. | Manuscript illumination | 27 x 19,5 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, f. 4v

PH | TB | BR

5¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN

The Nine Muses

Sarcophagus of the Muses (front view) | AD 160-170 | Marble relief | 92 x 206 x 68 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR

5² A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Poet and Muse

Sarcophagus of the Muses (right narrow side) | AD 160-170 | Marble relief | 92 x 206 x 68 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR

5³ A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Philosopher and Muse

Sarcophagus of the Muses (left narrow side) | AD 160-170 | Marble relief | 92 x 206 x 68 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR

6^A A / ANCIENT ROMAN

The Farnese Atlas

AD 150 c. | Marble sculpture | 210 cm (h.) | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

PH | TB 9 | BR 120/3, 416/5

6^B A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Globe of the Farnese Atlas

AD 150 c. | Marble sculpture | 65 cm (d.) | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

PH | TB | BR 204/3, 416/6

O.T.P. Antiker Globus mit der Darstellung der an den Himmel versetzten Mythen etc. | Globe of the Farnese Atlas with the depiction of myths transposed in the sky

6^C MARTIN FOLKES

Globe of the Farnese Atlas

Stereographic projection of the relief on the globe. From: Richard Bentley, M. Manilius Astronomicon, London 1739 | 18th century | Etching on copperplate

PH | TB | BR 204/4, 416/7

O.T.P. Die Persseusage am griechischen Globus. Perseus, Andromeda, der Walisch Cepheus und Cassiopeia | The myth of Perseus on the Greek globe. Perseus, Andromeda, the whale Cepheus and Cassiopeia

7¹ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Celestial Constellations

From: Leiden Aratea | AD 816 c. | Illuminated manuscript | 22,5 x 20 cm | Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Cod. Voss, lat. quart. 79

7¹ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Andromeda as a Constellation

fol. 30v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB 247, cf. 478 | BR 204/5a, 220/21a

O.T.P. Der Mythos von der Befreiung der Andromeda durch

Perseus von dem Ungeheuer am griechischen Sternhimmel (Kopie einer antiken Sternbilderhandschrift. IX. Jahrh.) | The myth of the liberation of Andromeda by Perseus from the monster in the Greek starry sky (copy of an ancient constellation, 9th century)

7² A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Cetus as a Constellation

fol. 66v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB 124/13b, 204/5c, 204/5d, 220/12a, 220/21c

7³ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Perseus as a Constellation

fol. 40v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB | BR 124/13b, 204/5c, 204/5d,

220/12a, 220/21c

7⁴ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Pegasus as a Constellation

fol. 32v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB | BR 204/5e, 220/21d

7⁵ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Cassiopeia (Mother of Andromeda) as a Constellation

fol. 28v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB | BR 204/5e, 220/21d

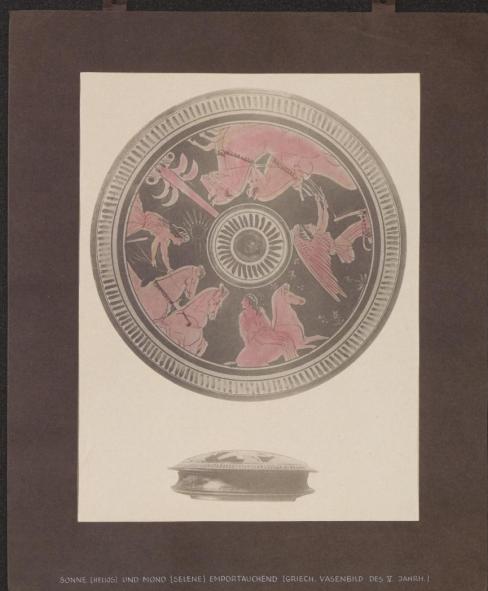
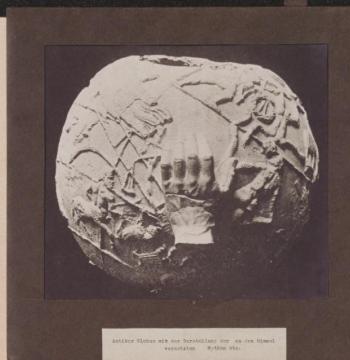
7⁶ A / GERMAN (LOTHARINGIA)

Cepheus (Father of Andromeda) as a Constellation

fol. 26v | Manuscript illumination

PH | TB | BR 204/5f, 220/21e

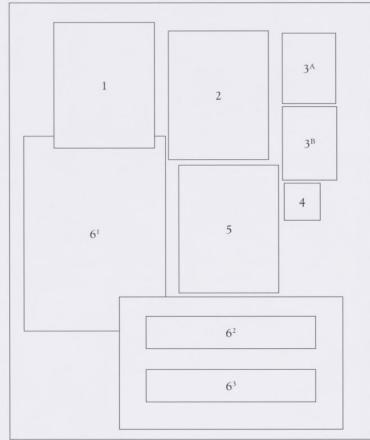
2



BER MYTHOS VON DER BEFREIUNG DER ANDROMEDA DURCH PERSEUS
MIT DEM UNGEHEUER AUF GEGENWÄRTIGE STERNENKALENDER DERNEN ANTEN STERNENKRISTALLEN DES ANNU

Panel 3

Orientalizing of antique images, God as monster. Enrichment of the sphere (zodiac and decans). Transferal of the globe into two dimensions. Cosmological dice board. Legend of Perseus.



1 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Panthea (or Tutela Panthea)

The Gallo-Roman goddess with a cornucopia and the mural crown worn by the protectress of a city. She holds a patena in her right hand and in her left a double cornucopia, with heads of Diana and Apollo. Her long wings carry busts of Castor and Pollux, and support a stand on which rest seven busts representing the gods of the days of the week: Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus | AD 150–220 | Silver gilded statuette | 13.9 × 6 × 4.2 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities

□ PH | TB | BR 206/9, 420/1

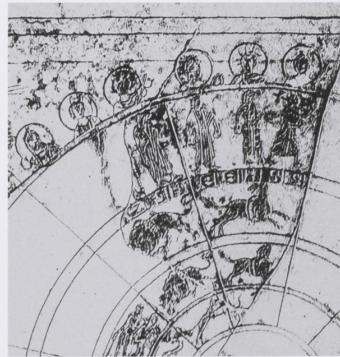


2 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Tabula Bianchini

Drawing of the Tabula Bianchini, an astrological divination board with zodiac and decans. From: Franz Boll, *Sphaera*, Leipzig 1903, pl. 5 | 2nd century AD | Marble table | 77 × 78 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

□ PH | TB | BR 208/2, 428/1



3A A / GRAECO-ROMAN

Diana of Ephesus

2nd century AD | Bronze and alabaster statue | 130 cm (h.) | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

□ PH | TB | BR

3B A / GRAECO-ROMAN

Diana of Ephesus

Detail of P2/3A: bust with the chest plate depicting some signs of the zodiac (Leo, Cancer, Gemini, Libra and Sagittarius) | 2nd century AD | Bronze and alabaster statue | 130 cm (h.) | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

□ PH | TB | BR

4 A /

Jupiter Heliopolitanus

Reproduction of a votive relief of Zeus of Heliopolis (1st century BC), found at Nîmes in 1752. From: Paul Wolters, *Zeus Heliopolitanus*, American Journal of Archaeology, 6, p. 67, Boston 1890 | Drawing

□ BK | TB | BR 314/13, 385/28



5 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Jupiter Heliopolitanus

The images of gods (Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Juno-Venus, Saturn) are arranged in the order of the days of the week | 2nd century AD | Gilded bronze | 16.4 cm (h.) | Paris, Musée du Louvre

□ PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Vorderasiatische Gottheit der römischen Zeit (*Jupiter Dolichenus*), am Gewand die 7 Planeten | Deity of the Ancient Near East of Roman times (*Jupiter Dolichenus*), on its vesture: the seven planets

6¹ A / LATE PTOLEMAIC

Dendera Zodiac

Reverse copperplate engraving as found in: Description de l'Egypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française, Paris 1809–1828, vol. 4, pl. 21, constellations of the zodiac indicate 15 June–15 August 50 BC | 1st century BC | Marble bas-relief | 255 × 253 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

□ PH | TB | BR 208/1, 428/3

O.T.P. Runder Tierkreis von Dendera – Sternbilder der 10 Grad-Gestirne (Dekane) – die zwölf Tierkreisbilder mit den Planeten (nach der Lehre der Erhöhung) Fixsternbilder der Ägypter | Circular zodiac of Dendera – astrological constellation in 10 degrees (decans) – the twelve zodiac signs with planets (according to the doctrine of the exaltation) Egyptian images of the fixed stars

6² A / LATE PTOLEMAIC

Rectangular Zodiac of Dendera

Depiction of the twelve zodiac signs with the Egyptian fixed stars (paranatellonta) and the planets on the ceiling of the pronaos of the Temple of Dendera | 1st century BC | Ceiling relief | Dendera, Hathor Temple Complex

□ PH | TB | BR

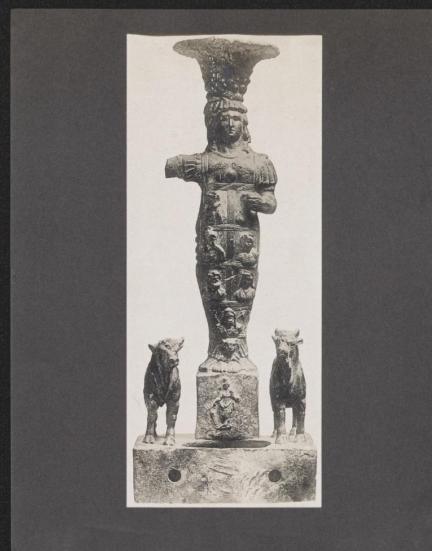
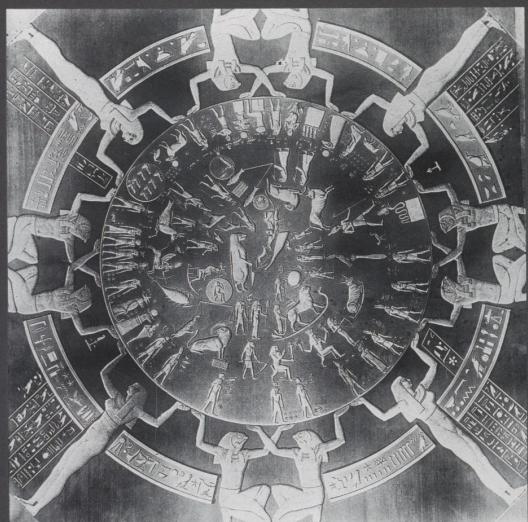
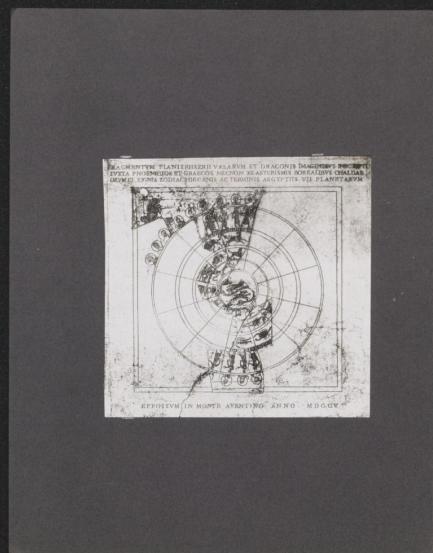
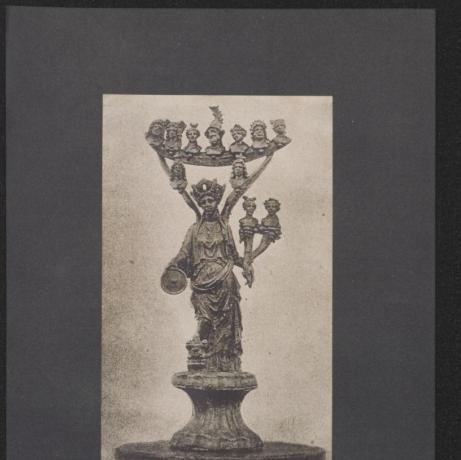
O.T.P. Rechteckiger Tierkreis von Dendera. Obere Reihe die zwölf Tierkreisbilder mit den mit ihnen zugleich aufgehenden Fixsternbildern der Ägypter und den Planeten. Untere Reihe die Dekanottheiten | Rectangular Zodiac of Dendera. In the top row the depiction of the twelve zodiac signs with the Egyptian fixed stars (paranatellonta) and the planets. In the bottom row the deities of the decans

6³ A / LATE PTOLEMAIC

Rectangular Zodiac of Dendera

Depiction of the Decans on the ceiling of the pronaos of the Temple of Dendera | 1st century BC | Ceiling relief | Dendera, Hathor Temple Complex

□ PH | TB | BR

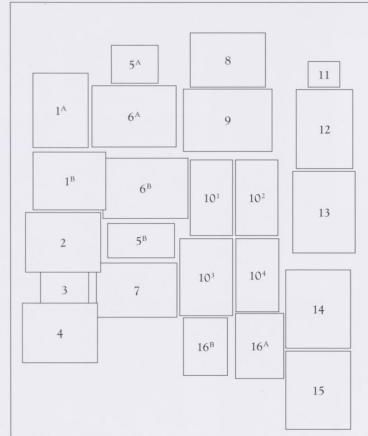


OBERE REIHE: DIE ZWÖLF-TIEDE-BILDER MIT DEN MIT DEN ZUGLEICH AUFGEHENDEN PIATERN-BILDERN DER ÄGYPTER UND DEN PLANETEN
UNTERE REIHE: DIE DEKANOGOTHEITEN

Panel 4

4–8 Precedents from Antiquity.

Battle (giants). Abduction. Labours of Hercules. Underworld? Bondage to the earth (river god, Judgement of Paris) and ascent. Ascent and fall (Phaethon). The suffering saviour. (Prometheus, theft of fire, pride).



1^A A / GRAECO-ROMAN

Sleeping Ariadne

Roman copy after a Greek model on a Roman sarcophagus (modern composition) | AD 150 | Marble statue | 161.5 x 195 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue

PH | TB | BR 386/49

1^B A / GRAECO-ROMAN

Gigantomachia

Sarcophagus serving as pedestal for the sculpture of the Sleeping Ariadne | AD 180–200 | Sarcophagus relief | 84 x 243 x 117 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue

PH | TB | BR

2 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Labours of Hercules

Arcadian stag, Erymanthian boar, Stymphalian birds. Heavily restored | 2nd century AD | Marble relief | 32 x 132 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Gabinetto delle Maschere

PH | TB | BR

3 A /

Rape of Deianira

Forgery of a Roman mosaic | 19th century | Mosaic | Madrid, Museo Arqueológico

PH | TB | BR 320/26, 378/28

VERSO Fr. Normann: Mythen der Sterne

4 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus

Roman sarcophagus with the addition of three statuettes and two marbles vases | AD 150–160 | Sarcophagus relief | 64 x 184 x 50 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri

PH | TB | BR

5^A A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Judgement of Paris

Fragment from a sarcophagus | AD 150–160 | Relief | Rome, Museo Nazionale, Palazzo Altemps (formerly in the Ludovisi collection)

BK | TB cf. 411 | BR 381/42

5^B A /

Outline of a Relief Fragment with the Judgement of Paris

From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. II, Berlin 1890, ill. p. 17 (after Eichler, with integrations in plaster) | Outline drawing

PH | TB | BR 381/43

6^A A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Judgement of Paris

With the three goddesses, Mercury and river gods | AD 180–200 | Sarcophagus relief | 14 x 230 x 90 cm | Rome, Villa Medici

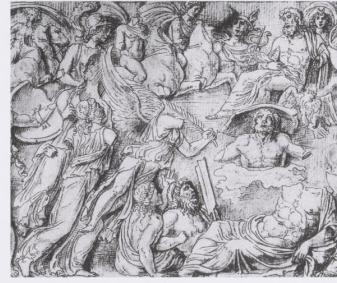
PH | TB | BR 358/6, 381/37

6^B A /

Judgement of Paris

Outlines of the Villa Medici sarcophagus relief. Both reproductions without the upper band added in the 16th century. From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. II, Berlin 1890, tav. 5, ill. 11 (after Eichler) and 111 (after the Codex Coburgensis, Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett, H22, 1550–1555, fol. 58) | Outline drawing

BK? | TB | BR 381/38



7 A /

Judgement of Paris

Outlines of the Villa Doria Pamphilj sarcophagus relief. From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. II, Berlin 1890, tav. 4, ill. 10 (after Eichler) and 10^a (after the Codex Coburgensis, Veste Coburg, Kupferstichkabinett, H22, 1550–1555, fol. 59) | Outline drawing

PH | TB 432 | BR 381/40

8 A /

Villa Doria Pamphilj, Rome

Aerial view, Neg. Min. Aeronautica U.S.P., Alinari 1929 | Photograph

PH | TB | BR

9 CHERUBINO ALBERTI

Allegoria del Fiume Nilo | Allegory of the Nile River

The Nile after a statue in the Museo Pio Clementino (Rome) which was a copy of the one originally in the Templum Pacis | 1576 | Engraving | 17 x 28.7 cm

PH | TB | BR 380/4

10 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Ara Casali

Ex-voto of Titus Claudius Faventinus | AD 200 c. | Marble relief | 68 x 38 x 33 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Cortile Ottagono del Belvedere, Portico Nord

PH | TB | BR

10¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Helios/Sol on his Chariot and Venus and Mars Bound by Vulcan

Front of Ara Casali

PH | TB | BR

10² A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Mars and Rea Silvia, Tiber and the She-wolf

Back of Ara Casali

PH | TB | BR

10³ A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Judgement of Paris and Battle Scenes before Troy

Left narrow side of Ara Casali

PH | TB | BR



10⁴ A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Hector Dragged by Achilles around the City Walls of Troy and Hector's Funerary Rites

Right narrow side of Ara Casali

PH | TB | BR



11 A /

Fall of Phaethon

Drawing of a Renaissance cameo today in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, after a Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 170 c., today at the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence. From: Friedrich Wieseler, Phaethon. Eine archäologische Abhandlung, Göttingen 1857, ill. 10 | 1500–1510 | Outline drawing

PH | TB | BR



12 A /

Myth of Phaethon

Book page with outlines of Roman sarcophagus reliefs, AD 290–300, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, taf. CIX. fig. 337 (after Eichler, with additions) and ill. 337^a (after the Codex Coburgensis fol. 209, without additions) | 1919 | Drawing

PH | TB cf. 516 | BR

13 A /

Myth of Phaethon

Book page with outlines of Roman sarcophagus reliefs. Top row: Fall of Phaethon (front view of Roman sarcophagus, AD 330 c., Rome, Villa Borgese). Middle row: Sun and Moon (lateral sides of Roman sarcophagus, AD 330 c., Rome, Villa Borgese). Bottom row: Horse rearing up (fragment of a Roman sarcophagus, 3rd century, Rome, Palazzo Camuccini). From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, taf. CX, ill. 338 a–b, 339 | 1919 | Drawing

PH | TB | BR

14 A /

Myth of Phaethon

Book page with outlines of Roman sarcophagus reliefs. First row: Front side of a Roman sarcophagus, AD 190–200 c., Liverpool Museum (Ince Blundell collection). Second row, left and right: Wind deities, sides of the same sarcophagus as above. Second row, centre: Fragment of the lid of a sarcophagus, AD 160–170 c., Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti. Third row: front side of a Roman sarcophagus, AD 190–200 c., Liverpool Museum (Ince Blundell collection). Fourth row: front side of a Roman sarcophagus, AD 200–300 c., Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, taf. CVIII, fig. 332, 334, 335, 334^a, 336 | 1919 | Drawing

PH | TB | BR 385/38

15 A /

Myth of Phaethon

Book page with outlines of Roman sarcophagus reliefs, AD 170 c., Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. First row: Fall of Phaethon (front side). Second row: Fall of Phaethon, different drawing (front side). Third row: Castor and Pollux (lateral side). Fourth row: Circus races (re-used in late antiquity) (back side). From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, taf. CXII, fig. 342–342C | 1919 | Drawing

PH | TB | BR | BR



16^A A /

Etruscan

Prometheus Freed by Hercules and Castor

From: Collection Julien Greau, Catalogue des Bronzes antiques et des objets d'art du moyen age et de la Renaissance, Paris 1885, taf. XI | 5th century | Bronze mirror | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR

16^B A /

Etruscan

Prometheus Freed by Hercules and Castor

From: Eduard Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, vol. 2, taf. 138, Berlin 1845 | Drawing | Paris, Musée du Louvre

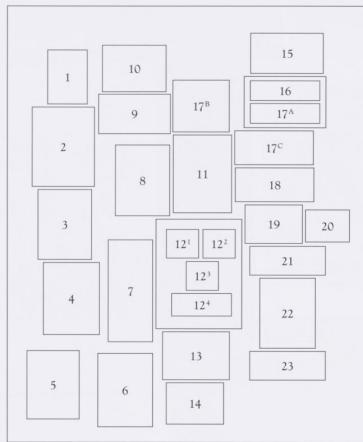
BK | TB | BR

4



Panel 5

The magna mater, Cybele. Bereaved mother. (Niobe, flight and fear). Destructive mother. Frenzied (insulted) woman. (Maenad, Orpheus, Pentheus). Lament for a dead man (NB her son). Transition: conception of the underworld (Rape of Proserpina). Grasping at the head (maenad, Cassandra, and priestess [panel 6]).



1 A / HITTITE
Cybele (or Magna Mater)
13th century BC | Rock bas-relief | 800×450 cm | Turkey, Manisa (Magnaesia), Mount Sipylus
□ PH | TB | BR 354/8

2 A / GREECO-ROMAN
Daughter of Niobe
From the Florentine Niobid group. Roman copy of a Hellenistic model from the last quarter of 1st century BC. Right arm is an integration | Late 1st century–2nd century AD | Marble statue | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Sala della Niobe
□ PH | TB | BR 354/7

3 A / GREECO-ROMAN
Daughter of Niobe Known as Psyche
From the Florentine Niobid group. Head, left and right arm are integrations | Late 1st century–2nd century AD | Marble statue | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Sala della Niobe
□ PH | TB | BR

4 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Daughter of Niobe Known as Amazon Colonna
Roman adaptation of a Greek model from the 2nd century BC. Right arm is an integration | 1st or 2nd century AD | Marble statue | Rome, Palazzo Colonna
□ PH | TB | BR

5 A / GREECO-ROMAN
Pedagogue of the Niobids
From the Florentine Niobid group. Head and arms are integrations | Late 1st century–2nd century AD | Marble statue | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Sala della Niobe
□ PH | TB | BR

6 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Myrrha
Mural of the fleeing Myrrha from Tor Marancia, Rome | 3rd century AD | Mural painting | 100×71 cm c. | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Sala delle Nozze Aldobrandini
□ PH | TB | BR 354/4

7 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Medea Contemplating the Murder of her Children
Fragment | AD 45–79 | Fresco | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Herculaneum)
□ PH | TB | BR 352/7

VERSO "Medea vor den Kindermord"

8 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Medea Contemplating the Murder of her Children
AD 62–79 | Fresco | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Pompeii, Casa dei Dioscuri)
□ PH | TB | BR 314/18

9 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Medea Sarcophagus
AD 140 c. | Marble relief | 142×232 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung
□ PH | TB cf. 162, 409 | BR 314/14, 352/4



10 GIULIO BONASONE
Myth of Medea
Mid 16th century | Engraving | 22×32 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR

11 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Death of Pentheus
1st century BC–AD 79 | Fresco | 104×110 cm | Pompeii, Casa dei Vettii
□ PH | TB 159 | BR 376/6

VERSO "Tod des Gottes"

12 A / ATTIC
Death of Orpheus
Plate with four representations of the History of Orpheus from Aby Warburg, *Der Tod des Orpheus. Bilder zu dem Vortrag über Dürer und die italienische Antike*. Den Mitgliedern der archäologischen Sektion der 48. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Hamburg im Oktober 1905 überreicht, Hamburg n.d. [1905] | plate I inscribed as a-d

12¹ A / ATTIC
Death of Orpheus
Kylix fragment, from: Jane Harrison, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9, 1888, pl. 6 | 470–460 BC | Painted clay plate, broken
□ BK | TB | BR 128/2a, 256/1c, 324/5a, 376/9



12² A / ATTIC
Death of Orpheus
Known as the Vase from Nola, red-figure vase | 450–425 BC c. | Terracotta | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ BK | TB | BR 128/2b, 256/1b, 324/5b, 376/11b

12³ A / ATTIC
Death of Orpheus
Known as the Vase from Chiusi, red figure Stamnos, from: A. Flasch, *Annali dell'Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* 43, 1871, folding plate K | 450–425 BC | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ BK | TB | BR 128/2c, 256/1c, 324/5c, 376/11c

12⁴ JACOPO DEL SELLAIO
Orpheus and Eurydice
1470–1480 | Tempera and oil on cassone panel | 59×179 cm | Kiev, Museum of Western and Oriental Art, Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts (formerly in the Collection Lanckoroński, Vienna)
□ BK | TB | BR 128/2d, 256/1d, 294/1, 324/5d, 376/11d

13 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Death of Pentheus
Sarcophagus fragment | 1st century BC–3rd century AD | Marble relief | Rome, Palazzo Giustiniani
□ PH | TB | BR 312/2

14 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Death of Pentheus
Reproduction of the lid of the sarcophagus of Titus Camerenus Myron (AD 150–160, Pisa, Camposanto). From: Otto Jahn, *Pentheus und die Mainaden*, Kiel 1841,tbl. 3b | 1841 | Drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

15 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Rape of Proserpina
2nd century AD | Marble relief | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue
□ PH | TB 373, 375 | BR

VERSO "Saxl Lectures 209 b."

16 A /
Death of Alcestis
Outline of Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 150–175, Rome, Villa Albani, from: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 1, Berlin 1897,tbl. 6, fig. 22' (after Codex Coburgensis, fol. 44) | Outline drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

17 A /
Death of Alcestis
Outline of Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 160–170 c., lost, formerly Cannes, Villa Faustina, from: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 1, Berlin 1897,tbl. 6, fig. 22' (after Codex Coburgensis, fol. 44) | Outline drawing
□ PH | TB cf. 322 | BR

17^B A /
Death of Alcestis
Detail of P5/17^A | Outline drawing
□ PH | TB | BR 334/15

17^C A /
Death of Alcestis
Scheme drawing of P5/17^A | Outline drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

18 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Story of Proteus and Laodamia
AD 170 | Sarcophagus relief | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri
□ PH | TB | BR



19 A /
Death of Meleager
Outline of a Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 170 c., Rome, Villa Albani, from: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 2, Berlin 1904,tbl. 92, fig. 278' (after Codex Coburgensis, fol. 99) | Drawing
□ PH | TB 409 | BR 328/10

20 A /
Meleager's Corpse Being Carried
Outline of a Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 180–190 c., lost, formerly Rome, Palazzo Barberini, from: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 2, Berlin 1904,tbl. 96, fig. 287' (after Codex Coburgensis, fol. 124) | Drawing
□ PH | TB 420 | BR

21 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Death of Alcestis
From the sarcophagus of Junius Euhodus | AD 160–170 | Sarcophagus relief | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti
□ PH | TB | BR



22 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Lycurgus Attacking a Maenad
30–20 BC | Marble crater | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri
□ PH | TB | BR

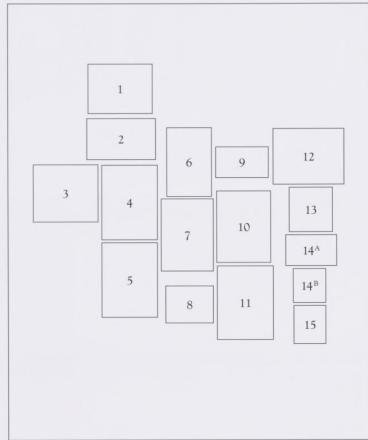
VERSO "Der König Lykurgos, der dem Tanze feind ist, überwindet eine rasende Mänade. Römisch"

23 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Rape of Proserpina
AD 200–220 | Sarcophagus relief | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Sala delle Muse
□ PH | TB 373, 375 | BR



Panel 6

Rape (Proserpina, underworld [panel 5]). Sacrifice (Polyxena).
Sacrificing maenad (priestess). Death of the priest (Laocoön).
Calling the name of the dead. The priest's dance (Isis). Female
funerary dancers. Achilles on Skyros (as chorus leader?).



1 TIMIADES PAINTER

Sacrifice of Polyxena

Drawing from: H. B. Walters, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 18, 1898, tbl. 15 | 570–550 BC | Black figure amphora | 38×24 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities

PH | TB 205, 417, 419 | BR

2 A / ETRUSCAN

Sacrifice of Polyxena

4th century BC | Sarcophagus relief | 96×210×80 cm | Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Sarkophag aus Torre S. Severo (bei Orvieto) | [...] | (P. Ducati, *Storia dell'Arte etrusca* Tav. 198, Fig. 489 P. II. Florenz 1927)"



3 A / GREECO-ROMAN

Ajax the Lesser and Cassandra

Roman copy of an original 5th century Greek relief | 1st century BC | Marble relief | 84×84 cm c. | Rome, Villa Borghese

PH | TB | BR

4 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Dancing Maenad

Roman copy of an original by Kallimachos from the 406–405 century BC | 27 BC–AD 14 | Marble relief | 143×71 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo de' Conservatori, Sala degli Horti Mecenateiani

PH | TB | BR 314/3

5 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Altar of Cybele

Consecrated by Claudia Syntyche | AD 37–54 | Marble | 87×59×51 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Magazzino Teatro dell'Opera

PH | TB | BR 324/14

6 A /

Death of Laocoön

Reproduction of a fresco originally from Pompeii, Casa di Laocoonte, AD 50–55 c., today in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. From: W. H. Röscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1890–1897, p. 1839, ill. 2, s.v. Laokoön

PH | TB | BR 104 | BR

7 HAGESANDROS, ATHENEDOROS AND POLYDOROS
Laocoön and his Sons
Late 1st century BC | Marble sculpture | 208×163×112 cm | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere

PH | TB | BR 128/1, 342/6

8 A / LATE ROMAN
Death of Laocoön
From: Virgil, *Opera* | AD 400 c. | Manuscript illumination | 22,5×20 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, fol. 18v

PH | TB | BR

9 A / ITALIAN (VENICE)
Conclamatio (Funerary Ceremony)
Early 16th century | Marble relief | 83×200 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR

10 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Ritual Ceremony of the Cult of Isis
The priest presents the vessel of holy water between rows of singing worshippers | AD 50–75 | Fresco | 96×96,5 cm | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Herculanum)

PH | TB | BR

11 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Ritual Ceremony of the Cult of Isis
Ritual dance of the priest during the sacrificial burning, accompanied by songs of the worshippers | AD 50–75 | Fresco | 96×92 cm | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Herculaneum)

PH | TB | BR

12 A / APULIAN
Tomb of the Dancers
Ritual funerary dance, detail | 5th century BC | Mural painting | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Ruvo di Puglia, Tomb n. 11)

PH | TB | BR

13 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Dancing Maenads
Funerary altar of Vibia Pytia | AD 80–100 | Marble relief | 80×79 cm | Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek

PH | TB | BR 288/1



14^A A /
Achilles on Skyros
Outline drawing of a Roman sarcophagus relief, AD 250–260 c., today in Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, from: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, vol. II, Berlin 1890, tbl. 19, fig. 34 (Outline Eichler) | Drawing

PH | TB | BR

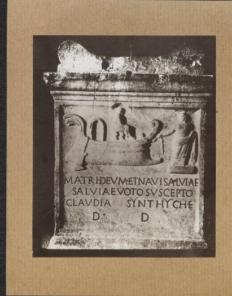
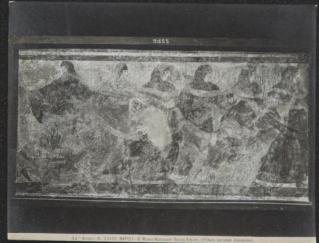
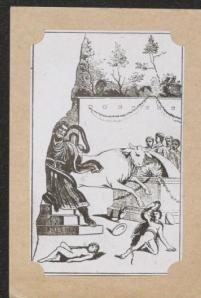
14^B A /
Achilles on Skyros
Detail of P6/14^A | From: Aby Warburg, Sandro Botticelli Ge-burt der Venus und Frühling, Phil. Diss. Strasbourg 1892, p. 15, ill. 4 | Outline drawing

PH | TB | BR

15 A / ANCIENT ROMAN (PALMYRA)
Achilles on Skyros
Late 3rd century | Fresco | Palmyra, Tomb of the Three Brothers

PH | TB | BR

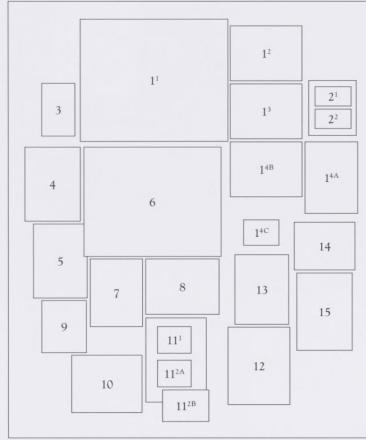
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Panel 7

Victor pathos. Roman triumph. Triumphal arch. Nike. Apotheosis (successful ascent). Emperor as god. Spoils (gemma Augustea). Raising on a shield. Raising on a shield as apotheosis with Napoleon. Trampling on horseback. Coronation. Ascending chariot as symbol of the sun. Subjugation (of a province). Grasping at the head.

TB 350, 510



1¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Arco di Costantino | Arch of Constantine
South side | AD 312–315 | Triumphal arch | 2100×2570×740 cm | Rome
□ PH | TB 227 | BR 312/3

1² A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Great Trajanic Frieze on the Arch of Constantine
Originally from the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum, central passage, east side: Trajan's Dacian War | AD 113 | Relief | 300×225/230 cm | Rome
□ PH | TB 312/6, 350/2

1³ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Great Trajanic Frieze on the Arch of Constantine
Originally from the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum, central passage, west side: The Emperor Trajan Crowned by Victory and The Battle Between Romans and Dacians | AD 113
□ PH | TB 312/5, 338/6

VERSO "Reference to Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar: 'IV. attendant sprinkling water,' 'also VIII. - boy holding tambourine.' 'also [II.] figure of Victory'"

1^{4A} A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Arco di Costantino | Arch of Constantine
East side
□ PH | TB | BR 312/2, 338/4

1^{4B} A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Sol (Apollo) on his Chariot and Constantine Entering Rome
AD 312–315 | Detail of the east side of the Arch of Constantine | Medallion relief | 229×268 cm | Rome
□ PH | TB | BR

1^{4C} A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Battle of Dacians
Detail of 7/1^{4B} | AD 312–315 | Relief | Rome
□ PH | TB | BR

2¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Triumph of Titus
Arch of Titus, North side. From: Eugénie Sellers Strong, Roman sculpture from Augustus to Constantine, London/New York 1907, p. 109 | AD 81 c. | Marble bas-relief | Rome
□ PH | TB | BR

2² A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Roman Soldiers Carrying Sacred Utensils from the Temple of Jerusalem
Arch of Titus, South side. From: Eugénie Sellers Strong, Roman sculpture from Augustus to Constantine, London/New York 1907, p. 109 | AD 81 c. | Marble bas-relief | Rome
□ PH | TB | BR

3 A / ANCIENT GREEK (SYRACUSE)
Victory Crowning a Charioteer
Decadrachmon of Syracuse | 425–345 BC | Silver coin | 3.3 cm (d.) | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles
□ PH | TB | BR 132/9, 142/13c, 300/2b, 376/33



4 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Zephyr (or Eros) Carrying Venus on his Wings
AD 45–79 | Fresco | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (originally from Pompeii, Casa del Naviglio)
□ PH | TB | BR

5 GRAECO-ROMAN
Minerva Victrix (Minerva-Victory)
Roman copy after an original from the 4th century BC | Late 1st–early 2nd century | Statue | 240×80×95 cm | Ostia Antica
VERSO "Sixt Lectures 30"

6 A / ANCIENT ROMAN (DIOSKOURIDES OR DISCIPLE)
Gemma Augusta
AD 9–12 | Cameo engraved gem (double-layered sardonyx with gold, gold-plated silver) | 19×23 cm | Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
□ PH | TB 140, 510 | BR 206/8

VERSO "Furtwängler" and "Roger Hinks Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art" [Volume 6 of *Studies of the Warburg Institute*, Warburg Institute London 1939]



7 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Consecratio Divar Sabinae | Apotheosis of Sabina
Originally on the Arco di Portogallo | AD 140 c. | Marble relief | 295×252 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori
□ PH | TB | BR 381/35, 420/2

8 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina
Front side of a column pedestal originally from the Campus Martius | AD 160–170 | Marble relief | 247 cm (h.) | Vatican City, Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna
□ PH | TB | BR 381/36

9 A / BYZANTINE
Lifting on a Shield and Coronation of David
From: Psautier de Paris | Warburg mistook it for the Biblia (V.T.), Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (pt. A or B?), fol. 285v (Byzantine, 10th century) | Mid 10th century | Manuscript illumination | 37×26.5 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Grec. 139, fol. 6v
□ PH | TB | BR



10 ANDREA APPIANI
Apotheosi di Napoleone | Apotheosis of Napoleon
Originally in Milan, Palazzo Reale, heavily damaged during the 1943 Allied bombings | 1808 | Detached fresco | 410×415 cm | Tremezzo (CO), Museo Villa Carlotta
□ PH | TB 449f., cf. 467 | BR

11¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
The Romans Set Fire to a Dacian Settlement
Relief from Trajan's Column, Chicorius scene n. 20, from: Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Trajanssäule, Berlin/Leipzig 1926, tbl. 15, scene XXV/113 | Marble relief | Rome
□ BK | TB | BR

11^{2A} A / ANCIENT ROMAN
The Dacians Flee the Romans
ibid., tbl. 15, scene XXVI/113 | Marble relief | Rome
□ BK | TB | BR

11^{2B} A / ANCIENT ROMAN
The Dacians Flee the Romans
Outline of a relief from Trajan's Column, Chicorius scene n. 20, from: Codex Escurialensis | 1490 c. | Drawing | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Cod. 28-11-12, fol. 63
□ PH | TB 227 | BR

12 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Gemma Tiberiana (or Grand Camée de France)
First quarter of the 1st century | Cameo engraved gem (sardonyx) | 31×26.5 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Médailles
□ PH | TB | BR

13 A / FRENCH AFTER LATE ROMAN
Personification of Trier
From: Chronograph of 354 | 1620 | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 2154, pt. B, fol. 5r
□ PH | TB | BR

14 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Coins of Emperors Valentinian II, Eugenius, Honorius and Theodosius I
From: Francesco Gnechi, I Medagliioni romani descritti ed illustrati, Bologna 1912, 3 vols., vol. 1, plate 19 (bottom half) | 4th century | Gold coins
□ PH | TB | BR 312/10

15 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Gold Coins of Emperor Valens
ibid., plate 17 | AD 364–378
□ PH | TB | BR 312/9



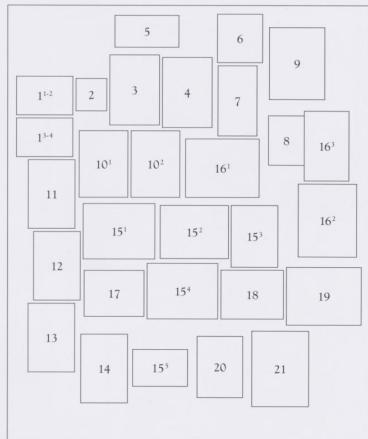


7



Panel 8

Ascent to the sun.



- [1] A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Altar of the Sol Sanctissimus
Commissioned by Tiberius Claudius Felix and his wife Claudia Helpis | AD 40-70 | Marble relief | 85x52x52 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini

- [1¹] A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Malachbel-Saturn with Covered Head and Harp
□ PH | TB | BR 384/19a, 422/8

- [1²] A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Birth of the Child of the Sun
□ PH | TB | BR 384/19b, 422/8

- [1³] A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Bust of a Young Sun God above an Eagle
□ PH | TB | BR 384/18a, 422/8

VERSO "Astrol. Planeten [...] Sol"

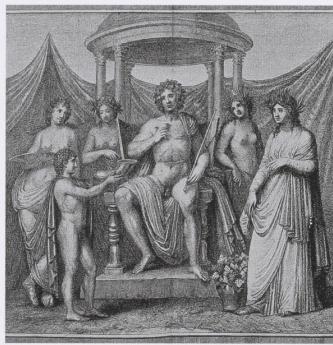
- [1⁴] A / ANCIENT ROMAN
The Sun God on a Chariot with Victory
□ PH | TB | BR 384/18b, 422/8



- [2] A / ANCIENT GREEK
Helios (Sol)
300 BC c. | Gold-plated silver phalera | 6.2 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities
□ PH | TB | BR



- 3 MARCO CARLONI
AFTER DRAWINGS BY FRANCISZEK SMUGLEWICZ
Phaethon's Plea to Helios (Sol); The Horses of Helios (Sol) Are Brought to Phaethon by the Horae
Etchings of the frescoes in Nero's Golden House (Domus Aurea, AD 64-68), commissioned by Ludovico Mirri, in: *Vestigia delle terme di Tito e loro interne pitture*, 1776, Pl. 13, 14, 15. From: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, p. 406 | Book page
□ BK | TB | BR 384/9



- 4 VINCENZO BRENNA AND GIOVANNI CASSINI
Phaethon's Plea to Helios (Sol); The Horses of Helios (Sol) Are Brought to Phaethon by the Horae
Left column: same subject as P8/3, but different source: F. Sieklar, C. Reinhart, *Almanach aus Rom. Für Künstler und Freunde der Bildenden Kunst*, II, 1811; right column: related images are taken depicting from a ceiling relief in the Casa della Farnesina (20 BC c.) and a frieze in Bolsena, from: Carl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, vol. III, 3, Berlin 1919, p. 407 | Book page
□ BK | TB | BR 384/8

- 5 A / ANCIENT GREEK
The Rising Sun and Satyrs
Etching of the unrolled image of a chalice krater from Poggio Sommavilla | 380-60 BC c. | Red-figure Calyx-krater | Parma, Museo Nazionale d'Antichità
□ PR | TB | BR 384/2, 416/1

- 6 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Aion (Sol), Tellus and the Four Seasons
Early 3rd century BC | Mosaic | Munich, Glyptothek (formerly from a Roman villa in Sentinum/Sassoferato, Le Marche)
□ PH | TB | BR 318/13, 384/4

- VERSO "Cumron Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra, pag 419, fig 350 [...] in Sassoferato [...], seit 1828 in München"

- 7 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Birth of Mithras or Mithras Heliodromos
Mithras in the zodiac | 3rd century AD | Bas-relief | 94 cm | Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
□ PH | TB | BR 384/16

- 8 BALDASSARE PERUZZI
The Emergence of Mithras-Chronos-Phanes from the World-Egg
Drawing after a bas-relief of the 2nd century AD, today in Modena, Galleria Estense | 1500-1536 | Pen drawing and brown wash on paper | 34.5x9.2 cm | Auction Lempertz, Cologne, 11.02.2004
□ PH | TB | BR 384/10

VERSO "Pollak, Rom - Sammlung Pollak"

- 9 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Hercules and Omphale Framed by Representations of the Labours of Hercules
AD 140 c. | Marble bas-relief | 72x64x8 cm | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
□ PH | TB | BR

- 10¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Relief Platter
Reverse side: Phaethon asks his father Sol for the Chariot of the Sun | Late 2nd century AD c. | Turnable relief dish/platter | 90x85x10 cm | Dieburg, Kreis- und Stadtmuseum (originally from a Mithraeum in Dieburg, Germany)
□ PH | TB 390 | BR 384/15

- 10² A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Relief Platter
Front side: Mithras as archer on horseback | Late 2nd century AD c. | Turnable relief dish/platter | 90x85x10 cm | Dieburg, Kreis- und Stadtmuseum (originally from a Mithraeum in Dieburg, Germany)
□ PH | TB 390 | BR 384/14

- 11 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Compede Communion
Mithraic initiation ritual | From: Antonio Minto, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 21, 1924, p. 373, fig. 15 | 2nd century AD c. | Fresco | Santa Maria di Capua Vetere, Mithraeum
□ PH | TB | BR

- 12 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Trial by Fire
From: See P8/11, p. 372, fig. 14
□ PH | TB | BR

- 13 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mors Voluntaria
From: See P8/11, p. 374, fig. 16
□ PH | TB 436 | BR 384/9

- 14 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Moon as Guide to the Wagon
From: See P8/11, p. 364, fig. 6
□ PH | TB | BR

- 15¹ A /
Ostia, *Panorama of the Archeological Digs*
Aerial view, Neg. Min. Aeronautica U.S.P., Alinari 1929 | Photograph
□ PH | TB 408f., 419 | BR

- 15² A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Sacrificial Dagger and Diana-Luna
Floor decoration | AD 175 c. | Mosaic | Ostia, Mitreo delle Sette Sfere
□ PH | TB | BR

- 15³ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mars
Decoration of western podium | AD 175 c. | Mosaic | Ostia, Mitreo delle Sette Sfere
□ PH | TB | BR

- 15⁴ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Overview of the Mithraeum
AD 175 c. | Ostia, Mitreo delle Sette Sfere
□ PH | TB | BR 422/11

- 15⁵ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Capricorn
Decoration of the western podium | AD 175 c. | Mosaic | Ostia, Mitreo delle Sette Sfere
□ PH | TB | BR

- 16¹ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mithraeum below the Church of San Clemente
Early 3rd century AD | Rome, Mitreo di San Clemente
□ PH | TB 375, 380, 418 cf. 441 | BR

- 16² A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mithras Altar
Consecrated by Gnaeus Arrius Claudianus | Early 3rd century AD | Relief | Rome, Mitreo di San Clemente
□ PH | TB | BR

- 16³ A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Portrait Bust of a Child
Pedestal not original | 1st century BC | Marble | Rome, Mitreo di San Clemente
□ PH | TB | BR

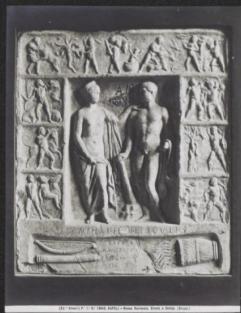
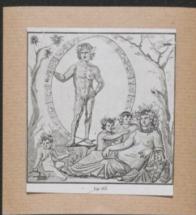
- 17 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mithras Sacrifices the Bull
From: See P8/11, pl. XVII
□ PH | TB | BR 384/3

- 18 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mithras Sacrifices the Bull
Second half 2nd century AD | Sandstone relief sculpture | Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (originally from the Heidelberg-Neuenheim mithraeum)
□ PH | TB | BR

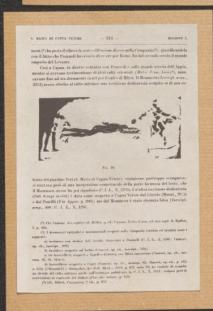
- 19 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Victoria Sacrifices the Bull
1st century AD | Relief sculpture | Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano
□ PH | TB | BR

- 20 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Mithras Sacrifices the Bull
2nd-3rd century AD | Relief sculpture | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori
□ PH | TB | BR

- 21 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Cautopates in Persian Garb
From the left side of the altar | Early 3rd century AD | Marble | Rome, Mitreo di San Clemente
□ PH | TB 375 | BR

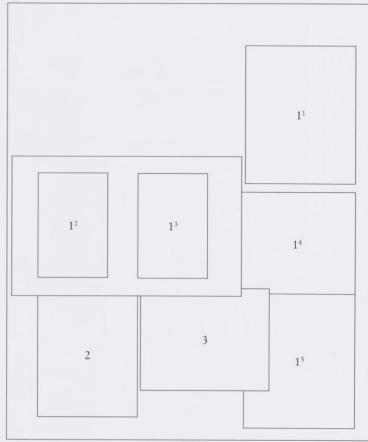


8



Panel 20

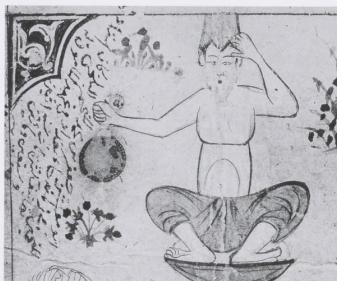
*Development from Greek cosmology to Arab practice.
Abu-Masar. The occupations inspired by the planets.*



- [1] A / ARABIC
Al-Isfahani, Abd al-Hasan, Book of Wonders (Kitab al-Bulhan)
1399 | Illuminated manuscript | 24.5 x 16 cm | Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. Or. 133
| TB 13, 176, 247, 556 | BR

- 1¹ A / ARABIC
Abu Ma'sar Enthroned
fol. 34r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 432/5a, 432/5b

O.T.P. Der berühmteste orientalische Astrologe Abu Masar (*850) thronend (aus einer arabischen Handschrift des XV. Jahrhunderts in Oxford) | The famous oriental astrologer Abu Ma'sar (d. 850) enthroned (from an Arabic manuscript of the 15th century, Oxford)



- 1² A / ARABIC
Occupations of the Children of the Planets
fol. 26r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 122/4, 214/7a, 432/5a, 432/5b

O.T.P. Die Berufe der Planetenkinder nach arabischer Auffassung (Handschrift des XV. Jahrhunderts in Oxford): Pechhändler, Lustenträger, Minengräber, Gerber Mönch, Marktrichter, Schuster, Kerzenhändler, Hufschmied, Koch, Laternenträger, Löwenbindiger, Goldschmied, Schildmädchen, Seidenweber, Wechsler, Tänzer, Tamburinschläger, Paukenschläger, Trommler, Schreiber, Weber, Drogist, (Bote), Wollkrempler, Schiffer, Kameltreiber, Sämann | The occupations of the children of the planets according to the Arab tradition, (manuscript of the 15th century, Oxford): Pitch seller, porter, mine digger, leather worker, monk, judge of the market, shoe maker, seller, farrier, cook, lantern carrier, lion tamer, goldsmith, shield maker, silk weaver, money changer, dancer, tambourine and kettledrums player, scribe, weaver, local shopkeeper, (messenger), carder, boatman, camel driver, sower

- 1³ A / ARABIC
The Planets and the Occupations of the Children of the Planets
fol. 25v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 214/7b, 432/5a, 432/5b

O.T.P. Die Berufe der Planetenkinder nach arabischer Auffassung (Handschrift des XV. Jahrhunderts in Oxford): Bild des Saturn: Schmied, Mineur Heizer; Bild des Jupiter: Richter, Kaufmann, Prediger; Bild des Mars: Henker, Schlächter, Glaser; Bild der Sonne: Herrscher, Fürst, Goldarbeiter; Bild der Venus: Lautenspieler, Harfenspieler, Flötenspieler; Bild des Merkur: Maler, Schneider, Zimmermann; Bild des Mondes: Bleicher, Fischer, Hirte | The occupations of the children of the planets according to the Arab tradition, (manuscript of the 15th century, Oxford): Image of Saturn: blacksmith, miner, coppersmith. Image of Jupiter: judge, merchant, preacher. Image of Mars: executioner, butcher, glass maker. Image of the Sun: dominator, prince, goldsmith. Image of Venus: lute player, harpist, flute player. Image of Mercury: painter, tailor, carpenter. Image of the Moon: whitewasher, fisherman, shepherd

- 1⁴ A / ARABIC
The Climate of the Planet Saturn (left), The Abandoned Well (right)
fol. 41r–40v | Manuscript illuminations
□ PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Astrologische Geographie: Das 'Klima' (Land) des Planeten Saturn (aus einer arab. Handschr. des XV. Jahrh. in Oxford) | Astrological geography: the 'climate' (the country) of the planet Saturn (from an Arabic manuscript of the 15th century in Oxford)



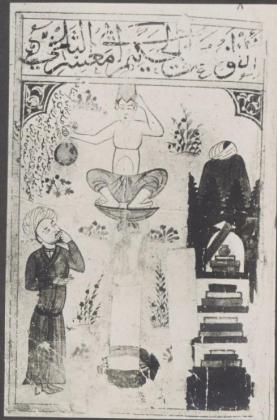
- 1⁵ A / ARABIC
The Eastern Antique Temple of Ahmin
fol. 29r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 214/2, 432/3

O.T.P. Rütucheropfer an die Sterne (arab. Handschr. des XV. Jahrh.) | Smoke Sacrifice to the Stars (Arabic manuscript from the 15th century)

- 2 A / TIMURID (SAMARKAND)
Perseus with the Head of the Demon Gul
Arabic interpretation of the myth of Perseus. From: Abd al-Rahmān ibn Umar al-Sūfi, Book of the Fixed Stars (Kitāb suwar al-kawāki'b al-faḍī'a) | 1430–1440 c. | Manuscript illumination | 24.5 x 18.5 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arab. 5036
□ PH | TB | BR 124/1, 214/1, 432/1a–e

O.T.P. Perseus nach arabischer Vorstellung mit dem Haupt des Dämons Gul (Handschr. des 13. Jahrhdt. in Paris) | Perseus in the Arabic tradition with the head of the demon Gul (Manuscript of the 13th century in Paris)

- 3 A / PERSIAN (BAGHDAD)
Zodiac Signs of Libra, Scorpio and Sagittarius
From: Muhammed al-Qazwini, The Wonders of Creation (Aja'it al-Makhlūqat) | 10 March 1388 | Manuscript illumination | 23 x 32 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Supplément persan 332, fol. 26v–27
□ PH | TB | BR 432/1a–c



DER BERÜHmTESTE ORIENTALISCHE ASTROLOgIE ABZ MUSÄD (1488) IN THORNEND – AUS EINER ARABISCHEM HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS IN OXFORD



PEDDHÄNDLER
LÖWENHÄNDLER
MÜNENGRÄBER
GEBER

MONCH
MARKTRÄCHTER
SEIDENWEBER
KERZENHÄNDLER

HUFSPIELER
KÖCH
KAMMVENTZSER
LOVENVÄNDIGER

SCUDHÄNNIED
SCHLADMÄNNER
SEIDENWEBER
VERSCHELES

TÄNZER
TALBACHRÜNSCHADER
TALKONISCHUNGER
TANZMÄNNER

SCHREIBER
WEISIGT
WEISIGT
(80STE)

WOLKEMPLER
SCHÜFFER
TANZMÄNNER
(SKAHANN)



BILD DES SATURN
MINOR
MINEUR
HÜTER

BILD DES JUPITER
RECHTMÄNN
KÄMMANN
PREDIGER

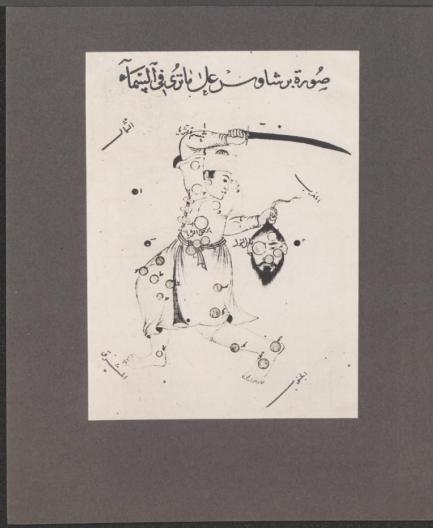
BILD DES MARS
HENKER
SCHMIDTER
GLASER

BILD DER SONNE
HERBESIER
FEDER
GOLDARBEITER

BILD DER VENUS
MUSIKANT
HARFENSPIELER
FLÜGELBLÄSER

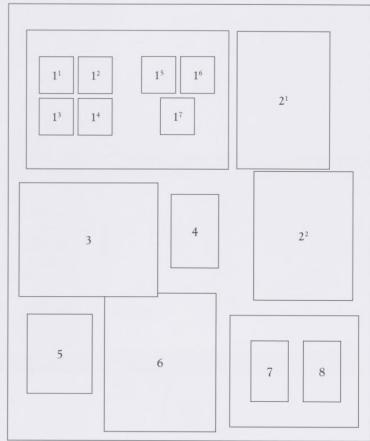
BILD DES MERCUR
MÄNNER
SCHNEIDER
ZIMMERMANN

BILD DES MONDES
BLEICHER
FÜCHER
HIRTE



Panel 21

Oriental Antiquity. Ancient gods in their Oriental guises [before this ought to come: Farnese Atlas, Dendera, Unrolling and Enrichment]



