

la rivista di **engramma**
dicembre **2024**

219

**Warburg Updated.
Bibliography
and Mnemosyne
Atlas**

La Rivista di Engramma
219

La Rivista di
Engramma

219

dicembre 2024

Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas

edited by

Sara Agnoletto and Margherita Picciché



edizioni**engramma**

direttore

monica centanni

redazione

damiano acciarino, sara agnoletto, mattia angeletti,
maddalena bassani, asia benedetti, maria bergamo,
elisa bizzotto, emily verla bovino,
giacomo calandra di roccolino, olivia sara carli,
concetta cataldo, giacomo confortin,
giorgiomaria cornelio, mario de angelis,
silvia de laude, francesca romana dell'aglio,
simona dolari, emma filipponi, anna ghiraldini,
ilaria grippa, roberto indovina, delphine lauritzen,
laura leuzzi, michela maguolo, ada naval,
viola sofia neri alessandra pedersoli, marina pellanda,
filippo perfetti, margherita picciché, daniele pisani,
stefania rimini, daniela sacco, cesare sartori,
antonella sbrilli, massimo stella, ianick takaes,
elizabeth enrica thomson, christian toson,
chiara velicogna, giulia zanon

comitato scientifico

barbara baert, barbara biscotti, andrea capra,
giovanni careri, marialuisa catoni, victoria cirlot,
fernanda de maio, alessandro grilli, raoul kirchmayr,
luca lanini, vincenzo latina, orazio licandro, fabrizio
lollini, natalia mazour, alessandro metlica,
guido morpurgo, andrea pinotti, giuseppina scavuzzo,
elisabetta terragni, piemario vescovo, marina vicelja

comitato di garanzia

jaynie anderson, anna beltrametti, lorenzo braccesi,
maria grazia ciani, georges didi-huberman,
alberto ferlenga, nadia fusini, maurizio harari,
arturo mazzarella, elisabetta pallottino,
salvatore settis, oliver taplin

La Rivista di Engramma

a peer-reviewed journal

219 dicembre 2024

www.engramma.it

sede legale

Engramma
Castello 6634 | 30122 Venezia
edizioni@engramma.it

redazione

Centro studi classicA luav
San Polo 2468 | 30125 Venezia
+39 041 257 14 61

©2025

edizioni**engramma**

ISBN carta 979-12-55650-66-9

ISBN digitale 979-12-55650-67-6

ISSN 2974-5535

finito di stampare febbraio 2025

Si dichiara che i contenuti del presente volume sono la versione a stampa totalmente corrispondente alla versione online della Rivista, disponibile in open access all'indirizzo: <http://www.engramma.it/eOS/index.php?issue=219> e ciò a valere ad ogni effetto di legge. L'editore dichiara di avere posto in essere le dovute attività di ricerca delle titolarità dei diritti sui contenuti qui pubblicati e di aver impegnato ogni ragionevole sforzo per tale finalità, come richiesto dalla prassi e dalle normative di settore.

Sommario

- 7 *Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas*
Sara Agnoletto and Margherita Picciché
- 11 *Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas. Readings and Pathways through
the Bilderatlas*
edited by Sara Agnoletto
- 19 *Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne Atlas*
edited by Sara Agnoletto

Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas

Editorial of Engramma 219

Sara Agnoletto and Margherita Picciché

The image that opens Engramma 219 is a drawing by Mary Hertz, artist and wife of Aby Warburg, made during a holiday in Denmark, in 1908. It is a sketch for a playful abecedaire that captures the vibrancy of everyday life in a light and humorous way, revealing an Aby Warburg who did not take himself too seriously. As Edgar Wind affectionately recalled, Warburg was also “a ravishing dancer” (as he noted in his review of Ernst Gombrich’s *Intellectual Biography*, recently published in Original version and Italian translation).



This “animal vitality”, as Wind described it, permeates Warburg’s scholarly life. It emerges powerfully in his extraordinary intellectual endeavour, epitomised by the Mnemosyne Atlas, and continues to radiate posthumously through his profoundly fruitful research methodology. In the nearly century since his death, this methodology has generated an inexhaustible source of research topics and intellectual trajectories, as the extensive bibliography of works on Warburg and inspired by his legacy attests.

Issue 219 of Engramma, entitled *Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas*, marks another milestone in the development of studies on Warburg and his Mnemosyne Atlas. The issue is divided into two parts: *Aby Warburg and the Mnemosyne Atlas: Readings and Pathways through the Bilderatlas*, which deepens the analysis of the Atlas undertaken by the Seminario Mnemosyne; *Bibliography: Works by Aby Warburg, Warburg Circle and Secondary Literature*, which provides an updated version of the Warburg bibliography as of December 2024.

The section on the Mnemosyne Atlas, edited by Sara Agnoletto, presents significant revisions and expansions compared to the first online edition published in Engramma 101 (November 2012). This updated edition includes additional primary sources related to each panel of the Atlas. These sources now extend beyond the notes of Aby Warburg and his collaborators, edi-

ted by Fritz Saxl and Gertrud Bing, first published in Martin Warnke's critical edition of the Mnemosyne Atlas (Berlin 2000). The new edition with the additions includes:

- Handwritten notes by Warburg, probably dated 19 October 1929, entitled *Flüchtige Notizen*, preserved in the Warburg Institute Archive [WIA III.102.6]. The discovery and first edition of these notes, presented in this issue of Engramma, is edited by Giulia Zanon.
- Handwritten notes by Gertrud Bing, probably written around 1940, preserved in the Warburg Institute Archive [WIA III 108.1.2] and first published in a critical edition by Giulia Zanon in Engramma 211 (April 2024).

Based on Warburg's notes, the latest and most accurate information on the structure and arrangement of the Mnemosyne has been recovered. As a result, the grouping criteria for the Panels have been revised, adopting Warburg's proposed division with only two minor variations. This adjustment results in 13 ($\alpha + 12$) critical reading paths, each of which has been assigned a new distinctive colour. The previous 14 ($\alpha + 12 + \omega$) reading paths remain available for the historical record of the work of the Seminario Mnemosyne.

The following materials are available for each Panel currently available in Engramma:

- A comprehensive Index of captions for Panels 1–79, accessible via the sidebar in the Mnemosyne Atlas section offering all 1,135 images in the Atlas, searchable by author and subject.
- Warburg and collaborators' notes for each Panel.
- Reproductions of each Panel as photographed in Hamburg before their disassembly and transfer to London.
- Color reproductions and high-quality details of the images comprising each montage.
- In-depth readings of more than twenty of the Atlas' 63 Panels, proposed by the Mnemosyne Seminar and published in Engramma (A, B, C, 4, 5, 25, 39, 41, 41a, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 58, 70–74, 76, 79). Additional essays on individual Atlas Panels, published elsewhere, are included under Other Readings.

The Bibliography section, curated by Margherita Picciché, updates the work initiated in Engramma since 2004, providing a thematic overview of the most important Warburg studies. The project updates the entries in the extensive bibliography, also thanks to the valuable collaboration of the members of Engramma's International Advisory Board and the scholars who contribute to the Journal. Fully searchable online, the Bibliography provides the most comprehensive overview of Aby Warburg's works and secondary literature, and offers new tools for the study of Warburg's legacy and the Warburgkreis. It is divided into thematic sections covering:

- Works by Aby M. Warburg, divided into: Essays, Articles and Lectures; Unpublished writings: posthumous Editions; Collected Works and Translations; Online Editions.
- Mnemosyne Atlas, including: Editions; Warburg's Introduction to Mnemosyne Atlas; On the *Geburtstagsatlas* by E.H. Gombrich (1937); Critical Literature; Readings of the single Panels; Mnemosyne Exhibitions; Online Editions.
- Critical Literature, on Warburg, Mnemosyne Atlas, and Warburgkreis, with a section dedicated to papers published in Engramma, indexed by Author, and Monographic Issues.

- Critical Literature: Selected Topics, divided in: On the Library: from KBW in Hamburg to The Warburg Institute in London; On the architecture of the KBW in Hamburg and of the Warburg Institute in London; On Travel to North America and Hopi Pueblos; On sojourn at Kreuzlingen and the Lecture on "Serpent Ritual"; On Correspondences, Diaries and Fragments.
- Dedicated Journal Issues.
- Conferences on Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne Atlas, the Warburgkreis.
- Online Resources and Editions on Warburg and Mnemosyne, including: the dedicated pages in the Engramme section 'Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas'(since 2011); the dedicated pages of Cornell University (since 2013); The Warburg Institute Archive; the Online Bilderatlas Mnemosyne pages on the Warburg Institute website.
- Film and Documentaries on Aby Warburg and the Warburgkreis.
- Bibliographic Reviews, including Bibliographies edited in Engramma.
- Works by and on Gertrud Bing, divided in: Essays and Articles by Gertrud Bing; Works edited and translated by Gertrud Bing; Critical Literature, including Monographies, Papers, and dedicated Journal issues.
- Works by and on Edgar Wind, divided in: Books, Articles, Collected Papers, Editions of "The Journal of The Warburg Institute" issues, Reviews; Unpublished Writings: posthumous Editions; Letters by and to Edgar Wind; Archive Sources; Secondary Bibliography on Edgar Wind; Bibliographies on Edgar Wind.

This update consolidates the Engramma Bibliography as a reference point for scholars. The new bibliography and the edition of the Mnemosyne Atlas are not only a tribute to Warburg's legacy, but also an invitation to explore his thought with ever greater care. With these innovations, Engramma reaffirms its commitment to supporting Warburg studies by providing tools that combine rigorous scholarship with accessibility to resources.

For typographical reasons, the print edition is published in English only. Issue 219 of Engramma is also available in Italian in the online version of the Journal.

Abstract

Issue 219 of Engramma, entitled 'Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas', marks a further stage in the development of studies on Warburg and the Mnemosyne Atlas. The issue is divided into two sections: the first, 'Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas. Readings and Pathways through the Bilderatlas' explores the analysis of the Atlas conducted by the Mnemosyne Seminar. The second part, 'Bibliography. Works by Aby Warburg, Warburgkreis and Secondary Literature', offers a new version of Warburg's bibliography, updated to December 2024.

keywords | Mnemosyne Atlas; Bibliography; Aby Warburg; Warburgkreis.

Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas. Readings and Pathways through the Bilderatlas

A presentation of the updating of the section “Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas” in Engramma

edited by Sara Agnoletto

Pathways through the Bilderatlas

Aby Warburg's notes (1929) provide the latest and most precise indication of the structure of Mnemosyne:

- The Panels are numbered consecutively from 1 to 79, but there are only 63 panels in total due to gaps, groupings and duplications in the numbering.
- The 63 Panels of the Atlas are grouped into 12 thematic sections.

In this new digital edition of Mnemosyne, we present the panels according to Warburg's groupings, with two minor adjustments:

- The first 8 panels, which Warburg grouped together in a single section, are divided into two distinct thematic paths: Path I (Panels 1, 2, 3) and Path II (Panels 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). This decision is based on Warburg's designation of the block of panels 4-8 as “Antike Vorprägungen” (Antique Precoinages).
- Warburg places Panel 77, which contains contemporary images, in the penultimate section devoted to the Nordic Baroque (XI: Panels 70-77), whereas we think it more coherent to place it in the last section (XII: Panels 77-79).

This results in 13 ($\alpha + 12$) Pathways, each assigned a distinctive colour. Below is a summary of the thematic content of each Path*.

Pathway α (Panels A, B, C) | Coordinates of Memory. Man and the Cosmos (the Tornabuonis, Leonardo da Vinci, the Zeppelin)

Mnemosyne is introduced by a group of panels labelled by letters, rather than numbers, which locate the cultural, geographical and historical coordinates of the Atlas as a whole. These panels reflect the oscillation between the magical and the logical-mathematical poles of the Western cultural tradition spanning from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe. In his notes, Warburg titled this group “Zur Erkenntnistheorie und Praxis der Symbolsetzung” (For an Epistemology and a Practice of Symbolisation). Panels A, B and C serve as both a thematic and methodological introduction presenting the central thesis behind the Atlas project. Panel A introduces the question of Orientation on three interconnected levels: cosmic, historical-geographical, and genealogical; Panel B explores the representation of the human body in relation to the cosmos; Panel C outlines the stages of measurement and control of the cosmos, highlighting the tension between its polar energies that are eventually mastered by science and technology.

Pathway I (Panels 1, 2, 3) | Astrology and Mythology. Projections of the Cosmos (Babylon, Athens, Alexandria, Rome)

This group of panels explores the relationship between Man and the Cosmos during Antiquity, bringing together the earliest evidence of the demonic-astrological tradition in its interpretations and representations. These range from divinatory practices to the figures of the Harmony of the Spheres, and from the catasterisation to the representation of the celestial vault. It is a journey that begins from ancient Babylon to Greece, and passes through Alexandria and Hellenistic Rome, foreshadowing the stages of further wanderings.

Pathway II (Panels 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) | Precoinages of Antiquity. Ecstasy and Melancholy; Mother of Life and Death; Pathos of Sacrifice, Pathos of Victory, Pathos of Rise and Fall

These five Panels offer a repertoire of archaeological images known during the Renaissance, albeit with some inconsistencies. This group is presented as a cohesive corpus of ancient models, showcasing various images inspired by ancient models. These images express a wide range of pathos formulas rooted in primordial experiences. They span themes of ecstasy, delirium, bloody sacrificial rites (Dionysus, Orpheus, Mithras) all preserved in the collective memory. It is the “inventory of pre-coined classical forms” (as Warburg wrote in the *Introduction to Mnemosyne*) that reappears as imprints resemanticised in different ways to

address the urgency of the present. Together, these forms clues for reconstructing the “genetic code” of Western cultural tradition.

Pathway III (Panels 20, 21, 22, 23, 23a, 24, 25, 26, 27) Migrations of the ancient Gods. Peregrinations and masquerades of the ancient gods between East and West (Baghdad, Toledo, Padua, Rimini, Ferrara | 13th-15th centuries)

This section traces key stages in the transmission of Antiquity between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in astrological images, particularly from the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The deities of the *Sphaera graeca* disguise themselves and survive in the manuscripts of the Arabic magical-astrological tradition, only to reappear – more or less recognisable, other times camouflaged – in Italian astrological cycles. Among the many precious illuminations, calendars and astrological compendia, three monumental decorative cycles from Padua, Rimini and Ferrara stand out as significant attempts to recover the ancient forms of the gods.

Pathway IV (Panels 28/29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35) | Vehicles of Tradition. Tournaments, Festivals, Tapestries and Mythological tales. Exchanges between North and South (Early Renaissance, Florence, Flanders | 15th-16th centuries)

The pagan imaginary of Antiquity could also survive through another kind of disguise: the “costume *alla francese*” (thus Warburg), or the “Northern realism” characteristic of the epic and the chivalric novel. The vehicles of this transmission include mythological tales, vulgarised and moralised Classical texts, as well as small artistic artefacts, and everyday objects such as *cassoni* and tapestries, along with testimonies of festivals and popular folklore. Two paradigmatic examples illustrate the interweaving of ancient themes and the representation of contemporary life: the artistic – but also economic, social and cultural – exchange between the Medici family from Florence and Flanders, and the calm monumentality of Antiquity in the style of Piero della Francesca.

Pathway V (Panels 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 41a) | Breakthrough of Antiquity. Feasts, court life, popular games, mythical allegories and Dionysian pathos (15th-16th century)

The irruption of Antiquity into the early Italian Renaissance art manifested through archaeological drawings, the practice of simulated relief (*grisaille*), and the hybrid form of the Medician style, which seamlessly blended courtly and Antique element. Pagan demons no longer nee-

ded to disguise to survive: archaeological discoveries, antiquarian collections, and literary sources shaped – and were in turn shaped by – the image of a new culture that emerged in fifteenth-century Italy. Life in motion, animated by the spirit of Antiquity, found fresh expression in the concepts drawn from the Greek and Roman repertoire. Artists sought innovative ways to convey the superlatives of pathos, even going so far as to invent ancient model in anticipation of their eventual discovery (as seen in the Laocoön).

Pathway VI (Panels 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48) | Reincarnations of Antiquity. Mourning figures; Merchants and Fortune; Angels and Victory; Nymphs and Headhunters (Florence, 15th century)

This section focuses on the apogee of the Renaissance through the lens of the reemergence of Antiquity. The works of artists such as Donatello, Giovanni Bellini, Filippino Lippi, Baldassarre Peruzzi and Guido Reni capture the expressive intensity of the Dionysian pathos – literally reinvented in the early Renaissance – in its various energetic gradations. Nymphs, Angels, Headhunters: the *Pathosformeln* are embodied in the *mundus imaginalis*, a realm inhabited by the pagan figures that the Renaissance man constructs for himself (e.g. Salome and Judith; Tobias and the archangel Raphael; Fortuna and the *Nympha gradiva*). Antiquity also infiltrates the depiction of religious and devotional subjects: exemplary figures of this pathetic expressiveness include the “furious mothers” in scenes of the Massacre of the Innocents and the sorrowful figures of the Lamentations (Maenad under the Cross; pagan mourners recontextualised in a Christian setting).

Pathway VII (Panels 49, 50/51, 52) | Mantegna and Antiquity. Control, distance and inversion of pathos

This section is about the act of resistance against the unconditional surrender to the rhetorical grandeur of the ancient model. Mantegna evokes pathos by creating a deliberate distance, rendering the bodies with the physicality of bronze and marble. His distinctive use of perspective and light further enhances this effect, making each element appear as it were petrified. Even the *grisaille*, elevated from its role as a mere background motif, takes centre stage. Mantegna’s stylistic reversal finds its counterpoint in the energetic inversion of the violent and cruel pathos of the Roman Triumph, which is reinterpreted with a positive ethical declination (as seen as in the invention of the theme of Trajan’s Justice).

Pathway VIII (Panels 53, 54, 55, 56) | Ascent and Descent of the Gods. From the Muses to Manet (Rome-Paris | 16th-19th century)

The “tragedy of heliotropism” as Warburg termed it, referring to the cyclical movement of rise and fall within the Classical tradition, is traced through a step-by-step historical process. In the art of the great masters of the Roman Renaissance (Michelangelo, Raphael, Baldassarre Peruzzi), the gods regain their Olympian looking, as exemplified by the iconographic program of the Chigi Chapel. However, the gods were already on the verge of descending to earth, incarnating themselves in various expressions of the sentiment of Nature: pastoral concerts, gods on leisurely promenades and, finally, Manet’s modern Nymph.

Pathway IX (Panels 57, 58, 59) | Dürer and Antiquity. Migrations towards the North

This introduction to the art of Albrecht Dürer explores the ideal Antique style – a style filtered through the Italian lens, and mediated by Mantegna – in which the superlatives of the gestural language of Antiquity are reinterpreted with a distinctly Nordic composure. As Antiquity traveled from Italy to Germany, its influence – particularly in the imagery of the planetary deities, most notably Saturn and Melancholy – spread throughout Reformation Europe.

Pathway X (Panels 60, 61/62/63/64) | The Age of Neptune. Myth and Celebration of Power between Italian Courts and European Monarchies (16th-17th Century)

In the age of geographical discoveries, the Renaissance man, master of the Sea, emerges as the architect of his own destiny and fortune. In court ceremonies, as well as in the celebrations and self-celebrations of Power, the Virgilian verse “Quos ego tandem” echoes as a motto, embodying the spirit of ambition that drive to surpass the Pillars of Hercules. The ancient warning is inverted in meaning, transforming into PLUS ULTRA. The vehicle of Triumph is no longer the quadriga of Helios/Sun, but the chariot of Neptune.

Pathway XI (Panels 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76) | Art officiel and Baroque pathos. Dramatization of myth: from the rape scene to the anatomical theatre (Rembrandt, Rubens)

This group of panels, titled “Holland” in Warburg’s notes, depicts the reemergence of Antiquity in Northern Europe in the Baroque Era. It exists between the exaggerated rhetoric of official art, echoing the grandeur of Roman tradition, and the anti-rhetorical style of Rembrandt.

Ancients myths and archaic ritual gestures are reinterpreted in the Baroque era through a dramatic gestural language. The magniloquent style of the Art officiel, contrasts sharply with Rembrandt's approach, which not only accounts for the dynamics of real life but also incorporates philological and historical research. These two poles represent opposing forces in the struggle for the style of this century. The excesses typical of Dutch Baroque theatre are inverted in Rembrandt's portrayal of inner suspension between impulse and action.

Pathway XII (Panels 77, 78, 79) | Updating Memory. Sublimation of the Pathos of Antiquity. Sport, Church, State and Power

This group gathers together Examples of the persistence and regenerative power of ancient precoinage formulas as “engrams of Memory”. These include contemporary such as stamps and newspaper cuttings featuring figures of the Mother and the Nymph, either disempowered or repurposed to serve political propaganda (like Neptune's triumphal chariot) or advertising (such as Nike). Another theme explored is the transition from ancestral instinctual ferocity to ritual transfiguration: human sacrifice sublimated in the sacrament of the Eucharist or, in another context, in the “motor catharsis” of the female Golf player, the modern incarnation of the Headhunter. The collection of images – ranging from photographs, propaganda materials, to advertising prints, interspersed with works of art – seem to indicate the polarisation between the logical-rational emancipation of civilisation and the enduring power of a magical-demonic core. Yet, Mnemosyne ends with the firing of a tracer which sounds like a warning: the journey is not one-way, nor has it been once and for all.

Elements for the study of the Panels: the method

The section of Engramma devoted to the Mnemosyne Atlas presents the 63 panels of the final version of Aby Warburg's work (left unfinished due to Warburg's sudden death in October 1929), reproduced from the available editions preserved at the Warburg Institute in London. In the general plan of this annotated edition of the Atlas, each panel is accompanied by Title and Introduction, Primary Sources. Footnotes and Annotations, Critical Readings, Panel, Captions and Details.

Title and Introduction

Each panel is introduced by an editorial title accompanied by a brief synopsis, curated by the Seminario Mnemosyne. In a concise form, but without compromising the complexity of each panel, these texts provide the thematic coordinates of the content presented within the montage.

Primary Sources. Footnotes and Annotations

For each Panel, a series of notes by Aby Warburg and his collaborators – presented in the original German and in Italian and English translations – are offered as the only autograph material relating to the individual panels of the Atlas:

- Notes by Aby Warburg (1929). This refers to a series of notes, preserved in the archives of the Warburg Institute under the title *Flüchtige Notizen* [WIA III.102.6, edition edited by Giulia Zanon] which, although dated 19 November 1929 (the date of Warburg's death), were actually written on 19 October 1929, as can be seen by comparing the various stages of development in the Atlas. In fact, throughout October 1929, Warburg marked the month 'XI' instead of 'X' in his diary. In these notes, each table is given a short title.
- Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929). Transcription, critical edition and translation curated by the Seminario Mnemosyne from the originals preserved in the Warburg Institute Archive, London [manuscript edition WIA 108.1.1.1; typescript editions WIA III 108.1.1.2; WIA III 108.1.1.3]. The annotations, called *Überschriften*, are fully elaborated editorial titles for each panel of the Atlas. They were first published in the critical edition of the Mnemosyne Atlas curated by Martin Warnke et al. (Berlin 2000).
- Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940). These are handwritten notes made by Gertrud Bing after the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg moved from Hambourg to London, probably around 1940. The notes, which are held in the Warburg Institute Archive [WIA III 108.1.2], provide a synopsis of each panel of Mnemosyne and include suggestions for the completion, editing and publication of the Bilderatlas. Gertrud Bing's notes were first published in a critical edition in Engramma 211, edited by Giulia Zanon.

Critical Readings

Interpretive essays, graphic analyses and thematic developments focusing on individual panels of the Atlas or on themes that span several panels. These in-depth studies bring together research and analysis of Warburg's work published in Engramma (in the 'Further Readings' section) and elsewhere (in the 'Other Readings' section).

Panel

High-resolution photographic reproduction of each Panel (courtesy of Warburg Institute Archive, London).

