

# Aby Warburg

# The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity

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Introduction by Kurt W. Forster

Translation by David Britt

Texts & Documents

Although he was little known in his own lifetime and long remained a mere name to all but a small circle of insiders, Aby Warburg has gradually become recognized as one of the most original and brilliant art historians of this century. His teachers Karl Lamprecht and Hermann Usener had inspired in him a profound curiosity in psychology and anthropology, whose speculative strategies Warburg trained on complex and sometimes impenetrable imagery. Coining new concepts for an understanding of cultural upheavals past and present, he recast many artistic phenomena in a new scholarly perspective. Warburg's published writings, posthumously reissued by his disciples Fritz Saxl and Gertrud Bing in 1932, are here presented for the first time in integral translation, with an introduction by Kurt W. Forster.





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Texts & Documents

Julia Bloomfield, Kurt W. Forster, Harry F. Mallgrave, Michael S. Roth,  
Salvatore Settis, *Editors*

***The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History  
of the European Renaissance***

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**Fig. I-1. Aby Warburg, 1925**  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

# Introduction

Kurt W. Forster

## *Obscurely Famous*

Today, the name of Aby Warburg is primarily associated with a research library, initially set up in Hamburg but evacuated to London in 1933. Since it became an integral part of the University of London in 1944, its fame as a home of scholarship has spread worldwide. Research institutes are usually named for their founder or for some eminent scholar. In the case of the Warburg Institute, one and the same name stands for both, which makes it an exceptional case.

Aby Warburg made his name neither as an exponent of a historical school, like Heinrich Wölfflin or Erwin Panofsky, nor as a museum or art-trade practitioner, like Bernard Berenson or Wilhelm von Bode. For a long time he occupied only a modest place in the annals of art history; he stood somewhat aloof from a discipline preoccupied with professional reputation and methodological stringency.<sup>1</sup> Like the writings of Walter Benjamin, which filtered back into the intellectual consciousness of the postwar world only slowly, those of Warburg rarely appeared in the scholarly literature before their reputation began to grow in the 1970s.<sup>2</sup>

Warburg's researches have won this renewed attention through their detailed observations and their scrutiny of the puzzling aspects of many different forms of imagery. The study of Warburg, like that of Benjamin, has now become a self-sustaining academic industry in itself.<sup>3</sup> If we were to tabulate the frequency of citations in published work, in the way that is now customary in the scientific literature, Warburg would undoubtedly emerge as a major figure in his discipline, though he was little known in his own lifetime—and though, for half a century after his death, he remained a mere name to all but a small circle of insiders.

If on the other hand we look for Warburg's actual achievement, the aims and the investigations represented by his fragmentary works, we find ourselves grappling with misinterpretations—as when it is repeatedly asserted that his central importance lies in “the analysis of the transformation of symbols, in particular, the transformation of their function from magical-associative symbols to logical-dissociative allegorical signs.”<sup>4</sup> If this were the main point of Warburg's achievement, we might well dismiss him as a subsidiary figure in the evolution of the modern study of symbolism.

Considerable external and internal obstacles have stood in the way of any thorough understanding of Warburg's writings. Almost his entire scholarly output long remained accessible only in German and partly in Italian.<sup>5</sup> It was seldom cited, even when closely relevant, and then its purpose was mostly misconstrued. It also counted for a great deal that such prominent exponents of modern iconographical studies as Panofsky were regarded as the true representatives and perfecters of Warburg's ideas.<sup>6</sup> However, none of this quite suffices to explain the long-lasting neglect of Warburg's scholarly work. Only when one explores the notions that presided over the building of Warburg's book collection, and the ideas through which he sought to trace the destiny of artistic creations in different civilizations, does it become apparent that the reason why he so long remained remote from the mainstream of academic research is also the reason why he seems to be so close to its present-day problems.<sup>7</sup>

For the better part of this century, Warburg's initiatives attracted little or no attention.<sup>8</sup> With its systematic identification of all the principal "vehicles of meaning," iconographic method stressed inherent system and total decodability. Its attitude to Jacob Burckhardt's "sole abiding and, for us, possible center, the suffering, aspiring, and active human being,"<sup>9</sup> was distant, not to say patronizing. True, there were Warburgian aspects to some of Panofsky's early work; but in the rarefied atmosphere of iconography these all too readily evaporated and merely contributed to the fashion of applying a generalized semiology to all artifacts.

The contemporary interest in Warburg arises not so much from issues connected with the decipherment of pictorial content—and of the symbolic meaning of signs in general—as from the nature of the communication and subsequent transformation of those signs. Warburg emerges as the historian of those areas of human culture that resist hard-and-fast classification and interpretation. Iconographic studies largely ignore the issue of the conditions under which art was practiced, its cultural contexts, and its conceivable historical meaning. When Burckhardt, in the manuscript just cited, speculated whether it was specific circumstances that so defined "the [artist's] *task*... that the supreme outcome is possible," and came to the gloomy conclusion that "whole cultures can pass by and wither in vain,"<sup>10</sup> he was close to the limits of possible interpretation, but then he never shrank from profound evaluations of historical processes. By contrast, Panofsky—for all his learning—oversimplified such problems as that of the reuse of antique artistic motifs in later centuries. His assessment of the Carolingian period is pithy but improbable:

the leading spirits turned to antiquity, both pagan and Christian..., much as a man whose motor car has broken down might fall back on an automobile inherited from his grandfather which, when reconditioned..., will still give excellent service and may even prove more comfortable than the newer model ever was.<sup>11</sup>

Warburg would never have so disarmingly ducked the problem of the reuse of antique figures and the imitation of antique institutions; on the contrary, he was aware that the true meaning of such imitations was intractable and disturbing; aware, too, of the cultural processes that they reflected.

*Ebreo di Sangue, Amburghese di Cuore, d'Anima Fiorentino*

Aby Warburg (1866–1929) was the firstborn son of a leading Hamburg family of bankers that by the end of the nineteenth century was already active in international finance.<sup>12</sup> According to family legend, the thirteen-year-old Aby passed on his birthright to his brother Max in return for an assurance that all his life long he would be able to buy all the books he needed for his studies.<sup>13</sup> In one of the last photographs of him, taken in 1929, in which he and his four brothers are seen gathering around a table in the Warburg Library, Aby sits on Max's left and stretches out his cupped hands in the gesture of a suppliant (fig. I-2). This was more than a self-deprecating joke; he was impulsively performing one of the gestures to which he had devoted many years of study; and his expressive plea was entirely in keeping with the financial needs of his library.

As early as 1889 Aby, then a student in Florence, declared to his mother that he must “lay the foundation of my library and photographic collection, both of which cost much money and represent something of lasting value.”<sup>14</sup> To his brother Max he struck the same note, in the first year of the new century, when he asked him for increased contributions to the stocking of the new library: “In the last analysis, we are all *rentiers*, and terribly interest-minded . . . I would not hesitate for a moment to enter my library as a financial asset in the accounts of the firm.” Two months before his death, he was to assure his brothers that his last research project, the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, was a profitable enterprise that would show a return for all their investment in the library. In the letter of 1900 asking for more funds, he concluded: “We should demonstrate by our example that capitalism is also capable of intellectual achievements of a scope which would not be possible otherwise.”<sup>15</sup>

Warburg thus ended his plea for his own scholarly work with a justification of capitalism itself. According to this (in the truest sense) self-serving argument, the capitalist economic system not only requires its exponents to keep constantly busy but also opens—as he himself was later to put it—new mental spaces for intellectual activity.

Part of the interest of reading Warburg's writings today lies in his original responses to ideas derived from his own university teachers. His student years (1886–1891) coincided with a period of crucial change in the very areas of study that were of the greatest interest to him. His own reading and his university experiences directed him toward a historical epoch that not only was intensively studied all through the last third of the nineteenth century but had become a veritable methodological test bed: the Italian Renaissance.

Studies of the Middle Ages were mostly nationalistic in their motivation, but the new interest in the Italian Renaissance was the fruit of a longing for



different ways of life and forms of art. Romantic poetry and painting had emancipated the yearning for the South from any political context and had transported it into the intimate realm of art. Ever since Goethe and the Nazarenes, works of Italian art had been defined more in terms of their reflection in the German mind than of their historical meaning in their place of origin.<sup>16</sup> For Northern Europeans, the fascination of Italian art resided above all in the imagined (re)discovery of aspects of life that seemed to assert themselves more powerfully in Italy than in the North (fig. I-3).<sup>17</sup> Among these were ideas of individuality, of passion,<sup>18</sup> of expressive force, and of emancipation from the iron grip of systems. Three key notions—*risorgimento*, Italian opera, and tourist Italy—serve to outline the proportions that the Italian phenomenon assumed within a wider European culture.

There is one particularly curious aspect to this Northern European fascination with the Italian Renaissance. Given the distance at which it stood from modern observers, the Renaissance all too readily offered itself as a screen for the projection of their wishes and fears. To some it was the age of warring city-states and lawless condottieri; to others it was *the* age either of religious painting or of the idolatry of art. A decisive aspect in every case, however, was that the Renaissance marked the rebirth of the art and ideas of antiquity. The tension between the modern observer and the Renaissance—and the resulting, inevitably distorted image—found an analogy in the tensions that had affected Renaissance people themselves in their relationship to antiquity. The understanding of history made, as it were, a double perspectival leap: modernity is to Renaissance as Renaissance is to antiquity.

This emerged all the more clearly as the Renaissance began to look, to nineteenth-century eyes, more and more like a mirror image. Though profoundly affected by this tension, Warburg distanced himself from the popular neo-Renaissance posturing that identified individual artists with merchant venturers and city fathers<sup>19</sup> and instead sought to crack the historian's hermeneutic nut.

Two aspects of popular enthusiasm for the Renaissance nevertheless left their traces on Warburg. As a man of means, he was never obliged to take up a university post; he profoundly felt himself to be a private scholar, a descendant of the humanists in the industrial age. Furthermore, the resources of the house of Warburg permitted him to acquire that princely possession, a major library. He was thus in a position to combine—as only a capitalist ever could—princely possessions with the humanist's freedom to govern his own life. This enabled him to cherish the illusion that the deep contradictions identified by some historians as central to Renaissance culture had, in his own person, been temporarily overcome. This balance between irreconcilable life-forms was not a stable one, but was assailed by constant emotional and mental upheavals: a reminder that in modern times, as ever, not even a life of privilege could sustain it.

The tensions between the experience of life in antiquity and in modern times, between ethical obligations and the claims of individual liberty, between

## Introduction



**Fig. I-2. Warburg and his brothers, 1929**  
From left: Paul, Felix, Max, Fritz, and Aby  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

**Fig. I-3. Johann Friedrich Overbeck. German, 1789–1869**  
*Italia and Germania*, 1828. Oil on canvas, 94.4 × 104.7 cm.  
Munich, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen  
Inv. no. WAF 755

superstitious awe and a sense of destiny, run through Warburg's writings like a scarlet thread.<sup>20</sup> Formulaically, Warburg himself admitted this, when he warned:

We must not demand of antiquity that it should answer the question at pistol point whether it is classically serene or demonically frenzied, as if there were only these alternatives. It really depends on the subjective make-up of the late-born rather than on the objective character of the classical heritage whether we feel that it arouses us to passionate action or induces the calm of serene wisdom. Every age has the renaissance of antiquity that it deserves.<sup>21</sup>

*Incessantly Modifying and Disrupting the Established Institutions of Life*

To Warburg, the reappearance of antique forms in later art was to be an urgent and lasting scholarly concern. For him, the "survival of antiquity" served as a touchstone for the extent to which the conflict between ancient and modern conceptions of faith had penetrated the consciousness of the age. Warburg had borrowed the phrase from a work by Anton Springer, published while Warburg was a student in Bonn.<sup>22</sup> There was more to this relationship than a useful formulation, however: Warburg was keenly interested in Springer's emphasis on the incalculable factors in history, and in his intuitive feeling for the *Formgepräge*, the "formal imprint," as exemplified by the propagandist images of the French Revolution.<sup>23</sup>

Warburg's interest had also certainly been stimulated by Jacob Burckhardt's *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (translated as *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*),<sup>24</sup> but the effect of his studies was to undermine the notion of the Renaissance as an age of celebrities and "heroes" (fig. I-4). Warburg often made fun of the bourgeoisie for their idealization of Renaissance man—not without a touch of self-mockery, as when he described the Northern visitor to Italy, intent on self-improvement, as "the Nordic superman on his Easter holiday."<sup>25</sup>

In Warburg's work, the Renaissance—far from being celebrated as an incomparable moment of splendor in European history—increasingly comes to resemble a battleground of ideas and forces: in other words, an age of transition, and even of cultural upheaval. In Burckhardt, such aspects had emerged only sporadically and intuitively. He had tried to extract from the appearance of the artifacts an "inkling" of their role within the tradition, but what had really interested him were "those mighty vibrations of the will" without which "the creative artistic faculty would never have picked up the necessary resonances."<sup>26</sup>

The decisive point lay once more in the link between works of art and human beings. Another intuition of Burckhardt's had led him to surmise, as early as the 1860s, that works of art should be regarded less within the philosophical categories of aesthetics than as "a part of psychology." This was more than a vague statement of opinion. Burckhardt was wary of diversions into the philosophy of history, but at the same time he recognized that a

psychological approach would radically alter the nature of art-historical research. Works of art would no longer offer themselves as passive objects for the historian to deal with as he chose, because the history of art would have become “the study of what goes on inside the beholder.” Only thus could Burckhardt conceive “how the great forces of intellect, soul, and imagination relate to the apprehension of art.”<sup>27</sup>

*Effects of Philology and Ethnography on the Study of History*

At Bonn University, where Aby Warburg was a student from 1886 until 1888, the classes that made the most impression on him were not those of the art historians Carl Justi and Henry Thode, but those of the historian of religion Hermann Usener. A classical philologist by training, Usener was familiar with the most abstruse questions of philology. His interpretations of the names of the gods of antiquity drew upon audacious etymological speculations as well as on the evidence of obsolete folk customs.<sup>28</sup> Usener greatly expanded the scope of historical research in his field by deducing mythical ideas not only from the forms in which they were transmitted but from the traces they left in religious practice. Even where he concerned himself, as he largely did, with the philology of such things as god names and their metamorphoses, Usener was practicing an anthropology of religion.<sup>29</sup>

In the process he led the history of religion into areas where it encountered contemporary work in legal history, anthropology,<sup>30</sup> and ethnography. Usener was less interested in system-building than in the mechanisms that connected primitive religious practice with modern historical insight. His combination of philological methods with formal analysis of myths blazed a trail that Warburg was to pursue both in his dissertation and thereafter. The fact that evolutionary theories formed the backbone of Usener’s arguments undoubtedly enhanced their scientific credibility by comparison with the current notions of the day. Usener’s interest in the “primitive” premises on which cultural phenomena rested, and his comparative study of mythological figures, found a continuation in Warburg’s fascination—not to say periodic obsession—with the same themes.

In one respect, Usener’s ideas on the history of religion left a lasting impression on Warburg. In 1895, when Aby visited the United States and entered the “primitive” life of the Native Americans of New Mexico and Arizona (fig. I-5), he made far greater use of philology, in the spirit of Usener, than would have been expected from a nonspecialist.<sup>31</sup> Even the personal resonance that Usener sought to find in his objects of study recurs in Warburg and counters the tendency to academic scientization. For all his use of historical and philological learning, Usener made one disarming confession: “All study of myth, unless it is no more than a game, will ultimately bring us back, in spite of ourselves, to what most intimately concerns us—our own religion—and will further our understanding of that.”<sup>32</sup>

Where Usener sought to explain myths, images, and linguistic forms in anthropological terms, another professor in Bonn, Karl Lamprecht, developed



**Fig. I-4. Jacob Burckhardt crossing the Münsterplatz in Basel, 1878**  
Photo: Jacob Burckhardt Stiftung, Basel, Switzerland





**Fig. 1-5. Warburg with a Hopi in Oraibi, Arizona, 1895/96**  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

an unorthodox historical method based on the ideas of psychology.<sup>33</sup> His shift from descriptive narrative to a psychology of historical phenomena was based, like Usener's ideas, on the theory of evolution. But—to differentiate for a moment, where both Usener and Lamprecht generalized—we are reminded of the words of Jacob Burckhardt, who saw in the 1860s that art scholarship was not so much a matter of aesthetics as “the study of what goes on inside the beholder.”<sup>34</sup> Burckhardt himself may have been hesitant in applying such ideas, but the lectures—and soon the books—of Usener and Lamprecht generated a marked tendency to psychologize historical research.<sup>35</sup> E. H. Gombrich concluded: “Warburg remained Lamprecht's follower throughout his life. He also remained deeply impressed by Lamprecht's interest in the problem of transition from one period to another.”<sup>36</sup>

Late in the nineteenth century, the phenomena of historical change—from the definition of periods to the explanation of causes and connections—held a fascination that was no doubt partly due to the unprecedented pace of change in the contemporary world, and partly to an immensely broadened vision of historical processes. In his “Five Lectures on the Modern Science of History,”<sup>37</sup> Lamprecht devoted a whole chapter to the “Universal Mechanism of Psychic Periods of Transition,” as exemplified in particular by contemporary Germany. In so doing, he came up against the outer limits of historical explanation as such, but called for “unsystematic, individualistic

investigation” to be superseded by “an analysis of the phenomena.” Only in this way could “the phenomena of intellectual life, the innermost, psychologic proceedings be clearly understood so that their reduction to general laws might be possible, be it laws of psychological mechanics or of evolution or biology.”<sup>38</sup>

To paint so ambitious a historical panorama called for some very broad brushwork. The gulf between historical transmission—the evidence—and theoretical explanation remained too wide for systematic connections to be worked out between them. To bridge the gap between historical knowledge and sweeping explanation, Lamprecht borrowed from the theory of evolution, which he transferred from the vast timescale of natural history to that of the acute and ephemeral problems of the present day.<sup>39</sup> Here the issues were, of course, very different: instead of barely detectable processes of change, sudden shifts in the contemporary mood demanded explanation. For the diagnosis of the latest “transitional phenomena,”<sup>40</sup> what offered itself to Lamprecht was an array of “new experiences of self-consciousness,”<sup>41</sup> derived from the headlong pace of realignment and dissolution. Lamprecht viewed “imaginative and intellectual activities”<sup>42</sup> as the critical measure of such periods of transition. For Warburg, whose interest was increasingly drawn to another period of radical change, that of the Florentine Quattrocento, such ideas were inevitably of great interest. He, too, devised methods of his own in order to capture and interpret the fugitive signs of historical change.

In German academic life during the 1890s, a methodological controversy arose over the study of cultural history. The point at issue—where the argument did not simply exhaust itself in acrimonious disputes over the work of Lamprecht—was the relative importance of individual and collective forces in history.<sup>43</sup> In 1902, in the wake of this argument, a Berlin professor of ancient history, Eduard Meyer, wrote an article in which he called for all historical phenomena to be judged by their “effect.”<sup>44</sup> Scattered hints of a related approach occur in Burckhardt, who mooted both a history of the reception of art and a psychology of its apprehension—“what goes on inside the beholder.”

It was presumably the direct influence of his teacher Lamprecht that gave Warburg the decisive impulse for his own researches. The influence of antique motifs in later times had already been studied by Springer and others; Warburg wanted to go beyond individual motifs, and to take as his central theme the reemergence of supposedly long-lost ideas in Renaissance and later art.

### *(E)Motions*

In his manuscripts, Burckhardt inclined increasingly to the view that no system of art history can be founded on subjectivity alone. He sensed that “we no longer seek in the work of art an idea that would be its lexical key but instead realize that the work is extremely complex in its nature and in its origin.”<sup>45</sup> In itself, this complexity means that works of art constantly demand new interpretations. They pose contextual problems that lead us beyond

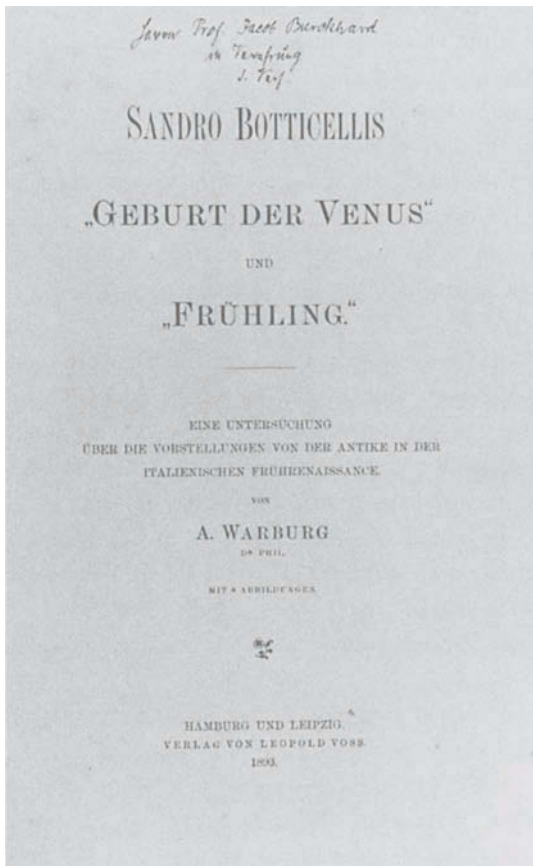
the uniqueness of their own genesis to “the suffering, aspiring, and active human being.” For Warburg, too, no schematic historical construct and no self-sufficient theory could ever reveal the meaning of works of art.

The issue that was to concern Warburg most, that of the reappearance of forms from antique art in later times, posed the issue of motivation and intention in an acute form. Burckhardt had adopted rather an intuitive approach to this topic. What interested him were “those powerful vibrations of the will”; in other words, what counted was the tie between artworks and human beings. Another intuition had led Burckhardt to surmise, in the 1860s, that works of art should be appraised less within the philosophical categories of aesthetics than as “a part of psychology.”

Warburg’s teacher Lamprecht went on to adopt a psychological approach to history in general: its objects, he declared, were the “experiences of self-consciousness” of reflective individuals in the present. As was noted, Burckhardt himself had already tried to conceive “how the great forces of intellect, soul, and imagination relate to the apprehension of art.” Long excluded from the purview of art history, such questions were to become central to Warburg’s work.

In the winter of 1888–1889, as a member of August Schmarsow’s seminar, Warburg had his first encounter with a psychologically oriented school of Renaissance studies; he also first studied works of Florentine art in situ and was no longer obliged to content himself with the extremely limited reproductive and descriptive resources of the period. In Florence, Warburg came under the spell of those works of art that were to exert a decisive influence on his whole life.<sup>46</sup> This experience may well have led to his subsequent move from Bonn to Strasbourg, where in 1889–1891, under Hubert Janitschek, he wrote a dissertation that was not so much a compulsory academic exercise as a test run for his own hypotheses.

Warburg’s dissertation deals with two celebrated easel paintings by Sandro Botticelli, the *Birth of Venus* and the *Spring*, or *Primavera* (see figs. 1, 10 in Warburg’s text).<sup>47</sup> In the late 1880s there were almost no relevant studies available to him; the first monograph on Botticelli did not appear until 1893, the year in which Warburg’s dissertation appeared in print.<sup>48</sup> He appended to the titles of Botticelli’s already popular paintings his own subtitle, “An Examination of Concepts of Antiquity in the Italian Early Renaissance,” in order to emphasize that the significance of both works resided within a precise historical context (fig. I-6). Systematically, he related the paintings to texts from classical antiquity that had been known to—and, in various forms, adapted by—poets and philosophers in the immediate circle of the artist’s patron, Lorenzo de’ Medici. Warburg thus established an approach to the content of the works in question and their literary background that has remained unchallenged to this day. A whole century after Warburg’s dissertation, the author of the latest book on the *Primavera* concludes in so many words that Warburg’s correlation between textual sources and pictorial idea is unshakable.<sup>49</sup>



**Fig. I-6.** Title page of Aby Warburg's dissertation, inscribed to Jacob Burckhardt, 1893  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London



**Fig. I-7.** Sandro Botticelli (Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi) Italian, 1444/45–1510  
Detail from *Spring*, ca. 1481. Tempera on canvas.  
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi  
Inv. no. 1890, n. 8360. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.

Warburg announced his theme in one sentence and defined his approach to it in the next. “What it was about antiquity that ‘interested’ the artists of the Quattrocento” was, in his view, the “intensification of outward movement.”<sup>50</sup> The antique prototypes, and above all their animated gestures and their draperies, invited imitation because they offered effective formulas with which to convey animation and emotional agitation. Both in the artist and in his audience, this visible mobility evoked reactions that went beyond the specific and the merely interesting to create a kind of artistic *Einfühlung* (empathy).

The concept of empathy, as used here by Warburg, stemmed from the essay “On the Optical Sense of Form” (1873) by Robert Vischer, who defined “this lingering, motionless **empathy** with the static form of the phenomenon” as “*physiognomic* or emotional.”<sup>51</sup> Throughout his career, Warburg would attend to the “physiognomic” features of works of art: for him, as for Vischer, works of art ultimately enshrined a cosmological understanding—even though this in itself was a reason why they eluded any purely objective interpretation. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the first reference to a living author in Warburg’s dissertation is to Robert Vischer.

The course of Warburg’s studies followed the vicissitudes of his personal relationship with the contemporary state of art-historical research. This went beyond the horizons of earlier generations in a number of directions: firstly, it connected with the study of history in general, and made use of a rapidly growing body of sources and documents; secondly, in keeping with the visual nature of the objects with which it dealt, it responded to the first stirrings of modern psychology. In the light of the psychology of perception, artifacts could be seen in isolation from purely aesthetic categories; and this conferred an entirely new interest on art itself.

In 1886, the year in which the twenty-year-old Warburg embarked on his university studies in Bonn, Heinrich Wölfflin completed his own Munich dissertation on “A Psychology of Architecture.” He began with a question: “How is it possible that architectural forms are able to express an emotion or a mood?” And in the years that followed—just as Wölfflin himself had expressed surprise that “our scholarly literature has made almost no attempt to answer such questions”<sup>52</sup>—Warburg felt impelled to pursue a better understanding of the physiognomic, expressive content of works of art.

Alongside fundamental issues of interpretation, Warburg was also interested in certain highly specific aspects of Botticelli’s paintings. Not content with finding textual sources for these hitherto ill-explained images, and uncovering the historical circumstances of their making, he concerned himself with a phenomenon that arose from the painter’s use of dynamic forms to express momentary states.<sup>53</sup> As a subsidiary theme, he set out to investigate the “accessory forms in motion”<sup>54</sup> in which Botticelli had clothed his figures. Their flying hair, swirling garments, and other motifs of motion—loose-jointed limbs united in the dance, cascades of flowers, windswept branches and bushes, foam-capped waves—pervade the subject and combine into a sharply outlined, finely chiseled representation (fig. I-7).



In his examination of the figures in the two Botticelli paintings, and in the same artist's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in Rome, painted immediately afterward (1481–1482), Warburg was not content to explain these features away as rhetorical formulas designed to capture a body in motion within the static medium of painting. Leon Battista Alberti had made the expression of liveliness his first priority: "Let no part of the drapery be free from movement." But his declaration that figures when windblown acquired another "grace" was also a hint that such artistic devices afford an additional insight into the nature of the figures: "On the side struck by the wind the bodies will show a good part of their naked forms, and on the other side the draperies blown by the soft wind will flutter through the air."<sup>55</sup>

Wind and motion not only make the figures seem unveiled; they uncover a primal authenticity that other representations lack. This is especially evident in Domenico Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the Tornabuoni and Sassetti Chapels (Florence, Santa Maria Novella and Santa Trinita), which Warburg discussed in detail in his essays on "The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie" and "Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons."