- [1] A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKEY
The Seven Planets according to the Medieval Oriental Tradition
 From: Muhammad al-Qazwini, *The Wonders of Creation* (Aja'it al-Makhlumat) | 15th century | Illuminated manuscript | 11.3 x 10.7 cm | Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Purchase F1954.33-37
 | TB | BR 214/3, 42/4a-d

O.T.P. Die 7 Planeten nach mittelalterlicher orientalischer Vorstellung: Mond männlich, Jupiter mit Buch, Venus als Läutenspielerin, Mars Krieger, Merkur Schreiber und Saturn schwärzegestichtig mit Schaufel (aus einer arab. Handschr. des [15.] Jahrh.) | *The Seven Planets according to the medieval Oriental tradition: the Moon as a man, Jupiter with the book, Venus as a lute player, Mars as a warrior, Mercury as a scribe and Saturn with a black face and a shovel (from a manuscript of the 15th century)*

- 1 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKEY
The Sun
 Purchase F1954.35, fol. 35r | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 2 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
The Moon as a Man
 Purchase F1954.33, fol. 33r | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 3 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
Jupiter with a Book
 Purchase F1954.37, fol. 37r (top) | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 4 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
Venus as a Lute Player
 Purchase F1954.34, fol. 34r | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 5 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
Mars as a Warrior
 Purchase F1954.36, fol. 36v | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 6 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
Mercury as a Scribe
 Purchase F1954.34, fol. 34v | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 7 A / IRAQI OR EASTERN TURKISH
Saturn with a Black Face and a Shovel
 Purchase F1954.37, fol. 37r (bottom) | Manuscript illumination
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 21 A / ARABIC
Zodiac Sign of the Fool (Leo)
 From: Al-Isfahani, Abd al-Hasan, *Book of Wonders* (Kitab al-Bulhan) | 1399 | Manuscript illumination | 24.5 x 16 cm | Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. Or. 133, fol. 9r
 □ PH | TB 13, 247 | BR 126/18, 144/19, 214/4, 432/2

O.T.P. Tierkreiszeichen des Toren, auf diesem die Sonne, deren "Haus" der Löwe ist. Im unteren Streifen Mars, Jupiter, Saturn als Beherrscher von je 10° des Tierkreiszeichens (aus einer arab. Handschrift des 15. Jahrhds. in Oxford) | *Zodiac sign of the Fool above the Sun in the house of Leo. In the lower part: Saturn, Jupiter and Mars as first, second and third Decans respectively (from an Arabic manuscript of the 15th century in Oxford)*



- 22 A / ARABIC
Zodiac Sign of Aries
 Mars in the house of Aries; Venus, the Sun and Mars as decans | ibid., fol. 2v
 □ PH | TB | BR 214/5

O.T.P. Tierkreiszeichen Widder, darauf Mars, dessen Haus der Widder ist. Zu unterem Streifen Venus, Sonne, Mars als Beherrscher von je 10° des Tierkreiszeichens (aus einer arab. Handschrift des 15. Jhdts. in Oxford), fol. 2v | *The zodiac sign of Aries, on Mars in the house of Aries. In the lower part: Venus, Sun and Mars as Decans (from an Arabic manuscript of the 15th century in Oxford)*

- 3 A / POLISH
Decans of Aries
 From: Picatrix | 1458–1459 c. | Manuscript illumination | Cracow, Uniwersyt Jagielloński, Cod. 793 [D. D. III 36], fol. 18r
 □ PH | TB 122/10, 214/8, 220/12c

O.T.P. Dekane (Beherrscher von je 10° eines Tierkreiszeichens) des Widder aus der lat. magischen Handschrift des XV. Jhdts. "Picatrix" (Krakau, Univ. Bibl.) | *Decans (the rulers of the 10° of each zodiac sign) of Aries from a Latin magic manuscript of the 15th century "Picatrix" (Cracow, Univ. Bibl.)*

- 4 K.B.W.
Magic Square and Zodiac Sign of Aries
 From: Helmut Ritter, Picatrix. Ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie, in: Vorträge 1921–1922, edited by Fritz Saxl, Leipzig 1923, p. 94 ff. | Book page
 □ PH | TB 15, 17, cf. 91 | BR 214/9

O.T.P. Magische Quadrate und Planeten, aus dem arabischen Zauberbuch "Picatrix" | *Magic square and planets, from an Arabic magic book "Picatrix"*

- 5 A / EGYPTIAN OR SYRIAN
The Constellations of Perseus
 Perseus with the head of the demon Gul and Auriga. From: Muhammad al-Qazwini, *The Wonders of Creation* (Aja'it al-Makhlumat) | 15th century | Manuscript illumination | 34 x 21.8 cm | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Mixt. 331, fol. 19r
 □ PH | TB cf. 398 | BR

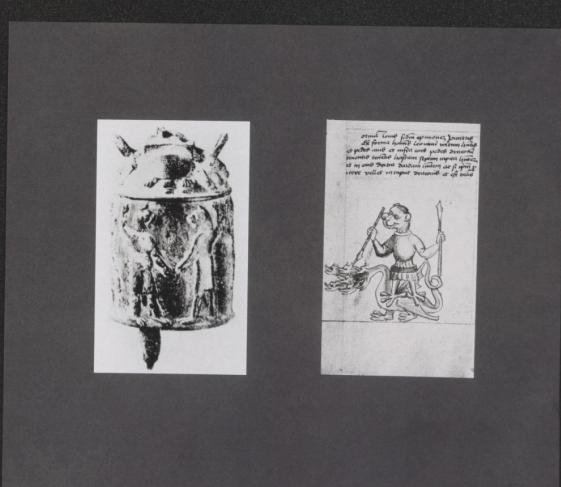
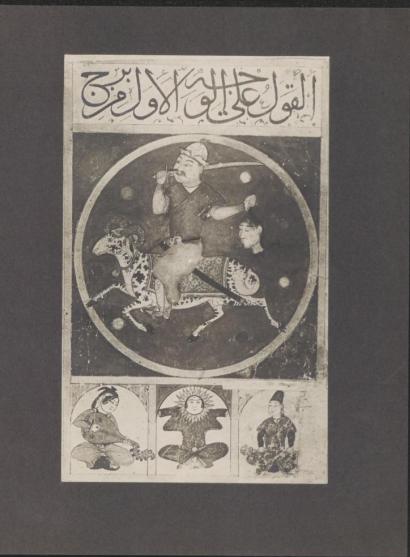
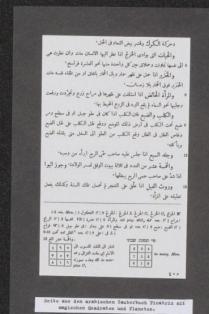
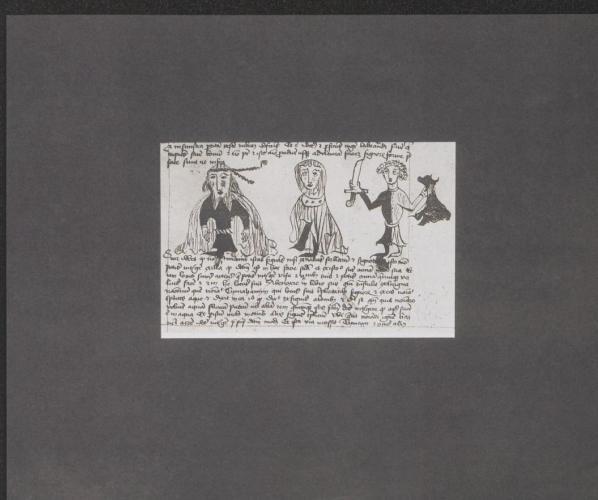
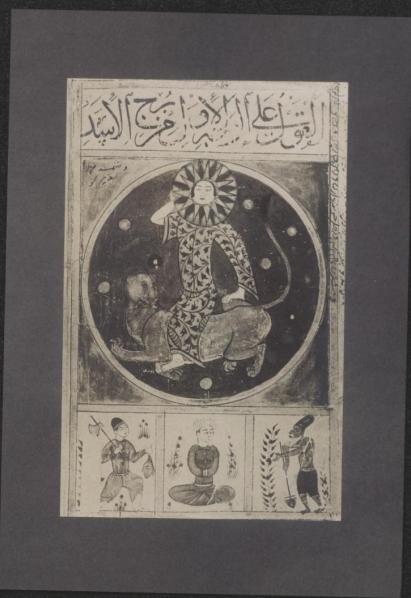
- 6 A / CASTILIAN
Virgo
 1280–1284 c. | Manuscript illumination | 33 x 24 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1283 (pt. A), fol. 9v
 □ PH | TB | BR

- 7 A / NEO-ASSYRIAN
Bell for Magical Purposes
 Detail | 8–7 century BC | Bronze and copper bell | 29 x 14 cm, bell: 7 cm (h.) | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum
 □ PH | TB | BR 214/6a

- 8 A /
Saturn as a Lion-headed Demon Riding a Griffin
 From: Picatrix | 15th century | Manuscript illumination | Cracow, Uniwersyt Jagielloński, Cod. 793 [D. D. III 36], fol. 190r
 □ PH | TB | BR 122/9, 214/6b, 380/24

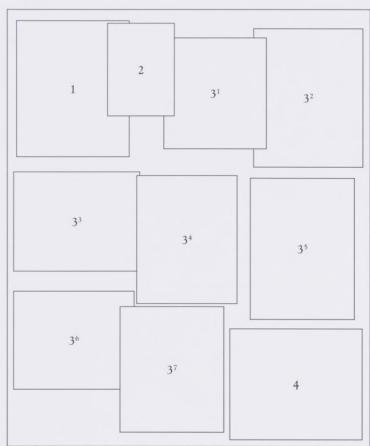
O.T.P. Darstellung des Planeten Saturn in der lateinischen Übersetzung des arabischen Zauberbuches Picatrix als löwenköpfiger Dämon mit Vogelkrallen – Löwenköpfiger Dämon mit Vogelkrallen aus Alt-Babylon | *Representation of the Planet Saturn as a lion-headed demon riding a griffin in a Latin version of the Arabic magic book of the "Picatrix" – Lion-headed demon with spear, Ancient Babylon*





Panel 22

Spanish-Arab practice (Alfonso). Handling. The cosmic system as a dice board. Divination. Magic. Stone magic.



1 A / SPANISH (CASTILIAN)
Game of Astronomical Tables

From: Libros de azedex dados e tablas ordenados por mandado de D. Alfonso el Sabio | 1293 | Manuscript illumination | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, T. I. 6., fol. 97v
□ PH | TB 131, 481 | BR 210/3, 434/2

O.T.P. Spanisches Planetenwürfelspiel des XIII. Jahrhunderts | Spanish game of the dice of the planets from the 13th century

2 A / SOUTHERN FRENCH (LANGUEDOC)

Tabula per saber quals planeta renha en quascuna hora quascun dels iorns de la setmana | Table to Know which Planet Rules any Hour of the Day of the Week
From: Maffre Ermengaud, Breviari d'Amor | 1350 c. | Manuscript illumination | 32,4 x 23,5 cm | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2583 (Asterisk), fol. 51r
□ PH | TB 131 | BR

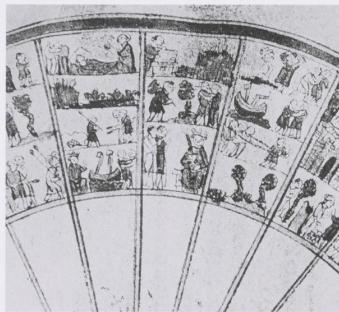
[3] A / CASTILIAN

Collection of manuscripts | 1280–1284 c. | Illuminated manuscript | 33 x 24 c. cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 1283

3¹ A / CASTILIAN

The Moon Riding a Hare
fol. 23v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB 216/3

O.T.P. Der Mond auf einem Hasen reitend. Die 28 Sektoren bezeichnen die 28 Stationen des Mondes. In jeder Station die dieser astrologisch entsprechenden Berufe. Aus einer span. Handschr. des XIV. Jahrh. | The Moon riding a hare. The 28 sections indicate the 28 stations of the moon. In each station, the occupations that astrologically correspond to each one. From a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century



3² A / CASTILIAN
Virgo with the Representation of the Decans
fol. 5v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

3³ A / CASTILIAN
Lion
fol. 10v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Die mit dem Tierkreiszeichen "Löwe" zugleich aufgehenden Sternbilder nach Meinung 1. der Inder 2. der Perser, Ägypter und Chaldaäer, 3. des Ptolemäus. Aus einer span. Handschr. des XIV. Jahrh. | The constellations that rise at the same time as the zodiac sign of Leo according to (1) the Indians (2) the Persians, the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, and (3) to Ptolemy. From a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century

3⁴ A / CASTILIAN
The Planet Mars and its Angelic Spirits
fol. 29v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Der Planet Mars und seine Engel-Geister (aus einer span. Handschr. des XIV. Jahrh.) | The planet Mars and its angelical spirits (from a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century)

3⁵ A / CASTILIAN
The Sky of the Planet Mars
fol. 28v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 216/1, 434/3

O.T.P. Der Himmel des Planeten Mars (aus einer span. Handschr. des XIV. Jahrh.) | The sky of the planet Mars (from a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century)

VERSO "Sax Lectures 45"

3⁶ A / CASTILIAN
Asclepius in the Sign of Scorpio
fol. 7v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 216/4

O.T.P. Das Tierkreiszeichen Skorpion und 30 fantastische Sterne zu dessen 30 Graden zugeordnet als Grundlage für die Prognostiken für jeden Tag des Monats (span. Handschr. XIV. Jahrh.) | The zodiac sign of Scorpio and the 30 fantastic constellations that correspond to its 30 decans as a basis for the prognostication related to each day of the week (Spanish manuscript of the 14th century)

3⁷ A / CASTILIAN
Prayer and Sacrifice to the Planet Mercury
fol. 31v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 216/2, 435/8

O.T.P. Gebet und Opfer für den Planeten Merkur (der auf einem Pfau reitet) in den Zeichen Widder und Stier (aus einer span. Handschr. des XIV. Jahrh.) | Prayer and sacrifice to the planet Mercury – who is riding a peacock – in the signs of Aries and Taurus (from a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century)



4 A / CASTILIAN
Motifs for the Zodiac Signs Aries

From: Lapidario: De las virtudes y propiedades de diversas piedras, Mandado hacer por Alfonso el Sabio a Rabbi Jehudah Mosca, Toledano, y al clérigo Garci-Pérez | 1250–1276 | Manuscript illumination | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS H. I. 15, fols. 94v, 15r
□ PH | TB | BR 216/6, 220/12b, 434/7, 440/1c, 440/1d

O.T.P. Bilder der 10 Gestirne (Dekane) zum Eingravieren in Zaubersteine (Handschr. des XIII. Jahrh.) | Representations of the stars and the decan to be engraved in magic stones (manuscript of the 13th century)





En otra maniera de ordenar el zodiaco que se fijan en las partes de las seyntas celas que son en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas. En la parte de las estaciones se fijan en la parte de las horas y en la parte de las estaciones. En la parte de las horas se fijan en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas.

En otra maniera de ordenar el zodiaco que se fijan en las partes de las seyntas celas que son en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas. En la parte de las estaciones se fijan en la parte de las horas y en la parte de las estaciones. En la parte de las horas se fijan en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas.

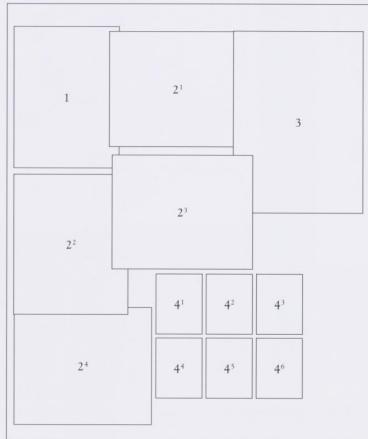
Capitulo segundu per fijar el zodiaco que se fijan en las partes de las seyntas celas que son en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas. En la parte de las estaciones se fijan en la parte de las horas y en la parte de las estaciones. En la parte de las horas se fijan en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas.

Capitulo tercero per fijar el zodiaco que se fijan en las partes de las seyntas celas que son en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas. En la parte de las estaciones se fijan en la parte de las horas y en la parte de las estaciones. En la parte de las horas se fijan en la parte de las estaciones y en la parte de las horas.



Panel 23

Southern Italian-Arab Antiquity. The Salone dei Mesi as the huge page of a book intended to determine fate. Dante schema. (Angeli is missing!)



1 A / NORTHERN ITALIAN (PADUA)
The Planetary Deities

From: Michael Scotus, *Liber introductorius* | 1340 c. | Pen and wash drawings | 30.5 x 48 cm c. | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10268, fol. 85r

□ PH | TB 478 | BR 218/1, 436/4

O.T.P. Die orientalischen Planeten in mittelalterlich christlichem Gewand: Saturn als Krieger, Jupiter als Richter, Venus Edelfrau, Mars Krieger und Mercur als Bischof (Michael Scotus, 13. Jahrhd.) | The oriental planets in the medieval and Christian guise: Saturn as warrior, Jupiter as judge, Venus as noblewoman, Mars as warrior and Mercury as bishop (Michael Scotus, 13th century)

[2] GIOVANNI DEGLI ERMITANI OR

NICOLÒ MIRETTO AND STEFANO DA FERRARA
Salone del Palazzo della Ragione
Overview

O.T.P. Der Salone im Padua 82 M. lang, 27 M. breit. Der größte der Astrologie dienende Raum der Neuzeit. An den Wänden über 300 astrologische Wandbilder (XIV. Jahrh.). | The Salone of Padua: 82 metres in length, 27 metres width. The biggest early modern space ever dedicated to astrology. On the walls more than 300 astrological mural paintings (14th century)

2¹ GIOVANNI DEGLI ERMITANI

Great Hall of the Palazzo della Ragione

From: Michael Scotus, *Liber introductorius* | 1340 c. | Pen and wash drawings | 30.5 x 48 cm c. | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10268, fol. 85r

□ PH | TB 478 | BR 218/1, 436/4

O.T.P. Der Salone im Padua 82 M. lang, 27 M. breit. Der größte der Astrologie dienende Raum der Neuzeit. An den Wänden über 300 astrologische Wandbilder (XIV. Jahrh.). | The Salone of Padua: 82 metres in length, 27 metres width. The biggest early modern space ever dedicated to astrology. On the walls more than 300 astrological mural paintings (14th century)

2² NICOLÒ MIRETTO AND STEFANO DA FERRARA

Depictions of the Constellations, the Planet Jupiter

1420–1425 | Fresco

□ PH | TB 141,260 | BR 218/3

O.T.P. Wandgemälde im Salone in Padua. Oberster Streifen phantastische Sternbilder, darunter der Planet Jupiter als König und seine "Kinder" (Berufe) (XIV. Jahrh.) | The Salone of Padua, mural painting. On the upper field: fantastic constellations, amongst which is the planet Jupiter in the guise of a ruler and his "children" (occupations) (14th century)



2³ NICOLÒ MIRETTO AND STEFANO DA FERRARA
FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO GIOTTO DI BONDONE AND WORKSHOP
Depictions of the Planet Mars
1420–1425 | Fresco

□ PH | TB 141,260 | BR 218/4, 380/5

O.T.P. Wandgemälde im Salone in Padua. Oberster Streifen phantastische Sternbilder, darunter der Widder. Das ihm zugehörige Monatsbild Mars (Doppelhorn Based) und Kinder des Widder-Planeten Mars (XIV. Jahrh.) | The Salone of Padua, mural painting. On the upper field: fantastic constellations, amongst which is Aries. The representation of the month of Mars (who is playing the double horn) and the children of the planet Mars assigned to the zodiac of Aries (14th century)



2⁴ NICOLÒ MIRETTO AND STEFANO DA FERRARA
FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO GIOTTO AND WORKSHOP
Coronation of the Virgin and Depictions of Constellations, of Aquarius
1420–1425 | Fresco

□ PH | TB 141,260 | BR 122/3, 324/7

O.T.P. Wandgemälde im Salone in Padua. Oberster Streifen phantastische Sternbilder, darunter der Wassermann und seine "Kinder" (Berufe) XIV. Jahrh. | The Salone of Padua, mural painting. On the upper field: fantastic constellations, amongst which is Aquarius and its "children" (occupations) 14th century

3 A / AUSTRIAN
Schema der drei Reiche des Jenseits nach Dante | *Schema of the Three Otherworldly Realms after Dante*

From: Julius von Schlosser, Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura, in: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, vol. 17, Prag, Wien, Leipzig 1896 (fig. 8, p. 42) | 36 x 28 cm c. | London, The Warburg Institute

□ PH | TB cf. 260 | BR 218/15, 280/1

O.T.P. In der Divina Comedia über der Erde das Purgatorium. Darüber die 10 Himmelssphären [mit] ihren Wissenschaften, Tugenden u.s.w. | In the Divine Comedy, Purgatory over Earth. Above Purgatory the 10 celestial spheres with the respective sciences, virtues, etc.

[4] WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
From: Michael Scotus, *Liber introductorius* | 1392 | Illuminated manuscript with text | 29.5 x 21.5 cm | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2352

4¹ WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Venus and Mercury as Planetary Deities

fol. 28v | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR

4² WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Saturn as Planetary Deity

fol. 31v | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR

4³ WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Luna as Planetary Deity

fol. 27r | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR

4⁴ WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Mars as Planetary Deity

fol. 28r | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR

4⁵ WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Jupiter as Planetary Deity

fol. 27v | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR

4⁶ WENZELSWERKSTATT (WORKSHOP OF WENCESLAS)
Sol as Planetary Deity

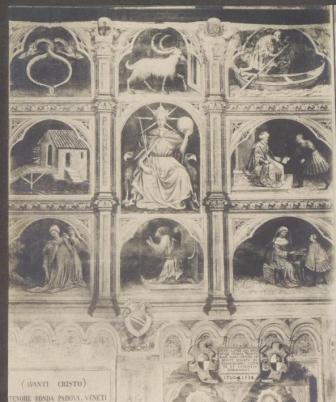
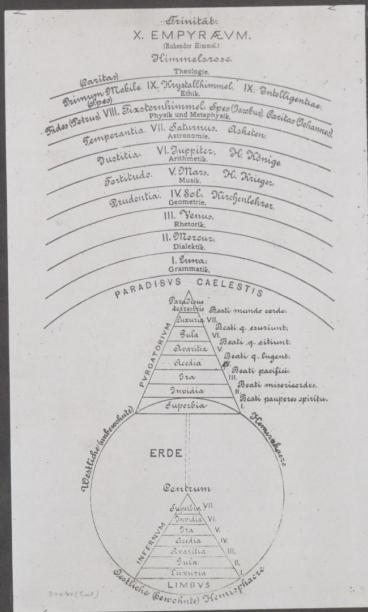
fol. 29r | Manuscript illumination

□ PH | TB | BR





From Michael Scotus, *Liber Astronomiae*, Padua, 14th cent.
Michael Scotus was astronomer to the Emperor Frederick II in Southern Italy. His square's court, a meeting place between East and West, was a channel through which Arabic knowledge of astronomy entered the European tradition and had its strongest influence in the Western world.



WANDMAEDE IN SALONE IN PAVIA. OBERSTER STREIFEN PHANTASTISCHE STEINBILDER, DARUNTEN DER WIDDER DIAPETEN HAUS (XII. JAHRH.)



WANDMAEDE IN SALONE IN PAVIA.—
OBERSTER STREIFEN PHANTASTISCHE STEINBILDER, DARUNTEN DER PLANET JUPITER ALS KONIG UND SEINE
KINDER (XII. JAHRH.)

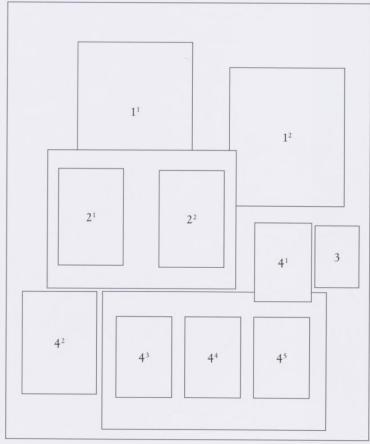


WANDMAEDE IN SALONE IN PAVIA. OBERSTER STREIFEN PHANTASTISCHE STEINBILDER, DARUNTEN DER WASHERMANN
UND SEINE KINDER (XII. JAHRH.)



Panel 23a

Regular body as a micro-universe for determining fate by the throwing of dice. Leafing through a book as reading the universe (book of fortune, Lorenzo Spirito). [Books on geomancy missing] Lorenzo Spirito = link to the North. Conception of Fortuna with her wheel as ineluctable fate.



¹ JOANNES CHIFLETIUS

Astrological Dodecahedrons and Amulets

From: Ioannes Macarius Canonicus Ariensis, Abraxas seu Apistopistus (...), Antwerp (Balthasar Moretus) 1657, Pl. XII | Engraving

PH | TB | BR 208/3

¹ A / Paleochristian Gnostic Solar Amulets

From: ibid., Pl. XVIII | Engraving

PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Gnostische Sonnenamulette (frühchristl. Zeit), Tf. XVIII | Gnostic Solar Amulets (early Christian period)

² A / FRENCH

Le plaisir jeu du dodecahedron de Fortune

The Amusing Game of the Dodecahedron of Fortune
Wrongly published as written by Jean de Meung. From: Le plaisir jeu du dodecahedron de fortune, non moins récréatif, que subtil et ingénieux, Paris 1560, A ii | Engraving

PH | TB | BR 210/1a

² A / FRENCH

Le plaisir jeu du dodecahedron de Fortune

The Amusing Game of the Dodecahedron of Fortune

From: ibid., A iiii | Engraving

PH | TB | BR 210/1b

³ A / NORTHERN ITALIAN (MILAN)

Leopard

From: Lorenzo Spirito, Libro delle Sorti, Milan (Pietro Mantegazza) | 1500 or 1509 | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm | Venice, Biblioteca Marciana

PH | TB | BR

VERSO Libro della Ventura (Lor. Spirito) Mailand, Pietro Casano de Mantegatiss - 1500



⁴ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (PERUGIA)

Saturn

From: Libro delle Sorti | 1487? | Woodcut | Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, It. IX.87 (=6226)?

PH | TB | BR

VERSO Venedig

⁴ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (PERUGIA)

Question and Answer Game

From: Lorenzo Spirito, Libro delle Sorti, Perugia (Stephan Arndes) 1482, Title page [with erased stamp of the library] | Woodcut | 24.3×17.4cm | Ulm, Stadtbibliothek Ulm, Schad 13 281

PR | TB | BR

⁴ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (PERUGIA)

Wheel of Fortune

From: ibid., fol. 10v | Woodcut

PH | TB | BR 210/2a, 290/5a

O.T.P. Astrologisches Losbuch mit Darstellungen des Glücksrades, des Planeten Saturn und der Könige, an die Fragen gestellt werden (Perugia 14..) | Astrological Losbuch [fortune telling book] with representations of the wheel of fortune, the planet Saturn and the kings to whom questions are asked (Perugia 14..)



⁴ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (PERUGIA)

Saturn

From: ibid., fol. 31v | Woodcut

PH | TB | BR 290/5b

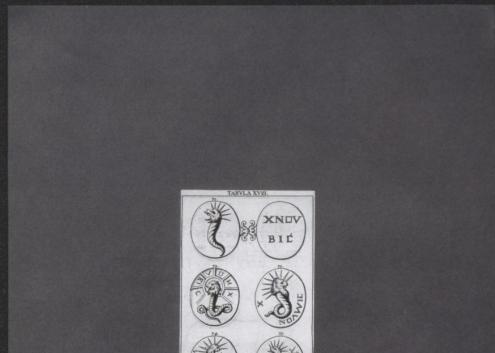
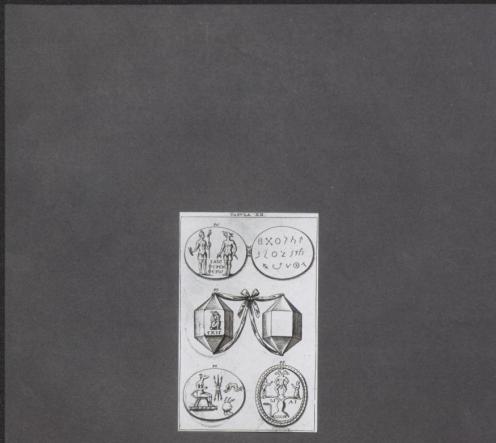
⁴ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (PERUGIA)

Four Kings from the Old Testament: David, Solomon, Zurno and Jubal

From: ibid., fol. 2v | Woodcut

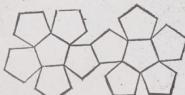
PH | TB | BR 210/2c, 290/5c





AVLECTEUR

Ntreys se ius et paſſefez de fortun
dant reys en ceſſance, celiuy quez adou-
touſe maieſte Iean de Muſ, excellente
poete François, de temps du Roi Charleſ le
Quatre, q̄l a monſtrent le plus
arriueſ. Car il y preſeſt des reigles, & deſmonſtrations
de l'ariflogie indiſciplinare ſes effets & proprieteſ
quez deux ou treys de laiſſer. Fagant ſes demandes &
reponſes tant bonnes que malades, qui n'en poyſt
defier. D'auantage il print pour l'illuminacion de ſon ſiege
noble deſſignement de l'ordre Didechon, ſur poyſer d'au-
tant de ſemperies que l'ordre d'auantage de deau-
tant de ſolides, & auantage plaineſſe, & contine vingt & deux
ſolides, & auantage plaineſſe, pour que plaineſſe & ſor-
tante excellente. Celleſſe a ſieſt clémént par les auancs la plus
excellente paſſeſſe. Toute la genematiſſe ſainte que
l'ordre accompane a deſſe grande machine du ſiege, la conſer-
vacion duquel accompane deauantage, & donc auantage, ſi il dimi-
nuoit ſes degrés, ſe deſſouloient contineſſe ſe face
partageant, ſomptuoz deſſouloient la prentre ſainte.



4

ADVERTISSEMENT

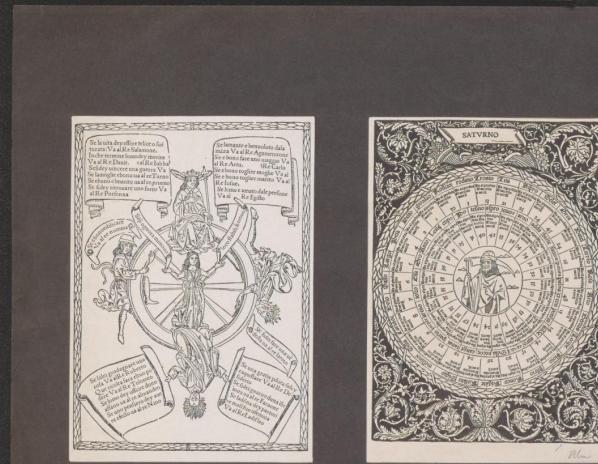
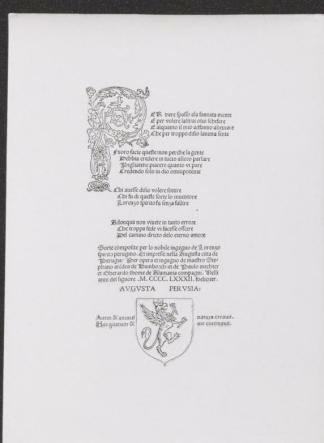
Or chacune face pentagone se divise en cinq isopleures ou triangles, & chacun isopleure se subdivise en six scalenes, qui sont triangles inégaux, comme on peut voir en ces deux figures.



Partant le Dodechedron contient 360 scalenes, & doib
en icelluy chacune face pentagone estre si bien compassee & me-
suree, que l'une n'aduance point sur l'autre, mais fault qu'il
contienne également l'arondeur angulaire, comme en la pre-
sente figure.



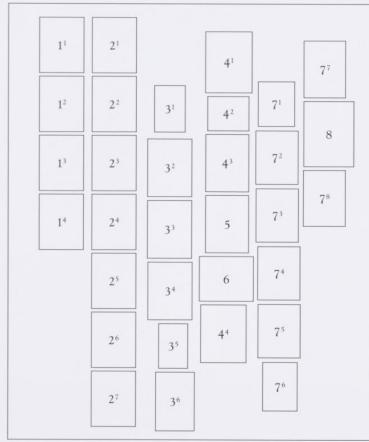
Mais pour que l'ay receu plainte d'aucuns, que ce estoit la premiere edition, estoit trop difficile, & faisoit a comprendre, tans pour l'ouverture de la table, que des chiffres, & des uers nombrés mal aisez, a etezen, qui leur causoit a rencontrer le plus sainement ces proportions, & mal convenable a leur demande equivoq', tellement qu'icelle de degouffement du liure, se trouuoit frustre du plaisir qu'il y avoit en recueillir. Cela me fit de la chagrin & renoueller plusieurs fois cette forme plus grande & facile. Encore que je soy bien informé, que tel qu'il a este diminue qu'il estoit, la natiomme n'en est pas tenu, tant pour



Panel 24

Theory of planetary filiation. (The North). Theoretical basis for practice.

TB 332



- [1] A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
Kalendarisches Hausbuch of Master Joseph | 1470–1475 | Illuminated manuscript | 28×21 cm | Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M. d. 2

- 1¹ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
The Planet Jupiter and its Children
fol. 268r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1² A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
Luna and its Children
fol. 272r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1³ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
The Planet Mercury and its Children
fol. 271r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR



- 1⁴ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (ULM)
The Planet Venus and its Children
fol. 270r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

- [2] A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Passauer Kalender | Passau Calendar
Konrad Roesner, 1445 | Woodcuts | 36.7×28 cm | Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek (formerly Landesbibliothek) MS astron. I (2^o)

- 2¹ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Sunday (Sol, Leo, Sun)
Figures praying and fighting | fol. 56v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Der Hut neben den Kriegern. Leuchter auf dem Altar. Baum im Hgr. Mann mit d. Stab, auf d. Heidelberg Fragment. strahlender Löwenkopf [unleserlich]. Der König fehlt ebenfalls im Hausbuch und Vind 308" [Most of the illustrations on panel 24 have notes on the back, documenting the attempt to compare the different editions of the planet children in detail. We only cite a few.]

- 2² A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Monday (Moon, Cancer)
Watermill, fishing, barber | fol. 50r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2³ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Thursday (Whitsun), (Jupiter, Pisces, Sagittarius)
fol. 60v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2⁴ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Wednesday (Mercury, Gemini, Virgo)
Painter, organ builder, goldsmith, sculptor, scribe | fol. 52r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO Stamp "Fritz Saxl" [as well as a long handwritten note on the inventory of the different motifs and comparison with other manuscripts]

- 2⁵ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Tuesday (Ertag), (Mars, Scorpio, Aries)
Figures fighting | fol. 58v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2⁶ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Friday (Venus, Libra, Taurus)
Dancing and quarreling couples in the countryside and five musicians playing the lute, harp, trumpet and flutes | fol. 54r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2⁷ A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (PASSAU)
Saturday (Saturn, Aquarius, Capricorn)
Agriculture, gambling, gallows | fol. 62v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- [3] MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
Mittelalterliches Hausbuch | Medieval Housebook
1470 | Illuminated manuscript | 25×15 cm | Private collection

- 3¹ MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
Luna and its Children
fol. 17r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- 3² MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
The Planet Mars and its Children
fol. 13r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- 3³ MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
The Planet Mercury and its Children
fol. 10r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- 3⁴ MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
The Planet Jupiter and its Children
fol. 12r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- 3⁵ MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET) OR LATER ARTIST?
The Planet Venus and its Children
fol. 15r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR



- 3⁶ MASTER OF THE HOUSEBOOK
(MASTER OF THE AMSTERDAM CABINET)
The Planet Saturn and its Children
fol. 11r | Pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- [4] A / GERMAN (PROBABLY SWABIAN)
Book of Planets

Also known as Folge der sieben Planeten | 1470 c. | Coloured woodcuts | 21×16 cm whole book | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ink 2.D.41 (more complete in: London, British Library, IA.27, dated "before 1445", and: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, ANV 37, dated "1450–1465")

- 4¹ A / GERMAN
The Sun
fol. 10 | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 4² A / GERMAN
The Children of the Planet Mars
fol. 9 | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 4³ A / GERMAN
The Children of the Sun
fol. 11 | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 4⁴ A / GERMAN
The Planet Venus
fol. 12 | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 5 A / SWISS (ST GALLEN)
The Planet Mercury and its Children
From: Gallus Kemli Diversarius multarum materiarum | 15th century | Coloured woodcut | Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C 101, fol. 13v
□ PH | TB | BR

- 6 A / EAST CENTRAL GERMAN
The Children of the Sun
From: Heidelberger Bilderkatechismus (Handschrift); Biblia pauperum (Blockbuch); Totentanz (Blockbuch) (...) | 1455–1458 | Coloured woodcut | Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 438, fol. 150r
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Sehr ähnlich der Casseler Darstellung | Nur fehlt ebenso wie im Hausbuch dort der König"

- [7] A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Le Comptot et calendrier des Bergiers / Chart and Calendar of Shepherds
First edition, Paris 1491, until 1500 several further editions from the same woodblocks, but with different typefaces. It is yet unclear which edition Warburg used. The edition in Florence bears the greatest resemblance | Paris (Guy Marchant 1496) | Woodcut | 24.9×19 cm | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Magl. L.5.14

- 7¹ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Moon
Detail of fol. 71r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7² A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Planet Mars
Detail of fol. 69v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7³ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Planet Mercury
Detail of fol. 70v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7⁴ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Planet Jupiter
Detail of fol. 68v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7⁵ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Planet Venus
Detail of fol. 70r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7⁶ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
The Children of the Planet Saturn
Detail of fol. 68r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7⁷ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Venus, Mercury and Moon/Luna
Detail of fol. 67r | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7⁸ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and Sol/Sun
Detail of fol. 66v | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

- 8 A / SOUTHERN GERMAN
The Rape of Helen
From: Guido delle Colonne, Historia Destructionis Troiae | 1470 | Manuscript illumination | 23×16 cm | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 61 S 120, fol. 58r
□ PH | TB | BR

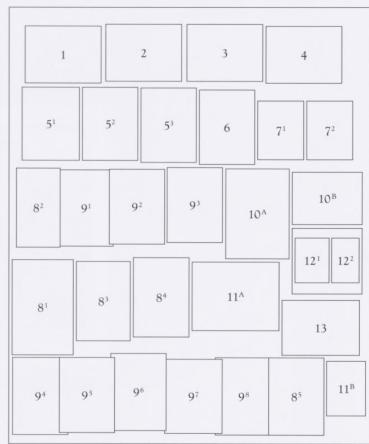
24



Panel 25

Rimini: pneumatic conception of the spheres as opposed to the fetishistic conception. Antique form.

TB 313, 321, 358f., 363, 399, 457



1 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
Tempio Malatestiano | Malatesta Temple
Facade | 1493 (reconstruction) | Cathedral church | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano
□ PH | TB | BR 314/1

2 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
Tempio Malatestiano | Malatesta Temple
Exterior view of the south side with the sarcophagus niches | 15th century | Cathedral church | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano
□ PH | TB | BR

3 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
Tempio Malatestiano | Malatesta Temple
Interior view with chapels (Cappella d'Isotta and Cappella dei Planeti) | 15th century | Cathedral church | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano
□ PH | TB | BR

4 LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
Tempio Malatestiano | Malatesta Temple
Interior view | 15th century | Cathedral church | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano
□ PH | TB | BR

5¹ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Tomb of the Ancestors and Descendants of Sigismondo Malatesta
Detail: Temple of Minerva | 1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella della Madonna dell'Acqua
□ PH | TB | BR



5² AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Tomb of the Ancestors and Descendants of Sigismondo Malatesta
1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella della Madonna dell'Acqua
□ PH | TB | BR

5³ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Tomb of the Ancestors and Descendants of Sigismondo Malatesta
Detail: Minerva's Triumph | 1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella della Madonna dell'Acqua
□ PH | TB | BR

6 AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Hercules
1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cella della Vergine, right door pillar
□ PH | TB | BR

7¹ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Sibyls and Prophets
Cimmerian Sybil, Phrygian Sybil, Erythraean Sybil, Helleopolitan Sybil, Micah, Tiburtine Sybil (left pillar) | 1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella della Madonna dell'Acqua
□ PH | TB | BR

7² AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Sibyls and Prophets
Samian Sybil, Persian Sybil, Cuman Sybil, Libyan Sybil, Isaiah, Delphic Sybil (right pillar) | 1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella della Madonna dell'Acqua
□ PH | TB | BR

8¹ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Muses and Liberal Arts
Overview of the reliefs with handwritten notes | 1447–1454 | Marble relief | Rimini, Tempio Malatestiano, Cappella delle Arti Liberali
□ PH | TB 113 f., 321 | BR

RECTO [Handwritten notes on the mount, partly later than 1929]
Left side: "Seite des Fensters. [Later:] Astronomy, Geometry, Dialectic, Grammar. Seite des Fensters. Musica mundana [later:] Arithmetric. Music" Centre top: "Rechter [Pfeiler]" Centre: "Linker Pfeiler" Centre bottom: "Musica instrumentalis" Right side: "Seite des Mittelschiffs. Musica instrumentalis. Seite des Mittelschiffs. Musica instrumentalis. Musica Celeste! 1. Nov. [1928]"

8² AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Apollo
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 384/27

8³ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Philosophy
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

8⁴ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Euterpe
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 290/1, 314/4

8⁵ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Music
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

9¹ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Jupiter
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 314/8, 384/26

9² AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Mercury
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 314/7

9³ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Saturn
ibid.
□ PH | TB 363 | BR 350/8, 380/3

9⁴ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Luna/Moon
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

9⁵ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Cancer
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

9⁶ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Libra
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

9⁷ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Gemini
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

9⁸ AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Venus
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 322/9, 379/47

10^A AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Oratory of San Bernardino
Facade | 1457–1461 | Marble relief | Perugia, Oratorio di San Bernardino
□ PH | TB | BR 312/16

10^B AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Miracle of San Bernardino
On the facade of the Oratorio di San Bernardino over the left door | 1457–1461 | Lintel relief | Perugia, Oratorio di San Bernardino
□ PH | TB | BR 314/12

11^A AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Legend of St. Sigismund
1450–1457 | Marble relief | Milan, Castello Sforzesco
□ PH | TB | BR 314/9

11^B AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
Legend of St. Sigismund
Detail of P25/11^A | 1450–1457 | Marble relief
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Inversion. Enthusiasm e Agony"



12¹ A /
Dancing Maenad
Reversal of an outline drawing, showing a detail of a Neo-Attic relief from AD 120–140 c., after a work by the sculptor Kallimachos, end of the 5th century BC, today in Madrid, Museo del Prado. From: Franz Winter, 50. Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 1890, fig. p. 103, typus 18 | Drawing
□ PH | TB | BR 314/5

12² BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI
Mary Magdalene
Crucifixion, detail | 1485–1490 | Bronze relief | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR 314/16

VERSO "Bertoldo [deleted:] Donatello"

13 FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI
Allegory of Discord
1474–1480 c. | Relief in stucco | 47.5 × 68 × 4.5 cm | London, Victoria and Albert Museum
□ PH | TB cf. 360 | BR

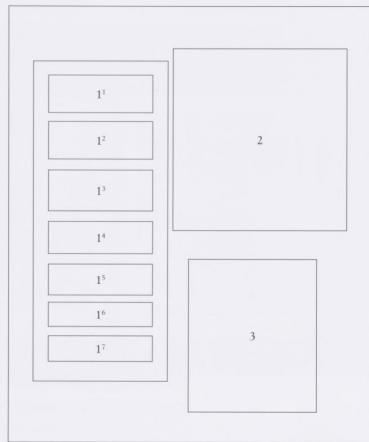
VERSO "Francesco de Giorgio. Discordia [...] Several figures seem to be taken over – directly or transformed – from the Battle of Romans & Barbarians. Sarcophagus, Rome. Villa Doria Pamphilj"



Panel 26

Comprehensive systematic cosmological calendar (Tycho Brahe)
as the link from Rimini to Schifanoia.

TB 510, 552



- 1¹⁻⁷ JOHANN THEODOR DE BRY AND
MATTHÄUS MERIAN THE ELDER (?)
*Calendarium naturale magicum perpetuum profundissimam
rerum secretissimarum contemplationem totiusque Philosophiae
cognitionem complectens | Perpetual Calendar of Natural
Magic Embracing the Most Profound Contemplation of the
Most Secret Things and Knowledge of All Philosophy*
Frankfurt 1620 | Engravings and printed text | 119 x 57.2 cm |
Some illustrations wrongly attributed to Tycho Brahe by the
editors

PH | TB | BR 232/1



- 2 MARY HERTZ
Schematic Drawing of the Tabula Bianchini
An astrological divination board with zodiac and decans from
the 2nd century AD (see P3/2) | 1911 c. | Drawing, coloured |
London, The Warburg Institute

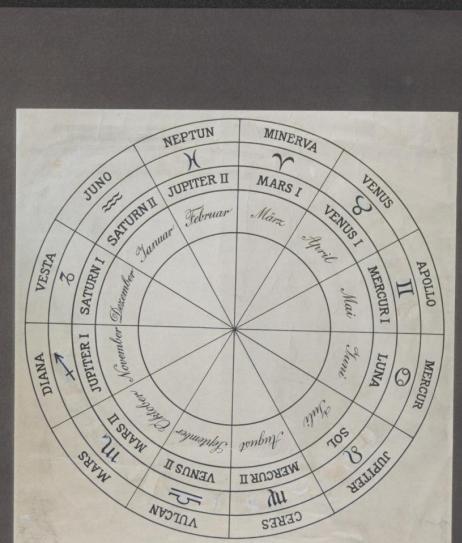
DR | TB | BR 120/1, 208/2

- 3 A /
*Schema of the Synoptic Sphere with the Rulers of the Months
according to the Latin Poet Manilius [AD 30] and to the Greek
Astrologers*
From: Abi Warburg, Italienische Kunst und internationale
Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoia zu Ferrara, in: Venturi,
Adolfo (ed.): L'Italia e l'arte straniera: atti del X Congresso
Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte in Roma, Rome 1922, 179-193,
pl. XXXVII

PH | TB | BR 122/7, 124/13a, 220/15, 324/8, 440/3

O.T.P. [Lost, not in Gesammelte Schriften and cut off in the
photograph, reconstructed with pre-penultimate panel 8] Ver-
gleichstafel astrologischer Systeme: Tierkreiszeichen und Monate
aufgeteilt a) auf die 12 römischen Götter (Manelius) b) auf die
7 Planeten | Chart for comparing astrological systems: zodiac signs
and months divided a) between the 12 Roman gods (Manelius)
b) between the 7 planets

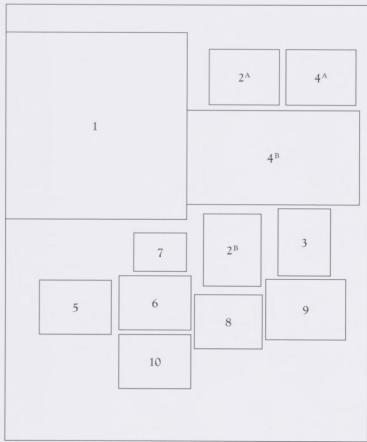
RECTO "Kann jetzt ersetzt werden. Warburg, 14 II [1]913"



Panel 27

The Palazzo Schifanoia.

TB 232, 356, 399



- 1 MARY HERTZ
Schematic Representation of the Astrological Frescoes in Palazzo Schifanoia
1911 c. | Drawing, coloured | London, The Warburg Institute
□ DR | TB | BR 220/11

O.T.P. System der Wandbilder im Pal. Schifanoia in Ferrara 1. Römische Götter als die Monatsregenten 2. Tierkreiszeichen und Beherrischer der 10° Dekane nach indischer Lehre 3. Monatsbeschäftungen von Hof und Volk | System of the murals in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara 1. Roman gods as the rulers of the months 2. Signs of the zodiac and rulers of the 10° decans according to Indian teaching 3. Monthly occupations of court and people

- 2A FRANCESCO DEL COSSA
The Occupations of the Month of April with the Triumph of Venus, Chained Mars, and the Decans of the Month
The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi
□ PH | TB | BR 324/11



- 2B FRANCESCO DEL COSSA
The Triumph of Venus and the Chained Mars
Detail of P27/2A | 1470 c. | Fresco | Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi
□ PH | TB | BR

- 3 MASTER OF MARY OF BURGUNDY

The Swan Knight and the Lady

From: La chronique des haulx et nobles Princes de Cleves | 1480 c. | Manuscript illumination | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.gall. 19, fol. 1r

□ PH | TB | BR

- 4A FRANCESCO DEL COSSA

The Occupations of the Month of Mars with Triumph of Minerva and the Decans of the Month

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

□ PH | TB | BR 122/11, 220/99, 346/17, 440/2

- 4B FRANCESCO DEL COSSA

Triumph of Minerva

Detail of P27/4A

□ PH | TB | BR

- 5 ATTRIBUTED TO GHERARDO DI ANDREA FIORINI DA VICENZA

The Occupations of the Month of August with the Triumph of Ceres and the Decans of the Month

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

□ PH | TB | BR

- 6 ATTRIBUTED TO MAESTRO DAGLI OCCHI SPALANCATI

FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO CIRCLE OF FRANCESCO DEL COSSA
The Occupations of the Month of July with the Triumph of Jupiter and Cybele and the Decans of the Months

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

□ PH | TB | BR 324/10, 380/26

VERSO "Leo (July). The Triumph of Jupiter and Kybele. Left background: praying monks. Right background: Attis. Left foreground: The marriage of Bianca d'Este and Galeotto della Mirandola. Leo and his three Decans"

- 7

A / Redrawing/Outline of the Throne of Tiryns

From: Wolfgang Reichel, Über vorhellenische Götterculte, Vienna 1897, p. 7, fig. 2 | Part of a book page with illustration

□ BK | TB | BR 324/4

- 8 ATTRIBUTED TO MAESTRO DAGLI OCCHI SPALANCATI

The Occupations of the Month of June with the Triumph of Mercury and the Decans of the Months

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

□ PH | TB | BR

- 9 FRANCESCO DEL COSSA AND WORKSHOP

The Occupations of the Month of May with the Triumph of Apollo and the Decans of the Months

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | 250×320 cm c. |
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

□ PH | TB | BR

- 10 ATTRIBUTED TO ERCOLE DE ROBERTI

The Occupations of the Month of September with the Triumph of Vulcan and the Decans of the Month

The two upper registers | 1470 c. | Fresco | Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi

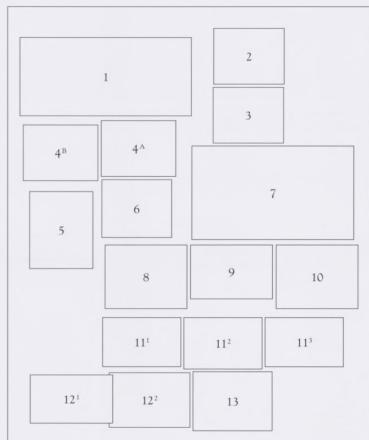
□ PH | TB | BR





Panel 28-29

Contemporary life in motion (transition: lowest register in the Palazzo Schifanoia) joust, conjurer, racing, hunt, battle. Cassoni as bearers of these representations.



1 APOLLONIO DI GIOVANNI

Tournament in the Square of Santa Croce, Florence
Hand painted colour code for the cassone panel | 1440 c. | Tempera on panel | New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery, James Jackson Jarves Collection
□ DR | TB | BR 316/2

O.T.P. *Farben-Schlüssel zu Dello Delli's Tournier* | Colour code of Dello Delli's Tournament

2 ROSELLO DI JACOPO FRANCHI

The Race of the Palio in the Streets of Florence
Panel from a cassone | 1418 | Tempera and gold on panel | 46.5 x 143.5 x 7 cm | Cleveland (OH), The Cleveland Museum of Art
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Pferderennen, Florent. um 1420 [Schubring 904]. Schlagwort: Cassone - Festwesen"

3 BARTOLOMEO DA COIANO OR BARTOLOMEO DI SER PIERO DI RICCOMANNO MIGLIORATI DA COIANO

Tournament (Giostra) Score-card
With the names of the families involved and the date of the tournament. From: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Notarile antecostumiano 14144, c. 53r | 15th century | Ink on paper
□ PH | TB | BR

4A GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO TOSCANI

Palio of St. John the Baptist (or Corsa dei Barberi)
Panel from a cassone | 1425-1430 c. | Tempera on panel | 192 x 41 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR

4B GIOVANNI DI FRANCESCO TOSCANI

Triaca (Antidote) Sellers
Detail of P28-29/4^a
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Schubring 24. Burl. Mag. 1918 XXXII, p. 218 ss."



5 GIULIO ROMANO

Capricorn-Serpentarius
Snake charmer / Triaca (antidote) seller | 1527-1528 | Fresco | Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Camera dei Venti
□ PH | TB | BR



6 PAOLO UCCELLO

St. George and the Dragon
1470 c. | Oil on canvas | 55.6 x 74.2 cm | London, National Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR

7 PAOLO UCCELLO

The Hunt in the Forest
1465-1470 c. | Tempera and oil, with traces of gold, on panel | 73.3 x 177 cm | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
□ PH | TB | BR

8 PAOLO UCCELLO

The Battle of San Romano: Niccolò Maurizi da Tolentino Unseats Bernardino da Carda
Second scene out of three | 1435-1460 c. | Tempera on panel | 182 x 323 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PH | TB | BR

9 PAOLO UCCELLO

Niccolò Maurizi da Tolentino at the Battle of San Romano
First scene out of three | 1438-1440 c. | Egg tempera with walnut oil and linseed oil on poplar | 182 x 320 cm | London, National Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR

10 PAOLO UCCELLO

The Battle of San Romano: the Counterattack by Micheletto da Cotignola
Third and last scene | 1435-1440 c. | Tempera on panel | 182 x 317 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ PH | TB | BR

11^a PAOLO UCCELLO

The Miracle of the Desecrated Host
A sacrilegious woman exchanges the host for money, profanation and bleeding of the host and capture of the Jewish man and his family. First and second scenes of the predella of the Altarpiece of the Corpus Domini | 1467-1469 | Tempera on panel | 351 x 43 cm whole predella | Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche
□ PH | TB | BR

11^b PAOLO UCCELLO

The Miracle of the Desecrated Host
The Jewish man and his family are burned at the stake and angels and devils contend over the soul of the sacrilegious woman. Fifth and sixth scenes of the predella of the Altarpiece of the Corpus Domini | 1467-1469 | Tempera on panel | 351 x 43 cm whole predella | Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche
□ PH | TB | BR

11^c PAOLO UCCELLO

The Miracle of the Desecrated Host

The Jewish man and his family are burned at the stake and angels and devils contend over the soul of the sacrilegious woman. Fifth and sixth scenes of the predella of the Altarpiece of the Corpus Domini | 1467-1469 | Tempera on panel | 351 x 43 cm whole predella | Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche
□ PH | TB | BR

12^a ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF MARRADI

The Rape of the Sabines

Cassone panel | 1465-1488 c. | Oil on panel | 172.5 x 44 cm cassone | Leeds, Harewood House
□ PH | TB | BR 342/7

VERSO "Raub der Sabinerinnen | Redditi-Wappen. | Schubring. Cassoni Nr. 298."

12^b ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF MARRADI

The Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines

Alternative title: The Generosity of Scipio | Cassone panel | 1460-1488 c. | Oil on panel | 173.2 x 44.1 cm cassone | Leeds, Harewood House
□ PH | TB | BR

13 GIOVANNI DI SER GIOVANNI

ALSO KNOWN AS LO SCHEGGIA

Marriage Ceremony
Also known as Cassone Adimari, even though it was originally a spalliera | 1450-1460 | Tempera on panel | 303 x 88.5 cm | Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia
□ PH | TB | BR

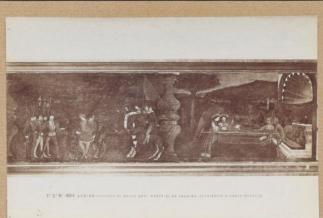
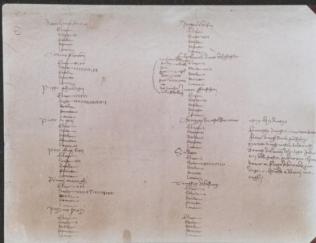
VERSO "Schubring No. 256 [...] wrongly identified as Marriage Ricasoli-Adimari (22.VI.1420)"



28



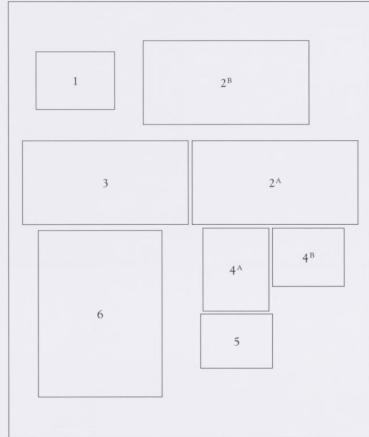
29



Panel 30

Piero della Francesca. Monumentalizing and dissociation.
In addition: Gozzoli. Palaeologus.