Captions

Captions for the images in each Panel, presented in a new critical edition. The numbering of the images in each panel of the Atlas follows the edition of the Mnemosyne Atlas curated by Werner Rappl et al. (Hamburg, 1994), with some modifications. A complete Index of all the captions for Panels 1–79, accessible via the sidebar in the Mnemosyne Atlas section, provide an overview of all 1,135 artworks in the Atlas, searchable by author and subject.

Details

Reproduction of the individual artworks on the 63 Panels, in the highest possible resolution. It was decided to reproduce the images in colour and in the highest quality available today to ensure better legibility, in keeping with the approach Warburg intended for his Atlas. As has been documented, Warburg sought the best reproductions available at the time in order to enable all readers and scholars to analyse and read all the images in detail.

On the occasion of the exhibition at the Fondazione Levi in Venice in 2004, Seminario Mnemosyne proposed a critical analysis of the structure of the Mnemosyne Atlas, divided into 14 thematic sections ($\alpha + 12 + \omega$): see Engramma no. 35, in particular “Una partitura dell’opera-Atlante” in *Studiare Mnemosyne progettando una mostra sull’Atlante*. This division into sections differs only slightly from the structure sketched by Warburg in his 1929 notes, which has recently been rediscovered: the Pathways of the earlier version remain accessible in Engrammal’s Archive for the historical record of the work of Seminario Mnemosyne.

Abstract

In this issue of Engramma, entirely dedicated to the new edition of the bibliography on Aby Warburg, the Warburg circle and the Atlas Mnemosyne, we present the updated section “Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne” of “La Rivista di Engramma”, which contains the first and only critical edition of the Atlas of Images, fully accessible online. This work, an in fieri project in itself, is the result of more than twenty years of dedication by the Seminario Mnemosyne to the study of Warburg and the refinement of a methodology suited to the complexity of his *magnum opus*, Mnemosyne.

keywords | Mnemosyne Atlas; Bilderatlas; Aby Warburg; Panels; Pathways.

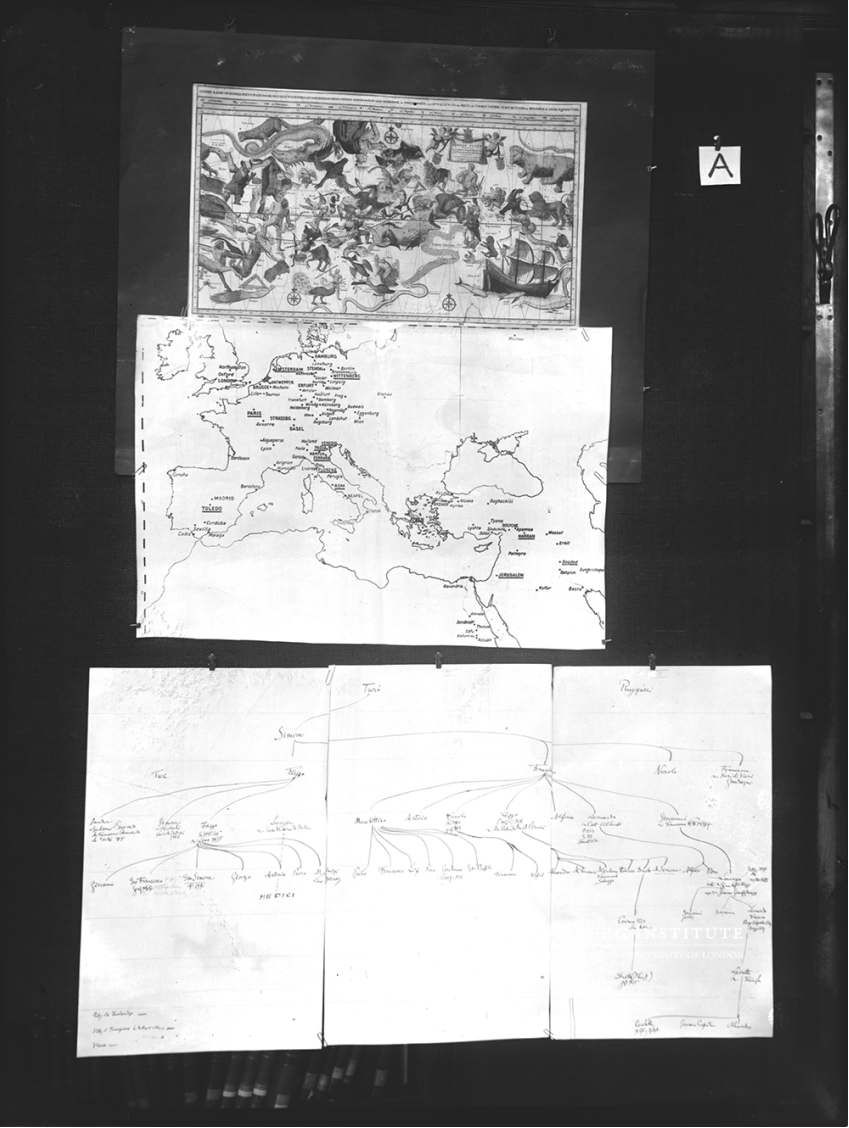
Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne Atlas

The 63 Panels of the Bilderatlas Final Version

edited by Sara Agnoletto

In the following pages we publish the 63 Panels of the Mnemosyne Atlas as they were on 26 October 1929. Each Panel is accompanied by Warburg's notes and those of his collaborators, as well as by a specific bibliography, which collects the contributions related to each Panel.

Panel A



Incipit Mnemosyne

Different relationships between man and the world are represented by cosmic, earthly and genealogical images. The images are visual representations of these relationships and are configured as “acts of thought”, intellectual projections that interpret reality in accordance with dynamic coordinates of orientation (the stars), exchange (between the West and the Mediterranean) and social order (the Tornabuoni family).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sternb. Karte. Stammbaum.

Constellation. Map. Family tree.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Verschiedene Systeme von Relationen, in die der Mensch eingestellt ist, kosmisch, irdisch, genealogisch. Ineinsetzung aller dieser Relationen im magischen Denken, denn Sonderung von Abstammung, Geburtsort und kosmischer Situation setzt schon eine Denkleistung voraus. 1) Orientierung; 2) Austausch; 3) Soziale Einordnung.

Different systems of relationship 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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

„Orientierung“ des Menschen in seiner Umgebung: nach oben (Himmelsbeobachtung), um sich herum in der Ebene (Ausbreitung der Kultur, Mittelmeerbecken), hinter sich in der Zeit (Geschichte, Tradition). Warum nicht normale Karten? Geogr. Karte bedeutet Planeten Bilderwanderung – ist also mit s. Bedeutung congruent. Himmelskarte – holl. 17 s. angereichert (ist sie auch moralisiert?) Warum nicht altere? Und warum Stammbaum Tornabuoni und nicht Medici (wurde offenbar gemacht für d. Ghirlandajo – Verhältnis der Zeichnung zum Fresko – Tod des Sohnes – Gelöbnisbild)?

“Orientation” of man in his environment: upwards (observation of the sky), around him in space (spread of civilisation, Mediterranean basin), behind him in time (history, tradition). Why not normal maps? The map represents the migration of planetary images – it is therefore congruent with its meaning. Celestial map – Dutch, seventeenth century, populated (is it also moralised?) Why not an older one? And why the Tornabuoni family tree and not the Medici one (apparently made for Ghirlandaio – relationship of the drawing to the fresco – death of the son – votive picture)?

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Orientation: cosmology, geography, genealogy. A reading of Panel A of Mnemosyne Bilderatlas*, English translation by E. Thomson, “La Rivista di Engramma” 135, aprile/maggio 2016, 7-9; a first version: “La Rivista di Engramma” 32, aprile 2004, 19-32; a first compendium: *Incipit Mnemosyne. Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel A*, English translation by E. Thomson, “La Rivista di Engramma” 9, giugno 2001, 32-42.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Through the Maze: Plates A B and C. The opening themes of Aby Warburg’s Mnemosyne Atlas*, English translation by E. Thomson, “La Rivista di Engramma” 125, marzo 2015, 18-29; a first compendium: “La Rivista di Engramma” 12, novembre 2001.
- ♦ S. De Laude, “Symbol tut wohl!”. *Il simbolo fa bene!, genesi del blocco ABC del Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg* “La Rivista di Engramma” 125, marzo 2015, 30-79.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola A*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 9, giugno 2001.

Other Readings

- ♦ *Baustelle 1.4. Tafel A, B, C, 1, 2, 3*
Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne (hrsg. von R. Ohrt), 8. Salon in *Baustelle 1-13. Aby Warburg. Mnemosyne Bilderatlas. Rekonstruktion – Kommentar – Aktualisierung*, box 2016/2017, Kartoffelverlag, Universal-fur-Bitch-press, Hamburg-Karlsruhe ZKM | Zentrum für Kunst und Medien, Karlsruhe 2016.

Panel B



From the Cosmos to Man and back

Human need for representation of and connection with the cosmos is expressed in the projection of images and influences of the cosmos on Man: a harmonic connection between cosmos and man is established. During the Renaissance this harmony is represented logically and geometrically (Leonardo da Vinci), as well as magically and daemonically.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Mikrokosmos

Microcosmos.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Verschiedene Grade der Abtragung des kosmischen Systems auf den Menschen. Harmonikale Entsprechung. Später Reduktion der Harmonie auf die abstrakte Geometrie statt auf die kosmisch bedingte (Leonardo).

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).

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Dal cosmo all'uomo e ritorno: lettura di Tavola B dell'Atlante Mnemosyne*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 138, settembre/ottobre 2016, 27-44; previous versions: "La Rivista di Engramma" 34, giugno/luglio 2004, 31-42; "La Rivista di Engramma" 10, luglio 2001.
- ♦ V. Cirlot, *La visión cósmica de Hildegard von Bingen (folio 9r del manuscrito de Lucca)*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 138, settembre/ottobre 2016, 45-58.
- ♦ S. De Laude, "Symbol tut wohl!". *Il simbolo fa bene! Genesi del blocco ABC del Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 125, marzo 2015, 30-79.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Through the Maze: Plates A B and C. The opening themes of Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas*, English translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 125, marzo 2015, 18-29; a first compendium in "La Rivista di Engramma" 12, novembre 2001.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Letture grafiche di Tavola B*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 34, giugno/luglio 2002; a first compendium: "La Rivista di Engramma" 10, luglio 2001.

The evolution of the image of Mars as an *exemplum* of representation of a cultural trajectory: from the anthropomorphical representation of the astral divinity, to the imperfect image of the circular movements of the planet which is still part of a system of magical and harmonious relationships between man and the cosmos (Kepler), to current representations of the conquest (intellectual and material) of the heavens.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

bis Kepler u. weiter zu Zeppelin

To Kepler and further to the Zeppelin.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Entwicklung der Marsvorstellung. Loslösung von der anthropomorphistischen. Auffassung Bild – harmonikales System – Zeichen.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Stufen der Überwindung der Furcht vor der Kosmos. Gefühl des Ausgeliefertseins (in d. HS) führt zur Bevölkerung des Kosmos mit Schreckgestalten. Mars gewählt wegen Kepler. Perseus auch auf dem Blatt. Dann kommen die Epizyklen des Tycho Brahe. Minutendifferenz führt zur Verbesserung. Regelmäßige Körper ist Keplers erster Versuch – also auch noch geleitet von harmonikalen Erwägungen. Endlich Marsbahn NB. Brief Keplers an Rud. II. Erfolg der Überwindung: auf der Reise nach Ostasien umschiffte das Zepp. ein Gewitter (Cf. Marsblatt) durch Fernmeldung – Thermometer.

Stages of overcoming the fear of the cosmos. The feeling of being at the mercy of cosmic powers (in the manuscript) leads to populating the cosmos with terrifying figures. Mars chosen because of Kepler. Perseus also on the page [Panel]. Then come the epicycles of Tycho Brahe. The slightest difference leads to evolution. Regular bodies are Kepler's first experiment – he is therefore still bound to a harmonic conception of the cosmos. Finally Mars orbit N.B. Kepler's letter to Rudolf II. Success of this Overcoming: during the flight to East Asia, the Zeppelin avoided a thunderstorm (see Mars page) thanks to a signal transmitted by radio – Thermometer.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Sons of Mars and the heirs of Prometheus – the conquest of the heavens: war and technology. An interpretative essay on Plate C of the Mnemosyne Atlas*, English version by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 144, April 2017, 49-83; a first compendium: "La Rivista di Engramma" 5, January 2001, 25-35.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Conquering the Heavens: war and technology. Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel C*, English translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 34, giugno/luglio 2004, 45-64.
- ♦ S. De Laude, "Symbol tut wohl!". *Il simbolo fa bene! Genesi del blocco ABC del Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 125, marzo 2015, 30-79.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola C*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 34, giugno/luglio 2004.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Through the Maze: Plates A B and C. The opening themes of Aby Warburg's Mnemosyne Atlas*, English translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 125, marzo 2015, 18-29; a first compendium in "La Rivista di Engramma" 12, novembre 2001.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola C*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 240-243.
- ♦ C. Wedepohl, *Panel C, Guided Pathways, in Mnemosyne Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas warburg.library.cornell.edu*, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 1



Harmonic correspondences: instructions for use

Hepatoscopy as an example of the tangible effects of harmonic relationships between macrocosm and microcosm. Faith in the stars, a prerequisite for the practice of divination and magic, originates in the East (as 'State religion' among the Babylonians) and then spreads through space (reaching Etruscan culture) and time (Hellenistic, Medieval and Renaissance astrology).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

A. Or

Oriental Astrology

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Abtragung des Kosmos auf einen Teil des Körpers zu Weissagungszwecken. Babylonischer Staats-Stern-glaube. Originäre orientalische Praktik.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Oriental (Babylonische) Weissagepraktik (im Staats dienste?) Thonleber von Boghazkoi. Bronzeleber von Piacenza (d.h. direkte Übertragung nach dem Westen). Bab. König mit Sterngottheit unten Urkundenstein. Bei der Leberschau wird aus den Abweichungen vom normalen Befund geweissagt. Frage: was soll die halbe Perseus – Tafel hier? NB Ist was Oriental drauf!

Oriental (Babylonian) practice of divination (in the service of the state?) Clay liver of Boghazkoi. Bronze liver of Piacenza (i.e. direct transmission to the West). Babylonian king with stellar deities at the document in stone [*Kudurru*]. In hepatoscopy, deviations from normal results are used for divination. Question: What is the half Perseus Panel doing here? N.B. There is something oriental about it!

Panel 2



The cosmos in Greece: in the image and likeness of Man

Greece is considered the homeland of the anthropomorphic representation of the cosmos. The sky is crowded with mythological figures with astrological functions: Apollo (the Sun), his companions the Muses (protectors of poetry and the celestial spheres), Atlas (the globe bearer), and the story of Perseus. All of them are mythical characters as constellations.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

A. Griech

Greek Astrology

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Griech. Vorstellung vom Kosmos. Mythologische Gestalten am Himmel. Apollo. Musen als Begleiterinnen des Apollo.

Greek conception of the cosmos. Mythological figures in the sky. Apollo. Muses as companions of Apollo.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Aufgehende Sonne (Helios=Apoll) Mond. Musen! Inspiration. Warum hier? Musen bedeuten eine kosmische Macht (Pneuma). Gehören außerdem zum Apoll. Griech. gesamtaustauschung vom Himmel. Karte – abgeflacht. Globus – Wiedergabe der Wölbung Gesamtsage vom Perseus – alle Figuren der Sage verstrickt. Eltern: Cassiopeia + Cepheus. Perseus. Andromeda. Ungeheuer = Ketos. Pegasus der aus d. Blut der Medusa entspringt (und wieder zum Apoll – Musen – Parnaso gehört). < br />The rising sun (Helios = Apoll) Moon. Muses! Inspiration. Why here? Muses signify a cosmic power (Pneuma). They have something to do with Apollo. Total transformation of the sky by the Greeks. Map – flattened. Globe – representation of the curvature. The entire legend of Perseus – all the figures in the legend eclipse. Parents: Cassiopeia + Cepheus. Perseus. Andromeda. Monster = Ketos. Pegasus who springs from the blood of Medusa (and returning to Apollo – Muses – Parnaso).

Panel 3



Beneath new heavens

The process of orientalization of the Greek gods during the Hellenistic period. The iconography of Oriental gods overlaps that of the Olympians (hybrid figures, *monstra*); new figures of the zodiacal signs and the decans join the mythological images that crowd the celestial spheres. Graphical representation of the cosmos changes: from spherical globe to 'game-board', its two-dimensional projection. The saga of the wanderings of Perseus as mythical-astral character begins.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Vorderasien Sph.Barb

Near East, Sphaera barbarica.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Orientalisierung der antiken Bilder. Gott als Monstrum. Anreicherung der Sphära (Tierkreis+Dekane). Übertragung des Globus auf die Fläche. Kosmologisches Würfelbrett. Perseus-Sage.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Abrollung + Bereicherung des Globus. Runder und streifer förmiger Tierkreis von Dendera mit aegyptischen Dekanen, Tierkreiszeichen, Planeten + Fixsternen. *Tabula Bianchini* mit aegypt. Sternbildern = römisches Gerät der Weissagung. Wochengöttin mit d. 7 Planeten als Tagesgötten. Jupiter Dolichenus der die Planeten aus Gewande. Trägt. Diana v. Ephesus mit den Tierkreiszeichen als Brustschild.

Unrolling + crowding the globe. Dendera Zodiac, circular and in bands, with Egyptian decans, zodiac signs, planets + fixed stars. *Tabula Bianchini* with Egyptian constellations = device for divination among the Romans. Deities of the week with the seven planets as god of the day. Jupiter Dolichenus wearing the planets on his robes. Diana of Ephesus with the zodiac signs as pectoral shield.

Panel 4



Types of ancient pre-coinages

1. Violence, victory and suffering, between heaven and earth

Human expressions to a superlative degree: formulae of emotion in ancient art. Battle, rape, and aggression: Gigantomachy; Leucippides; Deianira and Hercules (journey to the underworld and back). Reclining posture of terrestrial deities: the River-god; Ariadne (Cleopatra); the demigods in the Judgment of Paris. Abandonment and suffering: Phaëton (rise and fall); Prometheus (*hybris* and redemption: prefiguration of the 'Suffering Saviour').

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sarkoph. Tragisch

Tragic sarcophagi.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike Vorprägungen

Kampf. (Giganten) Raub. Herkulestaten. Unterwelt? Erdgebundenheit (Flussgott, Parisurteil) und Auffahrt. Auffahrt und Sturz (Phaeton). Der leidende Erlöser. (Prometheus. Feuerholen. Hochmut).

Precoinages 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).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Sarkophage (d.h. Mythologie + Totenkult). Gigantomachie (in der Aufstellung in Verbindung mit der schlafenden Ariadne. Hercules Taten – Raub der Dejanira durch den Centauren Nessus. Raub der Leukippiden (?). Paris Sarkophag bedeutet: die Oberen und die Unteren. Das Hinaufstärken der Erdgebundenen zur Erscheinung im Himmel. Dazu gehört Villa Doria – Pamphile, wo der eine Sark. eingemauert ist als Außenwanddekoration, und der Flussgott. (Verbindg. mit d. Ariadne?). Giganten + Centaur dazu als Natur gewalten. Dazu auch Vorderseite des Hausaltars. Aber was bedeuten die 3 andern Seiten Etruskischer Spiegel mit der Klage um Prometheus (?). Rechts Tafeln aus Robert. Sark. (Sturz?). Idee: kultische Befangenheit der Glieder → Ruhe → Acedia + Melancholia des Gemütes.

Sarcophagi (i.e. mythology + cult of the dead). Gigantomachia (in the montage connected with the sleeping Ariadne. Feats of Hercules – Rape of Deianira by the centaur Nessus. Rape of the Leucippides (?). The Paris sarcophagus represents: the high and the low. The gaze of the earthbound towards the apparition in the sky. In addition, it is part of Villa Doria-Pamphili, where a sarcophagus has been walled up as a decoration on the outer wall, and there is the river god (related to Ariadne?). Giants + Centaur as forces of nature. And also the front side of the domestic altar. But what do the other three sides mean? Etruscan mirror with mourning for Prometheus (?) Right, panels from Robert, *Sarkophage* (fall?). Idea: cultic polarisation of the limbs → Calm → Acedia + Melancholy of the soul.

Further Readings

♦ F. Filisetti, “*Arianna è scomparsa, il Minotauro è in agguato*”. *Lettura di Tavola 4 di Mnemosyne Atlas*. In *Appendice la versione della Tavola nel Geburtstagsatlas di Ernst Gombrich (1937)*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 163, marzo 2019, pp. 243-267.

Panel 5



Types of ancient pre-coinages

2. From the *Magna Mater* to the *Mater Dolorosa*: female figures of Dionysiac pathos

The repertoire of emotional imprints (panic, defence, fury, despair; themes of abduction and sacrifice: see Panel 6) embodied in mythical female figures: archetypal mother (Cybele); dispossessed mother (Niobe); murderous mother (Medea); frenzied woman (Maenad); fleeing woman (Proserpine, Myrrha); grieving figure (Alcestis, Protesilaos, Meleager).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sarkoph. Tragisch

Tragic sarcophagi.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike Vorprägungen

Magna mater, Kybele. Beraubte Mutter. (Niobe, Flucht und Schrecken). Vernichtende Mutter. Rasende (beleidigte) Frau. (Mänade, Orpheus, Pentheus). Lament for a dead man (NB her son). Übergang: Unterweltsvorstellung (Raub d. Proserpina). Griff nach d. Kopf (Mänade, Kassandra, Priesterin! [Tafel 6]).

Precoinages from Antiquity

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]).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Hohle der Magna Mater. Niobe – beraubte (und bestrafte) Mutter. Es ist Apollo der ihre Kinder tötet! Der Pädagoge hängt hier als Vorbild für den Pollaiuolo – David. Myrrha, die von ihren eigenen Vater vergewaltigt wird im Typus der klagend irrenden Niobe. Medea-rasend, auf d. Schlangen wagen mit ihrer Kindern, brütend – ohne Geste, (an R'dr denken!) Die Frau gegen den Mann: Orpheus, Pentheus. O. wird erschlagen, weiler die Frau verschmäht – P. weiler die Mänaden bei ihrer dionysischen Ra – sereien beobachtet. Toter Klage + Toter Bestattung. Pluto, Gott der Unterwelt, raubt Proserpina, die dann zur Göttin der sich immer erneuern den Natur wird. Was ist die Darstellung auf dem Krater?

Cave of the Magna Mater. Niobe – defrauded (and punished) mother. It is Apollo who kills his children! The pedagogue is present here as a model for Pollaiuolo's David. Myrrha, who is raped by her own father, in the type of Niobe who flees weeping. The furious Medea, on the chariot pulled by snakes with her children, in the act of meditating – without gestures (Rembrandt in mind!). Woman against man: Orpheus, Pentheus. Orpheus is killed for rejecting the woman – Pentheus for spying on the Maenads in their Dionysian frenzy. Lamentation over the dead + burial of the dead. Pluto, the god of the Underworld, abducts Proserpine, who thus becomes the goddess of nature in constant renewal. What is the depiction on the crater?

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Madre della vita, madre della morte. Figure e Pathosformeln. Saggio interpretativo di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 5*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 1, settembre 2000, 79-82.
- ♦ G. Bordignon, "L'unità organica della sophrosyne e dell'estasi". *Una proposta di lettura di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 5*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 51-71.
- ♦ *Progetto Mnemosyne. Prototipo per una mostra sull'Atlante di Aby Warburg, Tavola 5*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 26, luglio/agosto 2003.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lettere grafiche di Tavola 5*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 1, settembre 2000.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 5, in Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 244-247.

Panel 6



Types of ancient pre-coinages

3. The sacrificial raptus

Gestural formulae expressing opposing aspects of sacrifice: the active image of the executioner (Ajax; priest and Maenad-priestess; ritual dance: dance of the priest and Maenad; funeral dance; 'dance' of Achilles at Skyros) and the passive image of the victim (Laocoön as the sacrificed priest; Polyxena; Cassandra).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Kult (Tanz)

Cult (dance).