In these studies, Warburg's primary intention was to illustrate by particularly vivid examples the role of the patron in the practice of Florentine art; at the same time, he described the end product of this patronage, the cycles of frescoes themselves. Burckhardt had characterized them as the representations of "a dignified, intensely meaningful existence that we know to be the idealization of the Florentine reality of the day." But, where Burckhardt perceived an unbroken ensemble of "noble and strong existences,"<sup>56</sup> Warburg could already detect the cracks in the crystal, the cultural rifts within the Florentine banking milieu. He took attentive note of seemingly incidental details and made a close study of an odd-seeming female figure who unexpectedly intrudes upon the solemn scene of the birth of the Baptist. Antique in bearing and costume, balancing a richly laden fruit platter on her head, this slender figure moves as if not only windswept but blown hither by the wind. However, in the world of these Florentine merchants, the wind was more than a playful marauder who revealed the outlines of a slender figure: it stood for the tempest of Fate and Fortune that rampaged through their lives and found a reflection in their personal emblems.

On completion of his dissertation (1891), and after a year's military service, Warburg made a somewhat half-hearted attempt to return to his favorite Florentine themes. But it was not until after his visit to America (1895–1896), to which we shall return, and his marriage to the artist Mary Hertz, that he possessed the necessary *Sitzfleisch* to resume his researches. He chose to settle in Florence (1897–1904), and there enjoyed unimpeded access to works of art and to archives. Under these ideal conditions, he was able to deepen his knowledge and to lay the foundations for his later studies. By now his interests extended far beyond Botticelli, to Leonardo da Vinci and to the Florentine mercantile milieu in which he detected features familiar from his own family life in Hamburg. He also allowed himself time and leisure to stay on

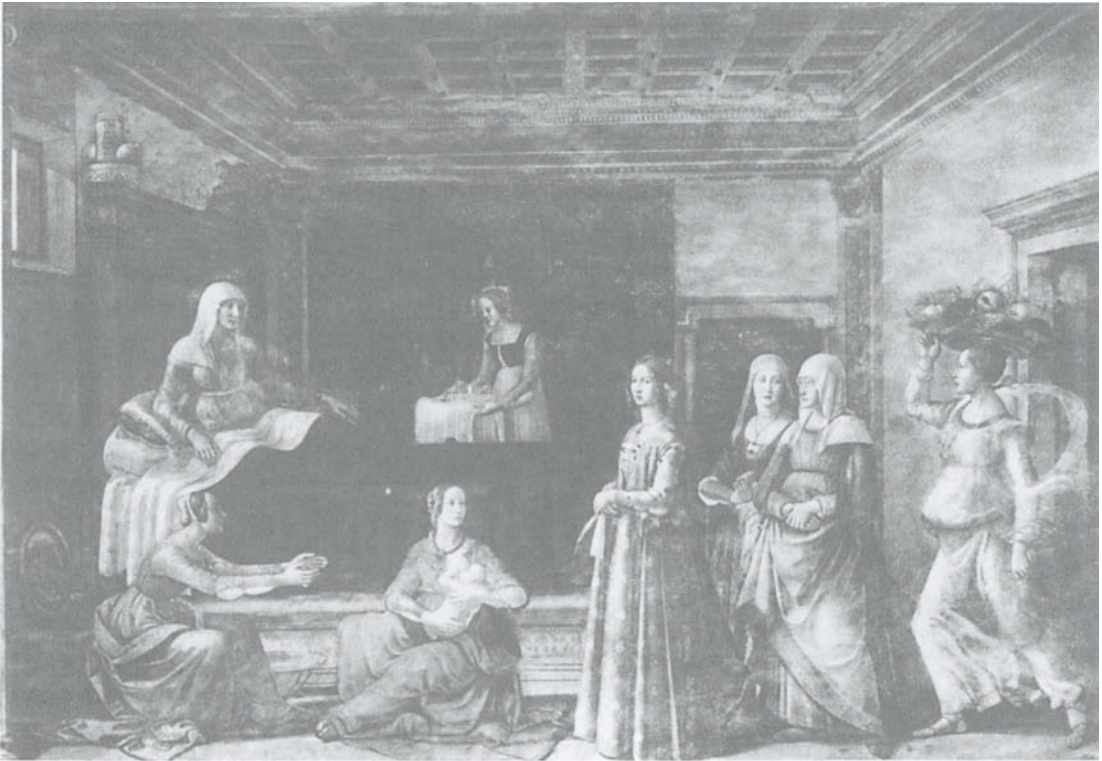
the track of a secret, favorite theme. The graceful female figures that had fascinated him when he was working on his dissertation could be neither easily forgotten nor fully understood.

Under the working title “Nympha,” Warburg began to study these lightly tripping figures more intensively.<sup>57</sup> In Renaissance painting, they were no longer confined to the mythological sphere from which they presumably derived, but showed up unbidden in gatherings of Florentine patricians. In the celebrated fresco cycle painted by Ghirlandaio for the banker Giovanni Tornabuoni in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, incidents in the life of Tornabuoni’s name saint take place in two distinct historical periods: Roman antiquity and the Florentine present. Ghirlandaio sets the *Birth of John the Baptist* (fig. I-8) in a room in a Florentine palazzo and the *Massacre of the Holy Innocents* (fig. I-9) in a city of antiquity. It was a perfect opportunity to test out a hypothesis presented in Warburg’s dissertation, namely, that to take the treatment of “accessory forms in motion as the touchstone of ‘antique influence’ may be biased, but is not unjustified.”<sup>58</sup>

Here, however, those figures that are most “antique” turn out to be very different from each other. Warburg clarifies the distinction: “if we look closely at the intense foreground drama of the struggle between women and soldiers, their apparently spontaneous gestures are revealed as the conventional warlike attitudes of Roman sculpture, as copied from the reliefs on Trajan’s Column by the builders of the Arch of Constantine.”<sup>59</sup> By contrast, in the Baptist’s birth chamber we encounter a quite different emissary of the antique (fig. I-10), whom Warburg himself later wryly called “a maenad turned lying-in attendant.”<sup>60</sup> For him, as for Hippolyte Taine before him, this was a key figure, who, “in a statue’s robe,” embodied the “élan, the joy, the strength of the antique nymph.”<sup>61</sup>

The presentation of nymphlike figures in Renaissance painting was poetically inspired but artistically original. Their flying hair and windblown garments recall the devices that dramatize the gestures of their antique prototypes, the maenads depicted on sarcophagi, vases, and gems (fig. I-11). To such figures, and in particular to their unexpected (re)appearance in the midst of the Florentine bourgeois world, Warburg attached two themes of his scholarly work: the postures and gestures from the repertoire of antiquity, which later centuries used to represent specific states of action and psychological arousal,<sup>62</sup> and the irruption of “alien figures” from remote antiquity into the everyday world of the Renaissance. The former phenomenon he defined through the concept of the *Pathosformel*,<sup>63</sup> or emotive formula; the second he pursued to the end of his days as a true enigma of human perception and of the expressive analogies between historically far remote periods and cultures.

Gombrich takes the “ideal-antique mobility” that fascinated Warburg in certain figures by Botticelli and Ghirlandaio and shifts it out of its art-historical perspective into Warburg’s own contemporary context. As Gombrich observes: “Even around the turn of the century . . . the humorous weeklies still considered a girl on a bicycle or a young woman playing tennis a pleasantly



**Fig. I-8. Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi). Italian, 1449–1494**

*The Birth of John the Baptist*, ca. 1486–1490. Fresco. Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.

Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



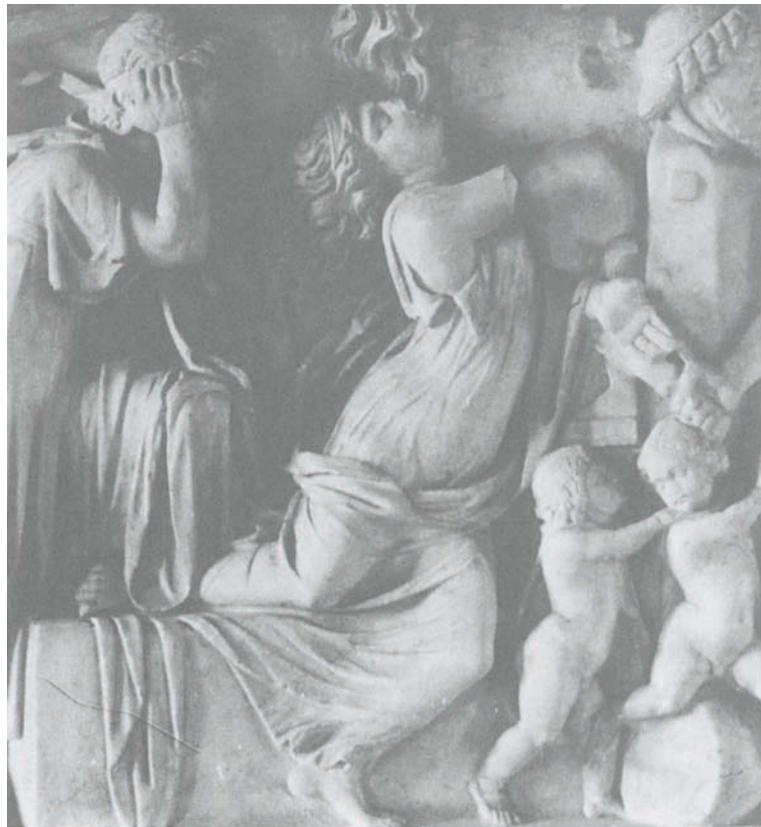
**Fig. I-9. Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi). Italian, 1449–1494**

*The Massacre of the Holy Innocents*, ca. 1486–1490. Fresco. Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.  
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



**Fig. I-10. Domenico Ghirlandaio (Domenico Bigordi). Italian, 1449–1494**

Detail from the *Birth of John the Baptist* (see fig. I-8).  
Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



**Fig. I-11. Detail of a maenad from a Roman sarcophagus depicting the story of Medea**

Circa mid-second century A.D. Marble. Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Inv. 6763 LEVI '89



*risqué* subject. Soon, however, Isadora Duncan's bold performances in flowing garments and with bare feet impressed the public as the manifesto of a new code of conduct."<sup>64</sup>

Under this quizzical gaze, the "nymph" is revealed as a late Victorian male fantasy, an erotic wish fulfillment par excellence. Because the forms in which she is represented largely deprive her of her own sexuality, the nymph appears passive and receptive to fantasy projections. She owes her "radiance" to her apparent "detachment"; she owes her freshness to a state of androgyny. She herself is not necessarily "moved" but addresses the beholder's feelings through her "accessory forms in motion."<sup>65</sup>

It is therefore no coincidence that one and the same figure served both John Ruskin and Marcel Proust as screens for erotic projection. Ruskin was so enchanted by the maidenly form of Zipporah, in one of the Botticelli frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, that in 1874 he copied her, at full size, with his own hand (fig. I-12). In his description of the figure, he gave full rein to his idolatry. Every word of it might have been by Warburg: "The tresses of her hair are merely softened from the long black falling tresses of Athena... The scarcely traceable thin muslin veil over her breast represents the part of the aegis which, in the Pallas, is drawn with dots, meaning soft dew instead of storm."<sup>66</sup>

In short, the grace of her figure in motion makes Zipporah into "simply the Etruscan Athena, becoming queen of a household in Christian humility."<sup>67</sup> But, for a *haut bourgeois*, a "household in Christian humility" might easily give rise to an erotic liaison: this radiant figure might lend titillation to the game of sexual submission and social dominance. Such is the social reversal that causes the beloved of Proust's Swann to appear, as if by chance, in the form of Zipporah. As Proust describes her:

As she stood there beside him [Swann], brushing his neck with the loosened tresses of her hair, bending one knee in what was almost a dancer's pose, so that she could lean without tiring herself over the picture, at which she was gazing, with bended head, out of those great eyes, ... Swann was struck by her resemblance to the figure of Zipporah, Jethro's Daughter, which is to be seen in one of the Sixtine frescoes.<sup>68</sup>

As Ruskin's translator,<sup>69</sup> Proust had drunk from the same wellsprings; as a sexual dreamer, he had desired a similar detached proximity to the beloved. There is no doubt that, in his fictitious correspondence with his friend André Jolles, Warburg, too, set out to redistribute the roles.<sup>70</sup> Jolles was to pretend to be in love with the nymph figure and thus provoke Warburg to ever-new heights of reformulation—which would, however, have less to do with the figure's charms than with her origins. This artificial contest, if not for the nymph's favors at least for her intellectual custody, soon flagged. It nevertheless reveals some deeper motives behind Warburg's lifelong fascination with this key figure, whose energy simultaneously embodied both *joie de vivre* and fear of passion.



**Fig. I-12. John Ruskin. British, 1819–1900**  
*Zipporah* (after Botticelli), 1874. Watercolor, 143 × 54 cm.  
Ruskin Foundation (Ruskin Library, University of Lancaster)  
Photo: Andrew Morris

### *Magic of the Nymph*

Warburg's fascination with the nymph had long since left Botticelli's and Ghirlandaio's figures far behind it, and had obstinately taken precedence over professional, art-historical concerns.<sup>71</sup> In these enigmatic nymph figures he believed that he had found nothing less than the key to the understanding of his basic theme: there was more to Springer's "survival" of the antique than formal and iconographic borrowings from the art of antiquity. Warburg wanted to use Lamprecht's concept of "conscious experience" to capture the tension between antique image formulas and their (re)use in the Renaissance. The "dynamic" aspect of the nymph—strongly accentuated in her "accessory forms in motion"—not only marked the contrast with other figures but brought to light something that deeply concerned Warburg and entangled him in contradictory attempts at explanation. This problem was all the more perplexing because he had to cope with his own *Kulturbrille* or "cultural eyeglasses"—a term adopted by Franz Boas<sup>72</sup> for the handicaps that face any anthropologist who tries to study his or her own culture.

The reason why the nymph figure was so heavily charged with meaning was perhaps that she already had a role in the imagination of contemporary painters—a role that shows some affinities with Warburg's ideas. While Warburg and Jolles were playing their intellectual game with the nymph as the manifestation of an "elemental spirit,"<sup>73</sup> Giovanni Segantini was painting a picture entitled *Vanity* (fig. I-13),<sup>74</sup> inspired by Edward Burne-Jones's *Mirror of Venus*. Segantini's painting combines three discrete elements: the naked *nymph*, with flowing, bright red hair, stooping over a dark, *rocky spring*, in whose waters a monstrous *serpent* lies coiled. In a brilliant, recent analysis of the subject, Roberto Calasso has argued on the basis of multiple analogies with ancient mythology and language that these three entities are in fact one:

This knowledge through metamorphosis would concentrate itself in one place, which was simultaneously a spring, a serpent, and a nymph. That these three beings, despite appearances to the contrary, are three aspects of a single being is a truth conveyed to us in past centuries—and to this very day—by a scattering of clues in texts and images.<sup>75</sup>

### *Serpents and Daemons*

Warburg's fascination with the nymph thus emerges not just as a personal *idée fixe* but as an intuition of a force that really exists, albeit half-veiled behind transient phenomena. This force has made constant reappearances, especially in antiquity: "With the recrudescence of [Greek] religion in a later age it came back as δύναις, 'magic power,' in a higher sense as φῶς, 'light, knowledge,' and in Christianity also as χάρις, 'grace.'"<sup>76</sup>

However, it can also appear—even in modern times—with the urgency of panic; and for Warburg it did this in the form of figures in art. He shared the contemporary taste for symbolist art, and in particular for the painting of



**Fig. I-13. Giovanni Segantini. Italian, 1858–1899**  
*Vanity; or, The Fountain of Evil*, 1897. Oil on canvas, 77 × 124 cm.  
Kunsthaus Zürich  
Photo © 1998 by Kunsthaus Zürich. All rights reserved



**Fig. I-14. Arnold Böcklin. Swiss, 1827–1901**  
*Naiads at Play*, 1886. Distemper on canvas, 151 × 176.5 cm.  
Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum, acc. no. 111.  
Photo: Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Martin Bühler

Arnold Böcklin (fig. I-14), which struck him, on a visit to Basel in 1898, spontaneously as “like a refreshing bath in wind and waves” — and which, together with the reliefs of Adolf von Hildebrand, so impressed him that he saw in them, respectively, the survival of antiquity in its “two accents of movement: Dionysiac, enhancing, . . . Apollonian, restraining.”<sup>77</sup>

Warburg's interest, over the years, in the “nymph” and allied figures is best encapsulated in his own words. In notes for a lecture in 1908 he wrote: “Every age can see only those Olympian symbols which it can recognize and bear through the development of its own inner visual organs. We, for instance, were taught by Nietzsche a vision of Dionysus.”<sup>78</sup>

Aside from the nymph, one other theme of great importance aroused Warburg's interest. Botticelli and Ghirlandaio had shown him the way to an interpretation that saw their work as deeply rooted in the historical reality of artistic patronage. He pursued the trail that led from life in Renaissance Florence to the forms of its artistic representation. The effective link, “a true transition from life into art,” was “Italian festive pageantry in its higher form.”<sup>79</sup> Here as elsewhere, Burckhardt had anticipated him in treating ephemeral categories of art as indispensable materials for the history of culture.

Accordingly, Warburg at once realized the enormous importance of a chance find in the Florentine archives: Bernardo Buontalenti's designs (see figs. 77 ff.) for the highly artificial Intermedi that were performed with great splendor during the wedding festivities of Grand Duke Ferdinand and Christina of Lorraine in 1589. Warburg concentrated above all on the third Intermedio, in which Apollo does battle with the serpent Python (see fig. 82). In a musically and theatrically intense scene, Apollo defeats this progeny of primeval nature and frees the land from its reign of terror. By slaying the monster, he asserts his own splendor and thereby, by association, the authority of the Tuscan prince. The restoration of harmony and the prospect of a peaceful future demand a bloody sacrifice. As Gombrich's attentive reading reveals, Warburg saw this operatic rendering of the myth as something more than a survival of classical tradition: “On the contrary, the surviving elements of antiquity were always seen as a potential threat to human values, but also as a potential guide towards their expression.”<sup>80</sup> This double-edged influence of antiquity was to make a startling reappearance when, in 1895–1896, Warburg traveled to visit the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona.<sup>81</sup>

On the face of it, it is a coincidence — but a significant one — that Warburg's last work before his American journey was devoted to the Florentine Intermedio and the triumph of the serpent-slayer, Apollo, and that, at the end of his voyage of discovery to North America, snakes were once more to fascinate him and supply him with material for later reflection (fig. I-15). Warburg described the

highest degree of this magical attempt to approach nature through the animal kingdom . . . among the Moki Indians in their dance with living snakes at Oraibi and Walpi . . . Here, the dancer and the living creature still form a magical unity, and the

surprising thing is that in these ceremonial dances the Indians have found a way of handling the most dangerous of all creatures, the rattlesnake, in such a way that they tame it without the use of force; that the creature willingly . . . takes part in day-long ceremonies which, in European hands, would certainly end in disaster.<sup>82</sup>

Undoubtedly, the natural forces and perils that these Native Americans have to contend with are no less deadly than the mythical powers presented in the Florentine Intermedio of Apollo and Python. The crucial difference is that in terms of classical culture the conflict could be resolved only through the victory of Apollo and the immolation of the beast, whereas the Moki return the serpent to the freedom of nature at the end of the ceremony. This cultural contrast not only set the myths of European antiquity apart from those still rooted in pre-Columbian America: it manifested itself to Warburg in the most acute form while he was in the United States. As he laconically observed: “The present-day American [of European stock] feels no awe of the rattlesnake. It is killed, or at all events not accorded divine honors. The response to it is extermination.”<sup>83</sup>

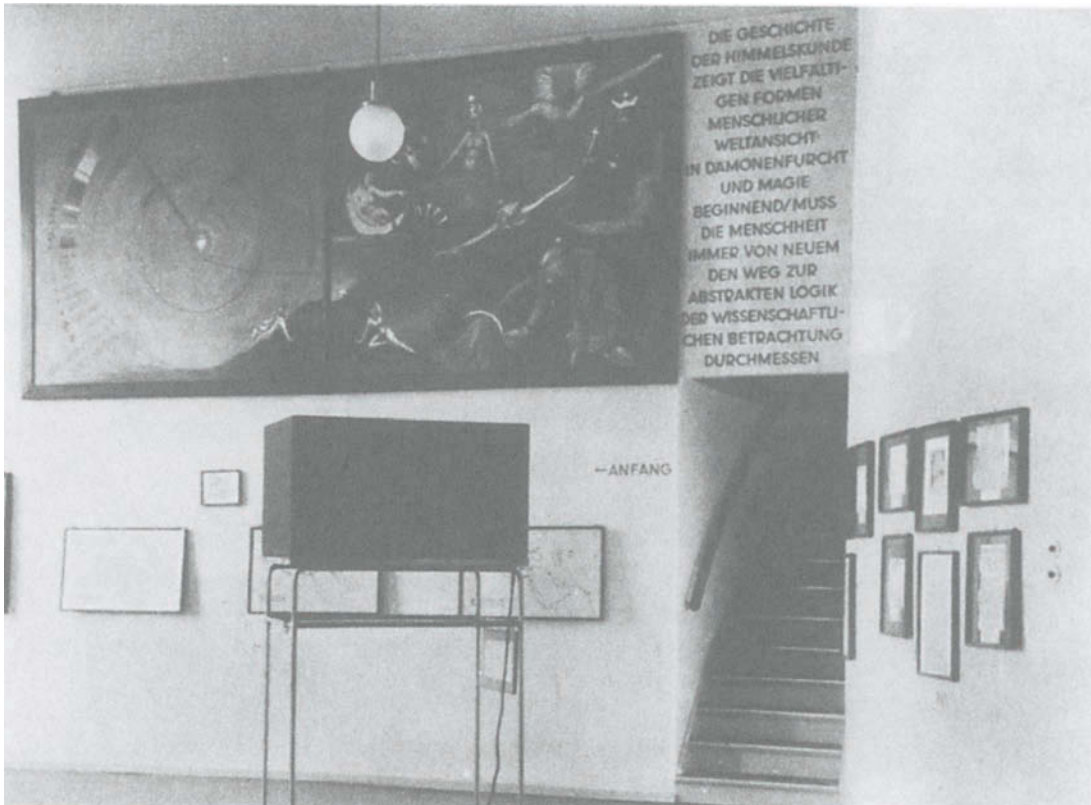
This remark is found in a paper written for delivery in 1923, almost three decades after his visit to Arizona, when he set forth his own past observations to an audience at Dr. Ludwig Binswanger’s psychiatric clinic in Kreuzlingen, Switzerland. In the intervening years, World War I and the collapse of Germany had caused Warburg—always worried by the delicate balance of his own psychological nature—to sink into a state of clinical depression leading to schizoid insanity.<sup>84</sup> The paper he delivered at Kreuzlingen was designed to serve as his ticket to freedom by proving to himself and to his analyst that he was once more capable of living an independent life.

He expressed himself with equal cogency in a contemporaneous letter to his family in Hamburg; here the best evidence of his recovered equilibrium lies in his *insight* into his own perilous condition and into the causes of his collapse:

Understanding, enlightenment, law in the workings of cultural history, introduced by including irrational instinct within the ambit of historical investigation, was then the goal of my work . . . *Per mo[n]stra ad astra*: the gods have placed the monster on the path to the Idea. The 1914–1918 War had confronted me with the devastating truth that unchained, elemental man is the unconquerable ruler of this world.<sup>85</sup>

Where “elemental man” appears in all his nakedness, the oldest aspects of our species are inevitably on show: fear, phobia, aggression, expression. Subsequent to his fascination with the nymph, Warburg had embarked on another cardinal theme: that of astrology—or, in his words, “the psychology of human orientation in the cosmos.”<sup>86</sup> In a caption written for the last exhibition he ever prepared, *Sternglaube und Sternkunde* (Astrology and astronomy) at the Hamburg planetarium (fig. I-16), he pinpointed the theme with didactic precision:





**Fig. I-15. A. F. Harmer**  
*Snake Dance of the Moquis: Pueblo of Hualpi, Arizona, August 12th, 1881*  
 Pen drawing. From: John G. Burke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884)

**Fig. I-16. Warburg's exhibition on astrology and astronomy at the Hamburg planetarium, 1930**  
 Photo: Warburg Institute, London

What distinguishes man from animals is that he strives to grasp the order within the world around him. *Knowledge of order* is the fundamental human quality... The extraction of specific groups from the unfathomable host of stars, and their naming after spirits and animals, is not a game but man's attempt to gain his bearings within chaos, to acquire a *coherent* mental image of it.<sup>87</sup>

The extent of Warburg's concern with those historical developments and confusions that occupy the intermediate terrain between superstition and lucid understanding is revealed in his study "Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther."<sup>88</sup> The precise chronological context of this study is revealing: Warburg was working on it through the very years in which his own anxieties and fears were driving him to the edge of madness.