TB 127, 357, 466



1 ANTONIO PISANELLO

Medal of John VIII Palaeologus

Profile of the Emperor (obverse); the Emperor on a horse near a cross (reverse) | 1438 c. | Cast bronze and other metals | 10.5 cm (d.) | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett

PH | TB | BR 348/5

2A PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA

Constantine's Victory over Maxentius

1458–1466 | Fresco | 322 × 764 cm | Arezzo, Basilica di San Francesco

PH | TB | BR 348/3

2B A / COPY AFTER JOHANN ANTON RAMBOUX

Copy after Piero della Francesca's Fresco, Constantine's Victory over Maxentius

Copied for panel 30 | Water colour | London, The Warburg Institute

DR | TB | BR 348/4



3 JOHANN ANTON RAMBOUX

Copy of Piero della Francesca's Fresco, The Battle between Heraclius and Chosroes

1840 c. | Hand-coloured print | 35.5 × 61.3 cm | Dusseldorf, Museum Kunstpalast

PR | TB | BR

4A BENOZZO GOZZOLI

The Procession of the Magi

Detail of the south wall | 1459–1461 | Fresco | 405 × 162 cm | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Cappella dei Magi

PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. Florenz: Pal. Riccardi: Kapelle: Johannes Palaeologue als Hl. König. Benozzo Gozzoli | Florence: Pal. Riccardi: Chapel: John Palaeologus as the holy king. Benozzo Gozzoli

4B BENOZZO GOZZOLI

John VIII Palaeologus as Balthasar

Detail of the south wall of the Procession of the Magi | 1459–1461 | Fresco | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Cappella dei Magi

PH | TB | BR



5 ANTONIAZZO ROMANO

The Finding of the True Cross

Right side of the painting | 1492 c. | Fresco | Rome, Chiesa di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Apse

PH | TB | BR

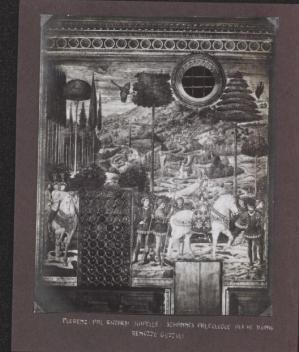
6 PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA

The Dream of Constantine

1464 c. | Fresco | 329 × 190 cm | Arezzo, Basilica di San Francesco

PH | TB | BR

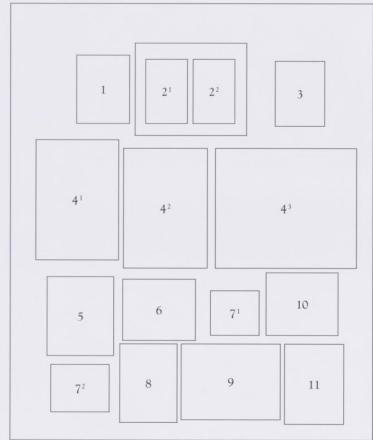
30



Panel 31

Following on from the previous panel: the North. Devotional image. Flemish-style portrait of Italians. Entombment. René as commissioner and [collector of?] manuscripts. Jerome in his Study.

TB 249



- 1 JAN VAN EYCK
Portrait of a Man (from the Arnolfini Family, formerly identified as Giovanni di Nicolo)
1438 c. | Oil on oak panel | 30×21,6 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 PH | TB 523 | BR

- 2¹ HANS MEMLING
Donor Portrait of Angelo Tani
Detail: outside of the left wing of the Last Judgement Altar | 1467-1471 | Oil on oak panel | Triptych | 223,5×72,5 cm | Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe
 PH | TB | BR 332/7

- 2² HANS MEMLING
Donor Portrait of Caterina Tanagli
Detail: outside of the right wing of the Last Judgement Altar | 1467-1471 | Oil on oak panel | Triptych | 223,5×72,5 cm | Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe
 PH | TB | BR 332/8

VERSO "Saxl: True Florentins: 386"

- 3 JAN VAN EYCK
Portrait of Giovanni(?) Arnolfini and his Wife
1434 | Oil on oak panel | 82,2×60 cm | London, National Gallery
 PH | TB | BR

- 4¹ HUGO VAN DER GOES
The Portinari Altarpiece
Left wing. Donor portrait of Tommaso Portinari and his two sons, Antonio and Pigello, and their protectors, St. Thomas and St. Anthony | 1476-1479 | Oil on panel | 253×141 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR 242/3b, 332/4

- 4² HUGO VAN DER GOES
The Portinari Altarpiece
Right wing. Donor portrait of Maria Baroncelli, with her elder daughter Margherita, accompanied by Mary Magdalene and St. Margaret | 1476-1479 | Oil on panel | 253×141 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR 242/3c, 332/5

- 4³ HUGO VAN DER GOES
The Portinari Altarpiece
Central panel. Adoration of the Shepherds | 1476-1479 | Oil on panel | 253×304 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR 242/3a, 332/2

- 5 ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
Entombment of Christ
1450 | Oil on oak panel | 110×96 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR

- 6 ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
Deposition
1435 c. | Oil on oak panel | 220×262 cm | Madrid, Museo del Prado
 PH | TB | BR

- 7¹ ATTRIBUTED TO BARTHÉLEMY D'EYCK
(MASTER OF RENE OF ANJOU)
Amor, God of Love, Hands René d'Anjou's Heart to Ardent Desire
From: René d'Anjou, Livre du cœur d'amours espris | 1460-1469 | Manuscript illumination | 16×16 cm c. | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2597, fol. 2r
 PH | TB | BR



- 7² ATTRIBUTED TO BARTHÉLEMY D'EYCK
(MASTER OF RENE OF ANJOU)
The Knight Cœur Reads the Inscription on the Fountain of Fortune
From: René d'Anjou, Livre du cœur d'amours espris | 1460-1469 | Manuscript illumination | 16,5×13,5 cm c. | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2597, fol. 15r
 PH | TB | BR

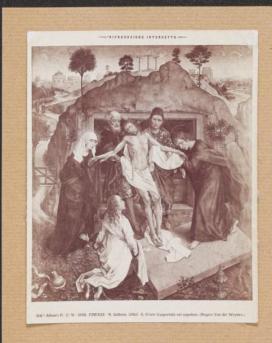
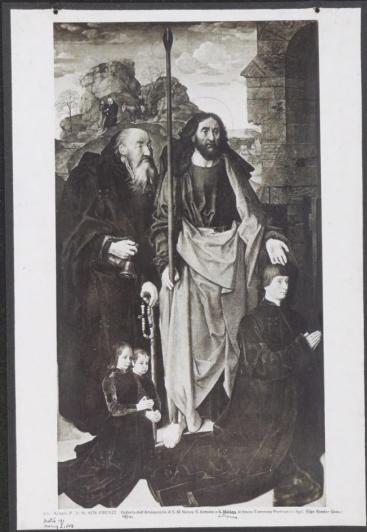
- 8 NICCOLÒ ANTONIO COLANTONIO
Polyptych of St. Vincent Ferrer: St. Vincent Ferrer Preaching
One of the side panels of the polyptych | 1456-1465 | Oil on panel | Naples, Chiesa di San Pietro Martire
 PH | TB | BR

- 9 HANS MEMLING
The Last Judgement Altar
1467-1471 | Oil on oak panel, triptych | 221×161 cm central, 223,5×72,5 cm each wing | Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe
 PH | TB | BR 332/6



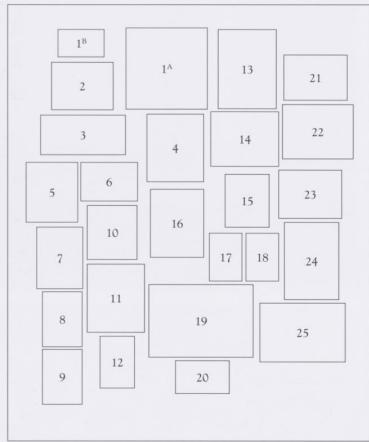
- 10 NICCOLÒ ANTONIO COLANTONIO
St. Jerome in his Study
1444-1445 | Oil on panel | 125×151 cm | Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte
 PH | TB | BR

- 11 JAN VAN EYCK
St. Jerome in his Study
1435 c. | Oil on linen paper on oak panel | 20,6×13,3 cm unframed, 31,1×22,9×5,1 cm framed (by sight) | Detroit (MI), Detroit Institute of Arts
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 32

Grotesquery. Dance around the woman. *The Vows of the Peacock*. Lent. Ape cup. Ape grotesques. Women's dance for trousers. [Cf. the priest's dance, the death of Orpheus]. Utensils as vehicles (for images).



1A A / FRANCO-FLEMISH AND NORTHERN ITALIAN (VENICE)
Chessboard
Second half 15th century | Wood and carved ivory | 66 x 65.5 x 6 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
 PH | TB | BR

1B A / FRANCO-FLEMISH
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
Detail of P32/1A | Frame of the chessboard | Carved ivory
 PH | TB | BR



2 A / FRENCH
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
From: Hugo Ridelinus of Strasbourg OP, Compendium veritatis theologicae, Liber II, Cap. 3 Distinctiones orbium tam celestium quam elementorum, in Michael Scotus, Opera astrologica | 1438 | Manuscript illumination | Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS IV F 21, fol. 155v
 PH | TB cf. 478 | BR

3 ISRAHEL VAN MECKENEM
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
Ornament template | 1490 c. | Chalcography | 11.4 x 26.9 cm | Vienna, Albertina
 PH | TB | BR

4 A / NORTHERN ITALIAN
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
View of the medieval Casa Aschieri from Bussolengo (Val di Susa, Piemont), reconstructed between 1882 and 1884 in the Borgo e Rocca Medievali, Turin, coordinated by the Portuguese architect Alfredo d'Andrade. Illustration from: A. Fivizz, Il Borgo ed il Castello Medioevale in Turin, Turin 1894 | 1882-1884 | Fresco | Turin, Borgo e Rocca Medievali
 PH | TB | BR

5 WAVRIN MASTER
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
From: Pierre de la Cépède, Paris et Vienne | Third quarter 15th century | Drawing | Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale du Belgique, Cod. Ms. 9632-3, fol. 168r
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "see: P. Durrieu, La Miniature Flamande 1921 Pl. XIX"

6 ISRAHEL VAN MECKENEM
Moresca (or Morris Dance)
1490 c. | Chalcography | 17.4 cm (d.) | Vienna, Albertina
 PH | TB | BR

7 ATTRIBUTED TO HANS LEINBERGER
Dance around 'Frau Welt'
1525 c. | Chalcography | 53.9 x 38.1 cm
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Geisberg 'The German single-leaf Woodcut: 1500-1550', III, viii, 848"

8 ERASMUS GRASSER
Morris Dancer
1480 | Wooden sculpture | 61-81 cm (h.) | Munich, Stadtmuseum
 PH | TB | BR

9 ERASMUS GRASSER
Morris Dancer
1480 | Wooden sculpture | 61-81 cm (h.) | Munich, Stadtmuseum
 PH | TB | BR

10 A / GERMAN
Banquet of the Peacock
From: Countess Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken, Hugo-Scheppel-Handschrift, 1455-1472 | Coloured pen drawings | 49 x 36 cm | Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 12 in scrin., fol. 13va
 PH | TB | BR



11 CIRCLE OR PUPIL OF HUGO VAN DER GOES
Allegory with the Goddess Venus
Naked woman on a peacock. Probably the design of a table game for the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, 1468, formerly connected to the famous Feast of the Pheasant or Banquet du Vœu du Faisan (Banquet of the Oath of the Pheasant) by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy on 17 February 1454 in Lille | 1468 or 1485-1500 | Silverpoint drawing | 23.1 x 18.9 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR

12 A / SOUTHERN GERMAN
Man Dancing Before an Idol of the Goddess Venus
Personification of the month of April | From: Calendarium romanum a. 354 compositum cum figuris mensium | 16th century | Wash and ink drawing | 30.5 x 48 cm | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3416 fol. 5v
 PH | TB | BR

13 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)
The Monkeys and the Pedlar
1470-1490 c. | Engraving | 25.7 x 18.4 cm | London, British Museum
 PH | TB | BR 378/17

14 A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BURGUNDY)
Beaker with the Story of the Monkeys and the Pedlar
1425-1450 c. | Silver, silver gilt, and painted enamel | 20 x 11.7 cm | New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection
 PH | TB | BR 280/9, 378/18



15 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Monkeys Dancing
Inscribed by the artist: "Noch andere zw nornberg" | 1523 | Pen and ink | 29.8 x 22.5 cm | Basel, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett
 BK | TB | BR

RECTO "Abb. 110. Tanzende Affen, mit der Feder auf die Rückseite eines Briefes gezeichnet '1523 (am Tag) nach Andree zu Nürnberg.' Im Museum zu Basel" [printed]

16 ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
Morris Dancer
1470 c. | Silverpoint drawing with ink in a different hand | 21.5 x 18.5 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR

17 ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCESCO DEL COSSA
OR ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
Morris Dancer
1470 c. | Silverpoint drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
 PH | TB | BR

18 ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
Morris Dancer
1470 c. | Silverpoint drawing with ink in a different hand | 22.8 x 16.6 cm
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Q. Metsys (?) Uffizi"

19 DANIEL HOPFER
Moresca Dancers Surrounding a Sausage Seller
1490-1536 c. | Copperplate etching | 22.23 x 33.81 cm whole sheet
 PR | TB | BR 242/2, 322/2

20 A / NETHERLANDISH
Triumph of the Carnival
16th century | Painting | Whereabouts unknown
 BK | TB | BR

RECTO "Lepke, Auction, Oct. 1907, Cat. 1491"

21 MASTER OF THE BANDEROLES (OR MASTER OF 1464)
Fight for the Trousers
15th century | Etching | 25.7 x 19.5 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR 378/19



22 A / NORWEGIAN
Fight for the Trousers
A find by A. Warburg. Chipboard box / bridal box. Inscribed: "Efter Spadoun skal sv Quinder treate oen om mans bunt" | 1702 | Fir wood (chip) painted | 19.5 x 8.5 x 12 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Museum Europäischer Kulturen
 PH | TB | BR 128/3, 318/7, 378/21

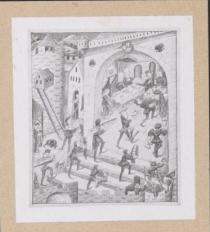
23 PETER AUBRY II
Fight for the Trousers
Text in the image: "You children of Venus believe you are all good and wise, but here seven women fight for a pair of trousers." | 1625-1650 | Etching | 20.3 x 25.9 cm | Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "München, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. 130479"

24 JOHANN RUDOLF THIELE
Skøtekriegen, Buxekrigene
War Over a Woman's Skirt, War Over the Trousers
After 1770 | Coloured woodcut | 15.4 x 24.8 cm
 PH | TB | BR 378/22a-b

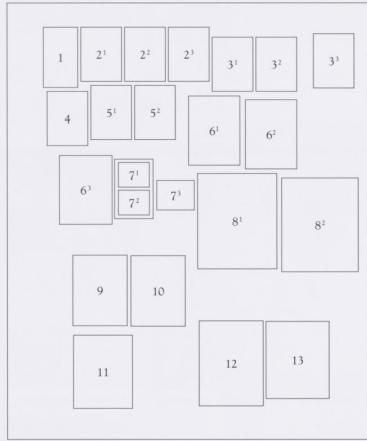
25 MANNER OF HIERONYMUS BOSCH
The Battle between Carnival and Lent
Inscription on the painting, bottom center: Dit is den dans van Luther met zijn nonne (This is the dance of Luther with his nun) | 1600-1620s c. | Oil on panel | 74.7 x 240 cm | Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, on loan to the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, since 1984
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Art des Matsys. Amsterdam?"



Panel 33

Illustrations of mythological texts. Ovid, Christine de Pizan, Boccaccio, History of Troy, Albricus. Leading to panel 34: connection with contemporary life.



1 A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)

Apollo with his Attributes and the Muses in the Background
From: Cy commence Ovide, (...) son livre intitulé Métamorphose, contenant XV livres particuliers moralisés par maistre Thomas Waleys, (...), Bruges (Colard Mansion) 1484 | Woodcut | 37.7 x 27 cm | Bruges, Bibliothèque Municipale, Inc. 3877
□ PH | TB | BR 385/31

2¹ A / FRENCH (PARIS)

The Fall of Phaethon
From: Ovide moralisé | 1325–1350 c. | Manuscript illumination | 39 x 27.5 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5069, fol. 11v b
□ PH | TB | BR

2² A / FRENCH (PARIS)

Juno Riding her Chariot Carried by Peacocks
From: ibid., fol. 17r b | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Juno in einem Wagen, der von Frauen gezogen wird; sie kehrt von einem Besuch zurück, den sie den Meeresgöttern gemacht hatte"

2³ A / FRENCH (PARIS)

Phaethon Driving the Chariot of the Sun
From: ibid., fol. 10r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

3¹ MASTER OF THE DES CLERES FEMMES

Circe with Ulysses and his Companions Transformed into Animals
From: Giovanni Boccaccio, De Claris mulieribus, traduction anonyme en français: Livre des femmes nobles et renommées | 1403 | Manuscript illumination | 36.5 x 26 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 598, fol. 54v
□ PH | TB | BR

3² MASTER OF THE DES CLERES FEMMES

Hecuba Lamenting the Death of her Family
From: ibid., fol. 47v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

3³ MASTER OF THE DES CLERES FEMMES

Penelope at the Loom: Ulysses and Laertes Kill the Suitors
From: ibid., fol. 58r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

4 A / FRENCH (PARIS)

Theseus Kills the Bull of Marathon
From: Giovanni Boccaccio (translated by Laurent de Premierfait), Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes | 1409–1479 | Manuscript illumination | Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5193, f. 24r
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Theseus tötet bei Maraton einen Stier. (X. Kap.)"

5¹ WORKSHOP OF THE MASTER OF THE POLICRATICUS OF CHARLES V

Deianira Carried off by Nessus with Hercules in Pursuit
From: Ovide moralisé | 1385 c. | Manuscript illumination | 31 cm (h.) | Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 742, fol. 153v
□ PH | TB | BR

5² WORKSHOP OF THE MASTER OF THE POLICRATICUS OF CHARLES V
Death of Orpheus
From: ibid., fol. 178v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

6¹ ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF THE CITÉ DES DAMES AND WORKSHOP AND TO THE MASTER OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Orpheus Enchanting the Animals
From: Christine de Pizan, Epistre d'Orthea, in Various Works | 1410–1414 | Manuscript illumination | 36.5 x 28.5 cm | London, British Library, MS Harley 4431, fol. 125v a
□ PH | TB | BR

6² ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF THE CITÉ DES DAMES AND WORKSHOP AND TO THE MASTER OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Dream of Paris
From: ibid., fol. 125v b | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

6³ ATTRIBUTED TO THE MASTER OF THE CITÉ DES DAMES AND WORKSHOP AND TO THE MASTER OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Paris and Helen
From: ibid., fol. 129v | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR 320/20, 378/3

7¹ A / FRENCH (AUVERGNE)

Apollo and Daphne
From: Christine de Pizan, Epistre d'Orthea | 1450–1475 c. | Manuscript illumination | 19.9 x 13.4 cm | The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 74 G 27, fol. 83r
□ PH | TB | BR

7² A / FRENCH (AUVERGNE?)

Dream of Paris: Mercury Hands Paris the Apple
From: ibid., fol. 63r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

7³ A / FRENCH (AUVERGNE?)

Judgement of Paris
From: ibid., fol. 69r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

8¹ A / NORTHERN ITALIAN

Juno and Cybele
From: Albricus, De deorum imaginibus libellus | 1420 c. | Manuscript pen drawing | 33 x 24.5 cm c. | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 1290, fol. 3v
□ PH | TB | BR 324/9

8² A / NORTHERN ITALIAN

Venus and Mercury
From: ibid., fol. 2r | Manuscript pen drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

9 A / ITALIAN

Rape of Helen and Sack of the Temple of Venus
From: Guido delle Colonne, Historia Destructionis Troiae | 1370–1380 | Manuscript pen drawing | Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS H 86 sup., fol. 24r
□ PH | TB | BR

10 A / FRENCH

Isis Teaching her Worshippers, Tereus Eats his Son and is Shown his Head by Procne and Philomela
From: Giovanni Boccaccio (translated by Laurent de Premierfait), Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes | 1480 c. | Coloured pen drawing | 33 x 24.1 cm | London, British Library, MS Harley 621, fol. 4r
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "ISIS und Progne"

11 A / SOUTHERN GERMAN (REGENSBURG, ST. EMMERAM)

Saturn, Cybele, Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Mercury and other Gods
From: Remigius of Auxerre commentary on Martianus Capella's De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologicae, in Various Works | Second half 11th century | Manuscript pen drawing | 28.5 x 22.5 cm | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 14271, fol. 11v
□ PH | TB | BR 384/1

VERSO "Antike mythische Figuren. 'Choribantes' die 'mater deorum' im Wagen fahrend, Jupiter, thronend, mit dem Adler, Apollo im Dreigespann, (3 Grazien), allegorische Figur (Personifikation der Zeit (?)) – Mars im Kriegswagen, zwei Furien, zwei halbfigurige Frauen, als 'Insidiatae' bezeichnet. Regensburg, XI Jhr. vgl. Swarczinski, G. S. 172. Wagen samt Figuren herum sind wie eine echt antikes Relief aufgelöst im Raumzusammenhang"

12 A / PANTALEON AND COLLABORATORS

Figure Rides a Fabulous Animal
Detail of the floor mosaic | 1163–1165 | Mosaic | Otranto, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Annunziata
□ PH | TB cf. 185, 423, 510 | BR 384/21

13 A / ITALIAN

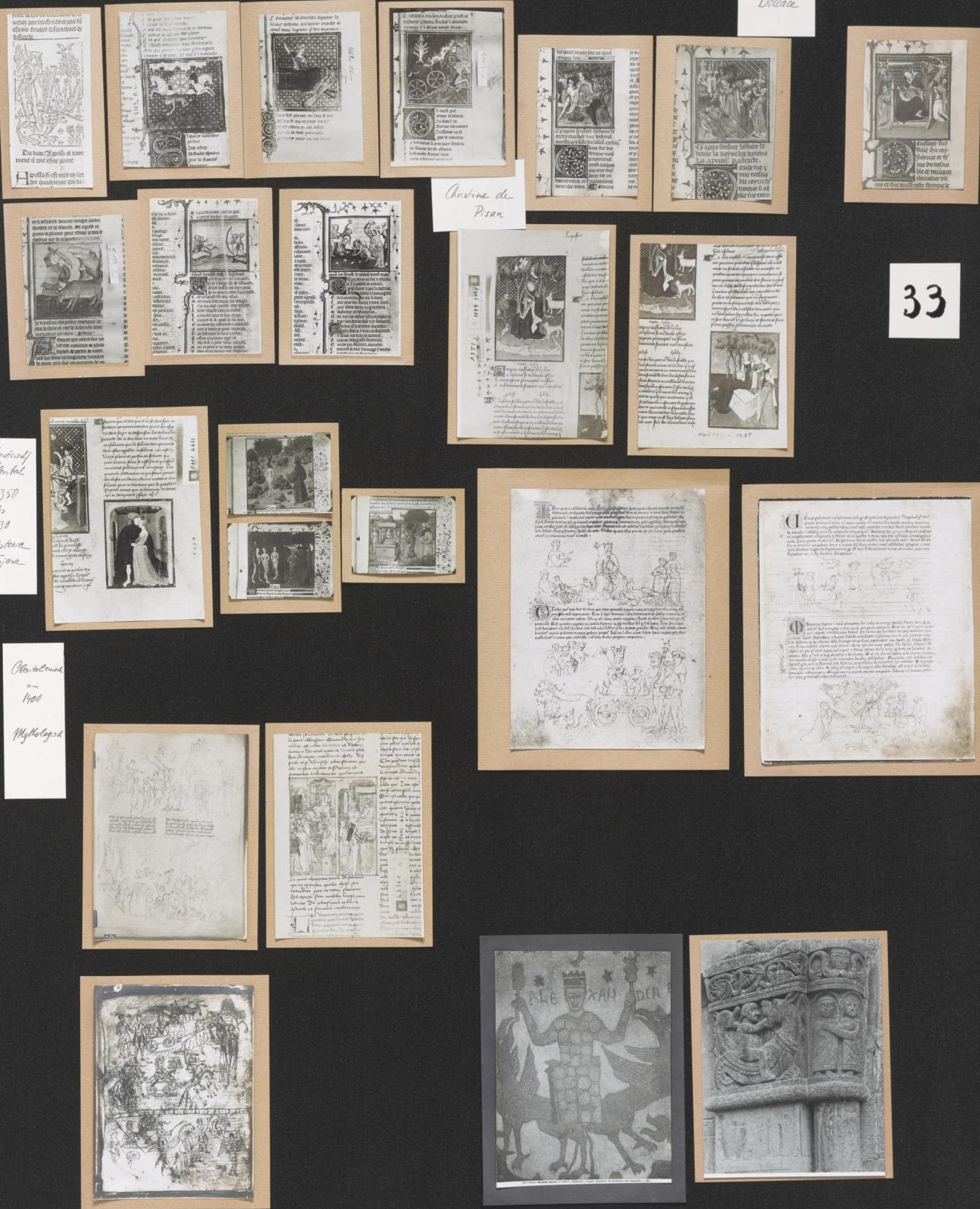
Figure Riding a Fabulous Animal
Left capital of the doorway | 1200 c. | Capital relief | Bologna, Basilica di Santo Stefano, Basilica dei protomartiri San Vitale e Sant'Agricola
□ PH | TB | BR

Orville

François

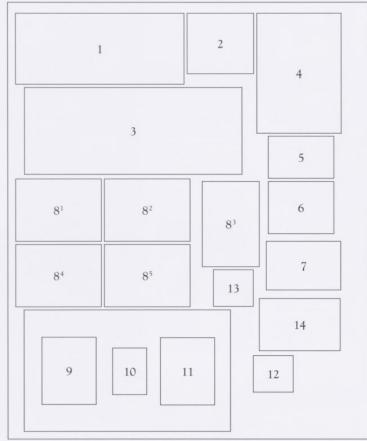
1350
bis
1430

Mythologist



Panel 34

Tapestries as vehicles (for images). Themes: hunting and amusements. Farmers at work. Antiquity in contemporary clothing (Trojan War, Alexander the Great) = ascent. Narcissus and the Entombment as themes for commissioned tapestries?



1 A / FRENCH (POSSIBLY ARRAS)

The Devonshire Hunting Tapestry: Boar and Bear Hunt
Formerly belonged to the Dukes of Devonshire | 1425–1430 | Tapestry | 378.4 × 1023 cm | London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 PH | TB | BR 318/1, 378/2

2 A / BELGIUM (TOURNAI)

Hunting Scene
Fragment of larger tapestry | 1425–1450 c. | Tapestry | Saumur, Church of Notre Dame de Nantilly
 PH | TB | BR

3 A / FRENCH (POSSIBLY ARRAS)

The Devonshire Hunting Tapestry: Falconry
Formerly belonged to the Dukes of Devonshire | 1430–1440 | Tapestry | 445 × 1075.9 cm | London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 PH | TB | BR

4 LIMBOURG BROTHERS, BARTHÉLEMY D'EYCK ET JEAN COLOMBE (FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO MASTER OF RENÉ OF ANJOU OR JEAN AND PAUL DE LIMBOURG)

December: Boar Hunt
From: Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry | 1411–1440–1485 | Manuscript illumination | 29.4 × 21 cm | Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 12v
 PH | TB | BR

5 A / FLEMISH

Boar Hunt
From an unidentified Book of Hours | Probably 1440s | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR

6 A / FLEMISH

Boar Hunt
Fragment of a larger tapestry, most likely trimmed again later | 15th or 16th century | Whereabouts unknown
 PH | TB | BR

7 PASQUIER GRENIER

Woodcutters
Before 1462 | Tapestry | 315 × 495 cm | Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs
 PH | TB | BR

[8] COËTIVY MASTER

The Trojan War Tapestries
8 cartoons for the series of tapestries by Pasquier Grenier, of which several versions are known. From: Paul, Schumann, Der Trojansche Krieg: französische Handzeichnungen zu Wandteppichen aus dem XV. Jahrhundert: acht Tafeln, Dresden 1898 | 1475–1490 | various sizes | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

8¹ COËTIVY MASTER

Destruction of Troy
In the scene as well: Antenor sent to Greece as a messenger, the Judgement of Paris | Cartoon | 30 × 57.8 cm
 PH | TB | BR

8² COËTIVY MASTER

Fourth Battle of the Trojan War
In the scene as well: capture of King Thoas in the chamber of beauty | Cartoon | 30.9 × 57.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

8³ COËTIVY MASTER

The Twelfth Battle and Death of Palamedes

In the scene as well: Achilles refuses to fight, Hector's farewell to Andromache, Hector is armed for battle, Hector's departure for battle | Cartoon | 30.8 × 17.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

8⁴ COËTIVY MASTER

The Fall of Troy

Cartoon | 30.7 × 57.6 cm
 PH | TB | BR

8⁵ COËTIVY MASTER

The Arrival of Penthesilea

In the scene as well: Amazonomachy, Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) receives his sword, Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus) in battle | Cartoon | 30.7 × 57.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

9 A / FLEMISH

Alexander Tapestry

Detail of the second tapestry, titled The Eastern Campaigns | 1460 c. | Tapestry | 415 × 985 cm | Genova, Villa del Principe (formerly Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj)
 PH | TB 423, 474, 511 | BR 318/5, 384/23

O.T.P. *Himmelfahrt Alexander I. Gr. Burgund. Teppich, XV. Jahrh. | Ascension to the Sky of Alexander the Great. Burgundian Tapestry. 15th century*

10 A / ANCIENT ROME (PALMYRA)

The Sun God on a Chariot with Victory

Altar of the Sol Sanctissimus (Malachbel) commissioned by Tiberius Claudius Felix and his wife Claudia Helpis | AD 40–70 | Marble relief | 85 × 52 × 52 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini
 PH | TB | BR

O.T.P. *Spätantike oriental. Darstellung des Sonnengottes Malachbel | Oriental late antique depiction of the Sun God Malachbel*

11 A / FLEMISH

Alexander Tapestry

Detail of the second tapestry, titled The Eastern Campaigns | 1460 c. | Tapestry | 415 × 985 cm | Genova, Villa del Principe (formerly Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphilj)
 PH | TB | BR 384/24

O.T.P. *Fahrt des Alexander auf den Meeresgrund. Burgund. Teppich XV. Jahrh. | Descent of Alexander the Great to the bottom of the sea. Burgundian Tapestry. 15th century*

12 A / ITALIAN

Medallion with the Bust of Apollo

From: Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Venice (Aldus Manutius), 1499, p. 94 | Woodcut | 25 × 20 cm
 PH | TB | BR 384/17

13 A / MASTER OF THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS

Narcissus

Cassone fragment | Second half 15th century | Oil on panel | 43 × 41 cm | Vienna, Collection Count Lanckoroński
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Wien, Graf Lanckoroński. Cassone, Ovidillustr.: Narciss. Schubring Nr. 173"

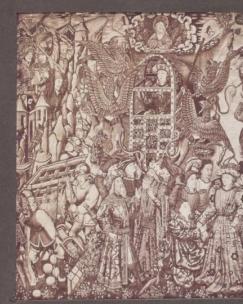
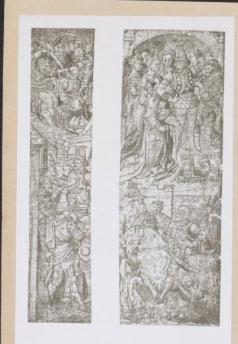
14 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FERRARA)

Lamentation

Design attributed to Cosmè Tura and woven in the workshop of Rubinetto di Francia | 1474 c. | Tapestry | 97 × 207 cm | Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (formerly Cologne, Neven-DuMont Collection)
 PH | TB | BR



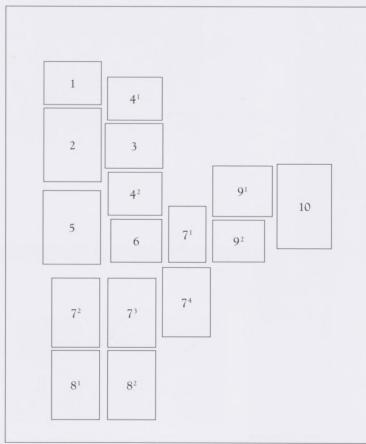
34



La corona che foglia
chiamata pignatta
magari sarebbe più
adatta per la corona
di quel poesino da
principale che dava
l'idea di un regno.
L'aguzzo d'una
mazimella con sp
all'poi dilatato e
con le estremità a
forma di ferri e
tutte le quali sono
fornite di denti
come da una gola
fossa dallo Aligo Matruo. Avendo alzato
come da destra la mano
la spogliata, l'indossò
e s'incamminò per qualche
tempo. Ecco che
venne ad incontrarlo
un vecchietto che
non aveva più i denti
ma aveva un gran
barba bianca e
un bel sorriso.

Panel 35

Antiquity in the French style. Hercules, Paris (Rape of Helen) Paris (Judgement) Orpheus. Venus with the Graces (astrological) Polyxena. Antiquity in Burgundian style. Antique heroism. Swap Mars [panel 35] and Helen [panel 24].



7⁴ A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)
Death of Orpheus
fol. 266v | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR 350/12, 376/24

8¹ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Rape of Helen
From: La bible des poètes, Métamorphose [d'Ovide moralisée par Thomas Waleys et traduite par Colard Mansion], Paris (Antoine Vérard) 1493, fol. 156r | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm
□ PH | TB | BR



8² A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Rape of Proserpina
From: ibid., fol. 74vr | Woodcut
□ BK | TB | BR

9¹ A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Sacrifice of Polyxena on Achilles' Tomb
From: Jacques Millet, L'Histoire de la Destruction de Troye la Grant, Paris 1498 | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. YF34, fol. E iv
□ PH | TB 205, 322f., 417 | BR

9² A / FRENCH (PARIS)
Rape of Helen and Sack of the Temple of Venus
From: ibid., fol. dr | Woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR 284/2, 320/21, 378/25

10 A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH
The Sun and its Children
From the so-called Berlin Planetary Book. Originally the woodcut is coloured but the image on the panel is in black and white possibly because it was prepared for printing | 1470 c. | Coloured woodcut | 28×20cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Cim. 10, fol. 18v
□ PH | TB | BR 385/29



1 A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH
Deianira Carried off by Nessus with Hercules in Pursuit
From: Raoul Lefèvre, Recueil des histoires de Troye, 1464 | Manuscript illumination | 39.8×27cm | Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9262, f. 66r
□ PH | TB | BR

2 A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH
Hercules Preventing the Centaurs from Raping Hippodameia
From: Raoul Lefèvre, Recueil des histoires de Troye, 1464 | Manuscript illumination | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 59, fol. 146v
□ PH | TB | BR

3 LOYSET LIÉDET
Hercules Attacking the Monster of Hades to Liberate Proserpina, Theseus and Pirithous
From: Jean Miélot's reworking of Christine de Pizan's Epistre d'Othea | 1460 c. | Manuscript illumination | 36.5×25.9cm | Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale du Belgique, MS 9392, fol. 80v
□ PH | TB | BR 320/22, 378/27

4¹ A / FRENCH
Jason and Medea
From: Raoul Lefèvre, Les fais et proverbes du chevalier Jason, Lyon (Guillaume LeRoy) 1486 c., fol. a ii v | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, BSB-Ink L-78 - CW M17458
□ PH | TB | BR

4² A / FRENCH
Hercules
From: ibid., fol. a 7v | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm
□ PH | TB | BR

5 A / FRENCH
Rape of Helen
From: Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, traduites [en vers français] et moralisées | 1484 c. | Manuscript illumination | 30.5×48cm | Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 399, f. 323r
□ PH | TB | BR

6 A / NETHERLANDISH
Dream and Judgement of Paris
From: Raoul Le Févre, Die vergaderinghe der historien van Troyen, Haarlem (Jacob Bellaert) 5 May 1485 | Woodcut | 30.5×48cm
□ PH | TB | BR

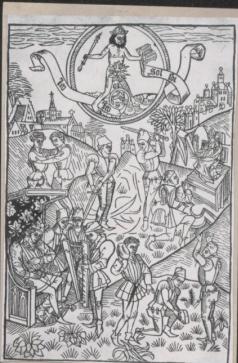
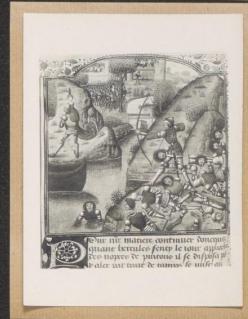
[7] A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)
Cy commence Ovide, (...) son livre intitulé Métamorphose, contenant XV livres particuliers moralisés par maître Thomas Waleys (...), Bruges (Colard Mansion) 1484 | Coloured woodcuts | 30.5×48cm | Bruges, Bibliothèque Municipale, Inc. 3877

7¹ A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)
Birth of Venus, Cupid and Three Graces
fol. 13v | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR 322/4, 379/48

7² A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)
Rape of Helen
fol. 290r | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

7³ A / SOUTHERN NETHERLANDISH (BRUGES)
Rape of Proserpina
fol. 138r | Coloured woodcut
□ PH | TB | BR

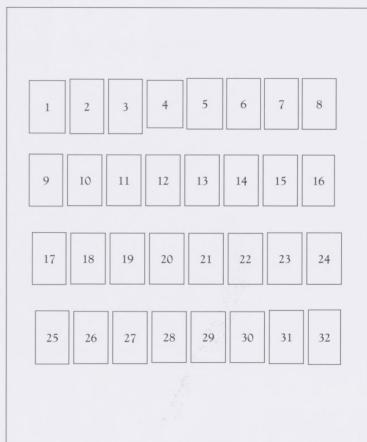
35



Panel 36

Pesaro = Antiquity in the French style in Southern Europe.

TB 122, 124f., 239, 365



- 1 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Boat with Musician
From: Ordine delle Noçce dello Illustrissimo Signore Miser Constantio Sforza de Aragonia et della Illustrissima Madonna Ca(m)milla de Aragonia sua consorte nella(n)o 1475 | 1480 | Manuscript illumination made for Federico da Montefeltro | 20.6 x 14 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 899, fol. 7r
 PH | TB | BR
- 2 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Triumphus Pudicitiae | Triumph of Chastity
From: ibid., fol. 8v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 262/3
- 3 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Fountain with Putti
From: ibid., fol. 11r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 4 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Orpheo | Orpheus
From: ibid., fol. 64v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 252/3, 282/5, 294/6, 326/20
- 5 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Erato
From: ibid., fol. 59r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 260/3, 282/4
- 6 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Sol
From: ibid., fol. 54r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 7 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Castor and Pollux
From: ibid., fol. 56r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 8 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Hymeneus
From: ibid., fol. 56v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 9 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Perseo | Perseus
From: ibid., fol. 60v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 346/11
- 10 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Iris
From: ibid., fol. 61v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 11 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Hebe
From: ibid., fol. 66r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 12 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Luna
From: ibid., fol. 68r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 13 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Tatia | Tuccia
From: ibid., fol. 69v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 282/7, 286/4, 326/19

- 14 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Triton
From: ibid., fol. 71r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 252/2, 282/6, 326/22, 376/15
- 15 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Licaste | Lycaete
From: ibid., fol. 72v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR

- 16 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Romulus
From: ibid., fol. 74r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 17 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Arethusa
From: ibid., fol. 76r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 300/4, 326/17
- 18 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Silenus
From: ibid., fol. 77v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 326/23
- 19 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Influsso de Fortuna | Influence of Fortuna
From: ibid., fol. 79v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 326/24

- 20 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Monte de Cortexiani | Mountain of the Courtiers
From: ibid., fol. 84v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 21 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Lion and Man in Animal Fur
From: ibid., fol. 85r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 22 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Reigna Ebrea | Jewish Queen | Queen of Sheba
From: ibid., fol. 88r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 23 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Monte dell Ebrei | Mountain of the Jews
From: ibid., fol. 91r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 24 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Luna and Mercurius
From: ibid., fol. 97r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 25 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Venus and Sol
From: ibid., fol. 98v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 282/2, 326/16

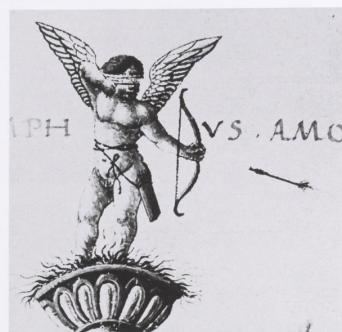


- 26 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Mars and Jupiter
From: ibid., fol. 99r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 380/29
- 27 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Saturnus | Saturn
From: ibid., fol. 99v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 28 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Two Ethiopian Men
From: ibid., fol. 106v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR
- 29 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Mons Helicon | Mount Helicon
Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses with Astronomy, Rhetoric and Grammar. From: ibid., fol. 110v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 260/1, 282/3, 326/21

VERSO "Mons Elicon mit Astronomia, Retorica, Grammatica; Apollo u. 6 Musen. Astronomia, Retorica, Grammatica gelten hier als 3 Musen, sodass im Ganzen 9 Musen dargestellt sind"

- 30 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Girandola | Pyrotechnic Machine
Carousel centerpiece, chandelier with celestial globe and zodiac.
From: ibid., fol. 112v | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 282/1

- 31 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Triumphus Amoris | Triumph of Love
From: ibid., fol. 114r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 252/1

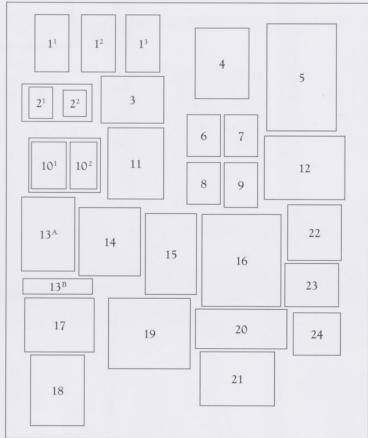


- 32 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Triumphus Famae | Triumph of Fame
From: ibid., fol. 119r | Manuscript illumination
 PH | TB | BR 282/8



Panel 37

The intrusion of Antiquity in the form of sculpture. Archaeological drawing (Giusto da Padova, Pisanello). Grisaille = painted sculpture. Equestrian statue. Serpent man (drawing). The combats of Hercules (Pollaiuolo); engraving, armour relief, the statue as painting. Hercules and Nessus = setting free of the temperament in connection with other scenes of rape. Pollaiuolo's frieze of dancers.



1 GIUSTO DE' MENABUOI (FORMERLY KNOWN AS GIUSTO DA PADOVA)

Triumph of Dionysus

From: Giusto da Padova, Il Libro dei Disegni, in: Adolf Venturi, Il Libro di Giusto (facsimile), in: Le Gallerie nazionali italiane: notizie e documenti, V (1902), pp. 391ff.. Drawings of a Neo-Attic sarcophagus of Herculaneum, AD 30-40, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale | 14th century | Drawing, ink on paper | 29.2×21.8 cm | Rome, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica

□ PH | TB | BR

2 GIUSTO DE' MENABUOI (FORMERLY KNOWN AS GIUSTO DA PADOVA)

Satyr

From: ibid.

□ PH | TB | BR

3 GIUSTO DE' MENABUOI (FORMERLY KNOWN AS GIUSTO DA PADOVA)

Maenad

From: ibid.

□ PH | TB | BR

4 ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO PISANELLO

Galloping Centaur

Drawing after an ancient sarcophagus, from the Codex Vallardi | 1440 c. | Ink on paper | 26×20.2 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

□ PH | TB | BR 284/4

5 ANTONIO PISANELLO

Bacchantes

From an ancient sarcophagus | Mid 15th century | Pen and Indian ink on paper | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

□ PH | TB | BR 284/5

6 WORKSHOP OF ANTONIO PISANELLO

Crouched Man, Running Woman, Man Holding a Weapon
Detail of the right side of the sheet from the Codex Vallardi. The running woman comes from the Mantuan Adonis sarcophagus, the man from the Palazzo Giustiniani Orestes sarcophagus, the crouching man from a Marsyas sarcophagus formerly in Hever Castle | 1425-1450 | Ink on paper | 18.3×24 whole sheet | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Pisanello [...] See: Hill. *Dessins de Pisanello*. 1929. Pl. I"

7 GAUDENZIO FERRARI

Christ before Pilate

1513 | Fresco | Varallo, Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Grazie

□ PH | TB | BR 128/6, 376/18



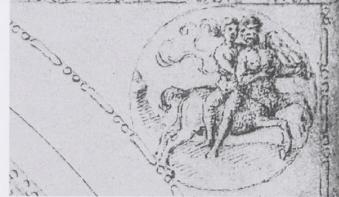
8 JACOPO BELLINI

The Flagellation of Christ

From the Bellini Sketchbook | 1430-1450 | Drypoint and pen drawing | 42.6×28.6 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

□ PH | TB | BR 252/6

VERSO "Nessus + Deianira pursued by Hercules"



9 SCHOOL OF ANDREA MANTEGNA

Hercules and the Hydra

1500 c. | Engraving | 14.5×11.2 cm | London, British Museum

□ PH | TB | BR

10 A / ITALIAN AFTER ANDREA MANTEGNA

Hercules and Antaeus

1500 c. | Engraving

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "School of Mantegna (...) [Tancred] Borenius No. 13"

11 A / ITALIAN AFTER ANDREA MANTEGNA

Hercules and Antaeus

1500 c. | Engraving | 24.5×16 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

12 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

Hercules and the Hydra

1475 c. | Tempera on wood | 17×12 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

□ PH | TB | BR 320/29

13 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

Hercules and Antaeus

1478 c. | Tempera on wood | 16×9 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

□ PH | TB | BR 320/30

14 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

Young Man in Pageant Armour

On his armour: a man swinging a rope, formerly identified as one of the *Labours of Hercules* | 1465-1475 | Terracotta with ochre pigment | 52 cm (h.) | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello

□ PH | TB | BR

15 A / ITALIAN

Labours of Hercules

From Hermann Ulmann, *Die Thaten des Herkules. Wandgemälde im Palazzo di Venezia zu Rom*, Munich 1894 | Second half 15th century | Fresco | Rome, Palazzo Venezia

□ PH | TB | BR

16 GIOVANNI BOCCATTI

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Music-Making Angels

1455 c. | Tempera on wood | 131×96 cm | Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria

□ PH | TB | BR

17 GIOVANNI BOCCATTI

Battle Scene

Detail of P37/13^A

□ PH | TB | BR



18 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

Deianira Carried away by Nessus with Hercules in Pursuit

From: Burlington Magazine, March 1906, p. 440 | The photograph shows the painting before a restoration with various differences (see: Deianira's arms) | 1475-1480 c. | Oil on panel transferred to canvas | 54.6×79.2 cm | New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery, James Jackson Jarves Collection

19 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO

Dance of Nudes

1465 c. | Fresco | Arcetri (Florence), Villa La Gallina

□ PH | TB | BR 318/14, 379/43

20 VITTORE CARPACCIO

Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple

1502-1504 | Oil on canvas | 130×137 cm | Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "(Carpaccio)"



21 LORENZO COSTA

St. Jerome (Teaching)

1485 c. | Panel painting | 200×160 cm | Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, Cappella de' Castelli

□ PH | TB | BR

22 PROBABLY BY ZANOBIO STROZZI

The Rape of Helen

1450-1455 c. | Egg tempera on wood | 51×60.8 cm | London, National Gallery

□ PH | TB | BR

23 LIBERALE DA VERONA

The Rape of Helen

From a cassone panel | 1470 c. | Oil on poplar panel | 41×110 cm | Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais

□ PH | TB | BR



24 FRANCESCO DI STEFANO, FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO JACOPO BELLINI OR ANTONIO PISANELLO

Deianira Carried away by Nessus with Hercules in Pursuit

From: Burlington Magazine, March 1906, p. 440 | The photograph shows the painting before a restoration with various differences (see: Deianira's arms) | 1475-1480 c. | Oil on panel transferred to canvas | 54.6×79.2 cm | New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery, James Jackson Jarves Collection

□ PH | TB | BR 294/5, 320/28, 378/PH

VERSO "here identified as by Pisanello" [printed]

25 MASTER OF THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS

(OR ANTONFRANCESCO DI GIOVANNI DELLO SCHEGGIA?)

The Rape of Helen

From a cassone panel | 1440-1460 | Tempera on wood | 40×48 cm | Prague, Národní Galerie

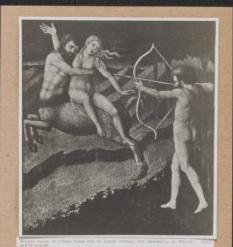
□ PH | TB | BR

26 MASTER OF THE JUDGEMENT OF PARIS

The Rape of Helen

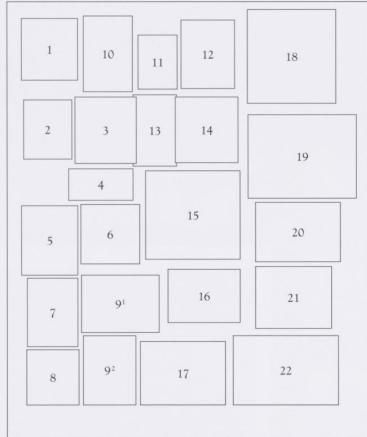
From a cassone | 1440-1460 | Panel painting | 45×42 cm | Vienna, Collection Count Lanckoronski

□ PH | TB | BR



Panel 38

Mixed style in relation to Antiquity. Courtly life. Love symbolism. Precursors to Botticelli in engagement with Antiquity. The tapestry replaced by the print (hunt). Courtly love caskets. Distance in courtship: Amor's punishment. *Noli me tangere*. Coldness punished (*Nastagio degli Onesti*). The triumph of Amor. The Fight for the Trousers and Quaresima/Lent. Italian. Paris and Helen in mixed style. Baldini, first version, Sol.



1 CIRCLE OF GIOVANNI DI PAOLO

A Young Man Offers his Heart to a Young Woman
September 1930 on auction by Paul Cassirer in Berlin, attributed to Domenico di Bartoldo | Before 1450 | Painted bridal box | 29.5 cm (d.) | Formerly Vienna, A. Figdor Collection
□ PH | TB | BR 378/10

2 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

The Cruelty of Love
One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465–1480 | Engraving | 10.1 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 128/4, 378/14



3 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

Grotesque Bust of a Lute Player
One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465–1480 | Engraving | 18.7 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 378/13



4 DAVID GHIRLANDAIO (DAVID BIGORDI)

The Banquet of Nastagio degli Onesti
Formerly attributed to Bartolomeo di Giovanni | Depiction of an episode in Boccaccio's Decameron with a remarkable modification of the central figure, yet unclear by whom or when | Late 15th century | Tempera on panel for a cassone or spalliera | 70.2 x 135.9 cm | Philadelphia (PA), Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO “(The woman in the centre, original naked, has been painted over for this photograph!) Schubring 401”

5 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)

Young Man and Woman Holding Apples
One of the so-called Otto Prints. The stemma of the Medici family was drawn in later | 1465–1480 | Engraving and pen and brown ink drawing | 11.8 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 378/15

6 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

Pair of Dancers, Encircled by a Border of Leaves and Flowers
One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465–1480 | Engraving | 20 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PR | TB | BR 378/16

7 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)

The Sun and its Children
Below the image there are eight lines of text explaining the quality of the planet and its influence on mankind | 1460 c. | Engraving | 32.3 x 21.6 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 444/1d

8 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

Jason and Medea
One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465–1480 | Engraving and pen and brown ink drawing | 14.9 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 378/14

9¹ CIRCLE OF BACCIO BALDINI

Theseus in Crete before the Labyrinth
Formerly attributed to Maso Finiguerra. From: A Florentine Picture-Chronicle | 1470–1475 c. | Drawing | 32.6 x 45.2 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR

9² CIRCLE OF BACCIO BALDINI

Rape of Helen
ibid. | Drawing | 32.6 x 22.6 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 284/3, 318/16, 378/26



10 AGNOLO DI DOMENICO DEL MAZZIERE

(FORMERLY KNOWN AS MASTER OF SANTO SPIRITO)
Portrait of a Young Woman
Inscription: *Noli me tangere* | 1490 | Tempera on poplar | 48.1 x 32.1 cm, 94 x 52 cm with frame | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB | BR

RECTOR “Werkstatt des Verrocchio. Bildnis eines jungen Mädchens. Photographische Gesellschaft, Berlin” [printed]

VERSO “Catch-Word: Portraits Mistresses. [...] Portrait of Lucrezia de' Donati (?) (friend of Lorenzo di Medici). (formerly attributed to Lorenzo di Credi). After Verrocchio”

11 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE) IN THE MANNER OF ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

Portrait Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici
15th century | Terracotta | 57.2 x 48.3 x 24.1 cm | Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts
□ PH | TB | BR

RECTOR “Atelier des Verrocchio. Lorenzo de' Medici. Thonbüste. Boston, Privatbesitz” [printed]

VERSO “Venturi denies the resemblance”

12 STEFANO RICCI

Portrait Bust of Lorenzo de' Medici
Early 16th century | Terracotta, formerly pigmented | 35.5 cm (h.), 48 cm (h.) with socle, 25 cm (w.) at shoulders | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (formerly Fortnum Collection)
□ PH | TB | BR

13 A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Punishment of Amor
From Casa dell'Amore punito, Pompeii VII, 2, 23, tablino f | 1st century BC–1st century AD | Fresco | 154 x 116 cm | Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
□ BK | TB 428 | BR

14 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

Punishment of Amor
One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1480 c. | Engraving | 16.5 cm (d.) | Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Inv. Nr. DG 1935/952
□ PH | TB | BR 128/5, 254/1, 378/30

15 LUCA SIGNORELLI

The Triumph of Chastity: Love Disarmed and Bound
Originally from Palazzo del Magnifico, Siena | 1509 c. | Fresco, detached and mounted on canvas | 125.7 x 133.4 cm | London, National Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR 256/3, 379/34

16 SANDRO BOTTICELLI

The Earthly Paradise: Beatrice in the Chariot

After Dante's Divine Comedy, Purgatory | 1488–1492 c. | Silverpoint and brown ink drawing on parchment | 32.2 x 47 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH | TB | BR

17 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)

Triumph of Love

After Petrarch's Triumphs | 1460–1470 | Engraving | 17.86 x 22.86 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH | TB | BR 318/15, 378/4

18 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI

Bear Hunt

One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465–1480 | Engraving | 20.5 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 378/5

19 SCHOOL OF MASO FINIGUERRA

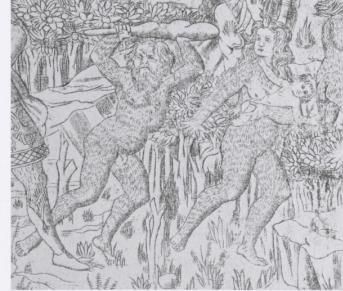
Various Wild Animals Hunting and Fighting

1465–1480 | Engraving | 25.9 x 37.8 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR

20 SCHOOL OF MASO FINIGUERRA

Encounter of a Hunting Party with a Family of Wild Folk

1465–1480 | Engraving | 17.8 x 26.2 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
□ PR | TB | BR 250/1

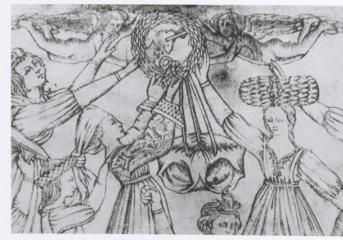


21 SCHOOL OF MASO FINIGUERRA

Dance and Fight for the Trousers

1465–1480 | Engraving | 18 x 23.8 cm | Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
□ PH | TB cf. 156, 165 | BR 318/3, 378/20

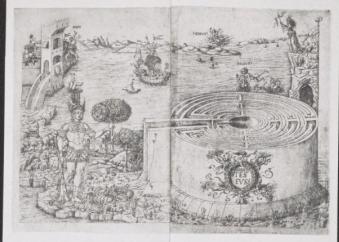
VERSO [Different size given on the back] “20.2 x 26.4 cm”



22 MONOGRAMMIST S.E.

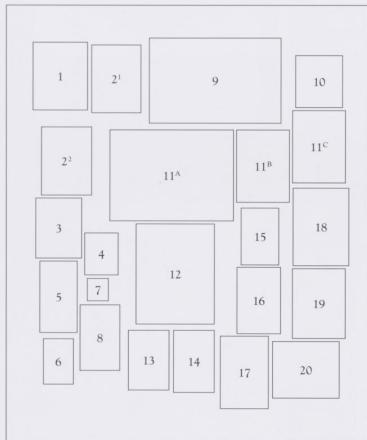
Derision of Lent (with Morris Dance)

Vertically mirrored | 1475–1490 | Engraving | 38.2 x 56.5 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe
□ PH | TB | BR 242/1, 322/3, 379/39



Panel 39

Botticelli. Idealizing style. Baldini, first and second Amor in the antique style. Pallas Athene as a tournament flag. Images of Venus. Apollo and Daphne = metamorphosis. The horn of Achelous.