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike Vorprägungen

Raub (Proserpina, Unterwelt [Tafel 5]). Opfer (Polyxena). Opfernde Mänade (Priesterin). Tod des Priesters (Laokoon). Conclamatio. Tanz des Priesters (Isis). Gräbtänzerinnen. Achill auf Skyros (als Chorführer?).

Precoinages from Antiquity

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Kult – Mysterien. Opfer der Polyxena. Ajax (gleicher Sagenkreis) raubt Cassandra, diese – herische Priesterin. Mänade im thiasotischen Rausch. Cybele (synkretistischer Mysterien kult) zieht auf d. Schiff in Rom ein. Laokoon, Seher, Priester, stirbt. Das steht zur den ganzen Komplex des geopfert Priesterkönigs. Was bedeutet hier die Conclamatio? Pompeianische Fresken bedeuten Verwandlung des Priesters. Wieso? Totenreigen. Dionysischer Reigen. Warum Achill auf Skyros hier?

Cult – Mysteries. Sacrifice of Polyxena. Ajax (similar legend) abducts Cassandra, the seer priestess. Maenad in a state of thiasotic intoxication. Cybele (syncretic mystery cult) arrives in Rome on a ship. Laocoon, seer and priest, dies. This stands for the whole complex of the sacrificed priest-king. What does the *Conclamatio* mean here? The Pompeian frescoes signify a change [in the representation] of the priest. Why? Funeral ritual dance. Dionysian ritual dance. Why Achilles in Skyros here?

Panel 7



Types of ancient pre-coinages

4. Pathos of the victor

Expressions of the posture of the victor in Roman imperial art (and later in Napoleonic art): formulae of emotions ('horse-rider trampling the enemy'; 'grasping the head'; 'submission'); winged creatures (*Nikai* in coronation and apotheosis scenes); official celebrations (the triumphal arch; imperial apotheosis: coronation, Solar chariot, and the ritual raising on shields).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Rom Triumph

Rome, Triumph.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike Vorprägungen

Siegerpathos. Römischer Triumph. Triumphbogen. Nike. Apotheose (geglückte Auffahrt). Kaiser als Gott. Beute (Gemma Augustea) Schilderhebung, Apotheose als Schilderhebung bei Napoleon. Überreiten. Krönen. Auffahrender Wagen als Sonnensymbol. Unterwerfung (Provinz). Griff nach d. Kopf.

Precoinages from Antiquity

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Unterwerfung und Gegenbewegung hinauf. Römisches Triumphalpathos. Zum Konstantinsbogen (Konstantin ist ein Leitmotiv!) gehört das Niederreiten und das Krönen in den Hauptreliefs, der auf – und die niedergehende Sonnenwagen in den Medaillons. Titusbogen: der 7 armige Leuchter im röm. Triumph. Krönende Nike – geflügelte Victoria. (Schilderhebung german. Gegenstück) Gemma Augustea – das Krönen des vergotteten Kaisers. NB Aufrichten der Spolien = Aufrichten der Kreuzes. Apotheose – Kaiserkult – Das Hinauftragen. Trajansbogen – Überlieferungsgeschichte zu Ghirlandajo. Das Überreiten wird zur “Gerechtigkeit Trajans”. Athena ergreift den Barbaren beim Schopf.

Subjugation and upward countermovement. Roman triumphal pathos. The Arch of Constantine (Constantine is a *Leitmotiv!*) the sweeping riding and coronation are depicted in the main reliefs, the sun chariot rising and setting in the medallions. Arch of Titus: the seven-armed candelabrum in the Roman Triumph. Crowning Nike – winged Victory. (Lifting on shields as Germanic counterpart). Gemma Augustea – the crowning of the deified emperor. N.B. Raising of the *spolia* = raising of the cross. Apotheosis – imperial cult – the raising. Arch of Trajan – History of tradition up to Ghirlandaio. Riding over becomes the “Trajan’s Justice”. Athena grabs the barbarians by the forelock.

Further Readings

♦ M. Centanni, *L’“alta gloria” dell’impero e la visione di Traiano*, in M. Fagiolo (a cura di), *Dante e Roma*, Roma 2022, 87-100.

Panel 8



Types of ancient pre-coinages

5. Ascent to the sun between the East and the West: pathos and kosmos

Relationships between the Greek Sun-god and the mystery solar cults of the East: instance of Mithraic ritual and bull sacrifice (formulae of the emotion of aggression).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Mithras

Mithras.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike Vorprägungen

Auffahrt zur Sonne (Mithras).

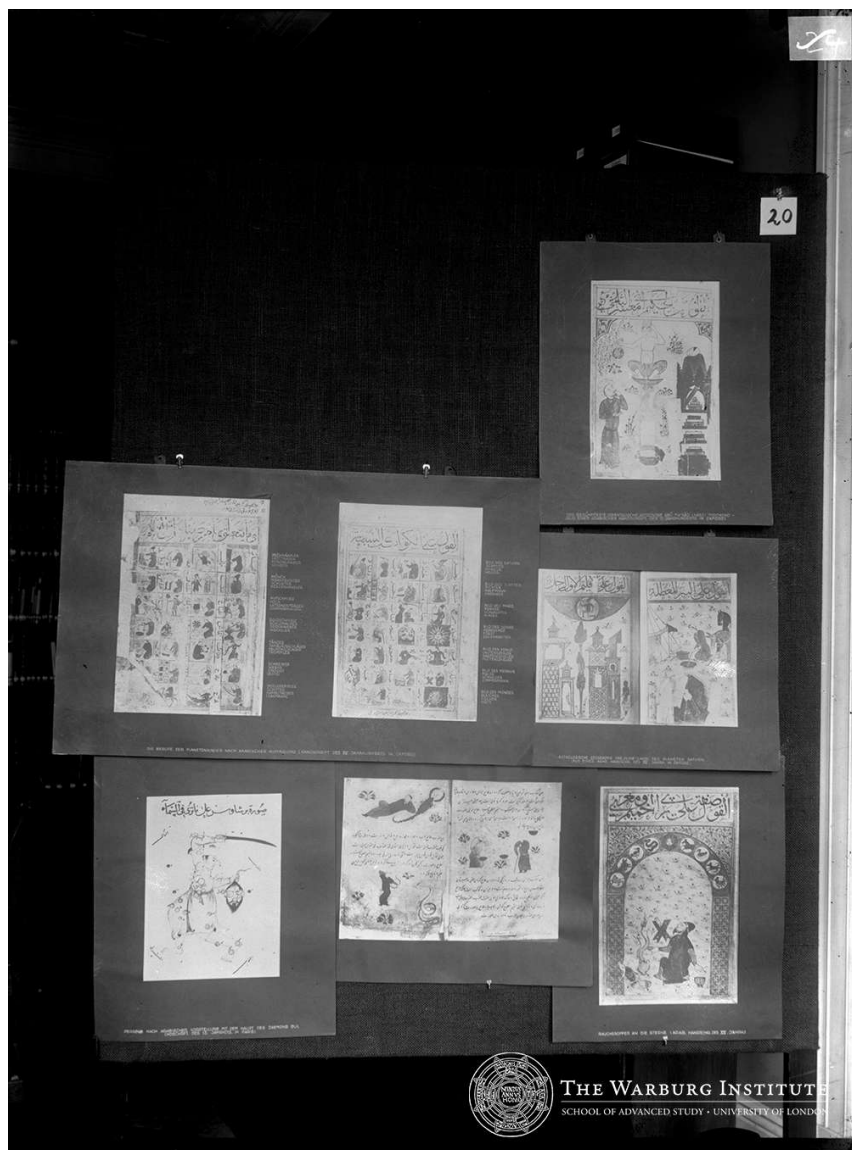
Precoinages from Antiquity

Ascent to the Sun (Mitra).

Further Readings

♦ E. Sears, Panel 8, *Guided Pathways, in Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas*, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 20



Perseus wearing a turban

Greek planetary gods reach the East: variations and misunderstandings of original western attributes in the work of Arab astrologer Abu Ma'sar. Enslavement of Man to astral influences in Eastern divination practices: vocations and crafts of 'children of the planets'.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Praktik. Arab Bagdad

Arabic magic practice, Bagdad.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Entwicklung der griech. Kosmologie zu arab Praktik. Abu-Masar. Planetenbeschäftigungen.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Griech. Stern glaube im arab. Gewande. Abu Mašar. Planetenkinder + ihre Berufe. Astrologische Geographie. Perseus. Opfer (Ablösung des blutigen Opfers). Was ist die (von Wbg. einer früheren Ausstellung offenbar ausdrücklich hinzugefügte). Hs. mit Skorpion u. Schlange. 3. Bild Anklang an Jupiter + Saturn aus d. Lichtenberger?

Greek faith in the stars in Arabic guise. Abu Mašar. Children of the planets + their professions. Astrological geography. Perseus. Sacrifice (replacement of the bloody sacrifice). Why the manuscript with the scorpion and serpent (which Warburg evidently added from an earlier exhibition) – an echo of the third image of Jupiter + Saturn from the Lichtenberger manuscript?

Panel 21



Exotic zodiac

Ancient planetary divinities in eastern guise, after the extension of the scheme of the cosmos during the Hellenistic period (see the Farnese and Dendera Atlases, Panel 2 and Panel 4): planets, constellations (Perseus), zodiacal signs and decans in Arabic Medieval manuscripts on astrology and magic (Picatrix).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sternb. Arab.

Arab constellations.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Orientalische Antike. Antike Götter in orientalischer Fassung [vorher müßte kommen: Atlas Farnese, Denderah, Abrollung und Anreicherung].

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Arabische Planeten (als Monstra?) auf dem Wege zur magischen Praktik. Der schwarzgesichtige Saturn mit d. Schaufel. Die löwenköpfige Saturn mit Vogelfüssen. Sol auf dem Löwen (cf. Dürer) Mars mit dem abgeschlagenen Haupt wie Perseus. Dekane = 10 Tage Herrscher. Planeten + Zodiakalzeichen + Dekanekonfiguration wie Astrol. Magn. des Angeli. Picatrix – Zauberhandbuch. Ausgesucht nach ihrem Erinnerungsgewicht. Nachlebe Wert. Engramm. Engraphische Energie. Gehört das Blatt aus Reg. 1283 auf die nächste. Seite?

Arabian planets (as *Monstra*?) on the way to magical practice. The Saturn with a dark face and shovel. The Saturn with lion's head and bird's paws. Sun in the house of Leo (cf. Dürer). Mars with severed head like Perseus. Decans= lords of the decade. Planets + signs of the zodiac + configuration of the decans as *Astrolabium Magnum* by Johannes Angelus. Picatrix – Handbook of Magic. Chosen according to their weight on the memory. Afterlife value. Engram. Engraphic energy. Does the sheet from Reg. 1283 belong with the next page?

Panel 22



The 'game-board' of the heavens in Hispano-Arabic divination practice

Travelling gods: the itinerant images of classical divinities return to the West through Hispano-Arabic illuminated manuscripts at the court of Alfonso the Wise. The texts which portray the heavens as a functional and orderly game-board inhabited by the gods continue the tradition of a utilitarian conception of the harmonious relationship between man and the cosmos: prophecy, magic, amulets and lythomancy.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Span. A. Antik (Magie). Harmonikale. Rad. d. For. Dekane. Abu Ma'shar

Spanish Astrology, Ancient (Magic / Harmony), Radix of Fortune, Decans, Abu Ma'shar.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Spanisch-arabische Praktik. (Alfonso). Hantierung. Kosmisches System Als Würfelt Brett. Weissagung. Zauberei. Steinmagie.

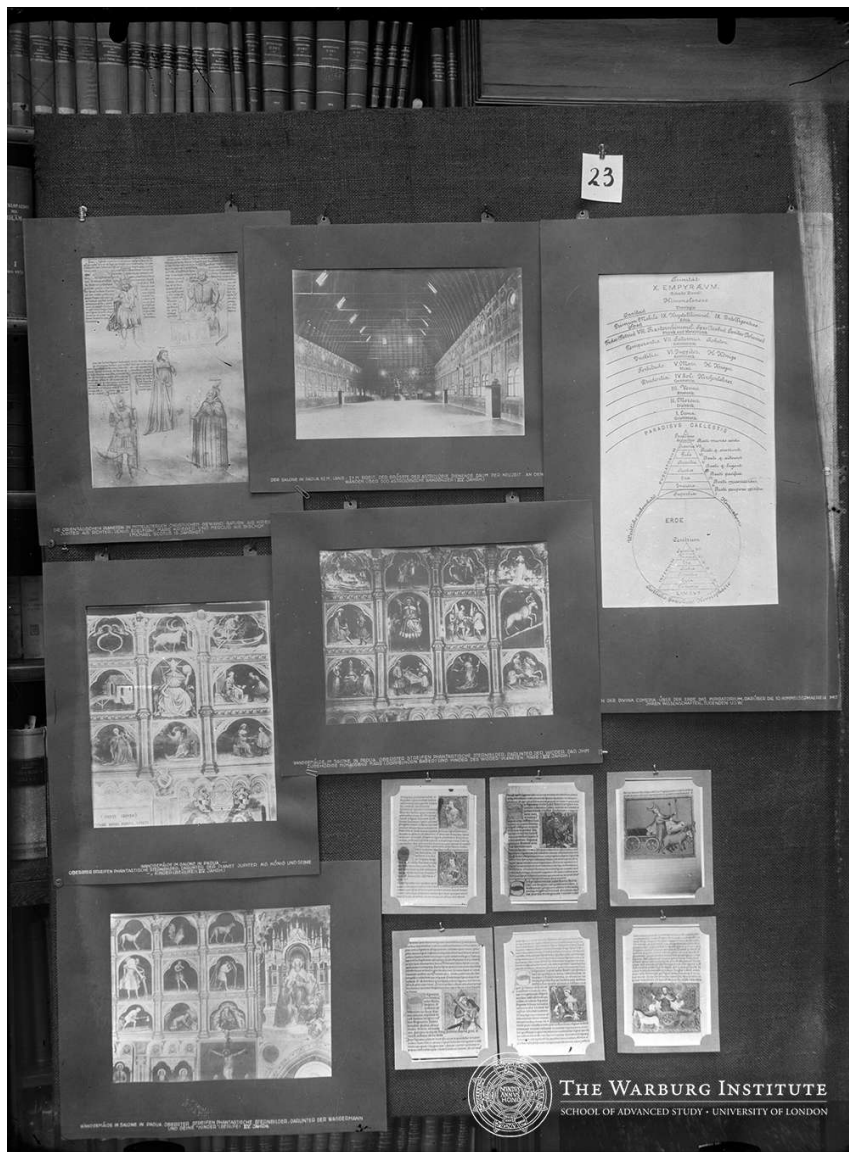
Spanish-Arab practice (Alfonso). Handling. The cosmic system as a dice board. Divination. Magic. Stone magic.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Spanien tradiert arab. Wissenschaft als magische Praktik (Alfonso el Sabio, Toledo 13 s. zeit Friedrichs II in Sizilien). Planeten Würfelspiel. So hat sich Wbg den Gebrauch der span. Hs. Reg. 1283 vorgestellt Dekane, Mondstationen, Paranatellonta werden zu einzelnen Sterndämonen, fern jeder Beobachtung; zu prakt. Zauber zwecken wird der Himmel angereichert u. plattgedrückt. Tagesprophezeiung in den Blättern Scorpio + Virgo. Paranatellonta in den 3 Auffassungen der Inder Perser + des Ptolemäus im Blatt des Löwen. Berufswahl beim Mond-Blatt. Unten Gebet und Opfer – Zauberei – unter gegebenen Constellationen. Dekane auf geschnittenen Steinen – Amulette. Die 2 Marsblätter aus Reg. 1283 verstehe ich nicht.

Spain transmits Arabic science as magical practice (Alfonso El Sabio, Toledo, thirteenthth century at the time of Frederick II in Sicily). A dice game of the planets. This is how Warburg imagined the use of the Spanish manuscript Reg. 1283. Decans, lunar stations, paranatellonta become individual stellar demons, far from any observation. The sky is populated and flattened for the purposes of the magical practice. Daily prophecy in the pages Scorpio + Virgo. Paranatellonta in the three versions, Indian, Persian + Ptolemy is on the [manuscript] Leo page. Choice of trades on the Moon page. Below prayer and sacrifice – sorcery – under given constellations. Decans on engraved stones – amulets. I do not understand the 2 Mars pages from Reg. 1283.

Panel 23



“And thence we came forth to see again the stars”: cosmos and destiny in Padua and in the Divine Comedy

From the illuminated pages of the southern Arabic tradition, planetary gods reach the great astrological frescoed ‘book’ of the ‘Hall of the Months’ in Palazzo della Ragione in Padua. A ‘divine comedy’ in which the celestial spheres, linked to man’s inclinations, influence their ‘children’ (representing crafts) in the guise of astral daemons.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Padua. Scotus

Padua, Scotus.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Südtalienisch-arabische Antike. Salone als Riesen-Buchseite zum Zwecke der Schicksalsbestimmung. Dante-Schema. (Fehlt Angeli!).

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Unmittelbare Übertragung nach Mittel-Europa. Scotus' Planeten gleichzeitig mit Toledo, Salone in Padua riesenhafter Wahrsage-Kalender. Mars – Widder, Jupiter, Wassermann mit Berufen. Weltbild des Dante. Planeten Wenzel hs (Scotus). Antike Dämonen in Christlichem Gewande.

Direct transmission to central Europe. Scotus' planets at the same time in Toledo, Salon of Padua as a giant divinatory calendar. Mars – Aries, Jupiter, Aquarius with the trades. Dante's world view. Planets of Wenceslas (Scotus). Ancient demons in Christian guise.

Further Readings

♦ M. De Rossi, I. Tenti, *Il cielo di Padova. I decani di Palazzo Schifanoia di Ferrara e il Palazzo della Ragione di Padova: un confronto*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 105, aprile 2013, 102-105.

Panel 23a



Divinities as dice-players: (astrological) Destiny and Chance

The ancient gods located in the 'microcosms' of divination: astrological dice and amulets, books of Fate (Lorenzo Spirito's book and its journey northwards), and wheels of Fortune.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Loosbücher

Lotto Book.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Regelmässiger Körper als Mikrouniversum zum Loswürfeln. Buchblättern als Lesen des Universums (Losbuch, Lorenzo Spirito) [fehlen Punktierbücher] Lorenzo Spirito = Übergang zum Norden. Vorstellung der Radfortuna als unabwendbares Fatum.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Schicksals lose. Regelmässiger Körper werden zu Amuletten. Chifletius – Gnostische Symbole. Jean de Meun, *Jeu de dodechédron* – Losspiel. (Paris 1556) – Entsprechung des regelmässigen. Körpers als Würfel mit der Gestalt und den Zahlen des Weltalls. Lorenzo Spirito, Perugia 1492 – Losbuch mit Frage + Antwort Prinzip. Rad – Fortuna, d.h. das Symbol des allmächtigen. Schicksals, dem der Mensch aus geliefert ist ohne seine eigene kraft entgegensetzen zu dürfen. Abb. rechts Mitte Weiß ich nicht.

Fates of destiny. Regular bodies become amulets. Chifletius – Gnostic symbols. Jean de Meun, *Jeu de dodechédron* – Lotto game (Paris 1556) – Representation of the regular body as a cube with the shape and numbers of the universe. Lorenzo Spirito, Perugia 1492 – Book of fortunes with question + answer principle. Wheel – Fortune, i.e. symbolising the omnipotent destiny to which man is exposed and is powerless to resist. Image centre right: I don't know.

Further Readings

♦ S. Urbini, *Abracadabra. Una lettura di Tavola 23a di Mnemosyne*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 92, agosto 2011, 40-56.

Panel 24



Theoretical foundations of divination practices in the 15th century

The doctrine of 'children of the planets' expounded in calendars and almanacs circulates images of the Olympian gods as planetary rulers throughout Europe.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Planetenkinder

Children of the planets.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Lehre v. d. Planetenkindschaften. (Norden?). Theoretische Grundlage der Praktik.
Theory of planetary filiation. (The North?). Theoretical basis for practice.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Nordische Planetenkinderbilder (deutsch + französ.). Theorie. Unmittelbare + unvermeidliche Beeinflussung. Verschiedenheiten in der Darstellung drücken Unterschiede in der Unmittelbarkeit des Verhältnisses zwischen Planet + Kind aus z.B. Hausbuch Meister stellt Planeten im selben Raume wie Menschendar, aber als Erscheinung im Himmel. Tübinger Hs. sondert Planetenaus, bezieht aber die "Häuses" (Tierkreiszeichen) und Berufe in die Darstellg. ein Gothaer Hs. sondert ganzklardie Sphären von einander. 4. Reihe senkrecht verstehe ich nicht. 5. Reihe gleiche Darstlg. als Woche (Tagesgötter). Paris + Helena gehört nicht hier hin.

Nordic images of the children of the planets (German + French). Theory. Direct + unavoidable influence. Differences in representation express different degrees of directness in the planet + child relationship; e.g. the Master of the *Hausbuch* [Schloss Wolfegg] depicts the planets in the same dimension as humans, but as appearances in the sky. The Tübingen manuscript separates the planets, but includes 'houses' (zodiac signs) and vocations in the depiction. The Gotha manuscript clearly separates the spheres from each other. Fourth row vertical: I do not understand. Fifth row, same representation as week (deity of the day). Paris + Helen does not belong here.

Panel 25



Apollonian *ethos* and Dionysiac pathos within the cosmos of the Malatesta Temple

In the Malatesta Temple in Rimini, two features of classical antiquity meet and intertwine: the harmonic structure of an Apollonian cosmos (Muses and architectural lineamenta by Leon Battista Alberti) and the Dionysiac dynamism of divinities portrayed 'all'antica' (the angel as Maenad and the 'agitated' style of Agostino di Duccio's bas reliefs).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Tempio Malat.

Tempio Malatestiano.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Rimini: pneumatische Sphärenvorstellung im Gegensatz zur fetischistischen. Antikische Form.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Aulischer Bewegungs Stil in der Darstellung kosmologischer Themen. Tempio Malatestiano – Seitenansicht mit d. Nischen, in die Sismondo die Sarkophage berühmter Männer stellen wollte. Plethon (als Leiche) von irgendwoher geholt. Basinus (Hesperiden, astrol. Wanderungsgedicht, auf Sismondo bezüglich). Valthurius (Kriegskunst, Maschinen, moderne Technik). Persönl. Denkmal für Isotta + sich selbst Grabmal mit Pallas – Tempel – Triumphzug. Musen freie Künste, Tierkreiszeichen, Planeten als Herrscher des Weltalls. (Die bekannten Zuordnungen stimmen nicht) Wbg. vermutete Poimandres als Quelle. Der Wind, der die Gewänder bewegt, stehe für das Pneuma, das durch d. Weltall weht, die Inspiration, den göttlichen Furor; Sphären Harmonie. Traditions Geschichte der Planeten darstellg. ist an manchen Stellen nachzuweisen (Jupiter Dolichenus).