Like all of Warburg's themes, his study of astrological and cosmological imagery had a long, drawn-out prehistory. His first ventures into this complex field, in which verifiable calculations are enlisted into the service of irrational notions, date from the year 1908. It was then that Warburg began to concern himself with the astrological imagery of gods and spirits, and discovered an important publication, by Franz Boll, which gave him the key to the interpretation of a highly complex cycle of frescoes at the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara.<sup>89</sup> These studies culminated in a paper given at the Tenth International Congress of Art History in Rome in 1912, in which he presented to his professional colleagues a breathtaking demonstration of the almost worldwide migration and reinterpretation of astrological spirit entities.<sup>90</sup>

This paper of Warburg's marks a crucial point in the evolution of his thinking; for in it he succeeded in presenting the refractory themes of his subject within their far-reaching historical contexts, and thus in explaining the position of the Renaissance as a turning point in European culture. Burckhardt, with his incisive account of the age of Constantine, had prepared the ground for analogous reinterpretations of historical change and upheaval in ages of transition.<sup>91</sup>

Late in his life, at a Hamburg University seminar in 1927 on Jacob Burckhardt, Warburg placed his predecessor on a level with Friedrich Nietzsche as "highly sensitive seismographs" and concluded that "against the background of antiquity, our attempts to view processes of stylistic evolution as a psychological inevitability must eventually lead us to question the classification of world history into epochs." For Warburg's mode of thought, attuned as it was to the transformation of images over long intervals of time, any schematic division into epochs was wholly uninformative, because "such an attempt to set up purely chronological divisions can yield no reliable, obvious principles of classification."<sup>92</sup>

In 1912 Warburg had turned down an invitation to leave Hamburg and become professor of art history at Halle; to show its gratitude, his native city decided to offer him the honorary title of Professor. As part of the process, the senator for higher education asked the historian Erich Marcks to provide

an assessment of Warburg's academic stature. Marcks's assessment was acute and illuminating:

He has...discussed the Medici circle in both archival and art-historical terms, and has explained works of art from this circle more fully than before, setting both art and emotion—religious emotion in particular—within their deeper cultural-historical and psychological contexts. Here, again, he continues the tradition of Jacob Burckhardt, pursuing a comprehensive historical study that combines art history with intellectual history in a way that is nowadays rare.<sup>93</sup>

### *The Book as a Battery of Memory*

Even as a student, Warburg was acquiring books in large numbers. As a private scholar in Florence, and as an *éminence grise* after his return to his native city, he continued to buy at an increased rate. The growing accumulation of books soon threatened to occupy every corner of his house in Hamburg, and even fellow professionals found it daunting. When Fritz Saxl first set foot in the collection in 1911, he found the quantity, grouping, and arrangement of the books “baffling.”<sup>94</sup> Two years later, Saxl became Warburg's assistant and, by degrees, his closest collaborator. His role in the expansion of the library and its opening to scholars and students was to culminate in the preservation of its very existence: in 1933 it was Saxl who successfully pressed for its relocation to England.<sup>95</sup>

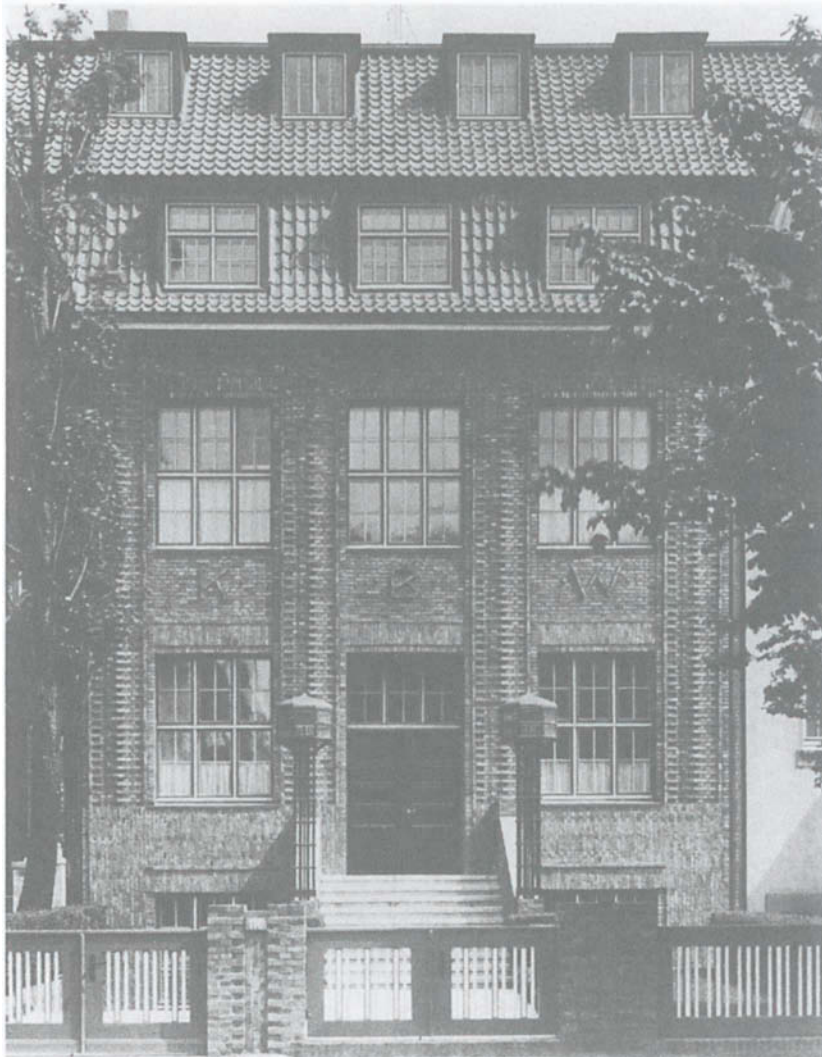
The major turning point in the history of the library came when Warburg returned from the psychiatric clinic at Kreuzlingen. He then decided to house it in a separate building next door to his own home on Heilwigstrasse, Hamburg. In 1925–1926 he had the young architect Gerhard Langmaack design a lavishly appointed library (fig. I-17).<sup>96</sup> On completion, the Warburg Library possessed the latest technological gadgets, such as telephones, a pneumatic mail system, elevators, and conveyor belts to transport books from the stacks to the reading room. Thanks to the work of his closest associates, Saxl and Gertrud Bing, the library became a center of scholarly life in its founder's own lifetime.

The oval reading room (fig. I-18) could be converted to a kind of anatomy theater (fig. I-19) for lectures, with a raised tier of seating, an epidiascope, slide projectors, screens, and other necessary equipment:

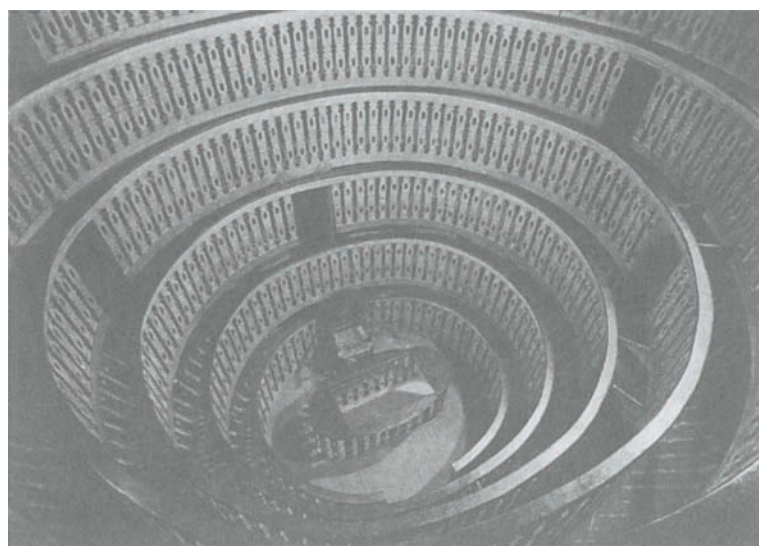
The two houses together would provide room for about 120,000 volumes, the reading room with its gallery was to be fitted with a good reference library, and enough wall space to house the periodicals, old and new... In addition there were to be proper staff rooms, space for the photographic collections, a guest room with bath, a photographic studio, and in the basement the usual living quarters.<sup>97</sup>

Everything needful had thus been done to turn a private scholar's library into a scholarly institution.<sup>98</sup>

Warburg himself went one step further. Although he had accumulated his



**Fig. I-17. Facade of the Warburg Library, Heilwigstrasse 116, Hamburg, 1926**  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London



**Fig. I-18. Oval reading room of the Warburg library, 1926.**  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

**Fig. I-19. The anatomy theater of Girolamo Fabrici d'Acquapendente, 1594**  
Studio di Padova, Padua. Photo by courtesy of S.O.G. s.r.l.

library in pursuit of his own entirely individual wishes and needs, he no longer identified totally with his own instrument. He had begun to keep his distance. In 1925, while building work was still in progress, he confessed to his brother Paul:

In my years away from here, I learned to treat myself and the work that comes out of me as two separate things, in which the personal union that exists through me is the transient element, and the Institute is the enduring one. And so I have no misgivings about taking this task [the building of the Warburg Library] on myself.<sup>99</sup>

From the chrysalis of a private library—in an unexpected metamorphosis, after years of secret evolution—there emerged a scholarly institution that still subsists to this day, though not on its original site. The founder's researches, deeply personal though their motivation had been, were now to be subsumed—having been supported, expanded, and modified by Saxl—within an Institute of "Cultural Studies."<sup>100</sup>

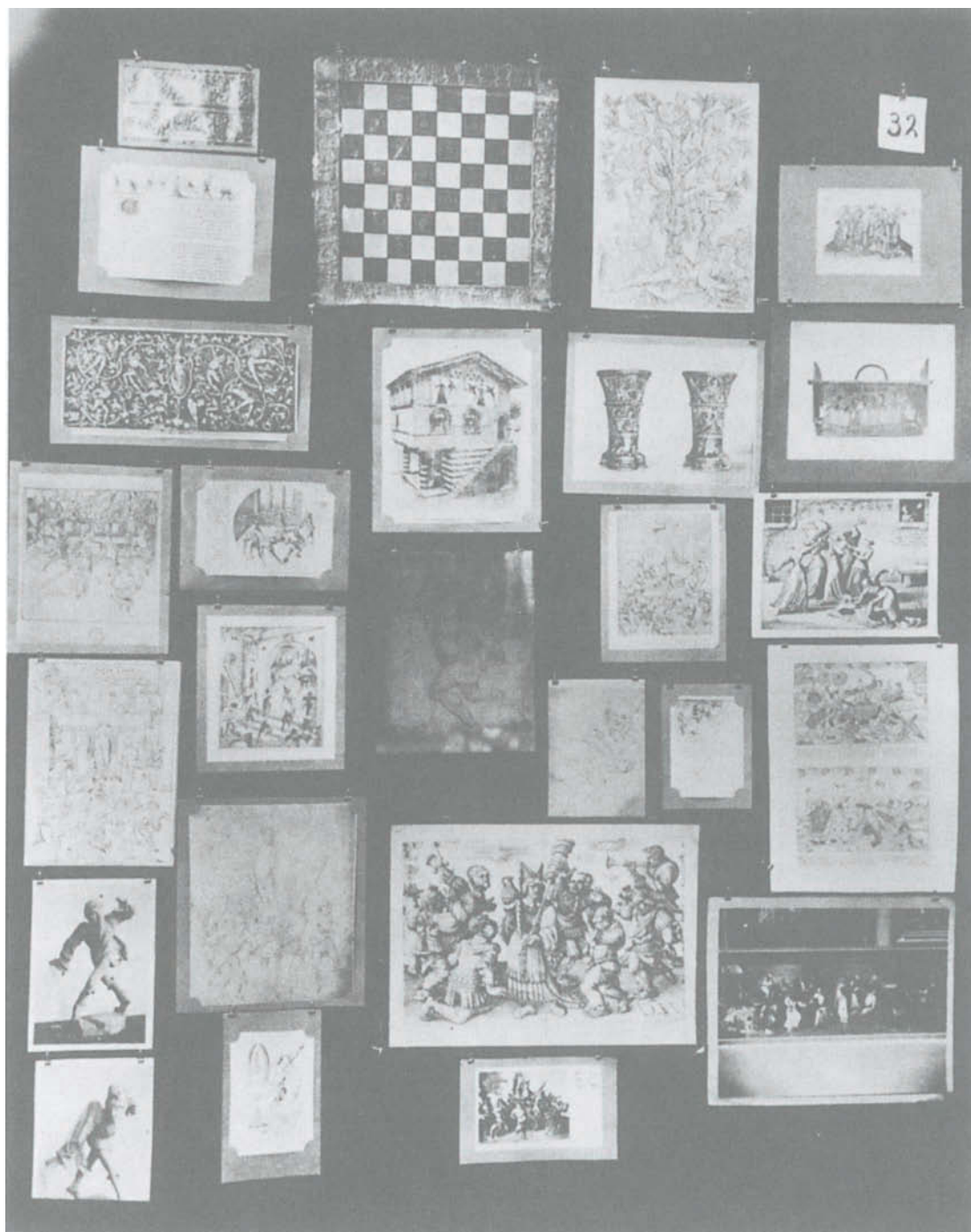
The supreme importance of books and images to Warburg was enhanced still further by the fact that it combined means with ends. For him, far beyond their purely utilitarian value, books and photographs embodied the cultural memory of humanity.<sup>101</sup> Since his student days, he had labored to create his own collection of the most varied writings and the most diverse pictorial reproductions; and this had always served a dual function, as an instrument and as an objective "repository" of human expression. For Warburg it was thus "charged," as it were, with cultural content. To tap these batteries was to obtain a living current of life from the past. The *book* stood for memory in all its forms. Materially and allegorically, it became not only the objective vehicle of historical content but the shibboleth of continuity.

In the last years of his life, Warburg took to presenting his scholarship primarily in the form of montages of images. Conceived as an "atlas" of human expressive potential, the *Mnemosyne* project passed through a rapid succession of new configurations, so that it now exists only in truncated form; and Warburg's commentary is in itself highly incomplete (fig. I-20).<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, this collection of images can be regarded as Warburg's true testament, since it sketches, in ever-new juxtapositions, what he sought to attain through his library:

I envisage as a description of the aims of my library the [following] formulation: a collection of documents relating to the psychology of human expression. The question is: how did verbal and pictorial expression originate; what are the feelings or points of view, conscious or unconscious, under which they are stored in the archives of memory? Are there laws to govern their formation or reemergence?<sup>103</sup>

Created as a personal working tool for a man who himself never really wrote books, this scholarly library was intended to serve basic research in cultural studies—although Warburg himself was primarily concerned with the history





**Fig. I-20. Plate thirty-two from the *Mnemosyne Atlas***  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London



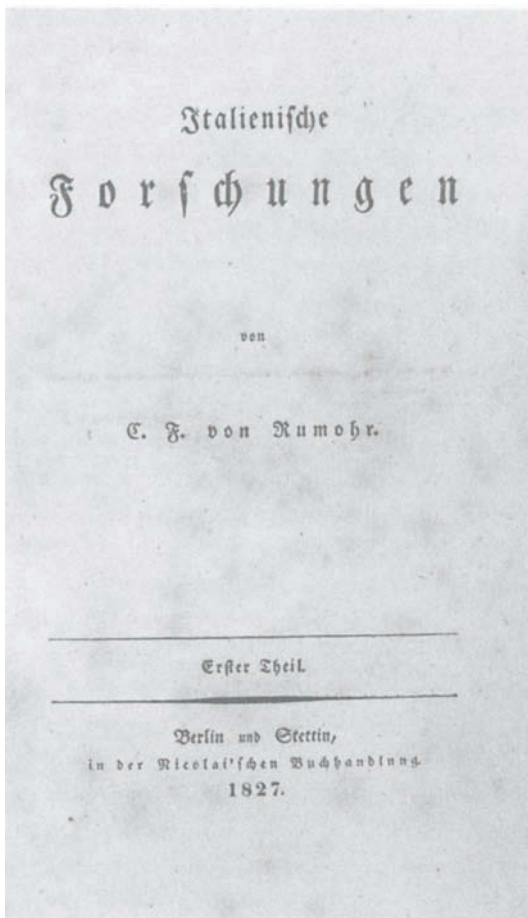
of art. His scope of vision had been greatly expanded, many years earlier, by reading Burckhardt. He was fascinated by a variety of aspects of Burckhardt's work: his wide span of vision, which found room for the apparently subordinate and ephemeral, and his radical approach to sources.

Ever since Carl Friedrich von Rumohr (fig. I-21), increasing importance had been attached to the significance of archival and other documents, alongside ocular evidence and formal judgments of works of art.<sup>104</sup> There can be no doubt that the dual meaning of the term *document* was not lost on Warburg: for the work of art is itself a document, with historical coordinates that must be elicited by research. However, its meanings fluctuate with the shifting preoccupations of its beholders. Even as a "document," the work of art remains overdetermined, in the sense that it can never be finally, unequivocally defined. Every researcher must therefore be able to react differently to works of art as the occasion requires—as Burckhardt did; for what is a "Guide to the Enjoyment of Works of Art in Italy"<sup>105</sup> if not a clear admission that it takes more than historical knowledge to explain "what goes on inside the beholder"? With wry self-knowledge, Warburg classed Burckhardt's *Cicerone* (fig. I-22) — which he valued far less highly than the same author's *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* — among the manifestations "of a longing directed inward or away from oneself."<sup>106</sup> He thus saw *Der Cicerone* as a vehicle of longing; its share of cultural energy continued, as its author had intended, "incessantly modifying and disrupting the established institutions of life."<sup>107</sup>

At university, Warburg had realized how powerfully the objects of historical research are changed by that research. Or, to put it another way, he saw that he was now witnessing far-reaching changes in historians' practice that revealed entirely different aspects of the past in the light of their individual current interests. Johann Gustav Droysen in Berlin and Jacob Burckhardt had called into question specific areas of historical scholarship; in so doing, they had initiated a debate as to the "scientific" status of history itself. Without detracting from the interest of political history and its ideologies, other areas of the past now demanded attention, though for the time being these were still relegated to such ancillary categories as "social," "ideological," or "cultural" history.<sup>108</sup>

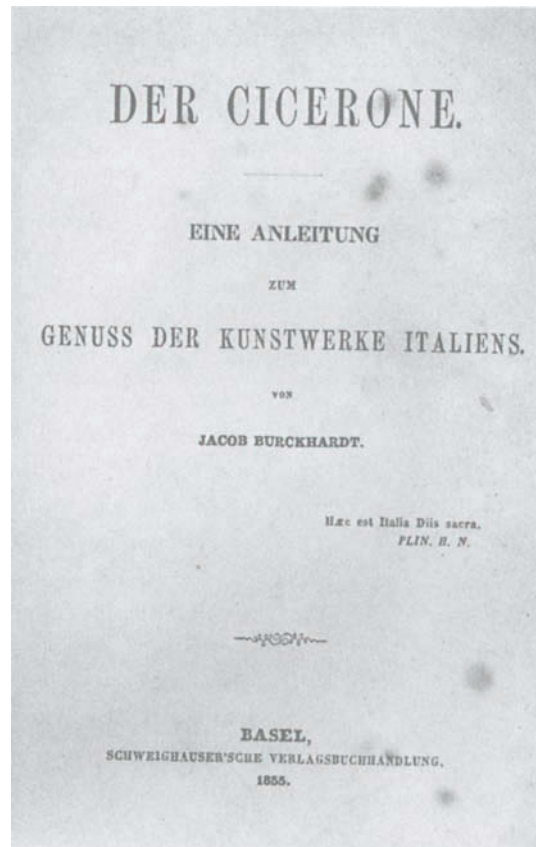
Burckhardt himself maintained these same distinctions in his manuscript on the "Theory of the Three Powers," in which he declared culture to be "the essence of all that has *spontaneously* arisen for the furtherance of physical life and as an expression of intellectual and emotional-moral life: all sociability, all technologies, arts, literatures, and sciences, and especially all philosophies."<sup>109</sup>

At the same time, he broke once and for all with the prejudice that relegated the history of cultural phenomena to an inferior status. Far from treating these as a decorative epiphenomenon, he hailed the sphere of culture as a realm of "transition," as a genuine medium of historical change. He was thus enabled to include Culture within the mechanism of his "Three Powers," alongside State and Religion, and to declare: "Within culture, the individual areas *supplant, replace, and condition* each other."<sup>110</sup>



**Fig. I-21. Title page from Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin: Nicolai'sche Buchhandlung, 1827–1831)**

Photo: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities



**Fig. I-22. Title page from Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855)**

Photo: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities

Burckhardt's classification of the objects of historical study into the "Three Powers" of State, Religion, and Culture finds echoes in Warburg.<sup>111</sup> The enormous expansion of historical knowledge since Burckhardt's time had, of course, compelled him to advance beyond his predecessor's categories and methodological premises. In its outlines, nevertheless, the Warburg Library was based upon Burckhardt's categories: "History" and "Forms of Society" confronted the massively expanded domain of "Religion, Magic and Science, and Philosophy"; and the section on "Literature" was separated, probably for organizational reasons, from "Art and Archeology."<sup>112</sup>

Burckhardt had initially set out to examine the culture of the Renaissance in all its manifold realms and manifestations. He thus, said Warburg, had to look at "art in its finest manifestations, separately and at leisure, without worrying whether he himself would ever have time for the comprehensive presentation of the whole culture."<sup>113</sup>

Warburg himself was to find that the multifarious and intractable nature of the phenomena prevented him from attaining his goal by traditional routes. Like Burckhardt, he was a tireless collector of a multitude of fragments, from which he hoped to piece together the broader outlines of an understanding. Burckhardt declared in 1868:

Everything that can remotely serve the purpose of this knowledge [of the past as a continuity of the mind] must be collected with all possible effort and diligence. The relationship of each century to this inheritance is knowledge in itself, i.e., something new that the following generation will add to that inheritance as a historical fact.<sup>114</sup>

There were, however, limits to this expectation: limits of endurance and method, and limits of historical understanding. Instead of weaving a historical tapestry from ever-finer threads, Warburg increasingly turned his interest to the patterns and prototypes of his colorful figures.

### *Fragments and Folds*

Warburg's notion of the past, of its destruction and rediscovery, was very different from Burckhardt's "mental continuum." He was unable to treat tradition as a secure inheritance, a constantly growing patrimony. He began to search for the underlying mechanisms of rejection, distortion, and reversal that shape memory. In his striking formulation, Burckhardt had described the influence of Culture on the other "powers," State and Religion, as "incessantly modifying and disrupting the established institutions of life." But Burckhardt had also clung to notions of tradition that Warburg could no longer share. To him, disconcerting elements seemed no less significant than apparently familiar ones. His approach to the objects of his research was not based primarily on continuity and (unavowed) familiarity: instead, he regarded every detail as a *fragment* of a still-unknown whole. He learned to move within the historical realms of his own culture like a stranger, attentive

to everything that did not fit, or was fragmentary or enigmatic. He can be justly described as an ethnologist of his own culture: an observer who stands aloof wherever he hopes to gain an insight.

The questions that Warburg began to ask about works of art inevitably led him beyond the traditional categories in which art history had installed itself. His interest extended outside the canon of high art, not because he was tired of this but in order to understand it better. He regarded works of art not as once-and-for-all, self-authenticating objects but as the select vehicles of cultural memory. Works of art were therefore fraught not only with untapped treasures of memory but also with misunderstandings and riddles. Warburg would never have been tempted to treat artworks as dream forms, but they share with dreams those initially inexplicable transformations, displacements, and reversals that puzzle us and cry out for interpretation. In one of the earliest independent assessments of Warburg's ideas, written shortly after his death, Edgar Wind argued:

Modern psychology owes its greatest successes in the knowledge of psychic functions to the study of those disturbances in which the individual functions, instead of combining to form a unity, separate from each other. Anyone who bases himself only on the great phenomena of art fails to realize . . . that it is the obscure curio that harbors the most important knowledge.<sup>115</sup>

### *Antithetical Expression*

More and more, Warburg took as his starting point those features of Renaissance art in which character and expression reside: figures and their expressive movements. Under close scrutiny, posture and gesture revealed themselves as highly varied; indeed, fundamental disparities could be found even within a single painting. Art historians had already tracked down some anomalies of this sort, and had found ancient Roman prototypes for a number of especially prominent figures. This showed that fourteenth- and fifteenth-century artists made increasing use of individual figures from Roman sarcophagi, of fragments of statues, and of coins, as well as of the remains of ancient architecture and inscriptions. Nicola and Giovanni Pisano in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and Pisanello, Lorenzo Ghiberti, and Masaccio in the fifteenth, sought out particularly expressive figures and individual gestures and abstracted them from their antique context (figs. I-23, I-24). Redeployed in the art of the Renaissance, these elements primarily played the part of quotations.<sup>116</sup>

Warburg recognized that there was more to the reuse of antique prototypes than the fact that the prototypes were usable; nor was it enough to say that Renaissance artists applied classical source images in keeping with their original meanings. These were mostly figures and gestures of exceptional significance: that was clear from the works of art themselves. But the true occasion and meaning of their use, in every individual case, called for closer investigation.



**Fig. I-23. Bacchic thiasos**  
Detail of oval sarcophagus. Marble, circa 200 A.D.  
Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, University of  
Amsterdam. Photo: Museum

**Fig. I-25. Pedagogue from a Hellenistic *Niobid* group,  
circa 1st century B.C. (after 4th-century B.C. original)**  
Marble, height: 181 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi  
Inv. no. 321. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.



**Fig. I-24. Pisanello (Antonio Pisano). Italian,  
ca. 1395–1455**  
Detail from a study after a Roman sarcophagus.  
Photo: Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University

In the winter of 1888, when still a student in Schmarsow's Florentine seminar, Warburg came across Charles Darwin's book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*.<sup>117</sup> Darwin's closing remarks, in which he recalls the animal origins of human expressive gesture, also contain the principle of "antithetical expression." This is of great communicative importance: according to Darwin, until human beings mastered the upright posture and the purposeful application of bodily force, they could not evolve, for example, "the antithetical gesture of shrugging the shoulders, as a sign of impotence or of patience. For the same reason astonishment would not then have been expressed by raising the arms with open hands and extended fingers."<sup>118</sup>

Warburg had recently observed a whole series of "antithetical" uses of antique gesture—as when Andrea del Castagno paints his *David* (see figs. 104a, 104b; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art) in a striding posture with left hand raised. The painter has his young hero confront his adversary Goliath in a bodily posture derived, according to Warburg, from the figure (now in the Uffizi in Florence) of the "Pedagogue" from a Hellenistic *Niobid* group (fig. I-25). In Renaissance hands, an antique formula expressive of fear and horror becomes an expression of youthful, conquering heroism. Gombrich has sought to identify this and other examples of "inversion" cited by Warburg as an "assimilation to a context more in keeping with Christian ideals";<sup>119</sup> but there is arguably more to these "antithetical" gestures than a reflection of contemporary artistic practice—or of a merely calculating conformity to a different mentality. Salvatore Settis has argued, in a study on pathos and ethos, that "the 'biological necessity' of artistic production, its affiliation to the deepest levels of human nature," offers a better instrument "for explaining the phenomenon of the survival of antiquity."<sup>120</sup> Not least, it is the sheer intensity of these gestures—the degree of their communicative expression—that invites the "antithetical" emphasis, as many other artists had realized. Significantly, it was Edgar Wind who, in his uncommonly pithy article "The Maenad under the Cross," cited a remark by Joshua Reynolds: "It is curious to observe, and it is certainly true, that the extremes of contrary passions are with little variation expressed by the same action."<sup>121</sup>

From these investigations, Warburg arrived at a new definition of these characteristic borrowings from antique prototypes, and an original interpretation of the mechanism involved in their transmission. He reached his conclusions because, on the one hand, he was prepared to treat the work of art as something historically transmitted, and often discontinuous and lacking in unity—thus abandoning the aesthetic ideal of a harmoniously self-contained, static whole—and, on the other hand, he believed that in the artistic repertory of gestures and figures he could not only observe the mechanics of tradition but encounter the forces of human destiny itself. Both aspects of his approach led him to the outer limits of art and of its understanding; and both inevitably transformed both his assessment of art and his methodology.

*Shifts and Transitions*

In these circumstances, it comes as no surprise that Warburg revealed a predilection for the art that was not made for its own sake but on some external prompting. He could take postage stamps and press photographs as seriously as the ephemeral art of waxworks, or the pageantry of the theater and the court, or the chaotic mass of broadsheet imagery and astrological prophecies, or arcane questions of philology. The crucial factor here was not the curiosity value of the image: its anonymity appeared to Warburg as a mask—a veil and a protection—for its continuity. He looked to the obscure and the unfamiliar for something that in works of high art had been filtered, refined, sublimated beyond all recognition. As Wind was the first to recognize,

Warburg always sought and found these in-between levels in those historical epochs that he himself regarded as ages of transition and conflict: the early Florentine Renaissance, late antiquity under Oriental influence, the Netherlandish Baroque. What is more, within those periods he concentrates by choice on the study of those men who, whether by profession or by fate, occupy an in-between position: merchants, who are also lovers of art, and in whom aesthetic taste collides with mercantile interests; astrologers, who combine sectarian politics with erudition, and who work by their own dual definition of truth; philosophers, whose pictorial imaginations clash with their logical need for order.<sup>122</sup>

Instead of lingering exclusively in the sheltered sphere of high art, Warburg looked at artifacts with the eyes of an ethnographer. His questions were addressed to obsolete cultural manifestations, but also to newspaper pictures: the most ephemeral objects as well as the most enigmatic. His notion of a comprehensive discipline of “cultural studies” went far beyond the existing academic specialty of “history of art.” Where his mentor, Burckhardt, had opened the way to an inclusive definition of “cultural history,” Warburg set out to turn this into a science. Burckhardt had worked within the categories of traditional historiography; the subject was now to be anchored by the methods of psychology and anthropology.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, ethnographers were beginning to assemble their second- and third-hand sources in a systematic fashion and to construct new images of culture.<sup>123</sup> Warburg came into contact with the American ramifications of this European discipline in 1895–1896, when—indirectly at first—he familiarized himself with the problems of cultural studies that were ethnographically oriented.<sup>124</sup> The opportunity for this momentous excursion into remote areas of study presented itself on a visit to the Southwest of the United States, where he found himself irresistibly drawn into the ambit of the Hopi and Pueblo.