1 SCHOOL OF DONATELLO
(FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO MASO DI BARTOLOMEO)
Daedalus Binding the Wings of Icarus' Arms with Artemis and Pasiphae in Attendance
After a sardonyx gem of the 1st century BC from the collection of Piero di Cosimo de' Medici, today in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale | 1452 | Marble relief (Tondo) | 100 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Courtyard
□ PH | TB | BR

2 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI
The Planet Venus and its Children
From the so-called Baldini Calendar, first edition | 1464 c. | Engraving | 32 x 21.5 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 280/3, 318/18, 324/15, 378/32



2² ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI
The Planet Venus and its Children
From the so-called Baldini Calendar, second edition | 1465 c. | Engraving | 25.5 x 18 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 280/4, 320/24, 379/33, 444/1e



3 ATTRIBUTED TO BACCIO BALDINI
The World Held Up by Love
Young man and woman holding up a sphere, identified by Warburg as Lorenzo de' Medici and Lucrezia Donati | One of the so-called Otto Prints | 1465-1480 | Engraving | 20.4 cm (d.) | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PR | TB | BR 322/11, 378/12



4 CIRCLE OF VINCENZO BORGHINI
Gloria
Detail (one of four images on the page) of the manuscript *Ricostituzioni dei ciomiri e degli standardi delle giostre di Lorenzo il Magnifico e di Giuliano de' Medici*, illustrating the banner of Giuliano de' Medici during the tournament of 1475 as indicated by the handwritten note under the image | Drawing | 29.5 x 21.5 cm | Rome | 1566-1567 | Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Passerini 193, II, 4, c. 12r.
□ PH | TB | BR 322/12, 379/35



5 BACCIO PONTELLI (AFTER SANDRO BOTTICELLI)
Pallas Athena
Upper part (195 x 105 cm c.) of the right angle of a door (364 x 210 cm) with four separate images, two on each angle | about 1474 | Intarsia | Urbino, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche (Palazzo Ducale, Sala degli Angeli)
□ PH | TB | BR 322/13, 378/31

6 SCHOOL OF SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Minerva Pacifica
Late 15th century | Drawing | 34 x 23 cm | Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
□ PH | TB | BR

7 FRANCESCO LAURANA
Minerva Pacifica
Reverse of a medal for René d'Anjou and Jeanne de Laval | 1463 | Medal | 8.8 cm (d.)
□ PH | TB | BR

8 A/
Minerva Pacifica
After a drawing by Sandro Botticelli (or school of), made for the count Guy de Baudreuil | 1491 | Fragment of a tapestry, wool and silk | 257 x 156 cm | Château de Favelles Loir-et-Cher, Collection Vicomte de Baudreuil
□ PH | TB | BR

9 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Birth of Venus
1485 c. | Tempera on canvas | 172.5 x 278.5 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PH | TB | BR 280/6, 322/8, 379/46

10 SCHOOL OF SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Achilles on Skyros
Drawing after the left side of a Roman sarcophagus showing Achilles on Skyros with the daughters of Lycomedes, AD 250-260 c., today in Woburn Abbey | Late 15th century | Pen drawing | 19.5 x 19 cm | Chantilly, Musée Condé
□ BK | TB | BR 320/32, 379/52

11^A SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Primavera (Spring)
1480 c. | Tempera grassa on wood | 207 x 319 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PR | TB | BR 280/12, 322/1, 379/40

11^B SANDRO BOTTICELLI
The Nymph Chloris
Detail of P39/11^A
□ PH | TB | BR 322/6, 379/42

11^C SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Zephyrus
Detail of P39/11^A
□ PH | TB | BR 322/18, 379/41

12 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Allegory of Abundance (or Autumn)
1480-1485 c. | Pen and brown ink drawing, with brown wash | 31.7 x 25.2 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PR | TB | BR 326/18, 379/36

13 BERNARDINO PINTURICCHIO
Female Figure with Cornucopia (Abundance)
1490 c. | Pen drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe
□ PH | TB | BR

14 BERNARDO BUONTALENTI
Fortuna
1589 | Drawing | Formerly London, Oppenheimer Collection, untraceable since the dispersal of the collection
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "DeRossi, Festbeschreibung 1589. Ripa, Iconologia Roma 1603 p. 170 hat diese Figur wieder aufgenommen. Bei Ripa heißt diese Allegorie: 'Fortuna giovevole ad Amore'"

15 PIERO DEL POLLAIUOLO
Apollo and Daphne
Formerly attributed to Antonio del Pollaiuolo | Probably 1470-1480 | Oil on wood | 29.5 x 20 cm | London, National Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR

16 PSEUDO-ANTONIO DA MONZA
Apollo and Daphne
From a manuscript containing Italian sonnets and canzoni | Last third 15th century | Manuscript illumination | 15.5 x 10.5 cm | Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 277.4 Extrav., fol. 23v
□ PH | TB | BR

17 HANS VON KULMACH OR ALBRECHT DURER
Apollo and Daphne
From Konrad Celtis, Quatuor libri amorum, Nuremberg (Celsica Sodalitas) 1502, fol. 122r | Woodcut | 24 x 30.5 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 379/54

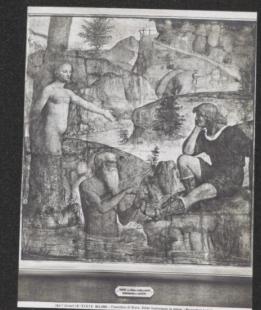
18 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Pallas and the Centaur
1480-1485 c. | Tempera on canvas | 207 x 148 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PH | TB | BR

19 BERNARDINO LUINI
Severe Consoled by Driope and Tavaiano
Formerly interpreted as Apollo and Daphne | 1514 c. | Fresco transferred to canvas | 165 x 133 cm | Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera (formerly Villa Felucca near Monza)
□ PH | TB | BR

RECTO "Dafne (o Mirra, Madre di Adone) transformata in albero" [label on the frame]

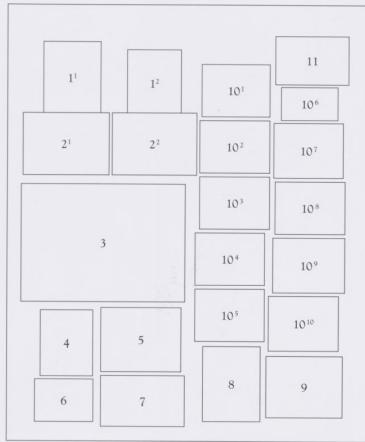
20 ANDREA RICCIO (ANDREA BRIOSCO)
Famous Men in the Elysian Fields
One of eight reliefs originally from the funerary monument of Girolamo and Marcantonio della Torre in San Fermo Maggiore, Verona | 1516-1521 | Bronze bas-relief | 37 x 49 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ PH | TB cf. 322 | BR





Panel 40

Breakthrough of the antique spirit. Continuous depictions (as a triumphal procession of antique figures? = frieze). Infanticide = frenzied mother? Excessive application of the pathos formula.



1¹ SCHOOL OF DONATELLO

FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO MASO DI BARTOLOMEO

Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne

After a 1st century AD sardonyx gem depicting a Bacchus and a Satyr on a chariot from the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici and subsequently of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, today in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale | 1460 c. | Marble relief (Tondo) | 100 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Courtyard

PH | TB | BR 332/14

1² SCHOOL OF DONATELLO

FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO MASO DI BARTOLOMEO

Centaur Carrying a Basket

After a 1st century AD sardonyx gem depicting the same motif from the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici, today in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale | 1460 c. | Marble relief (Tondo) | 100 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Courtyard

PH | TB | BR

2¹ A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE) AFTER SANDRO BOTTICELLI

Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne

Left side | 1480–1490 c. | Engraving | 20.5 × 27.7 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

PH | TB | BR 280/10, 322/10, 376/1a, 379/37

VERSO "after Botticelli"

2² A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE) AFTER SANDRO BOTTICELLI

Massacre of the Innocents

Right side | 1480–1490 c. | Engraving | 19.3 × 27.6 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

PH | TB | BR 280/10, 322/10, 376/1b, 379/37

VERSO "after Botticelli"

3 MARCO DENTE AFTER BACCIO BANDINELLI

Massacre of the Innocents

Formerly attributed to Marcantonio Raimondi | 1520 c. | Engraving | 59 × 41 cm

PR | TB | BR

4 A / ITALIAN

Flight to Egypt and Massacre of the Innocents

Detail, from: Giorgio Nicodemi, *I legni incisi dei Musei Bresciani*, Brescia 1921, p. 21. A book of 50 copies about popular religious art that Warburg owned with original prints from old woodblocks | 16th or 17th century | Woodcut | 40 × 30 cm c. | London, The Warburg Institute Library, COH 425 shelfmark

PH | TB | BR

5 BARTOLOMEO BELLANO

The Judgement of Solomon

1484–1488 c. | Bronze bas-relief | 66 × 83.5 cm | Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio

PH | TB | BR



10² BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Aurora and Cephalus

Fresco | Sala delle Prospettive

PH | TB | BR

10³ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Apollo and Daphne

Fresco | Sala delle Prospettive

PH | TB | BR

10⁴ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Death of Meleager

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB | BR

10⁵ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Orpheus and Eurydice

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB | BR

10⁶ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Meleager and the Hunt of the Calydonian Boar

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB | BR

10⁷ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Diana and the Death of Actaeon

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB 451 f. | BR

10⁸ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Rape of Europa, Danae with Jupiter as Golden Rain, Juno and Semele

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB | BR

10⁹ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Bacchus and Ariadne

Fresco | Sala delle Prospettive

PH | TB | BR

10¹⁰ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

Mercury Stealing the Flocks of Apollo, Rape of Europa

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

PH | TB | BR

11 MATTEO BALDUCCI

Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne

From a cassone after an ancient Roman sarcophagus (AD 170–180) today in Woburn Abbey | First half 16th century | Panel painting

PH | TB | BR 379/38

6 MARCHANTONIO RAIMONDI

Massacre of the Innocents

The Raimondi engraving vertically mirrored in the photograph by Aby Warburg | 1512–1513 | Engraving | 28 × 43 cm

PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Marc Antonio Raimondi" [later note:] "Copy after M. Antonio Raimondi by Michel Lucchese"

7 NICOLAS POUSSIN

The Plague of Ashdod

1628–1630 | Oil on canvas | 148 × 198 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

PH | TB | BR 352/16



8 GUIDO RENI

Massacre of the Innocents

1611 | Oil on canvas | 268 × 170 cm | Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

PH | TB | BR

9 FORTHOFFER AFTER BERNARD PICART

The Massacre of the Innocents

From: Barthold Heinrich Brockes, Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder-Mord des Ritters Marino, nebst des Hrn. Übersetzen eigenen Wercken, auch vorgedrucktem Vorbericht (...), Tübingen 1739, with an etching by Forthoffer, a copy of Bernard Picart's etching from 1715 (22.1 × 27.1 cm) | Etching | 39 × 53 cm

PH | TB | BR 352/20

[10] BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

After Ovid's Metamorphoses

1510–1518 | Fresco | Rome, Villa Farnesina

10¹ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

The Labours of Hercules

Fresco | Sala del Fregio

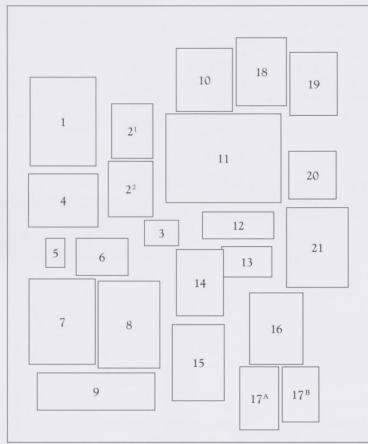
PH | TB | BR



Panel 41

Destruction pathos [cf. panel 5]. Sacrifice. The nymph as witch. The unleashing of pathos.

TB 429



**1 NICCOLÒ DA BOLOGNA
(NICCOLÒ DI GIACOMO DI NASCIMBENE)
Medea**

Initial D from: Seneca, *Decem Tragoediae* | Late 14th century | Illuminated manuscript | 44.5 × 27.3 cm | Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 87, fol. 120r

□ PH | TB 9 | BR

**2 A / ENGLISH (POSSIBLY SOUTHEASTERN, BURY ST. EDMUNDS)
Scenes from the Story of Medea**
Seneca in front of the Corpse of his Son Meleager. The Escape of Jason and Medea. From: Giovanni Boccaccio (translation by John Lydgate based on a translation by Laurent de Premierfait), *The Fall of Princes* | 1450–1460 c. | Manuscript illumination | 30 × 21 cm | London, British Library, MS Harley 1766, fol. 31v

□ PH | TB 1 | BR

**2¹ A / ENGLISH (POSSIBLY SOUTHEASTERN, BURY ST. EDMUNDS)
Scenes from the Story of Medea**
Creusa in flames. Medea killing her sons. From: ibid., fol. 33r

□ PH | TB 1 | BR

**3 A / NORTH ITALIAN (VENICE)
Scenes from the Story of Medea**
Rejuvination of Aeson: Medea travels in the chariot to collect all the herbs she needs for the potion, Medea sacrifices a ram and prays to Hecate and Hebe, Medea cuts the throat of the aged Aeson. From: Nicolaus Moretus, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Venice 1586, Lib. 7, p. 135 | Woodcut

□ BK | TB 1 | BR



**4 AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
*The Miracle of San Bernardino of Siena***
Detail of the facade above the left door | 1457–1461 | Door lintel | Porch: 388 × 922 cm | Perugia, Oratorio di San Bernardino

□ PH | TB cf. 303, 320, 359 | BR 314/12

**5 MAESTRO GIORGIO (GIORGIO ANDREOLI)
Charity**

After an engraving of Marcantonio Raimondi after Raphael | 1520 | Bowl | 25.5 cm (d.) | Florence, Museo Bardini

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Subbio-T. Fassung M.N. v. Erdmann. 20. Okt. 29"



**6 GEORG PENCZ
Christ and the Children**

1548 c. | Engraving | 8 × 11.7 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

7 ERCOLE DE' ROBERTI

The Wife of Hasdrubal and her Children

In the past known as Medea and her Children | 1490–1493 | Tempera on panel | 47.3 × 30.6 cm | Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art

□ PH | TB | BR 314/9

8 LUCA SIGNORELLI

Flagellation of Christ

1482–1485 | Tempera on panel | 84 × 60 cm | Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera

□ PH | TB | BR

9 ERCOLE DE' ROBERTI

Predella of Stories of Christ: Road to Calvary

From the predella on the high altar of the church of San Giovanni in Monte, Bologna | 1482–1486 | Tempera on panel | 35 × 118 cm | Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

□ PH | TB | BR 314/17



**10 WORKSHOP OF MICHELE DA VERONA
Orpheus Charming the Animals**

Late 15th–early 16th century | Canvas | Cracow, Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Wawel Royal Castle), Lanckoroński Collection (formerly Vienna, Palais Lanckoroński)

□ PH | TB | BR

**11 MASTER OF THE SCHOOL OF FERRARA
The Death of Orpheus**

From: Aby Warburg, *Der Tod des Orpheus: Bilder zu dem Vortrag über Dürer und die italienische Antike*, Hamburg 1905 | 1465 c. | Engraving | 14.6 × 21.5 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett

□ PR | TB | BR 128/7, 256/2, 284/13, 294/3, 324/6, 376/13

**12 JACOPO DA SELLAIO
Orpheus and Eurydice**

1470–1480 | Tempera and oil on cassone panel | 59 × 179 cm | Kiev, Museum of Western and Oriental Art, Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts

□ PH | TB | BR 128/2d, 294/1, 324/5d

13 BALDASSARRE PERUZZI

The Death of Orpheus

Detail | 1509–1510 | Fresco | Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala del Fregio

□ PH | TB | BR 350/13, 376/25

**14 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN
Orpheus**

From: Ordine delle Nocce dello Illustrissimo Signore Meser Constantio Sforzia de Aragonia et della Illustrissima Madonna Ca(m)milla de Aragonia sua consorte nella(n)o no 1475 | 1480 | Manuscript illumination | 20.6 × 14 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 899, which was made for Federico da Montefeltro, fol. 64v

□ PH | TB | BR

15 ATTRIBUTED TO FILIPPININO LIPPI

Two Witches Stirring the Magic Cauldron

1495–1502 | Drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe

□ PR | TB cf. 146 | BR 344/4

16 ALBRECHT ALTDORFER

Departure for the Sabbath

1506 | Drawing | 18 × 12.4 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

□ PH | TB

17 A ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA RICCI

OR FRANCESCO DA SANT'AGATA

Hecate (or Prudentia)

Originally from Padua | 1500 c. | Bronze | 27 × 16.3 × 12.7 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung

□ PR | TB 320 | BR 338/9

17 B ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA RICCI

OR FRANCESCO DA SANT'AGATA

Hecate (or Prudentia)

Opposite view of P41/17A

□ PH | TB 320 | BR 346/16

18 ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO

David with the Head of Goliath

1450 c. | Tempera on leather on wood | 115.5 × 76.5 cm top, 40.6 cm bottom | Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Expression: Victory & Defeat – Inversion"

19 CIRCLE OF BACCIO BALDINI

Pyrhus (Neoptolemos) Sacrificing Polyxena on the Tomb of Achilles

Formerly attributed to Maso Finiguerra. From: A Florentine Picture-Chronicle, fol. 38r | 1470–1475 c. | Drawing | 32.6 × 22.6 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

□ PR | TB 417 | BR

VERSO "Entfernt verwandt Amaz. Kampf Reinach St. I S. 16"

20 GIANFRANCESCO CAROTO

Hercules as Vittorium Dominator

Reverse side of a medal of Bonifazio Paleologo II, Marquess of Montferrat | 1517–1518

□ PH | TB | BR

21 ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO

Hercules and Cacus

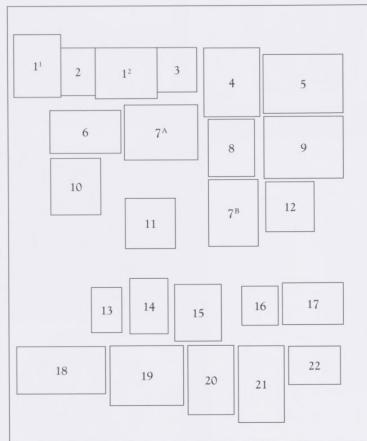
After a sarcophagus of Campo Santo, Pisa, 2nd century AD | 1471 c. | Pen and ink drawing | 36.7 × 27.8 cm | Turin, Musei Reali-Biblioteca Reale, inv. D.C. 15591

□ PR | TB | BR



Panel 4la

Suffering pathos. Death of the priest [cf. panel 6].



1¹ JACOPO DA FABRIANO

The Death of Laocoön

From: Virgil, Aeneis | 1470 c. | Manuscript illumination | 31 x 20 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. lat. 2761, fol. 15r
 PH | TB | BR

1² JACOPO DA FABRIANO

Laocoön Sacrifices a Bull to Poseidon/Neptune

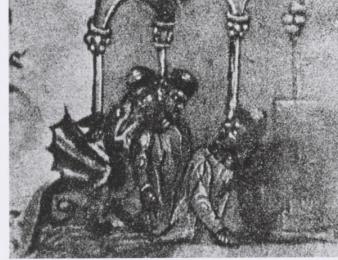
From: ibid.

PH | TB | BR

2 A / ITALIAN

The Death of Laocoön

Excidium Troiae | 1275 or early 14th century | Manuscript illumination | Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 881, fol. 59r
 PH | TB | BR



3 A / FRENCH

Laocoön

Initial P from: Biblia latina: Epistolae canonicae septem cum glossa | 12th century | Illuminated manuscript | 4^o | Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1055, theol. 453, fol. 11v
 PH | TB | BR

4 ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO PISANELLO

Head of a Bearded Man

Detail focusing on the head while most of the sheet remained almost untouched | 1435 c. | Drawing | 21.7 x 19.3 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques
 PH | TB | BR

5 ANTONIO PISANELLO

Centaur and a Woman (Nessus and Deianira)

1435 c. | Drawing | 18.5 x 25 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques
 PH | TB | BR

6 APOLLONIO DI GIOVANNI

The Death of Laocoön

Serpents swimming through the sea. From: The Vergilius Vaticanus | Shortly after 1450 | Illumination | Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 492, fol. 79v
 PH | TB | BR



7^A FILIPPINO LIPPI

Adamo Patriarca | Adam

General view | 1494-1495 | Fresco vault | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Strozzi
 PH | TB | BR 342/5

7^B FILIPPINO LIPPI

Adamo Patriarca | Adam

Detail of P41a/7^A
 PH | TB | BR

8 FILIPPINO LIPPI

The Death of Laocoön

Preparatory drawing for Laocoön fresco, Villa Medici, Poggio a Caiano | 1490-1492 | Drawing, lavished | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe
 PH | TB | BR



9 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)

Conversion of Paul the Apostle

1460-1470 | Engraving | Whereabouts unknown
 PH | TB | BR



10 A / NORTH ITALIAN

The Death of Laocoön

Also known as The Round Shield of Milan | Second half 16th century | Iron, partly bronzed and gilded | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art
 PH | TB | BR

11 A / NORTH ITALIAN (FAENZA)

The Death of Laocoön

Laocoön and his sons strangled by a snake | 1550 c. | Maiolica bowl with in-glaze painting (broken) | 5 cm (h.), 27 cm (d.) | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstgewerbemuseum
 PH | TB | BR

12 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (GUBBIO)

The Death of Laocoön

1540 c. | Maiolica bowl with in-glaze painting | 5 cm (h.), 27 cm (d.) | Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen, lost in the Second World War
 PH | TB | BR

13 A / ITALIAN

The Death of Laocoön

Figurine after the Vatican group of Laocoön and his sons | 16th century | Bronze | Venice, Galleria G. Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro
 PH | TB | BR

14 MARCO DENTE

Morte di Laocoonte | The Death of Laocoön

1527 | Engraving | 47.6 x 32.6 cm
 PH | TB | BR

15 A /

The Death of Laocoön

Illustration of a 16th century gem (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles) after the Vatican group of Laocoön and his sons. From: Salomon Reinach, Pierres gravées des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, Paris 1895, plate 92, fig. 95
 PH | TB | BR

16 HANS BROSAMER

Morte di Laocoonte | The Death of Laocoön

1538 | Engraving | 9.2 x 6.3 cm | Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
 PH | TB | BR

17 MARCO DENTE

Morte di Laocoonte | The Death of Laocoön

1520 c. | Engraving | 44.3 x 32.9 cm
 PH | TB | BR

18 GIULIO ROMANO

Morte di Laocoonte | The Death of Laocoön

Image vertically mirrored | 1538 c. | Fresco | Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Sala di Troia
 PH | TB | BR

19 EL GRECO

Laocoön

1610 c. | Oil on canvas | 142 x 193 cm | Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art
 PH | TB 104 f. | BR

20 CESARE RIPÀ

Laocoön as a Symbol for Dolore

From: Cesare Ripà, Iconologia, Rome 1603, p. 102 | Woodcut | Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek
 PH | TB | BR

21 A / FRENCH (STRASBOURG)

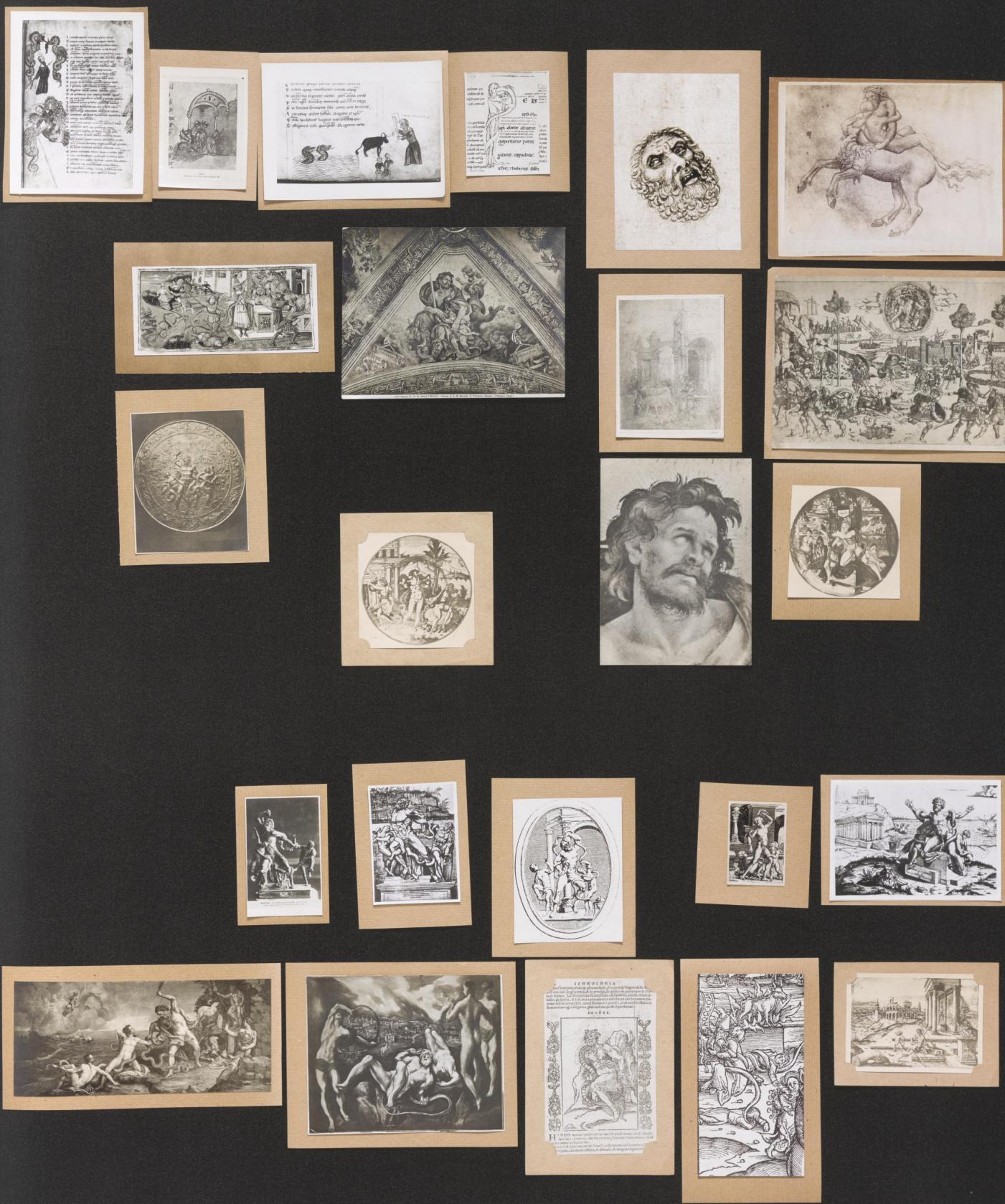
The Death of Laocoön

Detail | From: Johann Grüninger, Publii Virgilii Maronis opera cum quinque vulgaris commentariis, Strasbourg 1502, fol. 162v | Woodcut | 29.4 x 20.2 cm
 PH | TB | BR

22 JEAN DE GOURMONT

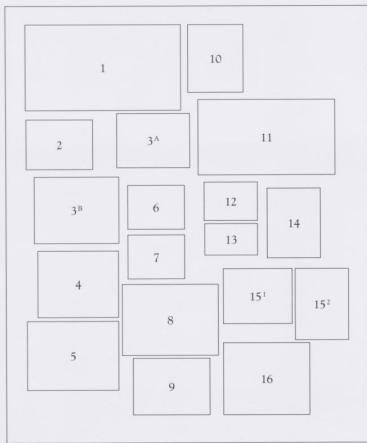
Laocoonte | Laocoön

1550 c. | Engraving | 10.7 x 15.3 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 42

Emotional expressivity: energetic inversion of suffering (Pentheus, Maenad on the cross). Civic lament for the dead, heroized. Christian lament for the dead. Death of the Saviour [cf. panel 4]. Entombment. Meditation on death.



- 1 DONATELLO
St. Anthony's Miracles. The Re-attached Foot
Detail of the high altar | 1447–1450 | Bronze relief | 57×123 cm | Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio da Padova
□ PH | TB | BR 312/7, 376/5

- 2 DONATELLO
La sepoltura di Cristo / Entombment
1447–1450 | Nanto stone | 139×188 cm | Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio da Padova
□ PH | TB | BR 312/11

- 3A ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
Death of Francesca Pitti Tornabuoni after Childbirth
Relief for the tomb of Francesca Tornabuoni in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome | 1477 c. | Marble relief | 45.5×170.5 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR 334/6



- 3B ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO
Death of Francesca Pitti Tornabuoni after Childbirth
Detail of P42/3A | Marble relief
□ PH | TB | BR 334/10

- 4 ATTRIBUTED TO GIULIANO DA SANGALLO
Death of Meleager
Detail of the tomb of Francesco Sassetti | 1486 | Pietra serena, gilded bas-relief | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
□ PH | TB | BR

- 5 RAPHAEL
The Deposition
Sketch for the altarpiece of the Baglione Entombment, now Galleria Borghese, Rome | 1506 c. | Drawing | 22.8×31.8 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 334/3

- 6 LUCA SIGNORELLI
The Entombment
Detail of the grisaille in the background of a Pietà | 1500–1502 | Fresco | Orvieto, Duomo di Orvieto, Cappella di San Brizio
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7 CIRCLE OF ANDREA MANTEGNA
Deposizione di Cristo / The Entombment of Christ
Early 1470 | Engraving | 29.8×44.1 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PR | TB | BR

- 8 GIOVANNI BANDINI AFTER DONATELLO
The Entombment of Christ
Second half 16th century | Drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe
□ PH | TB | BR

- 9 ANDREA RICCIO (ANDREA BRIOSCO)
Illness of the Scholar
Girolamo Della Torre with Apollo and the three Graces, part of the funerary monument of Della Torre | 1516–1521 c. | Bronze relief | 37×49 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ PH | TB cf. 322 | BR

- 10 GIROLAMO PENNACCHI (GIROLAMO DA TREVISO IL GIOVANE)
St. Anthony's Miracles. The Re-attached Foot
1525 | Grisaille | Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, Cappella di Sant'Antonio
□ PH | TB | BR 312/4, 376/17

- 11 COSMÉ TURA
Pietà
Lunette of the altarpiece of the Polittico Roverella in the Basilica di San Giorgio fuori le mura, Ferrara | 1474 | Tempera and oil on wood | 132×268 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
□ PH | TB | BR

- 12 BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI
Compianto su Cristo morto / Lamentation over the Dead Christ
1460–1465 | Bronze relief | 14×21 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR

- 13 A / ITALIAN
Pitti Fighting
15th century | Bronze relief | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR

- 14 BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI
Crocefissione / The Crucifixion
1485–1490 c. | Bronze relief | 60.5×61.5 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR 314/10



- 15¹ DONATELLO
The Deposition of Christ
Relief at the former pulpit | 1460 c. | Bronze | Florence, Chiesa di San Lorenzo
□ PH | TB | BR

- 15² DONATELLO
The Burial of Christ
Relief at the former pulpit | 1460 c. | Bronze | Florence, Chiesa di San Lorenzo
□ PH | TB | BR

- 16 VITTORE CARPACCIO
Preparation of Christ's Tomb
1505 c. | Tempera on canvas | 145×180.5 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB 260 | BR

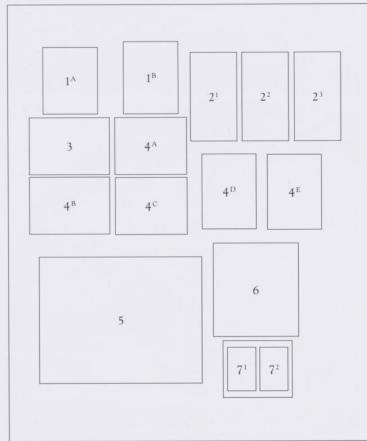


42



Panel 43

Sassetti – Ghirlandaio as exponent of bourgeois culture. Intrusion of the portrait – self-awareness. Pseudo-Northern devotion.



- 5 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Adorazione dei pastori | *Adoration of the Shepherds*
 1485 | Altarpiece | 167 x 167 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
 PH | TB | BR 332/1



- 6 BENEDETTO GHIRLANDAIO
Adorazione del bambino | *The Nativity*
 1490 | Tempera on wood | 147 x 147 cm | Aigueperse, Église Notre-Dame d'Aigueperse
 PH | TB | BR 332/3

- 7¹ DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
St. Jerome in his Study
 1480 | Fresco | 184 x 119 cm | Florence, Chiesa di Ognissanti
 PH | TB | BR

- 7² SANDRO BOTTICELLI
St. Augustine in his Study
 1480 | Fresco | 152 x 112 cm | Florence, Chiesa di Ognissanti
 PH | TB | BR

- 1^A DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Nera Corsi Sassetti
 Portrait of the donor's wife | 1479–1486 | Fresco | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
 PH | TB 394 f. 1. BR

- 1^B DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Francesco Sassetti
 Portrait of the donor | ibid.
 PH | TB | BR 328/6

- 2¹ MARY HERTZ
Schematic Drawing of Cappella Sassetti, Florence
 Probably around 1900 | Drawing | London, The Warburg Institute
 DR | TB | BR 328/2

- 2² MARY HERTZ
Schematic Drawings of the Frescoes and Gravestones in the Cappella Sassetti, Florence
 ibid.
 DR | TB | BR 328/2

- 2³ MARY HERTZ
Schematic Drawings of the Frescoes and Gravestones in the Cappella Sassetti, Florence
 ibid.
 DR | TB | BR 328/2

- 3 GIOTTO (GIOTTO DI BONDONE)
Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule
 Scenes from the Life of St. Francis | 1325 | Fresco | 280 x 450 cm | Florence, Chiesa di Santa Croce, Cappella Bardi
 PH | TB | BR 328/7

- 4^A DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Approvazione della regola francescana da parte del papa Onorio III | *Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III*
 1479–1486 | Fresco | 500 cm c. (w.) | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
 PH | TB | BR 328/1

- 4^B DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
 Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco, detail of P43/4^A
 PH | TB | BR 328/3

- 4^C DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
 Piero and Giovanni de' Medici, detail of P43/4^A
 PH | TB 549 | BR 328/4

- 4^D DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
 Angelo Poliziano and Giuliano de' Medici, detail of P43/4^A
 PH | TB | BR 280/15, 328/5

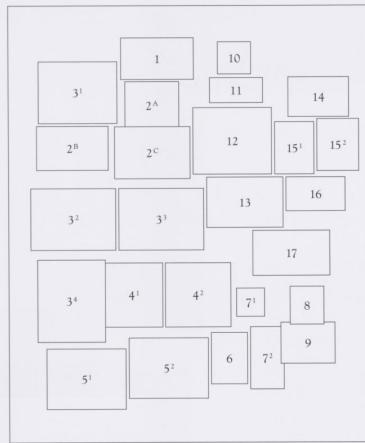
- 4^E DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
 Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti, detail of P43/4^A
 PH | TB | BR 280/15



Panel 44

The victor's pathos in Ghirlandaio. Grisaille as the first step to granting entry (to Antiquity). In contrast: fall (Phaethon, mêlée) metamorphosis of Nike.

TB 462f., 466, 555



1 ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO

Death of Francesca Pitti Tornabuoni after Childbirth
Relief for the tomb of Francesca Tornabuoni in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome | 1477c. | Marble relief | 45.5 x 170.5 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR 334/6

2A ATTRIBUTED TO GIULIANO DA SANGALLO

Tomb of Francesco Sassetti
1486 | Marble, fresco | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
□ PH | TB | BR 328/14

2B ATTRIBUTED TO GIULIANO DA SANGALLO

Tomb of Francesco Sassetti
Detail of P44/2^A | Portrait medallion of Francesco Sassetti | Pietra serena, gilded bas-relief
□ PH | TB | BR 330/17

2C ATTRIBUTED TO GIULIANO DA SANGALLO

Tomb of Francesco Sassetti
Detail of P44/2^C | Representation of death and mourning after the sarcophagus of Meleager, Florence, Palazzo Ramirez de Montalvo | Pietra serena, gilded bas-relief
□ PH | TB | BR 328/12, 330/16

3 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Decurso
After the model of a Roman emperor coin. Spandrels around the tomb of Francesco Sassetti and Nera Corsi Sassetti | 1479-1486 | Grisaille | Florence, Basilica di Santa Trinita, Cappella Sassetti
□ PH | TB | BR 328/11

3² DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Emperor on the Quadriga
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 328/13

3³ DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Adlocutio
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

3⁴ DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Generals Negotiating with Each Other
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR

4¹ DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Angel Appearing to Zacharias
Detail with battle scene in grisaille | 1485-1490 | Fresco | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella
□ PH | TB | BR

4² DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Angel Appearing to Zacharias
ibid.
□ PH | TB | BR 338/5

5¹ A / ROMAN

Great Trajanic Frieze
West side: The Battle Between Romans and Dacians. Trajan's Dacian Wars, originally from the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's Forum, mounted AD 113-31 in the central passage | AD 113 | Relief | Rome, Arco di Costantino
□ PH | TB | BR

5² A / ROMAN

Great Trajanic Frieze
East side: The Emperor Trajan Crowned by Victory | AD 113 | Relief | Rome, Arco di Costantino
□ PH | TB | BR

6 WORKSHOP OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Girl with Fruit Bowl

From a sketchbook | 1490 c. | Drawing | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Cod. Escurialensis, 28-II-12, fol. 51v
□ PH | TB | BR 334/11

7¹ ATTRIBUTED TO DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Judith with her Maidservant and the Head of Holofernes
Tritons, detail from the grisaille background | 1489 | Tempera on poplar | 44.5 x 31.3 cm whole painting | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB | BR

7² ATTRIBUTED TO DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Judith with her Maidservant and the Head of Holofernes
Battle scene, detail from the grisaille background | 1489 | Tempera on poplar | 44.5 x 31.3 cm whole painting | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB | BR

8 NICCOLÒ FIORENTINO

Venus

Reverse of a medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni | 1486 c. | Bronze medal | 7.8 cm (d.) | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett
□ PH | TB | BR

9 WORKSHOP OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Dacians Fleeing the Romans

Outline from a relief of the Trajan column from a sketchbook. From: Domenico Ghirlandaio | 1490 c. | Drawing | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Cod. Escurialensis, 28-II-12, fol. 63
□ PH | TB | BR 340/2, 385/42

10 A / ITALIAN

The Fall of Phaethon

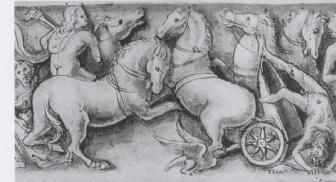
After Phaethon sarcophagus, AD 170 c., Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi | 1500-1510 | Cameo | Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
□ PH | TB | BR 348/8, 385/37



11 A / ITALIAN

The Fall of Phaethon

Outline of Phaethon sarcophagus, AD 170 c., Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi | From: Carl Robert, Die antiken Sarkophagegräber, vol. III, 3, Berlin, pl. CXII, fig. 342 | Drawing
□ PR | TB | BR 348/7, 385/35



12 WILLIAM HAUSOULLIER

Combat de Cavaliers | Fighting Horsemen
Vertically mirrored, from: The Burlington Magazine, No. 55, October 1929, p. 186, pl. II B | 1870 c. | Engraving | 32 x 37.3 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 348/6, 385/34

VERSO "Reverse of the engraving by William Haussoullier. After the painting owned by Madame Timbal, Paris. K. Fr. Suter, Das Rätsel von Leonards Schlachtenbild. Strassburg 1937, p.31"

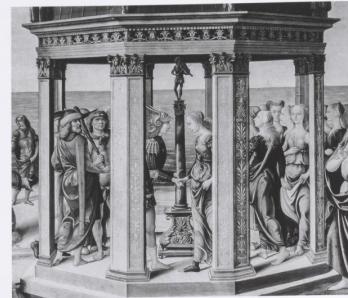
13 A /

The Battle of Anghiari

Copy after Leonardo da Vinci | From: The Burlington Magazine, No. 55, October 1929, p. 183, Pl. I | 16th century | Oil on panel | 83 x 144 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PH | TB | BR

14 WORKSHOP OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

The Betrothal of Jason and Medea in the Temple of Apollo
1486 | Tempera and oil on panel | 79 x 160 cm | Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs
□ PR | TB | BR 340/1



15¹ A / LATE ROMAN

Iris Encourages Turnus to Attack the Trojan Camp and Leaves in a Rainbow
From: Vergilius Romanus, MS 1 | Late 5th century | Manuscript illumination | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Cod. Vat. lat. 3867, fol. 74v
□ PH | TB | BR

15² A / LATE ROMAN

Aeneas and the Trojans Encounter the Storm Caused by Aeolus Following Juno's Orders
From: ibid., fol. 77r | Manuscript illumination
□ PH | TB | BR

16 APOLLONIO DI GIOVANNI

Venus Directing Aeneas and Achates

Detail from: The Vergilius Vaticanus | 1450-1460 | Manuscript illumination | Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 492, fol. 68v
□ PH | TB 337 | BR

17 APOLLONIO DI GIOVANNI

The Shipwreck of Aeneas

Right side of the cassone panels | 1460 c. | Tempera on panel | 50.7 x 164.15 cm | New Haven (CT), Yale University Art Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR

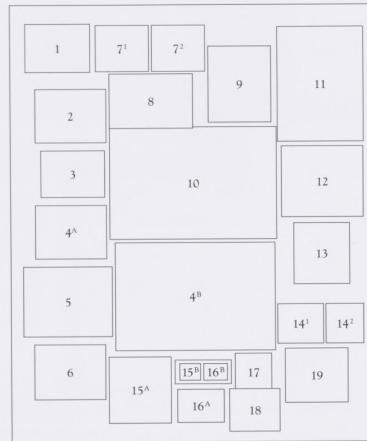
44



Panel 45

Superlatives of gestural language. Haughtiness of self-confidence. The individual hero emerging from typological grisaille. The loss of the 'how of metaphor'.

TB 395, 503



- 1 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Mary Enters the Temple
1485–1490 | Fresco | 450 cm (w.) | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR



- 2 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Herod's Banquet
1485–1490 | Fresco | 450 cm (w.) | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR 336/2

- 3 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Birth of John the Baptist
1485–1490 | Fresco | 215×450 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR

- 4^A DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Apparition of the Angel to Zechariah
Small illustration | 1485–1490 | Fresco | 215×450 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR 338/2

VERSO "Pagan sacrifice in Christian setting, Schlagwort: Opfer"

- 4^B DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Apparition of the Angel to Zechariah
Larger illustration | 1485–1490 | Fresco | 215×450 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR 338/2

- 5 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Apparition of the Angel to Zechariah
Compositional study for the fresco in Florence | 1485 c. | Preparatory sketch | 25.9×37.5 cm | Vienna, Albertina
□ PH | TB | BR 340/6

- 6 JACOPO AND TOMMASO RODARI
Christ Offering in the Temple
With a Hercules relief on the altar | 1491–1509 | Sculpture | Como, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta
□ PH | TB | BR



- 7¹ BERTOLDI DI GIOVANNI
Battle
Detail of the right side | 1480–1485 | Bronze relief | 45×99 cm | whole relief | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
□ PH | TB | BR

- 7² BERTOLDI DI GIOVANNI
Battle
Detail of the left side of P45/7¹
□ PH | TB | BR

- 8 BARTOLOMEO DI GIOVANNI
Reconciliation of the Romans and Sabines
Late 15th century | Spalliera painting | 70×157 cm | Rome, Galleria Colonna
□ PH | TB | BR



- 9 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Killing of St. Peter Martyr (St. Peter of Verona)
1485–1490 | Fresco | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR

- 10 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Massacre of the Innocents
1485–1490 | Fresco | 450 cm (w.) | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni
□ PH | TB | BR 128/10, 342/1

- 11 GIOVANNI BELLINI
The Blood of the Redeemer
1465 c. | Egg tempera on panel | 47.6×35.2 cm | London, National Gallery
□ PH | TB | BR

- 12 DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Brutus, Scavola, Camillus
1481–1485 | Fresco | Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala dei Gigli
□ PH | TB | BR

- 13 MATTEO DI GIOVANNI
Massacre of the Innocents
1482 | Tempera on panel | Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte
□ PH | TB 300 | BR 342/8

- 14¹ BERTOLDI DI GIOVANNI
Mehmed II
Profile of Mehmed II (obverse) | 1482 | Bronze medal | 9.3 cm (d.) | Helsinki, Kansallis museo
□ PH | TB 538 | BR

- 14² BERTOLDI DI GIOVANNI
Mehmed II
Triumph of Mehmed II (reverse) | 1482 | Bronze medal | 9.3 cm (d.) | Helsinki, Kansallis museo
□ PH | TB 538 | BR

- 15^A DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Resurrection of Christ
With Davide and Benedetto Ghirlandaio | 1494 c. | Tempera on wood | 222×205 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB | BR 340/5, 385/39

- 15^B DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Resurrection of Christ
Detail of P45/15^A | Fleeing grave guard
□ PH | TB | BR

- 16^A WORKSHOP OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Flight of the Dacians
Outline of a relief on Trajan's Column from a sketchbook | 1490 c. | Drawing | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Cod. Escurialensis, 28-II-12, fol. 63
□ PH | TB | BR 340/2, 385/42

- 16^B WORKSHOP OF DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
The Flight of the Dacians
Detail of P45/16^A | Heads of two Dacians
□ PH | TB | BR

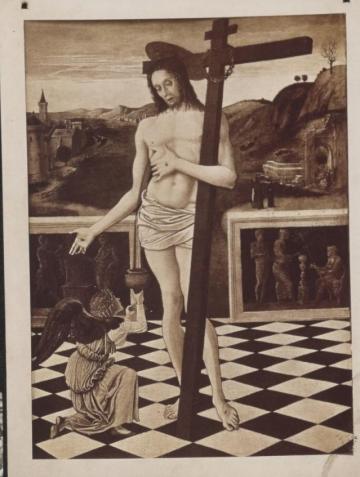
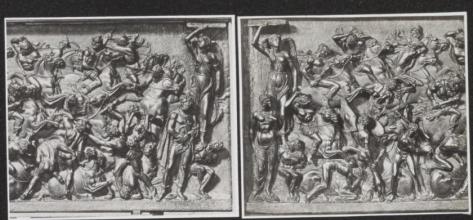
- 17 MASO DI BARTOLOMMEO
A Prisoner is Led before the Emperor
According to the model of an ancient intaglio; formerly attributed to the Donatello workshop | 1452 | Relief (tondo) | 100 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi
□ PH | TB | BR

- 18 LORENZO ZACCHIA
The Battle at Anghiari
After the lost fresco by Leonardo da Vinci in Palazzo Vecchio (1503–1505) | 1558 | Engraving | 37.4×47 cm | Vienna, Albertina
□ PH | TB | BR

- 19 MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AFTER RAPHAEL
La peste frigida (Il Morbeto)
The Phrygian Plague (The Morbeto)
1515–1516 | Engraving | 19.8×25.2 cm
□ PH | TB | BR



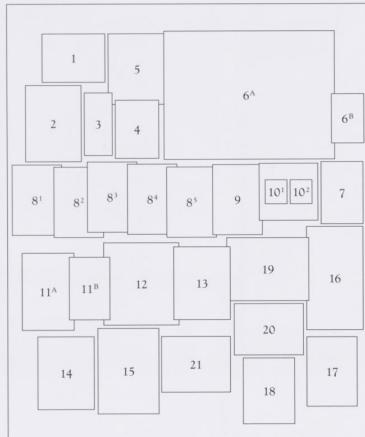
45



Panel 46

Nymph. "Eilbringitte" {a word invented by Warburg, merging "rush", "bring" and the name "Brigitte", maybe like Hush-Deliva} in the Tournabuoni family circle. Domestication.

TB 219, 395, 399, 429, 435, 436



1 A / LONGOBARD

Throne and Homage Scene

Relief on the helmet of King Agilulf of Lombardy | 7th century | Gilded bronze | 6.7×18.9 cm | Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello

◻ PH | TB | BR 312/13



2 A / ITALIAN

Annunciation, Visitation, and Birth of Christ

7th century | Bas-relief in ivory | Bologna, Museo civico archeologico

◻ PH | TB | BR

3 A / SOUTHERN ITALIAN

Eritrean Sibyl

From a pulpit | 1259–1283 | Bas-relief | Sessa Aurunca, Cattedrale

◻ PH | TB | BR

4 JEAN FOUCET

Saint Jean-Baptiste / Birth of John the Baptist

From: Étienne Chevalier, Livre d'heures d'Étienne Chevalier | 1460 c. | Manuscript illumination | 16.5×12 cm | Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 71

◻ PR | TB | BR 334/14

5 FILIPPO LIPPI

Madonna with Child

In the background, the birth of John the Baptist, with maid-servant | 1452 c. | Tempera on wood | 135 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Pitti

◻ PR | TB | BR 334/14

6^A DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

The Birth of John the Baptist

1486 | Fresco | 215×450 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni

◻ PH | TB | BR 338/1, 376/2

6^B A / CENTRAL ITALIAN AFTER DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Maid-servant Carrying a Basket

Detail of a copy of The Birth of John the Baptist (P46/6^A) | End of the 15th–early 16th century with 19th century interventions | Detached fresco | 121.5×77×4.7 cm | Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo

◻ PH | TB | BR

7 GIULIANO DA SANGALLO

Figure of a Woman

Early 16th century | Drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

◻ PH | TB | BR

[8] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Istorie in Rima

Lucrezia Tornabuoni | 1469 c. | Illuminated manuscript | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS cl. VII, 338

◻ PH | TB 219, 503 | BR

[8¹] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Esther before Ahasver

fol. 57v | Illuminated page

◻ PH | TB | BR 334/8

[8²] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Tobias and the Angel

fol. 89v | Illuminated page

◻ PH | TB | BR 334/4

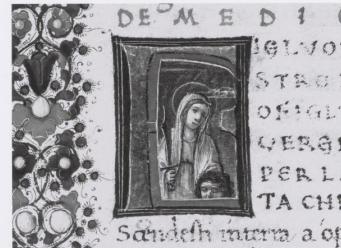


[8³] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Judith and Holofernes

fol. 28r | Illuminated page

◻ PH | TB | BR 334/7



[8⁴] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Christ and John the Baptist

fol. 1r | Illuminated page

◻ PH | TB 219, 503 | BR 334/5

[8⁵] GHERARDO DI GIOVANNI DEL FORA

Susanna and Bath of the Elders

fol. 81r | Illuminated page

◻ PH | TB 219, 503 | BR 334/3

[9] DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

Portrait of Giovanna Albizzi Tornabuoni

1488 | Mixed media on panel | 77×49 cm | Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza

◻ PH | TB | BR

[10¹] ATTRIBUTED TO NICCOLÒ FIORENTINO

Medal of Giovanna Albizzi Tornabuoni

Profile (obverse) | 1485 c. | Bronze medal | 7.8 cm (d.) | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett

◻ PH | TB 356 | BR 340/4

[10²] ATTRIBUTED TO NICCOLÒ FIORENTINO

Medal of Giovanna Albizzi Tornabuoni

Venus (reverse) | ibid.

◻ PH | TB 356, 399 | BR 340/4

[11^A] A / ANCIENT ROMAN

Roman Bas-relief of a Woman Bearing Goods

Horizontally walled in the Crypt of San Zeno | 10th–13th century | Bas-relief | Verona, Basilica di San Zeno

◻ PH | TB | BR

[11^B] A / ANCIENT ROMAN

A Woman Bearing Goods

Detail of P46/11^A; turned 90°

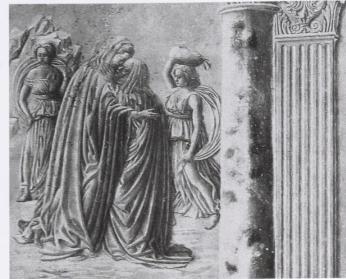
◻ PH | TB | BR

[12] FRA CARNEVALE (BARTOLOMEO DI GIOVANNI CORRADINI)

Virgin Mary's Presentation in the Temple

1467 c. | Oil and tempera on panel | 146.4×96.5 cm | Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts

◻ PH | TB | BR



[13] SANDRO BOTTICELLI

The Temptation of Christ

Detail with a woman bearing goods | 1480–1482 | Fresco | 345×555 cm | Vatican City, Cappella Sistina

◻ PH | TB | BR 338/3

[14] NICCOLÒ TRIBOLI

Lot Flees from Sodom and Gomorrah

Her daughters carry buckets and baskets | 1525 | Bas-relief | Bologna, Basilica di San Petronio, Porta Magna

◻ PH | TB | BR

[15] ALFONSO LOMBARDI

Birth of Jacob and Esau

1525 | Bas-relief | Bologna, Basilica di San Petronio, Porta Magna

◻ PH | TB | BR

[16] A / ITALIAN

Figure of a Woman Carrying Water

After Raphael and Giulio Romano's fresco, The Fire in the Borgo (1514) | Probably early 17th century | Drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

◻ PR | TB | BR 346/14, 376/3

[17] AGOSTINO VENEZIANO MAYBE AFTER RAPHAEL

Woman Carrying a Vase on her Head

1528 | Engraving | 18.1×11.9 cm

◻ PH | TB | BR 346/15

[18] ABY WARBURG

Peasant Woman in Settignano, Italy

Photograph | London, The Warburg Institute

◻ PH | TB | BR

[19] DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO

La Visitazione / The Visitation

1485–1490 | Fresco | 215×450 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni

◻ PH | TB | BR 352/15



[20] SANDRO BOTTICELLI

Venus and the Three Graces Offering Presents to a Young Girl (Giovanna Tornabuoni)

Originally from Villa Lemmi, Florence | 1485–1490 | Fresco | 211×283 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

◻ PH | TB | BR

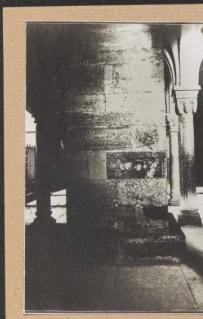
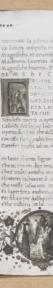
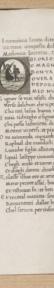
VERSO “not accepted by Mesnil as Giovanna Tornabuoni”

[21] SANDRO BOTTICELLI

A Young Man (Lorenzo Tornabuoni?) Being Introduced to the Seven Liberal Arts

Originally from Villa Lemmi, Florence | 1484 c. | Fresco | 237×269 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre

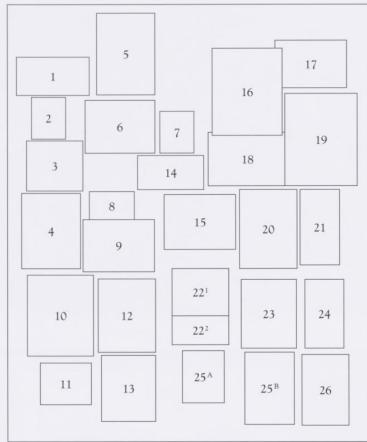
◻ PH | TB | BR



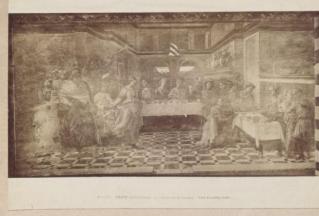
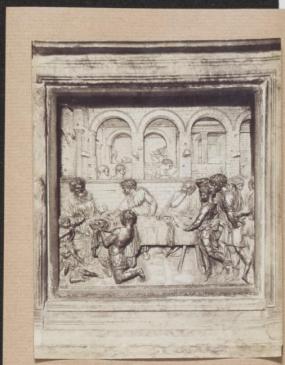
Panel 47

Nymph as protective angel and head-huntress. The bringing of the head. 'The Return from the Temple' as protection of the child when abroad (pictures of young Tobias as votive images).