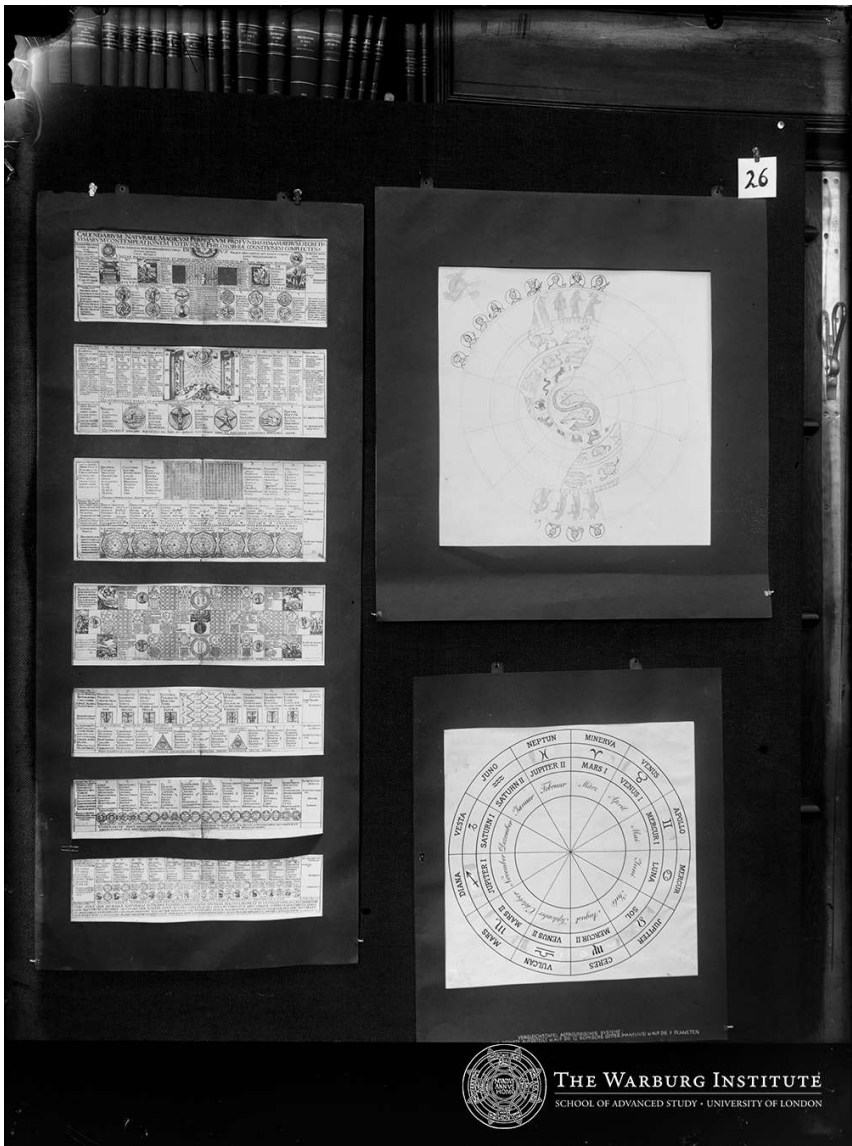
The aulic style in movement in the representation of cosmological themes. Tempio Malatestiano – side view with the niches in which Sigismondo wanted to place the sarcophagi of illustrious men. Plethon (as corpse) transported from somewhere. Basinio (*Hesperis*, astrological poem dedicated to Sigismondo). Valturio (*Art of war*, machines, modern technology). Monument dedicated to Isotta + tomb for himself with Pallas – temple – triumphal procession. Muses, Liberal Arts, signs of the zodiac, planets as rulers of the Universe. (Known attributions are not correct) Warburg speculated that the *Pimander* was the source. The wind that moves the robes, stands for the pneuma that blows in the Universe, inspiration, divine fury; harmony of the spheres. The history of the tradition of the representation of the planets can be found in some places (Jupiter Dolichenus).

Further Readings

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Coincidentia oppositorum: the Malatesta Temple. Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 25*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 8, maggio 2001, 29-36.

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 25*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 8, maggio 2001.

Panel 26



Between the cosmos of Rimini and the universe of Schifanoia

The cosmological calendar of Tycho Brahe, heir to the ancient zodiacal tabulae of late antiquity, as a synoptic illustration of the passage from the harmonic-allegorical cosmos of the Malatesta Temple (Olympian planetary divinities) to the magic-daemonic world of Schifanoia ('barbarian' planetary gods: zodiac, decans).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Ferrara Schemat.

Ferrara, diagram.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Gesamt-systematischer kosmologischer Kalender (Tycho Brahe) als Übergang zwischen Rimini und Schifanoja.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Tabula Bianchini und die schematische Vergleichstafel gehören zu Blatt 27; Schifanoja. Der ewige Kalender hat, glaube ich, etwas mit Tycho Brahe zu tun Schifanoja als Jahreskalender. Sollen 25 und 27 – Tempio Malatestianum und Schifanoja kontrastiert werden als Stern glaube 1) auf den Raum 2) auf die Zeit bezogen?

Tabula Bianchini and the graph with the schematic comparison belong with Panel 27 – Schifanoja. The perpetual calendar has, I believe, something to do with Tycho Brahe. Schifanoja as a calendar. Are [Panels] 25 and 27 to be contrasted as faith in the stars 1) in reference to space 2) in reference to time?

Panel 27



Creative freedom and astrological constraints in Ferrara

Ancient gods, eastern zodiac and contemporary courtly life on display in the Renaissance frescoes of Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Ferrara

Ferrara.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Palazzo Schifanoia.

The Palazzo Schifanoia.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Hier fällt mir nur auf daß Jupiter in d. Abb. ausgelassen ist. Oben Venus + Minerva (+ Lohengrin) dann von r. nachl.: Ceres, Kybele, Merkur, Apollo. Darunter Vulkan. Was dies über das um Schif. Aufsatz Gesagte hinaus bedeutet, weiß ich nicht. Ich habe kürzlich gelesen (ich glaube bei Seznec) daß Carlo Marsupini die röm. Monatsgötter hat, wie im Pal. Schif. Nachprüfen! Wennja, ist er eine frühere Erwähnung als hier. Here I note that Jupiter is omitted from the Panel. Above Venus + Minerva (+ Lohengrin) then from right to left: Ceres, Cybele, Mercury, Apollo. Below: Vulcan. What does this mean, beyond that said in the essay on Schifanoia, I do not know. I have recently read (I think in Seznec) that Carlo Marsupini has the Roman gods of the months, as in Palazzo Schifanoia. This needs to be verified! If so, it is an earlier mention.

Further Readings

♦ M. Bertozzi, *“Un rapido schizzo in forma sferica”: Aby Warburg e lo schema del ciclo astrologico di Palazzo Schifanoia*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 43-50.

Panel 28/29



Painted snapshots

The need to express movement as the first evidence of the re-emergence of Antiquity: from scenes of courtly life at Schifanoia (see Panel 27) to contemporary scenes of Florentine life displayed in paintings (Paolo Uccello), on decorated furniture and chests, mass-produced vehicles for the circulation of myths and artistic features 'all'antica'.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Uccello. Cassone

Paolo Uccello, cassone.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Zeitgenössisches bewegtes Leben (Übergang: 3. Streifen des Schifanoja). Turnier, Gaukler, Rennen, Jagd, Schlacht. Cassoni als Träger dieser Darstellungen.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Verbindung zur vorhergehenden Tafel ist der 3. Streifen im Schiff.: "das bewegte Leben". Giostra mit Dankblatt – Jahrmarkt u. Quacksalber – Jagd – Schlacht – Hochzeit – Gaukler. Hinein spielen tut die Vorstellung Uccello als Maler des bewegten Lebens unter dem Zeichen d. nachlebender Antike: Perspective als Mittel das Vorbeiziehende in einem Blickpunkt im Raum festzuhalten. Der relig. Hintergrund wird angeschlagen im Schlangenmann (v. Laokoon – uomo della casa di S. Paolo – Immunität gegen Vipernbiss) und in der Legende v.d. blutenden Hostie (das Zeichen wird wieder zur Sache die es bezeichnen soll – "das wie der Metapher" fällt weg – das Einverleiben). Den Pisanello – Hl. Georg verstehe ich nicht. Assoziationspunkte: das Pferd? Hat S. Giorgio was mit d. Flor. Fest zu tun? Oder spielt Perseus hinein?

Connection to the previous panel is the third band of Schifanoja: 'life in motion'. Giostra with *tabula gratulatoria* – fair and sellers of medical remedies – hunting – battle – wedding – juggler. The idea of Paolo Uccello as a painter of life in motion under the sign of the survival of Antiquity comes into play here: perspective as a means of capturing what passes from a point of view in space. The religious background is recalled by means of the man with snakes (see Laocoon – *uomo della casa di S. Paolo* – immunity to the viper's bite) and by the legend of the bleeding host (the sign returns to being what it should signify – "the as of the metaphor" is abandoned – incorporation). I do not understand Pisanello's St George. Connecting element: the horse? Does St George have anything to do with the Florentine festival? Or is it Perseus who plays a role in it?

Further Readings

♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 28/29*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Falletti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 126-129.

Panel 30



Imperial authority and courtly enchantment: John VIII Palaiologos by Piero della Francesca and Benozzo Gozzoli

The monumental style of Piero della Francesca as a way of distancing his subject from the courtly language of contemporary art (Benozzo Gozzoli).

The faces of John Palaeologus: imperial authority and the timeless fascination of the oriental king-Magus.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Piero d. Fr.

Piero della Francesca.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Piero della Franc. Monumentalisierung und Distanzierung. Dazu Gozzoli. Paleologus.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die Stilstufe der vorhergehenden Bilder auf ihrem Höhepunkt (Halt im Verlauf des Atlas). Fernwirkung des Kreuzes – Schaffung des “Denkraumes der Besonnenheit”. Der byz. Kaiserauf der Pisanello – Medaille (kommt nachher bei R'dt + wieder!). Anlass seiner Anwesenheit im Abendland das Konzil, das Abend – u. Morgenland vereinigen soll!). Beweis bei Benozzo Gozzoli. Die Auffindung des wahren Kreuzes als Teilder Legende. Ist dies nicht bei Piero? Kirche Santa Croce. Traum des Konstantin bei Piero: *in hoc signo...* Lichtmagie zur Darstellung der Magie des Christentums. Assoziation zu R'dt.

The stylistic level of the images prior to its climax (a point maintained throughout the elaboration of the Atlas). Remote effect of the Cross – creation of the ‘space for the thought of reflection’. The Byzantine emperor on Pisanello’s medal (comes back later in Rembrandt!). The occasion of his presence in the West is the Council, which was to unite West and East! The testimony in Benozzo Gozzoli. The finding of the true Cross as part of the legend. Is it not in Piero della Francesca? Church of Santa Croce. Dream of Constantine by Piero: *in hoc signo...* Magic of light to represent the magic of Christianity. Association with Rembrandt.

Further Readings

♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.

Panel 31



Anti-rhetorical realism and religious devotion in Italy and in the North

Piero della Francesca's anti-rhetorical and spiritual style (see Panel 30) reflects the taste of Florentine bourgeois patrons for Northern realism (portraits of intellectual humanists; devotional images; illuminations).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Portinari

Portinari.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Im Anschluß daran: der Norden. Andachtsbild. Flandrisierendes Porträt von Italienern. Grablegung. René als Besteller und S. Hss. Hieronymus im Gehäus.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Das suchen d. Florentiner bei den fland. Malern? Nordischer Seelenspiegel. Einführung der flandrischen Komponente. 1) Portrait – Physiognomik als Gegensatz zur (mimischen) Gebärdensprache des Südens = innere Dramatik anstelle äußerer Bewegung. Ital. Familien, Tani, Portinari, Arnolfini, portraitiert von Flamen. 2) Darstellung verhaltenen Schmerzes bei relig. Themen. Innerliche Religiosität. Al. Macinghi = *è una cosa devota*. 3) Einkehr + Konzentration beim Denkeninnere. Betrachtung des Hieronymus. HS. des René: Versunkenheit (Landschaftsgefühl?) Lichtbehandlung. Dazu Simon Marninon in Neapel – angehl. Portrait des René. Auch hier nordisch Einfluss.

What do Florentines look for in Flemish painters? Nordic mirror of the soul. Introduction of the Flemish component. 1) Portrait – Physiognomy as opposed to the gestural (mimic) language of the South = inner drama instead of outer movement. The Italian families, Tani, Portinari, Arnolfini, portrayed by the Flemish. 2) Representation of restrained pain in religious subjects. Inner religiosity. Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi = *è una cosa devota*. 3) Contemplation + Concentration: think of St Jerome's inner meditation. Manuscript of the Master of René: contemplation (sentiment of landscape?) Treatment of light. In addition Simon Marninon in Naples – probably portrait of the Master of René. Again, Nordic influence.

Panel 32



Bacchic carnival retinue

Realistic imagery, and vernacular and folklore models (Moorish dance with woman at the centre, grotesques with monkeys, dance of the 'fight for the trousers', allegorical battle between Carnival and Lent) are widely circulated via everyday items, as modern (and authentic) expressions of the ancient Dionysian pathos of sacrifice and aggression (see the dance of the priest and the death of Orpheus in Panels 5, 6).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Burgund. Festl. Gerät. Spiegelung

Burgundian festivals, reflection.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Groteske. Tanz um die Frau im Mittelpunkt. Vœu du Paon. Quaresima. Affenbecher. Groteske der Affen. Tanz der Frauen um die Hose. [cf. Tanz des Priesters, Tod des Orpheus]. Gerät als Vehikel.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Fortsetzung. Derber Humor-groteske Bewegung Begehrlichkeit das Derben nur die Frau. Schachbrett – rit-
terlich. Hs. kenne ich nicht. Tanz um die Frau als Mittelpunkt. Moreska. Obszöne Aufforderung. Zeichnung
mit d. Frau auf d. Pfannen kenne ich nicht. Quaresima auch ein Tanz um das begehrte Objekt. Krämer u. d.
Affen – Affentanz. Hosenkampf = Kampf um den Mann. Inversion der Werbungstanzes. Assoziation: Wer-
bungsschmuck bei Vögeln.

Coarse humour – grotesque movement – covetousness of the rough man towards the woman. Ches-
sboard – chivalrous. I do not know the manuscript. Dance with woman in the centre. Moreska. Obscene
invitation. Drawing with woman on the pots: I don't know it. A dance around the desired object also for
Quaresima. The salesman and the monkeys – Monkey dance. Fight for trousers – Fight for the man. Inver-
sion of courtship dance. Association: courtship ritual in birds.

Further Readings

♦ S. Makowiecky, L.M. Wedekin, *O grotesco na Prancha 32 do Atlas Mnemosyne*, "Palíndromo", 15, 32 (2023), 1-33.

Panel 33



Illustration of mythographic texts: Antiquity in contemporary forms

Ancient *fabulae* reproduced in classical Medieval mythographic texts (Ovid, Christine de Pisan, Boccaccio, *Historia Trojana*) allow the survival of ancient gods and mythical characters, 'disguised' with contemporary features that reflect contemporary court life (see Panel 34).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Mt. Legende. Mythogr.

Mythological Legends, Mythography.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Mythographische Textillustration. Ovid, Christine de Pisan, Boccaccio, Storia Trojana, Albricus. Überleitend zu 34: Verquickung m.d. zeitgenössischen Leben.

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Beitrag des Nordens fortgesetzt. Antike *alla Franzese*. In der Illustration antiker Themen. Ovid – Boccaccio. Mythologie – Christine de Pisan. *Historia Trojana*. Was für Themen sind hier ausgewählt? Ich sehe: Apollo – Kampf – Drachen – Sturz, Auffahrt, Klage (Hecuba?) Raub (Nessus + Deianeira). Orpheus und die Frauen, Orpheus singend, Paris Urteil, Paris raubend, Verwandlung (Apoll – Daphne). 3 Grazien. Albricus – Juno + Jupiter, Venus + Mercur (sagt mir nichts). Mit d. Zeichnung links unten weiß Saxl bescheid. Alexander gehört auf d. folgende Tafel.

The contribution of the North continues. Antiquity *alla Franzese*. In the illustration of themes from Antiquity. Ovid – Boccaccio. Mythology – Christine de Pisan. *Historia Trojana*. What themes have been chosen here? I see: Apollo – battle – dragon – fall, ascent, lament (Hecuba?) Rape (Nessus + Deianeira), Orpheus and the women, Orpheus singing, judgement of Paris, rape of Paris, metamorphosis (Apollo – Daphne). The Three Graces. Albericus – Juno + Jupiter, Venus + Mercury (doesn't ring a bell). Saxl knows about the drawing at the bottom left. Alexander pertains to the next Panel.

Panel 34



Ancient threads: tapestries as a vehicle of tradition

Tapestry as a *medium* to express the vitality of Antiquity: contemporary scenes (hunting, feasting, farming) as a realistic counterpoint to 'life in motion' (Dionysiac pathos); scenes from antiquity (the Trojan war, the myth of Alexander the Great's ascent to heaven) as enterprises of knights and princes. Both Christian and pagan themes (e.g. Narcissus, Deposition of Christ) are equally requested subjects for representation on tapestries, from North to the South.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Arazzo

Tapestry.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Teppich als Vehikel. Themen: Jagd und Vergnügen. Arbeitende Bauern. Antike im Zeitgewand (Trojan.Krieg. Alexander) = Auffahrt. Narziss und Grablegung als bestellte Teppichthemen?

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

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Beitrag des Nordens. Teppichstil. Diese Tafel verstehe ich im einzelnen gar nicht. Stehen die ersten 3 Teppiche zur "Höfisches Leben im Freien"? Die Hundegruppe bei der Eberjagd kommt aus der Antike. Die "arbeitenden Bauern" darunter siehe Ges. Schr. Die Zeichnungen sind Hist. Torj. und gehören zu den Teppichen im V. + A. Mus. Alexander siehe Ges. Sch. Aber was bedeutet der Narziss und die Grablegung in diesem Zusammenhange, und wie hängt das Ganze überhaupt zusammen?

Contribution of the North. Tapestry style. I do not understand at all this Panel in detail. The first three tapestries represent 'courtly life in the open air'. The group of dogs hunting wild boar comes from Antiquity. Below, peasants at work, see *Gesammelte Schriften*. The drawings are from the *Historia Troiana* and are part of the tapestries in the Victoria and Albert Museum. For Alexander, see *Gesammelte Schriften*. But what do the Narcissus and the Deposition mean in this context, and how does it all relate?

Panel 35



Ladies and Knights, amour and armour: myth 'alla francese'

Mythological subjects in the tradition of French illuminations and etchings: ancient tales are moralized and adapted to contemporary gestures and codes of behaviour (knight-heroes such as Hercules, Paris, Orpheus; the rape of Helen and Proserpine 'alla francese'; the death of Polyxena), and are intimately linked to the astrological and allegorical tradition of the middle Ages (Venus and the Graces; children of the planets: see Panel 24).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Ovid. Drama

Ovidio, drama.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Antike alla francese. Hercules, Paris (Raub) Paris (Urteil) Orpheus. Venus m. Grazien (astrologisch!) Polyxena. Burgundische Antike. Antiker Heroismus. Mars [Tafel 35] und Helena [Tafel 24] austauschen!!

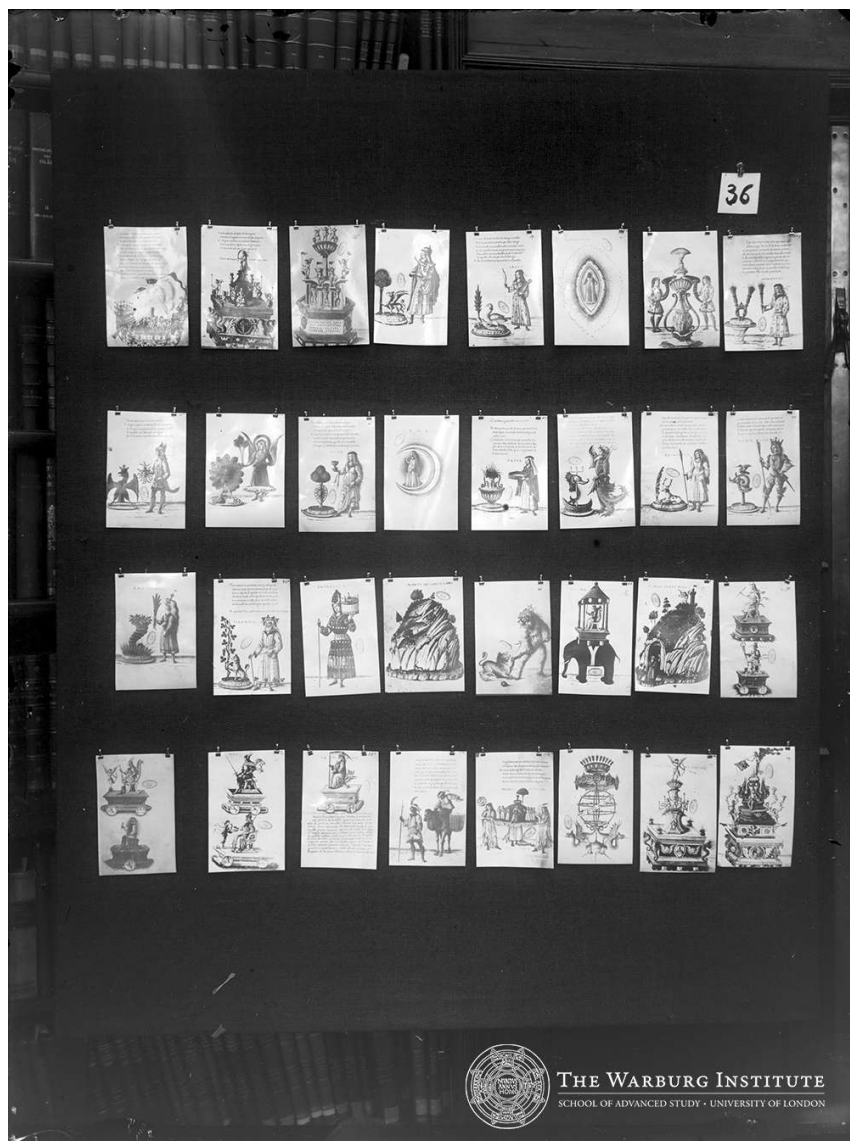
Antiquity in the French style. Hercules, Paris (Rape of Helen), Paris (Judgement), Orpheus. Venus with the Grace (astrological!), Polixena. Antiquity in Burgundian style. Antique heroism. Swap Mars [panel 35] and Helen [panel 24]!!

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ebenso unverständlich im Gedankengang. Weiter frz. Versionen von Mythol. *Ovide moralisé*. Themen: Hercules – Jason – Paris (Urteil + Raub) – Achilles (Polyxena Opfer) – Pirrus – Proserpina. Was soll Sol, was sollen die Grazien hier?

Equally incomprehensible in the association of ideas. Other French versions of mythology, *Ovide moralisé*. Themes: Hercules – Jason – Paris (Judgement + Rape) – Achilles (Sacrifice of Polyxena) – Pyrrhus – Proserpine. What is the Sun doing here, what are the Graces doing here?

Panel 36



Deities à la page

Nordic vogue for courtly pageantry is transposed to Italy: illuminations document the mythological costumes worn by the characters attending the wedding of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla of Aragon (Pesaro, 1475): an opportunity for the re-appearance of the gods in contemporary garments, i.e. 'alla francese'.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Pesaro

Pesaro.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Pesaro = Antike alla francese im Süden.

Pesaro= Antiquity in the French style in Southern Europe.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Pesaro 1476. Eindringen der gesamten Mythologie im nordischen Gewande in das italienische Festwesen. gedruckte Beschreibung.

Pesaro 1476. Penetration of all mythology in Nordic guise into the culture of the Italian feast. Printed description.

Panel 37



Irruption of Antiquity: Dionysiac temperament and sculpture in painting

Archaeological drawings and painted sculpture (such as *grisaille* reliefs and equestrian monuments represented in frescoes) used as expedients for the irruption of Dionysiac pathos (fight, rape) in early Renaissance art (Pisanello, Pollaiuolo). Emotional temperament emerges in 'all'antica' mythological paintings (Hercules) rather than in scenes 'alla franzese', despite featuring similar subjects.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Pollaiuolo

Antonio del Pollaiuolo.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Eindringen der Antike als Plastik. Archäologische Zeichnung (Giusto da Padova, Pisanello). Grisaille = Gemalte Plastik. Reiterstandbild. Schlangenmann (Zeichnung) Herkuleskämpfe (Pollaiuolo): Stich, Rüstung [Relief] statuarisches Gemälde. Hercules u. Nessus = Freiwerden des Temperaments im Zusammenhang m. anderen Raubscenen. Tänzerfries des Pollaiuolo.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Befreiung des Körpers vom Kleiderzwang. Bewegung wird durch den nackten Körper ausdrückbar. Wie wir trotzdem die heidnische Wildheit gebändigt? Giusto da Padua geist, daß diesen Prozess sich an der Antike vollspielt "Colla Firenze degli anteriori". An welchen Gegenständen wird es gestattet? 1) Hercules als Prototyp der Kraft a) Schlange? b) Anthëus ("antike Bewegung" = zurück zum Ursprung) c) Raub und Vergeltung. Die moralische Interpretation. Gleichnis Charakter gewahrt durch Verwendung unter der Decke und auf dem Harnisch. d.h. Autorisation kommt vom Bildinhalten. 2) Autorisation durch Aussonderung aus dem Bildinhalt = Grisaille a) Tanzende Putten – physischer Überschwang zwar am Thron der Madonna, aber als Fries, ebenso die tanzenden Männer in Arcetri (Vergleich mit d. Teppichbehängen) b) Grisaille: Kreuzigung Herkules; Pilatus. Laokoon c) Plastiken der Heidengötter als Zeichen ihrer Überwindung: Maria Tempelgang, Kommunion der Hl. Hieronymus (NB Hl. Hieronymus Tritt., wie Hercules, Perseus, Konstantin, Paris in verschiedenen Funktionen auf, nämlich Gehäus = Kontemplation, Kommunion = Einverleibung). Helena-Raub nur nicht ganz klar. Nur unter d. Schlagwort "Bewegung"? Kein. Beispiel d. nackte Körper! Parallele zum Nessus-Raub? Scheint mit nicht unmöglich.