Even while still at a distance, on the East Coast, he worked hard in advance to brief himself on Native American cultures. First he went to Washington to seek initiation into the study of Amerindian peoples and languages from the ethnographers of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>125</sup> As he later admitted,



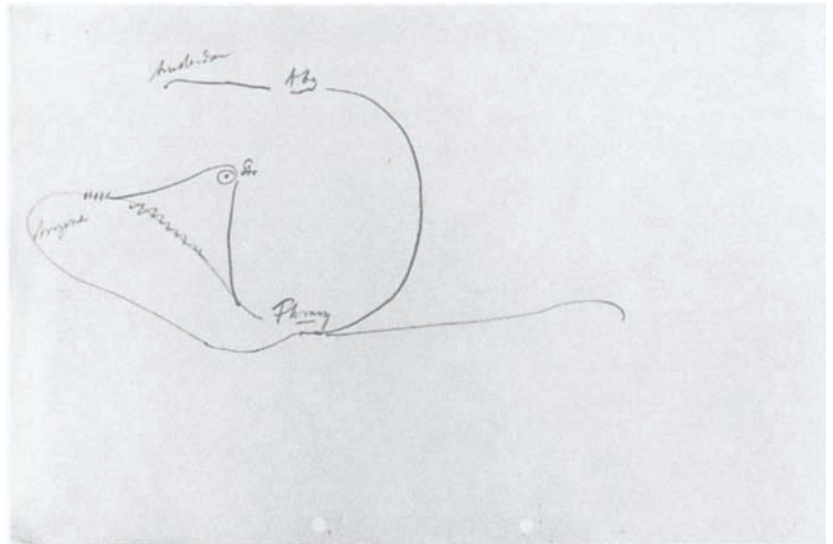
he “learned photography only in America,”<sup>126</sup> because it was indispensable for his specific purposes there. He found time for lengthy periods of language study, arduous journeys, and voluminous reading;<sup>127</sup> clearly, he was intent on penetrating into a culture in which he sensed that there was something uniquely significant. What this was, he could no more define in advance than he could turn it into an academic discourse on his return. Apart from two lectures in 1897—one in Hamburg and one in Berlin, which he put together simply as commentaries to a sequence of photographs drawn from the rich and bewildering spoils of his trip—the Pueblo research file remained on the shelf.

It was not until Warburg began to work his way out of his years of psychological crisis, in 1923, that he once more took up this neglected theme. It had slumbered among his papers for more than a quarter of a century, though no doubt it had reverberated in the recesses of his mind. That he eventually did succeed in bringing those two seemingly disparate areas of interest, Native America and Renaissance Florence, into an explicit relationship is illustrated by a sketch among his late papers. On two leaves inserted into the great sheaf of texts related to the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, Warburg sketched his own cultural and biographical situation.<sup>128</sup> With a sweep of the pencil, he linked the main locations of his academic life (Hamburg, Strasbourg, and Florence) with an unspecified East<sup>129</sup> and with a West identified as “Arizona” (figs. I-26, I-27). This loop in his life’s thread connects—however schematically—what had so long remained unconnected or severed. Interrupted in life as in thought, the study of archaic life of the Native Americans drifted far away from the experience of destiny among the citizens and artists of Florence, on which he had subsequently concentrated most of his attention.

In the summer of 1928 Warburg once more planned to visit America, but his brothers opposed the idea, and his psychiatric adviser, Dr. Binswanger, sustained their objections.<sup>130</sup> Thus thwarted from returning to the country where he had once had such momentous experiences, Aby traveled by way of Baden-Baden, Kreuzlingen, and Florence to another place charged with a weighty burden of historical memory: Rome (fig. I-28). There, with the assistance of Gertrud Bing, he devoted himself to the preparation of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* (fig. I-29). Keenly aware of his own mortality, he wrote that he must regard the year 1929 “as *the last of his expansive power*”; it was time to garner those “fruits . . . that will otherwise rot on the ground.”<sup>131</sup> Time was growing short, and Warburg closeted himself in Rome for a considerable time. He felt closer to his goal, because he guessed that Saxl was working in the same direction and that their concurrent efforts would “bring a fair amount of longed-for enlightenment to many other patients of the KBW [Warburg Library of Cultural Studies].”<sup>132</sup>

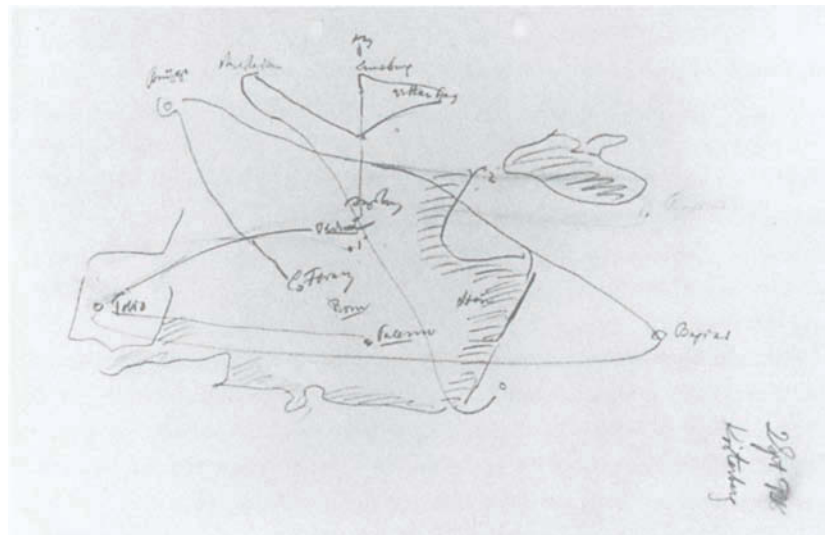
Warburg’s tone is jocular, but it reveals that he associated his library and its personnel with the notion of a *clinic* and its inmates; once more, he projected his own personal situation onto the institution that he had set up for his own scholarly needs. Just as the library has a central, oval room whose form and function distantly recall the kivas of the Pueblo,<sup>133</sup> so the Warburg Library

## Introduction



**Fig. I-26.** Warburg's autobiographical diagram traces his family origins to Amsterdam and closes a loop from his native Hamburg, touching on Strasbourg where he obtained his doctorate, on Florence where he did his major art-historical work, on distant Arizona (USA) where he came in contact with the practices of Native Americans, and on through Florence again to an unspecified point in the East.

Photo: Warburg Institute, London



**Fig. I-27.** In a second autobiographical scheme, Warburg inscribed the key locations of his own life within the routes of Jewish emigration into Europe: from the Holy Land to Amsterdam, and from the Near East via Spain (Toledo) and Italy (Palermo) to central Europe. Among the cities whose art and culture claimed Warburg's scholarly attention, he lists Hamburg, Bruges, Wittenberg, Augsburg, Florence, and Rome. Baghdad is probably included in order to designate the fabled site of the origin and technical perfection of astronomy and astrology.

Photo: Warburg Institute, London

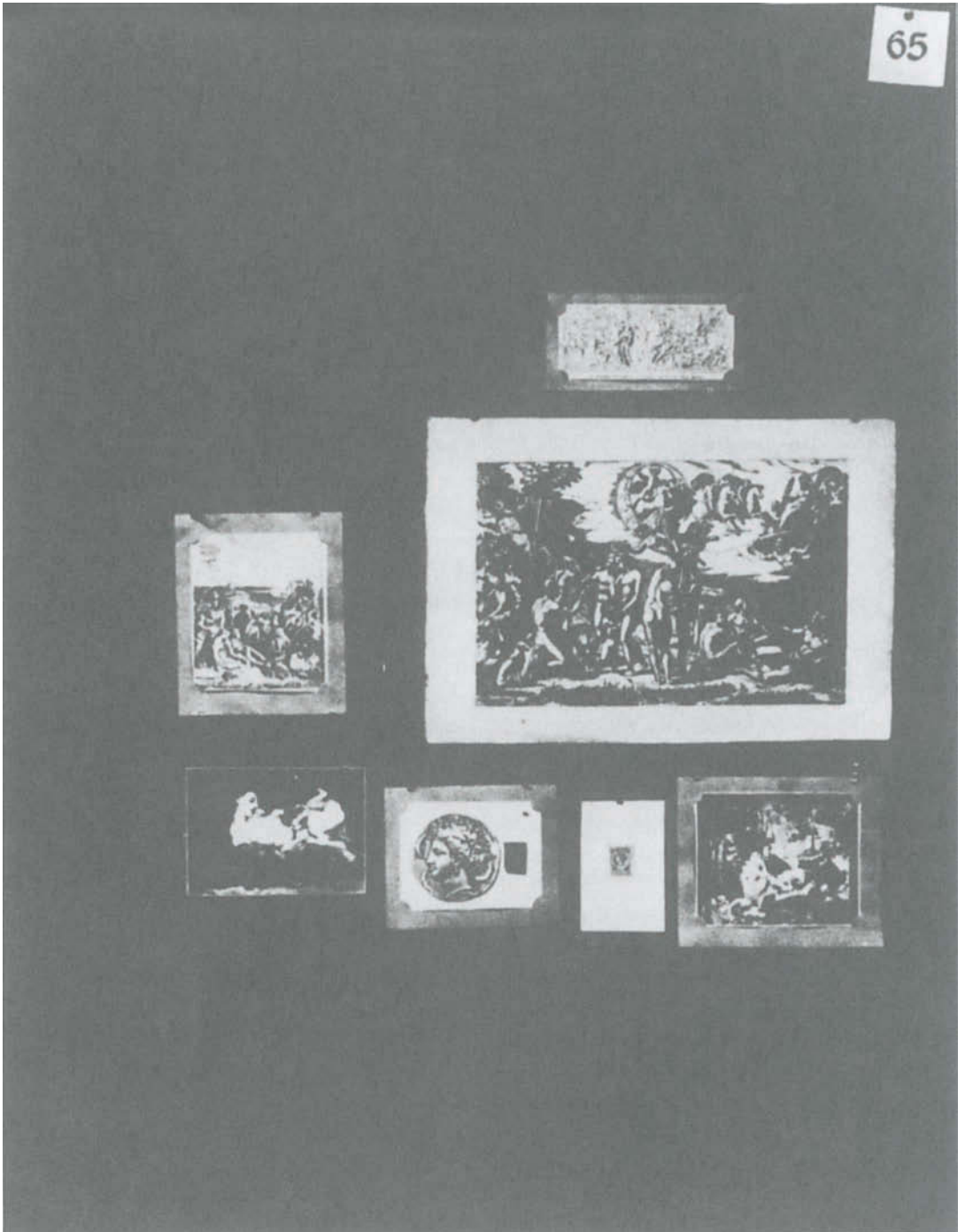


**Fig. I-28.** Aby Warburg with Gertrud Bing and Franz Alber in Warburg's study in the Palace Hotel, Rome, 1928/29  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

of Cultural Studies as a whole may be regarded as a “consecrated space” in which scholarly initiates manipulate the symbols of human existence.

Warburg died on 26 October 1929, too soon for the Hamburg Congress of Americanists, but after issuing an invitation to participants to visit his library. In preparation for this visit, Saxl, who was then working in Brussels, and Bing jointly prepared an introduction to Warburg's work. Initially, Saxl encouraged the hesitant Bing to deliver the introductory paper, but he then decided to do it himself—though he protested that it would be “the same old refrain, only starting the tune in America.”<sup>134</sup> He had, however, recognized, as he wrote Bing on 18 August 1930, that “it was in his last years, above all, that America... played such a wonderful part in Wbg's thinking.”<sup>135</sup> Saxl added a brief synopsis of his address, in which he summarized its themes as follows:

The KBW examines the survival of classical antiquity. Why does it nevertheless contain a section on America? Wbg's personal fate was the general fate of scholars. The problem of imprinted form. Social memory and the religious origins of imprinted forms. Conclusion: as you look to America, the Americanist must look to Europe. *The problem of the exchange of cultures.*<sup>136</sup>



**Fig. I-29.** Plate sixty-five from the *Mnemosyne Atlas*  
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

*I Could Never Grow Accustomed to This World*

The writing of history in the nineteenth century, with its increasingly nationalistic agenda, had laid great stress on the affinities between different periods and components within the identity of the unitary state. National, or at least cultural, differentiae made it clear that art was anchored not just in the generalizations of aesthetic theory but in the reality of regional practice and history. The two tendencies increasingly pulled in opposite directions, and divergent models were outlined by Heinrich Wölfflin and Alois Riegl, on one side, and Franz Wickhoff and Julius von Schlosser, on the other. Warburg turned aside from these newly paved turnpikes of continuity to the countless byways, not to say the hidden paths, that artistic evolution has everywhere preferred to follow. As he did so, countless discontinuities and destructions, forced or forgotten connections, must have been at least as vividly present to him as was Burckhardt's "mental continuum" of the past.

Warburg combined a privileged social position with personal integrity and scholarly seriousness. All of this contributed to his wariness of public institutions and his reluctance to take up the academic appointments for which he was eminently qualified. This wariness was partly expressed in his belief that his notions of scholarship could be realized only in a library of his own. He intended to put them into practice with his own instruments, and on lines pioneered independently by himself. His researches often led him onto strange paths, where it is easy for us to lose sight of the purpose behind them. Those paths seem all the more circuitous because Warburg never viewed the manifestations of human culture naively, from the inside, but always from outside.

All the knowledge amassed, with beelike application, by Warburg does not add up to a picture of the past. Though all the resources of nineteenth-century historical method were at his disposal, he never made his historical investigations converge into a whole. The details that he had carefully garnered for the solution of historical problems refused to lend themselves to an overview; instead, they constantly posed new riddles.<sup>137</sup> This still further reinforced the sense of estrangement with which he viewed all that was ostensibly familiar, and it led him onto the new terrain of the exploration of alien cultures.

*Von fremden Ländern und Menschen*, "Of Foreign Lands and People," is something more than the cryptic title of a piano piece from Robert Schumann's *Kinderszenen*: the travels of Georg Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, Adelbert von Chamisso, Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian von Wied Neuwied, and others had made ethnographic exploration a theme that decisively influenced the whole self-image of nineteenth-century German culture. The sense of estrangement within one's own culture not only led to the desire for experience of other cultures but posed urgent questions on the past and future of one's own. The theme of alienation ran through the whole century, from E. T. A. Hoffmann, Chamisso, and Nietzsche to Sigmund Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Chamisso's lines from his poem "Dream and Awakening,"

*Ich konnt an diese Welt mich nicht gewöhnen,  
Die sich verschloss dem ungefügen Gast;  
Ich tauge nicht, in einem Amt zu frönen,—  
So fiel ich allen und mir selbst zur Last*<sup>138</sup>

I could never grow accustomed to this world,  
Which barred its doors against the awkward guest;  
I am not made to serve my time in office—  
To all a burden, even to myself

—with their tone of simultaneous melancholy and self-criticism—are a diagnosis of Warburg's youthful experience, even though he subsequently made great efforts to apply the impersonal instruments of historical scholarship to the enigma with which his own life confronted him.

Why was Warburg's attention directed toward so unorthodox a multitude of artifacts, and how did he go about applying his scholarship to the solution of the problems that they presented? His own publications were always the fruit of precise observation, often verified with hairsplitting ingenuity. He defined his problems in the traditional spirit of historical research, made use of all available sources, and was at pains to employ texts and documents to place the image within the wider context of artistic practice. Warburg's spot investigations of such antiquarian problems as coats of arms, dates of birth, garments, and literary motifs were always directed toward the fundamental issues of art history, even though he often got no farther than fragmentary insights.<sup>139</sup>

The extraordinary breadth of Warburg's horizons is revealed by the project to which he devoted the last years of his life. This was his attempt to answer fundamental questions about the transmission of images and their role in the cultural economy. His old theme, that of "exploring the function of personal and social memory," now found an application on the vast scale of European history. In the process, he came up against the limitations—some of them technological—of what was actually possible in the 1920s: for which reason, among others, the enterprise has come down to us as no more than an enigmatic torso.

### *The Warburg Myth*

After Warburg's death, and through the years of the world economic crisis, the main priority for his former associates was inevitably the survival of the Institute and its scholarly work and influence. Their first duty was to assemble Warburg's published writings, and to sift and arrange the huge corpus of literary drafts and research material. To convey some idea of the difficulties that confronted Saxl and Bing, it will suffice to touch on the internal debate among the editors of Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Collected writings). Problems arose from the start, and these grew enormously when it came to the project of publishing unprinted material from Warburg's papers; for

the editors intended the two volumes of the *Gesammelte Schriften* that appeared in 1932 to form the foundation stone of a far bigger publication that would exploit the full wealth of Warburg's literary remains in five additional "groups."<sup>140</sup>

Only in the very recent past has this plan been taken up once more;<sup>141</sup> for the publication of the first two volumes of the *Gesammelte Schriften* was swiftly followed in 1933 by the emigration of the Institute to London. There, the hardships of the wartime and postwar years caused the concern with Warburg's scholarly inheritance to recede into the background.

In an animated letter from Florence, addressed to the "Dear, Dread Editorial Committee"—in other words, primarily to Saxl—Bing discussed the publication project on a level of principle and spoke, for the first time, of the "Warburg myth." Indeed, she went so far as to add: "Since Warburg died, the Library has been orbiting a center that no longer exists."<sup>142</sup>

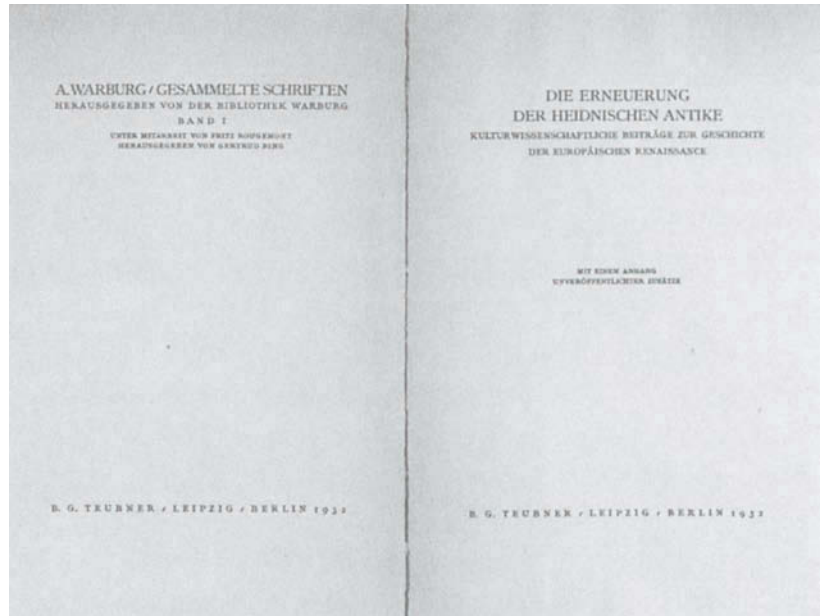
In his Library of Cultural Studies, the mesmeric (but also Medusa-like) Warburg had created a durable institution; but in the eyes of his institutional heirs, Saxl and Bing, he had left no scholarly lifework to guarantee its future survival. Warburg's scattered essays did not pass muster as a scholarly oeuvre of seminal quality. Measured by the conceptual range of their author, his writings were a mere torso. In 1930, even if the lectures and researches of the library and its staff were included as part of Warburg's achievement, a considerable academic credibility gap remained.

Warburg's language is often cryptically condensed, and his fragmentary treatment of unusual subjects ran counter to the habits of fellow scholars. True, he had made his mark with his archival work and with his originality in the definition of research topics, but his articles amounted to no more than a scattering of dots on a map. Warburg had linked his various areas of work with highly provisional pathways, and had left swathes of historical terra incognita for later exploration. His fragmentary exploitation of his own researches persuaded Saxl and Bing to publish the *Gesammelte Schriften* with an elaborate editorial apparatus, because they believed that this was the only way to do justice to his scholarship and lend it the necessary cachet (fig. I-30).

From the start, Saxl also attached great importance to the planned publication of the fragmentary *Mnemosyne Atlas*, for which he had himself composed a thirteen-page typescript synopsis (*Abriss*). Although, as the title implies—the term *Atlas* is often used in German where English would use "album"—this is primarily a vast collection of images, Saxl rightly placed the emphasis on Warburg's language:

It goes without saying that *only his words*, which are marked by a depth and beauty unmatched by any living art historian, can supply the significance of the plates and lend them the effect that is their due. We possess a very rich store of unpublished material which, *pieced together like a mosaic*, will indubitably provide that text.<sup>143</sup>





**Fig. I-30.** Title page spread from Aby Warburg, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1932)

Photo: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities

Here Saxl hit the mark, both when he stressed the originality of Warburg’s “words” and when he characterized the unpublished material as a “mosaic.” Warburg was tireless in his endeavors to find the right conceptual formulas to pin down the phenomena that concerned him. His readers are familiar with the glint of the occasional jeweled formulation that recurs in a number of different contexts. His papers bear witness to this effort, which went far beyond a concern with precise expression and careful editing. Warburg was practicing a kind of *conceptual magic*. He loaded individual words and groups of words with an intensive context of meaning that frequently led him to reiterate the formula, once found, with an almost invocatory force. Especially in his work on the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, in which the meanings of the images were to be enshrined in aphoristic formulas, he filled page after page with variants of his own formulaic terms (fig. I-31).

Not only was the text “pieced together like a mosaic”: so, too, in terms of cultural history, was the picture material that Warburg had collected and classified over the years. Because he ultimately saw all images in terms of their *depictive*—not inherent or immanent—quality, he could access the most varied materials on a single level. In its tendency, this mosaic of imagery was one

4 (H) 4

Der Entdämonisierungsprozess der phobisch geprägten  
 Eindruckserbmasse, der die ganze Skala des phobischen  
 Ergriffenseins gebärdensprachlich umspannt, von der  
 hilflosen Versunkenheit bis zum mörderischen Menschen-  
 frass, verleiht der humanen Bewegungsdynamik auch in den  
 Stadien, die zwischen den Grenzpolen des Orgasmus liegen  
 dem Kämpfen, Genen, Laufen, Tanzen, Greifen, jenen Präg-  
 rand unheimlichen Erlebens, das der *in Malakolische* in Kirchengucht auf-  
 gewachsene Gebildete der Renaissance wie ein verbotenes  
 Gebiet, wo sich nur die Gottlosen des freigelassenen  
*Im 7ten* *temperament*  
 tummeln, ansah.

Fig. I-31. Typed page of Warburg's comments (with autograph corrections) on the *Mnemosyne Atlas*  
 Photo: Warburg Institute, London

of the most modern aspects of Warburg's otherwise rather unassertive expository technique.

Susceptible though he was to the attraction of visual media, Warburg simultaneously pursued an ideal that ran counter to the autonomy of the image—and of its magic. *This ideal was that of congruence between visual material and conceptual definition.*<sup>144</sup> Verbal formulas of invocation made the affinities between image and concept into an alchemical marriage. By choice, Warburg strung together uncommon verbal usages with terms from disparate areas of knowledge. To take one example among many: “*Das energetische Engramm als antikisch geprägter Ausdruckswert mit Zwangs-Höchstkurs wertbeständig im Safe der symbolischen Funktion.*” (The engram of energy as expressive value, defined in terms of antiquity, at controlled top rate, stable in the safe of symbolic function.)<sup>145</sup>

In his notes he often combined words in barely grammatical forms; he struck out, substituted, augmented, or repeated his terms as if to exact from them some shamanistic power. There are echoes here of the literary practices of Expressionism; but the distant prototype of the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, down to Warburg's very last phase of work on it, was the figure of Friedrich Nietzsche. On page 55 of the text drafts for the *Atlas* we find the sobering conclusion: “there seemed to be no path from the lowlands of the scholar's study to the view from the mountains of Sils-Maria”; on the preceding leaf, dated 17 May 1929, he had acknowledged that “it was not hard for those who took up the pen after 1886 to define the two faces of antiquity as Apollonian and Dionysian—but before that date it was plain heresy.”<sup>146</sup>

In their influence, the *Gesammelte Schriften* were destined to serve a dual purpose, which neither their author nor his editors had perhaps intended. On the one hand, they stood for the *vision of cultural studies*, whose methodological demands Warburg himself was never able to satisfy; on the other, certain aspects of his scholarly practice embodied a modernity of which he himself was largely unaware—and which, though garbed in the language of a past century, sets a productive resistance in the path of today's and tomorrow's reader.

The papers and letters relative to the posthumous publication of Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften* constantly reveal an urgent desire to confer scholarly legitimacy on Warburg's achievement. Confirmation was sought from a number of quarters that Warburg had a genuine claim to recognition both as a researcher and as an author. One noteworthy document in this connection is an eight-page, typed memorandum by Walter Solmitz, who argued that “Warburg's investigations of points of art-historical detail” should be understood as “contributions to the solution of a philosophical problem.”<sup>147</sup> Because Warburg “looks to issues of cultural history for their tensions of psychic energy,” and lets them “unfold before him as psychic dramas,” even the smallest rift within his own personality affords an insight into wider realms of human history. “The very fact,” Solmitz went on, “that these problems were his own problems, but also that they were...the problems of every other

human being, explains the extraordinary force and impact of Warburg's opinions and theories."<sup>148</sup>

For Solmitz, Warburg was thus an exemplary personality at least as much as a model scholar. Such a view shows us its object through a scintillating pattern of distortions. Though it reflects something of the practice of "theoretical analysis" and medical "self-experimentation" current in Solmitz's own day, it short-circuits the arguments and obstructs any real critical assessment of Warburg within the context of the cultural history of his time. And so all attempts at a genuinely critical understanding of his work are more recent in date.

### *Nebulae in the Visual Field of Art History*

Finally, I would like to outline the ways in which Warburg's researches are interwoven with the practice of art history in our century. Of course, not all the changes in that practice have been the doing of art historians; nor have they taken place in a clear chronological sequence, with the full knowledge of those concerned. These changes have mostly begun in other disciplines and gone on in various ways to influence yet other disciplines. Though the detailed workings of such influences often remain obscure, some of Warburg's utterances have had surprising consequences.

Alois Riegl's work offers a suitable point of departure here. For one thing, it sprang entirely from the established tradition of the study of art; in some areas, such as that of tapestry, or that of the group portraiture of Holland,<sup>149</sup> Riegl did entirely respectable work in terms of the academic categories of his day. However, with his studies of applied art in the later Roman Empire, and his penetrating investigation of "the beginnings of the modern memorial cult,"<sup>150</sup> he ventured into virgin territory. On the one hand, he devoted his attention to periods and art forms previously regarded as subordinate and inferior, and thus opened a way for the emergence of all supposedly minor periods. On the other, he recognized in modest artifacts valuable indices of cultural change.

Riegl persuaded his readers that artifacts appear interesting for the most diverse reasons and in constantly shifting contexts. In one case it may be age or rarity, in another the use of the piece, or some superficial appeal to taste, that explains our interest in the artistic production of a constantly changing set of periods. Additionally, he recognized how differently we are affected even by such ostensibly aesthetic qualities as color or surface texture. The relationship between specific qualities in the artifacts and specific reactions on our part is not constant but is in itself a vehicle of historical change.