TB 435

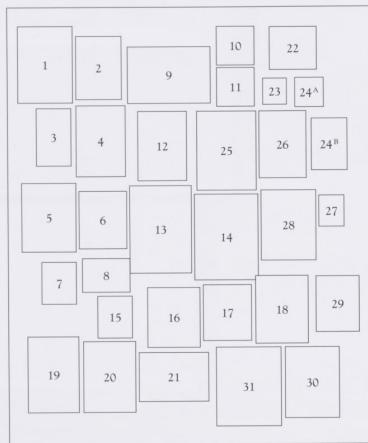


- 1 A / ITALIAN
Christ, Church and Apostles
Outline of a bas-relief of a sarcophagus later reused for the grave of St. Giles (Sant'Egidio) | 3rd century AD | Stone relief | Perugia, Oratorio di San Bernardino
□ PH | TB | BR 354/16
- 2 A / ITALIAN
Return of Christ to his Parents
Outline drawing of a manuscript illustration. From: Gregory of Nazianzus, The Homilies | AD 380 c. | Manuscript illumination | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS gr. 510, fol. 165r
□ PH | TB | BR 354/14
- 3 CIRCLE OF GIOTTO DI BONDONE
Return of Christ to Jerusalem
1311–1320 c. | Fresco | Assisi, Basilica di San Francesco, lower basilica
□ PH | TB | BR
- 4 SIMONE MARTINI
Christ Discovered in the Temple
1342 | Tempera and gold leaf on wood panel | 49.5 × 35.1 cm | Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery
□ PH | TB 306 | BR 354/1
- 5 A / ENGLISH (LONDON/WESTMINSTER OR EAST ANGLIA?)
Christ Disputing in the Temple with the Doctors
From: The Queen Mary Psalter | 1310–1330 c. | Manuscript illumination | 27.5 × 17.5 cm | London, British Library, Royal MS 2 B VII, fol 150v
□ PH | TB | BR 354/2
- 6 MASTER OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICOLAS
Christ Disputing in the Temple with the Doctors and Mary Joseph Lead Christ out of the Temple
1340–1348 | Fresco | Tolentino, Basilica di San Nicola
□ PH | TB | BR 354/10
- 7 BARTOLOMEO BELLANO
The Judgement of Solomon
Detail | 1484–1488 c. | Bronze bas-relief | 66 × 83.5 cm | Padua, Basilica di Sant'Antonio di Padova
□ PH | TB | BR
- 8 A / FRENCH (AMIENS)
Christ among the Doctors (left), Return of the Holy Family (right)
West façade | 1220–1269 | Bas-relief | Amiens, Cathédrale Notre-Dame
□ PH | TB | BR
- 9 AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO
St. Bridget of Sweden Receiving the Rule of her Order
Bing and Warburg read the image as: "Mary receives Christ returning from the Temple." | 1459 | Bas-relief | 42.5 × 63.8 × 7 cm | New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
□ PH | TB 305 f., 308, cf. 313, 330 | BR 356/21
- VERSO "Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne XIX 1906: B. Bertaux, Trois Chefs-d'œuvre Italiens de la Collection Aynard - pag. 92 ff."
- 10 FRANCESCO BOTTICINI
Tobias and the Angel
With the son of the donor Raffaello Doni | 1470 | Tempera on panel | 135 × 154 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi (formerly Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore, Sacristy)
□ PH | TB 285, 304 f. | BR 334/18
- 11 GIULIO CAMPAGNOLA
Tobias and the Angel
1500–1515 c. | Engraving | 8.1 × 11.1 cm
□ PH | TB | BR
- 12 GUERCINO (GIOVANNI FRANCESCO BARBIERI)
Tobias and the Angel
1624–1626 | Oil on canvas | 152.5 × 92.5 cm | Rome, Galleria Colonna
□ PH | TB | BR 358/3
- 13 A / ITALIAN
Tobias and the Angel
Detail, from: Giorgio Nicodemi, I legni incisi dei Musei Bresciani, Brescia 1921, p. 21 | A book of 50 copies with original prints from old woodblocks, that Warburg owned | Woodcut | 2^o | London, The Warburg Institute Library, COH 425 shelfmark
□ PH | TB | BR
- 14 JACOPO DEL SELLAIO
Landscape with Scenes from the Bible and of the Legends of the Saints
1485 c. | Tempera on poplar | 84 × 187 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie (formerly Göttingen, Universitätsmuseum)
□ PH | TB | BR 334/13
- 15 FRANCESCO BOTTICINI
Tobias and the Three Archangels
1467 | Tempera on wood | 135 × 154 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
□ PH | TB | BR 334/17
- 16 DONATELLO
The Feast of Herod
Baptismal font | 1427 c. | Bronze relief | 60 × 60 cm | Siena, Battistero di San Giovanni
§ PH | TB | BR 334/12
- 17 DONATELLO
The Feast of Herod
1435 c. | Marble relief | 43.5 × 65 cm | Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts
□ PH | TB | BR
- 18 FILIPPO LIPPI
The Feast of Herod: Salome's Dance
1464 c. | Fresco | 450 × 880 cm | Prato, Duomo, Cappella Maggiore
□ PH | TB | BR 336/1
- 19 ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO
Presentation of John the Baptist's Head
1470 c. | Embroidery | Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo
§ PH | TB | BR 334/19
- 20 JACOPO BELLINI
Judith with the Head of Holofernes
Detail of a page from the London sketchbook | 1440 c. | Lead-point on paper | 41.8 × 33.5 cm whole sheet | London, British Museum, Inv. 1855.8-11-34, fol. 35
□ PH | TB | BR
- 21 DONATELLO
Judith and Holofernes
1460 c. | Bronze sculpture | 236 cm (h.) | Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala dei Gigli (formerly Florence, Piazza della Signoria)
§ PH | TB | BR
- 22 A / ITALIAN
Judith with the Head of Holofernes
1465 c. | Engraving
□ PR | TB | BR 378/8
- 22² A / ITALIAN
Two Warriors Hold a Shield with the Personification of 'Hope'
1465 c. | Engraving
□ PR | TB | BR 378/9
- 23 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
The Return of Judith to Bethulia
Pendant of The Discovery of the Body of Holofernes | 1472 c. | Oil on panel | 31 × 25 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi
§ PH | TB | BR 334/9
- 24 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Judith Leaving the Tent of Holofernes
1497–1500 c. | Oil on panel | 36.5 × 20 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
§ PH | TB | BR
- 25A ATTRIBUTED TO DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Judith with her Maidservant
Detail of the grisaille in the background | 1489 | Tempera on poplar | 44.5 × 31.3 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
§ PH | TB | BR 338/8, 376/7
- 25B ATTRIBUTED TO DOMENICO GHIRLANDAIO
Judith with her Maidservant
Bigger detail of P47/25^a
§ b/w pp | TB | BR
- 26 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)
Samson and the Philistine
Ground plan and elevation of Giambologna's fountain | 1601 c. | Drawing | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe
□ PH | TB | BR



Panel 48

Fortune. Altercation symbol for man setting himself free (merchant).



1 A / FRENCH

Fortuna

Detail | From: Christine de Pizan, Collected Works, known as The Book of Queen | 1405-1410 | Manuscript illumination | 36.5 x 28.5 cm whole manuscript | London, The British Library, MS Harley 4431, fol. 129r

□ PH | TB | BR

2 HANS HOLBEIN THE YOUNGER

Fortune Bestows the Fool with a Present

Detail | From: Erasmus of Rotterdam, The Praise of Folly, Basel edition | 1515 c. | Marginal drawing | Basel, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett

□ PH | TB | BR

3 A / FRENCH

Wheel of Fortune

From: Boethius, Consolatio Philosophiae | 13th century | Manuscript illumination | 22.5 x 14.4 cm | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2642, fol. 11r

□ PH | TB | BR

4 A / ITALIAN

Wheel of Fortune

From: Imagines secundum diversos doctores | 1424 | Manuscript illumination | 30.5 x 21.5 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1066, fol. 239v

□ PH | TB | BR

5 A / FRENCH

Wheel of Fortune

From: Boccaccio (translated by Laurent de Premierfait), Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes | Late 15th century | Manuscript illumination | 42 x 28.5 cm | London, The British Library, MS Add. 35321, fol. 170r

□ PH | TB | BR

6 MASTER OF THE BOCCACCIO ILLUSTRATIONS

Fortune and Poverty

From: Le livre de la Ruyne des nobles hommes et femmes, Bruges (Colard Mansion) 1476 [French adaptation of De casibus illustrium virorum et mulierum] | Manuscript illumination | 38.3 x 29 cm | Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts

□ PH | TB | BR

7 A / GERMAN

Pope Pius II (Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini) in the Empire of Fortune

Frontespiece from: Pope Pius II (translated by Niclas von Weyle), Eneas silvius, der Papst Pius genant wart (...), Landshut (Weynsenburger) 1519 c. | 15th century | Woodcut | 12.5 x 19 cm | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/4 Plat. 1601,16

□ PH | TB | BR

8 A / FLEMISH (?)

Wheel of Fortune

Formerly mistaken as an illustration from: Giovanni Boccaccio, De casibus virorum illustrium, Brussels (?), 1483 (?), probably from that time and area | Woodcut

□ PH | TB | BR

9 BERNARDO ROSELLINO

Front Façade of the Palazzo Rucellai

After designs by architect Leon Battista Alberti | 1446-1451 | Photograph | Florence, Palazzo Rucellai

□ PH | TB | BR

10 A / ROMAN

Isis Pelagia

Outline of a medal featuring the Emperor Hadrian | 2nd century BC | Embossing

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Roscher II, p. 485, [...] Münzsammlung d. Stifts St. Florian" [Reference to: Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, ed. by W.H. Roscher, Leipzig 1890-97, the source of the illustrations]

11 A / ITALIAN

Fortuna

Outline of a medal for Alessandro Caimo, a Milanese Jurist, Reverse: Optanda Navigatio, motif: two men on the sea | 1570 c. | Embossing

□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Museum Mazzochianum, Tom. I, Venetiis 1762, p. 312 (Tab. LXII)" [Reference to the book that the illustrations (p. 310) were taken from]



12 BACCIO BALDINI

Bernardo Rucellai and Nannina de' Medici on the Ship of Fortune

Printed on the occasion of the wedding of Bernardo and Nannina | 1466 c. | Engraving

□ PH | TB | BR 142/2, 328/15

13 PAOLO MANNUCCI

Fortuna

After a design by Bernardino Pinturicchio | 1504-1506 | Pietra dura flooring | Siena, Cattedrale Metropolitana di Santa Maria Assunta, Flooring

□ PH | TB | BR

14 NICOLETTO DA MODENA

Fortuna

1506 c. | Engraving | 25.5 x 18.5 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

15 A / PORTUGUESE

The Astrologer

From: Rudolph Lepke's Kunst-Auctions-Haus (ed.), Gemälde des XIV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Sammlungen des verstorbenen früheren Direktors des South-Kensington Museums und Conservators der Galerie der Königin Victoria, Sir J. C. Robinson, und dessen verstorbenen Sohnes Charles Newton Robinson, London (...) Auction: Tuesday, 31 March 1914, catalogue no. 1711, Berlin 1914. Description in the catalogue: "Astrologer is wearing a yellow shirt and red coat." | Oil on wood | 85 x 76 cm | whereabouts unknown

□ PH | TB | BR

16 FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI

Hippo [?]

1475 c. | Drawing | 28.2 x 25.6 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe

□ PH | TB cf. 360 | BR

17 A / GERMAN

Fortuna

From: Theodor de Bry, Emblemata nobilitati et vulgo scitu digna singulis historiis symbola adscripta, Frankfurt 1592, p. 49 | Engraving on laid paper

□ PH | TB | BR

18 A / ITALIAN

Fortuna

Family crest on the wall in the yard of the palazzo | 1460 c. | Stone relief | 60 cm (d.) | Florence, Palazzo Rucellai

□ PH | TB | BR 142/1, 330/9

19 A / ITALIAN

Wheel of Fortune

From: Lorenzo Spirito Gualtieri, Libro delle Sorti, Perugia, p. 2 of the book of chance, with a choice of question | 1482 | Woodcut | 24.3 x 17.4 cm

□ PR | TB | BR

20 A / ITALIAN

Fortuna

Four of twelve different representations of the winds, from: Sigismondo Fanti Ferrarese, Triomphus di Fortuna, Venice 1526 | Woodcut | 35 x 24 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

21 LEONARDO DA VINCI

Kairos (Occasio)

Formerly read as Allegory of the Concordance between the French King and the Pope | 1516 c. | Red chalk on paper | 17 x 28 cm | Windsor, Windsor Castle, Royal Library

□ PH | TB | BR

22 A / ITALIAN

Kairos (Occasio)

For Pier Maria Rossi, Count of San Secondo, inscription: Aut te capiam aut moriar (reverse), Parma | Late 16th century | Medal

□ PH | TB | BR

23 A / ITALIAN

Kairos (Occasio)

For the mathematician and architect Camillo Agrippa, inscription: Velis Nolive (reverse) | 1585 c. | Bronze medal | 4.6 cm (d.)

□ PH | TB | BR 142/6, 328/9

24^A BONINI (Giovanni Battista)

Kairos (Occasio)

For the mathematician and architect Camillo Agrippa, inscription: Velis Nolive (reverse) | 1585 c. | Bronze medal | 4.6 cm (d.)

□ PH | TB | BR 142/6, 328/9

24^B BONINI (Giovanni Battista)

Kairos (Occasio)

Profile Camillo Agrippa (obverse) | 1585 c. | Plaster cast | 4.6 cm (d.)

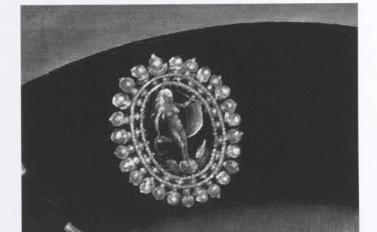
□ PH | TB | BR

25 BERNHARD STRIGEL

Maximilian I and his Family

The young Charles with a Fortuna on his brooch | 1515 | Oil on panel | 72.8 x 60.4 cm | Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie

□ PH | TB | BR



26 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Nemesis (The Great Fortune)

1502 c. | Engraving | 33.34 x 23.18 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

27 ANDREA CRATANDER

Fortuna

Printer's mark of the Basel publisher, used in an edition of Cicero's Opera, Basel, 1528, vol. 3 | 1525 | Metalcut | 8.5 x 5.9 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 142/5

28 WORKSHOP OF ANDREA MANTEGNA

Occasion and Education or Virtue (possibly)

For Warburg Occasio et Poenitentia (occasion and penance) | 1500-1505 c. | Fresco | 168 x 146 cm | Mantua, Museo della città di palazzo San Sebastiano (formerly Mantua, Palazzo Ducale)

□ PH | TB | BR

29 GUIDO RENI

Fortuna

1623 | Oil on canvas | 162.5 x 128.2 cm | Vatican City, Pinacoteca Vaticana

□ PH | TB | BR

30 AGNOLO BRONZINO

Allegory of Happiness

1564 | Oil on copper | 40 x 30 cm | Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi

□ PH | TB | BR

31 ATTRIBUTED TO CORNELIS ANTHONISZ TEUNISSEN

Allegory of Misery

Further interpreted as an Allegory of Idleness | 1530 c. | Drawing | 37.1 x 29 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

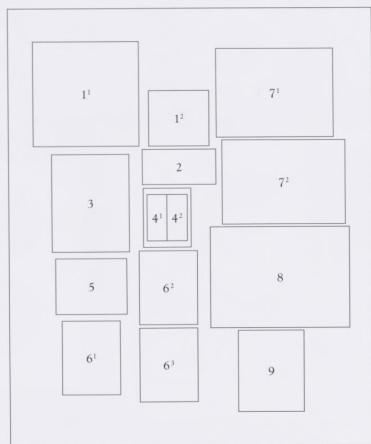
□ PH | TB | BR



Panel 49

Subdued emotional expressivity: victory (Mantegna). Grisaille as the 'how of metaphor'. Dissociation.

TB 435



6² ANDREA MANTEGNA
St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Zenon
Left side, San Zeno Altarpiece with tondi in grisaille, see P49/6¹
 PH | TB | BR 252/4, 284/6

6³ ANDREA MANTEGNA
St. Benedict, St. Lawrence, St. Gregory the Great, St. John the Baptist
Right side, San Zeno Altarpiece with tondi in grisaille, see P49/6¹
 PH | TB | BR



7¹ ANDREA MANTEGNA
Battle of the Sea Gods
1470 c. | Engraving | 28.3 × 41.8 cm left part, 28.3 × 82.7 cm whole sheet
 PH | TB | BR 252/5, 286/2, 376/4

7² ANDREA MANTEGNA
Battle of the Sea Gods
1470 c. | Engraving | 28.3 × 40.9 cm right part, 28.3 × 82.7 cm whole sheet
 PH | TB | BR 286/1, 294/7

8 ANDREA MANTEGNA
Bacchanal with a Wine Vat
1470–1490 c. | Engraving | 29.9 × 43.7 cm
 PH | TB | BR

9 MARCO ZOPPO AFTER ANDREA MANTEGNA
Death of Pentheus (or Orpheus)
1465–1474 (?) | Drawing | 34.3 × 26.4 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Kristeller p. 385"
VERSO "Kristeller p. 385"

- 1¹ ANDREA MANTEGNA
Picture Bearers
First of nine canvases in the series, Triumphs of Caesar | 1484–1494 | Tempera on canvas | 270.3 × 280.7 cm | London, Hampton Court Palace
 PH | TB | BR 286/5
- VERSO "Kristeller p. 385"
- 1² CIRCLE OF ANDREA MANTEGNA
The Senators
After a drawing of Andrea Mantegna for the series, Triumphs of Caesar | 1495 | Engraving | 28.5 × 26.8 cm
 PR | TB | BR
- VERSO "Kristeller p. 385"
- 2 ANDREA MANTEGNA
The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome
1505–1506 | Grisaille | 73.5 × 268 cm | London, National Gallery
 PH | TB | BR 324/12



- 3 ANDREA MANTEGNA AND HIS COLLABORATORS
Judgement of Solomon
1505–1506 c. | Tempera on canvas | 46.5 × 37 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
 PH | TB | BR

- 4¹ ANDREA MANTEGNA
The Vestal Virgin Tuccia with a Sieve
1495–1506 | Egg tempera on poplar | 72.5 × 23 cm | London, National Gallery
 PH | TB | BR 286/3a

- 4² ANDREA MANTEGNA
Sophonisba or A Woman Drinking
1495–1506 | Egg tempera on poplar | 71.2 × 19.8 cm | London, National Gallery
 PH | TB | BR 286/3b

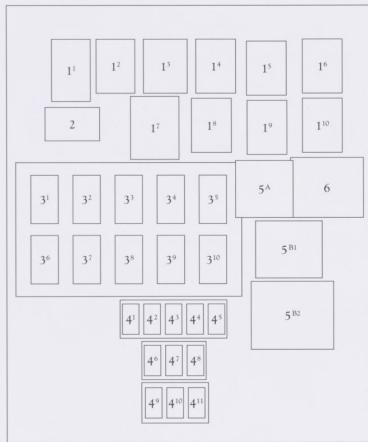
- 5 ANDREA MANTEGNA
Ludovico Gonzaga and his Court
Detail | 1470 c. | Walnut oil on plaster, fresco | 805 × 807 cm | Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Camera degli Sposi
 PH | TB | BR

- 6¹ ANDREA MANTEGNA
Madonna with Child and Angels
Central panel, San Zeno Altarpiece with tondi in grisaille | 1457–1459 | Tempera on panel | 220 × 115 cm, 480 × 450 cm whole altarpiece | Verona, Basilica di San Zeno
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 50-51

Subdivision and making handleable. Muses. Virtues and Vices. Harmonic system. Ascent. Female funerary dancers.



- [1] A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
The so-called Mantegna Tarocchi
E-series, *The Arts and the Muses* | 1465 c. | Engravings | 17.9 x 10 cm

- 1¹ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Primo Mobile | *Primum Mobile*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1² A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Astrologia | *Astrology*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1³ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Philosofia | *Philosophy*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1⁴ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Poesia | *Poetry*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1⁵ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Logica | *Logic*
□ PH | TB | BR



- 1⁶ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Urania | *Urania*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1⁷ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Erato | *Erato*
□ PH | TB | BR 290/8

- 1⁸ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Clio | *Clio*, the oldest muse
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1⁹ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Melpomene | *Tragedy*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 1¹⁰ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Melpomene | *Tragedy*
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2 A /
Maenad and Two Satyrs
Outline of a Neo-Attic relief (30 BC to AD 40 c.), based on a Greek model from the 4th century BC (2nd half); Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. From: Museo Nazionale di Napoli, Real Museo Borbonico, vol. 7, Naples 1831, fig. 24 | Drawing
□ PH | TB | BR

- [3] A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
The so-called Mantegna Tarocchi
E-series, *The Spheres* | 1465 c. | Engravings | 17.9 x 10 cm

O.T.P. *Italienische Spielkarten des XV. Jahrh. mit Darstellung der 10 Sphaeren* | Italian playing cards of the 15th century with representation of the 10 spheres

- 3¹ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Luna | *Moon*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8a

- 3² A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Merkurio | *Mercury*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8b, 290/9, 448/3

- 3³ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Vénus (Venere) | *Venus*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8c

- 3⁴ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Sol | *Sun*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8d

- 3⁵ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Marte | *Mars*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8e

- 3⁶ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Jupiter | *Jupiter*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8f

- 3⁷ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Saturno | *Saturn*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8g, 290/10, 380/6

- 3⁸ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Octava Spera | *Eighth Sphere*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8h

- 3⁹ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Primo Mobile | *Primum Mobile*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8i

- 3¹⁰ A / ITALIAN (FERRARA)
Prima Causa | *Prima Causa*
□ PH | TB | BR 218/8j

- [4] A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
The so-called Tarot of Marseilles
Modern card deck, published in Geneva | 1840–1860 | Coloured woodcuts | 12 x 7 cm

- 4¹ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
Le Bateleur | *The Magician or The Juggler*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4a

- 4² A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
La Papesse | *The Popess*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4b

- 4³ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
L'Impératrice | *The Empress*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4c

- 4⁴ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
L'Empereur | *The Emperor*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4d

- 4⁵ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
Le Pape | *The Pope*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4e

- 4⁶ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
L'Amoureux | *The Lover*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4f

- 4⁷ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
Le Chariot | *The Chariot*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4g

- 4⁸ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
La Justice | *Justice*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4h

- 4⁹ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
L'ermite | *The Hermit*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4i, 290/11a

- 4¹⁰ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
La Roue de Fortune | *The Wheel of Fortune*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4j, 290/11b

- 4¹¹ A / FRENCH MAYBE AFTER JEAN DODAL OR JEAN PAYEN
Le Monde | *The World*
□ PR | TB | BR 210/4k, 290/11c

- 5^A ANDREA MANTEGNA
Parnaso | *Parnassus*

Mars and Venus, Vulcan, Apollo and Mercury with the dancing Muses | 1497 c. | Tempera and gold on canvas | 1.59 x 1.92 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures

□ PH | TB | BR 260/2, 288/2, 326/25

- 5^{B1} ANDREA MANTEGNA
Detail of P50-51/5^A with the four dancing Muses
□ PH | TB | BR 288/3

- 5^{B2} SCHOOL OF ANDREA MANTEGNA

After Mantegna's preliminary drawing for Dancing Muses | 1497 c. | Engraving | 24.3 x 35 cm, slightly cut on the left side | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures

□ PH | TB | BR 262/2



51

50



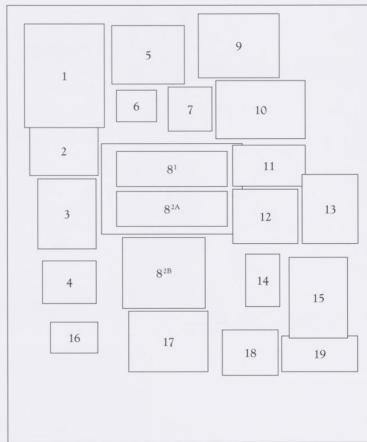
ITALIENISCHE SPIELKÄRTE DES XV. JAHRHUNDERTS MIT DARSTELLUNG DER ZEHN SPHEREN



Panel 52

Trajan's justice = energetic inversion of horseback trampling.
Ethical inversion of emotional expressivity for victory. The magnanimity of Scipio.

TB 394f, 399



- 1 LIPPO D'ANDREA (AMBROGIO DI BALLENSI)
The Justice of Trajan
1420–1430 c. | Birth tray | 71 cm (d.) | Private collection
 PH | TB 209 | BR

VERSO "Schubring 90"

- 2 ATTRIBUTED TO VINCENZO FOPPA
The Justice of Trajan
Second half 15th century | Drawing | 25.8 × 39.1 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Schubring 576-7"

- 3 GIOVANNI MARIA DA BRESCIA
The Justice of Trajan
1502 | Engraving | 32.7 × 22.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 4 GIROLAMO DA SANTACROCE OR
GIROLAMO D'ANDREA MOCKETTO
The Justice of Trajan
Ceiling compartment | 1500 c. | Grisaille | Paris, Musée Jacquemart André
 PH | TB | BR 312/14

- 5 SANDRO BOTTICELLI
Dante and Virgil on the Terrace of the Proud
Detail with the Trajan Relief, illustration of Dante's Divine Comedy | 1492–1497 | Drawing | 32.2 × 47 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR



- 7 LUCA SIGNORELLI
Dante and Virgil Entering Purgatory
Detail of illustration of Dante's Divine Comedy, Purgatory, Canto X and XI, in the background three reliefs decorating a wall at the Mountain of Purgatory: Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary; David Dancing before the Lord; Justice of Trajan | 1499–1502 | Fresco | Orvieto, Basilica Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta, Cappella di San Brizio
 PH | TB 496 | BR

- 8¹ CIRCLE OF WORKSHOP OF ANDREA MANTEGNA
Victory over Dacia
Chest of Paola Gonzaga | 1476–1478 c. | Painted and gilded pastiglia | 69 × 214 cm | Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum Kärnten
 PH | TB | BR

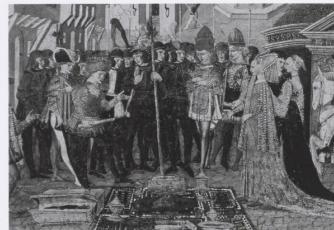
- 8^{2A} CIRCLE OF ANDREA MANTEGNA
Justice of Trajan
Chest of Paola Gonzaga | 1476–1478 c. | Painted and gilded pastiglia | 69 × 214 cm | Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum Kärnten
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Eisler. Jahrb. d. Zentralkommission, 1905 p. 64ff"

- 8^{2B} CIRCLE OF ANDREA MANTEGNA
Justice of Trajan
Detail of P52/8^{1A}
 PH | TB | BR

- 9 CIRCLE OF APOLLONIO DI GIOVANNI
The Continenze of Scipio
1463–1465 | Tempera on poplar panel | 43.5 × 133 × 4 cm | London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Meister des Turniers von Sta Croce | Schubring 141"



- 10 PIETRO BARTOLI AFTER GIULIO ROMANO
The Continenze of Scipio
Second half 17th century | Engraving | 21 cm (h.)
 PH | TB | BR

- 11 WORKSHOP OF PASQUIER GRENIER
The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald
After a lost painting by Rogier van der Weyden | 1459 c. | Tapestry | 430 × 864 cm | Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum
 PH | TB | BR

- 12 A / EARLY NETHERLANDISH
The Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald
Outline drawing of the tapestry (see: P52/11), from: Achille Jubinal, Les anciennes tapisseries historiques, Paris 1838, vol. 2
 PH | TB | BR

- 13 A / GERMAN (?)
Justice of Trajan
1507 or later, formerly dated early 15th century | Oil on canvas | 245 × 225 cm | Lost, last location: Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and Fondation Corboud (originally Cologne, Rathaus)
 PH | TB | BR

- 14 HANS SEBALD BEHAM
Justice of Trajan
1537 | Engraving | 10.9 × 7.9 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 15 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Justice of Trajan
1500–1506 | Drawing | 26.4 × 19.1 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
 PH | TB | BR



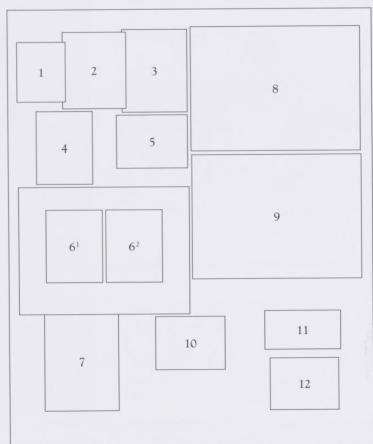
- 16 A / ITALIAN
The Continenze of Scipio
Probably an illustration from a Venetian edition of Livius or Plutarch | 1500 c. | Woodcut (cutout section of printed book)
 BK | TB | BR

- 17 DOMENICO BECCAFUMI
The Continenze of Scipio
1525 c. | Oil on panel | 68 × 140 cm | Lucca, Palazzo Mansi, Pinacoteca Nazionale
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 53

Muses. Heavenly and earthly Parnassus. (Raphael) Connection to Mantegna and the Palazzo Schifanoia. Ascent.



10 CIRCLE OF BACCIO BANDINELLI

Muses
1530 c. | Pen Drawing
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "British Art and the Mediterranean 83b"

11 MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AFTER RAPHAEL

Apollo, Minerva and the Muses
1511-1520 | Engraving | 12.9 x 7.9 cm each
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Engr. after a classic sarcophagus of the Galleria Giustiniani (today Vienna). See Thode, Die Antiken in den Stichen Marcantonis. Lpzg. 1881, p. 4. Wickhoff in Jahrb. d. A. H. Kaiserhauses XX. 1899, p. 182 ss."

12 ATTRIBUTED TO JACOPO TINTORETTO

The Music Contest between Muses and Pierides
1545 c. | Oil on canvas | 146.4 x 90.5 cm | Verona, Museo Civico d'Arte di Castelvecchio
 PH | TB | BR

1 A / ITALIAN

Allegory of Music or Erato

From: Ordine delle Nocce dello Illustrissimo Signore Meser Constantio Sforzia de Aragonia et della Illustrissima Madonna Ca(m)milla de Aragonia sua consorte nella(n)o 1475 | 1480 | Manuscript illumination made for Federico da Montefeltro | 20.6 x 14 cm | Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 899, fol. 59r

PH | TB | BR 288/9, 342/12

2 FILIPPINO LIPPI

Allegory of Music or Erato

1500 c. | Tempera on poplar | 62.5 x 51.8 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 PH | TB | BR 260/4, 288/8, 342/13

3 FILIPPINO LIPPI

Fides

1489-1502 | Fresco | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Strozzi
 PH | TB | BR 342/9

4 RAPHAEL

The Triumph of Galatea

1512 | Fresco | 295 x 225 cm | Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala di Galatea
 PH | TB | BR 124/16, 346/9

5 LORENZETTO (LORENZO DI LODOVICO DI GUGLIELMO, ALSO KNOWN AS LORENZO LOTTI)

Christ and the Samaritan Woman
Bas-relief panel on the altar front | 1520 | Bronze relief | 62 x 210 cm | Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo, Cappella Chigi
 PH | TB 210 | BR 288/7

6¹ MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

Naason

Detail | 1511-1512 | Fresco | 215 x 430 cm | Vatican City, Cappella Sistina
 BK | TB | BR 288/10, 346/7

6² MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

Naason's Future Wife

Detail | 1511-1512 | Fresco | 215 x 430 cm | Vatican City, Cappella Sistina
 BK | TB | BR 288/10, 346/8

7 MASTER OF THE DIE, FORMERLY NICOLAUS BEATRIZET

Hercules Driving Envoy from the Temple of the Muses

After a woodcut by Ugo da Carpi after a drawing by Baldassarre Peruzzi from 1522-1524 | 1548-1553 | Engraving | 25.08 x 17.78 cm
 PH | TB | BR

8 RAPHAEL

The School of Athens

1510-1511 | Fresco | 500 x 770 cm | Vatican City, Palazzo Apostolico, Stanza della Segnatura
 PH | TB | BR 344/6

9 RAPHAEL

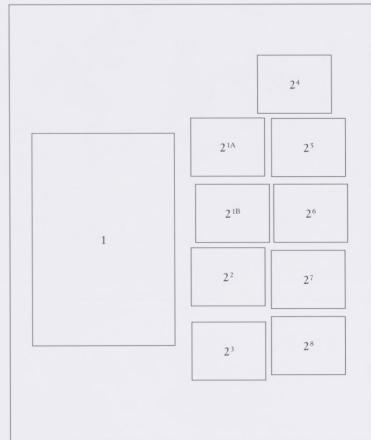
The Parnassus

1511 c. | Fresco | 670 cm (w.) | Vatican City, Palazzo Apostolico, Stanza della Segnatura
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 54

Olympianization together with horoscope practice and the ruling of heaven by God the Father. (Chigi) ascent.



- 1 LUIGI DA PACE
Creation of the World
 Illusionistic ceiling painting after Raphael's cartoons in the Burial Chapel of Agostino Chigi, representing God the Father and the seven planets accompanied by angels | 1516 | Mosaic | Rome, Basilica di Santa Maria del Popolo, Cappella Chigi
 PH | TB | BR 124/15, 346/5, 442/4

- [2] BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Astrological and Mythological Imagery
 1510–1511 c. | Vault fresco | Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala di Galatea

- 2¹A BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Eridanus, Jupiter, Taurus
 PH | TB | BR

- 2¹B BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Eridanus
 Detail of P54/2¹A
 PH | TB | BR 380/11

- 2² BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Swan (Cygnus), Aquarius, The Abductions of Ganymede
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Nemesis = Fortuna. (Roscher III, 1, 136 ff). Tereus, Philomela – Procne"

- 2³ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Lyra, Apollo and Centaur
 PH | TB | BR 442/3a

VERSO "(Apollo) Sol, Sagittarius. Orpheus (Lyra), Juno"

- 2⁴ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Sagittarius, Venus and Capricorn
 PH | TB | BR 442/3a

- 2⁵ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Lernaeon Hydra (Serpens), Corvus, Hercules Fighting Nemean Lion
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Crater | Primavera"

- 2⁶ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Saturn, Cupid and Venus, Pisces, Pegasus
 PH | TB | BR 346/4

- 2⁷ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Argo, Cancer, Hercules Fighting with the Lernaeon Hydra
 PH | TB | BR

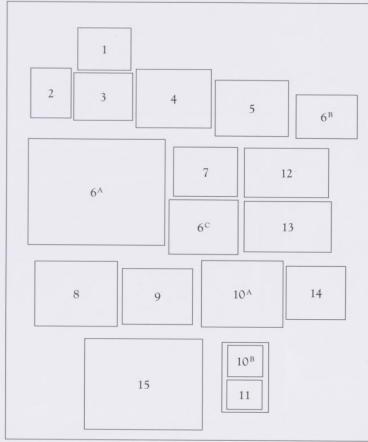
- 2⁸ BALDASSARRE PERUZZI
Corona Borealis, Luna (Diana), Virgo (Erigone)
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 55

Judgement of Paris without ascent. After the sarcophagus; Peruzzi and Marcantonio. Ascent and sinking back. Narcissism. Plein air as substitute for Olympus. Manet borrowing from Carracci. Couple walking.

TB 409, 422f., 425f., 428f., 439, 447, 539, 551



1 A / FRENCH
Judgement of Paris

From: Jacques Millet, *L'histoire de la Destruction de Troye*, Marburg-Leipzig 1883, p. 28 | 1484 | Woodcut | 32×23 cm | formerly Dresden, Königliche Bibliothek

PH | TB | BR

2 A / FLEMISH
Dream of Paris

Tableau vivant from *The Joyous Entry of Joanna of Castile into Brussels in 1496*. From: Max Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Berlin 1914 | 1496 | Pen drawing, lavished | 35.6×25 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 D 5, f. 57r

PH | TB | BR 380/33



3 LOYSET LIÉDET
Judgement of Paris

Illustration from the reprint: J. van den Gheyn, Christine de Pisan, *Épître d'Othéa, déesse de la prudence, à Hector, chef des Troyens*, reproduction of the 100 miniatures of Jean Miélot, Brussels 1913. Original: Christine de Pisan, *Épître d'Othéa* | 1460 c. | Manuscript illumination | 36.5×25.9 cm | Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 9392, fol. 80

PH | TB | BR 380/34

4 BALDASSARE PERUZZI
Il giudizio di Paride | Judgement of Paris

1535 c. | Fresco | Siena, Castello di Belcaro

PH | TB | BR

5 ALBRECHT GLOCKENDON AFTER HANS SEBALD BEHAM
Jungbrunnen | The Fountain of Youth
Left part | 1531-1535 | Woodcut | 37×119.5 cm whole sheet

PH | TB | BR



6A MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AFTER RAPHAEL
Il giudizio di Paride | Judgement of Paris
1510-20 | Engraving | 28×44 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

PR | TB | BR 358/9, 381/45

6B HANS AESSLINGER AFTER MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
Urteil des Paris | Judgement of Paris
1550 | Relief | 30.4×44.7×3.5 cm | Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum

PH | TB | BR

6C NICOLAES BERCHEM
AFTER MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
Judgement of Paris
17th century | Painting | Tivoli, Villa d'Este

PH | TB 401, 409 | BR 358/8, 381/47

7 GIULIO BONASONE
Judgement of Paris

1565 c. | Engraving | 30×46.5 cm

PH | TB | BR 381/41

8 TITIAN (TIZIANO VECCELLIO)
Concerto campestre | Pastoral Concert

Formerly attributed to Giorgione (Giorgio da Castelfranco) | 1510 c. | Oil on canvas | 105×137 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures

PH | TB | BR 358/15, 381/46

9 ANTON RAPHAEL MENGS
Urteil des Paris | Judgement of Paris

1757 c. | Oil on canvas | 226×295 cm | St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum

PH | TB | BR

10A ÉDOUARD MANET
Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe | The Luncheon on the Grass

1863 | Oil on canvas | 208×264.5 cm | Paris, Musée d'Orsay

PH | TB 224, 402, 409, 412f., 427f., 430, 439, 447, 543

| BR 358/10, 358/14, 381/48

10B ÉDOUARD MANET
Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe | The Luncheon on the Grass

See: P55/10^a | From: Gustav Pauli, Raffael und Manet, in: Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft, vol. 1, München/Berlin 1908, p. 54

BK | TB | BR 358/10, 358/14, 381/49

11 MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI AFTER RAPHAEL

Il giudizio di Paride | Judgement of Paris

Detail of P55/6^a | From: Gustav Pauli, Raffael und Manet, in: Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft, vol. 1, München/Berlin 1908, p. 54.

BK | TB | BR 162 | BR 381/50

12 ANNIBALE CARRACCI

Paesaggio con pescatori | Landscape with Fishing Scene

Companion piece: Hunting | 1587-1588 c. | Oil on canvas | 136×255 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures

PH | TB | BR 381/52

13 ANNIBALE CARRACCI

Paesaggio con cacciatori | Landscape with Hunting Scene

Companion piece: Fishing | 1587-1588 c. | Oil on canvas | 136×253 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures

PH | TB | BR

14 ÉDOUARD MANET

La Pêche | Fishing

From: Études sur Manet, in Gazette des Beaux Arts, Jan. 1927, p. 42 | 1862-1863 | Oil on canvas | 76.8×123.2 cm | New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

PH | TB | BR 381/51

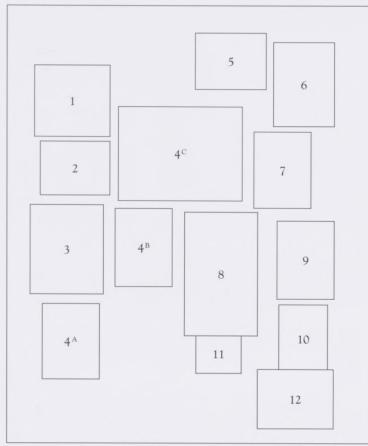




Panel 56

Ascent and fall (Michelangelo). Apotheosis of death by Crucifixion. Last Judgement and the Fall of Phaethon. Intrusion of the ceiling.

TB 510



- 1 A / ANCIENT ROMAN (DIOSKOURIDES OR DISCIPLE)
Gemma Augustea
Apotheosis of Augustus (upper register) and the erection of the trophy (lower register) | AD 9-12 | Cameo engraved gem (double-layered sardonyx with gold, gold-plated silver) | 19×23 cm | Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
□ PH | TB | BR 206/8, 386/53, 420/2
- 2 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
Naason and his Future Wife
Lunetta | 1508-1511 | Fresco | 340×650 cm | Vatican City, Cappella Sistina
□ PH | TB | BR
- 3 A / FLEMISH AFTER PETER PAUL RUBENS
Last Judgement
Probably considered by Warburg to be a photograph of the original Rubens painting (1614-1617) | Oil on canvas | 608×463 cm | Munich, Alte Pinakothek | Oil on canvas | 119.4×95.3 cm | Whereabouts unknown
□ PH | TB | BR

- 4^A GAETANO PEDO
Interno Della Cappella Sistina di Michelangelo / Interior View of the Sistine Chapel
Photograph | 1880 c. | 19.9×25.8 cm
□ PH | TB 369, 386 | BR

- 4^B MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
The Last Judgement
1536-1541 | Fresco | 1370×1200 cm | Vatican City, Cappella Sistina
□ PH | TB 414, 432 | BR 386/51

- 4^C MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
The Column of Flagellation
Detail of P56/4^B | Fresco
□ PH | TB | BR 386/54

- 5 FILIPPINO LIPPI
The Martyrdom of St. Philip
1502 | Fresco | 1225×614 cm | Florence, Basilica di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Strozzi
□ PH | TB | BR 386/48

VERSO "for the borrowing of the classical motifs see Scharf p. 66"

- 6 MARTIN SCHONGAUER
The Temptation of St. Anthony
1470-1475 | Engraving | 29.9×22.9 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 385/43

- 7 ALESSANDRO ALLORI
Christ in Limbo
1578 | Painting on panel | 165×129 cm | Rome, Galleria Colonna
□ PH | TB 400 | BR 386/55

- 8 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
The Fall of Phaethon
1533 | Drawing in black chalk | 41.3×23.4 cm | Windsor, Royal Collection Trust
□ PH | TB 414, 457, 510 | BR 386/47

- 9 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
The Fall of Phaethon
1531-1533 | Drawing in black chalk, over some stylus under-drawing | 31.2×21.5 cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
□ PH | TB | BR 385/45

- 10 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI
The Fall of Phaethon
1533 | Drawing in black pencil | 39.3×25.5 cm | Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia
□ PH | TB | BR 386/46
- 11 A / CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)
Cybele in her Chariot and Fall of Phaethon
Illustration from the auction-catalogue: Hans Goltz, Sammlung G. S. Paris und anderer Besitz, Munich, 29.4.1927 | 16th century | Drawing | Whereabouts unknown
□ PH | TB | BR 386/52



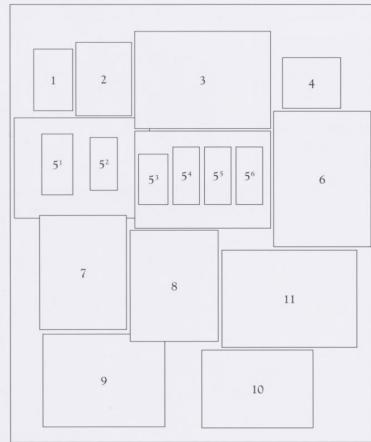
- 12 FRANCESCO CACCIANIGA
The Fall of Phaethon
Detail of the ceiling | 1778 | Oil on canvas | 450×350 cm | Rome, Villa Borghese, Sala di Davide
□ PH | TB | BR



Panel 57

Pathos formula in Dürer. Mantegna. Copies. Orpheus. Hercules. The rape of women. Horseback trampling at the Apocalypse. Triumph.

TB 239f. 495



1 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Primum Mobile

Drawing after one of a series of Ferrarese engravings of the mid 1460s | 1495–1500 | Pen and black ink, with green wash | 19×10.6cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

PH | TB | BR

2 URS GRAF

Fortuna

1535 c. | Pen and brush drawing, heightened with white, on gray-tinted paper | 26.2×19.6cm | Basel, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, Amerbach-Kabinett

PH | TB | BR

3 ALBRECHT DÜRER AFTER ANDREA MANTEGNA

Battle of the Sea Gods

From: Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen, Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), Berlin 1883–1929, vol. V | 1494 | Pen drawing | 29.2×38.1cm | Vienna, Albertina, Graphische Sammlung

BK | TB | BR 258/2, 350/3, 376/4

4 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Christ among the Doctors

1506 | Oil on panel | 65×80cm | Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza

PH | TB 373 | BR

5¹ ALBRECHT DÜRER

Rhetoric

Drawings after one of a series of Ferrarese engravings (Tarots) of the mid 1460s. From: Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen, Berlin 1883–1929, vol. III | 1495–1500 | Pen and brown ink drawing | 20.3×10.5cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

BK | TB | BR

5² ALBRECHT DÜRER

Philosophy

From: ibid. | 1495–1500 | Pen and black ink drawing, with green and brown wash | 19.1×9.9cm | London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

BK | TB | BR

5³ ALBRECHT DÜRER

Prudence

From: ibid., vol. IV | 1494–1495 | Pen and black ink drawing | 17.2×10.3cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

BK | TB | BR

5⁴ ALBRECHT DÜRER

Melpomene

From: ibid., vol. IV | 1494–1495 | Pen and black ink drawing, with green wash | 17.8×9.7cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

BK | TB | BR 292/1, 350/4a, 448/4

5⁶ ALBRECHT DÜRER

Calliope

From: ibid., vol. IV | 1494–1495 | Pen and black ink drawing | 20.3×10.7cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques

BK | TB | BR 350/1, 350/4b

6 ALBRECHT DÜRER

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse

From: Albrecht Dürer, Sämtliche Holzschnitte, Willi Kurth (ed.), Munich 1927 | 1498 | Engraving | 38.7×27.9cm

BK | TB | BR

7 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Death of Orpheus

From: Aby Warburg, Der Tod des Orpheus: Bilder zu dem Vortrag über Dürer und die italienische Antike, Hamburg 1905 | 1494 | Drawing | 28.9×22.5cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett

PR | TB 240, 253 | BR 128/8, 256/4, 294/2, 350/6, 376/14

8 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Hercules and Virtue Fight the Vices (Jealousy)

From: Albrecht Dürer, Kupferstiche. In getreuen Nachbildungen mit einer Einleitung hrsg. von Jaro Springer, Munich 1914 | 1498c. | Etching | 32.3×22.3cm

BK | TB | BR 128/9, 258/3, 294/4, 350/7, 376/30

9 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Hercules Fighting the Stymphalian Birds

1500 | Tempera on canvas | 84.5×107.5cm | Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

BK | TB | BR

10 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Figures from the Rape of the Sabines

1495 | Pen drawing | 28.3×42.3cm | Bayonne, Musée Bonnat

PH | TB | BR 258/1, 376/29

11 ALBRECHT DÜRER

Triumphal Chariot of the Emperor Maximilian I

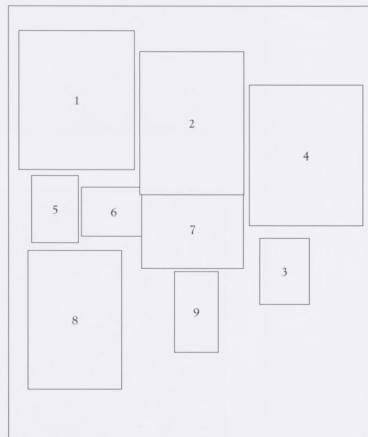
Detail, from: Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen, Berlin 1883–1929, vol. V | 1518 | Pen drawing with wash | 45.5×250.8cm | Vienna, Albertina, Graphische Sammlung

BK | TB | BR 294/8



Panel 58

Cosmology in Dürer



- 5 ALBRECHT DÜRER
The Holy Family with Two Angels in a Vaulted Hall
 1503-1504 | Woodcut | 21.8×15.4 cm
 PH | TB | BR 380/10



- 6 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Reclining Female Nude
 1501 | Drawing | 16.9×21.8 cm | Vienna, Albertina
 PH | TB | BR 380/12
- 7 ATTRIBUTED TO ALBRECHT DÜRER
Reclining Male Nude
 From: Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen*, Berlin 1883-1929, vol. V | 1526-1529 c. | Indian ink on paper | 11.4×17.5 cm | Boston (MA), Museum of Fine Arts
 BK | TB | BR 380/9
- 8 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Melencolia I
 1514 | Engraving | 24.1×18.5 cm
 PH | TB 196, cf. 152 | BR 126/11, 142/21, 226/6, 292/9, 350/10, 380/15, 446/2

O.T.P. *Die saturnische Melancholie. Kupferstich von Dürer* |
The saturnic melancholy. Copper engraving by Dürer

- 1 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Syphilis Sufferer under the Planetary Constellation of the Year 1484
 Single-leaf print to a text by physician Theodericus Ulsenius, Nuremberg (Hans Mayr) | 1496 | Woodcut | 39.4×27.7 cm
 PH | TB | BR 230/12, 446/5

O.T.P. *Astrologisches Flughblatt des Physicus Ulsenius gegen die Syphilis* | *Astrological leaflet of Physicus Ulsenius against syphilis*

VERSO "Karl Sudhoff, Aus der Frühgeschichte der Syphilis, 1912 p. 48 f (FEI 1540). Karl Sudhoff, in vol. 4 of *Alte Meister der Medizin und Naturheilkunde* (ed. Gustav Klein)"

- 2 ALBRECHT DÜRER
A Young Man with Scales and Sword
 From: Friedrich Lippmann (ed.), *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen*, Berlin 1883-1929, vol. V | 1498 | Drawing | 24×20.8 cm | St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum
 BK | TB | BR

- 3 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Sol Iustiae
 1499 c. | Engraving | 10.7×7.7 cm
 PH | TB | BR 226/5, 385/33, 446/3

VERSO "Gerechtigkeit auf einem Löwen. (Nemesis)"

- 4 ALBRECHT DÜRER
Portrait of Johannes Kleberger
 1526 | Oil on wood | 37×37 cm | Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 PH | TB 13 | BR 126/10, 226/3

O.T.P. *Dürer: Bildnis des Kleberger. Links oben Darstellung von sechs Planeten im Tierkreis-Zeichen des Löwen. Rechts nach der Angabe des Alters des Dargestellten ein astrologisches Geheimzeichen* | *Dürer: Portrait of Kleberger. Upper left, representation of six planets in the zodiac sign of the lion. On the right, a secret astrological sign is given according to the ages of the represented*



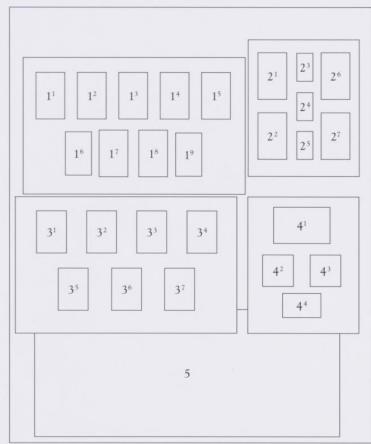
58



DIE SATURNISCHE MELANCHOLIE · KUPFERSTICH VON DÜRER

Panel 59

Migration of the planets to the North.