Liberation of the body from the constraint of clothing. Movement becomes expressible through the naked body. However, how does one tame pagan wildness? Giusto da Padova argues that this process is all about antiquity "Colla Firenze degli anteriori". On which subjects is this allowed? 1) Hercules as the prototype of strength a) Serpent? b) Antaeus ('movement *all'antica*' = return to the origins) c) Rape and punishment. Moralised interpretation. Allegorical character preserved by use, under cover and on the armour. i.e. authorisation comes from the content of the image. 2) Use permitted through distancing from the content of the image = *grisaille* a) Dancing putti, physical exuberance on the Madonna's throne, but as frieze, as for the dancers in Arcetri (comparison with tapestries) b) *Grisaille*: crucifixion, Hercules, Pilate, Laocoon c) Sculptures of pagan gods as symbols of the conquest over them: presentation of Mary in the temple, communion of St Jerome (N.B. Triptych of St Jerome as Hercules, Perseus, Constantine, Paris in different functions, i.e. cell = contemplation = communion = incarnation). Only the abduction of Helen is not entirely clear to me. Only under the keyword "movement"? No. Example of a naked body! Parallel with the Rape of Nessus? Doesn't seem impossible to me.

Further Readings

♦ A. Pedersoli, *Riemersione, infezione/affezione, invasione/protagonismo, ritorno. Figure in grisaille nel Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg (Tavole 37, 44, 45 e 49), "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 196-210.*

♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg, "La Rivista di Engramma" 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.*

Panel 38



Paris and Helen in composite style

The rituals of courtship and love: the erotic symbolism of love and courtship in courtly art and Botticelli. Chivalrous rituals of courtship (theme of the triumph of love, nuptial chests) or their orgiastic and festive opposite (the theme of the 'punishment of love', 'fight for the trousers') in tapestries and engravings: hybrid style depictions, forerunners of Botticelli's style, intertwine ancient themes, postures and stylistic details with 'alla francese' realism.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Kpfst. Baldini. Festw.

Baldini engraving, festive culture.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Mischstil in Bezug auf Antike. Höfisches Leben. Liebessymbolik. Vorstufe zu Botticelli in der Auseinandersetzung m.d. Antike. Teppich ersetzt durch Stiche (Jagd). Minnekästchen. Distanz in der Werbung: Bestrafung Amors. Noli me tangere. Bestrafte Kälte (Nostagio) und Herzessen. Triumph Amors. Hosenkampf u. Quaresima italienisch. Paris u. Helena im Mischstil. Baldini 1. Fassung Sol.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Der Bilder kreis und die Stilstufe der Otto-prints und des frühen Florent. Kupferstichs, "Die Freigelassenen des Temperaments und ihre Bändigung". A) Die sittsame Liebe 1) Höfisch + emblematisch verhüllt im Medici-kreis. Die Protagonisten + 4 Tondi. (Nicht "Spero") 2) Der bestrafte Amor: Antike (gehört nach vorne), Stich, Signorelli. Dazu aber ergänzend: Nastagio degli Innocenti, Strafe für hartherzig Verschmähung. (Herz-Essen spielt hierin). 3) Triumphmotiv. Stich=Amor. Botticelli was? Gehört Paris hierher als "berühmtes Liebespaar"? Unten Sittsam, oben Ausgelassenheit als Fries. Venus stich – Rechtfertigung durch d. Abhängigkeit von den Sternen. Begehrlichkeit rund um ein Objekt. Hosenkampf + Quaresima stehen auch für Italien. Abhängigkeit von nordischen Vorbildern. B) Jagd + Vergnügen im Freien. Hundegruppe v. supra. Der Typus des Wilden Mannes als Produkt a contrario der höf. Gesellschaft. Dazu gehört wohl auch der Bacchus was bedeutet. Theseus + das Labyrinth (außer daß das Flor. Picture Chronicle stilistisch hierhergehört).

The pictorial context and style of the "Otto prints" and early Florentine copper engravings, "The liberation of temperament and its taming". A) Modest love

1) Courtly + emblematically veiled in the Medici circle. The protagonists + 4 rounds (not "Spero") 2) The punished Cupid: the Antique (must be placed first), the engraving, Signorelli. But also Nastagio degli Innocenti, punishment for merciless rejection (eating the heart fits into this context). 3) Reason for triumph. Engraving= Amor. Botticelli in what sense? Is Paris inserted here as a "famous pair of lovers"? Below modesty, above exuberance as frieze. Engraving of Venus – justification of dependence on the stars. Desire for an object. Fight over the trousers + Quaresima are also valid in Italy. Dependence on Nordic models. B) Hunting + outdoor activities. Group of dogs, *vedi supra*. The type of the Wild Man as outcome a *contrario* of courtly society. Bacchus could also be relevant, meaning Theseus + the labyrinth. (In addition to the fact that the figured Florentine Chronicle stylistically belongs here).

Panel 39



Love 'all'antica' in Medicean Florence

Botticelli's mythological allegories as exempla of the introduction of the 'ideal 'all'antica' style 'in early Renaissance art. Intensified life is expressed in representations portrayed 'all'antica': the theme of Love and metamorphosis. The female figure in motion: conflation of Venus (an evolution 'all'antica' of Baldini's calendar), Pallas (in Botticelli and in the minor arts) and the Nymph (Chloris, Daphne, *Abundantia-Fortuna*).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Botticelli. Kreislauf
Botticelli Cicle.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Botticelli. Idealstil. Baldini 1. und 2. Amor antikisch. Pallas als Turnierfahne. Venusbilder. Apoll und Dafne = Verwandlung. Horn d. Achelous.

Botticelli. Idealizing style. Baldini, first and second Amor in the antique style. Pallas Athene as a tournament flag. Images of Venus. Apollo and Dafne = metamorphosis. The horn of Achelous.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Das Reich der Venus. Venus-Stich mit Tanzpärchen (v. Ges. Schr.) A) Ergreifen und B) Abwehr in der Liebe = A) Verringern und B) Vergrößern der Distanz zwischen d. Liebenden u. d. Geliebten. zu A. – Apoll + Daphne: Verfolgung und im Moment der Berührung die Verwandlung und damit Entziehung. Verschiedene Stadien der Annäherung bis zu dem Luini (?) wo ausstelle der Verfolgung das Ansehen getreten ist. zu B.: Pallas-Venus. 1) Die Zurückhaltung "Spero" im Otto-print. Nur Berührung der Hände 2) Pallas die Keusche als Sehntzöttin im Liebesturnier des Giuliano (Impresa) 3) Venus-Diana auf dem Revers der Medaille. 4) Pallas in der Pose der Venus im Teppich u. in d. Zeichnung. 5) Intarsia siehe Ges. Schr. 6) Botticelli Pallas + Kentaur Keuschheitsallegorie. 7) der gerußte Amor auf d. Buontalenti-zeichnung. Die Blüten Metamorphose, der Lorbeer des Apoll (Lorenzo-Lauro), die Flora, die Abundanzia m.d. Füllhorn, die Blumen Gewänder (auch der Palla) = die Wiederkehr der Wachstums u.d. Fruchtbarkeit im Sinne des Proserpina-Mythos. Zu gleicher zeit natürlich formal: Befreiung des bewegten Körpers. Gesteigerte Geste sie Lauf Tanz Fliegen Flucht.

The Realm of Venus. Engraving of Venus with dancing couple (see *Gesammelte Schriften*) A) Grasping and B) Fleeing in love

A) Decreasing and B) Increasing the distance between the lover and the beloved. For A. Apollo + Daphne: pursuit and, at the moment of contact, transformation and thus withdrawal. Different stages of approach up to Luini (?) where the chase is replaced by the gaze. For B.: Pallas-Venus 1) The restraint "Spero" in the Otto print. Only hands touching. 2) Pallas the Chaste as goddess of desire in Giuliano's amorous Giostra (Impresa) 3) Venus-Diana on the reverse of the medal 4) Pallas in the pose of Venus in the tapestry and drawing 5) Tarsia, see *Gesammelte Schriften* 6) Pallas + centaur by Botticelli, allegory of chastity 7) The plucked Cupid in the drawing by Buontalenti.

The metamorphosis of the flower, the laurel of Apollo (Lorenzo-Lauro), Flora, the Abundance with the cornucopia, the flowery garments (also of Pallas) = the return to floridity and fertility in the sense of the myth of Proserpine. At the same time, of course, the formal liberation of the body in movement. The amplification of gestures such as running, dancing, flying.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Metamorphoses of the Virtues of Love in Medicean Florence. A reading of Panel 39 of the Mnemosyne Atlas*, English translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 116, maggio 2014, 26-43.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *The botticelliana serie and the "ventilata veste". Guide to reading Panel 39*, English translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 4, dicembre 2000, 43-50.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Letture grafiche di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 39*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 4, dicembre 2000.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, G. Targia, *Tavola 39*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 130-133.

Panel 40



Dionysiac parades

The all'antica style showing the 'expressive excess' of the formulae of emotion (aggression, escape, defense, despair) is a widespread trend, and finds an apt narrative style in the *imago continuata* of frieze scenes (Ovidian subjects as well as the Biblical story of the *Massacre of the Innocents*). This agitated narrative style will lead to the dramatic style of the Baroque.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Thiasos. Pathos

Thiasus, pathos.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Durchbruch des antiken Temperaments. Kontinuierliche Darstellung (als Triumphzug antiker Gestalten? = Fries). Kindermord = rasende Mutter? Exzess der Pathosformel.

Breakthrough of the antique spirit. Continuous depictions (as a triumphal procession of antique figures? = frieze). Infanticide = frenzied mother? Excessive application of the pathos formula.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die rasende Bewegung, der Rausch, die Thyasotische Prozession, Herkunft aus dem Kreis des Bacchischen angedeutet durch Bacchus-Medaillons im Pal. Med. und Bacchus-stich. Die ausgelassene Heiterkeit. Ovid-Metamorphosen in der Villa Farnesina: Fries als vorbeiziehende Prozession. Der mythische Hintergrund der idyllischen Erzählung zeigt sich in der leidenschaftlichen Gebärdensprache. Umschwung ins Rasen und Ausbruch am Thema des Kindermordes: der Bluttausch der Soldaten, die Verzweiflung der Mütter. Dazu Geschichte: Plinius (?) bis Marino, Kind das mit der Milch zugleich das Blut der Mutter trinkt. Bildbeschreibung? Unter suchen ob die verschiedenen Beispiele der K.M. Darstellung verschiedenes bedeuten. Was z.B. das Terracotta-Relief? Der Marc Anton statuarisch und daher distanziert. Relief architektonisch oder bühnen mäßig? Ich kenne nicht: vorletzte Darstells lurks unter und zweite rechts oben.

The frenetic movement, the rapture, the thiasotic procession, originate from the Bacchic circle as seen in the medallions with Bacchus in the Medici Palace and the engraving with Bacchus. The exuberant rapture. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at the Villa Farnesina: friezes as a passing procession. The mythical background of the idyllic tale is revealed in a gestural language charged with pathos. A turning point is in the run and run on the theme of the Massacre of the Innocents: the bloodlust of the soldiers, the desperation of the mothers. The Story: Pliny (?) in Gianbattista Marino; child sucking his mother's blood along with milk. Description of the image? See if the various examples of depiction of infanticide have different meanings. What, for example, does the terracotta relief mean? Marcantonio Raimondi is statuesque and therefore distant. Architectural relief or scenography? I don't know: the penultimate figure on the bottom left and the second on the top right.

Panel 41



Christ as Orpheus, the Witch as a Nymph: the re-appearance of the pathos of destruction

The portrayal of the pathos of destruction (see Panel 5) is widespread during the Renaissance: formulas of aggression and sacrifice are expressed in pagan themes (Hercules and Cacus, Medea, Orpheus, Polyxena) as well as in Christian figures (David, "Sinite parvulos venire ad me", *Caritas*, the Passion of Christ). The ancient Nymph-Maenad of Orgiastic rituals survives now in witchcraft.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Orpheus

Orpheus.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Vernichtungspathos (cf. Tafel 5). Opfer. Nympha als Hexe. Freiwerden des Pathos.

Destruction pathos [cf. Panel 5]. Sacrifice. The nymph as witch. The unleashing of pathos.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ausschließend an die verzweifelte Mutter von Tafel 40: die Frau als Opfernde + Geopferte, Vernichterin + Retterin 1) Medea als Kindermörderin; ihre Geschichte in Hss. + frühem Holzschnitt. Die Gruppe Medea die ihre Kinder zum Opfer führt wird: bei Agostino Kinder – Errettung – Wandern des Hl. Bernardino; bei Roberti 1 die Gattin des Hannibal (?) die ihre Kinder aus d. brennenden Haus rettet; bei Roberti 2 Zuschauerin beider Kreuztragung [Hinzuzufügen die selbe Rolle beim Triumph Caesars von Mantegna, und Caritas!] Medea als Zauberin im Schlangenzug als Grisaille bei Signorelli, Geißelung. Von Medea als Zauberin geht es weiter zu den Vestalinnen (?) in der Uffizi-Zeichnung, Hekate als Ninfa in der Bronze, nordischer Hexenritt in der Pariser Zeichnung. 2) Mänaden Orpheus erschlagen – die Rache der Frau am Mann.

Excluding the desperate mother of Panel 40: the woman as the one who performs the sacrifice + object of the sacrifice, executioner + saviour 1) Medea as infanticide, her story in manuscripts + early woodcuts. The group of Medea leading her children to the sacrifice: in Agostino di Duccio children – salvation – wanderer; in Ercole de' Roberti 1) Hannibal's wife (?) rescuing her children from the burning house; in Ercole de' Roberti 2) spectator of the transport of the Cross [in addition, the same role in Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar and Caritas!]. Medea as sorceress on a chariot pulled by snakes as *grisaille* in Signorelli's Flagellation. From Medea as sorceress we move on to the Vestals (?) in the Uffizi drawing, to Hecate as Ninfa in the bronze, to the Cavalcade of Nordic Witches in the Paris drawing. 2) The Maenads kill Orpheus – woman's revenge on man.

Further Readings

♦ G. Bordignon, *Riemersione del pathos dell'annientamento. Una proposta di lettura di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 41*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 157, luglio/agosto 2018, 73-97.

Other Readings

♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 41*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 248-251.

Panel 41a



Invention of the Laocoön

The eloquent emotive formula of the sacrificed priest (Laocoön) in ancient pre-coinage re-emerges in response to the expressive demands of Renaissance art, even before the actual archaeological discovery of the sculpture (in Panel 6).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Laokoon

Laocoön.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Leidenspathos. Tod des Priesters. (cf. Tafel 6).

Suffering pathos. Death of the priest (cf. Panel 6).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ver Laokoon, Priester-Gott, Priesterkönig, Opferung des Priesters, etc. Siehe Frazer. Filippino's Adam mit Laokoon-Kopf (NB Vor Auffindung der Gruppe). NB kommt in der Bekehrung Pauli die Gruppe vor? Was soll der Kentaur? Archäologische Verwertung der Gruppe. Mittelalterl. Darstellung vor d. Kenntnis die Gruppe Schlangen-Verbindung zwischen Adam + Laokoon Bei Ripa als "Dolore".

Laocoon, God-priest, King-priest, priest-sacrifice, etc. See Frazer. Adam by Filippino Lippi with the head of Laocoon [N.B. before the group was found]. N.B. does the group appear in Paul's Conversion? What is the centaur for? Archaeological use of the group. Medieval representation before the discovery of the group. Serpent as connection between Adam + Laocoon. In Ripa as "Dolore".

Further Readings

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Il Laocoonte: desiderio di una formula patetica antica e fortuna del soggetto. Letture grafiche di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 41a*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 25, maggio/giugno 2003, 25-28.

♦ M. Centanni, *L'originale assente: il gruppo del Laocoonte in Tavola 41a dell'Atlante Mnemosyne (con appendice: Un esempio di cattiva lettura di Ernst Gombrich)*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 25, maggio/giugno 2003, 29-42.

Panel 42



The Maenad under the Cross

Energetic and semantic inversions of the emotional formulae of suffering: orgiastic exaltation as a model for mournful despair (the Magdalene as 'Maenad under the Cross'); annihilation of the victim as a model for miraculous healing (St Anthony heals, Pentheus). Theme of mourning: the pre-coinage portrayal of heroic *threnos* – ancient funeral song for the hero – (Meleager, Alcestis, Prometheus – see Panel 5) celebrates both the death of middle-class men in 15th century, and the divine death of Christ; melancholic meditation on death.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Leidenspathos in energetischer Inversion (Pentheus, Mänade am Kreuz). Bürgerliche Totenklage, heroisiert. Kirchl. Totenklage. Tod des Erlösers (cf. Tafel 4). Grablegung. Todesmeditation.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Klage um den toten Gott. Das Beinabreißen des Pentheus durch die belauschten Mänaden wird: 1) Heilung bei Donatello, Antonius-Wunder 2) Klage um den privaten Toten Torbuoni Sassetti ("all'antica" gestattet einen ungebändigten Ausdruck des Schmerzes, der Kirchenzucht verboten hatte). 3) Grablegung Christi Grablegung bei Cossa (?) nach etrusk. Spiegel. D. Mänade wird zur Klagenden. Carpaccio steht für die Überwindung des wilden Schmerzes durch Einordnung in den Rythmus von Verfall + Wiederkehr in der Natur.

Lamentation on the Dead God. The dismemberment of Pentheus' limbs by the Maenads he had spied becomes: 1) Donatello's Healing, Miracle of St Anthony 2) Lamentation over the private death of Tornabuoni Sassetti (the "all'antica" style allows an unrestrained expression of grief, which church discipline had forbidden) 3) Burial of Christ. Burial in Cossa (?) through the Etruscan mirror. The Maenad becomes a figure of mourning. Carpaccio represents the overcoming of unbridled grief with the inclusion of the rhythm of decay + return of nature.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *The Theatre of Death. Guide to reading Panel 42*, English edition by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 2, ottobre 2000, 39-43.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lettture grafiche di Tavola 42*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 2, ottobre 2000.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *From the Theatre of Death to the Theatre of Pity. A "Phantom Panel" ex Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 42*, English edition by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 6, febbraio/marzo 2001, 17-23.
- ♦ G. Didi-Huberman, *Mnemosyne* 42, "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 108-112.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, G. Targia, *Tavola 42*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 252-255.

Panel 43



The image of the self: class awareness and bourgeois portraiture in the Renaissance era

The relationship between Ghirlandaio's paintings and his patrons, the Sassetti family, as an example of the Renaissance bourgeois lifestyle. The desire for self-representation as a consequence of the acquisition of self-awareness and individual autonomy: introduction of portraiture in monumental religious paintings and in private devotional ones (Flemish-style realism – see Panel 31).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sassetti

Sassetti.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Sassetti – Ghirlandajo als Exponent der bürgerl. Kultur. Eindringen des Porträts – Selbst-gefühl. Andacht pseudo-nordisch.

Sassetti – Ghirlandaio as exponent of bourgeois culture. Intrusion of the portrait – self-awareness. Pseudo-Northern devotion.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ghirlandajo 1) Seelenspiegel, siehe Aufsätze Ges. Schr. Triumphbogen und verfallender Tempel bei der Anbetung. Assimilation aus Nordische bei Benedetto Ghirlandajo. Rhetorische Geste versus Einkehr + Kontemplation bei Botti. Augustinus und Ghirlandajo. Hieronymus andererseits nordische Komponente bei Ghirl.

Ghirlandaio 1) Mirror of the Soul, see essays *Gesammelte Schriften*. Triumphal Arch and Ruined Temple in the Adoration Assimilation of the Nordic element in Benedetto Ghirlandaio. Rhetorical gesture versus retreat + contemplation in Botticelli's Saint Augustine and on the other hand Nordic element in Ghirlandaio's Saint Jerome.

Further Readings

♦ K. Mazzucco, G. Targia, *Tavola 43*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 134-137.

Panel 44



Ancient pathos harnessed within the *grisaille*

The formula of the 'pathos of the victor' re-appears in Ghirlandaio's *grisaille*. The vitality of ancient figures, copied from reliefs of the Roman Imperial era, is relegated at first to the architectural background, as fake sculpture. Finally, images drawn from the classical repertoire appear as characters in the foreground: Phaëton (formula of the fall, as opposed to the triumph in the *Battle of Anghiari*), and Nike-Victoria (model both for a handmaiden and for the Biblical heroine Judith).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Nach. Antike

Afterlife of Antique.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Siegerpathos bei Ghirlandajo. Grisaille als erste Stufe der Zulassung. Dagegen: Sturz. (Phaeton, mêlée). Verwandlungen der Nike.

The victor's pathos in Ghirlandaio. Grisaille as the first step to granting entry. In contrast: fall (Phaethon, mêlée), metamorphosis of Nike.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ghirlandajo. Antikische Komponente. Klagepathos 1) des Reliefs um geben von röm. Triumphalpathos 2) in Grisaille 1) Centaur, Mänadengebärde, Münzform des Portraits 2) Vorbild Reliefs am Constantinsbogen, direkten. Copien wo? Schlachtgemenge mit niedergeworfenen unter den Hufen der Pferde: antike Gemme, Sarkophag im Cod. Excurialensis (Ghirl.*) geht in die Anghiarischlacht über *Phaeton Darstellungen! Sturz als Komplement der Triumphes? Der Karren des Phaeton. u.d. Karren auf d. Grisaille. Die krönende Nike als herantragende Ninfa. Ist Vergil gedacht als Lehrer des ganzen Gefechts- und Triumphalpathos, oder nur als Quelle der Venus Virgo? Die Tornabuoni-Medaille und der Sarkophag gehören inhaltlich hierher + leiten zur nächsten Tafel über.

Ghirlandaio. Ancient component. Pathos of mourning 1) of reliefs with Roman triumphal pathos 2) in the *grisaille* 1) Centaur, Maenad gesture, portrait medallion form 2) model of the reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, direct copies from where? Hand-to-hand battle, being trampled under the hooves of horses: ancient gem, sarcophagus in the *Codex Escorialensis* (Ghirlandaio*) in the Battle of Anghiari. *Representation of Phaeton! The Fall as counterpart to the Triumph? Phaeton's chariot and the chariot on the *grisaille*. Nike crowning as the Ninfa *ingrediens*. Is Virgil intended as the teacher of all the pathos of battle and triumph, or only as the source for the *Venus Virgo*? The Tornabuoni medal and sarcophagus, in terms of their content, go here + lead to the next Panel.

Further Readings

♦ A. Pedersoli, *Riemersione, infezione/affezione, invasione/protagonismo, ritorno. Figure en grisaille nel Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg (Tavole 37, 44, 45 e 49), "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 196-210.*

Panel 45



Gestures to a superlative degree: from *grisaille* to painted reality

The most intense formulae of emotion are not only kept at a metaphorical distance, as sculptures painted *en grisaille*: they enliven the characters depicted by Ghirlandaio. The handmaiden, the angel, Salome, the fleeing mothers and the soldiers: they all seem to 'leave' the reliefs, and enter the scene. Ancient heroes and commanders too, are brought to life, as a symbols of contemporary self-awareness, out of the coldness of marble.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Kindermord

Massacre of the Innocents.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Superlative der Gebärdensprache. Übermut des Selbstbewusstseins. Einzel-Heros, heraustretend aus der typologischen Grisaille. Verlust des "Wie der Metapher".