Riegl drew his observations primarily from the study of late antique artworks, of the most varied provenance, and thus showed how *relative* their artistic qualities could appear. Instead of lumping all late antique art together as decadent, instead of seeing coarsened or less unified form as the sign of a loss of refinement and stability, Riegl was able to observe the emergence of different conditions of reception, different value judgments; or, in his own

simplified terms, a transition from a predominantly haptic to a predominantly optical mode of apperception.<sup>151</sup>

It is noteworthy that Riegl came to these insights at a time when the artistic practice of his own day had already begun, here and there, to turn away from traditional criteria of quality. Since Impressionism, many artists had taken up new optical devices and a handling that was widely regarded as coarse, spontaneous, even “barbaric.” Something analogous had happened in late antiquity. Riegl’s historical views were thus not evolved in scholarly isolation from the art of his own day, but in parallel with changes in artistic practice itself. Not that such links between scholarly and artistic practice suggest any direct causal relationship: what we have here is much more like a nebula that enshrouds the most diverse objects and applies a common factor to them, so that within it all visible phenomena are partly obscured in the same way. This image may sound rather cosmic, but it had been recognized and enunciated before Riegl’s day, in the 1850s, by Gottfried Semper:

Along with the resplendent marvels of the stars, the night sky displays faintly shimmering mists or nebulae, which leave us in some doubt whether they are old systems bereft of their central focus and dispersing into space, or cosmic vapors taking shape around a nucleus, or both together. This phenomenon has an analogy in certain mysterious nebulae that appear in the visual field of art history: states of the disintegration of monumental art, in which the elements of the microcosmic creation flow back into the bosom of universal and undifferentiated being. Along with them, new artistic forms slowly prepare to emerge from the chaos of ruined artistic worlds and then suddenly and unexpectedly cohere, in the moment of genesis, around a new nucleus of relationships.<sup>152</sup>

Semper was thinking in the broadest art-historical terms; but it is significant that he regarded the phase of dissolution as “important in the highest degree for the theory of art.” He went on:

It is in those formal creations of periods in which a defunct cultural idea exists only as its own formal cadaver, or disintegrates into its elements, that art makes its anatomical and analytical studies.<sup>153</sup>

Aby Warburg’s studies were of a different and more psychological kind, although he shared with both Semper and Riegl a special feeling for the apparently inconsequential and marginal, and this alerted him to phenomena that had eluded the attention of others. And so, just as Riegl concerned himself with nomads and their rugmaking, Warburg looked into waxworks and votive sculptures in the Renaissance; just as Riegl pursued the complex and (in his day) ill-documented migration of individual motifs such as the volutes of the Ionic capital, Warburg set out on an arduous journey to the Native Americans of New Mexico and Arizona in order to penetrate the rituals of

archaic nature magic, hitherto the exclusive territory of the ethnographers. Just as Riegl, finally, used his experience of the disintegration of art forms, all over the multilingual, multicultural territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, to draw astonishingly detailed conclusions as to their role as monuments and their conservation or otherwise, so Warburg set out to create in the *Mnemosyne Atlas* an instrument of cultural history that would make the past available to the present.

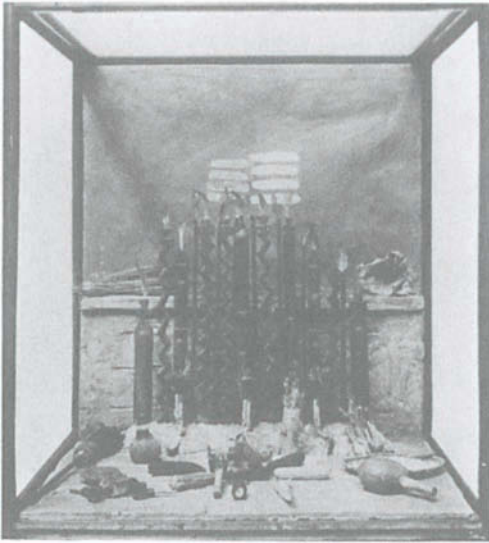
In its way, the *Atlas* was a visual instrument of invocation, and its plates, with their meticulously arranged objects, had much in common with the ceremonial altar superstructures of the Hopi (fig. I-32).<sup>154</sup> Though worlds apart, both altar and *Atlas* are experimental arrays, assembled to create and convey, with the aid of specific individual objects, the powerful dynamic connections between the energies that rule the world.

Despite the distortions inseparable from such analogies, I would argue that Warburg's library as a whole is based on notions that make it comparable to an experimental array for the induction of memory currents. Undoubtedly, the creation of Warburg's book collection has its antecedents in the history of librarianship;<sup>155</sup> but it also invites analogies with the *Kunstkammern* or "cabinets of curiosities" of earlier centuries. In both, the aim was to display the contents of the collective memory archive in a systematic spatial arrangement.

The structure of Warburg's library is governed by atavistic as well as by practical considerations. This is evident firstly from his "law of the good neighbor"<sup>156</sup>—i.e., the physical arrangement of the books as a manifestation of a conceptual order—and secondly from the way in which his reading room recalls the anatomy theaters of the Renaissance. In this laboratory, Warburg placed works of art in contexts that, as Horst Bredekamp points out, "begin to open the frontiers of art, technology, and science in a similar way to that presented in a *Kunstkammer*." What is more, the central purpose of the Warburg Library remained the "schooling of those visual processes of association and thought that precede linguistic systems."<sup>157</sup>

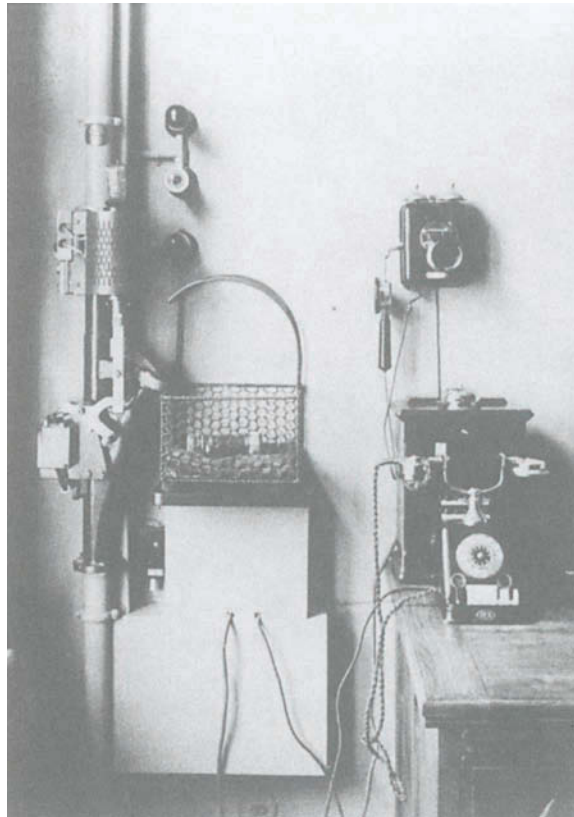
The elaborate installation of his Institute was intended not only to meet the requirements of modern librarianship but to generate a latent communicative capacity. The system of his library was the concrete embodiment of Warburg's intuition that the "forces of nature... are no longer seen in terms of anthropomorphic or biomorphic intercourse but as infinite waves obedient to a touch of the human hand."<sup>158</sup> The modern equipment complements the structure of his library by inducing the flow of current between the battery elements stored in the bookstacks of the library (fig. I-33).

If I once more refer to Walter Benjamin, this is to recall not his essay on "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner mechanischen Reproduzierbarkeit" (The work of art in the age of its mechanical reproducibility) but his insights concerning the production of art and the ways in which it is changed by the conditions of its reception. Benjamin seldom expressed himself with such directness as he did in a book review in 1938, in which he stressed that works



**Fig. I-32. Hopi ceremonial altar**

Photo: A. W. Geertz, *Hopi Indian Altar Iconography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987)



**Fig. I-33. Technical equipment for the Warburg Library, Hamburg**

Photo: Warburg Institute, London



of art undergo a constant process of change, both in their manifest content and in its relationship to society:

The fact is that [the artistic structure of a work] might well change with every succeeding epoch that looks at it. To define its meaning in relation to the social structure of its time of origin is thus...to define through the history of its effects its capacity to give to the most remote and dissimilar historical epochs an access to the epoch of its time of origin.<sup>159</sup>

Our aim is not to know the work of art once and for all, as conditioned by history, but to gain access to the historical conditioning of its past and of its future.

The critical historian regards the work of art not as a passive document but as an agent within the history of effects. When Claudia Naber explored Warburg's reflections on the "functionality of art within its overall culture and its historical conditioning," she rightly concluded that Warburg could find no satisfactory answer to his "overriding question of the significance of antiquity for the Renaissance" until he was able to define it in terms of the history of reception. Only through the "concept of social memory" and with a "broad-based theory of reception"<sup>160</sup> did Warburg find an understanding of artifacts *in* and *from* their effect and influence. Equipped with the modern instruments of the ethnographer and the psychologist, he returned to the point where Burckhardt had located the study of history: the "sole abiding and, for us, possible center, the passive, striving and acting human being."

Warburg himself strove, in his writing, to put a name to the infinite historical amalgam of experiences that he believed himself to have found in pictures. To him, the *Mnemosyne Atlas* had turned into a theater of memory for human experience. During his last stay in Rome, he plunged into the *scaenarium* of memory with the same intensity that had overcome him as a young researcher in the far Southwest of the United States.<sup>161</sup>

### *The Alien and the Disjointed*

Jacob Burckhardt had given a clear direction to his own investigations by evaluating historical documents and classifying artistic practice in terms of the tasks that confronted the artists.<sup>162</sup> In his hands, art-historical research moved ever closer to historical research proper, anchoring its objects in a context of historical scholarship through the meticulous study of written sources.<sup>163</sup> The earliest art-historical investigations of the Renaissance—the first to be based less on aesthetics than on modern research into documentary sources—had produced some sobering results. Rumohr issued a warning that, "as specialists well know, documentary researches tend to go too far into detail; and so the results of my own researches disintegrated into a string of fragmentary treatises on which I was unable to impose any external coherence."<sup>164</sup>

Serious historical research always goes on and on. The collector's enthusiasm incurs the danger of endlessly dissipating one's energies; indeed, it exhausts

itself before it can ever achieve its purpose. Burckhardt had defined the historian's work as an "obligation to the past as a mental continuum . . . that is one of our supreme intellectual possessions."<sup>165</sup>

Burckhardt's colleague on the Basel faculty, Friedrich Nietzsche, had an incisive critique of this very concept: that of the past as the property of the living. Knowledge about the past, said Nietzsche, has burst its banks: "all the boundary posts have been overthrown, and man is assailed by everything that ever was." The historical perspective has expanded beyond measure:

Historical knowledge constantly floods in, from inexhaustible wellsprings: the alien and the disjointed forcibly impose themselves; memory opens all its gates, and still is not open wide enough. Nature does her utmost to receive, marshal, and honor these alien visitants, but they are at war with each other, and it seems necessary to tame them all by force, for fear of falling victim to the strife between them.<sup>166</sup>

In Nietzsche's hallucinatory diagnosis, Rumohr's disarming admission that his documentary data yielded only "a string of fragmentary treatises," but no deeper connection, is restated in terms of mortal conflict. Historical facts now appear as unwelcome guests, "alien and disjointed," a shifting ballast that threatens to capsize life itself by its sheer dead weight.

Renaissance scholarship after Rumohr was based on historical rather than purely aesthetic criteria. Notions of the lives of artists, and of the milieu in which they operated, were transformed by the simple fact that the new scholarship could adduce a profusion of documents—letters, contracts, drawings, and other evidence—and that these specific and often highly fragmentary points of reference, in conjunction with more generalized changes in historical research, yielded entirely new judgments and approaches. Only now did art history as a discipline acquire a certain status.

The work that Carlo d'Arco, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Supino, Eugène Müntz, and many others had done for the knowledge of individual artists, or of whole city cultures, served Warburg as the framework for his own investigations. If Warburg's dissertation has one outstanding feature, it is the determination to link all his reflections exclusively to specific points. Like a Renaissance fresco painter, who "pounced" his cartoon onto the plaster with charcoal dust, so Warburg—every inch the historian—built up his historical picture entirely from specific details. The outlines of a historical situation could no longer be taken as read, or outlined "in rough strokes," but must be carefully reconstructed from a multitude of documents.

### *A Playground for Secular Diversions*

Documents are central to Warburg's approach because they stem from individuals. They cast light on individual psychology and relationships with social institutions. It is no coincidence that individuality, in all its forms, was initially a dominant theme of his work, even though he later increasingly attended to the operation of anonymous forces. Even those forces derive their power not

least from their impact on the lives of individuals. “Higher forces,” in all their inscrutability, not only agitate individuals’ lives but intervene, in the guise of fate or destiny, in the existence of whole nations and countries.

In the eyes of Warburg the historian, every work of art not only possessed individual value but derived that value primarily from the individuals responsible for its making. Here he assigned a special position to the patrons for whom works of art were made, and this he exemplified in altarpieces and chapels, in portraits, and in individual histories. That he was not simply succumbing to a naive sense of fellow-feeling, or to a need to belong, to be “one of them,” is evident from the quality of the attention he lavished on the circumstances of their individual lives and destinies.

Warburg’s instinct for the mechanisms of historical events does not leave individuals in lordly isolation: they are inserted, not to say entangled, within their own historical situations. Only rarely does Warburg neglect to listen to what the sources and the works of art have to tell him about life in the past; and this is why he can visualize history above all through its actors: in a single paragraph, Warburg described an episode of the legend of Saint Francis, as depicted by Ghirlandaio in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita in Florence in 1485, as a stage for individual actors and as “a playground [*Tummelplatz*] for secular diversions” in one. In the foreground, Lorenzo il Magnifico receives his sons and members of his court; in a parallel background scene, Saint Francis submits the rule of his order to the pope for confirmation (fig. 25):

It is time for a scene change. The contemporary backdrop, painted with the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia de’ Lanzi, has already been lowered into place; in the wings, the Sassetti stock company awaits its cue. Enter, through a trap, three little princes and their professor—learned in all matters pagan, privy dancing master to the nymphs of Tuscany—together with a witty domestic chaplain and a court balladeer, all ready to launch the intermezzo. As soon as they reach the top step, even the cramped space still occupied by Saint Francis, the pope, and the consistory will be taken over as a playground for secular diversions.<sup>167</sup>

In sentences such as these, Warburg inlays the threads of an essentially pre-photographic, verbal replication of the paintings with the strong yarn of his own concerns. He works them into an interpretation that entangles conflicts, even though he acknowledges painting in general as “the reflection of a joyous plenitude of life.” But he unites the weave and the inlay by transforming the ostensibly self-sufficient, purely aesthetic character of the work of art—as caught in the web of his enchanting description—into “something quite different.” And this “something quite different,” which transcends the purely visual substance of the work, is not of the artist’s devising, or of the beholder’s, but derives solely from the *effort of understanding* that Warburg demands of his cultural studies. What is quite different is the recognition that works of art are “documents” that bear a special charge.

*Documents and Auguries*

The individual in the playground of history had become Warburg's personal theme. The unique historical context arose from the interaction between individual and impersonal factors. In his analysis, Warburg sought neither the universally valid nor the purely specific, but rather the *special* quality of the historical moment. He consequently pursued not only the genesis of the work but the uniqueness of its moment in history and of its aftereffects. What happens to the work in the course of history cannot be merely incidental or accidental. On the contrary, the manner of its aftereffects unites with the work itself and positively defines its historical dimension. Regarded as "documents," artifacts reveal their own prehistory and the manifold threads that come together in their making; through their aftereffects they outlive their own time within the compendium of cultural memory.

In his investigations, Warburg's understanding pivots upon the historical moment: the point at which particularities hold each other in balance, and the flux of time is momentarily halted. Both in its unique conditioning and in its most general aspects, every historical moment appears to him under a particular star. Warburg's instinct for the auguries of a historical situation led him on to consider the astrological beliefs of the recent and distant past. The curious congruence, in his case, between chosen objects of study and profound personal experience, goes far beyond the anecdotal level: to Warburg, this very congruence is the shape of historical experience. Erwin Panofsky, a Hamburg colleague, prefaced his obituary of Warburg by reading the auguries of Warburg's professional life in the words of Leonardo: "‘No turning back for one who is bound to a star.’ For never, perhaps, have the tracks of a scholarly life, though they seemed to lead onto not merely untrodden but forbidden ground, been so rigorously guided by an ineluctable and immutable force."<sup>168</sup>

Warburg's destiny thus acquires a definition and purpose deduced from the specific circumstances of his life. But, with this notion, Panofsky also touches on a sore point: for what ailed Warburg (in the most literal sense of the word) was that in every historical object that he examined he ultimately sought to read the workings of fate.

## Notes

1. On Warburg see especially Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography, with a Memoir of the History of the Library* by F. Saxl (London: Warburg Institute, 1970; 2d ed., Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986), 325–38; Salvatore Settis, "Warburg *continuatus*: Descrizione di una biblioteca," *Quaderni storici* 58 (1985): 5–38, and revised version, "Warburg *continuatus*: Description d'une bibliothèque," in Marc Baratin and Christian Jacob, eds., *Le pouvoir des bibliothèques* (Paris: A. Michel, 1996), 122–69; Tilmann von Stockhausen, *Die Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg: Architektur, Einrichtung und Organisation* (Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 1992); Michael Diers, ed., *Porträt aus Büchern: Bibliothek Warburg und Warburg Institute* (Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 1993).

Works deserving special mention within the extensive literature on the beginnings of art history as a university discipline include the following: Udo Kultermann, *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte: Der Weg einer Wissenschaft* (Düsseldorf: Econ-Verlag, 1966; 2d ed., 1970; English trans. as *The History of Art History*, New York: Abaris, 1993); Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979); Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982). All of these books have full bibliographies.

2. Although Warburg's practice of art history was discussed by a number of distinguished scholars, including Edgar Wind (see note 6), Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl ("Die Bibliothek Warburg und ihr Ziel," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1 [1921–22]: 1–10), his words largely fell on deaf ears. In the English-speaking world William Heckscher, "The Genesis of Iconology," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1967), 239–62 and Gombrich (see note 1); in Italy the translation of a selection of his more important writings (1966; see note 5) and in Germany a partial reprint (1979 onward; see note 7) drew attention to a body of scholarly work that in preceding decades had receded into a shadow of its former self. A selection of Warburg's essays has also been translated into French: Eveline Pinto, ed., *Essais florentins* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1990).

3. Some idea of this can be gained from the survey of the literature offered by Matthew Rampley, "From Symbol to Allegory: Aby Warburg's Theory of Art," *The Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (1997): 41–55. Rampley comes to this sobering conclusion, 55: "My argument has been based on the premise that, despite the fact that Warburg's writings can in no sense be regarded as a unified corpus, and despite the discontinuities in the corpus of Warburg's work, one can nevertheless discern a continuous strand of thought running through the oeuvre."

4. Rampley (see note 3), 55.

5. Partial translations have been published in Italian and French: Aby Warburg, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1966); Pinto, ed. (see note 2).

6. On this, see Edgar Wind, "Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 25 (1931): 163–79; Heckscher (see note 2); Kurt W. Forster, "Aby Warburg's History of Art: Collective Memory and the Social Mediation of Images," *Daedalus* 105 (1976): 169–76; the anthology edited by Ekkehard Kaemmerling, ed., *Ikonographie und Ikonologie* (Cologne: DuMont, 1979; 6th ed., 1994); and Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1984). Warburg's and Panofsky's mutual relationship with the work of Ernst Cassirer is discussed by Silvia Ferretti, *Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg: Symbol, Art, and History*, trans. Richard Pierce (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989). Irving Lavin, "The Crisis of 'Art History,'" *The Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (1996): 13–14, states succinctly that "Most of the mental furniture of the early postwar American scholars was inherited from the psycho-formalistic approach of Riegl and Wölfflin, as adapted by connoisseurs such as Bernard Berenson and Richard Offner, and the iconographical approach formulated by Warburg and developed in this country by Panofsky."

7. The literature on Warburg, his library, and his scholarly work has swollen to such an extent in recent decades that it now has bibliographies in its own right. See "Literatur- und Quellenverzeichnisse," in Aby M. Warburg, *Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, ed. Dieter Wuttke in association with Carl Georg Heise (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1979; 2d ed., 1980; 3d ed., 1993); and Michael Diers, *Warburg aus Briefen: Kommentare zu den Kopierbüchern der Jahre 1905–1918* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta humaniora, 1991), 233–43. Among the most recent discussions of Warburg's ideas, see Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, and Charlotte Schoell-Glass, eds., *Aby Warburg, Akten des internationalen Symposiums Hamburg 1990* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta humaniora, 1991); and Robert Galitz and Brita Reimers, eds., *Aby M. Warburg: "Ekstatische Nymphe... Trauernder Flussgott," Portrait eines Gelehrten* (Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 1995).

8. On this, see the useful collection of essays in Kaemmerling, ed. (see note 6).

9. Jacob Burckhardt, *Über das Studium der Geschichte*, ed. Peter Ganz (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), 226: "einzigem bleibenden und für uns möglichen Centrum, dem duldenden, strebenden und handelnden Menschen." Burckhardt's notes define historical understanding in almost telegraphic abbreviation. (Unless otherwise noted below, all translations are by David Britt.)

10. Quoted from the transcription of the manuscript in Martina Sitt, "Jacob Burckhardt as Architect of a New Art History," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 240: "Bis nur die Aufgabe so gestellt wird, dass das Höchste entstehen kann, können ganze Culturen umsonst vorübergehen und verblühen" (Burckhardt's emphasis).

11. Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 108–9.

12. For the history of the Warburg family and its bank see Ron Chernow, *The Warburgs: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of a Remarkable Jewish Family* (New York: Random House, 1993), and Eduard Rosenbaum and Ari Joshua Sherman, *Das Bankhaus M. M. Warburg & Co., 1798–1938* (Hamburg: Christians, 1976; English trans. as *M. M. Warburg & Co., 1798–1938, Merchant Bankers of Hamburg*; New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979).

13. Biographical data and events directly relevant to the understanding of Warburg's scholarly work are largely derived from Gombrich (see note 1), where no other explicit source in the Warburg Archive or elsewhere is cited.

14. Gombrich (see note 1), 45: "Ich muss hier den Grundstock zu meiner Bibliothek und Photographien legen, und beides kostet viel Geld und repräsentiert bleibenden Wert." (Unless otherwise noted, translations from this book are Gombrich's own.)

15. Gombrich (see note 1), 129–30: "Wir sind doch eigentlich alle furchtbare Zinsmenschen... Ich würde mich nicht einen Moment besinnen, meine Bibliothek dem Geschäft, der Firma geradezu auf's Conto zu setzen"; *ibid.*, "wir [müssen] an uns zeigen, dass der Kapitalismus auch Denkarbeit auf breiterster, nur ihm möglicher Basis leisten kann."

16. On this see, among others, Ludwig Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Schroll, 1959), together with Herbert von Einem: *Carl Ludwig Fernow: Eine Studie zum deutschen Klassizismus* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für

Kunstwissenschaft, 1935); also Einem's commentaries on Goethe's *Italienische Reise* in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke*, Hamburger Ausgabe, vol. 11 (Hamburg: C. Wegner, 1950), and Einem, *Goethe-Studien* (Munich: W. Fink, 1972). Fundamental significance attaches to Goethe's lapidary confession in a letter to Frau von Stein, 4 October 1786: "*Palladius hat mir den Weg...zu aller Kunst und Leben geöffnet*" (Palladio opened my way...to all art and life). See Goethe, *Tagebücher und Briefe Goethes aus Italien an Frau v. Stein und Herder*, Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft 2 (Weimar: Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1886), 139.

17. There undoubtedly exists a deeper connection between the interest in Italian culture that has manifested itself to varying degrees in different European countries and the respective practice of historical and art-historical studies in those countries. In Britain, this interest found its first focus in Palladio and a second in Piranesi—not to speak of the systematic and, in its results, unique activity of British collectors of Italian art, or the booming trade in Italian antiquities. Studies such as William Roscoe's *The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, Called The Magnificent*, 2 vols. (London: J. M'Cree, 1795), heralded the appearance of a historical and documentary interest that persists to this day, and which, through the Warburg Institute in London and its present director, the Petrarch scholar Nicholas Mann, can point to an unbroken tradition. See also Fritz Saxl and Rudolf Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948).

18. To cite just one example, E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View* (1908; New York: Vintage International, 1989), 238: "A passion of gratitude—all feelings grow to passion in the South—came over the husband, and he blessed the people and the things who had taken so much trouble about a young fool. He had helped himself, it is true, but how stupidly! All the fighting that mattered had been done by others—by Italy, by his father, by his wife."

19. It was common for members of the higher bourgeoisie to give themselves the airs of Renaissance potentates—a fantasy exemplified by the Lenbachhaus in Munich, which the successful painter Franz von Lenbach (1836–1904) modeled on the Villa Lante on the Gianicolo in Rome and furnished in an appropriately princely fashion: see Wilfried Ranke, *Franz von Lenbach: Der Münchner Malerfürst* (Cologne: DuMont, 1986).

20. Podro, on the other hand, goes so far as to declare, apropos of Warburg's article on the Sassetti Chapel: "It seems as though a conflict about the interpretation of the Renaissance has been projected into the historical material itself." See Podro (note 1), 167. But the "material" in question—i.e., what the Renaissance was—is impossible to grasp otherwise than through its historical interpretations, and thus inseparable from those conflicts and interests among which it became apprehensible in the first place.

21. Gombrich (see note 1), 238: "*Man darf der Antike die Frage 'klassisch ruhig' oder 'dämonisch erregt' nicht mit der Räuberpistole des Entweder-Oder auf die Brust setzen. Es hängt eben vom subjektiven Charakter der Nachlebenden, nicht vom objektiven Bestand der antiken Erbmasse ab, ob wir zu leidenschaftlicher Tat angeregt, oder zu abgeklärter Weisheit beruhigt werden. Jede Zeit hat die Renaissance der Antike, die sie verdient.*"

22. Warburg took over the concept of the "survival of antiquity" ("*das Nachleben der Antike*") from Anton Springer, *Bilder aus der Neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Bonn:



A. Marcus, 1867), 1:28. Together with Gombrich's assessment of Springer's importance to Warburg, see also Podro (note 1), 152–57.

23. As early as his dissertation, Springer took issue with Hegel's version of history in the name of individual uniqueness: "*Das Spiel des Zufalls scheint in bunter Färbung in die unwandelbare Notwendigkeit hinein. Die abgegrenzte, endliche That zieht die himmelstrebende Idee zur gegenwärtigen Wirklichkeit herab.*" (The play of chance casts a colorful light on ineluctable Necessity. The finite act takes the soaring idea down to the level of present reality.) See Springer, *Die Hegel'sche Geschichtsanschauung* (Tübingen: Fues, 1848), 9. Springer's formula for the conversion of "*dummpfer Volkssinn*" (inarticulate vernacular sense) into effective image forms that take "*ihren Weg durch die Leidenschaft*" (their path through passion) and operate through "*ästhetisches Pathos*" (aesthetic pathos) foreshadows Warburg's later use of the concept of the *Pathosformel* or emotive formula. Ibid., 47.

24. On the genesis of this work, published in Basel in 1860, see Werner Kaegi, *Jacob Burckhardt: Eine Biographie* (Basel: Schwabe, 1956), 3:647–769.

25. Gombrich (see note 1), 118: "*der nordische Übermensch in den Osterferien*" (Gombrich's translation modified).

26. Sitt (see note 10), 240: "*jene mächtige Vibration des Willens*"; ibid., "*das schaffende Kunstvermögen [würde] nie in die nötigen Schwingungen gerathen sein.*"

27. Sitt (see note 10), 239: "*ein Theil der Psychologie*"; ibid., "*die Lehre von dem, was in dem Beschauer vorgeht*"; ibid., "*Wie sich die grossen Kräfte: Geist, Seele und Phantasie zum Innwerden der Kunst verhalten.*"

28. Cf. the obituary of Usener in the periodical of which he was a cofounder, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1905): ii–xi.

29. See in particular Maria Michela Sassi, "Dalla scienza delle religioni di Usener ad Aby Warburg," in G. Arrighetti, et al., eds., *Aspetti di Hermann Usener filologo della religione*, Biblioteca di studi antichi 39 (Pisa: Giardini, 1982), 65–91.

30. See, for example, the paper given by Franz Boas to the International Congress of Arts and Sciences, Saint Louis, Mo., September 1904, cited by Boas, *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883–1911*, ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 1974; paperback reissue, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989), 23–36. Boas, like Lamprecht and later Warburg, argued in favor of bringing together previously separated disciplines and methods: "The *general* problem of the evolution of mankind is being taken up now by the investigator of primitive tribes, now by the student of the history of civilization. We may still recognize in it the ultimate aim of anthropology in the wider sense of the term, but we must understand that it will be reached by coöperation between all the mental sciences and the efforts of the anthropologist." Ibid., 35 (Boas's emphasis). If we replace "anthropologist" by "historian of art," we are not only expressing Warburg's own intentions but agreeing with Boas himself, who stated at the beginning of his paper: "According to the personal inclination of the investigator, the one or the other method [historical or generalizing] prevails in his researches." Ibid., 24.