- ¹ A / GERMAN
Judicium pro anno 1498 | Judgement of [i.e. prediction for] the Year 1498
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Georg Leimbach with Mars and Jupiter as reigning planets | Leipzig (Wolfgang Stöckel) 1497/1498 | Woodcut | 21.6 x 15.8 cm | Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc.c.a. 1510 m
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1a, 382/17

O.T.P. Die Planeten als Jahresherrscher auf Titelblättern deutscher Praktiken vom Ende des XV. und Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Mars und Jupiter | *The Planets as rulers of the year on the frontispieces of German almanacs for peasants between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Mars and Jupiter*

- ² A / GERMAN
Judicium annuale ad annus 1516 | Annual Judgement for the Year 1516
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Johannis Borgwiri (or Borgbirius) with Jupiter, Sun, and Venus as reigning planets | Leipzig (Martin Landsberg) 1515 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 14 cm, 12.4 x 9.8 cm print | Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, RSB 65.7.14.(22), only the cover remaining, from the collection of Stephan Roth (1492-1546), formerly in: RSB 17.10.10
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1b, 380/31, 385/61

O.T.P. Jupiter Somme Venus

- ³ A / GERMAN
Judicium Lipsense per 1514 | Judgement for the Year 1514
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Simon Eyssenman from Dillingen with Venus and Mercury as reigning planets | 1513/1514 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 14 cm, 11.5 x 9.5 cm print | Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, RSB 65.7.14.(19), only the cover remaining (provenance same as 59/17)
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1c, 383/42

O.T.P. Venus Merkur

- ⁴ A / GERMAN
Judicium Cracoviense | Cracowian Judgement
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Johannes Glogoviensis (Johann von Glogau) for the year 1502 with Venus and Mars as reigning planets | Leipzig (Martin Landsberg) 1501 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 15 cm, 13 x 10.3 cm print | Copy from Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau, RSB 65.7.14.(1), only the cover remaining (provenance same as P59/17)
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1d, 382/20

O.T.P. Venus Mars

- ⁵ A / GERMAN
Practica Teutsch | German Practica
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Simon Eyssenman from Dillingen for 1514 with Venus and Mars as reigning planets | Augsburg (Johann Schönsperger the Younger) 1513 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 15 cm | Erlangen-Nuremberg, Universitätsbibliothek
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1f, 383/41

O.T.P. Venus Mars

- ¹⁶ A / GERMAN
Juditium Cracoviense | Cracowian Judgement
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Johannes Glogoviensis (Johann von Glogau) for the year 1500 with Venus as reigning planet | Leipzig (Martin Landsberg) 1499 | Woodcut | 20.3 x 14 cm, 13.7 x 10.4 cm print | Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, RSB 65.7.13.(2), only the cover remaining (provenance same as 59/17)
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1g, 382/21

O.T.P. Venus

- ¹⁷ A / GERMAN
Practica Teutsch | German Practica
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Christoph Hochstetter for the year 1528 with Venus as reigning planet | Augsburg (Philipp Ulhart the Elder) 1528 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 15 cm | Formerly in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lost. For a different edition of the print see: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1985-B ALT MAG
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1h, 383/57

O.T.P. Venus

- ¹⁸ A / GERMAN
Practica Teutsch | German Practica
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Christoph Hochstetter for the year 1527 with Mars and Venus as reigning planets | Nuremberg (Jobst Gurtnecht) 1526/1527 | Woodcut | 20.5 x 15 cm | Whereabouts unknown, different edition: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 20.DD.939 ALT PRUNK
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1i, 383/56

O.T.P. Mars Venus

- ¹⁹ A / GERMAN
Practica deutsch | German Practica
Cover page of a prognostic booklet by Georg Leimbach for the year 1499 with Saturn and Jupiter as reigning planets, on this reproduction with traces of a coloring not visible in other reproductions | Leipzig (Jakob Thanner) 1498/1499 | Woodcut | 13.4 x 10.2 cm | German edition (as on the panel) formerly in Stadtbibliothek Lübeck, GW M1774, now lost; Latin edition in Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek
□ PH | TB | BR 228/1j, 380/14

O.T.P. Saturn Jupiter

- ²¹ HANS BURGKMAIR
Merkur
1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.5 x 17 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8a, 292/2, 448/5

- ²² HANS BURGKMAIR
Sol
1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.8 x 18.8 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8b

- ²³ HANS BURGKMAIR
Mars
Detail | 1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.6 x 18.7 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8c

- ²⁴ HANS BURGKMAIR
Jupiter
Detail | 1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.5 x 18.6 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8d

- ²⁵ HANS BURGKMAIR
Luna
Detail | 1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.2 x 18.7 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8e

- ²⁶ HANS BURGKMAIR
Venus
Detail | 1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.6 x 18.6 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8f

- ²⁷ HANS BURGKMAIR
Saturn
Detail | 1510 c. | Woodcut | 30.5 x 18.6 cm
□ PH | TB 240 | BR 224/8g

- ³¹ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Eyn Nyge Kalender (...) | A New Calendar
Lübeck (Steffen Arndes) 1519 | Woodcuts | 4° or 8° - two formats published in 1519
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9a

- ³¹ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Sol
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9b

- ³² A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Venus
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9c

- ³³ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Mercury
□ PH | TB | BR 126/17b, 224/9d, 292/3a, 448/7

- ³⁴ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Luna
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9e

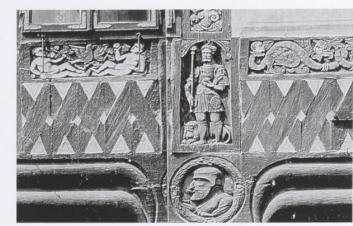
- ³⁵ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Mars
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9f

- ³⁶ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Saturn
□ PH | TB | BR 126/17A, 224/9g, 292/3b

- ³⁷ A / NORTHERN GERMAN (LÜBECK)
Jupiter
□ PH | TB | BR 224/9h

- ⁴¹ A / CENTRAL GERMAN (GÖTTINGEN)
The Seven Planetary Deities
On the balcony of a city house | 16th century | Wood carving | Göttingen
□ PH | TB | BR 292/6, 448/6

O.T.P. *Die Wanderung der Planetenbilder des H. Burgkmair nach Norden. Vom Junkerhaus in Göttingen | The migration of the planetary images of H. Burgkmair to the north. From the Junkerhaus in Göttingen*



- ⁴² MARTEN JASTER
Saturn and Luna
1529 | Fresco | Lüneburg, Rathaus
□ PH | TB | BR

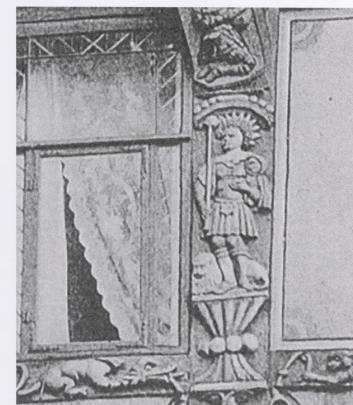
O.T.P. *Saturn and Luna aus dem Rathaus in Lüneburg | Saturn and Luna in the City Hall of Lüneburg*

- ⁴³ MARTEN JASTER
Mars and Venus
1529 | Fresco | Lüneburg, Rathaus
□ PH | TB | BR 126/9

O.T.P. *Mars and Venus aus dem Rathaus in Lüneburg | Mars and Venus in the City Hall of Lüneburg*

- ⁴⁴ PROBABLY SIMON STAPPEN
Mercury, Luna, Venus and Sol
1526 | Wood carvings | Goslar, Brusttuch-Haus
□ PH | TB | BR 292/4

O.T.P. *Merkur, Luna, Venus, Sol. Am Brusttuch-Haus zu Goslar | Mercury, Luna, Venus, Sol on the Brusttuch-Haus in Goslar*



- ⁵ ATTRIBUTED TO KARL VON SIEGL
AFTER HANS BURGKMAIR
The Seven Planetary Deities
Detail of the illusionistic decoration on the so-called Painted House | 1547 | Sgraffito and painting | Eggenburg
□ PH | TB | BR 126/8, 224/10, 292/5

O.T.P. *Die 7 Planeten nach Burgkmair an einem Haus in Eggenburg (Nieder-Oesterreich) XVI. Jahrhundert | The 7 planets after Burgkmair at a house in Eggenburg (Lower Austria) 16th century*



MARS UND JUPITER



JUPITER SÖHNE VENUS



VENUS MERCUR



VENUS MARS



VENUS MARS



VENUS



VENUS



MARS VENUS



SATURN JUPITER



DIE 7 PLANETENGÖTTER IN HOLZSCHNITTEN VON H. BURGKMAIR (ANFANG DES 16. JAHRH.)

Die Planeten als Jahresherrscher auf Titelblättern deutscher Praktiken von Ende des XV. und Anfang des XVI. Jahrhunderts.



1493



1493



1493



1493

De Homo
Mars
Saturnus
Jupiter

Saturnus



Jupiter



VOM JUNKERHAUS IN GÖTTINGEN



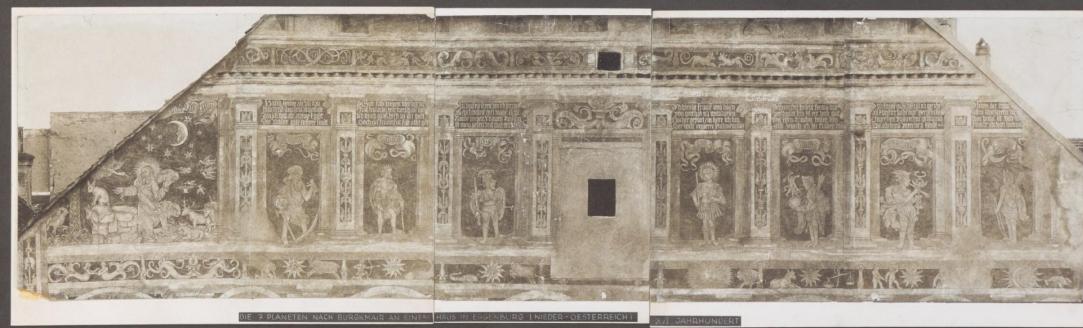
SATURN UND LUNA



MARS UND VENUS AUS DEM RATHAUS IN LÜNEBURG

MERCUR, LUNA, VENUS, SOL
AN DER BRÜDERHAUS ZU GOSLAR

Die Wanderung der Planetenbilder des Burgkmair nach Norden

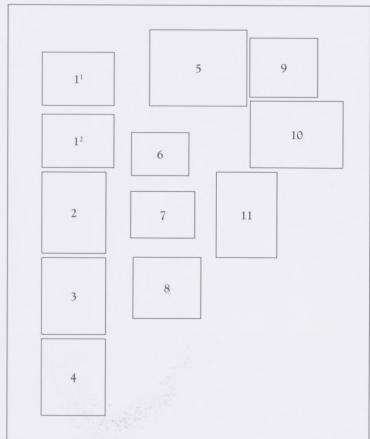


DIE 7 PLANETEN NACH BURGKMAIR AUF EINER WAND FÜR EINEN GÖTTINGER KLOSTER IM 16. Jhd. IN NIEDERÖSTERREICH

16. JAHRHUNDERT

Panel 60

Festivals in the North, courtly. Ruling of the waves – age of discoveries. Virgil. The seafarer's Fortuna, brutal capture (Rubens).



- 1** ACCURSIO BALDI AND BASTIANO MARSILI
Galley as a Symbol of Venice
Float in the wedding parade of Francesco I de' Medici and Bianca Capello, daughter of a Venetian family, from: Raffaello Gualterotti, *Festi nelle nozze del serenissimo Don Francesco Medici Gran Duca di Toscana; Et della Sereniss. sua Consorte la Sig. Bianca Cappello, Florence (Stamperia de' Giunti) 1579*, p. 76 | Copperplate etching | 22.8 x 15.5 cm
□ PH | TB | BR

- 2** ACCURSIO BALDI AND BASTIANO MARSILI
Wagons of the Adriatic Sea and the Tyrrhenian Sea
See: P60/1 | Copperplate etching | p. 55
□ PH | TB | BR 296/4

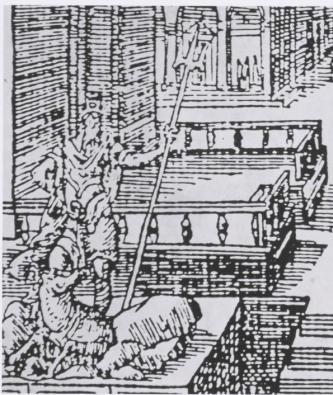
- 2** JACQUES PATIN
Dolphin Fountain
Float with Queen Louise de Lorraine and company as naiads during the festivities of 1581 in the Grande Salle du Petit-Bourbon, Louvre (Paris), during the wedding of the Duc de Joyeuse and Mademoiselle de Vaudemont, the sister of Queen Louise, from: Baltasar de Beaujoyeulx, *Le balet comique de la Royne, Paris 1581* | Engraving | 4°
□ PH | TB 240 | BR

- 3** A / ITALIAN
The Arrival of Neptune
Festivity on the water, organized by Marco Contarini for his visitor Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, from: Francesco Maria Piccioli, *L'orologio del piacere: che mostra l'ore del dilettovole soggiorno hauto dall'alteza serenissima d. Ernesto Augusto, Piazzola 1685* | Engraving | 22.2 x 14.8 cm
□ PH | TB



- 4** A / FRENCH
View of a Place
View of Lyon during the entrance of Henry II to the city 1548, from: *La magnificence de la superbe et triomphante entrée de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon, Lyon 1549* | Engraving | 28.6 x 22.2 cm | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
□ PH | TB | BR

- VERSOS** "Perspective. Neptune. Quos ego. J.W.C.I., vol. VIII, 1945, pl. 47c, p. 196" [Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes]



- 5** SALOMON SAVERY AFTER SIMON JACOBSSZ. DE VLIETER
The Arrival of Maria de Medici to Amsterdam
From: The Dutch Royal Entry book, related to the visit of Maria de Medici to Amsterdam, 31 August – 5 September 1638 | Caspar Barlaeus, *Blyde inkoomst der allerdoordruchtigste koninginne, Maria de Medicis, Amsterdam (Iohan en Cornelis Blaeu) 1639* | Engraving | 29.3 x 39.3 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 130/13, 144/4, 268/1, 298/11



- 6** REMIGIO CANTAGALLINA AFTER GIULIO PARIGI
Barca di musici rapr. Glauco dio marino e tritoni | Ship with the Musicians Bringing Sea God Glauco and Tritons
Plate 9 from the series *Vessels of the Argonauts* for the wedding celebration of Cosimo de' Medici with Magdalena of Austria staging a sea battle on the Arno. Inscription (not visible on the panel): *Bataglia navale rapr in Arno per le nozze del Ser. Principe di Toscana l'anno 1608 Giulio Parigi I | 1609* | Copperplate etching | 19.5 x 26.6 cm
□ PH | TB | BR



- 7** A / GERMAN
Fireworks to Honour the King Christian IV of Denmark at the Große Schlosshof in Berlin
From: Jacobus Francus, *Historiae Relationis Continuatio, s.l., 1596* | Engraving
□ PH | TB | BR

- 8** CORNELIUS SCHUT I
Neptune with Two Horses on the Sea
Neptune drawn by two horses at centre, Amphitrite at his left, three putti in top centre, Fortuna in the top left | 1636 c. | Etching | 26.1 x 33.2 cm
□ PH | TB | BR

- 9** PIETER DE JODE II
Philip IV of Spain as Neptune
The entry of Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain to Ghent on January 28, 1635. From: *Guilielmus Becanus, 'Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi, Hispaniarum Infantis, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Triumphalis Introitus in Flandriae Metropolina Gandavum'*, Antwerp 1636 | Engraving | 29.5 x 38.4 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 270/1

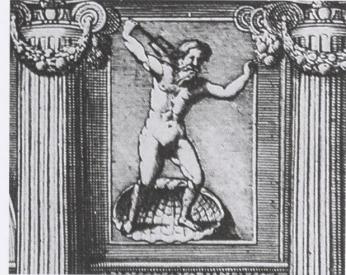
- INSCRIPTION ON THE ENGRAVING** "Hac Regi dicite vestro Nunc illi imperium pelagi secumque tridentem Neptuno cedente dari" | "Tell your King, Neptune leaves to him his power over the sea and his sparkling trident."

- VERSOS** "Chariot of Neptune in Fish Market. Neptune resigns his power to Philip IV, offering his seat on Chariot. Becanus. Ferdinandus Introitus, p. 54"

- 10** PIETER NOLPE AFTER JAN BAPTIST WEENIX
Etiam servamur in undis | We as Well Got Rescued on the Sea
One of the tableaux vivants planned for the entry of Henrietta Maria into Amsterdam. From: Samuel Coster, *Beschrivinge vande blyde inkoomste (...) van haare majesteyt van Groot-Brittanien (...), Amsterdan (Pieter Nolpe en Nicolaes van Ravensteijn) 1642* | Etching | 35.8 x 37.7 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 130/17, 270/4, 298/7

- INSCRIPTION ON THE ENGRAVING** "Etiam servamur in undis | Dum mediis, nautarum odii, demersus Arion | Fluctibus, incertum per mare sperat iter; | Supponit miser Dolphinus corpora sati, | Et dulcis citharae captus amore vehit. | Non alter duro Belga dammarus Philippo, | Auricu fretus Princeps salves abit. | Seria spectaculi Batavi, nunc ludicra rerum | Cernite. nec pigeat sic meminisse Ducis."

- 11** DAVID LOGGAN
Triumphal Arch Erected for the Coronation of Charles II
Plate from a suite of four entitled "The Entertainment of his Most Excellent Majestic Charles II, in his Passage through the City of London to his Coronation", London 1662 | Engraving | 42.7 x 28.9 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 130/14, 130/15, 144/7, 272/4, 298/12

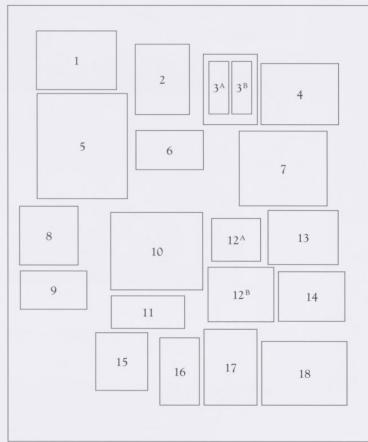




Panel 61-64

Neptune as subservient 'god servant'. Quos ego tandem. 'Virgil'

TB 432



1 ANTONIO FANTUZZI

The Dispute between Neptune and Minerva

Athena receives the laurel crown from a winged Victory | 1540–1545 | Etching | 26.2×41 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

2 GIORGIO VASARI

Cosimo de' Medici Inspects the Fortifications on the Island of Elba

On the sea Neptune with Securitas | 1556–1557 c. | Fresco | Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Quartiere di Leone X, Sala di Cosimo I

□ PH | TB | BR



3^A JACOPO SANSOVINO

Neptune

1554–1568 | Marble sculpture | 305 cm (h.) | Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Scala dei Giganti

□ PH | TB | BR

3^B JACOPO SANSOVINO

Neptune

Other view of 61-64/3^A

□ PH | TB | BR

4 PIETRO BRACCI

Oceanus (Neptune)

After a modello by Giovanni Battista Maini | 1762 | Marble sculpture | Rome, Fontana di Trevi

□ PH | TB | BR

5 MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI

"Quos ego" (*Neptune calms the waves*)

1515–1516 | Burin engraving | 43×32.7 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 130/16

6 GIULIO BONASONE AFTER PERINO DEL VAGA

"Quos ego" (*Neptune calms the waves*)

1540 c. | Copperplate engraving | 22.8×42 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

7 MICHEL-ANGE HOUASSE

Neptune Wrecking Telemachus' Vessel

From the series Story of Telemachus after Francois Fénelon | Around 1727 | Tapestry | Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

□ PH | TB | BR 270/5

8 ADRIAN COLLAERT

Neptune in a Shell Drawn by Horses

Design for a plate or cup, from a series of four, published by Philip Galle | 1582–85 | Copperplate engraving | 16.1×15.5 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

9 CORNELIS BOS

AFTER GIULIO ROMANO, AFTER ANDREA MANTEGNA

Triumph of Neptune

Right plate from a frieze depicting the triumph of Neptune | 1548 | Copperplate engraving | 14.5×33.8 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

10 FRANS FRANCKEN (II)

Allegorie op de troonsafstand van keizer Karel V te Brussel, 25 oktober 1555 | Allegory on the Abdication of Emperor Charles V in Brussels 25 October 1555

1630–1640 c. | Oil on wood | 134×172 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

□ PH | TB | BR

11 MARCO ANGOLO DEL MORO

Triumph of Neptune (with Cupid)

1550 c. | Etching | 13.1×40 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

12^A PETER PAUL RUBENS

"Quos ego" (*Neptune Calms the Waves*)

Allegory on the journey of the Cardinal Infant Ferdinand of Barcelona to Geneva, on the occasion of his entry in Antwerp on 17 April 1635 | Oil on canvas | 326×384 cm | Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

□ PH | TB 432 | BR 144/2, 270/2

12^B THEODOOR VAN THULDEN

"Quos ego" (*Neptune Calms the Waves*)

After Rubens' design for the entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp 1635. From: Jean Gaspard Gevaerts, *Pompa introitus Ferdinandi Auctriaci Hispaniarum infantis, Antwerp (I. Meursium), 1641–42* | Copperplate engraving | 26.3×33.5 cm

□ PH | TB 16 | BR

13 JACOB MATHAM AFTER BARTHOLOMAEUS SPRANGER

The Triumph of Neptune and Thetis

1614 | Copperplate engraving | 27.8×41.1 cm

□ PH | TB | BR



14 SÉBASTIEN LE CLERC, THE ELDER AFTER CHARLES LE BRUN

Four Elements: Water

The etching by Le Clerc documents (vertically mirrored) a tapestry, 1665–1666 woven in the workshop of Jean Jan the Elder at the Manufacture Royale des Gobelins (Paris) after a design by Charles Le Brun (1664), given 1669 September 16 by Louis XIV to the future Granduca di Toscana Cosimo III de' Medici, now in the collection of the Palazzo Pitti, part of the future Museum of Tapestries, Florence. Amphitrite holds an emblem of Louis XIV, with a longer text: 'Civitis ventos et nubila ...'. In the corners emblems of water, with lemmata (clockwise): 'Nusquam data a litora transit', 'Petiti impiger ortus', 'Hunc et monstra timent', 'Facta omnia faeta'. From: André Félibien, *Tapisseries du Roi, où sont représenté les quatre éléments et les quatre saisons*, Paris 1670 | Etching | 37.2×53.7 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 272/2

15 PIETRO DEL PÒ AFTER GIULIO ROMANO

Abduction of Psyche by Neptune

Abduction of Psyche by Zephyr, while Neptune rises on his chariot below. After Giulio Romano's fresco in the Palazzo Te in Mantua | 1650–1670 c. | Etching and copperplate engraving | 27.3×28.6 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 272/2

16 VALENTIN LEFEBVRE AFTER PAOLO VERONESE

Neptune in his Chariot Drawn by Seahorses

After Veronese's ceiling frescoes in Palazzo Ducale, Sala del Consiglio, Venice. From: Valentin Lefebvre, *Opera selectiora quae Titianus Vecellius, Cadubrensis, et Paulus Calliari Veronensis inventarunt et pinxerunt*, Venice 1682 | Etching | 26.6×14.6 cm

□ PH | TB | BR

17 GIORGIO GHISI AFTER PERINO DEL VAGA

Neptune

1560–1580 c. | Engraving | 23.8×15.1 cm | London, British Museum

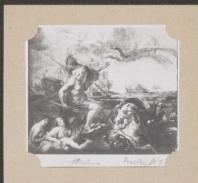
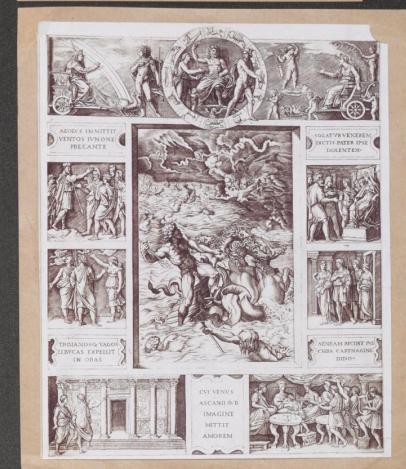
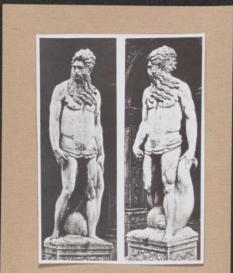
□ PH | TB | BR

64

63

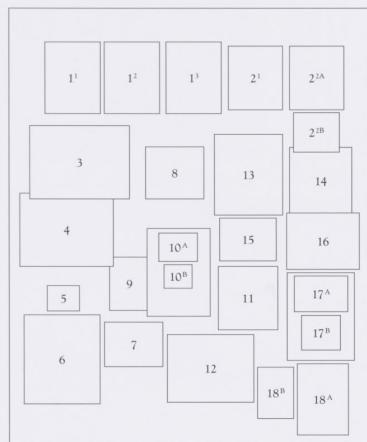
62

61



Panel 70

Baroque emotionalism in abduction scenes. Theatre.



1^A-3 A / GERMAN

The Legend of Orpheus

Formerly attributed to Roeland Savery | Second half 16th century | Oil on canvas | 80 x 190 cm c. | Verona, Museo Civico d'Arte del Castelvecchio

□ PH | TB | BR 84/17, 377/34

VERSO "R. Savery | Orpheus und die Tiere"



2^A A / DUTCH AFTER ANTONIO TEMPESTA

Pluto, Venus, and Amor

From: Jacob Struys, Ontschaking van Proserpina, Met de Bruylloft van Pluto. Ghespeelt op de Amsterdamsche, Amsterdam 1634, p. A | Etching | 18.3 x 14 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 352/2

2^{2A} A / DUTCH AFTER ANTONIO TEMPESTA

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

ibid., frontispiece | 1634 | Etching | 18.3 x 14 cm

□ PH | TB 17, cf. 35 | BR 130/5, 130/7, 298/14

2^{2B} ANTONIO TEMPESTA

Rapta Proserpina, Cyane in stagnum suum nominis convertitur | Pluto Carrying Proserpina past the Nymph Cyane
Vertically mirrored image from: Ovide, Metamorphoseon sive transformationum Ovidianarum libri quindecim (...), Antwerp 1606 | Etching | 10.2 x 11.6 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 130/8, 352/11

3 PETER PAUL RUBENS

Roof van Proserpina | The Rape of Proserpina
After a lost painting by Peter Paul Rubens | 1620-1625 c. |

Etching | 21.5 x 32.4 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 130/10, 352/12

4 PIETER CLAESZ. SOUTMAN

Roof van Proserpina | The Rape of Proserpina

After a lost painting by Peter Paul Rubens | 1620-1625 c. |

Etching | 21.5 x 32.4 cm

□ PH | TB | BR 130/10, 352/17

INSCRIPTION ON THE ENGRAVING "Incerta Volucru fertur Proserpina curru | Caesariem diffusa nota, planctu[m] lacertos | Verberat, adstantes socias, Matremq[ue] remotam | Invocat, at quoetus ad nubila fundit Inanes."

5 CHRISTOPH SCHWARZ

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

Late 16th century | Drawing | 21 x 27.1 cm | Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität
□ PH | TB | BR



6 PETER PAUL RUBENS

Henry IV Seizes the Opportunity to Conclude Peace

Oil sketch, also known by its short title *Occasio* | 1628 | Oil on panel | 64 x 50 cm | Vienna, Liechtenstein Museum, The Princely Collections
□ PH | TB | BR 142/7

VERSO "Occasione"

7 NIKOLAUS KNÜPFER

The Kidnapping of Happiness

Also known as *Il Contento* | 1651 | Oil on copper | 44 x 55 cm | Schwerin, Staatliches Museum Schwerin
□ PH | TB | BR 142/7

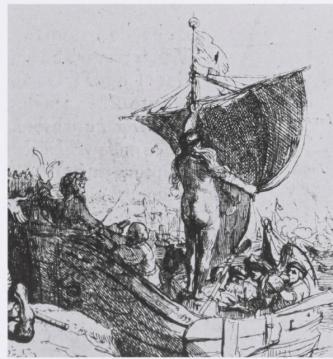


8 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Ship of Fortune

Title page of a chapter in: Elias Herckmans, *Der zee-vaert lof handelende vande gedegenwaerdigste zee-vaerden (...)*, in VI boeken beschreven, Amsterdam 1634 | Etching | 11.3 x 16.8 cm
□ PH | TB | BR

VERSO "See CFM 361"



9 PETER PAUL RUBENS

Fortuna

Oil sketch for one of the 60 mythological paintings being a decoration for the hunting lodge of the Spanish King Philipp IV near Madrid ("Torre de la Parada"). A completed version is held in the collection of the Museo del Prado | 1636-1638 | Oil on wood | 35.7 x 25.4 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB 254 | BR 142/3

10^A WILLEM VAN HAECHT

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

Detail from Apelles Painting Campaspe (see 76/5) | Close up of the gallery shows a Rape of Proserpina by an unknown Dutch painter | 1630 c. | Oil on panel | 104.9 x 148.7 cm whole painting
□ PH | TB 17 | BR

10^B WILLEM VAN HAECHT

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

Another copy of P70/10^A
□ PH | TB 17 | BR

RECTO [Handwritten note identifying the picture and ordering a photograph]

11 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

1630 c. | Oil on oak | 84.8 x 79.7 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
□ PH | TB | BR 130/6, 352/18

12 CLAES CORNELIS MOEYERAERT

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

1644 c. | Oil on panel | 143.2 x 67.5 cm (slightly cut on the left side) | Koller, Zurich, Auction 2018 | Whereabouts unknown
□ PH | TB | BR 352/13

VERSO "Auction: W. Burger (Thoré) 1892. Lit.: Würzbach, Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon 2, p. 174"

13 A / B. PICART AND OTHERS

Rape of Persephone (Proserpina)

From: Ovide, Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide en latin, traduites en françois avec des remarques et des explications historiques, par M. l'abbé Banier (...), Amsterdam 1732, p. 162 | Etching | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Réserves des livres rares
□ PH | TB | BR

14 A / DUTCH

Jupiter and Ceres

From: Jacob Struys, Ontschakingh van Proserpina, Met de Bruylloft van Pluto, Ghespeelt op de Amsterdamsche Academie, Amsterdam 1634, p. D | Engraving | 4°
□ PH | TB | BR

15 A / DUTCH

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

Formerly attributed to Rembrandt, now 'after Rembrandt.' Other proposal for the theme: Jephites Sacrifices his Daughter | 1655 c. | Drawing | 18.9 x 32.9 cm | London, British Museum
□ PH | TB | BR

16 FORTHOFFER AFTER BERNARD PICART

The Massacre of the Innocents

From: Barthold Heinrich Brockes, Verteutscher Bethlehemitischer Kinder-Mord des Ritters Marino, nebst des Hrn. Übersetzters eigenen Werken, auch vorgedrucktem Vorbericht (etc.), Tübingen 1739, with an etching by Forthoffer, a copy of Bernard Picart's etching from 1715 (22.1 x 27.1 cm) | Etching | 39 x 53 cm
□ PH | TB | BR 352/20

17^A A / DUTCH AFTER SALomon SAVERY

The Sacrifice of Polyxena

From: Samuel Costers, Polyxena, Treur-Spel. Vertoont in de Nederduytsche Academie, Amsterdam 1630 | Etching | 8°
□ PH | TB 417 | BR

17^B SALOMON SAVERY

AFTER A DRAWING BY DAVID VINCKBOONS

The Sacrifice of Polyxena

From: Joost van den Vondel, De Amsterdamsche Hecuba, Treur-Spel, Amsterdam 1626 | Etching | 4° or 8°
□ PH | TB | BR

18^A CRISPIN DE PASSE THE ELDER

AFTER JACQUES DE BELLANGE

Adoration of the Magi

1600 c. | Engraving | 27.7 x 20.2 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH | TB | BR

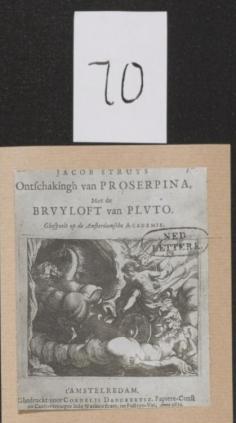
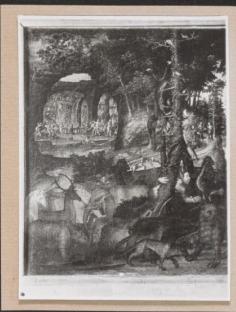
18^B CRISPIN DE PASSE THE ELDER

AFTER JACQUES DE BELLANGE

Adoration of the Magi

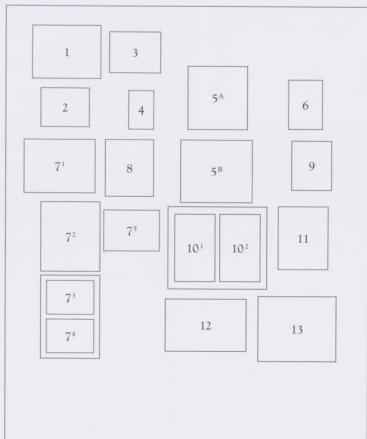
Detail of 70/18^A

□ PH | TB | BR



Panel 71

Oaths and raising up on shields in the theatre. 'Art officiel'



- 1 A / DUTCH
Homage of the Count of the Netherlands by the Frisian Soldiers
From: Jan Wagenaar, Vaderlandsche historie. Deel 3, Amsterdam 1750, p. 226 | Illustration
□ BK □ TB | BR

- 2 OTTO VAN VEEN
Brinno Raised upon the Shield
One of a series of twelve paintings on the Insurrection of the Batavians against the Romans | 1600–1613 | Oil on panel | 35 × 52 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
□ PH □ TB | BR 128/12, 342/3

- 3 ANTONIO TEMPESTA AFTER OTTO VAN VEEN
Brinno Elected Leader of the North Hollanders and Elevated on a Shield
Print number five in the series of prints on the Batavian Revolt, titled *Batavorum cum Romanis Bellum*, Antwerp 1612 | Etching | 16.5 × 20.9 cm
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 4 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Consecratio divae Sabinæ | Apotheosis of Sabina
Originally on the Arco di Portogallo | AD 140 c. | Marble relief | 295 × 252 cm | Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori
□ PR □ TB | BR 381/35

- 5A JAN LIEVENS
Brinio, aanvoerder van de Kaninefaten, op het schild geheven | Brinio, Leader of the Cananefates, Raised on the Shield
Preparatory sketch for a painting | 1650–1661 | Oil on paper, on canvas | 60.5 × 59 cm | Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 5B JAN LIEVENS
Brinio, aanvoerder van de Kaninefaten, op het schild geheven | Brinio, Leader of the Cananefates, Raised on the Shield
Decoration of one of the lunettes of the upper gallery of the town hall, now the Royal Palace, accounting episodes from the rebellion of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis against the Romans in 69 BC | 1661 | Oil on canvas | 546 × 538 cm | Amsterdam, Koninklijk Paleis (Paleis op de Dam), Southern Gallery
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 6 A / DUTCH
Inhulding op een schild | Elevation on a Shield
Engraving after an illumination from a Byzantine Bible manuscript, mid-10th century (See: 7/9, MS. grec. 139, fol. 6v.). From: Gerard van Loon, Aloude Hollandsche Historie der Keyzeren, Koningen, Hertogen en Graven (...), Den Haag 1734
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 7¹ CLAES JANSZ. VISSCHER (II)
Dese Vertooningen zijn t'Amsterdam (van d'oude Camer In liefd bloeiende) vertoont, op de vierung vant Bestand, den 5 Mey 1609 | These Scenes are Shown in Amsterdam (at d'oude Camer In liefd bloeiende) to Celebrate the True, on 5 May 1609
Documentation of a public theater "by the old society" working under the name "In Love, Flourishing", with tableaux vivants, telling the story of Tarquinius and Lucretia, performed with descriptions written by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft | 1609 | Etching | 48.3 × 69.3 cm
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 7² CLAES JANSZ. VISSCHER (II)
View of the Stage
Detail of 71/7
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 7³ CLAES JANSZ. VISSCHER (II)
Brutus, along with his Comrades, Swears to Take a Revenge
Detail of 71/7¹ | Second scene from the bottom right, no. 8 of 9
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 7⁴ CLAES JANSZ. VISSCHER (II)
Brutus Kisses Mother Earth
Detail of P71/7¹ | Third scene from the top row, no. 3 of 9
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 7⁵ CLAES JANSZ. VISSCHER (II)
Beslyt | Final Scene
Detail of P71/7¹ | Scene on the bottom right edge, not numbered, shows personifications of the seven provinces uniting around a girl representing the Dutch nation; the text explains that such a unification cannot be destroyed
□ PH □ TB | BR



- 8 GOVAERT FLINCK
Brinno Elevated by his Soldiers on a Shield
Sketch for the series of paintings for the Amsterdam City Hall depicting the Insurrection of the Batavians against the Romans | 1659–1660 | Drawing | 16.2 × 26.2 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
□ PH □ TB | BR



- 9 CORNELIS VAN DALEN
Elevation on a Shield
Depiction of a theatre scene from: Geeraerdt Brandt, De veinziende Torquatus, Amsterdam 1645 | Engraving
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 10¹ GRINLING GIBBONS
Elevation of Charles I on a Shield
Design for bronze group. Proposed mausoleum for Charles I at Windsor. Sir Chr. Wren, architect, 1678 | Drawing | 38.8 × 27.2 cm | Oxford, All Souls College, AS II.95
□ PH □ TB | BR

- 10² GRINLING GIBBONS
Elevation of Charles I on a Shield
Design for bronze group. Proposed mausoleum for Charles I at Windsor. Sir Chr. Wren, architect, 1678 | Drawing | 45 × 28.7 cm | Oxford, All Souls College, AS II.94
□ PH □ TB | BR



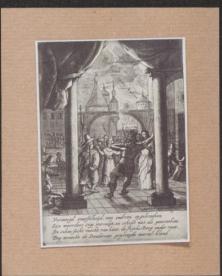
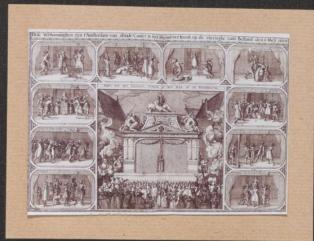
- 11 MAGDALENA ROG(H)MANS
The Restored Prince (Rasimo)
Frontispiece of the publication of the theatre piece by Jan Bara Herstelde vorst, ofte geluckigh ongeluck (The Restored Prince, or Fortunate Misfortune), Amsterdam 1650 | Engraving | 18 × 12.9 cm
□ PH □ TB | BR

INSRIPTION ON THE ENGRAVING "Verworgd' onnoslehsed, van ond'ren opgebroken! Sjn moorders stijp vervolgt, en schejd als gewroken; | De schen-sucht raeckt van kant, de Rjcks-Borg onder voet, | Dus wreecte de Donderaar geplengle martel-blood."

- 12 CARL LARSSON
Midwinterblot | Midwinter Sacrifice
Fourth sketch for a big wall decoration in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, with the additional note 'finished Walpurgis Night 1915.' Almost identical with the finally executed painting | 1915 | Oil on canvas | 123 × 199 cm | Private collection
□ PH □ TB | BR



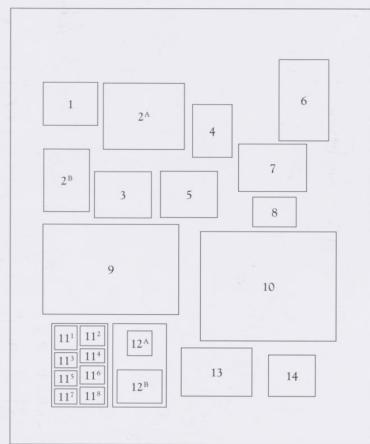
- 13 ANDREA APPIANI
Apotheosis of Napoleon
Originally in Milan, Palazzo Reale, heavily damaged during the 1943 allied bombings | 1808 | Detached fresco | 410 × 415 cm | Tremezzo, Museo Villa Carlotta
□ PH □ TB 449 f. | BR 286/6



Panel 72

In contrast: Rembrandt. Sacred meal: Claudius Civilis, Last Supper, Jupiter with Philemon and Baucis. Why the 'Ninfa' with Samson? Infanticide (prototype), 'frenzied woman'.

TB 6, 69, 117, 286



1 OTTO VAN VEEN

The Conspiracy of Julius Civilis and the Batavians in a Sacred Grove
Second work from a series of twelve scenes on the rebellion of the Batavians against the Romans | 1600–1613 | Oil on panel | 38×52 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

PH | TB | BR

2^A REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Blinding of Samson
1636 | Oil on canvas | 206×276 cm | Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie
 PH | TB | BR

2^B REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Blinding of Samson
Detail of 72^A
 PH | TB | BR

3 MARY HERTZ

AFTER GOVERT FLINCK AND JÜRGEN OVEN
The Oath of Claudius Civilis
Outline sketch of the painting by Govert Flinck and Jürgen Ovens realised in 1659–1662, Royal Palace, Amsterdam | 1925 c. | Probably a reduced-size photograph of the original drawing | Pencil, quill pen on paper | 49.5×53.5 cm | London, The Warburg Institute, WIA III, 101.5.8.2.
 PH | TB | BR

4 GOVERT TEUNISZOON FLINCK

The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis
1659–1660 | Drawing | 16.6×16.7 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR



5 ANTONIO TEMPESTA

The Oath of Claudius Civilis and the Batavians in the Sacred Grove
Fourth work from the series of 36 prints by Antonio Tempesta after a concept by Otto van Veen, *Batavorum cum Romanis bellum*, Antwerp 1612 | Etching | 14.5×21 cm

PH | TB | BR



6 GERRIT LAMBERTS

Gallery around the Burgerzaal in the Royal Palace, Amsterdam
1820 c. | Drawing | Amsterdam, Stadsarchief Amsterdam
 PR | TB | BR

7 A / GERMAN

Eucharistic Procession

Pope Pius XI on his throne with the monstrance, Rome, 25.7.1929 | Cutout from: Hamburger Fremdenblatt, no. 208, evening papers, 29.7.1929, p. 9 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR

8 A / GERMAN

Banquet of the Student Union "Franconia" in Hamburg for its Sixtieth Anniversary
Cutout from: Hamburger Fremdenblatt, no. 208, evening edition, 29.7.1929, p. 9 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR

9 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis
Also known as The Oath of Allegiance to Claudius Civilis | 1661–1662 | Oil on canvas | 196×309 cm | Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

PR | TB | 26, 35, 39, 58, 247, 549 | BR

10 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

Drawing based on an early print after Leonardo da Vinci's mural (see P72/11) | 1634–1635 | Drawing | 36.2×47.5 cm | New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 PR | TB | BR

11^A REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

Detail of P72/10
 PR | TB | BR

11^B REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

Detail of P72/10
 PR | TB | BR

13 ATTRIBUTED TO GIOVANNI PIETRO DA BIRAGO

AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

Also known as Last Supper, with a Spaniel | 1500 c. | Engraving | 21.3×44 cm
 PH | TB | BR

14^A REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

AFTER LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

1634–1635 c. | Drawing | 12.4×21 cm | London, British Museum
 PH | TB | BR

11^B FOLLOWER OF REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

Dinner Table Scene
17th century | Unidentified
 PH | TB | BR



11^C GERBRAND VAN DEN EECKHOUT

The Last Supper
1664 | Oil on canvas | 100×142 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
 PH | TB | BR

11^D ARENT DE GELDER

Jesus Among his Disciples
1662–1665 | Pen drawing, reddish brown and grey wash, lead white | 20.4×29.9 cm | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

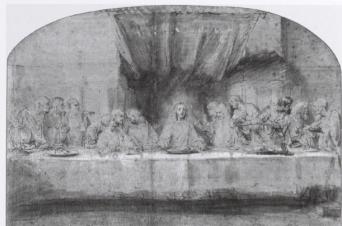
PH | TB | BR



11^E FOLLOWER OF REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

(ATTRIBUTED TO ARENT DE GELDER)
The Last Supper (after Leonardo da Vinci)

Late 17th century | Drawing | 32.5×48.9 cm, rounded at the top | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett
 PH | TB | BR



12^A REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis

1661–1662 c. | Drawing | 10.7×10.7 cm | Munich, Staatische Graphische Sammlung

PH | TB | BR

12^B REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis

Detail of P72/12^A

PH | TB | BR

13 LEONARDO DA VINCI

The Last Supper

1495–1498 | Fresco | 460×880 cm | Milan, Chiesa di Santa Maria delle Grazie, Refectory

PH | TB | BR

14 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN

Jupiter and Mercury at Philemon and Baucis

Also known as Philemon and Baucis | 1658 | Oil on panel | 54.5×68.5 cm | Washington D.C., National Gallery of Art

PH | TB | BR

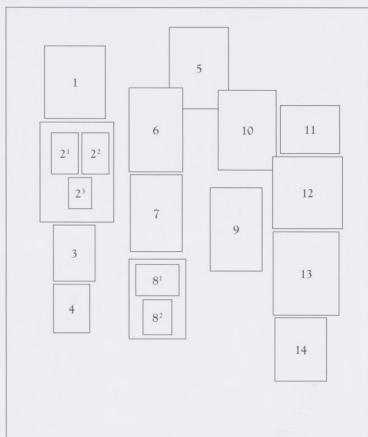


72



Panel 73

Medea in the theatre and in Rembrandt - space for prudent reflection. Art officiel with the pathos of infanticide. Women in battle. Battle on the bridge. Tacitus takes the place of Ovid.



- 1 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
The Marriage of Jason and Creusa
Illustration for the theatre play Medea by Jan Six | 1648 | Etching | 24.3 x 18.2 cm
BK | TB | BR 352/19



- [2] A / DUTCH
Illustrations for the Theatre Play Medea
3 of 4 plates from the publication of the theatre play Medea by Jan Vos, premiered 1667, Amsterdam 1668 | 8°
PH | TB | BR 352/5

- 2¹ A / DUTCH
Medea, liberos perimens | *Medea, Destroying Children*
(Plate 1, same motif as plate 2) | Engraving
PH | TB | BR 352/5

- 2² A / DUTCH
Medea Escapes from Jason on Her Chariot
Plate 3, inscription on the engraving: Act(e) V, Scene VII (last act of the play) | Engraving
PH | TB | BR 352/5

- 2³ A / DUTCH
Jason
Plate 4, also titled: *Medea on Her Chariot Looking Down to Jason and the Argonauts* | Engraving
PH | TB | BR 352/6

- 3 MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI
The Massacre of the Innocents
Detail, vertically mirrored | 1512–1513 | Engraving | 28.1 x 43 cm whole sheet
PH | TB | BR

- 4 JÜRGEN OVENS
Farewell of Claudius Civilis before the Battle of Xanten
Detail | One of three designs for unexecuted lunette paintings in the Civic Hall of the Amsterdam City Hall | 1662 | Drawing | 20.3 x 19.2 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
PH | TB | BR

- 5 OTTO VAN VEEN
The Batavians Surround the Romans at Vetera
Fifth painting from the series of twelve scenes on the rebellion of the Batavians against the Romans | 1600–1613 | Oil on panel | 38 x 52 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
PH | TB | BR

- 6 ANTONIO TEMPESTA AFTER OTTO VAN VEEN
Women and Children Observe Civilis Battling the Romans
Plate 8 from the series of 36 prints by Antonio Tempesta after a concept by Otto van Veen, *Batavorum cum Romanis bellum*, Antwerp 1612 | Etching | 16.1 x 21 cm
PH | TB | BR



- 7 JÜRGEN OVENS
Farewell of Claudius Civilis before the Battle of Xanten
Design for unexecuted lunette painting in the Civic Hall of the Amsterdam City Hall | 1662 | Drawing | 20.3 x 19.2 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
PH | TB | BR

- 8¹ JÜRGEN OVENS
Claudius Civilis Rides in the Battle of Xanten
Unfinished design for unexecuted lunette painting in the Civic Hall of the Amsterdam City Hall | 1662 c. | Drawing | 40.9 x 36.6 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
PH | TB | BR



- 8² JÜRGEN OVENS
Claudius Civilis before the Battle of Xanten
Design for unexecuted lunette painting in the Civic Hall of the Amsterdam City Hall | 1662 c. | Drawing | 26.6 x 32.2 cm | Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett
PH | TB | BR

- 9 FERDINAND BOL
Claudius Civilis Taking Leave for the Battle of Xanten
Design for a cycle of paintings for the Amsterdam City Hall. From: Hans Schneider, Ferdinand Bol als Monumentalmaler im Amsterdamer Stadhuis, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 1926, vol. 47, p. 84 | 1660 c. | Drawing | 43.7 x 61.9 cm | Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
PH | TB | BR



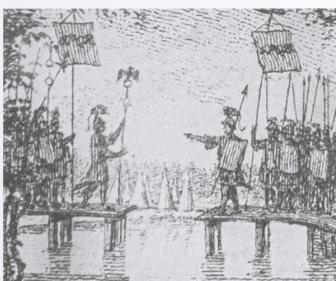
- 10 OTTO VAN VEEN
The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerialis on the Demolished Bridge
From a series of twelve paintings on the rebellion of the Batavians against the Romans | 1600–1613 | Oil on panel | 38 x 52 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
PH | TB | BR

- 11 ANTONIO TEMPESTA AFTER OTTO VAN VEEN
The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerialis on the Demolished Bridge
Plate 36 from the series of 36 prints by Antonio Tempesta after a concept by Otto van Veen, *Batavorum cum Romanis bellum*, Antwerp 1612 | Etching | 16.5 x 20.6 cm
PH | TB | BR

- 12 FERDINAND BOL
The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerialis on the Demolished Bridge
Design for a cycle of paintings for the Amsterdam City Hall | 1658–1662 | Oil on canvas | 122 x 112.5 cm | Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
PH | TB | BR

- 13 GIOVANNI ANTONIO DE GROOT
The Peace Negotiations between Claudius Civilis and Quintus Petillius Cerialis on the Demolished Bridge
1697 | Fresco | 600 x 550 cm | Amsterdam, Koninklijk Paleis (Paleis op de Dam), Southern Gallery
PH | TB | BR

- 14 NOACH VAN DER MEER
Claudius Civilis, hersteller der bataafse vryheid | *Claudius Civilis, Liberator of the Batavians*
Title page from the publication of the tragedy by Joannes Le Francq Van Berkhey, with the personification of the Dutch nation and a view to the peace negotiations at the destroyed bridge in the back, Amsterdam 1764 | Engraving | 8°
PH | TB | BR

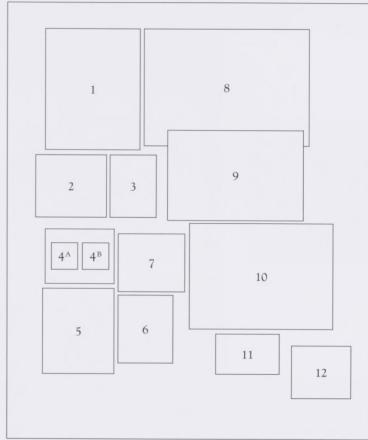


73



Panel 74

Moderation: St. Peter in Masaccio, Raphael, Rembrandt. *Distant healing without touching.* The 'Hundred Guilder Print'. Pisanello - transformation in Rembrandt = inner metamorphosis. Scipio's magnanimity.



- 1 MASACCIO
St. Peter Healing the Sick with his Shadow
 Scene from a cycle of frescoes on the life of Peter | 1426–1427 |
 Fresco | 230×162 cm | Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine,
 Cappella Brancacci
 PH | TB 538 | BR

- 2 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
Peter and John Healing the Cripple at the Gate of the Temple
 1659 | Etching | 19×22.2 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 3 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
Peter and John Healing the Cripple at the Gate of the Temple
 First state of the etching | 1629 c. | 22.1×16.9 cm | Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet
 PH | TB | BR

- 4A ANTONIO PISANELLO
Gianfrancesco Gonzaga
 Obverse with the portrait of Marquess of Mantua | 1439 c. |
 Medal | 9.9 cm (d.)
 PH | TB | BR

- 4B ANTONIO PISANELLO
Gianfrancesco Riding in a Rocky Landscape with a Companion
 Reverse of P74/4A
 PH | TB | BR 354/13

- 5 ANTONIO PISANELLO
A Lady, a Knight, Two Squires and a Page in the Mountains
 From the Codex Vallardi (2595) | 1450 c. | Drawing |
 25.9×18.5 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
 BK | TB | BR 354/9

- 6 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
The Three Crosses
 Third out of four states of the etching, detail | 1653 |
 38.7×45.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR 354/5

- 7 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
The Three Crosses
 4th or 5th state of the etching | 1653, formerly dated 1661 c. |
 38.5×45.5 cm
 BK | TB | BR 356/20

- 8 MASACCIO
The Tribute Money
 Scene from a cycle of frescoes on the life of St. Peter | 1425 c. |
 Fresco | 247×597 cm | Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine,
 Cappella Brancacci
 PH | TB | BR

- 9 RAPHAEL
Christ's Charge to Peter
 Cartoon for a tapestry | 1515–1516 c. | Bodycolour on paper
 mounted onto canvas | 320×390 cm | London, Victoria and
 Albert Museum, lent by Her Majesty The Queen, ROYAL
 LOANS.3, L
 PH | TB | BR

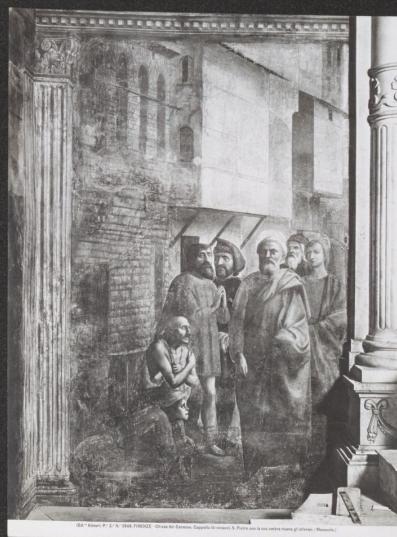
- 10 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
Christ Blesses Children and Heals the Sick
 (Hundred Guilder Print)
 First state before the additional shading | 1648 c. | Etching |
 28.1×38.8 cm
 PR | TB | BR



- 11 JAN STEEN
The Continence of Scipio
 1670–1673 c. | Oil on canvas | 92×151 cm | Jacksonville (FL),
 Cummer Museum of Art (until 1912 Collection Weber, Hamburg)
 PH | TB cf. 254 | BR

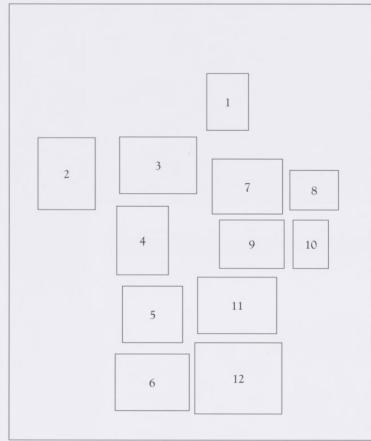


- 12 JAN LIEVENS
The Continence of Scipio
 Ordered to be set above a fireplace in the Leiden Town Hall,
 lost in a fire in 1929. Haus Buchenrode in Frankfurt-Niederrad
 holds a copy | 1639 | Oil on canvas | 190×240 cm c.
 PH | TB | BR



Panel 75

Magical anatomy. Haruspication – search for the seat of the soul. Scientific anatomy = contemplation through incorporation of the lament for the dead. Animal anatomy – human anatomy, pathos and contemplation [cf. Carpaccio].



- 10 PAMPHILUS GENGENBACH
Cannibal Scene
 Title page from: Pamphilus Gengenbach, *Diß ist ein iemerliche clag über die Todtenfresser*, Augsburg (Heinrich Steiner) 1522 | Woodcut | 28 cm (h.)
 PH | TB 494 | BR



- 11 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Nicolaes Tulp
 1632 | Oil on canvas | 169.5×216.5 cm | The Hague, Mauritshuis
 PH | TB | BR
- 12 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Jan Deijman
 Fragment from a painting partly burned in a 1723 fire | 1656 | Oil on canvas | 100×134 cm | Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum
 PH | TB | BR

- 1 GUIDO RENI
Paul Rebukes the Repentant Peter
 1603–1604 | Oil on canvas | 197×140 cm | Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera
 PH | TB | BR

- 2 A / GERMAN
Haruspicy
 From: Conrad Lycosthenes, *Wunderwerk oder Gottes unergründliches Vorbilden, das er inn seinen Geschöpfen allen (...)*, Basel 1557, p. 199 | Woodcut | 30 cm (h.)
 PH | TB | BR

- 3 NICOLAES BERCHEM
Hippocrates Visiting Democritus of Abdera
 Detail | 1650 c. | Oil on canvas | 67.5×81.4 cm | Christie's, Old Master Pictures (Sale 6234), London 17.12.1999 (formerly Vienna, Sammlung E. Hirschler)
 PH | TB 273 | BR

- 4 JACOB ADRIAENSZ. BACKER
Hippocrates Visiting Democritus of Abdera
 1630 c. | Oil on canvas | 94×64 cm | Milwaukee, Collection Alfred and Isabel Bader
 PH | TB 254, 273 | BR

- 5 NICOLAES MOEYEAERT
Hippocrates Visiting Democritus of Abdera
 1636 | Oil on panel | 80×85 cm | The Hague, Mauritshuis
 PH | TB | BR

- 6 JAN LIEVENS
Hippocrates Visiting Democritus of Abdera
 1635 c. | Oil on canvas | 100.5×124.5 cm | Arnhem, Dr. L. D. van Hengel collection
 PH | TB | BR

- 7 ATTRIBUTED TO ANDREA MANTEGNA
Entombment of Christ
 With an antiquely decorated sarcophagus | 1480 c. | Bronze relief | 24.4×44.9×2 cm | Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer
 PH | TB | BR 312/15

- 8 A / FRENCH
Anatomical Scene
 From: Gilhofer & Ranschburg, *Bibliotheca medii aevi*: 320 incunabula systematically arranged, including specimens of rare presses, woodcut books, fine bindings, Vienna 1929, plate XV. After Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Le propriétaire des choses*, livre V, Lyon (Jean Jenin le Dyamantier) 1500 | Woodcut | 14.2×17.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "Barthol. Anglicus. *Le propriétaire des choses*. Lyon 1500, (Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Wien, Kat. 220 Ill. 119)"

- 9 ALLAERT CLAESZ AFTER JACOPO FRANCIA
The Lamentation of the Condottiere Gattamelata de Narni
 1555 | Engraving | 26.9×41 cm
 PH | TB | BR

75

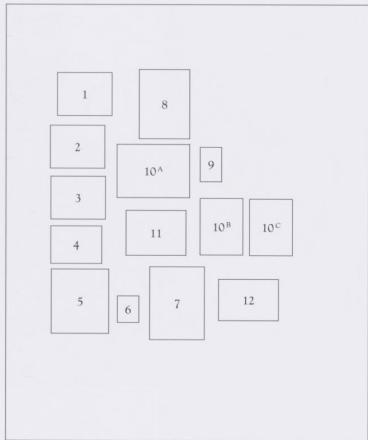


Panel 76

Protection of the endangered child: young Tobias and the Rest on the Flight into Egypt = Elsheimer – Rembrandt. Return from the Temple. Mother as Niobe (Pieter van der Borcht) and as clothed figure (Rembrandt). Helpless protecting mother.