Superlatives of gestural language. Haughtiness of self-confidence. The individual hero emerging from typological grisaille. The loss of the "how of metaphor".

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ghirlandajo. "Die Superlative der Gebärdensprache" im Umkreise der Tornabuoni. Geburtsszene: Kleiderlast + Ninfa. Zacharias: die Kindergestalt auf d. Zeichnung von Wbg auf den Verlust eines Kindes gedeutet. Vielleicht die ganze Tafel: "Das Kindesopfer"? Dazu passt die ganze Reihe links oben – unter Reiterschlacht + Römer-Sabines als Zeichen woher die Formensprache kommt, die 2 großen Mittel Bilder, Bellini Blutspende, Matt. di Giovanni Kindermord + unten rechts. Ghirl. Muzio Scevola wegen Grisaille bei Bellini, aber schwach. Was soll Auferstehung, Anghiarischlacht, Bertoldo. Bonus Eventus – Medaille? Pietro Martire nur wegen fliehendem Mönch?

Ghirlandaio. "The superlatives of gestural language" in the Tornabuoni circle. Nativity scene: Burden of Clothes + Ninfa. Zechariah: the figure of the child in the drawing is interpreted by Warburg as the loss of a son. Perhaps the entire panel as "The Sacrifice of the Son"? This theme belongs with the whole series in the top left – below the Battle on Horseback + Romani-Sabini, indicating where the formal language comes from, the two large central images, the Blood Offering in Bellini, the Massacre of the Innocents by Matteo di Giovanni + in the bottom right Muzio Scevola by Ghirlandaio because of the *grisaille* in Bellini, but weak. What should the Resurrection, the Battle of Anghiari, the medal of Bertoldo di Giovanni with the *Bonus Eventus* mean? Pietro Martire only because of the fleeing monk?

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, L'arco, la grisaille, la Ninfa: dal 'come se' alla poetica della contrazione metaforica. Saggio interpretativo di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 45, "La Rivista di Engramma" 21, novembre/dicembre 2002, 13-16.
- ♦ A. Pedersoli, *Riemersione, infezione/affezione, invasione/protagonismo, ritorno. Figure en grisaille nel Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg* (Tavole 37, 44, 45 e 49), "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 196-210.
- ♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, Lettura grafica di Tavola 45, "La Rivista di Engramma" 21, novembre/dicembre 2002.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 45, in Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 138-141.
- ♦ H.C. Hönes, *Panel 45, Guided Pathways, in Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas* warburg.library.cornell.edu, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 46



The Nymph as handmaiden

The image of the Nymph, archetype of the female figure in motion, reappears in the paintings commissioned by the Tornabuoni family as a domestic figure, a midwife or a basket-bearing handmaiden. The vitality of the ancient Nymph not only reappears in Biblical and mythological characters (angels, Judith, Venus), but is also embodied in the form of a young woman in everyday life, (as an engram, caught in a contemporary snapshot).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Ninfa

Nymph.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Ninfa. "Eilbringitte" im Tornabuoni-Kreise. Domestizierung.

Nymph. "Eilbringitte" in the Tornabuoni family circle. Domestication.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Tornabuoni – Ninfa. Nike bei Agilulf – das eilfertige Herantragen bei der Geburtsszene "Die Spenderin". Themenkreis Tornabuoni aus Lucrezia T. Werken. Tobias + das Engel, Judith, Ninfa. S. Giov. Batt. Flor. Patron. Medaille Venus Virgo, Fresken Villa Lemmi, Portrait + Großes Geburtsfresko stellen Giovanna Tornabuoni degli Albizzi – das wie Verwandtschaft mit Lucrezia Tornabuoni negli Medici, Mutter des Lorenzo. Das Herantragen, das Empfangen, das Heil-Spenden, das Erquickern. Das Keuschheitsmotiv auf der Medaille passt eigentlich nicht hier her.

Tornabuoni – Ninfa. Nike in Agilulfo – the hasty entrance into the childbirth scene, "the bearer of gifts". The Tornabuoni's repertoire of themes from the works of Lucrezia Tornabuoni. Tobias + the angel, Judith, Ninfa, St John the Baptist patron saint of Florence. *Venus Virgo* medal, Villa Lemmi frescoes, portrait + large fresco with nativity scene with the figure of Giovanna Tornabuoni degli Albizzi, who is related to Lucrezia Tornabuoni in Medici, mother of Lorenzo. The offering, the receiving, the offering of salvation, the giving of refreshment. The motif of chastity on the medal does not really fit here.

Further Readings

- ♦ G. Zanon, *Mnemosyne 46. The Florentine Nymph's step*, Venezia 2024.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Il passo della Ninfa fiorentina. Lettura interpretativa di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182, giugno 2021, 51-196.
- ♦ F. Perfetti, *Venus Virgo/Venus Magistra. Lettura della figura femminile in trono negli affreschi di Botticelli di Villa Lemmi, alla luce del montaggio di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182, giugno 2021, 197-219.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Epiphany of the "nympha gradiva". Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 3, novembre 2000, 29-34.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 3, novembre 2000.

Other Readings

- ♦ A. Naval, "Ninfa fiorentina": una correspondencia sobre la ninfa, figura en movimiento, entre André Jolles y Aby Warburg, "Revista chilena de literatura", n. 190 (Mayo 2024), 513-537.
- ♦ G. Targia, K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 46, in Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 142-145.
- ♦ A. Pinotti, *Panel 46, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas* warburg.library.cornell.edu, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 47



Two faces of the Nymph: the Angel and the Head-huntress

Further reincarnations of the Nymph in opposing figures of protection or destructive fury: the guardian angel and the head-huntress (Judith, Salome, a handmaiden carrying the severed head). The theme of the protection of children (*Tobias and the Angel* as a votive image for the children of merchants) is also present in Biblical subjects (the Gospel scene *On the way home from the Temple*).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Judith. Herodias

Judith, Herodias.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Ninfa als Schutzengel und als Kopffägerin. Herbeitragen des Kopfes. "Heimkehr vom Tempel" als Schutz des Kindes in der Fremde (Tobiuzzobilder als Votivbilder).

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).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Tobias – Judith (Salome). Das Beschützen + freundlich. Begleiten in derselben formalen Configuration wie das Verderben – Tragen. Heilvorgang + Vernichtungsvorgang. Innerhalb des Tobias-Motivs wie der 2 Versionen: 12 Jahr Jesus im Tempel + Heimkehr – Tobias selbst. Zusammenhang das schützende Begleiten. Tobias wird auf seinem Auszug vom Engel begleitet (Funktion in Florenz bei d. Reisen der jungen Kaufmanns Lehrlinge). Heimkehr vom Tempel ist noch ein letztes Schutz vor der Trennung, die Trennung ist aber schon drin. Das Agostino di Duccio – Relief ist ein Abschiednehmen (wessen von wem?). Judith-Salome = "Kopffägerinnen". Der Mänadische Tanz bei Salome. Das Herausfragen des Hauptes wie das des Früchtekorbes bei d. Geburtsszene. Donatello beherrschte Geste, Ungezügeltheit nur in d. Putten-Relief.

Tobias – Judith (Salome). Protect + friendly accompany in the same formal configuration as kill – transport. Process of protection + Process of destruction. It is as if there were two versions in the Tobias motif: twelve-year-old Jesus at the temple + Returning home – Tobias himself. The connection is the accompanying by protecting. Tobias in his departure is accompanied by the angel (in Florence, a function for the journey of the young merchant apprentices). The return home from the temple is a final protection before separation, but separation is already in it. Agostino di Duccio's relief is a farewell (from whom to whom?). Judith – Salome = "Headhunters". The menadic dance with Salome. The carrying of the head like that of the basket of fruit in the nativity scene. Donatello's controlled gesture, wildness only in the relief of the putti.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *L'Angelo e la Cacciatrice di teste. Una lettura di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 47*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 116, maggio 2014, 38-53.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *The Angel and the Head-huntress. A Reading of Plate 47 of the Mnemosyne Atlas*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 20, ottobre 2002, 71-88.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 47*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 20, ottobre 2002.

Other Readings

- ♦ K. Mazzucco, G. Targia, *Tavola 47*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 146-149.
- ♦ B. Anderson, *Panel 47, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas* warburg.library.cornell.edu, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 48



Fortune and Renaissance Man: predestination and individual freedom

The renewal of Antiquity apparent in the figures of Fortune symbolizing the opposition between the emancipation from heavenly predestination and enslavement to Chance, in relation to the merchant, the new type of *homo rinascimentalis*.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Fortuna

Fortune.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Fortuna. Auseinandersetzungssymbol des sich befreienden Menschen (Kaufmann).

Fortuna. Altercation symbol for man setting himself free (merchant).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Fortuna. Rad. Kugel – Schopf – Segel = fortschreitender. Eingriffswille des Menschen dem Schicksal gegenüber. Wenderpunkt beim Traum des Enea Silvio. Hier muß jede einzelne Darstellung analysiert + die Reihe historisch geordnet werden. Angehängt ist das Ganze an den Pal. Strozzi – Sassetti - Aufsatz. Der Gedankengang von Ghirlandajo an scheint mir: das "römische Triumphalpathos" liefert Vorbilder für 1) Mord + Totschlag, Morden + Gegenwehr (Kindermord) 2) Gegengenden (Nike → Ninfa) 3) Heldengröße (Bellini + neue Treue) 4) Schutz bieten (Tobias + Rückkehr v. Temple) [NB! Wie hier zu Judith + Salome?] 5) Das Eilen des Schicksals + das Aufhalten durch d. Eingriff d. Menschen. Dann kommt das triumphale Sich – Behaupten bei Mantegna

Fortune. Wheel. Sphere – tuft – sail = man's progressive will to intervene in destiny. Turning point with the dream of Enea Silvio [Piccolomini]. Here each individual representation has to be analysed + the series must be arranged historically. The whole is linked to the essay on Palazzo Strozzi – Sassetti. Ghirlandajo train of thought seems to me: the 'Roman triumphal pathos' offers models for: 1) Assassination + manslaughter + counter-defence (infanticide) 2) Opposite ways of giving (Nike → Nymph) 3) Heroic grandeur (Bellini + renewed Faith) 4) Offer of protection (Tobias + return from the temple) [N.B.! How do we get to Judith + Salome here?] 5) The haste of fate + the interruption by man's intervention. Then with Mantegna comes the triumphant self-affirmation.

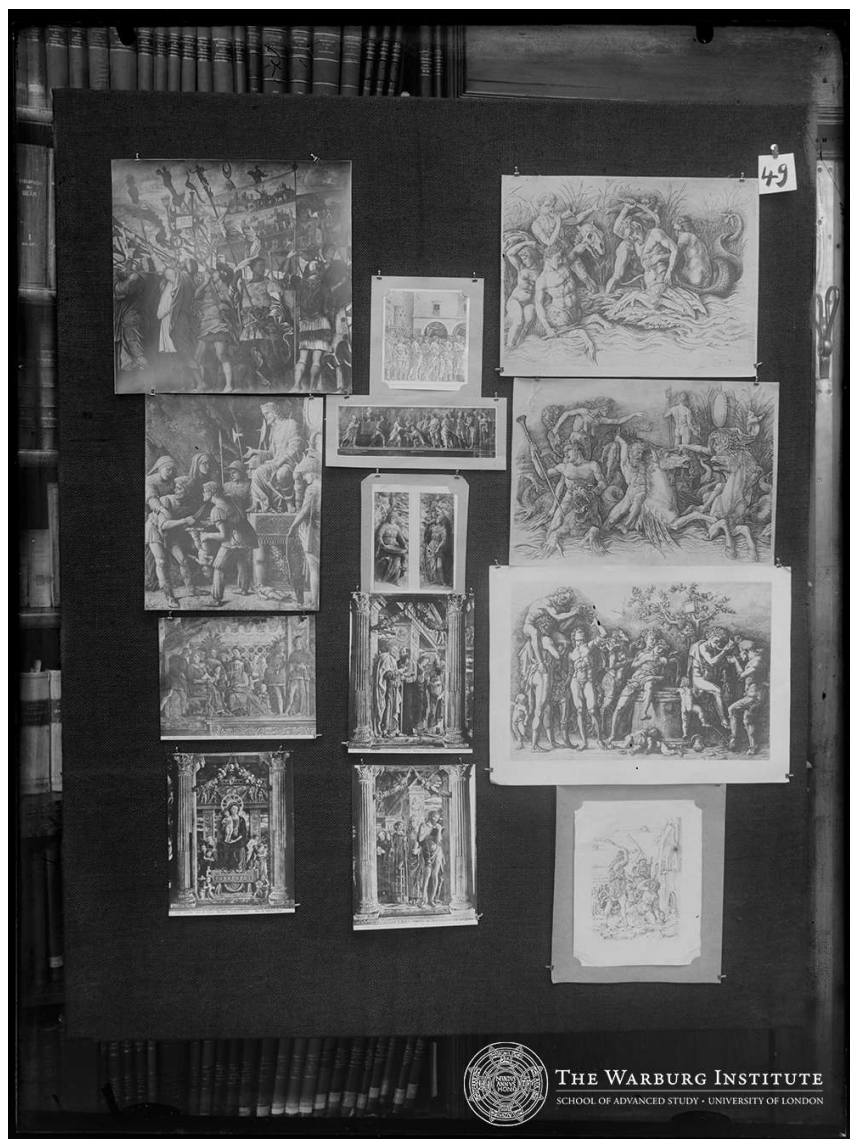
Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Fortuna during the Renaissance. A Reading of Plate 48 of Aby Warburg's Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, Translation by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 137, August 2016, 23-58.
- ♦ M. Centanni, Velis Nolisve. *Anfibologia nell'anima e nel corpo di un'impresa. Sulla medaglia di Camillo Agrippa (Roma, ca. 1585)*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 162, gennaio/febbraio 2019, 67-112.
- ♦ A. Barale, *Prometeo in bolina*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 92, agosto 2011, 57-59.
- ♦ A. Barale e L. Squillaro, *Regesto di testi inediti e rari dal Warburg Institute Archive sul tema della Fortuna*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 92, agosto 2011, 60-75.

Other Readings

- ♦ G. Targia, K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 48, in Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 150-153.
- ♦ F. Fuchs, *Panel 48, Guided Pathways, in Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas warburg.library.cornell.edu*, Cornell University, 2013.
- ♦ C. Dieghi, "Mnemosyne". *La parola all'immagine; la tavola della Fortuna nell' "Atlante" di Aby Warburg [Tavola 48]*, in *Dea Fortuna. Iconografia di un mito*, a c. di M. Rossi, Museo Civico Giulio Ferrari, Carpi 2010 (catalogo della mostra), 23-27.
- ♦ L. Squillaro, *Dall'allegoria antica all'impresa rinascimentale: il viaggio di fortuna seguendo la rotta di Aby Warburg (Atlante della Memoria, Tavola 48)*, tesi di laurea specialistica in Storia delle Arti e Conservazione dei Beni artistici, relatore M. Centanni, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, A.A. 2001-2002.

Panel 49



Mantegna's focus on Antiquity: the pathos of victor and the use of *grisaille*

Andrea Mantegna's style as a means to controlling the energy of Antiquity, keeping a distance from the gestural rhetoric drawn from classical models, and using the fictional possibilities of *grisaille* as a metaphorical expressive tool.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Mantegna

Mantegna.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Gebändigtes Siegerpathos (Mantegna). Grisaille als "Wie der Metapher". Distanzierung.

Subdued emotional expressivity: victory (Mantegna). *Grisaille* as the "how of metaphor". Dissociation.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Mantegna ist ein Hellt wie Piero. Bei Piero die raumschaffende Lücke imkontinuierlichen Zug (das Kreuz) und das Licht von oben. Bei Mantegna das gemessene Schreiten 1) von das würdevolle Stehen 2) im Gegensatz zum rasenden Vorbeilaufen + Tanzen bei den Florentinern. Antike dringt nur bei bestimmten Gegenständen im Bildein, bei andern wird sie distanziert dadurch, daß sie als Grisaille, d.h. archäologisch, als etwas schon einmal Geprägtes + Festgehaltenes dargestellt wird. 1) Triumphzug 2) Camera degli Sposi; Kindermord im Salomonsurteil, Grisaille 4) Ankunft der Kybele, der "großen Mutter" als Kultbild im Rom, Grisaille 5) Tuccia Keuschleitsmotiv, Grisaille. Grisailen bei christl. Themen im Fries etc. Der Überschwang erlaubt in den mythologischen Kupferstichen.

Mantegna is a luminous as Piero. In Piero the void that creates space in the continuous procession (the cross) and the light from above. With Mantegna, the measured step 1) of standing with dignity 2) contrasts with the rapid forward running + dancing of the Florentines. Antiquity penetrates into the image only through certain themes, while in other ways it is distanced in the *grisaille* representation, i.e. archaeologically, as something that has already been imprinted and fixed. 1) Triumphal procession 2) Camera degli Sposi; 3) Infanticide in the Judgement of Solomon, *grisaille* 4) Arrival of Cybele, the "Great Mother" as cult image in Rome, *grisaille* 5) Motif of Tuccia's Chastity, *grisaille*. *Grisailles* with Christian themes in friezes, etc. The exuberance allowed in mythological prints.

Further Readings

♦ A. Pedersoli, *Riemersione, infezione/affezione, invasione/protagonismo, ritorno. Figure en grisaille nel Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg (Tavole 37, 44, 45 e 49)*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 100, settembre/ottobre 2012, 196-210.

♦ G. Bordinon, *Andrea Mantegna: Spiel-drama del pathos e ritmo eroico dell'antico. Una proposta di lettura della tavola 49 dell'Atlante Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 24, aprile 2003, 23-26.

♦ K. Mazzucco, *Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 49: scheda di presentazione*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 24, aprile 2003, 17-20.

♦ Seminario *Mnemosyne, Letture grafiche di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 49*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 24, aprile 2003.

Panel 50/51



Muses to hand

The cosmos as an harmonic system, made accessible by playing cards. The Muses on Tarot cards as mediating figures: in philosophical thought and cosmic ascension (Virtues, celestial spheres, and Parnassus); in the history of images (ancient gods, medieval and portrayed 'all'antica', see Panel 6); and via systems for the transmission of images ('popular' media – playing cards – and artistic creation – Mantegna's work).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Mantegna

Mantegna.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Aufteilung und Handbarmachung. Musen. Tugenden und Laster. Harmonikales System. Auffahrt. Grabtänzerinnen.

Subdivision and making handleable. Muses. Virtutes and Vices. Harmonic system. Ascent. Female funerary dancers.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Flatternde Gewänder + Tanzschrift a) im kosmologischen Sphaerenspiel b) bei den Musen v. Artes. Pneuma – Gesang. Die Ninfa nicht häuslich wie bei Ghirlandajo sondern kosmologisch.

Fluttering robes + dance script a) in the cosmological play of the spheres b) in the Muses *versus* the Arts. Pneuma – Song. The Ninfa not domestic as in Ghirlandaio but cosmological.

Panel 52



Roman Imperial pathos and Christian mercy

The *Justice of Trajan* – a legendary episode concerning the Roman emperor holding back his horse in front of the mother of a murdered man – represents Christian mercy: an ethical and expressive inversion of the 'pathos of the victor' caught in the emotional formula of the horse-rider trampling the enemy (see Panel 7, 44). In the same way, the so-called *Continence of Scipio* was read and spread as a Christian subject.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Continentia Scip. Trajans Ger.

The Continenence of Scipio, Trajan's Justice.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Gerechtigkeit des Trajan = energetische Inversion des Überreitens. Ethische Umkehrung des Siegerpathos. Großmut des Scipio.

Trajan's Justice = energetic inversion of horseback trampling. Ethical inversion of emotional expressivity for victory. The magnanimity of Scipio.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die ethische Seite des röm. Pathos: Gerechtigkeit des Trajan – Enthaltensamkeit des Scipio. Trajan – geretteter Heide (Gregor + Dante) formal: eine Inversion des Überreitens – unterworfenen Provinz. *Exempla*.

The ethical side of the Roman pathos: Trajan's Justice – Scipio's Continenence. Trajan – formally rescuing the pagan (Gregorio + Dante): inversion of the riding over the enemy – submissive province. *Exempla*.

Further Readings

♦ M. Centanni, *L'“alta gloria” dell'impero e la visione di Traiano*, in M. Fagiolo (a cura di), *Dante e Roma*, Roma 2022, 87-100.

Panel 53



Heavenly and earthly Parnassus

During the Renaissance and early 15th century, the Muses gradually find their way back to the Olympus, disguised as daemonic divinities depicted 'alla francese', (as at Palazzo Schifanoia), and as allegorical divinities portrayed 'all'antica' – (Raffaello via Mantegna). The figure of the thoughtful Muse as the representation of intellectual meditation (from Raphael's *Parnassus* to the *School of Athens*).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Raffael. Filippino Musen

Raphael, Filippino Lippi's Muses.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Musen. Himmlischer und irdischer Parnasß. (Raffael) Anschluß an Mantegna und Schifanoja. Auffahrt.

Muses. Heavenly and earthly Parnassus. (Raphael) Connection to Mantegna and Palazzo Schifanoia. Ascent.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

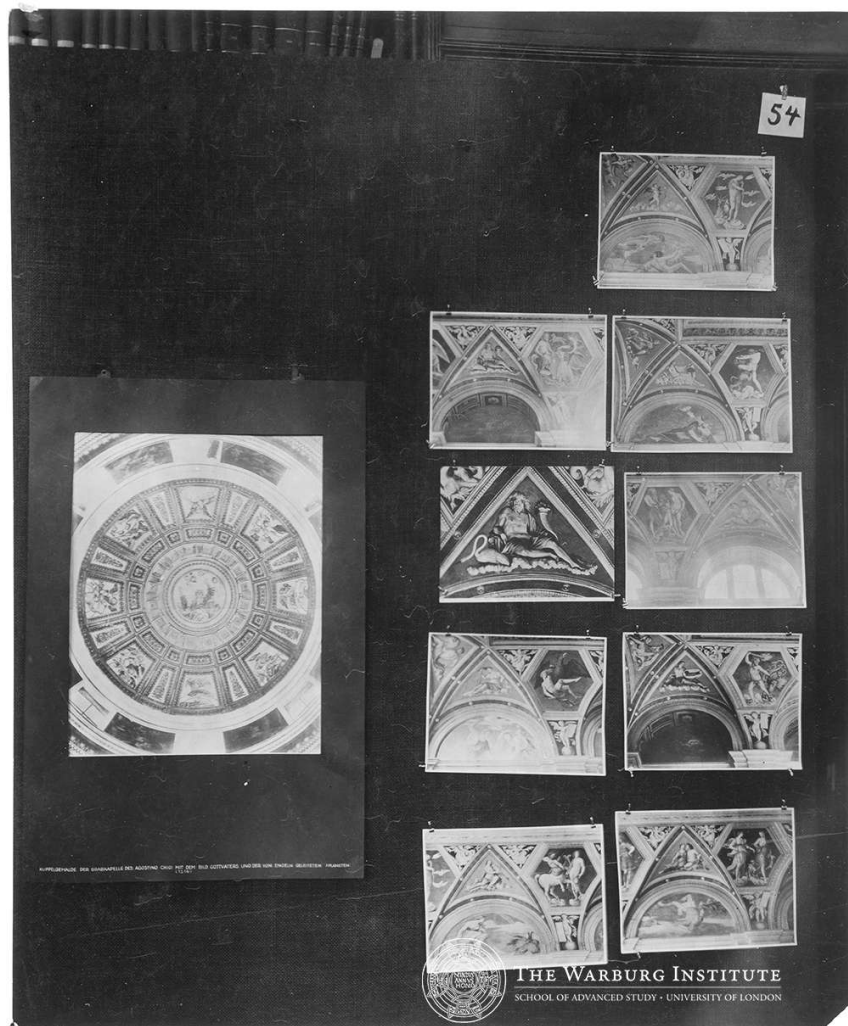
Abkömmlinge des Musen. Der Parnass steht für Zusammenklang, Aufschwung durch die Inspiration, Musik, Kosmologie + Sphärenharmonie dazu gehören Pesaro – Miniatur, Lippi + Galatea. Die Musen enthalten aber auch die Gestalt mit den aufgestützten, die für Kontemplation, Einkehr + Einsamkeit steht. Dazu gehört die Schule v. Athen.