31. Warburg's working notes on his stay in America (London, Warburg Archive, 46.1–46.6) confirm the seriousness with which he sought to penetrate the languages of the Hopi and to understand their religious customs, both by philological methods and

through the descriptive techniques of modern anthropology. See my own article, "Die Hamburg-Amerika-Linie, oder: Warburgs Kulturwissenschaft zwischen den Kontinenten," in Bredekamp et al., eds. (see note 7), 11–37, and in revised English translation as "Aby Warburg: His Study of Ritual and Art on Two Continents," *October* 77 (Summer 1996): 5–24.

32. *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 8 (1905): x: "Wenn sie nicht Spiel bleibt, wird alle Mythenforschung unwillkürlich uns zuletzt auf unser innerstes Anliegen, die eigene Religion, zurückführen und das Verständnis derselben fördern."

33. See Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life, 1856–1915* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1993).

34. Over and above these efforts on Burckhardt's part, Lamprecht may well have been guided in the writing of his book *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see note 37) by the ambitions that had motivated Burckhardt in his lectures on the study of history (*Über das Studium der Geschichte*; see note 9).

35. Cf. Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1966), 161–207, with further literature.

36. Gombrich (see note 1), 34.

37. Karl Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Heyfelder, 1905; 2d ed., Berlin: Weidmann, 1909). In the preface of the German edition, with New York in the dateline, Lamprecht wrote: "Ich grüsse mit diesem Büchlein die junge Welt jenseits des Ozeans...ich grüsse das 'Land der Zukunft.'" (With this little book I greet the young world beyond the ocean...I greet the "Land of the Future.") Ibid., v. This methodological treatise (simultaneously published in English under the title *What Is History?* [New York: Macmillan, 1905]) appeared some years after Warburg's time as a student in Bonn, but its mostly unarticulated premises and parallels (Theodor Lipps, August Simmel, and others), and its arguments, had already formed the basis of Lamprecht's numerous publications on German history and economics.

38. Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see note 37), 64: "das planlos individualistische Forschen"; ibid., "eine Analyse der Erscheinungen"; ibid., "in den Erscheinungen des Geisteslebens [wären] die innersten, psychologischen Vorgänge derart offenzulegen, dass ihre Zurückführung auf allgemeine Gesetze, sei es einer psychologischen Mechanik, sei es einer psychologischen Entwicklungslehre oder Biologie, ermöglicht werde"; English translations from idem, *What Is History?* (see note 37), 113–14.

39. For Lamprecht, a major distinguishing feature of his new version of the study of history was that "die evolutionistische Methode, weil sie gegenüber den bisherigen Betrachtungsweisen die intensivere ist, bisherige Vorstellungskomplexe in ihre Komponenten auflösen [wird]" (the evolutionist method, because it is more intensive than previous approaches to the subject, will everywhere resolve existing complexes of notions into their components). Lamprecht, *Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin: R. Gaertners, 1896), 24.

40. Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see note 37), 65: "Übergangserscheinungen"; English translation from idem, *What Is History?* (see note 37), 116 (slightly modified).

41. Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see note 37), 66: “*neue Bewusstseins-erlebnisse*”; English translation from idem, *What Is History?* (see note 37), 117.

42. Lamprecht, *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft* (see note 37), 64: “*Phantasie- und Verstandestätigkeit*”; English translation from idem, *What Is History?* (see note 37), 114.

43. Cf. Chickering (see note 33), especially 175–253, with full bibliography.

44. Eduard Meyer, “Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte,” in *Kleine Schriften*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1924), 1:1–67: “*Wirksamkeit*.”

45. From Burckhardt’s manuscript “Ästhetik der Architektur,” cited from Sitt (see note 10), 236 n. 44: “*Wir suchen . . . nicht mehr eine Idee im Kunstwerk, die dessen aussprechbarer Schlüssel wäre, sondern wissen, dass das Kunstwerk überaus complexer Natur und Ursprunges ist.*”

46. Fritz Saxl put it with lapidary clarity, and with a great deal of empathy, when he wrote in his obituary of Warburg (my emphases): “*Warburg war in besonderer Weise von der Florentiner Kunst des Quattrocento ergriffen worden. Die Werke der Botticelli und Ghirlandajo hatten seit den Tagen der Präraffaeliten viele Bewunderer und manche Bearbeiter gefunden, aber keiner vor Warburg hatte das dramatische Moment, das in der Art ihres Verhaltens zur Antike liegt, als den Schlüssel dazu erkannt, ihre Kämpfe zu verstehen, ihre Universalität zu erfassen.*” (Warburg had been moved in a particular way by the Florentine art of the Quattrocento. The works of such artists as Botticelli and Ghirlandaio had had many admirers, and many students, since the days of the Pre-Raphaelites; but no one before Warburg had recognized *the dramatic element* that lies in this relationship to antiquity, as the key to understanding their struggles, grasping their universality.) See *Worte zur Beisetzung von Professor Dr. Aby M. Warburg* (Darmstadt: Roetherdruck, 1929), n.p.

47. When Warburg linked the theme of his dissertation with two major works by Botticelli, the painter’s reputation had been boosted by the Pre-Raphaelites and was growing in Germany and elsewhere. The recent purchase by the Berlin Museums of Botticelli’s drawings for Dante’s *Divina commedia* (1882) had not only attracted public interest but drawn attention to the close connection between those drawings and a complex text. In his review of “*La Divine Comédie illustrée par Sandro Botticelli*,” *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 2d ser., 31 (1885): 405, Charles Ephrussi explicitly stated: “*Qui a vu le Printemps . . . ne peut manquer de reconnaître [l’authenticité] à première vue dans presque chacune des pages du manuscrit.*” (Anyone who has seen the *Spring* . . . cannot fail to recognize [the authenticity] of the manuscript at sight of almost any page.) In his research, Warburg had no basic monographs to turn to; one of these—Hermann Ulmann, *Sandro Botticelli* (Munich: Verlagsanstalt für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1893)—was in progress as he wrote, and others would not appear until years after the completion of his dissertation: Igino Benvenuto Supino, *Sandro Botticelli* (Florence: Alinari, 1900); Herbert Horne, *Alessandro Filipepi, Commonly Called Sandro Botticelli, Painter of Florence* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1908; reprint, Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1986).

48. Warburg’s Strasbourg professor Adolf Michaelis, had already discussed one aspect of Botticelli’s reference to the art of antiquity—his use of the Medici Venus as a prototype—in an article in the *Archäologische Zeitung* (1880), 11–17, which was then

noticed by Eugène Müntz, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance* 1 (Paris: Hachette, 1889): 224–25. For the *Birth of Venus*, Warburg already had a string of textual correlations at his disposal, as listed by Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978), 2:64. For the *Spring*, on the other hand, he can lay claim to greater originality in his pursuit of literary sources. Even Wilhelm von Bode, though worlds apart from Warburg in his intentions, acknowledged that “[z]um richtigen Verständnis gerade der ihrem Inhalt und ihren Beziehungen nach am schwersten zu deutenden Hauptwerke des Künstlers hat Aby Warburg’s lichtvolle, ausserordentlich gründliche Studie . . . einen vortrefflichen Grund gelegt.” (Aby Warburg’s illuminating and extraordinarily thorough study . . . has laid an admirable foundation for a true understanding of precisely those among Botticelli’s masterpieces which by reason of their subject matter and associations are the most difficult to interpret.) See Bode, *Sandro Botticelli* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1921), 5; English translation from idem, *Sandro Botticelli* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1925), 4.

49. Charles Dempsey, *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli’s Primavera and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992). Most of Dempsey’s numerous quotations of and references to Warburg are introduced by such phrases as “initially demonstrated by Warburg” or “anticipated by Warburg”; he rightly acknowledges that “virtually none of the serious scholars who have studied the painting has questioned the essential correctness of Warburg’s establishment of the textual foundation for the invention of the *Primavera*.” Ibid., 36. It cannot be irrelevant to the history of the scholarly reception of these two paintings, or to our assessment of Warburg’s dissertation, that the two most recent books to discuss the paintings, Dempsey (as above) and Joanne Snow-Smith, *The “Primavera” of Sandro Botticelli: A Neoplatonic Interpretation* (New York: P. Lang, 1993), adopt Warburg’s premises throughout, even when taking a circuitous route around their subject matter.

50. Warburg, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1932), 5: “was die Künstler des Quattrocento an der Antike ‘interessirte’”; ibid., “gesteigerte äussere Bewegung.” See page 89 in this volume, cited hereafter as *Renewal*.

51. Robert Vischer, *Drei Schriften zum ästhetischen Formproblem* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1927), 21: “Dieses verweilende, motionlose Einfühlen in die ruhige Form der Erscheinung wollen wir physiognomisch oder stimmungsvoll nennen” Vischer’s emphases; English trans. from Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikononou, eds. and trans., *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 105.

52. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur* (Munich: Königliche Hof- und Universitäts-Buchdruckerei von Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn, 1886), 1: “Wie ist es möglich, dass architektonische Formen Ausdruck eines Seelischen, einer Stimmung sein können?”; ibid., “Ich wunderte mich, dass die wissenschaftliche Literatur für solche Fragen fast gar keine Antwort hatte.” English translations from Mallgrave and Ikononou, eds. and trans. (see note 51), 149.

53. The first of the four “Theses” with which Warburg’s dissertation ends.

54. Gombrich (see note 1), 58, has demonstrated that Warburg derived the formula *bewegtes Beiwerk* (accessories in motion) from Alfred von Reumont, *Lorenzo di Medici*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1883), 2:161. But it is beyond doubt that in his own observations he charged this phenomenon (which Reumont calls “*die auch schon bei Botticelli sich zeigende Vorliebe für antikes und antikisierendes Beiwerk*” [the predilection for classical and classicizing accessories that is already manifest in Botticelli]) with a weight of significance that goes far beyond Reumont.

55. Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. Luigi Mallè (Florence: Sansoni, 1950), 98: “*che parte niuna del panno sia senza vacuo movimento*”; *ibid.*, “*da questa parte percossi dal vento, sotto i panni in buona parte mostreranno il nudo, dall'altra parte i panni giettati dal vento dolce voleranno per aria.*”

56. Jacob Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855), 762: “*das würdige, hochbedeutende Dasein, von welchem wir wissen, dass es die Verklärung der damaligen florentinischen Wirklichkeit ist*”; *ibid.*, 763: “[diese] *anmutigen, edel-kräftigen Existenzen.*”

57. Gombrich (see note 1), 105–27.

58. Warburg (see note 50), 19: “*dass es zwar einseitig, aber nicht unberechtigt ist, die Behandlung des bewegten Beiwerkes zum Kriterium des ‘Einflusses der Antike’ zu machen.*” See *Renewal*, 104.

59. Warburg (see note 50), 157: “*betrachtet man... die leidenschaftliche Dramatik der kämpfenden Weiber und Soldaten genauer, so demaskiert sich ihre anscheinend so elementar ausbrechende Gebärdensprache als römisches, den Trajansreliefs vom Konstantinsbogen nachgesprochenes Kämpferpathos.*” See *Renewal*, 247–49.

60. Warburg, “Grundbegriffe” II (notes, 1929), 20: “*Mänade als Wochenstubenwärterin.*” London, Warburg Archive.

61. Hippolyte Taine, *Voyage en Italie* (Paris, 1866), 149: “*en robe de statue... l'élan, l'allégresse, la force d'une nymphe antique.*” Gombrich (see note 1), 106, suggested the two approaches might be related.

62. This topic was discussed by Edgar Wind, in avowed continuance of the work of “the late A. Warburg...[who] collected material which tended to show that similar gestures can assume opposite meanings”: “The Maenad under the Cross,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1937–38): 71.

63. Warburg (see note 50), 157: “*Ghirlandajo besass bekanntlich, wie Giuliano da Sangallo, ein archäologisches Skizzenbuch, durch dessen Pathosformeln er der Torna-buoniprosa den höheren Stil idealisch-antiker Beweglichkeit einzuflößen suchte*” (Like Giuliano da Sangallo, Ghirlandaio is known to have kept an archaeological sketchbook; this was the source of the emotive formulas that infuse the prose of the Torna-buoni frescoes with the loftier style of an idealized antique rendering of motion). See *Renewal*, page 249.

64. Gombrich (see note 1), 109–10.

65. Vivid examples of this are to be found in many places—and they are most eloquent where they are least expected. Thus, the composer Kurt Weill evoked his own impressions of antique and Renaissance works of art in a letter from Rome to his teacher Ferruccio Busoni: “But confronted with the smile of a Roman girl... the total

abandon of a dancing girl, I began to understand that this period had the same human context as our own, that only the format was restrained, veiled, condensed." See Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya, *Speak Low (When You Speak Love): The Letters of...*, ed. and trans. Lys Symonette and Kim H. Kowalke (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996), 33–34.

66. John Ruskin, *Works*, ed. E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (New York: Longmans, Green, 1903–12; CD-ROM, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), 23:479.

67. Ruskin (see note 66), 23:275.

68. Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff (1922; London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), 2:5–6; idem, *A la recherche du temps perdu*, ed. Pierre Clarac and André Ferré (Paris: Gallimard, 1954), 1:222: "*Debout à côté de lui [Swann], laissant couler le long de ses joues ses cheveux qu'elle avait dénoués, fléchissent une jambe dans une attitude légèrement dansante pour pouvoir se pencher sans fatigue vers la gravure qu'elle regardait, en inclinant la tête, de ses grands yeux...*, elle frappa Swann par sa ressemblance avec cette figure de Zéphora, la fille de Jéthro, qu'on voit dans une fresque de la chapelle Sixtine."

69. Jean Autret, *L'influence de Ruskin sur la vie, les idées et l'œuvre de Marcel Proust* (Geneva: Droz, 1955), 119–24.

70. A. Bodar, "Aby Warburg en André Jolles: Een florentijnse vriendschap," *Nexus* 1 (1991), 5–18; also compare the new analysis and penetrating interpretation of the nymph theme by Salvatore Settis, "Pathos und Ethos, Morphologie und Funktion," in Wolfgang Kemp et al., eds., *Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 31–73, especially 50 f.

71. First published in 1894 and several times reprinted (1898, 1903, 1907, 1910), Erwin Rohde's *Psyche: Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: J. C. B. Mohr, 1894) was an attempt at an "anthropological reading" of classical myths; on page 374 he referred to "beautiful youths carried off to eternal life in the realm of nymphs and spirits" in "a number of folk legends" (*Von Entrückung schöner Jünglinge zu ewigem Leben im Reiche der Nymphen und Geister erzählte manche Volkssage*).

72. Franz Boas, "The History of Anthropology," Boas (see note 30), 28: "In no case is it more difficult to lay aside the *Kulturbrille*—to use von den Steinen's apt term—than in viewing our own culture. For this reason the literature of anthropology abounds in attempts to define a number of stages of culture leading from simple forms to the present civilization, from savagery through barbarism to civilization, or from an assumed pre-savagery through the same stages to enlightenment."

73. Warburg's own expression, cited by Gombrich (see note 1), 124: "*Elementargeist*" (Gombrich's translation modified).

74. The painting recently entered the collection of the Kunsthaus Zürich; see Christian Klemm, "Giovanni Segantini, *La vanità o la fonte del male*, 1897," in Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft, *Jahresbericht* (Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich, 1996), 79–81, with bibliography.

75. Roberto Calasso, "La folie qui vient des nymphes," *Res* 26 (1994): 125–33; quotation on 126: "*cette connaissance par la métamorphose se concentrerait en un lieu, celui qui était en même temps une source, un serpent et une nymphe. Que ces trois*

êtres fussent, dans l'apparaître, trois modalités d'un seul être est ce qui, à travers des traces répandues avec parcimonie dans les textes et dans les images, nous fut signifié pendant des siècles — et l'est aujourd'hui encore."

76. Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, trans. Frederick Joshua Fielden, with foreword by Sir James G. Frazer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), ch. 3, "Primitive Belief and Ritual," 81.

77. Quoted from Warburg's diary for 1898 and from his fragmentary notes of 1900 in Gombrich (see note 1), 152: "*wie ein Luft- und Wasserbad erfrischend*"; *ibid.*, 184: "*in ihren beiden Bewegungsakzenten: dionysisch, steigend...apollinisch, mässigend.*"

78. Cited from the manuscript "Die antike Götterwelt und die Frührenaissance im Süden und im Norden," in Gombrich (see note 1), 190–91: "*Jede Zeit kann nur schauen, was sie auf Grund eigener Entwicklung ihrer inneren Sehorgane von den olympischen Symbolen erkennen und vertragen kann. Uns z.B. lehrte Nietzsche Dionysos zu schauen.*"

79. Warburg (see note 50), 37, quoting Burckhardt: "*Das italienische Festwesen in seiner höheren Form ist ein wahrer Übergang aus dem Leben in die Kunst.*" See *Renewal*, 125.

80. Gombrich (see note 1), 87.

81. The essential publications here are the following: Aby Warburg, *Schlangenritual*, with epilogue by Ulrich Raulff (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1988); Claudia Naber, "Pompeji in Neu-Mexico: Aby Warburgs amerikanische Reise," *Freibeuter* 38 (1988): 89; Forster (see note 31); Salvatore Settis, "Kunstgeschichte als vergleichende Kulturwissenschaft: Aby Warburg, die Pueblo-Indianer und das Nachleben der Antike," in Thomas W. Gaehtgens, ed., *Künstlerischer Austausch*, Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 1:139–58; Aby Warburg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*, trans. with interpretative essay by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995).

82. Warburg, *Schlangenritual* (see note 81), 40–41: "*Die höchste Steigerung dieses magischen Annäherungsversuchs an die Natur durch die Tierwelt...bei den Moki-Indianern in dem Tanz mit lebenden Schlangen in Oraibi und Walpi... Denn hier bilden Tänzer und das lebende Tier noch eine magische Einheit, und das Überraschende ist, dass die Indianer in diesen Tanzzeremonien es verstanden haben, mit dem gefährlichsten aller Tiere, der Klapperschlange, so zu verkehren, dass sie es ohne Gewaltanwendung bändigen, dass das Geschöpf willig...teilnimmt an tagelangen Zeremonien, die unter den Händen von Europäern gewiss zur Katastrophe führen würden.*"

83. Warburg, *Schlangenritual* (see note 81), 58–59: "*Dem heutigen Amerikaner erregt die Klapperschlange keine Furcht mehr. Sie wird getötet, jedenfalls nicht göttlich verehrt. Was ihr entgegengesetzt wird, ist Ausrottung.*"

84. See Karl Königseder, "Aby Warburg im 'Bellevue,'" in Galitz and Reimers, eds. (see note 7), 74–98.

85. Letter from Warburg, 26 December 1923, London, Warburg Archive, FC, 1: "*Erkenntnis, Aufklärung, Gesetz im kulturgeschichtlichen Verlauf durch Einbeziehung der unvernünftigen Triebhaftigkeit in die Untersuchung des geschichtlichen Verlaufs war dann das Ziel meiner Arbeit...Per mo[n]stra ad astra: Vor die Idee haben die*



Götter das Ungeheuer gesetzt. Der Krieg von 1914–1918 hatte mir in vernichtender Weise die Wahrheit entschleiert, dass der entfesselte elementare Mensch der unüberwindliche Herrscher dieser Welt ist.”

86. Warburg to Karl Umlauf, 13 October 1928, Hamburg, Staatsarchiv, fol. 1, quoted by Uwe Fleckner, “... Von kultischer Praktik zur mathematischen Kontemplation – und zurück,” in Bredekamp et al., eds. (see note 7), 327: “*die Psychologie der menschlichen Orientierung im Kosmos.*”

87. First quoted by Fleckner (see note 86), 323: “*Den Menschen unterscheidet vom Tier, dass er danach strebt, die Ordnung der ihn umgebenden Welt zu erfassen. Das Wissen von der Ordnung ist das grundlegend Menschliche... Die Heraushebung von bestimmten Gruppen aus der unfassbaren Zahl der Sterne und ihre Bezeichnung mit dem Namen von Dämonen und Tieren ist nichts Spielerisches, sondern als Versuch des Menschen zu verstehen, sich im Chaos zu orientieren, greifbare Vorstellungen davon zu gewinnen.*” Warburg’s emphases.

88. See *Renewal*, 597–697.

89. See Gombrich (see note 1), 186–95. Warburg approached the history of astrology by way of the book by Franz Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903). Gombrich (see note 1), 191, connects the fact that Warburg “had become resigned to his position as a private scholar” with his decision to acquire “the villa in the Heilwigstrasse which remained his home to the last” and thus pinpoints the year 1908 as “a turning-point in Warburg’s life.”

90. Marco Bertozzi, *La tirannia degli astri: Aby Warburg e l’astrologia di Palazzo Schifanoia*, with texts by Aby Warburg, Elsbeth Jaffé, and Ranieri Varese (Bologna: Cappelli, 1985).

91. Kaegi (see note 24), 3:647–769.

92. Cf. Bernd Roeck, “Aby Warburgs Seminarübungen über Jacob Burckhardt im Sommersemester 1927,” *Idea* 10 (1991): 86: “*sehr empfindliche Seismographen*”; *ibid.*, 88: “*Unsere Versuche, auf dem Hintergrund der Antike die Vorgänge innerhalb der Stilentwicklung als kunstpsychologische Notwendigkeit zu begreifen, müssen uns schliesslich zu einer Kritik der weltgeschichtlichen Epochen-Abgrenzung führen*”; *ibid.*, “*Ein solcher Abgrenzungsversuch, rein auf die Zeit bezogen, kann keine zuverlässigen evidenten Einteilungsprinzipien zu Tage fördern.*”

93. Diers (see note 7), 53: “*Er hat... den Kreis der Medici archivalisch und kunsthistorisch behandelt, Kunstwerke aus diesem Kreise eindringender als zuvor erklärt, die Kunst u. das Empfinden, das religiöse zumal, in tieferen Zusammenhängen kulturhistorisch und psychologisch erläutert; auch darin ein Fortführer Jacob Burckhardts von einer zugleich kunst- u. geistesgeschichtlichen, allseitig historischen Betätigung, die heute selten ist.*”

94. Fritz Saxl, “The History of Warburg’s Library (1866–1944),” in Gombrich (see note 1), 325–38 (with additions by Gombrich).

95. See Saxl (see note 94), and Dieter Wuttke, “Die Emigration der kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg und die Anfänge des Universitätsfaches Kunstgeschichte in Grossbritannien,” in Bredekamp et al., eds. (see note 7), 141–63.

96. Stockhausen (see note 1). See also the recent contributions in Diers, ed. (see note 1).

97. Saxl (see note 94), 333. See also Karen Michels, "Ein Versuch über die K.B.W. als Bau der Moderne," in Michael Diers, ed., *Porträt aus Büchern: Bibliothek Warburg und Warburg Institute* (Hamburg: Dölling & Galitz, 1993), 71–81.

98. See Claudia Naber, "'Heuernte bei Gewitter': Aby Warburg 1924–1929," in Galitz and Reimers, eds. (see note 7), 104–29, and below.

99. First quoted, from an unpublished letter from Warburg dated 17 January 1925, by Claudia Naber (see note 98), 108: "*Da ich aber in den Jahren der Entfernung gelernt habe, mich und das Werk, das aus mir herauskommt, als zwei getrennte Dinge zu behandeln, bei denen die Personalunion durch mich das Vorübergehende, das Institut das Bleibende ist, nehme ich diese Arbeit getrost auf mich.*"

100. Dieter Wuttke has rightly drawn attention to the first phase of the planned institutionalization of the library, in 1908–10, when Warburg was toying with the idea of setting up a "*Kulturinstitut*," or a "laboratory operating on an institutional scale," no doubt inspired by the Institut für Kulturgeschichte (Institute for cultural history) opened in Leipzig in 1908 by his own former teacher Karl Lamprecht; see Dieter Wuttke, "Die Emigration der kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg und die Anfänge des Universitätsfaches Kunstgeschichte in Grossbritannien," in Bredekamp et al., eds. (see note 7), 144 f. All this only confirms the significance of the year 1908, which Gombrich called a genuine "turning-point in Warburg's life."

101. Forster (see note 6), especially 172 f.

102. The most comprehensive study to date of the materials in the *Mnemosyne Atlas* is the dissertation by Pieter van Huistede, "De Mnemosyne beeldatlas van Aby Warburg: Een laboratorium voor beeldgeschiedenis" (diss., Leiden, 1992). See idem, "Der Mnemosyne-Atlas: Ein Laboratorium der Bildgeschichte," in Galitz and Reimers, eds. (see note 7), 130–71.

103. Gombrich (see note 1), 222: "*Darum schwebt mir für meine Bibliothek als Zweckbezeichnung vor: eine Urkundensammlung zur Psychologie der menschlichen Ausdruckskunde. Die Frage ist, wie entstehen die sprachlichen oder bildförmigen Ausdrücke, nach welchem Gefühl oder Gesichtspunkt, bewusst oder unbewusst, werden sie im Archiv des Gedächtnisses aufbewahrt, und gibt es Gesetze, nach denen sie sich niederschlagen und wieder herausdringen?*"

104. Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin: Nicolai'sche Buchhandlung, 1828), 1:ix.

105. This is the subtitle of Jacob Burckhardt's *Der Cicerone* (see note 56): "Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens." Cf. Wilhelm Schlink, "Jacob Burckhardt über den 'Genuss der Kunstwerke,'" *Trierer Beiträge: Aus Forschung und Lehre an der Universität Trier* 11 (1982): 47–55.

106. Cited from Warburg's Burckhardt seminar papers by Bernd Roeck, "Aby Warburgs Seminarübungen über Jacob Burckhardt im Sommersemester 1927," *Idea* 10 (1991): 66: "*einer Sehnsucht zu sich selbst oder von sich fort.*"

107. Burckhardt (see note 9), 276: "*unaufhörlich modifizierend und zersetzend auf die beiden stabilen Lebenseinrichtungen.*"

108. Johann Gustav Droysen, "Die Erhebung der Geschichte zum Rang einer Wissenschaft," *Historische Zeitschrift* 9 (1863): 1–22, and in Peter Leyh, ed., *Historik* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977), 456–67.

109. Burckhardt (see note 9), 173: “*was zur Förderung des physischen Lebens und als Ausdruck des geistigen und gemüthlich-sittlichen Lebens spontan zu Stande gekommen ist, alle Geselligkeit, alle Techniken, Künste, Dichtungen und Wissenschaften, besonders alle Philosophien.*” Burckhardt’s emphasis.

110. Burckhardt (see note 9), 280: “*Innerhalb der Cultur verdrängen, ersetzen und bedingen sich die einzelnen Gebiete.*” Burckhardt’s emphases.

111. Burckhardt (see note 9), 254–92.

112. See Gertrud Bing, “The Warburg Institute,” *The Library Association Record* 4, no. 1 (1934): 262–66; Edgar Wind, “The Warburg Institute Classification Scheme,” *The Library Association Record* 2, no. 5 (1935): 193–95. The subsequent development of the Warburg Institute Library is discussed by Settis (see note 1). See also Stockhausen (note 1) and Diers, ed. (note 1).

113. Warburg (see note 50), 93: “*die Kunst in ihren schönsten Erzeugnissen in aller Ruhe gesondert zu betrachten, unbekümmert darum, ob ihm selbst die zusammenfassende Darstellung der ganzen Kultur noch vergönnt sein werde.*” See *Renewal*, 186.