TB 285

- 4 BARTHOLOMÄUS BREENBERGH
River Landscape
 Verticallymirrored | 1639 | Copperplate engraving | 9.6×13.2 cm
 PR | TB | BR
- 5 WILLEM VAN HAECHT
Apelles Painting Campaspe
 Detail, right half of the painting | 1630 c. | Oil on panel | 104.9×148.7 cm | The Hague, Mauritshuis
 PH | TB | BR 358/7



- 6 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Female Statue (Sabina)
 Roman copy of a Greek statue from late 4th century BC, after modern restorations | AD 100–130 c. | Marble sculpture | Florence, Loggia della Signoria
 PH | TB | BR 358/13
- 7 WORKSHOP OF PETER PAUL RUBENS
The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt
 1620 c. | Oil on canvas, transferred from panel | 259×177 cm | Antwerp, Sint-Carolus Borromeus
 PH | TB cf. 298, 300, 345 | BR 358/12

- 8 GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE' CAVALIERI
Daughter of Niobe from the Florentine Niobe Group
 Roman copy after a Greek statue from the late 4th or 1st century BC (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi). From: Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri, Antiquarum statuarum urbis Romae, tertius et quartus liber, Rome 1594, plate 21 | Copperplate engraving | 28.4×46 cm opened | Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstsbibliothek, Inv. Sig OS 4200 b kl.
 PH | TB 298 f. | BR 354/3

- 9 A / ANCIENT ROMAN
Christ, Church and Apostles
 Detail of an outline drawing: bas-relief of a sarcophagus later reused for the grave of St. Giles (Sant'Egidio) | 3rd century AD | Marble relief | Perugia, Oratorio di San Bernardino
 PH | TB | BR 356/22

- 10^A PIETER VAN DER BORCHT
Christ among the Scribes
 From: Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt, Imagines et figurae Biblioium, published by Christoffel Plantijn under the name Jacobus Villanus, Antwerp 1580–1585 | Etching | 20.3×24.1 cm
 PH | TB | BR 354/11

- 10^B PIETER VAN DER BORCHT
Christ Returning from the Temple with his Parents
 Detail from P76/10^A
 PH | TB | BR 354/12

- 10^C PIETER VAN DER BORCHT
Christ Returning from the Temple with his Parents
 P76/10^B vertically mirrored
 PH | TB | BR

- 11 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
Christ Returning from the Temple with his Parents
 1654 | Etching and drypoint | 9.4×14.4 cm
 BK | TB | BR 356/23

- 12 FRANZ JOSEPH KAUFMANN AFTER JANUARIUS ZICK
The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt
 1791 | Oil on wood | 41.5×54.8 cm | Mainz, Landesmuseum Mainz
 PH | TB | BR

- 1 HENDRICK GOUDT AFTER ADAM ELSHEIMER
Tobias and the Angel
 One of two versions of the same scene | 1613 | Engraving | 25×25.8 cm
 PH | TB cf. 287 | BR 354/17

- 2 HERCULES SEGHERS
 AFTER HENDRICK GOUDT AND ADAM ELSHEIMER
Tobias and the Angel
 1630–1633 c. | Etching | 20.2×27.6 cm
 PH | TB 151 | BR 354/18

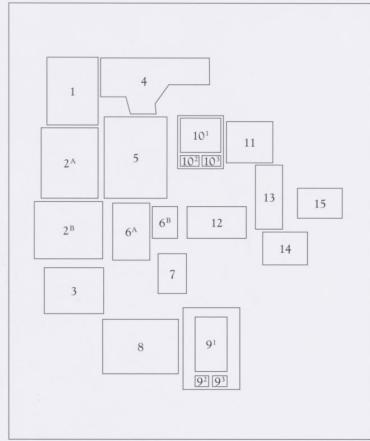
- 3 REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN
 AFTER HERCULES SEGHERS
Flight into Egypt
 Modification of the original copperplate Tobias and the Angel by Hercules Seghers | 1653 c. | Etching | 23×29.2 cm
 PH | TB | BR 356/19





Panel 77

Delacroix: Medea and infanticide. Stamp: Barbados – ‘Quos ego tandem? France – the Semeuse, Arethusa. Nike and young Tobias in advertising. The Hindenburg Monument as reverse apotheosis. Goethe, ‘24 legs’.



1 EUGÈNE DELACROIX
Medée furieuse / Furious Medea
Also known as Medea about to Kill her Children | 1838 | Oil on canvas | 260×165 cm | Lille, Palais des Beaux-Arts
 BK | TB cf. 211 | BR

2^A EUGÈNE DELACROIX
Scènes des massacres de Scio
Scenes from the Massacre at Chios
Greek families awaiting death or slavery (subtitle given by the Louvre) | 1822–1824 | Oil on canvas | 419×354 cm | Paris, Musée du Louvre
 PH | TB | BR 352/14

2^B EUGÈNE DELACROIX
The Massacre at Chios
Study of a detail | Oil on canvas | 94×132 cm | Prague, Národní Galerie
 PH | TB | BR 352/9

3 A / ANCIENT ROMAN AND A / FRENCH
Left: Dekadrachm from Syracuse, Sicily
Right: French Tax Stamp
L: Coin depicting head of the nymph Arethusa, designed by Kimon and Euinatos, among others. R: Stamp with Monia Syracuse moxif | L: 400–390 BC, R: 1885 | L: Silver coin.
R: Stamp | L: 3.6 cm (d.)
 PH/ST | TB cf. 34 | BR 132/4, 132/5, 142/13c, 142/14b, 300/2a, 300/3a, 300/3b

4 A / GERMAN
Summer Games of Golf at Hamburg Golf Club in Flottbek
Cutout from Hamburger Fremdenblatt no. 208, evening edition 29.7.1929, p. 9 | Newspaper print
 PR | TB | BR

5 A / GERMAN
Golf Champion Erika Sellschopp
1928 | Photograph | 23 x 17 cm
 PH | TB 49, 481, 502 | BR

6^A A / GERMAN
Eßt Fisch | Eat Fish
Cover of: Seefisch-Kochbuch. Eßt Fisch dann bleibt ihr gesund und frisch, Berlin, Reichs-Ausschuß für Seefischpropaganda e.V., n.d., 1928 | 20.2 x 13.5 cm
 BK | TB | BR

6^B A / GERMAN
Eßt Fisch | Eat Fish
Advertisement in: Hamburger Nachrichten, 15.4.1928 | News paper print
 PR | TB 551 | BR

7 OSCAR ROTY
Semeuse | The Sower
French postage stamp | 1900–1930 | Stamp
 ST | TB | BR 132/1, 165/28, 300/1

8 A / GERMAN
Sieg der Jugend | Victory of the Youth
Advertisement for 4711 Matt-Creme (body lotion) | 1928 | 19.5 x 27 cm
 PR | TB 551 | BR

9¹ GEORGE VERTUE
Seal of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England
Charles II as Neptune, driving a chariot drawn by a sea horse (reverse). Standing figure of the Queen (obverse) | 1705–1750 | Engraving | 23.3 x 15.2 cm
 BK | TB 80, 83 | BR 132/7a, 144/6a, 272/5, 298/13, 376/32a

9² A / ENGLISH
King George V as Neptune
Stamp from Barbados, ¼ British penny denomination, from the Seal of the Colony series. Inscription: Et penitus toto regnantes orbis Britannos | 1913–1916 | British postal stamp | 4.4 x 2.8 cm
 ST | TB 33, 40, 62, 80f, 83, 87, 95, 119, 123, 132, 134, 352 | BR 132/6b, 144/6c, 165/26, 182/3, 272/6a, 376/32b



9³ E. F. S. BOWEN
Queen Victoria in the Shell Carriage
1916 | British postal stamp | 2.8 x 3.4 cm
 ST | TB | BR 132/9, 142/13c, 272/2b, 376/33

10³ E. F. S. BOWEN
Queen Victoria in the Shell Carriage
Similar to P77/9 | 1897 | British postal stamp | 4.4 x 2.8 cm
 ST | TB | BR 132/6c, 144/6b, 272/6b, 376/32c



11 A / ANCIENT GREEK
Dekadrachm from Syracuse, Sicily
Quadriga driven by a charioteer, holding reins and kentron, above, Nike flying to crown him (obverse) | 400–390 BC | Silver coin | 3.6 cm (d.)
 PR | TB | BR 132/9, 142/13c, 272/2b, 376/33

12 A / GERMAN
Hausfee (inscr.) | House Fairy
Toilet paper packaging with Victoria motif | Early 20th century | Packaging | 11.5 x 21 cm
 PR | TB | BR

13 A / GERMAN
Sommer, Sonne, Luft und Wasser. Mit der Hapag an die Nordsee | Summer, Sun, Air and Water. With Hapag to the North Sea
Timetable for the Hapag Ferries | 1929 | 22.7 x 9.5 cm
 PR | TB 551 | BR

14 A / GERMAN
Mit der Hapag in die Nordseebäder | With Hapag to the North Sea Baths
Cover of the Hapag Ferries timetable | 1927 | 12 x 16 cm
 PR | TB | BR

15 RUDOLPH GANGLOFF
Hindenburg Monument
Intaglio postcard printed by Carl Schünemann, photograph by Franz Schensky | 1929 | 10.5 x 14.8 cm | Hindenburg Platz in Heliogoland
 PR | TB cf. 537 | BR

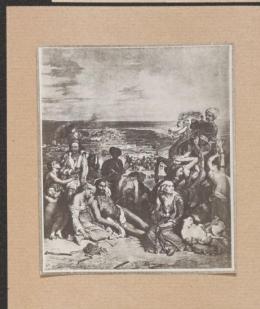


10¹ GEORGE VERTUE
Engraving of the Seal of Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England
Detail of the reverse from P77/9 | 1705–1750 c. | Engraving | 23.3 x 15.2 cm
 PR | TB | BR 132/7a, 144/10, 272/5, 298/13, 376/32a

10² A / ENGLISH
King George V as Neptune
Stamp from Barbados. 1 British penny denomination | Similar to P77/9 | 1916 | Stamp | 2.8 x 3.4 cm
 ST | TB | BR 132/6a, 132/6b, 144/6c, 165/26, 182/3, 272/6a, 376/32b

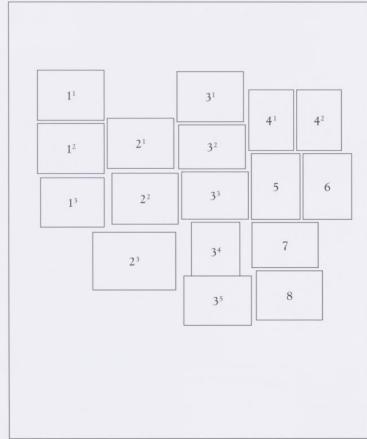


77



Panel 78

Church and State. Spiritual power without the wielding of earthly power.



- [1] A / ITALIAN
Signing of the Lateran Treaty, Rome, 11.2.1929.
 Series of photographs depicting official signing of the concordat between the Catholic Church and the Italian state | 1929 | 18x23.6 cm

- 1¹ A / ITALIAN
 From left to right: Monsignor Pizzardo, Monsignor Borgognini-Duca, Cardinal Secretary of State Gasparri, Mussolini, Rocco, Giunta | Photo agency L.U.C.E.
 PH | TB cf. 406f., 410 | BR

- 1² A / ITALIAN
 From left to right: Francesco Pacelli, Giuseppe Pizzardo, Francesco Borgognini Duca, Pietro Gasparri, Benito Mussolini, Alfredo Rocco, Francesco Giunta | Photo agency L.U.C.E.
 PH | TB | BR

- 1³ EUGENIO RISI
 In the middle: Pietro Gasparri, on the right Benito Mussolini
 PH | TB | BR

- 2¹ EUGENIO RISI
Solemn High Mass Following the Signing of the Lateran Treaty Pope's Mass in St. Peter's Basilica, 12.2.1929 | Photograph | 18x23.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 2² A / ITALIAN
Solemn High Mass Following the Signing of the Lateran Treaty Facade of St. Peter's Basilica, dignitaries on the balcony, 12.2.1929 | Photograph | 18x23.7 cm | Photo agency L.U.C.E.
 PH | TB | BR

- 2³ A / ITALIAN
Solemn High Mass Following the Signing of the Lateran Treaty St. Peter's Square, 12.2.1929 | Photograph | 20.5x28.6 cm | Edizioni d'Arte
 PH | TB | BR

- [3] A / ITALIAN
Ratification of the Lateran Treaties, Rome, 7.6.1929.
 Collection of photographs depicting Catholic Church dignitaries and Fascist officials

- 3¹ G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
Pietro Gasparri and Cesare Maria De Vecchi
 Photograph | 17.5x24.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 3² G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
Cesare Maria De Vecchi in St. Peter's Basilica
 Photograph | 16x24 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 3³ G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
Ratification of the agreement
 Photograph | 17x23.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 3⁴ A / ITALIAN
Representatives of the Vatican Welcoming Benito Mussolini
 On Mussolini's right, Francesco Borgognini Duca, on his left, Francesco Giunta | Photograph
 PH | TB | BR

- 3⁵ A / ITALIAN
Mussolini with his Entourage
 Next to Mussolini: Francesco Pacelli | Photograph
 PH | TB | BR

- 4¹ G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
First Telegram Sent by Pope Pius XI to King Vittorio Emanuele III from the New Telegraph Station in Vatican City
 Pope Pius XI informs the King Vittorio Emanuele III of Italy about signing the Lateran Treaties | 1929 | Document (front)
 PH | TB | BR

"Cardinal, I please have the following text brought to Our new telegraph office for immediate posting: "To His Majesty Vittorio Emanuele III King of Italy. | With the first telegram we send from the Vatican City. We inform Your Majesty that, thanks to God, the ratification process of the Lateran Treaties has been completed for a few moments now - quod prosperum felix faustum fortunatumque sit - and we also impart with all our heart a great, fatherly apostolic blessing to Your Majesty, to the Exalted Wife, to the entire Royal Family, to Italy, to the world. | PIUS PP. XI"

- 4² G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
First Telegram Sent by Pope Pius XI to King Vittorio Emanuele III from the New Telegraph Station in Vatican City
 Back of the document P78/4
 PH | TB | BR

"We bless you, along with the Royal Plenipotentiary and all those who have gathered to witness the solemn historical act. | PIUS PP. XI To His Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Secretary of State."

- 5 G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
Ratification of the Lateran Treaties. Signatures of King Vittorio Emanuele III and Mussolini
 1929 | Document
 PH | TB | BR

"After We have examined and approved the above Agreement and Concordat in all its parts. We have accepted, ratified and confirmed it as We accept, ratify and confirm it by the present Act, and We promise to abide by it and ensure that it is fully complied with. | In witness whereof, We have signed the present Agreement by hand and have had Our Royal Seal printed on both sides. | Thus happened in Rome on May 27, 1929 - VII Year of Our 29th Empire | Vittorio Emanuele [Signed] | On the part of His Majesty the King | The Minister of Foreign Affairs | Mussolini [Signed]"

- 6 G. FELICI, FOTOGRAFIA PONTIFICIA
Ratification of the Lateran Treaties. Signature of Pope Pius XI
 1929 | Document
 PH | TB | BR

"In order to prepare for the execution of the present Agreement, immediately after its signature a commission shall be appointed, composed of persons designated by both High Parties. | Rome, the eleventh day of February nineteen hundred and twenty-nine | [Signed] Pietro Cardinal Gasparri | [Signed] Benito Mussolini | We hereby ratify and confirm this solemn Convention, which We have carefully studied and carefully weighed that it is in conformity with Our Will. For the credible recognition thereof, We affirm this solemn document by Our signature and order Our Seal to be attached to it. | Given to Rome, from the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican, on May 30th, on the Feast of Corpus Domini, in 1929, VIII Year of Our Pontificate. | Pius XI [Signed]"

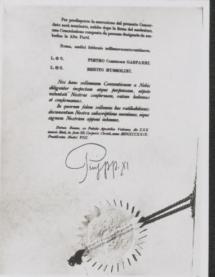
- 7 D'AMICO
 Commissioner Rosati, Colonel Hirschbühel (Commander of the Swiss Guard) and Official Representatives of the Italian Police
 From a collection of photographs depicting Catholic Church dignitaries and Italian officials | 1920s | Photograph | 16x22.5 cm
 PH | TB | BR

- 8 A / ITALIAN
Cardinal Bishop Maffi Visiting the Fiat Factory in Turin, June 1929
 From a collection of photographs depicting Catholic Church dignitaries and Italian officials | 1929 | Photograph | 18x23.7 cm | Photo agency L.U.C.E.
 PH | TB | BR

VERSO "La prima volta che un Cardinale visita uno stabilimento dello Stato. Il Cardinal Gaspari visita la Casa dell'Automobile"

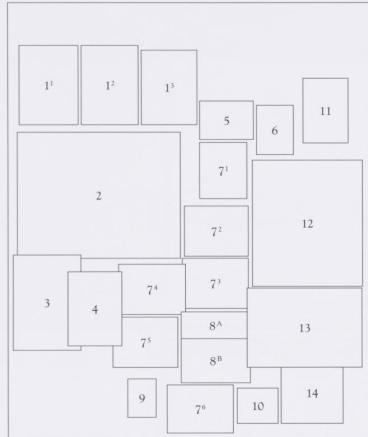


Al Signor Goffredo
Pietro Goffredo
Segretario di Stato



Panel 79

Mass. Devouring God. Bolsena, Botticelli. Paganism in the Church. Miracle of the host. Transubstantiation. Italian criminal before the last rites.



1 A /

Cattedra di San Pietro | Chair of St. Peter

Throne for the coronation of Charles the Bald, given thereafter to the church, since 1666 inside the Bellini-Cattedra | 875 c. | Wood and ebony relief | Vatican City, Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano

PH | TB 392, 506 | BR



11 A /

Cattedra di San Pietro | Chair of St. Peter

Schematic drawing of the Chair | 875 c. | Vatican City, Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano

PH | TB | BR

13 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

Cattedra di San Pietro | Chair of St. Peter

1656–1666 | Gilt bronze sculpture | Vatican City, Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano

PH | TB | BR

2 RAPHAEL

Messa di Bolsena | The Mass at Bolsena

1512 | Fresco | 500 × 660 cm | Vatican City, Palazzo Apostolico, Stanza di Eliodoro

PH | TB 494, 496, 497, 500 | BR

3 GIOOTTO DI BONDONE

Spes | Hope

1306 c. | Fresco | 120 × 55 cm | Padua, Cappella degli Scrovegni

PH | TB | BR

4 SANDRO BOTTICELLI

The Last Communion of St. Jerome

Early 1490 | Tempera and gold on wood | 34.3 × 25.4 cm | New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

PH | TB | BR

5 A /

Seppuku/Harakiri | Ritual Suicide

From: Antoine Rous, Marquis de La Mazelière, *Essais sur l'histoire du Japon* (1603–1868), Paris 1899, p. 247 | Printed photograph

BK | TB | BR

6 A /

Strafen und Hinrichtungen | Punishments and Executions

From: Philipp Franz von Siebold, Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzhändern: Jezo mit den Südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koora und den Liukiu-Inseln, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Würzburg and Leipzig 1897, p. 1,420 | Illustration

BK | TB | BR



7 A /

Eucharistic Procession to Celebrate the Lateran Treaty

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph | Photo agency L.U.C.E.

PH | TB | BR

72 A /

Pope Pius XI Emerges from Vatican to Celebrate the Lateran Treaty

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph

PH | TB | BR

73 A /

Swiss Guards March During the Eucharistic Procession

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph

PH | TB | BR

74 G. FELICE

Crowds Celebrate the Lateran Treaty

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph

PH | TB | BR

75 A /

Patral Mass in St. Peter's Basilica

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph | Photo agency L.U.C.E.

PH | TB | BR

76 A /

Parade in St. Peter's Basilica

Vatican City, Piazza San Pietro and Basilica | 25.7.1929 | Press photograph | Photo agency L.U.C.E.

PH | TB | BR

8A CAMILLO VIVIANI

L'Esercito Pontificio in alta uniforme negli ultimi anni prima del 1870 [...] | The Papal army in full dress during the last years before 1870 [...]

Title page, drawn probably 1890 | Brochure, printed matter | 19 × 25 cm | Bergamo 1910–1918 (?)

BK | TB | BR

8B CAMILLO VIVIANI

Ammunition Wagon

From: ibid. | Illustration

PH | TB | BR

9 MATTTHÄUS BRANDIS

Desecration of the Host in Sternberg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern

From: Georg Herlitz, Bruno Kirschner, Jüdisches Lexikon. Ein encyclopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens in vier Bänden, vol. 2, Berlin 1928, p. 1681 | 1492 | Woodcut

BK | TB | BR



10 A /

CENTRAL ITALIAN (FLORENCE)

Desecration of the Host

From: Giovanni Baleni, La rappresentazione d'uno miracolo del corpo di Christo, Florence, 1473–1498 c. | Woodcut | 24 × 30.5 cm

BK | TB | BR

VERSO "see: P. Kristeller. Early Florentine Woodcuts. London 1897"



11 A /

Tempo 1929

On the left: Gustav Stresemann, German Foreign Minister of the Weimar Republic, signing of the final protocol of the Locarno Treaty. Detail of cover page of the morning edition of Tempo, 2nd year, no. 204, 9.3.1929 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR

12 A /

Cover page of the illustrated supplement of the evening edition of the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, no. 208, 29.7.1929, p. 9 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR

13 A /

Cover page of the illustrated supplement of the evening edition of the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, no. 209, 30.7.1929, p. 9 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR

14 A /

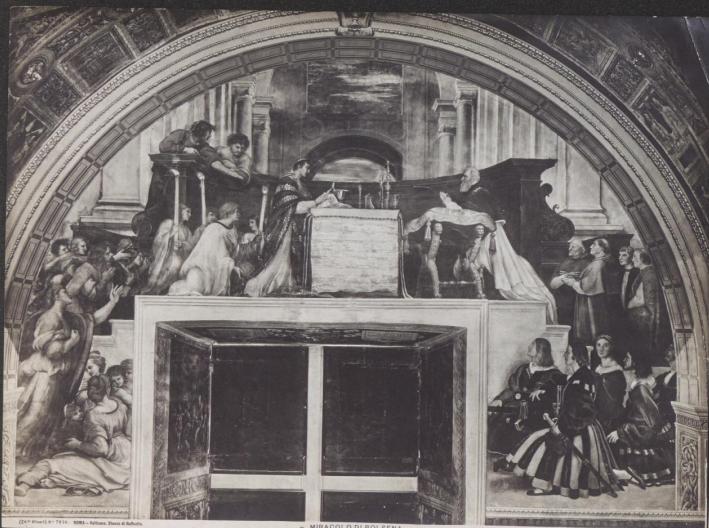
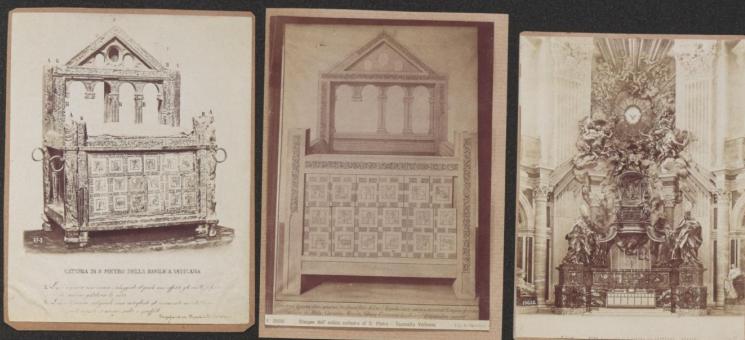
The Express-Train Catastrophe at Düren

A dying man receives the last rites (Viaticum). Detail from: [Hamburger] Mittags-Blatt, 33rd year, no. 199, 27.8.1929, p. 1 | Newspaper clipping

PR | TB | BR



79



PRELIMINARY VERSIONS AND UNNUMBERED PANELS

The following twenty panels to a large extent, and in some cases even exclusively, display images not included in the last version of the Atlas. Seventeen panels were drawn from the 'Pre-Penultimate Version', the series produced in the autumn of 1928 and three from a set of photographs depicting unnumbered panels; the exact dating of the latter within the years 1928–1929 is unclear. The Atlas's evolution through the autumn of 1928 is documented in the Warburg Institute Archive in various phases, whereas the differences between these mainly pertain to numeration, i.e., the organisation of the thematic segments extending over several panels, and their overall structure. The series from which we have made our selection consists of 68 panels and is the largest in total. It also serves as the basis for our concordance (see pp. 173–175) and leads to the rendition that was introduced into academic research as the 'Penultimate Version' (WIA III.106). Warburg had virtually recorded every step and variation photographically. However,

with two or three exceptions, none of this photographic material has thus far been published, and can only be accessed in the Warburg Institute Archive. The prints of the photographs provided Warburg a certain overview and allowed him to specify the arrangements on the panels. Since the publication of Gombrich's Warburg biography, the research community has assumed that Warburg haphazardly overturned his achievements at the next opportunity, rebuilding everything from scratch. Yet, in fact, the various phases in the development of the panels reveal an increasing precision in their structure. Since Warburg most certainly intended for his book project to include the material that unfolds via the panels on the following pages, it should not be omitted in a publication of this kind. Still, we are dealing with a preliminary stage of the Atlas. We are therefore presenting the panels in the condition of their archival documentation with all their marks but digitally improved to a better legibility in this size.



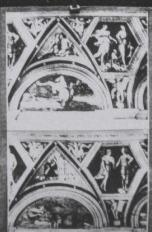
Die Perseussage am griechischen Globus. PERSEUS ANDROMEDA DER WALFISCH CEPHEUS UND CASSIOPEIA



Perseus vor dem entzückten Andromeda
Mittelalterliche Illustration aus einer Bibel

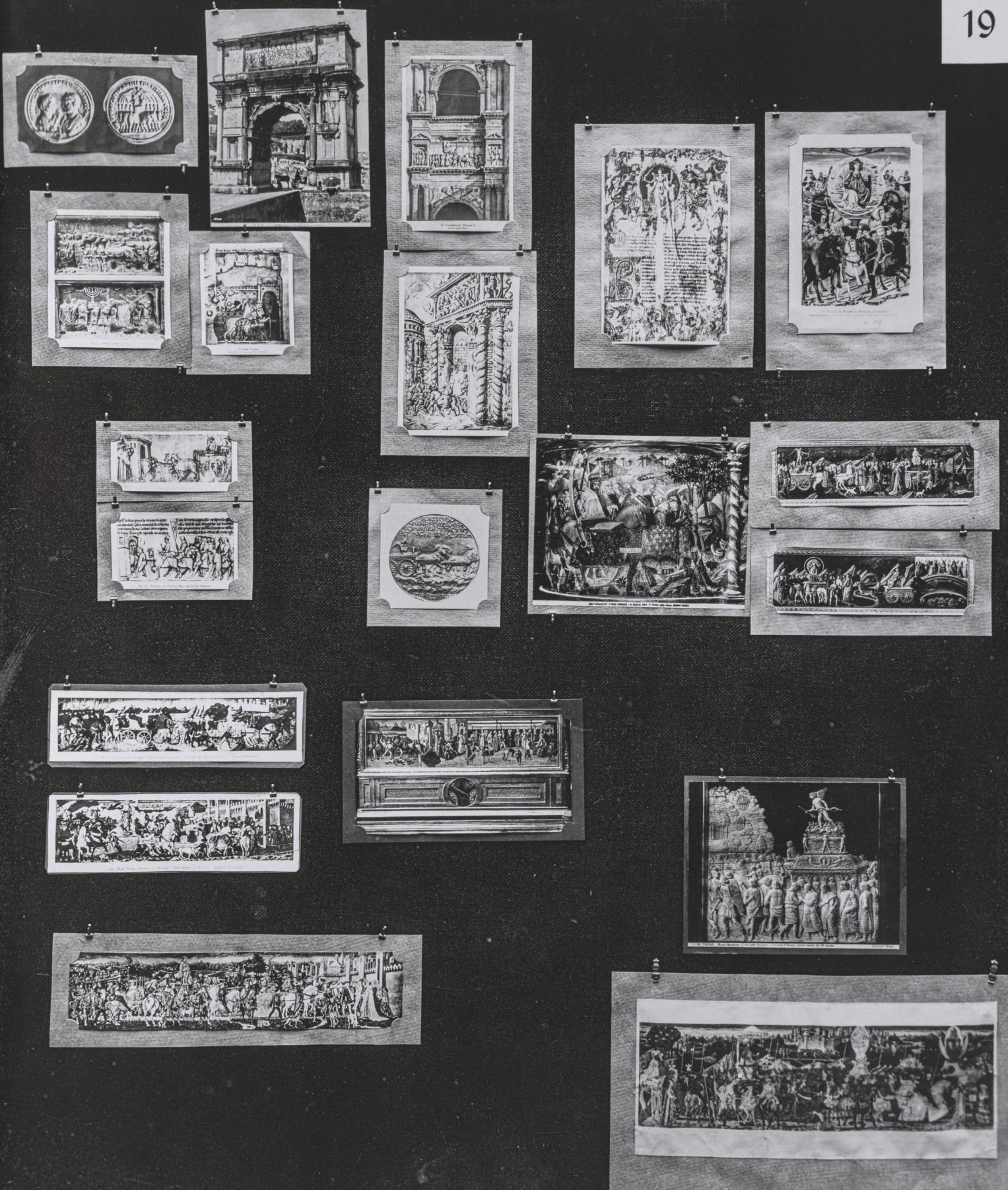


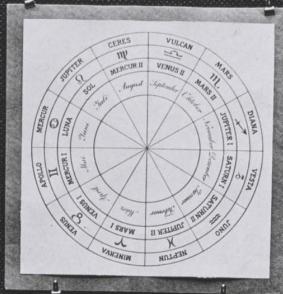
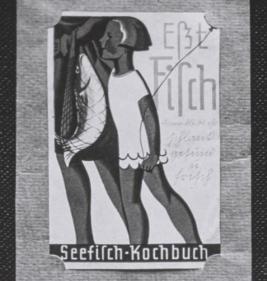
PERSEUS IM ZENTRUM DER DECKE DER VILLA FARNESINA ALS BEHERRSCHER DES HOROSKOPS DES ERBAUERS
VON AGOSTINO CHIGI (RÖM. 15. JAHRT.)



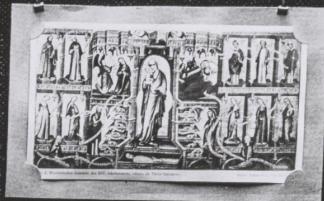


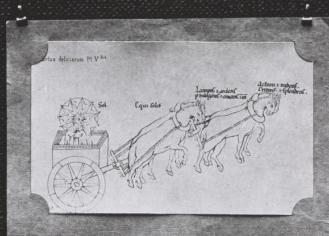
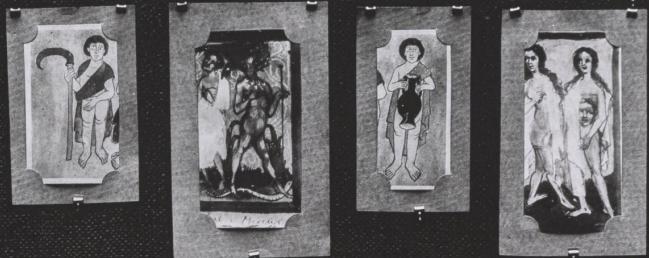














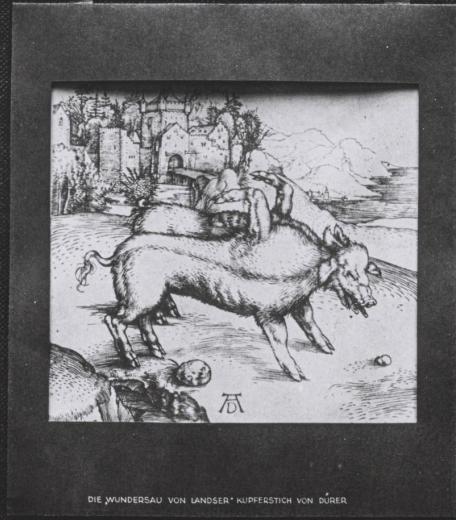
NÖRDLICHER STERNHIMMEL · HOLZSCHNITT VON DÜRER



DAS STERNENTEIL AUS DER OFFENBARUNG JOHANNIS · HOLZSCHNITT VON DÜRER



FLUGBLATT DES SEB. BRANT ÜBER EINE WUNDERSAU VON LANDSER* 1496

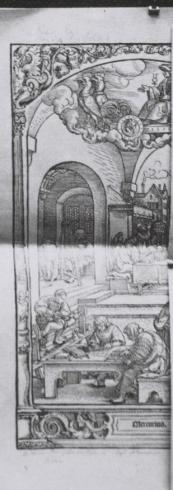
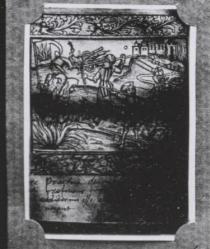
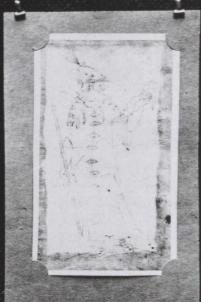
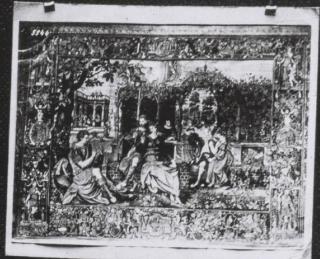


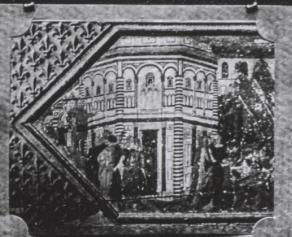
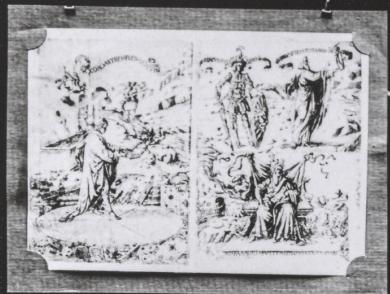
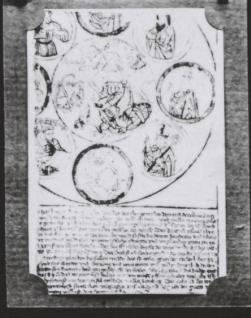
DIE „WUNDERSAU VON LANDSER“ KUPFERSTICH VON DÜRER

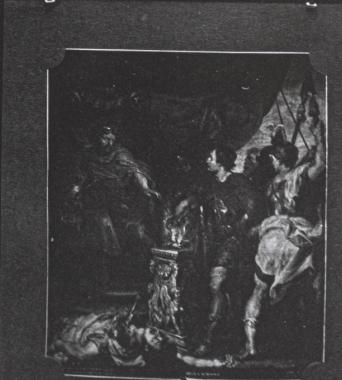
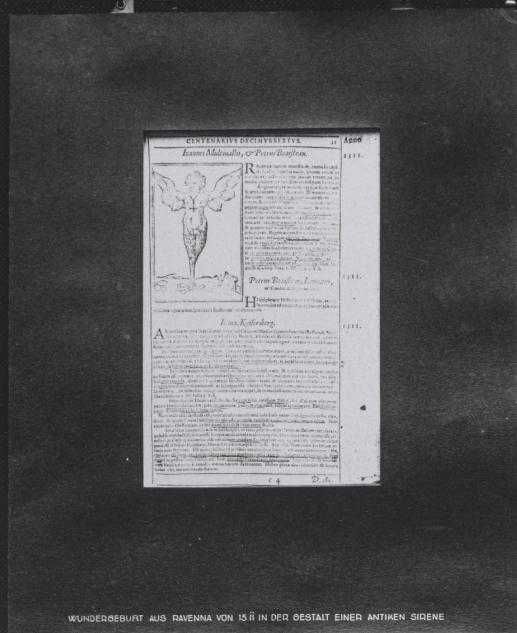
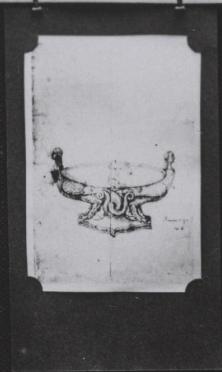


ROMA Traietto nella battaglia dei Due. Bissacchino dell'Arca di Noe sarà Reggente interdetto - Andronico







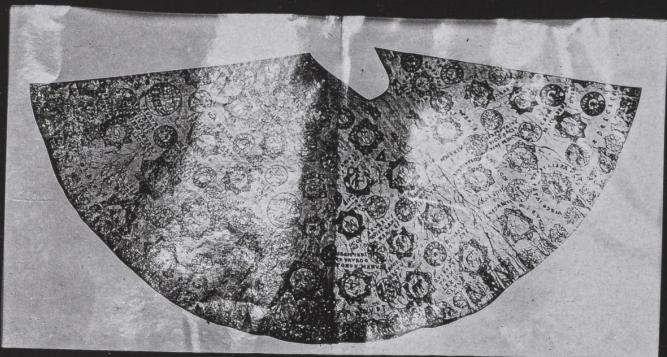


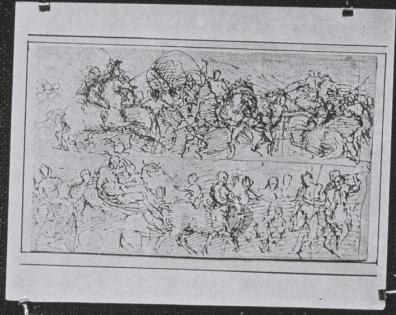
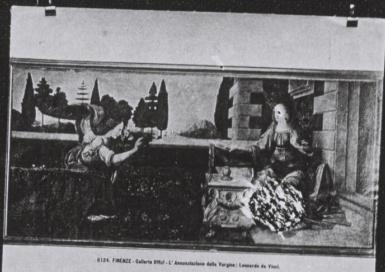












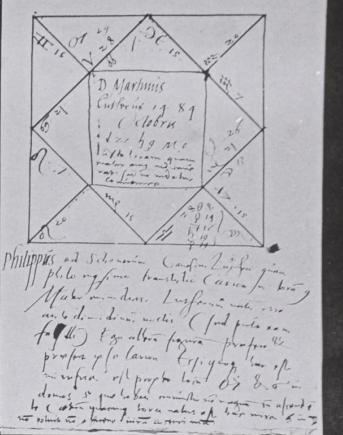


DIE BEIDEN MÖNCHS AUS LICHTENBERGER MAINZ 1492 MIT ALTER BEISCHRIFT: 'DITH IS MARTINUS LUTHER UND PHILIPPUS MELANTON'



Das. xxxij. Capitel.

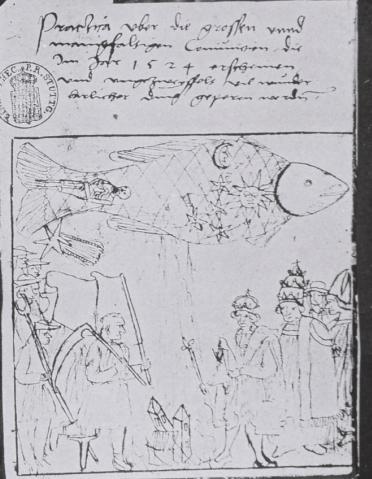
Darf sind und werden die rechten fand: da bey man
wurde er erschlagen. Et wurd schrecklich fleisch
haben an leibe und durc einen holzden leib habt
von bramenfleischden manichfachen maecken
vnd der rechten foden kreyt ihys van an der hufse. Et se
het an teil des glaube urettend hand das ynd vnd
gehebten vorholzer dochy der ab stendent der beider
weiblicher vor wunderbarem pferd vnd hinterstet des
pferdes vnd der hufse der heilige ihys. Et wurd schrecklich
an den kroten habben an den teitel des gaudens midus von
fischen grade des lebens erfinden. Dieser prophet wie
das selbige summe bezeugt wird erreichlich frant des ges
tent und den tuesschen er wurd mit zudenk vnd wunderbarem
eham Seine jahrhundt werden auch die lebengreiche fliegen vnd



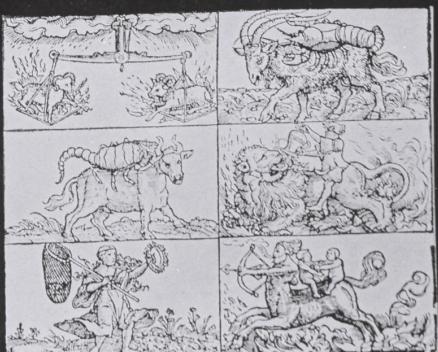
DIE BEIDEN MÖNCHSPROPHETEN AUS LICHTENBERGERS „WEISSAGUNG“ WITTENBERG 1527



Die eis ein nambighe Confession füllt wü
deren und ab betrachtet der schneeweiße
großen planeten des Saturn und Jupiters wil-
der Coniunction und zusammen lansfung / er-
schrecklich dort dient und verhindert wie viel unfehlbar
wird. Und ist wunderlich genug na h Christi geprägt wa-
rare 21. eccy lehrung am fünft von weingesogen tage 1710
sementis des Weihnachts am fünft die Krebs stundre vierzehn
nach mittag wie wol der Krebs eine grande hoch aufsteigt
ge über den horizonten.



KONJUNKTION VON SATURN UND JUPITER AUS LICHTENBERGER "WEISSÄUANGE" WITTENBERG 152



AN DEN ECKEN, DIE VOM DER STERNWEISSAGUNG ABHÄNGIGEN VORGÄNGE: LANDBAU · GEBURT · KRANKHEIT · ADERLASS

CONCORDANCE BILDERATLAS MNEMOSYNE 1928–1929

The concordance was created to compare two previous versions with the final version of the Bilderatlas; consequently the comparison between the previous versions is less detailed. The content of each panel is specified by only a small number of keywords, naming the significant elements, be this a theme, a gesture, one or more artists, the medium employed or a technique. In some cases—mostly regarding material missing in the last version—the description is more detailed.

P	Panel
▲	First Version P 1-43 May 1928 (WIA III.104)
▲	Pre-Penultimate Version P 1-68 and P 77 August/September 1928 (WIA III.105.1)
*	Last Version PA, B, C, 1-79 September/October 1929 (WIA III.107)
○	Unnumbered panels P 1-11 1928/29 (WIA III.107.1.2.)
→ *	Reference to the Last Version PA, B, C, 1-79
→ *	Reference to the Pre-Penultimate Version P 1-68
☒	Indicates pictures missing in the Last Version

WIA refers to the catalogue of the Warburg Institute Archive. The ‘Penultimate Version’ (WIA III.106) is considered to be the last version in the autumn of 1928 with less panels and a different numbering.

FIRST VERSION

- ▲ P1 Tapestries (→ *P 34), cassone and dance (→ *P 37), Salome (→ *P 47)
- ▲ P2 Nordic Piety, St. Jerome in His Study and adaption by the Florentines, Medici (→ *P 31), top left (→ *P 36)
☒ more detailed information about St. Jerome in His Study, Carpaccio
- ▲ P3 Nordic Piety (→ *P 31) with influence on Florence (→ *P 43), overall very similar (→ *P 36), top left different
- ▲ P4 Dance, carnival, Fight for the Trouser (→ *P 32), without clear polarization, much denser
☒ some examples on the subject, bottom: a contemporary example
- ▲ P5 Petrarch's Trionfi
☒ top section: Triumph of Death, Petrarch, from the middle to the bottom: Cupid in the fight with Castilia, Cupid's punishment, Baldini's triumphal processions after Petrarch, not to be found on (→ *P 38), top (→ *P 19 | p. 155), bottom (→ *P 31)
- ▲ P6 top section: Cassoni with battles, tournaments, the tournament protocol (→ *P 28-29), bottom: Piero's Battle of Constantine (→ *P 30)
☒ on Piero (→ *P 36)
- ▲ P7 Monkey cups (→ *P 32), Alexander Tapestries 2 (→ *P 34), book illustrations on heroic fighters (→ *P 35)
☒ ruler pathos and portraits (→ *P 16), very mixed
- ▲ P8 Duccio in Rimini (→ *P 25), top section: Magdalena Maenad, to the left of it scheme of the World Building of Dante's Divina Comedia (→ *P 26)
- ▲ P9 ☒ Sybils and Prophets (→ *P 29 | p. 158)
- ▲ P10 Pesaro (→ *P 36)
- ▲ P11 The Rape of Helen, Hercules (→ *P 37) without dance but with other additions, reversed arrangement
- ▲ P12 Botticelli's Primavera (→ *P 39) without Birth of Venus, much more Daphne, top section: Rape of Proserpina (→ *P 32)
- ▲ P13 centre: Medici (→ *P 38), on the right Botticelli's Birth of Venus, then Garden of Venus (→ *P 39) bottom already Ariadne-Dionysus Procession (→ *P 40)
☒ lower row in (→ *P 33)
- ▲ P14 Ghirlandaio's Nymph (→ *P 46), Annunciation of Zachariah (→ *P 45), also Tobias (→ *P 47) to the right: Nike (→ *P 44), not very dense
- ▲ P15 David, grip to the head, Judith, Salome (→ *P 47), up to Rembrandt's Samson (detail with Delilah)
☒ David by Michelangelo and others (→ *P 35), without Michelangelo, for the rest (→ *P 41)

- ▲ P16 Ghirlandaio's Infanticide and some accompanying motifs (→ *P 45), Arch of Constantine (→ *P 7), comparison David/Pedagogue (→ *P 41), Conversion of Paul the Apostle (→ *P 41a), left up to The Massacre at Chios by Delacroix (→ *P 77)
- ▲ P17 Sacrifice of Polixena (→ *P 6) Madonna and Child by Duccio (→ *P 41) then Medea (→ *P 25)
☒ a few pictures
- ▲ P18 Lamentation and Entombment (→ *P 42) thematically similar dense
- ▲ P19 Laocoön, ancient and modern images mixed (→ *P 6) and (→ *P 41a), comparisons like Laocoön-Pisanello drawing and Lippi more clearly pronounced (→ *P 53)
- ▲ P20 Fortuna (→ *P 48) unstructured, less compact (→ *P 39)
- ▲ P21 top section: Trajan, bottom: Scipio (→ *P 52), arrangement (→ *P 20)
- ▲ P22 Ancient pathos of Victory (→ *P 19 | p. 155) and triumphal processions (→ *P 44), battles, cassoni (→ *P 21) and Scavola (→ *P 45)
☒ Arch of Titus, Battle of Anghiari, Romano's Battle of Constantine
- ▲ P23 Mantegna, left half (→ *P 49) mainly, less (→ *P 50-51), right half: Muses (→ *P 53)
- ▲ P24 Mantegna Tarot (→ *P 50-51) mainly, less (→ *P 49) top section: back to the ancient Cybele (→ *P 6), Schifanoia and Mantegna's Cybele
- ▲ P25 Arabic Astrology (→ *P 20) to (→ *P 22)
- ▲ P26 Schifanoia (→ *P 27), very reduced to Warburg's "Perseus" (→ *P 8)
- ▲ P27 ☒ Perseus 1 (→ *P 9 | p. 173)
- ▲ P28 ☒ Perseus 2 (→ *P 10 | p. 153) and (→ *P 11 | p. 154)
- ▲ P29 Galatea, School of Athens, Judgement of Paris, Manet (→ *P 53, P 54, P 55)
- ▲ P30 Sphinx and Sirens, Sacrifice at Lystra, belief in miracles (→ *P 55 | p. 164)
☒ some more examples of belief in miracles (→ *P 48 | p. 161)
- ▲ P31 Dürer 1—from the lecture (→ *P 57)
- ▲ P32 Dürer 2
☒ Astrology in the North, belief in miracles, see partly (→ *P 58) and (→ *P 47 | p. 160) and (→ *P 48 | p. 161)
- ▲ P33 Dürer 3—Melencolia I (→ *P 58) and (→ *P 50)
☒ Apollo with Solar Disc (Dürer), Italian engravings (Campagnola)
- ▲ P34 Astrology in the North (→ *P 59) and (→ *P 51)
- ▲ P35 Astrology from the Middle Ages via Kepler into modern times (→ *P 8) and (→ *P 10), Calendarium naturale magicum (→ *P 26) and (→ *P 3)

- ▲ P36 ☒ Valois Tapestries (→ *P 58 | p. 166)
- ▲ P37 Age of Neptune 1 (→ *P 60) and (→ *P 61-64), very general, less pictures
- ▲ P38 ☒ 16th-century Festivities, Intermedia (→ *P 60 | p. 167), more detailed at the bottom
- ▲ P39 Age of Neptune 2 (→ *P 60) and (→ *P 61-64) with stamps (→ *P 77)
- ▲ P40 centre: Raising on a Shield (→ *P 71)
☒ top section two rows of Sword Dances, bottom transition to "Cloth Bouncing", Goya, until the present (→ *P 65 | p. 168), there more detailed
- ▲ P41 Age of Rembrandt, first row: Rubens' Fortuna, Blinding of Samson (→ *P 70) and (→ *P 72), second row: Scipio (→ *P 52), in the lower half: Hippocrates and Democritus (→ *P 75), all in all like (→ *P 63)
- ▲ P42 Age of Rembrandt, left side: Oath/Raising on a Shield (→ *P 71), middle: Rape of Proserpina (→ *P 70) at the bottom: Rubens' Andromeda, right side: Medea (→ *P 73) to Delacroix (→ *P 77), all in all like (→ *P 62)
- ▲ P43 Age of Rembrandt, left side: The Hundred Guilder Print/Three Crosses (→ *P 74), right side: Oath of Claudio Civilis (→ *P 72)

PRE-PENULTIMATE VERSION

- ▲ P1 Planet Children of Mars (→ *P C), constellation map (→ *P A) plus images of (→ *P C)
☒ a zodiac (Warburg Archive, identified by Claudia Wedepohl)
- ▲ P2 Livers (→ *P 1), Farnese Atlas (→ *P 2), Tabula Bianchini, Dendera (→ *P 3)
- ▲ P3 Zodiac pictures, Leonardo's Study of Virgil (→ *P B), Calendarium naturale magicum (→ *P 26)
☒ some zodiacs
- ▲ P4 Illustrations from fortune telling books (→ *P 23a)
☒ one example
- ▲ P5 Planets (Arabic), Picatrix (→ *P 20-21)
☒ one example
- ▲ P6 Salone Padua (→ *P 23), zodiac signs (→ *P 22), scheme of the World Building of Dante's Divina Commedia (→ *P 26)
- ▲ P7 Schifanoia frescoes (→ *P 27), more detailed on the empty throne, Magna Mater (Mantegna)
☒ Minne, Mars and Venus
- ▲ P8 Scheme of the Schifanoia frescoes (→ *P 27), March image in more detail, to determine the migration and transformation of Warburg's "Perseus"

- +P 9 Perseus 1, *top section*: detail from the Globe of the Farnese Atlanas and illustrations from the Aratus manuscript (→ *P 2), from Arabic illustrations to the Villa Farnesina, in this volume p. 152
- +P 10 ☐ Perseus 2: from ancient times to Cellini, in this volume p. 153
- +P 11 ☐ Perseus 3: until Rubens and Festivities, in this volume p. 154
- +P 12 Arrazi, also Narcissus (→ *P 34)
☐ bottom: tapestry, cutout with Hell Rider
- +P 13 top: Satyr, fresco Pollaiolo (→ *P 37), centre: Moreska, carnival and Fight for the Trousers (→ *P 32)
☐ bottom: Sword Dance, contemporary
- +P 14 Moreska, carnival (→ *P 32)
☐ Monkey and Pedlar
- +P 15 Planets and signs of the zodiac in book illustrations (→ *P 33/35), isolated on the right at the same height: Rape of Helen (→ *P 24), groups similar, but not arranged chronologically
☐ significantly more material
- +P 16 top section: Alexander Tapestries (→ *P 34), Banquet of the Peacock (→ *P 32)
☐ right: A Florentine Picture-Chronicle, bottom: coins, portraits, Verrocchio's Colleoni
- +P 17 left: St. Jerome in His Study (→ *P 31), centre and right: Descent from the Cross and motif from the *Livre du cœur d'amours espris* (→ *P 42, P 31), Etruscan mirror with Prometheus (→ *P 4)
☐ Jerome of Carpaccio
- +P 18 Cassoni (→ *P 28-29) reduced
- +P 19 ☐ Arch of Titus, grand triumphal processions, especially on cassoni, in this volume p. 155
- +P 20 Trajan and Scipio (→ *P 52) in another order
☐ few additions
- +P 21 Piero della Francesca, "Battle of Constantine", Gozzolo (→ *P 30), without "Dream", right: Battle of Anghiari by Leonardo (→ *P 44)
☐ Battle of Constantine by Romano, triumphal processions of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza, fresco of the Legend of the Cross by Piero della Francesca
- +P 22 Donatello, centre: Entombment and Lamentation (→ *P 42), (→ *P 75), transition to Duccio, Magdalena Maenad (→ *P 25)
☐ left: Putti, base relief of Judith and George with the Dragon by Donatello, also additions to Duccio
- +P 23 left: Christ's Detachment from the Family, "Duccio" (→ *P 47)
☐ whole right half: book illustrations on this topic
- +P 24 left margin: Headhunter and Tobias, "Eat fish" (→ *P 77), plus top section: Ruler and Lion from the Dürer panel (→ *P 58)
☐ Mussolini and stamps with the motif Neptune-Britannia see also (→ *P 77), in this volume p. 156
- +P 25 Medea (→ *P 41), without Orpheus or witches, with Duccio Maenad (→ *P 25), Polixena victims concentrated
☐ few examples
- +P 26 Duccio at the Tempio Malatestino (→ *P 25), without Maenad or Orcvieto
☐ bottom: a series of book illustrations
- +P 27 ☐ Planets, mainly Apollo, book illustrations, in this volume p. 157
- +P 28 Pesaro (→ *P 36), bottom: Baldini's Planetary Children of Venus and heraldic badges of the Medici (→ *P 38) and (→ *P 39)
- +P 29 ☐ Sybils (from the Cathedral of Siena, among others), in this volume p. 158
- +P 30 Love Fight, top section: as Medici theme (→ *P 38), bottom: with Bacchus Procession (→ *P 40), Abundantia, Pallas (→ *P 39)
☐ two, three pictures
- +P 31 Botticelli's Birth of Venus (→ *P 39) with Love Fight, Punishment of Cupid (→ *P 38), arranged differently, Poliziano by Ghirlandaio (→ *P 43)
☐ two, three pictures
- +P 32 Botticelli's Primavera, Daphne (→ *P 39)
☐ both topics
- +P 33 Baldini's Planetary Children of Venus with details (→ *P 39), Medici Connection (→ *P 38), Venus and Aeneas (→ *P 44)
☐ A Florentine Picture-Chronicle, top and bottom
- +P 34 Rape of Helen, Hercules (→ *P 37) arranged different
☐ some pictures in the lower part
- +P 35 Tobias and Angels, the headhunters Judith and Salome (→ *P 47) arranged differently, David by Andrea del Castagno and dying Pedagogue (→ *P 41), book by Lucrezia Tornabuoni (→ *P 46)
☐ twice David by Verrocchio, Salome
- +P 36 Ghirlandaio's Sassetta Chapel (→ *P 43), in direct comparison with the Portinari Altarpiece (→ *P 31)
☐ top left: on the subject of portraits
- +P 37 Ghirlandaio's Nymph (→ *P 46), Nike from the Arch of Constantine (→ *P 44), further frescoes from the Tornabuoni Chapel (→ *P 45), Hecate (→ *P 41)
- +P 38 centre: Ghirlandaio's Massacre of the Innocents with comparative pictures (→ *P 45) and (→ *P 40), deathbed and mourning (→ *P 43)
☐ two pictures
- +P 39 Fortuna (→ *P 48) similarly systematised: fatalism, identification, domination, bottom less complex
☐ two, three motifs
- +P 40 Mantegna, Triumph of Caesar (→ *P 49) and Fortuna-Occasio (→ *P 48)
☐ two, three pictures (Da Vinci's Drawing of a Winged Figure)
- +P 41 almost exclusively Orpheus (→ *P 41) top section: Gonzaga, Mantua (→ *P 49)
☐ four, five motifs, Judith by Mantegna
- +P 42 centre: Mantegna's Invidia engraving, Verona Altarpiece, Judgement of Solomon, Tuccia and Sophonisa (→ *P 49), less complex, bottom: Expulsion of the Vices from Parnassus
☐ top section: Triumph of Chastity
- +P 43 Mantegna Tarot, Marseilles (→ *P 50-51), bottom: illustrations from Lorenzo Spirito's Libro delle Sorti (→ *P 23a)
☐ right: Cycle of Muses by Alessandro Pampurino (V&A, London, until 1884 in Cremona, Italy)
- +P 44 Muses (→ *P 53) without the School of Athens and Galatea, more clearly focused on the theme, Muses sarcophagus (→ *P 2), Mantegna's Parnassus (→ *P 52) and other well-known motifs
☐ few examples
- +P 45 ☐ early planetary illustrations, the panel as a whole composed very airy, like a first sketch, in this volume p. 159
- +P 46 Planet Children (→ *P 24) and Planets (→ *P 23) bottom
☐ examples from other manuscripts
- +P 47 Tarot motifs in the North, centre: Dürer Drawings after the Tarot (→ *P 57)
☐ top section: Planets, bottom: Star Chart, The Sun Woman and the seven-headed Dragon from Dürer's Revelation of John, in this volume p. 160
- +P 48 Monsters in image propaganda, right: Dürer's Horsemen of the Apocalypse (→ *P 57) bottom: Trajan Relief from the Arch of Constantine
☐ left side: monster, Landser-Sau and other propaganda leaflets, in this volume p. 161
- +P 49 Dürer to Mantegna (→ *P 57), lower left: Orpheus, Daphne and others from older book illustrations (→ *P 35)
☐ one or two pictures on the topic
- +P 50 Dürer's Melencolia I (→ *P 58), but with a different and somewhat more complex structure
☐ Giorgione's Philosophers, Carpaccio and Italian engravings (Campagnola)
- +P 51 Planets in the North, at the town halls (→ *P 59), recourse to the Muses and Fortuna (→ *P 57)
☐ bottom right: some prognostics
- +P 52 ☐ Planets and Planet Children in the North, a seven-part Planet Children series from later times, in this volume p. 162
- +P 53 Laocoön, antique and modern (→ *P 6) and (→ *P 41), completely differently arranged, inserted bottom: Botticelli's St. Augustine (→ *P 43)
☐ few pictures
- +P 54 in part: (→ *P 41) and (→ *P 28-29)
☐ witches, magicians, teriak sellers, in this volume p. 163
- +P 55 in part: (→ *P 47) Mary and Christ, separation from the mother and sacrifice
☐ Mary, Judith, Sacrifice at Lystra, monsters, belief in miracles, Sphinx and Sirens, in this volume p. 164

- +P 56 ☒ Signorelli, in this volume p. 165
- +P 57 *top section*: Raphael, ceiling of the Chigi Chapel (→ *P 54), School of Athens, Parnassus, Galatea (→ *P 53), *bottom: engravings* (→ *P 42)
☒ three, four motifs
- +P 58 ☒ Festivities, the Valois Tapestries of the Medici, in this volume p. 166
- +P 59 Age of Neptune (→ *P 61-64)
- +P 60 ☒ Festivities, Intermedia at the end of the 16th century, in this volume p. 167
- +P 61 Festivities in the Age of Neptune (→ *P 60), Neptune and Aretusa on stamps and coins (→ *P 77)
☒ Coppa Aviator from the 1920s
- +P 62 Age of Rembrandt: Rape of Proserpina, Oath of the Rebels and Medea (→ *P 70) up to (→ *P 73)
- +P 63 Age of Rembrandt: Fortuna (→ *P 70), Scipio (→ *P 52), *somewhat different*, Hippocrates and Democritus (→ *P 75), *linear reading order*
- +P 64 Age of Rembrandt: Three Crosses and Hundred Guilder Print (→ *P 74)
- +P 65 Sword Dance and Raising on Shield (→ *P 71), *bottom: Transition to "Cloth Bouncing"*, from Goya to contemporary Sword Dances, in this volume p. 168
- +P 66 Age of Rembrandt: Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis, comparison with Leonardo (→ *P 72) and (→ *P 73)
- +P 67 Age of Rembrandt: Tobias (→ *P 76), *more comprehensive, bottom left: the ancient Magna Mater* (→ *P 5)
☒ Magna Mater by Mantegna
- +P 68 Manet (→ *P 55) very reduced
- +P 77 Age of Rembrandt: Tobias, *extension to (→ P 76), enriched with contemporary material: "Eat fish", golf club, Mussolini with lion and material from the Dürer Panel (→ *P 58), lion as ruler's sign.*

The +P-Numbers run until +P 68 without a gap. The +P 77 assigned to the set is completely isolated and is also a further development of +P 24 (70% identical). In the last version of the Atlas this +P 77 would be better placed, after the end of the "Age of Rembrandt" as a transition to the "present", with Aretusa and golf club on *P 77, but would overlap with *P 76.