Descendants of the Muses. The Parnassus stands for harmony, ascent through inspiration, music, cosmology + harmony of the spheres: belongs with Pesaro miniature, Lippi + Galatea. The Muses, however, also include the pose with the head resting, symbolising contemplation, meditation + solitude. Linked to this is the School of Athens.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Figure della malinconia attraverso l'Atlante delle Memoria. Galleria ragionata delle immagini* dal Bilderatlas, "La Rivista di Engramma" 140, dicembre 2016, 11-52.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *De melancholia. A new Panel, after Mnemosyne Atlas's Panel 53*, English edition by Elizabeth Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 15, March / April 2002, 29-36.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Grief and Meditation. Figures of Melancholia. A thematic Plate, throughout the Mnemosyne Atlas*, English edition by Elizabeth Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 14, February 2002, 27-31.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Mnemosyne Atlas' Plate 53. The Muses*, English edition by Elizabeth Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 13, December 2001 / January 2002, 33-39.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 53*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 13, dicembre 2001/ gennaio 2002.

Panel 54



Agostino Chigi's Christian and astrological Olympus

The gods and myths of antiquity painted by Peruzzi on the ceiling of the Farnesina recover their original Olympian features. Nonetheless, their daemonic and astrological aspects persist: the gods crowding the sky in the Farnesina are connected, as planetary divinities, to the patrons' horoscope. Close to these astrological figures, the Christian heavens painted on the ceiling of Agostino Chigi's funeral chapel, are held by God and angels.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Farnesina. Chigi.

Farnesina. Agostino Chigi.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Olympisierung zugleich mit Horoskop-Praktik und Regierung des Himmels durch Gott-Vater. (Chigi) Aufahrt.

Olympianization together with horoscope practice and the ruling of heaven by God the Father. (Chigi) ascent.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Chigi. Bedeutet Horoskopglaube, bevölkerter Himmel, aber Christlich regiert. Richtung: oben.

Chigi. Means the belief in the horoscope, an inhabited sky, but governed in a Christian way. Direction: upwards

Panel 55



The Judgement of Paris: rise and fall of the gods

The scene of the *Judgment of Paris* as an example of the symbolic rise and fall of the gods on earth. The theme had already appeared in courtly art without the detail of the ascent of the gods. A number of archaeological drawings from a Roman sarcophagus preserved in Villa Medici and representing the Judgment of Paris show different approaches to Antiquity: the gods are either yearning for their lost Olympian life, or for the hedonism of an earthly existence. Finally the gods, wandering *en plein air*, are fully humanized in Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'herbe*.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Urteil d. Paris
Judgement of Paris.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Parisurteil ohne Auffahrt. Nach d. Sark.: Peruzzi und Markanton. Auffahrt und Zurücksinken. Narzissismus. Plein air als Substitution des Olymp. Entlehnung Manet-Carraccio. Promenierendes Paar.
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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Das Ausdehnen des Gefühls für den Kosmos auf die Erde (nicht mehr nur die oberen Regionen). Paris-Urteil [Sarkophage] die Erdgötter, in liegender Haltung an die Erde gefesselt, mit den Blick an die Erscheinung der höheren Götter im Himmel gebannt. Marc-Anton-Stich, die Nymphe dreht sich heraus, zum Beschauer, fängt an selbstbewußt zu werden. Das nackt Liegen im Freien beginnt Selbstzweck zu werden – Heilbrunnen. Die Oberen verschwinden – Bild in Tivoli. Carracci – Beschäftigung im Freien. Giorgione – Das Idyll, Musik, menschliche Nacktheit, bei Bekleidung der andern. Rubens – höfische Menschen ergehen sich in der Landschaft. Manet – Plein-air, die bürgerliche Wiedereroberung der Natur. Ausbreitung in der Ebene.

The extension of the feeling for the cosmos to nature (no longer just the higher regions). Judgement of Paris [sarcophagi], the earth gods, earthbound in a semi-recumbent pose, gazing up at the appearance of the higher gods in the sky.

Marc Anton engraving, the nymph turns out towards the viewer, begins to become self-aware. Lying naked in the open air begins to become an end in itself – healing fountain. The superior gods disappear – painting in Tivoli. Carracci – outdoor scene. Giorgione – idyll, music, nudity of some people, others clothed. Rubens – Courtly people figures relax in the landscape. Manet – *plein-air*, the bourgeois reconquest of nature. Extension in space.

Further Readings

- ♦ F. Perfetti, G. Zanon, *Le alternative del Moderno, Raffaello e Manet. Lettura di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 55*, "La Rivista di Engramma", 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 41-79.
- ♦ A. Warburg, *Déjeuner sur l'herbe di Manet. La funzione di modello delle divinità pagane elementari in rapporto alla evoluzione del moderno sentimento della natura*, traduzione italiana di M. Ghelardi, "La Rivista di Engramma" 165, maggio 2019, 13-47.
- ♦ A. Warburg, *Frammenti tra Manet e Mnemosyne [102.1.2]*, edizione tedesca e traduzione italiana di M. Ghelardi, note di commento di M. Centanni, "La Rivista di Engramma" 165, maggio 2019, 49-87.
- ♦ M. Centanni, *Ninfa impertinente: Victorine e la Patera di Parabiago. A proposito dei modelli del Déjeuner sur l'herbe di Manet e, prima, di Raffaello*, "La Rivista di Engramma", 36, ottobre 2004, 15-30.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *La ninfa di Manet: deduzioni formali e ispirazione tematica*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 36, ottobre 2004, 11-14.

Other Readings

- ♦ A. Warburg, *Manet and the Italian Antiquity*, edited by C. Wedepohl, English translation by H. Frankfort, "Bruniana & Campanelliana" 20, 2 (2014), pp. 455-461.
- ♦ A. Warburg, *Manet's Déjeuneurs sur l'herbe. Pagan conceptions of elemental divinities and their formative function in the development of the modern attitude towards Nature [1929]*, edited by C. Wedepohl, English translation by Frankfort, "Bruniana & Campanelliana" 20, 2 (2014), pp. 462-476.
- ♦ A. Warburg, *Il Déjeuner sur l'herbe. La funzione prefigurante delle divinità pagane elementari per l'evoluzione del sentimento moderno della natura [1929]*, edizione tedesca e traduzione italiana di G. Carchia, "aut aut" 199-200 (1984) 40-45.

Panel 56



Christ as Jupiter and the Apotheosis of the death on the Cross

The theme of the rise and fall in Michelangelo's work, in relation to the heritage of ancient imagery (see Panels 4, 7). The sacrifice of Christ on the cross borrows its iconography from the Roman apotheosis of the Emperor: the erection of the Roman trophy reverberates in the instruments of the passion, i.e. the Cross and the scourging column. Further parallels between the rise and fall of Phaeton and the dynamism of the *Universal Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel. The breakthrough perspective in an 18th Century fresco as a metaphoric breakthrough of the heavens (the fall of the gods).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Michelangelo. Phaeton

Michelangelo, Phaeton.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Auffahrt und Sturz (Michelangelo). Apotheose des Kreuzestodes. Weltgericht u. Phaetonsturz. Durchbrechung der Decke.

Ascent and fall (Michelangelo). Apotheosis of death by Crucifixion. Last Judgement and the Fall of Phaeton. Intrusion of the ceiling.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Auftrieb + Sturz, oben + unten, Krönung + Fall. Das Streben nach oben und sein Vergeltung, Aufrichtung der Spolien wird Aufrichtung des Kreuzen bei Filippino, der Martersäule bei Michelangelo, die Versuchung (in umgekehrter Richtung das Niederziehen) bei Schongauer jüngstes Gericht + Phaetonsturz. Phaeton gehört zum Sonnen mythos (cf Mithras und Alexander).

Rise + fall, upper + lower, coronation + downfall. The aspiration and its reverse, the raising of the *spolia* becomes the erection of the cross in Filippino Lippi, in Michelangelo the scourging column, in Schongauer's *Last Judgement* becomes the temptation (in the opposite direction to the fall) + fall of Phaeton. Phaeton belongs with the myth of the Sun (cf. Mithras and Alexander).

Dürer's copies after Mantegna (Orpheus, Hercules, Rape scenes, Tarot cards) testify to the circulation of Italian antiquizing language in Northern Europe, and with it the appearance of ancient formulae of emotion in the art of the Reformation. The 'pathos of the victor' is now applied to biblical scenes from the Apocalypse and to the triumph of the German Emperor Maximilian I.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Dürer

Dürer.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Pathosformel bei Dürer. Mantegna. Kopien. Orpheus. Hercules. Frauenraub. Überreiten in der Apokalypse. Triumph.

Pathos formula in Dürer. Mantegna. Copies. Orpheus. Hercules. The rape of women. Horseback trampling at the Apocalypse.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Wanderung der Planeten nach d. Norden. Siehe Aufsatz. Verbreitung durch die Druckerpresse.

Migration of the planets to the north. See the essay. Dissemination by the printing press.

Panel 58



Astrological conjunctions in the North

The survival of demonic cosmology in Dürer's work. Planetary divinities in popular media (pamphlet for the physician Ulseuius), in religious topics (Christ as Helios; the Holy Family) and in secular themes (Kleeberger's portrait, *Melancholia*).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Dürer

Dürer.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Kosmologie bei Dürer.

Cosmology in Dürer.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Dürer + die Astrologie. Syphilis + Tierkreis – Mikrokosmos – Mann. – Flugblatt! Persönliches Horoskop im Portrait. Sol Justitiae – Sonne im Löwen. Flussgötter als Symbol der Erdbundenheit. Melancholia siehe Luther Aufsatz. Eigentlich gehört hier zu das Selbstportrait Dürers wo er auf seine Milz deutet und dazu schreibt "hier tut es mit weh". Anfang der Naturwissenschaft. Denkweise – Suche nach der kleinsten + nächsten Ursache. Grabplatte – Melancholiepose als Kontemplation am sich.

Dürer + astrology. Gallic disease + zodiac – microcosm – man – flyer! Personal horoscope in the portrait. Sol Justitiae – Sun in Leo. River deities as symbol of earthboundness. Melancholia, see essay Luther. Actually pertinent to this [series] is Dürer's self-portrait in which he points to his spleen and writes "here it hurts". The origins of natural science. Way of thinking – search for the smallest + nearest cause. Sepulchral slab – melancholic pose as introspection.

Further Readings

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Cosmologia in Dürer. Saggio interpretativo di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 58*, "La rivista di Engramma" 18, luglio/agosto 2002, 19-26.

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 58*, "La rivista di Engramma" 18, luglio / agosto 2002.

*Details of Panel 58 images are edited by Seminario Mnemosyne, in collaboration with "Master in Culture Simboliche" Università Bicocca, Milano (AY 2016/2017)

Panel 59



Deities disguised as planets in the North

Belief in the influence of the seven planet-Gods is circulated and becomes rooted in collective imagination of Northern Europe via calendars and almanacs (see Panel 50/51). Via Hans Burgkmair's engravings, the figures of the planet-Gods move into pictorial and architectural decoration.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

wandernde Planeten

Wandering Planets.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Planetenwanderung nach d. Norden.

Migration of the planets to the North.

Panel 60



The Age of Neptune

In the age of great geographical discoveries and conquests, Neptune is the symbol of the ruler of the seas for North European monarchies. The courtly taste for mythological allegories finds continuity in pageantry and ceremonial occasions. The ancient figure of *Fortuna*, the patroness of sailors, boards Neptune's chariot, which is also depicted in scenes of rape and brutal conquest (Rubens).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Festw.

Festive culture.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Festwesen Norden, höfisch. Seebeherrschung – Zeitalter der Entdeckungen. Vergil. Fortuna des Seefahrers, brutales Ergreifen (Rubens).

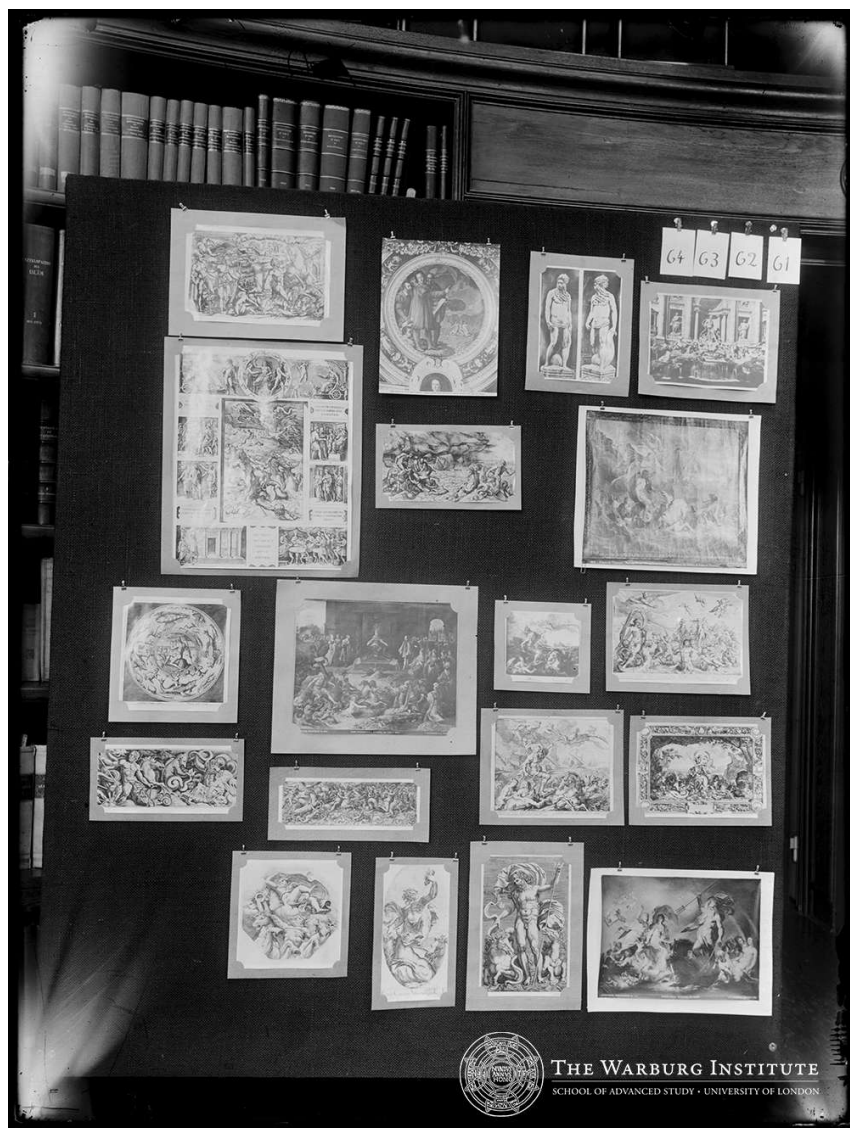
Festivals in the North, courtly. Ruling of the waves – age of discoveries. Virgil. The seafarer's Fortuna, brutal capture (Rubens).

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die Serie die jetzt beginnt knüpft an die Vorstellung. Triumph – Trionfo. Der vorbeiziehende Zug im Festwesen der sich zur frontalen festgehalten Bühne entwickelt. Zugleich Taucht als Mythologische Figur Neptun auf (Virgil mit "Quos ego" als Autor), als Symbol für die fortschreitende Beherrschung der Meere im Zeitalter der Entdeckungen. Die Fortuna – Vorstellung damit verknüpft als Wind der im Segel aufgefangen und dadurch dienstbar gemacht werden kann, unberechenbar erscheint den aber doch der Kähne beherrscht. Daher kommt es das Neptun der erste der "servierenden Götter" ist (die Metapher kommt von dem Fest in Pesaro 1477 her, wo die Götter beim Festmahl gleichsam aufwarten). Wasserkünste bei Festen als Spielerei der fortschreiten den Technik. Historisch knüpft die Reihe an medicäische Feste an; in Florenz (Gualterotti), geht mit Cath. Medici's Kindern nach Frankreich (link unten Henr. II in Lyon), von da nach Holland (oben Mitte) Die andern Darstellungen muß ich all erst nachsehen.

The series that begins now is linked to the representation of the triumphal procession – Triumph. The procession during festivals that develops into a frontal stage. At the same time as a mythological figure, Neptune appears (and as author Virgil with "Quos ego"), symbolising the progressive dominion over the sea in the age of discovery. Linked to this is the concept of Fortune as a wind that can be caught in the sail and thus made available, appearing unpredictable but nevertheless propelling the boat. This is why Neptune is the first of the "servant gods" (the metaphor comes from the Pesaro feast of 1477 where the gods served, so to speak, at the banquet). Water games during festivals as a play of technical progress. From a historical point of view, the series is connected with the Medici festivals; in Florence (Gualterotti), goes with Catherine de' Medici's children in France (below left Henry II in Lyon), and from there to Holland (top centre). I have to look up all the other depictions first.

Panel 61-64



Neptune: servitude and command of the Seas

Neptune lends himself as a 'servant god' for allegorical ceremonies in different contexts (the Maritime Republics; modern Nation States; feasts in the royal courts). He is also the image from which the expressive formula of pathos for 'abduction' emerges in Baroque art. As an ancient god, Neptune still preserves his daemonic and magical aspect: he is the tutelary deity to worship to appease stormy seas and so conquer new dominions (in accordance with Vergil's motto 'Quos ego tandem').

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Neptun

Neptune.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Neptun als dienender "servierender Gott". Quos ego. "Virgil".

Neptune as subservient 'god servant'. Quos ego tandem. 'Virgil'.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Ich glaube, daß dies etwas werden sollte wie: Neptun's Reich (cf. "Reich der Venus" im Quattrocento). Anknüpfend an "Quos ego". Oder auch: Neptun + sein Gefolge. Einfallen tut mir aber nur etwas zum Bild von Frans Francken: Der Höhepunkt der "Servilität" des Neptun, daß er selbst mit Gefolge in den Thronsaal hineingeschwommen kommt = d.h. die Distanz der Metapher ist völlig verloren gegangen. Hier ist natürlich eine große Lücke. Ende des 16. Anfang 17. Jahrhunderts. Die Valois + Habsburger Machtpolitik. Höhepunkt des höfischen Lebens.

I think this [Panel] should become something like "The Realm of Neptune" (cf. "The Realm of Venus" in the fifteenth century). Link to "Quos ego". Or also: Neptune + his entourage. However, I can only think of something that relates to Frans Francken's painting: the culmination of Neptune's "servitude" as he and his retinue swimming into the throne room = i.e. the distance of the metaphor has been completely lost. There is, of course, a large gap here. Late sixteenth century, early seventeenth century. The politics of power of the Valois + Habsburgs. Highest moment of court life.

Further Readings

♦ L. Robertson, *Panel 61-64, Guided Pathways, in Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas warburg.library.cornell.edu*, Cornell University, 2013.

Panel 70



The Flemish Proserpine

In Northern Baroque art (Tempesta, Rubens, Struys, frontispieces for theatrical works, etc.) the pathos of abduction and rape (Proserpine, Massacres of innocents, *Fortuna-Occasio*) is expressed with powerful eloquence.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Holland. *Elevatio*.

Holland. *Elevatio*.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Barocke Pathetik im Raub. Theater.

Baroque emotionalism in abduction scenes. Theatre.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

R'dt u. d. Barock. Gegenspieler: Rubens u. d. Theater. Themen: 1) Seefahrt (an Neptun anknüpfend) dazu Fortuna; das Entschwinden in die Ferne, Unbekannte, Unerreichbare. 2) Raub der Proserpina; Fahrt in die Unterwelt; Wiederkehr im Frühling. Dazu Orpheus in einer andern Rolle als bei Mantegna + Dürer. 3) Opfer Iphigenie – Polyxena. Wie gehören dazu: Kindermord + Anbetung (mit frontales, nicht schreiten der Ninfa)?

Rembrandt and the Baroque. Opponents at play: Rubens and the Theatre. Theme: 1) Sea voyage (linked to Neptune) and Fortuna; the disappearance into the distance, the unknown, the unattainable. 2) Rape of Proserpine; the journey to the underworld. Also Orpheus in a different role compared to Mantegna + Dürer. 3) Sacrifice of Iphigenia – Polyxena

How does it link with: infanticide + adoration (with frontal not striding Ninfa)?

Further Readings

♦ L. Rossi, *Drammaturgia dell'azione sospesa. Trasformazioni della carica gestuale e riattivazione dell'Antico nelle Tavole su Rembrandt del Mnemosyne Atlas*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 99-144.

♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.

Other Readings

♦ J.O. Newman and L. Hatch, *Panel 70, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas* warburg.library.cornell.edu, Cornell University, 2013.

♦ C. Cieri Via, *Menschenopfer. Qualche riflessione su Rembrandt*, "Images re-vues" 4/2013.

Panel 71



Oath and raising on the shield: rituals of *art officiel*

Celebrative official art re-presents in a didactic and theatrical way the ancient ritual gestures of oath and raising on the shield.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Holland. Raub. Theater. Festw.

Holland. Rape, Drama, Festive Culture.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Schwur und Schilderhebung auf dem Theater. "Art officiel".

Oaths and raising up on shields in the theatre. "Art officiel".

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die Wahl des Helden durch Schilderhebung. Gegensatz Apotheose = Wahl durch macht von oben (Schilderhebung von unten). Im Theater – bei R'dts Gegnern + Konkurrenten. Art Officiel. Warburg hielt die Schilderhebung für eine germanische Form der Huldigung. Otto I oder II – von da in den Pariser Psalter? Wen (gleichzeitig?) wählt für Karl I von England die gleiche Form. In dem schon Warburg – Blatt kommt neben der Schilderhebung auch der Schwur auf das Schwert vor.

The election of the hero by elevation on the shield. The opposite of apotheosis = election by a power from above (elevation on the shield from below). In the theatre – with Rembrandt's opponents + rivals. *Art Officiel*. Warburg considered the raising on the shield a Germanic form of homage. Otto I or II – from here to the Paris Psalter? Who (in the same period?) chooses the same form for Charles I of England. In Warburg's note – in addition to the raising on the shield there is also the oath on the sword.

Further Readings

♦ L. Rossi, *Drammaturgia dell'azione sospesa. Trasformazioni della carica gestuale e riattivazione dell'Antico nelle Tavole su Rembrandt del Mnemosyne Atlas*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 99-144.

Panel 72



The rite of the 'sacred symposium': Rembrandt's rejection of current practice

Rembrandt distances his style from the 17th century taste for rhetorical gesture (see Panel 71). In the artist's work the ritual scene of the 'sacred banquet' (in religious, mythological, historical subjects: The Last Supper; Jupiter hosted by Philemon and Baucis; Claudius Civilis) achieves intimate and psychological notes. The Panel shows an irruption of current events: the Eucharistic procession in a newspaper clipping.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Holland. Tacitus. Cl. Civ.

Holland. Tacitus, Claudius Civilis.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Dagegen Rembrandt. Heiliges Mahl: Claud.Civ., Abendmahl, Jupiter b. Philemon u. Baucis. Warum die "Ninfa" bei Samson? Kindermord (Vorbild) "rasende Frau".

In contrast: Rembrandt. Sacred meal: Claudius Civilis, Last Supper, Jupiter with Philemon and Baucis. Why the "Ninfa" with Samson? Infanticide (prototype), "frenzied woman".