114. Burckhardt (see note 9), 171: “*Alles, was im entferntesten zu dieser Kunde gehört, muss mit aller Anstrengung und Aufwand gesammelt werden. Das Verhältniss jedes Jahrhunderts zu diesem Erbe ist dann schon Erkenntniss, d.h. etwas Neues, das von der nächsten Generation wieder zum Erbe geschlagen werden wird.*”

115. Wind (see note 6), quoted from Kaemmerling (see note 6), 182: “*die moderne Psychologie verdankt ihre grössten Erfolge in der Erkenntnis der seelischen Funktionen dem Studium jener Störungen, in denen die einzelnen Funktionen, statt sich zur Einheit zu verbinden, auseinandertreten. Wer nur von den grossen Erscheinungen in der Kunst ausgeht, der erkennt . . . , dass gerade im abgelegenen Kuriosum die bedeutendsten Erkenntniswerte verborgen liegen.*”

116. Essential information on the study of the antique, and the reuse and copying of antique images, is given by Settis, “Des ruines au musée: La destinée de la sculpture classique,” *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 6 (1993): 1347–80.

117. See Charles Darwin, *Works*, ed. Paul H. Barrett and R. B. Freeman, vol. 23: *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, ed. Francis Darwin (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1989); originally published London, 1872; German trans., Stuttgart, 1872. Cf. also Gombrich (see note 1), 72 f., and Gombrich, “Aby Warburg und der Evolutionismus des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Galitz and Reimers, eds. (see note 7), 52–73.

118. Darwin (see note 117), 277.

119. Gombrich (see note 1), 248.

120. Settis (see note 70), 50: “*Die ‘biologische Notwendigkeit’ der künstlerischen Produktion, ihre Zugehörigkeit zu den tiefsten Schichten der menschlichen Natur, ist ein wirkungsvolles Instrument, um das Phänomen des Nachlebens der Antike zu erklären.*”

121. Wind (see note 62), 70–71.

122. Wind (see note 6), 178: “[Warburg hat] *diese Zwischenstufen immer an historischen Epochen aufgesucht, die er selbst als Übergangszeiten, Zeiten des Konflikts, betrachtete: die Florentiner Frührenaissance, die orientalisierende Spätantike,*

*der niederländische Barock. Ja noch mehr: mit Vorliebe wendet er sich innerhalb dieser Epochen dem Studium solcher Männer zu, die durch Beruf oder Schicksal eine Zwischenstellung einnehmen: Kaufleute, die zugleich Kunstliebhaber sind und bei denen der ästhetische Geschmack sich mit Geschäftsinteressen kreuzt; Astrologen, die Religionspolitik mit Wissenschaft verbinden und sich ihren eigenen Begriff von 'doppelter Wahrhaftigkeit' machen; Philosophen, deren bildhafte Phantasie mit ihrem logischen Ordnungsbedürfnis in Kampf gerät."*

123. Gustav Klemm, *Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1850–51).

124. See Ulrich Raulff, in Warburg, *Schlangenritual* (see note 81), and Forster (see note 31); also Boas (see note 30), with full bibliography.

125. Among these, Warburg took a particular interest in the work of J. W. Fewkes; he had translations made of a number of Fewkes's studies, including notably the article "A Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 2 (1892): 38–43 (London, Warburg Archive, 46.1.68), and kept up to date with his research. Warburg had a wide-ranging knowledge of late nineteenth-century American ethnography, and was not too proud to meet with such popularizers as Charles Lummis (in Los Angeles).

126. Warburg's handwritten notes for a lecture: Warburg Archive, 46.6.4, F.24: "*Die Photographie erst in Amerika gelernt.*"

127. A considerable quantity of manuscript material, together with press clippings and translations of American specialist literature, is to be found in the Warburg Archive in London under the pressmark 46.1: "Pueblo Indians."

128. London, Warburg Archive, 105.4. The sketch on one leaf (numbered 6 and dated 28 September 1928) is an outline of Europe (fig. I-27); the other (numbered 4 and undated but identical in its line and script) links the poles of Warburg's cultural-geographical thinking (fig. I-26).

129. On the leaf numbered 6 (see preceding note) the easternmost point is labeled Baghdad, probably for the sake of its astronomical and astrological associations.

130. See the synopsis of the Binswanger-Warburg correspondence in Ulrich Raulff, "Zur Korrespondenz Ludwig Binswanger-Aby Warburg im Universitätsarchiv Tübingen," in Bredekamp et al., eds. (see note 7), 66–67.

131. Letter from Warburg in Florence to Saxl, 1 June 1929 (London, Warburg Archive, 105.6, 3): "*als das letzte seiner Expansionskraft ansehen*"; *ibid.*, "*Früchte . . . , die sonst auf dem Felde vermulschen.*" Warburg's emphases.

132. London, Warburg Archive, 105.6: letter from Warburg in Rome to Saxl, 2 May 1929: "*vielen anderen Patienten der KBW [Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg] . . . ein tüchtiges Stück erwünschter Aufklärung . . . verschafft.*"

133. Warburg discussed these in his Berlin lecture of 1897 (London, Warburg Archive, 46.1), in which he described these spaces as "*'Estufas' oder 'Khivas' in denen die Männer ihre religiösen und . . . [illegible] Versammlungen abhalten*" ("Estufas" or "Khivas" in which the men hold their religious and . . . [illegible] assemblies). In my article "Die Hamburg-Amerika-Linie . . ." (see note 31), I supplied comparative illustrations of these and the oval reading room of the Warburg Library in Hamburg. Again, Salvatore Settis, 1996 (see note 1), 146 f., points to the Wolfenbüttel library as a source.

134. London, Warburg Archive, 103.6: letter from Saxl to Bing, 21 August 1930: *“wieder die alte Leier, nur von Amerika her die Melodie beginnend.”*

135. Saxl (see note 134): *“‘Amerika’ hat gerade in den letzten Jahren eine so wunderbare Rolle in Wbg’s Denken gespielt.”*

136. Gaetgens, ed. (see note 81), 5: *“Die KBW untersucht das Nachleben der Klass. Antike. Warum hat sie dennoch eine Abtlg. Amerika? Das persönliche Schicksal Wbg’s ist das allgemeine des Forschers. Das Problem der geprägten Form. Das soziale Gedächtnis und die religiösen Ursprünge der geprägten Formen. Schluss: wie Sie nach Amerika, muss der Amerikanist nach Europa blicken. Das Problem des Austausches der Kulturen.”* (Saxl’s emphases.) If we reflect that the wording of this sentence is a literal anticipation of the official theme of the International Congress of Art Historians held in Berlin in 1992, which was the first ever to address this complex of problems, we are impelled to credit Saxl with a certain historical clairvoyance.

137. In this connection, Salvatore Settis has drawn attention to the review of Warburg’s published *Gesammelte Schriften* by Johan Huizinga, who went so far as to say that, “despite the elevation of his intellect and the excellence of his work . . . there is something tragic, something not fully developed, about the figure of Aby Warburg.” See Settis (note 70), 53.

138. Adelbert von Chamisso, “Traum und Erwachen” (1837), in Chamisso, *Werke*, ed. Werner Feudel, Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker, 5th ed. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1988), 210.

139. In 1907 Warburg confided to his diary, with a certain sense of resignation: *“Und von diesen von mir so hochgeschätzten allgemeinen Ideen wird man vielleicht später sagen oder denken: diese irrtümlichen Formalideen haben wenigstens das Gute gehabt, ihn zum Herausbuddeln der bisher unbekannten Einzeltatsachen aufzuregen. (Aufregung sagt Goethe anstatt Anregung).”* (And of these general ideas which I value so highly people may perhaps say or think one day: these erroneous schematic ideas had at least one good result in so far as they excited him to churn up individual facts that had not been known before. [Goethe says excited rather than stimulated].) Quoted from Gombrich (see note 1), 140.

140. See the outline of the planned multivolume edition in Warburg (note 50), v. See *Renewal*, 80.

141. The volumes originally planned are to be published from 1998 onward by Akademie Verlag, Berlin. The project is under the editorial direction of the Warburg Institut, Hamburg, and a team of outside Warburg experts.

142. London, Warburg Archive, 103.6: letter from Bing to Saxl from Florence: *“Mythos Warburg”*; *ibid.*, *“seit Warburg tot ist, kreist die Bibliothek um einen nicht mehr existierenden Mittelpunkt.”*

143. London, Warburg Archive, 104: undated typescript letter from Saxl to the publisher Teubner in Leipzig, fol. 9: *“Es ist selbstverständlich, dass nur sein Wort, das eine Tiefe und Schönheit der Prägung hat, wie zweifellos das keines lebenden Kunsthistorikers, allein im Stande sein wird, den Tafeln die Bedeutung zu verleihen, ihnen die Wirkung zu geben, die ihnen zukommt. Wir besitzen einen sehr reichen Nachlass unpublizierten Materials, das mosaikartig zusammengesetzt, jenen Text unzweifelhaft ergeben wird.”* The emphases are mine.

144. Warburg pronounced on this subject in a letter of 11 November 1925: “*Erst wenn so das Bildelement durch das dazugehörige Wort um eine Dimension bereichert ist, verkündet das Kunstgebilde Aussagen über den Sinn des Phänomens bildhafter Orientierung in Raum und Zeit an sich.*” (Only when the relevant word thus enriches the image with an additional dimension does the art object make statements about the intrinsic meaning of the phenomenon of orientation in space and time by means of images.) Quoted by Claudia Naber (see note 98), 112.

145. London, Warburg Archive, *Mnemosyne* typescript (1927), 26.

146. London, Warburg Archive, 102.3: “*es schien kein Weg aus der Flachebene der Gelehrtenstube zur Schau auf den Bergen von Sils-Maria zu führen*”; *ibid.*, “*das Doppelantlitz d. Antike als Apollinisch-Dionysisch zu bez[ei]chnen*], *denen die nach 1886 die Feder ansetzen nicht schwer [fiel]—aber vorher war es doch eigentlich Heresie.*”

147. London, Warburg Archive, 104: “*Warburgs kunstgeschichtliche Einzeluntersuchungen*”; *ibid.*, “*Beiträge zur Lösung eines philosophischen Problems.*” See also Joist Grolle, *Bericht von einem schwierigen Leben: Walter Solmitz, 1905 bis 1962, Schüler von Aby Warburg und Ernst Cassirer* (Berlin: Reimer, 1994), especially “Über Warburgs Denken,” 86 f.

148. London, Warburg Archive, 104: “*die kulturgeschichtlichen Probleme auf ihre psychisch energetischen Spannungen hin*”; *ibid.*, “*Seelendramen vor sich abwickeln*”; *ibid.*, “*Eben die Tatsache, dass diese Probleme seine eigenen Probleme waren, dass sie aber auch ... Probleme jedes anderen Menschen sind, macht die eminente Durchschlagskraft von Warburgs Anschauungen und Lehren verständlich.*”

149. Alois Riegl, “Das holländische Gruppenporträt,” in *Jahrbuch des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 23, nos. 3/4 (1902): 71–278. English translation to be published by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities.

150. Alois Riegl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Augsburg: Benno Filser Verlag, 1929), 144–93. See also my introduction to my own English translation of this essay, “Monument/Memory and the Mortality of Architecture,” *Oppositions* 25 (1982): 2–19.

151. See the relevant chapter in Podro (see note 1); also Henri Zerner, “Alois Riegl: Art, Value, and Historicism,” in *Daedalus* 105, no. 1 (1976): 177–88, and Sandro Scarocchia, ed., *Alois Riegl: Teoria e prassi della conservazione dei monumenti: Antologia di scritti, discorsi, rapporti 1898–1905, con una scelta di saggi critici* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1995).

152. Wolfgang Herrmann, *Gottfried Semper: Theoretischer Nachlass an der ETH Zürich* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1981), 238: “*Der nächtliche Himmel zeigt neben den glänzenden Wundern der Gestirne mattschimmern[d]e Nebelflecken, von denen es zweifelhaft ist, ob sie alte, ihrer Mittelpunkte beraubte und im Weltall zerstörende Systeme oder erst um einen Kern sich gestaltender Weltdunst sind, oder ob beide Hypothesen für sie passen. Ihnen hierin vergleichbar sind gewisse rätselhafte Nebelstellen am Gesichtskreise der Kunstgeschichte, Zustände des Zerfallens monumentaler Kunst und des Zurückfließens der Elemente der mikrokosmischen Schöpfung in den Schooss des allgemeinen und indifferenten Seyns. Daneben aus dem Chaos zertrümmerter Kunstwelten sich langsam vorbereitende, aber dann plötzlich und unversehens*

*im Werdemoment um einen neuen Mittelpunkt der Beziehungen zusammenschliessende neue Kunstgestalten."*

153. Herrmann (see note 152), 238: "*für die Kunstlehre im höchsten Grade wichtig*"; *ibid.*, "*An jenen Bildungen von Zeiten, in denen ein verstorbener Culturgedanke nur noch formell als Leiche fortbesteht, oder in seine Elemente zurückfällt, macht die Kunst ihre anatomischen und scheidekünstlerischen Studien.*"

154. Cf. Forster (see note 31), especially 19 f., and English translation (see note 31), 11 f.

155. See Settis (note 1).

156. Fritz Saxl, "The History of Warburg's Library (1886–1944)," in Gombrich (see note 1), 327; also Carl Georg Heise, *Persönliche Erinnerungen an Aby Warburg* (New York: privately printed, 1947), 42, who tells us that Warburg "*in furchtbarste Erregungszustände geriet, wenn auf seinem Tisch bestimmte Kleinigkeiten verschoben... also, astrologisch gesprochen, ihre Konstellation verändert wurde*" (became dreadfully agitated if certain trifles on his desk were moved..., i.e., in astrological terms, if their configuration was changed).

157. See the informative account in Horst Bredekamp, *Antikensehnsucht und Maschinenglauben: Die Geschichte der Kustkammer und die Zukunft der Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1993; English trans. by Allison Brown [not used here] as *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine*; Princeton: M. Wiener Publishers, 1995), 102: "*die Grenzen von Kunst, Technik und Wissenschaft [beginnen] auf ähnliche Weise zu öffnen... , wie dies die Kustkammer vorgeführt hatte*"; *ibid.*, "*Schulung visueller Assoziations- und Denkvorgänge, die den Sprachsystemen vorauslaufen.*"

158. Warburg, *Schlangenritual* (see note 81), 59: "*Naturgewalten werden nicht mehr im anthropomorphen oder biomorphen Umgang gesehen, sondern als unendliche Wellen, die unter dem Handdruck dem Menschen gehorchen.*"

159. Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, with Theodor W. Adorno and Gershom Scholem (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972–77), 3:543: "*In Wahrheit dürfte sich [die künstlerische Struktur eines Werks] mit den verschiedenen Epochen ändern, die ihren Blick auf das Werk zurücklenken. Seine Bedeutung mit Rücksicht auf die gesellschaftliche Struktur seiner Entstehungszeit definieren, kommt also... darauf hinaus, seine Fähigkeit, zu der Epoche seiner Entstehungszeit den ihr entlegensten und fremdesten Epochen einen Zugang zu geben, aus der Geschichte seiner Wirkungen zu bestimmen.*" Benjamin was reviewing Gisèle Freund's book *La photographie en France au dix-neuvième siècle*.

160. Claudia Naber (see note 98), 121: "*Funktionalität der Kunst in der Gesamtkultur und ihrer historischen Bedingtheit*"; *ibid.*, "*Leitfrage nach der Bedeutung der Antike für die Renaissance*"; *ibid.*, "*Begriff des sozialen Gedächtnisses*"; *ibid.*, "*breit angelegte Rezeptionstheorie.*"

161. See in particular Claudia Naber (see note 81) and Naber (see note 98), 104–29.

162. See Nikolaus Meier, "Kunstgeschichte und Kulturgeschichte oder Kunstgeschichte nach Aufgaben," in Peter Ganz et al., eds., *Kunst und Kunsttheorie, 1400–1900*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 415–37; also the Italian translations of Burckhardt's manuscripts on "The Altarpiece," "The



Portrait,” and “The Collectors,” in Jacob Burckhardt, *L'arte italiana del rinascimento; La pala d'altare; Il ritratto; I collezionisti*, ed. Maurizio Ghelardi and Susanne Müller (Venice: Marsilio, 1994–95).

163. Thus, in 1865, Burckhardt insisted “since 1858... I have had to devote myself so exclusively to my historical studies that I have not been able to follow, even superficially, the enormous advances that have been made in the history of art” (*seit 1858... habe ich mich so vollständig den geschichtlichen Studien widmen müssen, dass ich den ungeheuern Fortschritten der Kunstgeschichte nicht einmal oberflächlich folgen konnte*). He added, however, that “the teaching of history inspires a far more elevated mood than that of the history of art” (*das Dociren der Geschichte [erweckt] eine viel höhere Stimmung... als dasjenige der Kunstgeschichte*). Jacob Burckhardt, *Briefe*, ed. Max Burckhardt, 10 vols. (Basel: Schwabe, 1949–94), 4:205–6.

164. Rumohr (see note 104), 1:ix: “*Urkundliche Forschungen führen, wie es Sachkundigen bekannt ist, gar sehr ins Einzelne; und so zerfiel auch das Ergebniss der meinigen in eine Reihe abgerissener Abhandlungen, denen ich keine äussere Verbindung zu geben wusste.*”

165. Burckhardt (see note 9), 229: “*Verpflichtung gegen die Vergangengenheit als geistiges Continuum, welche mit zu unserem höchsten geistigen Besitz gehört.*”

166. Friedrich Nietzsche, “Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben,” in Nietzsche, *Werke*, ed. Karl Schlechta, 3 vols. (Munich: Hanser, 1965), 1:231: “*das historische Wissen strömt aus unversieglichen Quellen immer von Neuem hinzu und hinein, das Fremde und Zusammenhangslose drängt sich, das Gedächtniss öffnet alle seine Thore und ist doch nicht weit genug geöffnet, die Natur bemüht sich auf's Höchste, diese fremden Gäste zu empfangen, zu ordnen und zu ehren, diese selbst aber sind im Kampfe mit einander, und es scheint nöthig, sie alle zu bezwingen und zu bewältigen, um nicht selbst an ihrem Kampfe zu Grunde zu gehen.*”

167. Warburg (see note 50), 115: “*der Augenblick der szenischen Verwandlung ist gekommen: schon ist der moderne Hintergrund, bemalt mit dem Palazzo Vecchio und der Loggia de' Lanzi, heruntergelassen, die Schauspielertruppe des Sassetti wartet in der Kulisse auf das Stichwort, und nun tauchen aus der Versenkung drei kleine Prinzen und ihr heidnisch gelehrter Professor, der heimliche Tanzmeister toskanischer Nymphen, ein lustiger Hauskaplan und der höfische Bänkelsänger auf; sie wollen das einleitende Intermezzo agieren, um, wenn sie oben sind, auch den noch übriggebliebenen engen Raum, auf dem der heilige Franziskus, Papst und Konsistorium zusammengedrängt sind, als Tummelplatz der Weltlichkeit endgültig einzunehmen.*” See *Renewal*, 203.

168. Worte zur Beisetzung (see note 46), n.p.: “*‘Es kehrt nicht um, wer an einen Stern gebunden ist.’ Denn wohl nie sind die Wege eines Gelehrten-daseins, wiewohl sie nicht nur ins Unbetretene, sondern geradezu ins Nicht-zu-Betretende zu führen schienen, so streng von einer unausweichlichen und unveränderlichen Kraft gelenkt worden.*”

# Acknowledgments

Kurt W. Forster

I wish to thank a number of friends and colleagues for the encouragement they have offered over the years and the numerous queries they have answered. Sir Ernst H. Gombrich graciously and repeatedly shared his knowledge of the Warburg Archive and explained his views of Warburg's scholarship. Professor J. Trapp and members of the staff at the Warburg Institute in London, where I had an opportunity to meet Gertrud Bing when I was still a student, proved unfailingly helpful in finding material and arranging for photographic copies. Professor Trapp, Anne Marie Meyer, and the Institute's current director, Professor Nicholas Mann, also took the trouble of reading the manuscript and making valuable suggestions.

The continental Warburg scholars Professor Martin Warnke of Hamburg, Professor Horst Bredekamp of Berlin, and Professor Michael Diers of Jena not only made suggestions, but above all offered the example of their own scholarship. The International Symposium on Aby Warburg that they organized in 1990, and published a year later, gave a boost to the recognition of Warburg's thinking and its ramifications.

Dr. Helga von Kügelgen in Berlin and Marie-Louise Gürtler in Hamburg spoke in illuminating ways of their personal connections to the Warburg family; the publisher Dr. Robert Galitz encouraged me by soliciting contributions to his own campaign of making Warburg's work better known in Europe. While I was still director of the Getty Research Institute, Denise L. Bratton was tireless in searching out often unfamiliar material, and in subsequent years my assistants at the Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, Nanni Baltzer and Tim Kammasch, were as helpful with details as they were challenging in their comments. Tracey Schuster and Mark Henderson at the Getty Research Institute's Photo Study Collection also helped locate material for illustrations.

Many more people than I can thank personally have refreshed my thinking on the subject of Warburg, but my editor at the Getty Research Institute, Steven Lindberg, is the only one who has managed to exceed my own desire for precision of thought and expression. I have also had the good fortune of working with the translator David Britt. Anyone who has translated German, especially such an intricate variety of it, will appreciate Britt's accomplishment. Few are able to match his love of detail with an ability to produce a rendering of Warburg's original so engaging that its often baffling intricacies no longer stymie the reader.

# Note on the Text

We have tried, as much as possible in a translation, to be as unintrusive in Warburg's texts as the original editors of the 1932 edition. For example, we have retained the original captions, but included current information in the illustration credits. We have also included a bibliography of works cited by Warburg (excluding the addenda), when a specific edition could be identified, as many of Warburg's own references are highly abbreviated. For ease of reading, some of the names and titles have been silently expanded, but other added material appears in braces: { }. The square brackets used by the 1932 editors have been retained for that purpose: [ ]. Warburg's own additions in the material he cites appear in angle brackets: < >. Though not generally a feature of Warburg's text, brief translations of citations have been included in parentheses: ( ); longer translations are set off like the quotations themselves. Where editorial comments apply to the translation as well, they have been repeated, and their author can be identified by these same typographical conventions.

Translated from the German edition published in 1932 by B. G. Teubner,  
as edited by Gertrud Bing in association with Fritz Rougemont for the Warburg Library

# Aby Warburg The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity

Contributions to the Cultural History  
of the European Renaissance

### *Plan of the Collected Edition*

This edition of the *Collected Writings* of A. Warburg will comprise the following six groups:

1. The writings contained in the present two volumes. These are the works that Warburg published in his lifetime, together with the manuscript notes found in his personal working copies.
2. The Atlas, largely complete at Warburg's death, in which he intended to sum up his earlier researches: "Mnemosyne: A Pictorial Sequence Illustrating the Function of Expressive Values Predefined by the Art of Antiquity in the Depiction of Life in Motion in European Renaissance Art."
3. The unpublished lectures and minor dissertations on matters of cultural history.
4. Fragments concerning "The Theory of Expression, Anthropologically Considered."
5. Letters, aphorisms, and autobiographical notations.
6. To conclude and complete the whole, the catalog of the Library is to be published; for the Library and the writings together form the unity of Warburg's work.

—F. Saxl

# Editorial Foreword

Gertrud Bing

A detailed biographical study of Warburg, which would have the task of tracing the close interweaving of the scholarly and the personal aspects of his life, is planned for a later volume of his *Collected Writings*, where it will appear together with his own letters and autobiographical writings. All that can be done here, to make it easier to view his achievement as a whole, is to sketch in the outline of his development as a scholar.

Warburg was born in Hamburg in 1866 and studied the history of art, first in Bonn under Carl Justi, then in Strasbourg under Janitschek and Michaelis. In his student years, he began the work on Botticelli and Poliziano that showed him how, in early Renaissance art, the representation of motion always reflects a successful search for an antique source. The psychology of such processes of artistic choice and transformation so interested him that, after completing his doctoral dissertation on Botticelli's mythological paintings and working for two years in Florence, he went to Berlin and embarked on the study of psychology from a medical standpoint. A journey to America, during which he visited the Pueblo Indians, gave him, as a former student of Usener's in Bonn, an insight into living pagan forms of religion and into the process by which religious imagery takes shape.

Armed with this new knowledge, he returned to his art-historical researches in Florence. He drew upon the abundance of material that he found in the "inexhaustible wealth of the Florentine archive" to overcome the isolation inflicted on the work of art by an aesthetic and formal approach, and to investigate in specific instances the complementarity of pictorial and literary documents, the relationship between artist and patron, and the close tie that binds the work of art to its social context and practical function. He looked beyond great works of art to include remote and aesthetically negligible pictorial sources, and studied not only artists but private individuals in the Medici circle. By examining their *imprese* (devices), their popular religious customs, the illustrative images on their household utensils, the themes of their public and private pageantry—in short, the whole imagery of "life in motion"—he gained his understanding of the psychic polarity of those who lived in that age of transition, with their quest for an "honorable compromise" between submission to fate and self-determination.

He traced their commercial relationships and observed how the trade in works of art and of craftsmanship carried the antique language of gesture to

the North and the Flemish portrait—with its realistic observation of costume and its devout intensity of facial expression—to Italy. He was able to see North and South as a single cultural area, united by a shared dependence on the inheritance of Mediterranean culture: an area that needed to be examined as a whole, undeterred by any “political border posts.”

In 1901 Warburg returned to live in Hamburg, but he remained in constant contact with Italy. His work continued to focus on the pictorial representations of ancient mythology. But where he had hitherto concentrated on the response to such images—the psychology of those people who were able to regard them as an expression of their own natures—he now extended his concern to include the intrinsic nature of the symbols themselves. He ascribed their persistence to the fact that it was pagan culture, both in religious ritual and in imagery, that supplied the most telling expression of elemental impulses. Pictorial forms are mnemonics for such operations; and they can be transmitted, transformed, and restored to a new and vigorous life, wherever kindred impulses arise.

Along the “migratory routes” that were the channels for the exchange of artistic forms, Albrecht Dürer received the *Pathosformeln* (emotive formulas) of antiquity in contemporary Italian guise; and by way of Italy the Greek and Roman deities traveled North, both in their mythical roles and in the astrological guise bestowed on them by the East. Astrological theory—combining, as it did, elements of mythic imagery, practical magic, and scientific logic—became, for Warburg, the neatest and most cogent example of a historically determined expressive form.

Once his field of observation had been enlarged to encompass Germany in one direction and the Orient in another, Warburg’s original inquiry into the posthumous life of antiquity was expanded into an examination of “exchanges of mental inheritance between South and North, between East and West,” and so transformed by the inclusion of cosmology and magic that it became possible to ask “what selective factors define the remembered form of this inheritance in different periods.”

Aside from the writings collected here, Warburg discussed these issues in a succession of lectures and studies, which are to be published in the volumes that follow. They include accounts of an early Medici inventory; the lectures on “The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal in Early Renaissance Painting” and on “The Migration of the Gods of Antiquity,” only brief summaries of which are printed here; lectures given in later years on the significance of the snake dances of the North American Indians for the study of religion; on Italian antiquity in the age of Rembrandt; and on the postage stamp as an iconic symbol of state power. Finally, there is the pictorial “Atlas” that he intended as the summation of all his work. He was in the midst of working on this when he died in 1929.

The same word, “Mnemosyne,” that Warburg chose as the title of his Atlas, stands over the door of the building that contains his library. In using it, he meant to convey that his life’s work includes not only his literary



productions but the library itself, which is more than an *instrumentarium* for his own works. The aids to scholarly research that it contains, both books and photographs, go far beyond the scope that he himself could ever hope to cover. He has created an institution that transcends the field of one man's activity; its purpose is to serve the research for which he prepared the way.

The nature, and the untimely end, of Warburg's work have set the editors of his writings two separate tasks. The collected edition of his works must bring to light his unique methodology, his way of thinking, and his personality; and, at the same time, his writings of the past forty years must be made available for present and future use and assimilation.