UNNUMBERED PANELS

- ⊕ 1 Perseus 1: early constellations from manuscripts, Arabic, Planetary Children of Mars (→ *P C)
☒ Perseus-Andromeda Tapestry from Cleveland (→ +P 10), zodiac sign chart by Dürer
- ⊕ 2 ☒ Emperor's coat, *the so-called Star Mantle, only two objects*, in this volume p. 169
- ⊕ 3 ☒ Annunciation by Leonardo, also The Last Supper, Orpheus, drawings with strong movement, in this volume p. 170
- ⊕ 4 ☒ Luther with devil, monk and Prophecy of the Great Watering, catastrophe propaganda, in this volume p. 171
- ⊕ 5 Perseus 2: Schifanoia and Farnesina (→ +P 8)
- ⊕ 6 ☒ Perseus 3 (→ +P 9 | p. 152) and (→ +P 10 | p. 153)
- ⊕ 7 Ghirlandaio's Nymph (→ *P 46), *only slightly varied*
- ⊕ 8 ☒ Perseus 3 (→ +P 10 | p. 153) and (→ +P 11 | p. 154)
- ⊕ 9 ☒ Raphael, Sacrifice at Lystra and image propaganda with monsters and disasters (→ +P 55 | p. 164) and (→ +P 30)
- ⊕ 10 ☒ Perseus 4, *first approach, only a few pictures on the left margin*
- ⊕ 11 ☒ Festivities (→ +P 58 | p. 166), *only four tapestries and (→ +P 60 | p. 167)*, or: (→ +P 36) and (→ +P 38)

INDEX

- A Abu Ma'sar P20 1^a | P20 1^b | P20 1^c | P20 1^d | P20 1^e | P21 2^a
 Achates P44 16 | P44 17
 Achilles P6 14^a | P6 14^b | P6 15 | P34 8^a | P35 9^a | P39 10
 Adam P41a 7^a | P41a 7^b
 Aeneas P44 16 | P44 17
 Aesslinger, Hans P55 6^b
 Agilulf P46 1
 Agrrippa, Camillo P48 24^a | P48 24^b
 Ahasver P46 8^a
 Aion P8 6
 Ajax P6 3
 Aktaion P40 10^a
 Al-Isfahani, Abd al-Hasan P21 2
 Al-Qazwini, Muhammad P20 3 | P21 1 | P21 5
 Albericus P33 8^a | P33 8^b
 Alberti, Leon Battista P25 1 | P48 9
 Albizzi, Giovanna d' (verh. Tornabuoni) P46 20
 Alcestis P5 16 | P5 17^a | P5 17^b | P5 17^c | P5 21
 Alexander the Great P33 12 | P34 9 | P34 11 | P70 10 | P76 5
 Alfonso X el Sabio P22 1 | P22 4
 Allori, Alessandro P56 7
 Altdorfer, Albrecht P41 6
 Amor P31 7 | P38 13 | P38 14 | P38 15 | P39 4 | P40 1^a | P70 2^a
 Amphitrite P60 8 | P61 64 14
 Andromache P2 6^a | P2 7^a
 Andromeda P2 6^a | P2 7^a
 Angelico Beato (Fra Angelico) P37 19
 Anjou, René d' PB^a | P31 7^a | P31 7^b | P39 7
 Antaeus P37 7 | P37 8 | P37 9 | P37 10^a
 Antenor P34 8^a
 Antoninus Pius P7 8
 Apelles P76 5
 Apollo P3 1 | P7 1^a | P25 8^a | P27 9 | P33 1 | P33 7^a | P33 11 | P34 12 | P36 29 | P39 15 | P39 16 | P39 17 | P39 19 | P40 10^a | P40 10^b | P42 9 | P44 14 | P50 51 5 | P53 11 | P54 2^a
 Appiani, Andrea P7 10 | P71 13
 Apsyrtos P73 2^a
 Aquarius P23 2^a | P24 2^a | P54 2^a
 Aratus P2 7^a | P2 7^b | P2 7^c | P2 7^d | P2 7^e
 Arch of Titus P7 2^a | P7 2^b
 Arco di Portogallo P7 1^a
 Arethusa P7 3 | P36 17 | P77 3 | P77 11
 Argos P54 2^a
 Ariadne P4 1^a | P4 1^b | P40 1^a | P40 2^a | P40 2^b | P40 10^a | P40 11
 Ariës P2 1^a | P21 2^a | P21 3 | P22 3^a | P22 4 | P23 2^a | P24 2^a
 Arnolfini, Giovanni P31 1 | P31 3
 Artemis P39 1
 Arti Liberali see Liberal Arts
 Astrologie/Astronomie P23 2, P26 3^a, P36 29 | P50-51 1^a
 Athenedoros P6 7
 Aurora P40 10^a
 B Bacchus P40 1^a | P40 2^a | P40 2^b | P40 10^a | P40 11
 Backer, Jacob Adriaensz. P75 4
 Backer, Remnet Teunisse P4 1
 Baldi, Accursio P60 1^a, P60 1^b
 Baldini, Baccio P38 2 | P38 3 | P38 6 | P38 8 | P38 9 | P38 9 | P38 9 | P38 14 | P38 18 | P39 2 | P39 2 | P39 2 | P39 3 | P41 9 | P48 12
 Balducci, Matteo P40 11
 Bandinelli, Baccio P40 3 | P53 10
 Bandini, Giovanni P42 8
 Bara, Jan P71 11
 Barbados P77 9^a | P77 9^b | P77 10^a | P77 10^b
 Barlaeus, Caspar P60 5
 Baroncelli, Maria P31 4^a
- Barefeft, Hendrik Jansen P76 10^a | P76 10^b | P76 10^c
 Bartholomaeus Anglicus P75 8
 Bartoli, Pietro P52 10
 Bartolomeo, Giovanni P38 4 | P45 8 | P46 12
 Bartolomeo, Maso di P39 1 | P40 1^a | P40 1^b | P45 17
 Batavians P71 2 | P71 5^a | P72 1 | P72 5 | P73 5 | P73 10
 Baucis P72 14
 Beatrizet, Nicolaus P53 7
 Beaujoyeux, Baltasar de P60 2
 Beccanus, Guilielmus de P60 9
 Beccafumi, Domenico P52 17
 Beham, Hans Sebald P52 14 | P55 5
 Bellange, Jacques de P70 18^a | P70 18^b
 Bellano, Bartolomeo P40 5 | P47 7
 Bellini, Giovanni P45 11
 Bellini, Jacopo P37 5 | P37 22 | P47 20
 Berchem, Nicolaes P55 6^a | P75 3
 Berkhey, Joannes Le Franç van P73 14
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo P79 1
 Birago, Giovanni Pietro da P39 16 | P72 11^a
 Boccaccio, Giovanni P33 3 | P33 3^a | P33 3^b | P33 4 | P33 10 | P38 4 | P48 6 | P48 8
 Boccati, Giovanni P37 13^a | P37 13^b
 Boethius P48 3
 Bol, Ferdinand P73 9 | P73 12
 Bolsena P70 2 | P8 4
 Bonasone, Giulio P50 10 | P55 7 | P61-64 6
 Bondone, Giotto di P23 2^a | P23 2^b | P43 3 | P47 3 | P79 3
 Bonini, Giovanni Battista P48 24^a | P48 24^b
 Borcht, Pieter van der P76 10^a | P76 10^b | P76 10^c
 Bos, Cornelis P61-64 9
 Bosch, Hieronymus P32 25
 Botticelli, Sandro P38 5 | P38 8 | P38 16 | P39 6 | P39 9 | P39 10 | P39 11^a | P39 11^b | P39 11^c | P39 12 | P39 18 | P40 2^a | P40 2^b | P43 7^a | P46 13 | P46 20 | P46 21 | P47 23 | P47 24 | P52 5 | P52 6 | P79 4
 Botticini, Francesco P47 10 | P47 15
 Bowen, E. F. S. P77 9^a | P77 10^a
 Bracci, Pietro P61-64 4
 Brahe, Tycho P26 1
 Brandis, Matthäus P79 9
 Breuer, Bartholomäus P76 4
 Brenna, Vincenzo P8 4
 Brescia, Giovanni Antonio da P37 9
 Brescia, Giovanni Maria da P73 3
 Brinio (Brinno) P71 5^a | P71 5^b
 Brookes, Barthold Heinrich P40 9 | P70 16
 Bronzino, Agnolo P48 30
 Brosamer, Hans P4a 16
 Brutus P45 12 | P71 7^a
 Bry, Johann Theodor de P26 1 | P48 17
 Buonarroti, Michelangelo P53 6^a | P53 6^b | P56 2 | P56 4 | P56 8 | P56 9 | P56 10
 Buontalenti, Bernardo P39 14
 Burgkmair, Hans P59 2
 C Caccianiga, Francesco P56 12
 Cacus P41 21
 Caimo, Alessandro P48 11
 Caliope P50-51 1^a | P57 5^a
 Callaert, Adriaen P61-64 8
 Camillus P45 12
 Campagnola, Giulio P47 11
 Cancer P24 2^a | P25 9^a | P54 2^a
 Cantagallina, Remigio P60 6
 Capella, Martianus P33 11
 Capello, Bianca P60 1
 Capricorn P8 15^a | P24 2^a | P54 2^a
- Carloni, Marco P8 3
 Caroto, Gianfrancesco P41 20
 Carpaccio, Vittore P37 17 | P42 16
 Carpi, Ugo da P53 7
 Carracci, Annibale P55 12 | P55 13
 Casano, Pietro P23a 3
 Caserta, Santa Maria di Capua Vetere P8 11 | P8 12 | P8 13 | P8 14 | P8 17
 Cassandra P6 3 | P5
 Cassini, Giovanni P8 4
 Cassiopéa P2 6^a | P2 7^a
 Castagno, Andrea del P41 18
 Castor P4 15 | P4 16^a | P4 16^b | P36 7
 Catherine of Braganza, Queen of England P77 9^a
 Cautopatres see Mithras
 Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista de' P76 8
 Celts, Konrad P39 17
 Centau P35 1 | P37 2^a | P39 18 | P40 1^a | P41a 5 | P54 2^a
 Cephalus P40 10^a
 Cepheus P2 6^a | P2 7^a
 Cerealis, Quintus Petilius P73 10 | P73 11 | P73 12 | P73 13 | P73 14
 Ceres P27 5 | P70 14
 Cetus P2 7^a
 Charles I P71 10^a | P71 10^b
 Charles II P60 11 | P77 9^a | P77 10^a
 Charles V P61-64 10
 Chifletius, Joannes P23a 1
 Chigi, Agostino P53 5 | P54 1
 Chloris P39 11^a
 Christia P35 1 | P34 14 | P37 4 | P37 5 | P41 6 | P41 8 | P42 2 | P42 5 | P42 6 | P42 7 | P42 8 | P42 14 | P42 15^a | P42 16 | P45 1 | P46 2 | P46 8 | P46 13 | P47 1 | P47 4 | P47 5 | P47 6 | P47 8 | P47 9 | P53 5 | P56 7 | P57 4 | P72 11^a | P74 6 | P74 7 | P74 10 | P75 7 | P76 10^a | P76 10^b | P76 11 | Christian IV, King of Denmark P60 7
 Christine de Piza P33 6 | P33 6^a | P33 6^b | P33 7 | P33 7^a | P33 7^b | P35 3 | P48 1 | P55 3
 Chronos P8 8
 Circe P33 3^a
 Civilis, Claudio P72 1 | P72 3 | P72 4 | P72 5 | P72 9 | P72 12^a | P72 12^b | P73 4 | P73 7 | P73 8 | P73 9 | P73 10 | P73 11 | P73 12 | P73 13 | P73 14
 Claudia Syntyche (Claudia Quinta) P6 5
 Clerc, Sébastien de P61-64 14
 Clio P50-51 1^a
 Coëtivity Master P34 8
 Colantomo, Niccolò Antonio P31 8 | P31 11
 Columna, Guido da P33 9
 Constantine P7 1 | P7 1^a | P7 1^b | P7 1^c | P7 1^d | P7 1^e | P7 1^f | P7 1^g | P7 1^h | P7 1ⁱ | P7 1^j | P7 1^k | P7 1^l | P7 1^m | P7 1ⁿ | P7 1^o | P7 1^p | P7 1^q | P7 1^r | P7 1^s | P7 1^t | P7 1^u | P7 1^v | P7 1^w | P7 1^x | P7 1^y | P7 1^z | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1^{aa} | P7 1^{bb} | P7 1^{cc} | P7 1^{dd} | P7 1^{ee} | P7 1^{ff} | P7 1^{gg} | P7 1^{hh} | P7 1ⁱⁱ | P7 1^{jj} | P7 1^{kk} | P7 1^{ll} | P7 1^{mm} | P7 1ⁿⁿ | P7 1^{oo} | P7 1^{pp} | P7 1^{qq} | P7 1^{rr} | P7 1^{ss} | P7 1^{tt} | P7 1^{uu} | P7 1^{vv} | P7 1^{ww} | P7 1^{xx} | P7 1^{yy} | P7 1^{zz} | P7 1<

- David P7 9 | P23a 4^b | P41 18 | P71 6
 Deianira P4 3 | P33 5^c | P37 21 | P37 22
 Dekane P3 2 | P3 6^c | P3 6^c | P21 2^c | P21 2^c | P21 3 | P21 6 |
 P22 3^c | P22 4 | P26 2 | P27 1
 Delacroix, Eugène P77 1 | P77 2^a | P77 2^b
 Dello Delli P28-29 1
 Democritus of Abdera P75 3 | P75 4 | P75 5 | P75 6
 Dendera P3 6^c | P3 6^c | P3 6^c
 Dente, Marco P40 3 | P41a 14 | P41a 17
 Diana of Ephesus P3 3
 Diana P3 1 | P8 15^c | P40 10^c
 Dionysus P37 1^c
 Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) P3 1
 Donatello P42 1 | P42 2 | P42 8 | P42 15^c | P37 1^c | P47 16 |
 P47 17 | P47 21
 Donati, Lucrezia P39 3
 Doni, Rafaello P47 10
 Duccio, Agostino di P25 5 | P25 6 | P25 7 | P25 8 | P25 9 |
 P25 10 | P25 11 | P41 4 | P47 9
 Dürer, Albrecht P8 1 | P32 15 | P48 26 | P52 15 | P52 18 |
 P52 19 | P57 1 | P57 3 | P57 4 | P57 5 | P57 6 | P57 7 |
 P57 8 | P57 9 | P57 10 | P57 11 | P58 1 | P58 2 | P58 3 |
 P58 4 | P58 5 | P58 6 | P58 7 | P58 8
E Eckhout, Gerbrand van der P72 11^c
 El Greco P41a 19
 Elsheimer, Adam P76 1 | P76 2
 Erasmus of Rotterdam P48 2
 Erato P36 5 | P50-51 1^c | P53 1 | P53 2
 Eridanus P54 2^a | P54 2^b
 Ermengaud, Matfre de Beziers P22 2
 Ermitani, Giovanni degli P23 2
 Ernest Augustus, Duke of Brunswick P60 3
 Esau P46 15
 Esther P46 8^c
 Eugenius P7 14
 Europa P40 10^a | P40 10^b | P61-64 18
 Eurydice P5 12^c | P40 10^c | P41 12
 Euterpe P25 8^c
 Eyck, Barthélémy d' (Master of René d'Anjou) PB 3 | P31 7^c |
 P31 7^c | P34 4
 Eyck, Jan van P31 1 | P31 3 | P31 11
 Fabriano, Jacopo da P41a 1^c | P41a 1^c
 Fanti Ferrarese, Sigismondo P48 20
 Fantuzzi, Antonio P61-64 1
 Farnese Atlas P2 6^c | P2 6^b | P2 6^c | P2 6^c | P21
 Faun P37 15
 Faustina P5 17^a | P7 8
 Félibien, André P61-64 14
 Felici, G. P78 3^c | P78 4^c | P78 5 | P78 6
 Ferdinand II P61-64 12^a | P61-64 12^b
 Ferrara, Stefano da P23 2
 Ferrari, Gaudenzio P37 4
 Finiguerra, Maso P38 9 | P38 18 | P38 19 | P38 20 | P41 19
 Fiorentino, Niccolò P44 8 | P46 10
 Fiorini, Gherardo da Andrea da Vicenza P27 5
 Flinck, Govert P71 8 | P72 3 | P72 4
 Fontainebleau, School of P61-64 1
 Foppa, Vincenzo P52 2
 Fora, Gherardo di Giovanni del P46 8
 Forthoffer P40 9 | P70 16
 Fortuna P23a 2 | P23a 4^c | P36 19 | P39 14 | P48 1 | P48 2 |
 P48 3 | P48 4 | P48 5 | P48 6 | P48 7 | P48 8 | P48 11 |
 P48 12 | P48 13 | P48 14 | P48 17 | P48 18 | P48 20 |
 P48 21 | P48 27 | P48 29 | P48 30 | P50-51 4^a | P54 2^c |
 P57 2 | P60 8 | P70 8 | P70 9
 Fountain of Fortune P31 7^c
 Fouquer, Jean P46 4
- Fourment, Hélène P55 15
 Franchi, Rosello di Jacopo P28-29 2
 Francia, Jacopo P75 9
 Francken II, Frans P61-64 10
 Franco, Matteo P43 4^b
 Francus, Jacobus P60 7
G Galatea P53 4
 Galle, Philip P61-64 8
 Gangloff, Rudolph P77 15
 Ganymeda P54 2^c
 Gattamelata de Narni P75 9
 Gelder, Arent de P72 1^c
 Gemini P3 3^c | P24 2^c | P25 9^c
 Gengenbach, Pamphilus P75 10
 Ghirlandaio, Benedetto P43 6 | P45 15^a
 Ghirlandaio, Davide P45 15^a | P45 15^b
 Ghirlandaio, Domenico P7 1^c | P43 1^c | P43 1^c | P43 4^{a-c} |
 P43 5 | P43 7^c | P44 3^c | P44 3^c | P44 3^c | P44 4^c |
 P44 4^c | P44 6^c | P44 7^c | P44 7^c | P44 9 | P44 14 |
 P45 1 | P45 2 | P45 3 | P45 4 | P45 5 | P45 9 | P45 10 |
 P45 12 | P45 15^a | P45 15^b | P45 16 | P46 6^c | P46 6^c |
 P46 9 | P46 19 | P47 25^a | P47 25^b | P47 26
 Ghisi, Giorgio P61-64 17
 Giambolognino P47 26
 Gibbons, Grinling P71 10^c | P71 10^c
 Giorgione P55 8
 Giovanni, Apollonio da P28-29 1 | P28-29 3 | P41a 6 | P44 16 |
 P44 17 | P52 9
 Giovanni, Bertoldo da P25 12^c | P42 12 | P42 14 | P45 7^c |
 P45 14^c | P45 14^c
 Giovanni, Giovanni di Ser (Lo Scheggia) P28-29 13
 Giovanni, Matteo da P45 13
 Glauco P60 6
 Glockend, Albrecht P55 5
 Goes, Hugo van der P31 4^c | P31 4^c | P31 4^c
 Gonzaga, Gianfrancesco P74 4^c | P74 4^b
 Gonzaga, Ludovico P49 5
 Gonzaga, Paola P52 8^c | P52 8^b | P52 8^b
 Goudt, Hendrick P76 1 | P76 2
 Gourmont, Jean de P41a 22
 Gozzoli, Benozzo P30 4^c | P30 4^b | P37 19
 Grace P35 7 | P42 9 | P46 20
 Graf, Urs P57 2
 Grasser, Erasmus P32 8 | P32 9
 Gregory of Nanzianni P47 2
 Grenier, Pasquier P34 7 | P34 8
 Gualterotti, Raffaello P60 1^c
 Guercino P47 12
 Gul P20 2 | P21 5
H Haecht, Willem van P70 10 | P76 5
 Hagesandros P6 7
 Hasdrubal P41 7
 Hathor P3 6^c | P3 6^c
 Haussoullier, Willem P44 12
 Hebe P36 11 | P41 3
 Hecate P41 3 | P41 17^a | P41 17^b
 Hector P40 4 | P34 8^c | P55 3
 Hecuba P33 3^c | P70 17^b
 Helena P24 8 | P33 6^c | P33 9 | P35 2 | P35 5 | P35 7^c |
 P35 8^c | P35 9^c | P37 19 | P37 20 | P37 23 | P37 24 | P38 9^c
 Helicon P36 29
 Helios see also Sol P2 2 | P4 10^c | P8 2 | P8 3 | P8 4 | P8 10^c
 Henry II P60 4
 Hephaistos P40 10^c
 Hercules P2 | P4 2 | P4 16 | P8 9 | P25 6 | P33 5 | P35 1 |
 P35 2 | P35 3 | P35 4 | P35 5 | P37 6 | P37 7 | P37 8 |
 P37 9 | P37 10 | P37 11 | P37 12 | P37 15 | P37 21 | P37 22 |
 Hippocrates P75 3 | P75 4 | P75 5 | P75 6
 Holbein the Younger, Hans P48 2
 Holofernes P44 7 | P46 8^c | P47 20 | P47 21 | P47 22^c |
 P47 23 | P47 24 | P47 25^a | P47 25^b
 Honorius III P43 3 | P43 4
 Honorius P7 14
 Hooot, P. C. P71 7^c | P71 7^c | P71 7^c | P71 7^c | P71 7^c
 Hopfer, Daniel P32 19
 Hugo-Schepel P32 10
 Hydra P37 6 | P37 10^c | P54 2^c | P54 2^c
 Hygmeus P36 8
I Iphigenia P70 15
 Iris P36 10 | P44 15^c
 Isis P6 10 | P6 11 | P33 10 | P48 10
J Jacob P46 15
 Jacopo, Rosello Franchi di P28-29 2
 Jason P5 10 | P35 4^c | P37 2^c | P38 8 | P41 2^c | P44 14 | P73 1
 Jaster, Marten P59 4^c | P59 4^c
 Joanna of Castile (Joanna the Mad) P55 2
 Jode, Pieter de P60 9
 John VIII Paleologus P30 1 | P30 4^b
 Jordaeus, Jacob P61-64 18
 Joseph P47 6
 Jubal P23a 4^c
 Judith P44 7 | P46 8^c | P47 20 | P47 21 | P47 22 | P47 23 |
 P47 24 | P47 25
 Juno P35 1 | P33 2^c | P33 8^c | P40 10^c | P44 15^c | P54 2^c
 Jupiter P31 1 | P34 1 | P35 1 | P20 1^c | P21 1^c | P21 2^c | P21 8 |
 P23 1^c | P23 2^c | P23 4^c | P24 1^c | P24 2^c | P24 3^c | P24 7^c |
 P24 7^c | P25 9^c | P27 6 | P33 11 | P36 26 | P40 10^c | P50-
 51 3^c | P54 2^a | P59 1^c | P59 1^c | P59 1^c | P59 2^c | P59 3^c |
 P70 14 | P72 14
K Kairos (Occasio) P48 22 | P48 23 | P48 24 | P48 28 | P70 6
 Kallimachos P6 4 | P25 12^c
 Kaufmann, Franz Joseph P76 12
 Kepler, Johannes PC 1 | PC 2
 Kitab al-Bulhan P20 1^c |
 P21 2^c | P21 2^c
 Kleberger, Johannes P58 4
 Knüpfner, Nikolaus P70 7
 Kulmbach, Hans von PB 8 | P39 17
L Lamberts, Gerrit P72 6
 Laocoön P6 6 | P6 7 | P6 8 | P41a 1 | P41a 2 | P41a 3 |
 P41a 4 | P41a 5 | P41a 16 | P41a 17 | P41a 18 | P41a 19 |
 P41a 20 | P41a 21 | P41a 22
 Laodamia P5 18
 Larsson, Carl P71 12
 Laurana, Francesco P39 7
 Laval, Jeanne de P39 7
 Le Brun, Charles P61-64 14
 Le Grand, Nicolas P73 13
 Lefebvre, Raoul P35 1 | P35 2 | P35 4
 Lefèvre, Hans P72 7
 Leucippus, Daughters of P4 4
 Liberal Arts P25 8^c | P25 8^c | P25 8^c | P36 29 | P46 21 | P50-51 1
 Liberale da Verona P37 20
 Libra P3 3^c | P20 3 | P24 2^c | P25 9^c
 Licaste P36 15

- Liédet, Loyset P35 3 | P55 3
 Lievens, Jan P71 5 | P74 12 | P75 6
 Limbourg, Jean and Paul de (Limbourg Brothers) PB 3 | P34 4
 Lion P3³ | P21 2¹ | P22 3¹ | P24 2¹ | P27 6 | P36 21 | P54 2¹
 P58 4
 Lippi, Filippino P41 15 | P41a 7 | P41a 8 | P53 2 | P53 3 | P56 5
 Lippi, Filippo P46 5 | P47 18
 Lippo, Andrea d' (Ambrogio di Ballensi) P52 1
 Loggan, David P60 II
 Lombardi, Alfonso P46 15
 Lorenzetto (Lotti, Lorenzo di Lodovico di Guglielmo) P53 5
 Lot P46 14
 Lucretia P52 6 | P71 7¹ | P71 7² | P71 7³ | P71 7⁴ | P71 7⁵
 Luini, Bernardino P39 19
 Luna *see also* Selene P3 1 | P3 5 | P4 13 | P8 14 | P8 15¹
 P23 4¹ | P24 1¹ | P24 2¹ | P24 3¹ | P24 7¹ | P25 9¹
 P36 12 | P36 24 | P50-51 3¹ | P54 2¹ | P59 2¹ | P59 3¹
 P59 4¹ | P59 4² | P59 4³
 Lycosthenes, Conrad P75 2
 Lycurgus (Lykurgos) P5 22
 M Maenad P52 2 | P6 4 | P6 13 | P25 12¹ | P37 1¹ | P37 1²
 P37 1³ | P37 2¹ | P50-51 2
 Maestro dagli occhi splancnati P27 6 | P27 8
 Maestro del Cassone Adimari P28-29 13
 Maestro Giorgio (Giorgio Andreoli) P41 5
 Magdalena of Austria P60 6
 Malachiel P8 1 | P34 10
 Malatesta, Sigismondo P25 5
 Manet, Édouard P55 10 | P55 11 | P55 14
 Mannucci, Paolo P48 13
 Mantegna, Andrea P37 6 | P37 7 | P37 8 | P37 9 | P37 15 |
 P42 7 | P48 28 | P49 1 | P49 2 | P49 3 | P49 4 | P49 5 |
 P49 6 | P49 7 | P49 8 | P49 9 | P50-51 5 | P50-51 6 |
 P52 8 | P57 3 | P75 7
 Marchant, Guy P24 7
 Mars PC 2 | PC 4 | P3 1 | P3 5 | P4 10¹ | P4 10² | P8 15¹
 P20 1¹ | P21 1¹ | P21 2¹ | P21 2² | P22 3¹ | P23 1 |
 P23 2¹ | P23 4¹ | P23 4² | P24 2¹ | P24 3¹ | P24 4¹ | P24 7¹
 P24 7² | P27 2¹ | P36 26 | P50-51 3¹ | P50-51 5 | P59 1¹
 P59 1² | P59 1³ | P59 1⁴ | P59 2¹ | P59 3¹ | P59 4¹ | P59 4²
 Marsili, Bastiano P60 1
 Martini, Francesco di Giorgio P25 13 | P48 16
 Martini, Simone P47 4
 Mary Magdalene P25 12¹ | P31 4²
 Mary P37 17 | P45 1 | P46 12 | P47 6 | P52 7
 Masaccio P74 1 | P74 8
 Master Joseph PC 4 | P24 1 | P24 2 | P24 3 | P24 4
 Master of Mary of Burgundy P32 11
 Master of René of Anjou PB 3 | P34 4
 Master of the Banderoles (Meister of 1464) P32 21
 Master of the Barberaccio-Illustrations P48 6
 Master of the Chapel of St. Nicolas P47 6
 Master of the Judgement of Paris P34 13 | P37 23 | P37 24
 Master, Ferrarese P27 5 | P41 11
 Matham, Jacob P61-64 13
 Maximilian I, Emperor P48 25 | P57 11
 Meckenem, Israhel van P32 3 | P32 6
 Medea P57 | P5 8 | P5 9 | P5 10 | P38 8 | P41 1 | P41 2 |
 P41 3 | P41 7 | P44 14 | P73 1 | P73 2 | P77 1
 Medici, Cosimo I de' P61-64 2
 Medici, Cosimo II de' P60 6
 Medici, family of the P3 1 | P38 5
 Medici, Francesco I de' P60 1
 Medici, Giovanni de' P43 4²
 Medici, Giuliano de' P43 4³
 Medici, Lorenzo de' P38 10 | P38 11 | P38 12 | P39 3 | P40 1 |
 P43 4²
 Medici, Maria de' P60 5
 Medici, Nannina de' P48 12
 Medici, Piero de' P43 4²
 Meer d., Noach van der P73 14
 Mehmed II P45 14¹ | P45 14²
 Meleager P59 19 | P5 20 | P40 10¹ | P40 10² | P41 2¹ | P42 4 | P44 2²
 Melpomene P50-51 1⁰ | P57 5¹
 Memling, Hans P31 2¹ | P31 2² | P31 9
 Mengs, Anton Raphael P55 9
 Mercury P3 1 | P3 5 | P4 6¹ | P20 1¹ | P21 1² | P22 3¹
 P23 1 | P23 4¹ | P24 1¹ | P24 2¹ | P24 3¹ | P24 5 | P24 7¹
 P24 7 | P25 9¹ | P27 8 | P33 7 | P33 8¹ | P33 11 | P36 24 |
 P40 10⁰ | P50-51 3¹ | P50-51 5 | P55 2 | P57 5¹ | P59 1¹
 P59 2 | P59 3¹ | P59 4¹ | P72 14
 Merian, Matthäus P26 1
 Meung, Jean de P23a 2¹ | P23a 2²
 Michele da Verona P41 10
 Millet, Jacques P35 9 | P55 1
 Minerva *see also* Pallas Athene P75 5 | P25 5¹ | P25 5² | P25 5³
 P27 4¹ | P27 4² | P39 4 | P39 5 | P39 6 | P39 7 | P39 8 |
 P42 3¹ | P44 1 | P50-51 6 | P53 11 | P61-64 1
 Miretto, Nicolo P23 2
 Mithras P8 7 | P8 8 | P8 10¹ | P8 16¹ | P8 17 | P8 18 | P8 20 |
 P8 21
 Mocetto, Girolamo d'Andrea P52 4
 Moeyaert, Claes Cornelis P70 12
 Moeyaert, Nicolaes P75
 Monogrammist S.E. P38 22
 Moon *see also* Luna P17 | P21 1 | P2 2 | P20 1¹ | P21 1² | P22 3¹
 Moro, Marco Angelo del P61-64 11
 Mozanega, Agostino P29 25
 Muses P2 5 | P53 7 | P53 10-53 12
 Mussolini, Benito P78 1 | P78 3¹ | P78 3² | P78 5
 Myrrha P5 6
 Naason P53 6¹ | P53 6² | P56 2
 Napoleon P7 10 | P71 13
 Narcissus P34 13
 Nastagio degli Onesti P38 4
 Nemesis P48 26 | P54 2¹ | P58 3
 Neptune P41 1¹ | P44 17 | P60 3 | P60 4 | P60 8 | P60 9 |
 P61-64 | P77 9 | P77 10¹ | P77 10²
 Nettesheim, Agricola von PB 9¹ | PB 9²
 Niccolò da Bologna (Niccolò) P41 1
 Nicoletto da Modena P48 14
 Nike *see also* Victory P73 1 | P77 11
 Niobid P5 2 | P5 3 | P5 4 | P5 5 | P34 8¹ | P76 8
 Nolpe, Pieter P60 10
 Novelli, Francesco P49 9
 Nymphe P41 | P46 | P47
 Occasio *see* Kairatos
 Odysseus P39 10 | P61-64 7
 Oeneus P41 2¹
 Omphale P8 9
 Orpheus P5 12 | P33 5¹ | P33 6¹ | P35 7⁴ | P36 4 | P40 10⁵ |
 P41 10 | P41 11 | P41 12 | P41 13 | P41 14 | P49 9 | P54 2¹
 P57 7 | P70 1¹ | P70 1² | P70 1³
 Ovens, Jürgen P72 3 | P73 4 | P73 7 | P73 8
 Ovid P33 1 | P33 2¹ | P33 2² | P33 2³ | P33 5¹ | P33 5² | P35 7 |
 P35 8¹ | P35 8² | P40 10¹⁰ | P41 3 | P70 13 | P72 2⁸
 Pace, Luigi da P54 1
 Palamedes P34 8¹
 Pallas Athene *see also* Minerva P39 4 | P39 5 | P39 8 | P39 18
 Paolo, Giovanni di P38 1
 Parigi, Giulio P60 6
 Paris P4 5 | P4 6 | P4 7 | P4 10¹ | P24 8 | P33 6¹ | P33 6² |
 P33 7¹ | P33 7² | P34 8¹ | P35 6 | P55 1 | P55 2 | P55 3 |
 P55 4 | P55 6 | P55 7 | P55 9 | P55 11
 Pasiphae P39 1
 Passe the Elder, Crispin de P70 18
 Pegasus P2 7¹ | P54 2¹
 Pencz, Georg P41 6
 Penelope P33 3¹
 Pennacchi, Girolamo (Girolamo da Treviso il Giovane) P42 10
 Penthesilea P34 8¹
 Pentheus P5 11 | P5 13 | P5 14 | P42 | P49 9
 Peregrinus P46 3
 Persephone *see* Proserpina
 Perseus PC 4 | P2 6¹ | P2 7¹ | P2 7² | P20 2 | P21 5 | P36 9
 Peruzzo, Baldassare P8 8 | P40 10¹⁰ | P41 13 | P53 7 | P54 2 |
 P55 4
 Petrarca, Francesco P38 17
 Phaethon P4 11 | P4 12 | P4 13 | P4 14 | P4 15 | P8 3 | P8 4 |
 P8 10¹ | P33 2 | P44 10 | P44 11 | P56 8 | P56 9 | P56 10 |
 P56 11 | P56 12
 Philomen P72 14
 Philipp IV, King of Spain P60 9 | P70 9
 Picart, Bernard P40 9 | P70 16
 Piero della Francesca P30 2 | P30 3 | P30 6
 Pinturicchio, Bernardino P39 13 | P48 13
 Pisani (Pizan), Christine de P36 6 | P33 6¹ | P33 7 | P33 7² |
 P33 7³ | P35 3 | P48 1 | P55 3
 Pisanello, Antonio P30 1 | P31 2 | P37 3 | P37 22 | P41a 4 |
 P41a 5 | P74 4 | P74 5
 Pisces P24 2¹ | P54 2²
 Pius II, Pope P48 7
 Pius XI, Pope P72 7 | P78 1 | P78 4¹ | P78 4² | P78 6 | P78 7²
 Planetary deities PB 9¹ | PB 9² | P3 5 | P3 6¹ | P3 6² | P3 6³
 P8 2¹ | P20 1¹ | P21 1 | P21 4 | P21 8 | P22 1 | P22 2 |
 P22 3¹ | P22 3² | P23 1 | P23 4 | P23a 4¹ | P23a 4² | P23a 4³
 P23a 4⁴ | P23a 4⁵ | P23a 4⁶ | P23a 4⁷ | P23a 4⁸ | P25 9 | P54 1 |
 P58 4 | P59 1 | P59 2 | P59 3 | P59 4 | P59 5
 Pluto P70 2 | P70 14
 Po, Pietro del P61-64 15
 Poliziano, Angelo P43 4²
 Pollaiuolo, Antonio P37 10 | P37 11 | P37 14 | P37 16 | P37 21 |
 P39 17 | P41 21 | P47 19
 Pollaiuolo, Pierro del P39 15
 Pollux P3 1 | P4 15 | P36 7
 Polydorus P6 7
 Polynexa P6 1 | P6 2 | P35 9¹ | P41 19 | P70 17
 Portinarri, Tommaso P31 4
 Poussin, Nicolas P40 7
 Procne P33 10 | P54 2¹
 Prometheus P4 16
 Proserpina P15 | P23 1 | P35 7¹ | P35 8² | P70 2 | P70 3 |
 P70 4 | P70 5 | P70 10 | P70 11 | P70 12 | P70 13 | P70 14
 Proteus P5 18
 Psyche P5 3 | P61-64 15
 Ptolemy (Ptolomeus) P2 4 | P22 3
 Pulci, Luigi P43 4²
 Queen of Sheba P36 22
 Quos Ego P60 4 | P61-64 5 | P61-64 6 | P61-64 12
 Raphael P40 6 | P41 5 | P42 5 | P45 19 | P46 16 | P46 17 |
 P53 4 | P53 8 | P53 9 | P53 11 | P54 1 | P55 6¹ | P55 11 |
 P73 3 | P74 9 | P79 2
 Raimondi, Marcantonio P40 3 | P40 6 | P41 5 | P45 1 |
 P53 11 | P55 6 | P55 11 | P61-64 5 | P73 3
 Ramboux, Johann Anton P30 2¹ | P30 3
 Rea Silvia P4 10²
 Rembrandt, Harmens van Rijn P70 8 | P70 11 | P70 15 |
 P72 2¹ | P72 9 | P72 10 | P72 11¹ | P72 11²
 P72 11⁴ | P72 11⁵ | P72 11⁶ | P72 11⁷ | P72 12 | P72 14 |
 P73 1 | P74 2 | P74 3 | P74 6 | P74 7 | P74 10 | P75 11 |
 P75 12 | P76 3 | P76 11

Remigius of Auxerre P33 11
Renì, Guido P40 8 | P48 29 | P75 1
Ricci, Stefano P38 12
Riccio, Andrea P39 20 | P41 17^a | P41 17^b | P42 9
Ripa, Cesare P39 14 | P41 2a
Risi, Eugenio P78 1^c | P78 1^d
River god P55 11
Roberti, Ercolè de' P27 10 | P41 7 | P41 9
Rodari, Jacopo and Tommaso P45 6
Rog(h)mans, Magdalena P71 11
Romano, Antoniazzo P30 5
Romano, Giulio P41a 18 | P52 10 | P61-64 9 | P61-64 15
Romulus P36 16
Rossellino, Bernardo P48 9
Rossi, Pier Maria P48 23
Rubens, Peter Paul P55 15 | P56 3 | P61-64 12 | P70 3 | P70 4
P70 6 | P70 9
Rucellai, Bernardo P48 12
Sabina P7 7 | P71 4 | P76 6
Sabines P28-29 12 | P45 8 | P57 10
Sagittarius P3 3^b | P20 3 | P24 2^b | P54 2^b | P54 2^c
Salome P47 16 | P47 17 | P47 18 | P47 19 | P49 3
Samson P47 26 | P72 2
San Bernardino P25 10^b | P41 4
San Zenon P49 6^c
Sangallo, Giuliano da P42 4 | P44 2 | P46 7
Sansovino, Jacopo P61-64 3
Sant'Agata, Francesco da P41 17^a | P41 17^b
Sassetti, Francesco P42 4 | P43 1^b | P43 4^b | P44 2 | P44 3
Sassetti, Neri Corsi P43 1^a | P44 3
Saturn P3 1 | P8 1 | P20 1 | P20 1^b | P21 1^c | P21 2^c | P21 8
P23 1 | P23 4^b | P23a 4^b | P23a 4^c | P23a 4^d | P23a 4^e
P24 2^c | P24 3^c | P24 7^c | P24 7^d | P25 9^c | P33 11
P36 27 | P50-51 3^c | P54 2^c | P58 8 | P59 1^c | P59 2^c
P59 3^c | P59 4^c | P59 4^d
Satyr P8 5 | P37 1^c | P37 1^d | P37 1^e | P50-51 2
Savery, Roelant P70 1
Savery, Salomon P60 5 | P70 17^a | P70 17^b
Scavola P45 12
Schifanoia Palazzo, Ferrara P27 1 | P27 2 | P27 4 | P27 5
P27 6 | P27 8 | P27 9 | P27 10
Schongauer, Martin P56 6
Schut, Cornelius P60 8 | P60 9
Schwarz, Christoph P70 5
Scipio P28-29 12^c | P52 9 | P52 10 | P52 16 | P52 17 | P52 18
P52 19 | P74 11 | P74 12
Scorpio P20 3 | P21 3^b | P24 2^c
Scotus, Michael P23 1 | P23 4 | P32 2
Sea gods P49 1 | P57 3
Seghers, Hercules P76 2 | P76 3
Selene see Luna
Sellaiò, Jacopo del P5 12^a | P41 12 | P47 14
Sellscopp, Erika P77 5
Semel, P40 10^a
Seneca P41 1
Sforza, Constantino P36 1 up to P36 32 | P41 14 | P53 1
Sforza, Francesco P37 14
Signorelli, Luca P38 15 | P41 8 | P42 6 | P52 7
Silenus P36 18
Six, Jan P73 1
Smuglewicz, Franciszek P8 3
Sol, see also Helios P3 1 | P4 13 | P7 1B | P8 6 | P23 4^a
P24 2^c | P24 4^c | P24 7^c | P36 25 | P50-51 3^c | P58 2
P58 3 | P59 2^c | P59 4^c
Solomon P23a 4^b | P40 5 | P47 7 | P49 3
Sophonibla P49 4^c | P49 4^d
Soutman, Pieter Claesz P70 4

Spirito, Lorenzo P23a 3 | P23a 4^a | P23a 4^b | P23a 4^c | P23a 4^d | P23a 4^e
 P23a 4^f | P23a 4^g

Spranger, Bartholomaeus P61-64 13

St. Anthony P31 4^a | P42 1 | P42 10 | P56 6

St. Augustine P43 7^a

St. Benedict P49 6^a

St. Egidio P47 1 | P76 9

St. Gregory P28-29 6 | P49 6^a

St. Gregory the Great P49 6^b

St. Hildegard of Bingen PB 1

St. Jerome P31 10 | P31 11 | P37 18 | P43 7 | P79 4

St. John the Baptist P28-29 4^a | P28-29 4^b | P45 3 | P45 4
 P45 5 | P46 4 | P46 5 | P46 6 | P46 8^a | P47 19 | P49 6^a

St. John the Evangelist P49 6^b | P74 2 | P74 3

St. Lawrence P49 6^a

St. Paul P44a 9 | P49 6^a | P75 1

St. Peter (Petrus) P49 6^b | P74 1 | P74 2 | P74 3 | P74 9 | P75 1

St. Peter Martyr (St. Peter of Verona) P45 9

St. Philip P56 5

St. Sigismund P25 11

St. Vincent Ferrer P31 8

Stappen, Simon P59 4^a

Steen, Jan P74 11

Stefano, Francesco di P37 22

Stresemann, Gustav P79 11

Strigel, Bernhard P48 25

Stryus, Jacob P70 2 | P70 14

Sun God see also Helios, Sol P21 1 | P22 1 | P23 1 | P41 13 | P8 1
 P8 5 | P20 1 | P21 1 | P21 2^a | P24 2^a | P24 4^a | P24 4^b
 P24 6 | P24 7^a | P33 2^a | P34 10 | P35 10 | P38 7 | P50-51 3^a
 P59 1^a | P59 3^a | P77 13

Susanna P46 8^a

Sybil P25 1 | P46 3

Tabula Bianchini P3 2 | P26 2

Tanagli, Caterina P31 2^a

Tani, Angelo P31 2^a

Tarquinius P71 7^a | P71 7^b | P71 7^c | P71 7^d | P71 7^e

Tatia P36 13

Taurus P22 3^a | P24 2^b | P54 2^a

Telemachus P61-64 7

Tellus P8 6

Tempesta, Antonio P70 2^b | P71 3 | P72 5 | P73 6 | P73 11

Teunissen, Cornelis Anthionisz P48 31

Theodosius I, Emperor P7 14

Theseus P33 4 | P35 3 | P38 9^a

Thetis P61-64 13

Thoas P34 8^a

Thulden, Theodoor van P61-64 12^b

Tintoretto, Jacopo P53 12

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) P55 8 | P61-64 16

Tobias P46 8^a | P47 10 | P47 11 | P47 12 | P47 13 | P47 14 | P47 15 | P76 1 | P76 2 | P76 3

Tornabuoni family PA 3

Tornabuoni, Francesca P42 3^a | P42 3^b | P44 1

Tornabuoni, Giovanna P44 8 | P46 9 | P46 10^a | P46 10^b
 P46 20

Tornabuoni, Lorenzo P46 21

Tornabuoni, Lucrezia P46 8^a | P46 8^b | P46 8^c | P46 8^d | P46 8^e

Torre, Girolamo della P39 20 | P42 9

Toscani, Giovanni di Francesco P28-29 24

Tournament on the square of Santa Croce P28-29 1

Trajan P7 1^a | P7 1^b | P7 11^a | P7 11^b | P7 11^c | P44 5^a
 P44 5^b | P44 9 | P45 16^a | P45 16^b | P52 1 | P52 2 | P52 3
 P52 4 | P52 5 | P52 7 | P52 8^a | P52 8^b | P52 11 | P52 12
 P52 13 | P52 14 | P52 15

Triboli, Niccolò P46 14

Triton P36 14 | P44 7^a | P60 6

Triumph of Fame (*Triumphus Famae*) P36 32
Triumph of Love (*Triumphus Amoris*) P36 31
Triumphs of Caesar P49 1^a | P49 1^b
Tuccia P49 4^a | P49 4^b
Tulp, Dr. Nicolaes P75 II
Tura, Cosmè P34 14 | P42 11
Turnus P44 15
Tutela Panthea P3 1
Uccello, Paolo P28-29 6 up to P28-29 11
Urania P50-51 1^a
Valens P7 15
Valentianus II, Emperor P7 14
Vasari, Giorgio P61-64 2
Veen, Otto van P71 2 | P71 3 | P72 1 | P72 5 | P73 5 | P73 6 1
P73 10 | P73 11
Veneziano Agostino P46 17
Venus P3 1 | P3 4 | P4 10 | P6 14^a | P7 4 | P20 1^a | P21 1 1
P21 1^b | P21 2^a | P23 1 | P23 4 | P24 1^a | P24 2^a | P24 3^a
P24 4^a | P24 7^a | P24 7^b | P25 9^a | P27 2 | P31 11 | P32 12 1
P32 23 | P33 8 | P33 9 | P35 7 | P35 9^a | P36 25 | P39 2^a
P39 2^b | P39 9 | P44 8 | P44 16 | P44 17 | P46 10^a
P46 20 | P50 51 3^a | P50 51 5 | P54 2^a | P54 2^b | P59 1^a
P59 1^b | P59 1^c | P59 1^d | P59 1^e | P59 1^f | P59 1^g | P59 2^a
P59 3^a | P59 4^a | P59 4^b | P59 4^c | P70 2^a
Veronese, Paolo P61-64 16
Verrocchio, Andrea del P32 16 | P32 17 | P32 18 | P38 11 1
P42 3 | P44 1
Vertue, George P77 9^a | P77 10^a
Victory see also Nike P7 1^a | P7 3 | P8 1^a | P8 19 | P34 10 1
P44 5^a | P77 8 | P77 11
Vinci, Leonardo da P7 1 | P44 12 | P44 13 | P45 18 | P48 21 1
P72 10 | P72 11^a | P72 11^b | P72 11^c | P72 11^d | P72 13
Virgil P6 1 | P41a 1 | P41c 21 | P44 15^a | P44 15^b | P52 7
Virgo P21 2 | P22 3 | P24 2 | P54 2^a
Visscher, Claes Jansz P71 7
Vittorio Emanuele II, King of Italy P78 4 | P78 5
Vondel, Joost van den P70 17^b
Vos, Jan P73 2^a | P73 2^b | P73 2^c
Vulcan P40 1^a | P50 51 5
Wagenhaar, Jan P71 1
Wenzeslaus, Workshop of P23 4
Weyden, Rogier van der P31 5 | P31 6
Witches P41 15 | P41 16
Wren, Christopher P11 10
Ysenhut, Lienhart PB 6
Zaccaria, Lorenzo P45 18
Zacharias P44 4 | P45 4^a | P45 4^b | P45 5
Zephyr P7 4 | P39 11^a | P61-64 15
Zick, Januarius P76 12

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1993

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Bildersammlung zur Geschichte von Sternglaube und Sternkunde. Hamburg Planetarium. 1993

1994

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1998

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Mnemosyne. L'Atlante della Memoria di Aby Warburg, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. Initiated by Transmediale Gesellschaft Daedalus. 19 December 1998–16 January 1999

1999

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2001

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2004

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2007

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2008

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2009

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2012

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MNEMOSYNE ATLAS: Aby Warburg's Cosmos of Images. Komaba Campus, University of Tokyo, Tokyo. Curated by Jun Tanaka. 15–22 December 2012

2013

Aby Warburg – Mnemosyne Bildertafeln Atlas. Kulturräum am Klosterplatz, Kanton St. Gallen. Initiated by Peter Kamm, organised by Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/8. Salon. 17 October–17 November 2013

2014

Atlas Eidolon. Museo Tamayo, Mexico City. Curated by Erick Beltrán. 5 March–20 April 2014

2015

Instrument Erinnerung – Der Bilderatlas von Aby Warburg. Kunstraum München. Initiated by Luise Metzel, organised by Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/8. Salon, Hamburg. May–June 2015

Aby M. Warburg's Mnemosyne Picture Atlas. Villa Romana, Florence. Organised by Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/8. Salon, Hamburg. October 2015

2016

Aby Warburg – Mnemosyne Bildertafeln Atlas. Kulturräum am Klosterplatz, St Gallen. Curated by Ursula Badrutt, organised by Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne/8. Salon. February–March 2016

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2019

Mnemosyne. Galerie Filsler und Gräf, Munich. Curated by Sebastian Maas and Christian Probst. 2 February–15 March 2019

Ninfas, Serpientes, Constelaciones: la teoría artística de Aby Warburg. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires. Curated by José Emilio Burucúa. 12 April–9 June 2019

Mnemosyne und die Moderne – Aby Warburg's 'Bilderatlas Mnemosyne'. Eine Rekonstruktion der Tafeln aus der Albertina, Wien. Kunstmuseum Bayreuth. 2 June–28 August 2019

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PROF. AXEL HEIL

Axel Heil is professor for Experimental Transfers and Artistic Research at the State Academy of Fine Arts, Karlsruhe. He studied painting in Karlsruhe, Paris and The Hague as well as art history and ethnology in Heidelberg and Berlin. In 1999 he established *fluid*, a platform for a wide range of activities. Since 2007, he edits the series *Future of the Past* for Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König, Cologne. In 2009 he produced *Paul Thek, Artist's Artist*, for MIT Press, Cambridge. He has published widely on artistic movements such as CoBrA, SPUR and the Beats as well as essays on Asger Jorn, Pablo Picasso, Francis Picabia, Jacqueline de Jong, Lee Bontecou, John Armleder and Tal R. He has curated exhibitions at the Museum Folkwang, Essen, the ZKM | Center for Art and Media, Karlsruhe, Deichtorhallen Hamburg – Sammlung Falckenberg and Museum Jorn, Silkeborg. He is represented by Galerie Michael Haas, Berlin.

DR. ROBERTO OHRT

Roberto Ohrt lives in Hamburg. He received his doctorate from the University of Hamburg in 1988 (*Phantom Avantgarde*, 1990) and has published numerous writings on the history of modern art (particularly on the Situationist International) and artists such as Martin Kippenberger, Raymond Pettibon, Andy Warhol 1930, Paul Thek, Philip Guston, André Butzer, Albert Oehlen and Jason Rhoades. He has taught as guest professor in Munich, Frankfurt am Main and Kassel. He has also designed and organised exhibitions for, among others, the Centre Georges Pompidou (with Martin Kippenberger in 1993), Golden Pudel Club (1993–2001), ZKM Karlsruhe (2001 and 2016), Museum der Moderne (with Margrit Brehm, Salzburg 2005), the 8. Salon (since 2010) and the Friedrich Petzel Gallery, New York (2016 and 2019). He was a co-founder of the Akademie Isotrop (1996–2001) and is a member of the curatorial team of the 8. Salon (since 2009).

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Based on our new research results, we have added/corrected some of the authors' names, dates, measurements, inscriptions, and details in the captions for the second printing of the first edition. For amendments see pages 52, 56, 80, 84, 86, 118, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 146 and 148.

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