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Das Geheimnis des Leibesmahls. Rhetorisch bei O. von Vaen, Ovens + Tempesta. Gesammelt + intensiv bei R'dt, weil das christl. Abendmahl darin aufgenommen ist. Die Idee daß gemeinsame Teilnahme am Essen die Gemeinschaft herstellt – verfolgt in die moderne Messe und den studentischen Kommers. Philemon + Bauci gehört in denselben Zusammenhang – das Bewirten des Fremden am eignen Tisch und dadurch Aufnahme in die Gemeinschaft. Messias Idee? Samson + Dalilah, weiß ich, bedeutete Kopfjägerin – Ninfa – nicht bringend sondern in umgekehrter. Richtung aus die Bild hinausgehend. Aber warum hier? Wegen des Schwertes (cf. Detail)? Blendung? (Cl. Civilis ist ein äugig) Ich weiß ist nicht.

The mystery of the liturgical supper. Rhetorical in Otto von Van Veen, Ovens + Tempesta. Contemplative + intense in Rembrandt, because it includes the Last Supper of Christ. The idea that collective participation in the meal creates communion – pursued in modern mass and student goliardic banquets. Philemon + Baucis are relevant to the same context – serving the stranger at one's table and thus welcoming him into the community. An idea of a Messiah? Samson + Delilah, I know, means headhunter – Ninfa – who does not bring something but rushes out of the picture in the opposite direction. But why is she here? Because of the sword (cf. the detail)? For the blinding? (Claudio Civile is monocle). I don't know.

Further Readings

♦ L. Rossi, *Drammaturgia dell'azione sospesa. Trasformazioni della carica gestuale e riattivazione dell'Antico nelle Tavole su Rembrandt del Mnemosyne Atlas*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 99-144.

♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.

Panel 73



Rembrandt's style and 'Tacitean' suspense; Ovidian pathos in *art officiel*

Rembrandt's anti-rhetorical style finds, even in dramatic scenes, a Tacitean tone, in the form of a suspension of action ('thought space'). Conversely, *art officiel* privileges the dramatic and emotive eloquence of historical painting: Roman historical episodes substitute Ovidian mythological stories.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Holland. Tacitus. *Elevatio*

Holland. Tacitus, *Elevatio*.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Medea auf der Theater u.b. R'dt – Denkraum der Besonnenheit. Art officiel mit dem Pathos des Kindermordes. Frauen in der Schlacht. Schlacht auf der Brücke. Tacitus tritt an die Stelle von Ovid.

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.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Dies scheint mir aus 2 Teilen zu bestehen: 1) Die Szene auf der Brücke, die eine besondere Bedeutung im Freiheitskampf d. Bataver gehabt haben muß, da sie auf d. Titelblatt des Berkheide erscheint. 2) Die Kinderszene, höchst wahrscheinlich Kinder die geschützt sind oder geschützt werden sollen durch den Freiheitskampf der Väter. Durch das Detaild. Zeichnung wird die Brücke geschlagen zum Kindermord. Medea als Kindermörderin auf dem Theater – dagegen die völlige. Abwesenheit von Gestikulation bei R'dt – die + sinnende + brütende Medea.

This seems to me to consists of two parts: 1) The bridge scene, which must have had a special significance in the Batavian war of liberation, since it appears on the frontispiece of Berkheide. 2) The scene of children, most probably children who are protected or should be protected by their fathers' struggle for freedom. The detail of the drawing builds a bridge to the *Massacre of the Innocents*. Medea as murderer of the children in the theatre – in contrast to the whole [the whole Panel]. Absence of mimicry in Rembrandt – the pensive + pondering Medea.

Further Readings

♦ L. Rossi, *Drammaturgia dell'azione sospesa. Trasformazioni della carica gestuale e riattivazione dell'Antico nelle Tavole su Rembrandt del Mnemosyne Atlas*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 99-144.

♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.

Panel 74



Shadow, light and the Spirit: the effusion of Grace in Masaccio, Raphael, Rembrandt

The language of Rembrandt has parallels with some Italian Renaissance artists. The figure of St. Peter by Masaccio and by Raphael is a symbol of the artists' 'detachment', both for the subject chosen (the episode of 'healing without contact'), and for stylistic and spiritual characteristics (the composure and awareness of Peter, and – before – of Christ himself). The same self-control is apparent in a profane subject, the *Magnanimity of Scipio*.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Besonnenheit. Petrus bei Masaccio, Raffael, R'dt Distanz: Heilung ohne Berührung. <100 GI-Blatt>. Pisanello – Transformation b. R'dt. = innere Wandlung, Großmut d. Scipio.

Moderation: St. Peter in Masaccio, Raphael, Rembrandt. Distance: healing without touching. The “Hundred Guilder Print”. Pisanello - transformation in Rembrandt = inner metamorphosis. Scipio's magnanimity.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die Fernwirkung. Bei Masaccio Schattenheilung ist jede Magie durch Berührung fortgefallen. Ebenso die Kranken. Heilung bei R'dt + die Bewehrung des Hauptmanns die auch durch Asehen geschieht. Petrus + Johannes dieselbe Erzählung wie Masaccio? Die Ähnlichkeit der künstlerischen Mittel bei Masaccio. Raffael + R'dt: die groß Gewandfigur im Kreise von Christus. Rückgreifen auf Pisanello. Bei R'dt das Licht. Das selbe Prinzip des Distanz auf ethischem Gebiet: die Enthaltsamkeit astenersi? des Scipio (kontrastiert etwa mit dem Verfolgen + Ergreifen bei Apoll – Daphne etc).

Effective remote action in Masaccio's shadow healing, all the magic of the contact is lost. Likewise the healing of the sick in Rembrandt + the armouring of the captain which also happens by sight. Peter + John have the same narration of Masaccio? The similarity of artistic means in Masaccio. Raphael + Rembrandt: the large draped figure in the circle of Christ. Recourse to Pisanello. In Rembrandt the light. The same principle of distancing in the ethical field: Scipio's Continenence (contrasted, for example, with the pursuit + seizing in Apollo – Daphne, etc.).

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Panel of Grace. Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 74*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 7, aprile 2001, 26-31.
- ♦ L. Rossi, *Drammaturgia dell'azione sospesa. Trasformazioni della carica gestuale e riattivazione dell'Antico nelle Tavole su Rembrandt del Mnemosyne Atlas*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 206, ottobre/novembre 2023, 99-144.
- ♦ L. Caon, *Rembrandt e i suoi modelli: la luce e l'ombra. Percorso tematico attraverso il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 37, novembre 2004, 7-10.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture grafiche di Tavola 74*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 7, aprile 2001.

Panel 75



Theater of Death: pathos and *logos*

Emancipation of intellectual practice from Antiquity to the Modern era (exemplified in Northern 17th century works of art): a path from 'anatomic magic' practiced on animals (divinatory use of hepatoscopy), to scientific anatomy on humans, through (Democritean) research on the physical location of the soul. From the pathological contemplation of the dead (mourning) to the scientific contemplation of the corpse (Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson*), in relation to the spiritual meditation on Death (see Carpaccio, Panel 42).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Demokrit. Anatomie

Democrito, anatomy.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Magische Anatomie. Gedärmschau – Suche nach dem Sitz der Seele. Wissenschaftl. Anatomie = Kontemplation durch Einströmen der Totenklage. Tieranatomie – Menschenanatomie pathetisch und kontemplativ [vgl. Carpaccio].

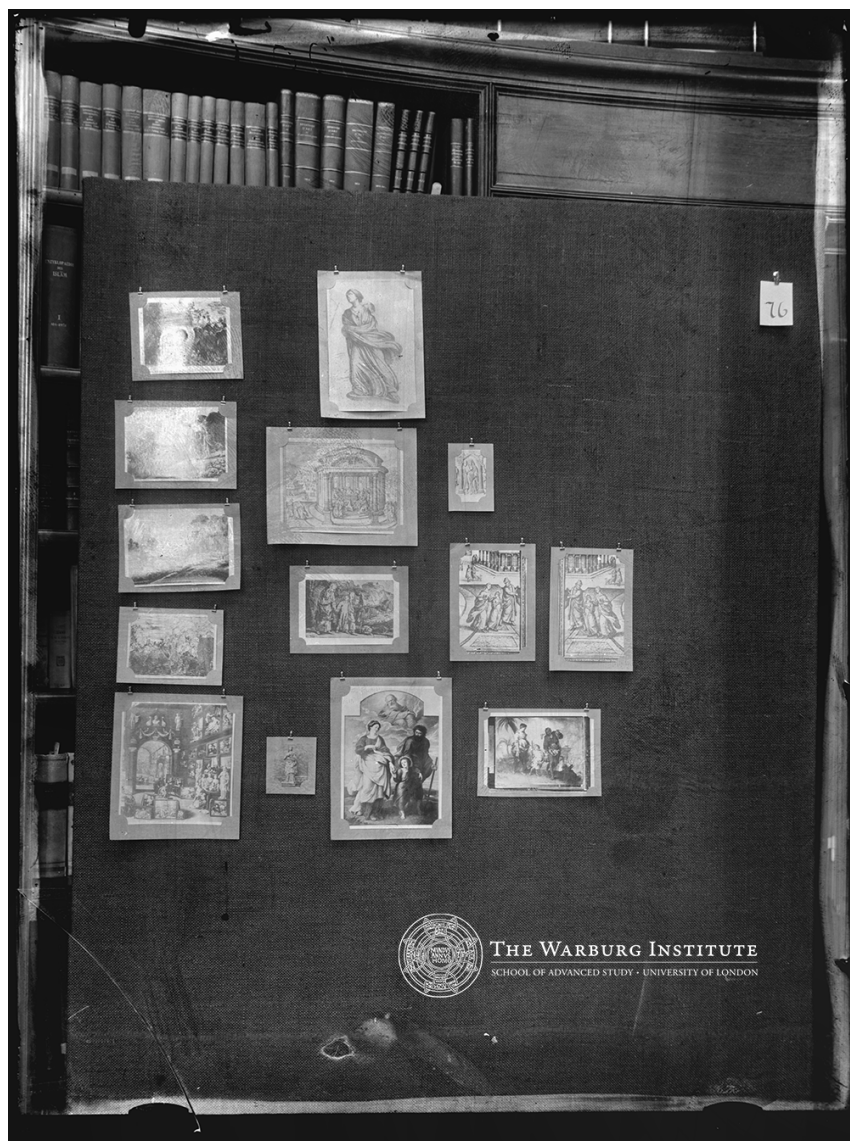
Magical anatomy. Haruspication – search for the seat of the soul. Scientific anatomy = contemplation through incorporation of the lament for the dead. Animal anatomy – human anatomy, pathos and contemplation [cf. Carpaccio].

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die “interesselose” Betrachtung des Mensch. Körpers im Gegensatz zur 1) miraculösen (Lycosthenes) 2) magischen zu Weissagungszwecken (Demokrit + Heraklit) 3) Affectbetonten (Totenklage) 4) ein verleibenden (Totenfresser). Demokrit + Heraklit als Vertreter des Wendepunktes. Die Weissagungsleber wird zum Objekt der (philosophischen) Kontemplation. 1. Anatomie bewahrt das formale Schema der Totenklage resp. Grablegung (ebensowie d. gleichfalls medizinische Holzschnitt des Anglicus).

The “disinterested” consideration of the human body in contrast to: 1) the miraculous (Lycosthenes) 2) the magical for the purpose of divination (Democritus + Heraclitus) 3) the emphasis on sentiment (funeral lamentation) 4) incorporation (eating corpses). Democritus + Heraclitus as representatives of a turning point. The divinatory liver becomes an object of (philosophical) contemplation. Anatomy retains the formal *schema* of lament and burial (just like Anglicus’ medical engraving).

Panel 76



Baroque Niobe: formal inference and engrammatic re-emergence

The gestural formula of 'protecting a child in danger' in Baroque religious art: in the figure of the 'guardian' in motion (copies or variants after Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel*, and Rembrandt's *Rest during the flight into Egypt*; the subject of Jesus on the way back from the Temple) ancient models of the 'Mother' resound (Niobe, the defenseless mother that protects her children, in Pieter van der Borcht; the mantled Vestal of the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, in Rembrandt).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Rückkehr nach Nazareth

Return to Nazareth.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Schutz des gefährdeten Kindes: Tobiuzzolo und Ruhe auf der Flucht = Elsheimer – R'dt. Heimkehr vom Tempel. Mutter als Niobe (Pieter v.d. Borch) und als Gewandfigur (R'dt.). Hilflos schützende Mutter.

Protezione del bambino in pericolo: Tobio e il Riposo durante la fuga = Elsheimer – Rembrandt. Ritorno a casa dal Tempio. Madre come Niobe (Pieter van der Borch) e come figura panneggiata (Rembrandt). Madre indifesa che offre protezione.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

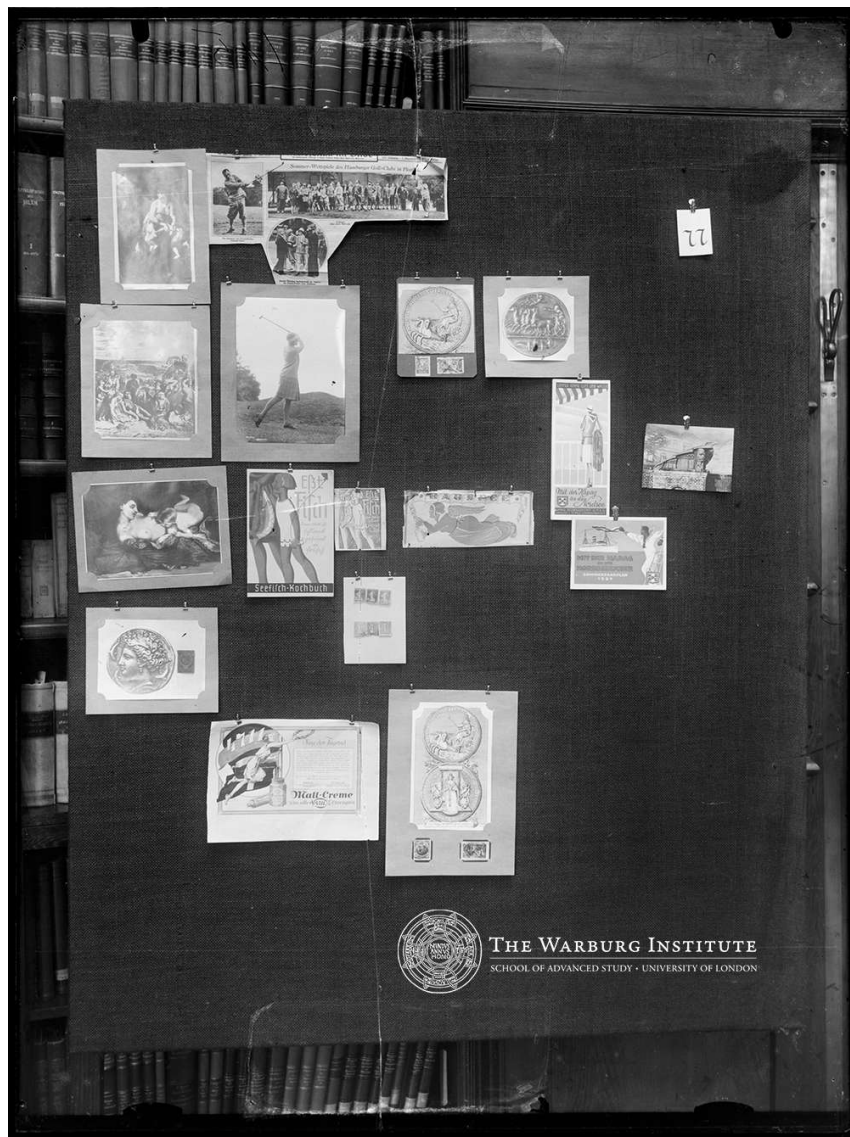
Das Tobias-Motiv wird zur Heim – Kehr aus der Tempel. Elsheimer – R'dt. Antike noch wirksam bei Rdt's Vorläufer (Pieter v.d. Borch?) – Niobe = Klagende Mutter. Auch bei Rubens Antike – Junofigur. Die Augensprache schon bei P.v.d.B. – bei R'dt aber einziges Mittel, ohne rhetorische Gewandbewegung.

Tobias' motif becomes towards home – Return from the Temple. Elsheimer – Rembrandt. The Antique is still effective in Rembrandt's forerunner (Pieter van der Borch?) – Niobe = grieving mother. The Ancient is also in Rubens – Juno figure. The language of the gaze in Pieter van der Borch – but in Rembrandt it is the only mean, without the rhetorical language of the moving clothes.

Further Readings

♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Maria 'Niobe barocca': deduzione formale e riemersione engrammatica. Appunti di lettura di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 76*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 157, luglio/agosto 2018, 99-107.

Panel 77



The classical tradition today

Re-emergence of Antiquity in the contemporary era. The revival of classical themes and forms is to some extent intentionally conceived, e.g. in Delacroix's work (Medea as murderous Mother; the figure of the mother as Arethusa in the *Massacre of Chios*: see scenes of *Massacre of the Innocents*). In the 20th century, ancient figures are recovered both in a functional and allegorical sense (Nike in advertising; Ceres-La Semeuse and the chariot of Neptune in French and Colonial stamps); or they emerge as engrams (golfers expressing Dionysiac pathos; Tobias and the Angel in advertising); or they show an 'energetic inversion' (the inverted apotheosis of Hindenburg's monument: here the eagle is not ascending to heaven).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Sammelecho

Collection of echoes.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Delacroix Medea u. Kindermord. Marke: Barbados – Quos ego?, Frankreich – Semeuse, Arethusa. Nike und Tobiuozolo in der Reklame. Hindenburg-Denkmal als umgekehrte Apotheose. Goethe “24 Beine”.

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”.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Eindringen der Pathos Motive in die Formensprache des tägl. Lebens. 1) Photographie von Tagesereignissen: Golfspielerin = Kopfjägerin 2) Reklame: Fisch = Tobias, 4711 = Ninfa “Hausfee” = Nike. 3) Marke: Neptun in Barbados, Mänade in Frankreich, Arethusa wo? (Barbados histor. Deszendenz nachweisbar: Staatssiegel Karls I. [sic!]) 4) Parkschmuck: Hindenburg unter den Schutz des Adlers, statt getragen vom Adler wie in der Apotheose der röm. Kaiser. Nicht dazugehörig: Delacroix 1) Medea 2) Pest wie derholt das Motiv vom Kind das bei der Toten Mutter noch Nahrung sucht.

The entry of pathos formulas into the gestural language of everyday life. 1) Photography of everyday events: golf player = headhunter 2) Advertisement: fish = Tobias, 4711 = Ninfa “Domestic fairy” = Nike 3) Postage stamp: Neptune in Barbados, maenad in France, Arethusa where? (Historical derivation from Barbados can be documented: seal of Charles I) 4) Monument in the park: Hindenburg under the protection of the eagle, instead of being carried by the eagle as in the apotheosis of the Roman emperor. Not related: Delacroix 1) Medea 2) The *Plague* repropose the motif of the child who continues to seek nourishment from its dead mother.

Further Readings

♦ K. Mazzucco, *Il Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg. Versioni e varianti nell'esempio del pannello 64 [77]*, “La Rivista di Engramma” 57, maggio 2007, 31-32.

Other Readings

♦ K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 77*, in *Camere con vista. Aby Warburg, Firenze e il laboratorio delle immagini*, Catalogo della mostra (Firenze, Gallerie degli Uffizi, 19 settembre / 10 dicembre 2023), a cura di M. Faietti, E.D. Schmidt, G. Targia, G. Wolf et al., Firenze 2023, 256-259.

[illegible]

The Church in comparison with the State during the official celebration of the Lateran Pacts (February 1929): abdication of secular power in return for conservation of symbolic authority.

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Kirche u. Staat. Geistliche Macht unter Verzicht auf weltliche.

Church and State. Spiritual power without the wielding of earthly power.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Lateranverträge: Versöhnung zwischen Weltliche + Geistlicher Macht, Antike + Christentum, "Lorbeer + Märtyrer palme" Verzicht des Papsttums auf mehr als einen symbolischen Landbesitz "Nur das Grab Petri".

Lateran Pacts: Reconciliation between secular + ecclesiastical power, between Antiquity + Christianity, "laurel + palm of martyrdom". Renunciation of the papacy's possession of land, except the symbolic "only Peter's tomb".

Panel 79



Eating God: Paganism within the Catholic Church

The evolution of 'sacrifice': from bloody archaic rites to their symbolic representation in the Holy Mass. In Eucharistic ritual, pagan sacrifice is sublimated in the divine transubstantiation, but its original sanguinary features are perpetuated and re-emerge in Christian miracles (the *Mass at Bolsena* by Raphael; *St. Jerome's last communion* by Botticelli) and in legends (the Jewish profanation of the Host in anti-Semitic propaganda).

Notes by Aby Warburg (1929)

Processivae

Processivae.

Notes by Aby Warburg and coll. (1929)

Messe. Verzehren des Gottes. Bolsena, Botticelli. Heidentum in d. Kirche. Bluthostirnwunder. Transsubstantiation. Italienischer Verbrecher von der letzten Ölung.

Mass. Devouring God. Bolsena, Botticelli. Paganism in the Church. Miracle of the host. Transsubstantiation. Italian criminal before the last rites.

Notes by Gertrud Bing (ca. 1940)

Die Messe als Machtanspruch. Echter Stuhl Petri (mit antiker Mythologie + Astrologie) und der pompöse Überschwang bei Bernini. Messe d. Bolsena – Rückfall in die wörtliche Auslegung der Transsubstantiation als Wunder. Jul.II. "der kriegerische Papst". Mystische Transsubstantiation bei Botticelli – letzte Kommunion des Hieronymus Missbräuchliche Verkennung der Funktion d. Metapher: Hostienverkauf + Hostienschändung (Ritualmord). Prachtentfaltung bei der Massen – Messe auf d. Petersplatz: Der Triumphzug mit d. oriental. Wedeln. Die Schweizergarde (wie bei Jul. II) Das päpstliche Heer. Die (unbefugte) geistl. Hilfeleistung bei den Opfern des Eisenbahn Unglücks (rechts unten). Dazwischen: der Pabst als news (Cf. Doktorfeier) Was sollen die japanischen Martergeschichten? Was soll Giotto's Spes? Hat irgend weis mit der Hostie zu tun kann aber keine finden.

The Mass as a claim to power. The true Chair of St Peter (with ancient mythology + astrology) and the pompous exuberance in Bernini. Bolsena Mass – relapse into literal interpretation of transubstantiation as miracle. Julius II "the warrior pope". Mystical transubstantiation in Botticelli – Girolamo's Last Communion. Abusive misinterpretation of the function of the metaphor: sale of the host + profanation of the host (ritual murder). Display of magnificence to the masses – mass in St Peter's Square: the triumphal procession with oriental palms. The Swiss Guard (as in the time of Julius II). The papal army. The (unauthorised) spiritual aid to the victim of the train disaster (bottom right). In the centre: the Pope as news (cf. *Doktorfeier*). What is the point of the depictions of Japanese torture? Why Giotto's *Speranza*? It has something to do with the host but I cannot find any connection.

Further Readings

- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, "*Hoc est corpus*". *Readings of Mnemosyne Atlas*, Panel 79, English translation by E. Thompson "La Rivista di Engramma" 11, ottobre 2001, 35-41.
- ♦ Seminario Mnemosyne, *Lecture graphics of Tavola 79*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 11, ottobre 2001.

Other Readings

- ♦ G. Mercuriali, *I due corpi di Cristo. Una interpretazione teologico-politica della tavola 79 dell'Atlas Mnemosyne*, "Visual History" III (2017), 121-142.
- ♦ C.D. Johnson, *Panel 79, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas* warburg.library.cornell.edu, Cornell University, 2013.
- ♦ C. Schoell-Glass, *Aby Warburg Late Comments on Symbol and Ritual*, "Science in Context", XII, n. 4 (1999), 621-642.



la rivista di **engramma**

dicembre **2024**

219 • Warburg Updated. Bibliography and Mnemosyne Atlas

Editorial

Sara Agnoletto and Margherita Picciché

**Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne Atlas. Readings
and Pathways through the Bilderatlas**

Sara Agnoletto

Aby Warburg, Mnemosyne Atlas

Sara Agnoletto