The present volumes include everything that Warburg himself published. He never ceased to work on his published writings, and these volumes also embody the additions and corrections that he wrote in his personal copies. The existence of these two categories of material is reflected in the division into text and addenda.

*Arrangement of the text.* The papers are arranged in groups under titles that indicate their thematic coherence, demarcate the various areas of interest, and assign a place and a function to each individual essay. At the same time, as far as possible, chronological sequence has been maintained. The essay on Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* may not exactly offer the easiest introduction to Warburg's writings; in this, his earliest work, the abundance of material does not seem to come under the same effortless conceptual control as in the later essays. Nevertheless, it has been placed at the beginning, because it touches on all of the areas of concern—and indeed on almost all of the issues—that are raised in the later essays.

Chronology has been abandoned in those cases where a number of essays written at different times deal with the same or closely related subjects ("The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie" and "Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons"; "Medicean Pageantry at the Valois Court" and "The Theatrical Costumes"). Shorter essays, and especially those that have no direct thematic connection with the longer ones, have been placed at the end of the subject sections to which they relate ("The Commencement of Building Work at the Palazzo Medici").

The final section, comprised of "Occasional Writings on Public Cultural Issues," was included not only for the sake of presenting all Warburg's printed works but because, in its geographical and chronological relevance, it is part of the context of any survey of Warburg's work as a whole. On the one hand, his ties with Hamburg and with Florence led him to the historical contemplation of Northern and Southern European culture, and of the tensions between them; on the other hand, his capacity for historical empathy furnished him with points of reference for the affairs of the present.

The logic of Warburg's work emerges with particular clarity from the division into volumes. The wider range of the second volume, both in material and in method, is the fruit of age and experience. The essay on "Dürer and

Italian Antiquity” belongs at the beginning of this sequence, despite its relatively early date of composition, because it marks the beginning of his concern with the process of expressive formulation: a concern that treats every image—the specific object of the cultural historian’s interest—as the product of a dialectic between an individual expressive impulse and an inherited repertoire of “predefined” forms. Similar phenomena are touched upon, in the wake of this analysis of Dürer, in a number of later essays that we have assigned, on different grounds, to the first volume (“Francesco Sassetti” is one example).

*Addenda.* To maintain the integrity of the individual essays, the addenda that reproduce the text (or carry out the intentions) of Warburg’s handwritten notes have been collected at the end. They refer in every case to the portion of text to which Warburg had appended them, and are worded accordingly; as far as possible, however, they have been so phrased as to be comprehensible in isolation.

*Selection and significance of addenda.* No attempt has been made to bring the essays up to date by, for instance, incorporating new material in the addenda to bring them into line with the latest state of knowledge. The choice and scope of additional material is based in every case on Warburg’s own annotations. The addenda to the “Birth of Venus,” for instance, are more numerous and more heterogeneous than those to later essays; the material is richer, because the work was written at an earlier date, and because issues raised in some detail in other, later papers had to be discussed here from several aspects at once. In later cases, the addenda to any one essay often point in a single direction, indicating a course of further work on which Warburg himself had already embarked, and elaborating ideas that had merely been hinted at or incompletely worked out in the text. The addenda to the article on the Ghirlandaio portraits, for instance, mainly concern the issue of votive waxworks; in those to “Francesco Sassetti’s Last Injunctions to His Sons,” the allegorical figure of Fortune is pursued as an example of expressive imagery down to the end of the sixteenth century; and the addenda to the article on Memling’s *Last Judgment* use personal documents to underline the shift in emphasis, in the historical study of portraiture, from artist to sitter.

It is in the very nature of Warburg’s way of working, however, that whenever he addresses a new subject this sheds new light on subjects previously studied, not only in terms of content but of methodology. Every piece of research derives new conceptual tools from the material itself: not only has the old material to be brought into line with the new, but the earlier work demands to be reappraised as a means of validating the new techniques. In the process, these must not only stand up to scrutiny but also extract new and—in the overall context—incompletely worked-out aspects of the earlier research itself.

Thus, the addenda to the “Birth of Venus” essay incorporate the idea of *antichità alla francese*, which first emerged in the later work on *imprese amoroze*. In the intervening time, it had become possible to distinguish the

successive stages in the process of absorption of antique culture, and to separate the emotive use of antique forms to enliven and intensify expression, on the one hand, from an imagery aimed at authenticity of content and burdened with realistic detail, on the other.

The addenda to “The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie” connect the secular customs and forms of bourgeois and popular culture with religious rituals. They spring from Warburg’s recognition of the continued potency of mythical images: an insight that he gained only after tracing the consistent identity of astrological figures through their successive metamorphoses. The psychological polarity that he described in the text of “Francesco Sassetti” as typical of the early Renaissance individual is extended in later articles, and in his own addenda, into a polarity of pictorial expression in general. His analysis of Dürer’s *Orpheus* gives him the concept of the *Pathos-formel* (emotive formula) that accounts for the borrowing of artistic forms in terms of an affinity of expressive need. Consequently, details of pictorial design that he initially regarded as formal reappear in the later essays and addenda as formulations filled with content, their survival dependent on the totality of the cultural inheritance enshrined in them.

This kind of reassessment of past work extends to the details of formulation. For this reason, most of the verbal alterations that Warburg marked are significant; for when, as on page 249, the expression “aesthetic view” is changed to “hedonistic view,” this apparently trifling change represents such a shift in underlying attitude that the correction in itself reveals the direction in which the author’s thinking had moved.

Many hypotheses noted by Warburg on his working copies have been included here, in order—in Warburg’s own words—to “invite the assistance of colleagues with more specialized knowledge.” If Warburg had revised his articles for publication, it is quite possible that he would have omitted many of these. In such cases, the editor, whose concern it is to clarify the author’s thought processes and working methods, is justified in taking a less scrupulous view than the author himself might have done.

In clarifying Warburg’s marginal notes, many of which he jotted down in a highly fragmentary form, we have mostly done no more than insert source references. For, whenever Warburg’s note is on a point of historical fact, it is enough to allude to an idea already familiar from the essays printed here to convey to the reader how it should be interpreted. At the same time, where a note concerns the result of an analysis or interpretation, it is better clarified by a source reference linked with the text than by an explanation.

The addenda introduced by the editors themselves refer to those cases where Warburg’s text itself was intended as a pointer to further work, and notably where he made express reference to a still unresolved question, or to the possibility of carrying the topic further. This was the case, for instance, with Rucellai’s *Zibaldone* (pp. 461 ff.) and with the decan figures in Ferrara (pp. 734 ff.). On occasion, we have also followed up indirect clues found in his slip index system, or in passages marked by him in the books he used; one

such case was the correct identification of the “*Compare*” in Pulci’s *Morgante* (pp. 449 f.).

In a very few cases, we have gone so far as to take note of extraneous pieces of evidence that seemed important to us in the course of editing Warburg’s own addenda, but that were not based on any note or indication by him. Where these derive from the more recent literature, unknown to Warburg, we have suggested the context in which he might have placed them. In other cases, in order to avoid arbitrary interference with Warburg’s decisions on what to include, we have taken note of them only where they succinctly complement some particularly characteristic passage in the essays.

We have departed from these principles in just two cases: the essay on “Theatrical Costumes” and that on the frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia. In the former case, the literature of the origins of opera and ballet has been so enriched since Warburg dealt with the subject (we need only recall the names of Solerti, Nicoll, and Prunières) that images and texts noted by Warburg—apparently arbitrarily, but, as can now be seen, quite justifiably—as parallels to his own thesis can now be more closely tied to the subject under discussion than even he had perceived. The *Memorie* of Serjacopi seem to us to be so important that, in a departure from the course adopted in other cases (such as the essay “Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance,” where we present only extracts from the new documents singled out by Warburg for study), we have printed the text and integrated it as far as possible with that of the essay. Through these additions, Warburg’s insights have been expanded and confirmed, but not changed.

The case of “Palazzo Schifanoia” is somewhat different. Here, recent research based on Warburg’s work has indeed altered—if only in detail—the account that he gives us of the traditional background of the frescoes. In setting out these results in full, we have Warburg’s authority twice over. As he says in the text, he intended to examine the origins of all the decan figures not analyzed in the essay—both in the frescoes and in the *Astrolabium planum*—as he had already done for just one figure, that of the first decan of Aries. He drew tables to serve as the basis for his own subsequent research; and this has prompted us to present the new material similarly in tabular form. Dr. Elsbeth Jaffé undertook the task of compiling the tables, drawing on her own knowledge of the material.

In another note, Warburg sought to carry the evidence for his idea of the metamorphosis of the pagan gods a step beyond the argument of his essay by pursuing the successive stages of the metamorphosis of a siderealized Greek hero into an Oriental daemon. The work done on this resulted in the addendum that is now published.

Added references to the specialized literature have mostly been restricted to those research results that either conflict with Warburg’s results or call them into question. On the remoter topics—and especially on those to which Warburg was the first to draw attention, and those that were of particular interest to him by virtue of the context in which he saw them—we have given

fuller references. Generally speaking, the editorial presentation of Warburg's afterthoughts has required references only to the critical literature that Warburg himself knew and used. But where this fails to supply full corroboration, the more recent literature—which in other cases has merely been consulted—is cited in full.

The illustrations mostly reproduce the pictorial evidence that Warburg himself supplied for the initial publications. The only major exceptions are in the same two essays for which the editors have also introduced new text into the addenda. "Theatrical Costumes" has been supplemented with newly discovered drawings by Buontalenti and with other picture material concerning his stage designs; and the account of the metamorphosis of the decan figures, in the addenda to "Palazzo Schifanoia," is accompanied by new illustrations from astrological manuscripts.

*Typographical conventions.* The reader interested in clarification of specific points is referred to the appropriate portion of the addenda by marginal marks in the essays themselves. An asterisk (\*) refers to an addendum by Warburg himself; a dagger (†) to one inserted by the editors.

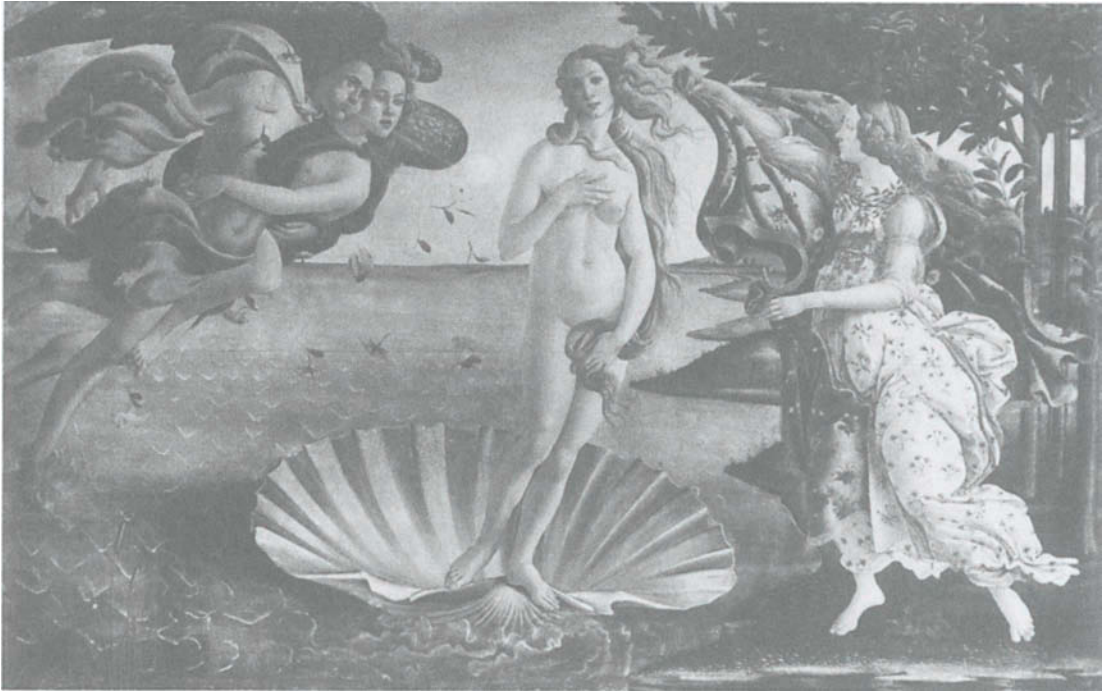
All departures from the original published text, where these proved unavoidable, have been enclosed in square brackets. They contain supplementary information in those cases where Warburg's use of the older literature might have caused unnecessary difficulty or led to misunderstanding. Apart from these cases, the more recent literature is referred to only in the addenda. The intention has been to leave visible the resources with which Warburg operated at the time. The only silent emendations are changes in the spelling and punctuation of some quoted passages, on the basis of new critical editions that were not available to Warburg himself when he wrote.

In the addenda, material extracted verbatim from Warburg's notes is set in **bold type**, and all editorial interpolations are in regular type. It is therefore always easy to reconstruct Warburg's original wording.

The size of the index is the result not only of the many-layered nature of the material discussed in the essays but also of an editorial attempt to extract the concepts most important to Warburg's method, and to employ them as headings under which the material may be thematically organized.

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The editors wish to express their sincere gratitude for the kind assistance that they have received on all sides: and in particular to those whose names cannot be cited at specific points in the addenda, because their aid has not been restricted to specific portions of the work. Those colleagues and good friends of the Warburg Library who have not been directly concerned with this edition have nevertheless contributed their advice and criticism. The same goes for our friends at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Florence. One debt of gratitude that calls for specific mention is the great helpfulness of the authorities of the Biblioteca Nazionale, the Archivio di Stato, and the Soprintendenza delle belle Arti in Florence.



**Fig. 1. Botticelli**  
*The Birth of Venus*  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 95)

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# Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and *Spring* An Examination of Concepts of Antiquity in the Italian Early Renaissance (1893)

*Dedicated to Hubert Janitschek and Adolf Michaelis  
in Grateful Memory of Their Joint Achievement*

## *Prefatory Note*

\*

This work sets out to adduce, for purposes of comparison with Sandro Botticelli's celebrated mythological paintings, the *Birth of Venus*<sup>1</sup> and *Spring*,<sup>2</sup> the analogous ideas that appear in contemporary art theory and poetic literature, and thus to exemplify what it was about antiquity that "interested" the artists of the Quattrocento. It is possible to trace, step by step, how the artists and their advisers recognized "the antique" as a model that demanded an intensification of outward movement, and how they turned to antique sources whenever accessory forms—those of garments and of hair—were to be represented in motion. \*

It may be added that this evidence has its value for psychological aesthetics in that it enables us to observe, within a milieu of working artists, an emerging sense of the aesthetic act of "empathy" as a determinant of style.<sup>3</sup> \*

\* **Chapter 1: The Birth of Venus**

The *Birth of Venus*, the smaller of the two paintings, was seen by Vasari, together with *Spring*, in Duke Cosimo's Villa Castello:

*Per la città, in diverse case fece tondi di sua mano, e femmine ignude assai; delle quale oggi ancora a Castello, villa del Duca Cosimo, sono due quadri figurati, l'uno, Venere che nasce, e quelle aure e venti che la fanno venire in terra con gli Amori; e così un'altra Venere, che le Grazie la fioriscono, dinotando la primavera; le quali da lui con grazia si veggono espresse.*<sup>4</sup>

In several houses in this city, he painted tondi with his own hand, and also a number of female nudes. Two of these paintings are still in Duke Cosimo's villa at Castello: a Venus being born, and the breezes and winds bringing her ashore, with Cupids; and another Venus with the Graces, who deck her with flowers, denoting Spring. Both are expressed with grace.

The Italian catalog of the Uffizi gives the following description:

*La nascita di Venere. La Dea sta uscendo da una conchiglia nel mezzo del mare. A sinistra sono figurati due Venti che volando sulle onde spingono la Dea presso la riva; a destra è una giovane che rappresenta la Primavera. — T. grand nat.*<sup>5</sup>

The birth of Venus. The goddess is stepping out of a shell in the midst of the sea. On the left are two winds flying across the waves and propelling the goddess towards the strand. On the right a young woman representing Spring. Life-size.

Recent critical writing has adduced two separate works of literature as analogies. Julius Meyer, in the text to the Berlin Gallery volume,<sup>6</sup> refers to the

\* *Homeric Hymn*:

It is highly likely that Botticelli knew the ancient account of the birth of Venus in the second *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, and that he based his representation upon it. The *Homeric Hymns* were printed from a Florentine manuscript as early as 1488,<sup>7</sup> and it is to be assumed that their content was known in humanist circles in Florence, and to the classically educated Lorenzo in particular, well before that date.

For his part, Gaspary, in his *Italienische Literaturgeschichte*,<sup>8</sup> remarks that there are affinities between Botticelli's painting and the description of a sculptural relief of the birth of Venus in the *Giostra* of Poliziano.<sup>9</sup> Both of these indications point in the same direction, since Poliziano's description was inspired by the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

The plausible supposition that the *concetto* was given to Botticelli by Poliziano himself, the erudite friend of Lorenzo de' Medici (for whom, according to Vasari, Botticelli painted a Pallas),<sup>10</sup> is made into a certainty by



the fact that, as will be shown, the painter departs from the *Homeric Hymn* at exactly the same points as the poet.

Poliziano imagines a series of reliefs, masterpieces by the hand of Vulcan himself, arranged in two rows on the piers that flank the portal of Venus's palace, and framed by an ornamental border of acanthus leaves, flowers, and birds. The reliefs in the first series are allegories of cosmogony,<sup>11</sup> ending with the birth of Venus; those in the second series display the power of Venus,<sup>12</sup> as instanced by a dozen classic examples. The birth of Venus, and her reception on earth and on Olympus, are described in stanzas 99–103:

99    *Nel tempestoso Egeo in grembo a Teti  
Si vede il fusto genitale accolto  
Sotto diverso volger di pianeti  
Errar per l'onde in bianca schiuma avvolto;  
E dentro nata in atti vaghi e lieti  
Una donzella non con uman volto,  
Da' zefiri lasciata spinta a proda  
Gir sopra un nicchio, e par ch'el ciel ne goda.*

100   *Vera la schiuma e vero il mar diresti,  
E vero il nicchio e ver soffiare di venti:  
La dea negli occhi folgorar vedresti,  
E'l ciel ridergli a torno e gli elementi:  
L'Ore premer l'arena in bianche vesti;  
L'aura incresparle e' crin distesi e lenti:  
Non una non diversa esser lor faccia,  
Come par che a sorelle ben confaccia.*

101   *Giurar potresti che dell'onde uscisse  
La dea premendo con la destra il crino,  
Con l'altra il dolce pomo ricoprissi;  
E, stampata dal piè sacro e divino,  
D'erbe e di fior la rena si vestisse;  
Poi con sembiante lieto e peregrino  
Dalle tre ninfe in grembo fusse accolta,  
E di stellato vestimento involta.*

102   *Questa con ambe man le tien sospesa  
Sopra l'umide trecce una ghirlanda  
D'oro e di gemme orientali accesa:  
Questa una perla agli orecchi accomanda:  
L'altra al bel petto e bianchi omeri intesa  
Par che ricchi monili intorno spanda,  
De' quai solean cerchiar lor proprie gole  
Quando nel ciel guidavon le carole.*

- 103 *Indi paion levate in vèr le spere  
Seder sopra una nuvola d'argento:  
L'aer tremante ti parría vedere  
Nel duro sasso, e tutto 'l ciel contento;  
Tutti li dei di sua beltà godere  
E del felice letto aver talento;  
Ciascun sembrar nel volto meraviglia,  
Con fronte crespa e rilevate ciglia.*
- 99 In the storm-tossed Aegean, in Tethys' lap,  
Floats now the procreant stem of Uranus,  
Beneath the sundry wheeling planets tossed  
By waves, and with white foam encompassed round.  
Within the foam is born, in joy and grace,  
A maiden of no human countenance.  
By wanton zephyrs driven to the shore,  
She rides upon a shell, to heaven's delight.
- 100 Real the foam, and real the sea you'd say  
And real the shell, and real the breezes' breath;  
You'd see the goddess blaze before your eyes,  
And sky and elements greet her in turn.  
The Horae, all in white, now tread the strand;  
The wind toys with their loose and flowing hair;  
Their faces look alike, yet not the same,  
Just as it seems that sisters ought to be.
- 101 And now you'd swear that from the waves came forth  
The goddess; she, her right hand to her hair,  
Covering the sweet apple with her left;  
And everywhere her heavenly footsteps fall,  
Grasses and flowers spring blooming from the sands.  
Then, with a singular and joyful grace,  
The three nymphs welcome her with open arms,  
Wrapping her form about with starry robe.
- 102 One nymph holds high, in both her hands, aloft  
Above the goddess's moist hair, a wreath  
Flashing with gold and oriental gems.  
The second sets a pearl on either ear;  
The third now seems to coil, around her breast  
And shoulders white, the same rich necklaces  
That they themselves once wore about their own  
Fair necks, in heaven when they led the dance.

- 103 Now they seem lifted upward to the spheres,  
Seated aloft upon a silver cloud.  
On the hard rock you seem to see the air  
Shimmer, and all the heavens are beguiled;  
You seem to see the gods admire her beauty,  
Longing to share the pleasures of her bed;  
Each seems to stare in wonder at the sight,  
With puckered forehead and with eyebrows raised.

Compare this with the description in the *Homeric Hymn*:

Aphrodite the fair, the chaste, will I sing, she with the golden wreath, who rules the towers of sea-girt Cyprus, whither she was conveyed by the swelling breath of Zephyrus, on the waves of the turbulent sea, in soft, flocculent foam; and the Horae, with golden diadems, received her with joy, and dressed her in divine garments, and set upon her head her beautiful golden chaplet, and hung in her tresses flowers wrought in metal and costly gold. Her graceful neck and her radiant, snowy bosom they hung with the chains of gold that had adorned the Horae themselves, the gold-garlanded Horae, when they attended the gracious round dance of the gods and the palace of their father.<sup>13</sup>

The action in the Italian poem, as will be seen, broadly follows that of the *Homeric Hymn*; in both, Venus, as she rises from the sea, is carried on shore by Zephyrus, there to be received by the goddesses of the seasons.

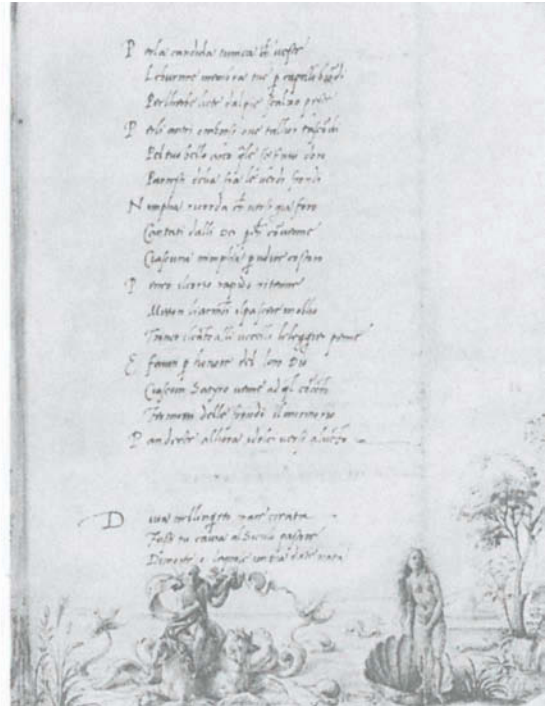
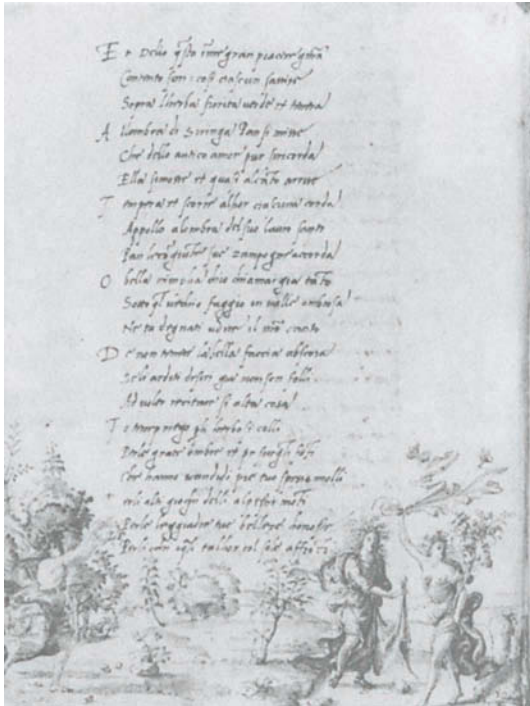
Poliziano's original additions are almost entirely limited to the delineation of details and accessories, on which the poet dwells in order to make us believe in the startling accuracy of the works of art that he is describing. These additions can be summarized as follows:

A number of winds, who are seen blowing ("*vero il soffiare di venti*"), propel Venus, who stands on a shell ("*vero il nicchio*") to the shore, where three Horae receive her and adorn her, not only with the chains and necklaces of which the *Homeric Hymn* also speaks, but with a "starry mantle." The wind plays in the white garments of the Horae and tousles their loose, flowing hair (100, 4–5). It is this windswept detail that the poet praises as the deception created by an exercise of artistic virtuosity:

100,2 ...*e ver soffiare di venti*  
(... and real the breezes' breath)

100,3 ...*vedresti*  
(... You'd see)

100,5 *L'Ore premer l'arena in bianche vesti;*  
*L'aura incresparle e' crin distesi e lenti*  
(The Horae, all in white, now tread the strand;  
The wind toys with their loose and flowing hair)



**Figs. 2a,b. Birth of Venus**  
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. XLI, 33, fols. 35v,  
36r (see p. 95)

**Fig. 3. Agostino di Duccio**  
Scene from the Life of Saint Sigismund  
Milan, Museo Archeologico (see p. 97)

103,3 *L'aer tremante ti parría vedere*

*Nel duro sasso...*

(On the hard rock you seem to see the air

Shimmer...)

The action in Botticelli's painting proceeds just as in the poem, except that Venus,<sup>14</sup> on her shell, covers her breast with her right (instead of her left) hand, holding her long hair to her with her left, and that she is greeted not by three Horae in white garments but by a single female figure in a colored, floral dress girl with a rose branch.

However, so close is the repetition of Poliziano's detailed account of accessory forms in motion that a link between the two works can be taken as certain. In the painting, not only are there two round-cheeked zephyrs, "whose blowing is seen," but the dress and hair of the goddess who stands on the shore are flying in the wind, as are Venus's own hair<sup>15</sup> and the mantle that is to cover her.

Both works of art thus paraphrase the *Homeric Hymn*; but Poliziano's poem still contains three Horae, and in the painting they have been combined into one. This shows the poem to be chronologically earlier and closer to the original source; the painting is the later and freer version. If a direct derivation is to be assumed, the poet was thus the giver, and the painter was the receiver.<sup>16</sup> The inference that Poliziano advised Botticelli also tallies with the tradition that he was a source of inspiration for Raphael and for Michelangelo.<sup>17</sup>

The concern—equally conspicuous in the poem and in the painting—with capturing the transitory movements of hair and garments, corresponds to a tendency prevalent among Northern Italian artists from the first third of the fifteenth century onward, which finds its most telling expression in Alberti's *Libro della pittura*.<sup>18</sup> Springer drew attention to this passage in the context of Botticelli's wind gods in the *Birth of Venus*;<sup>19</sup> and Robert Vischer cites it in his *Luca Signorelli*.<sup>20</sup> It reads as follows:

*Dilettano nei capelli, nei crini, ne' rami, frondi et veste vedere qualche movimento. Quanto certo ad me piace nei capelli vedere quale io dissi sette movimenti: volgansi in uno giro quasi volendo anodarsi et ondeggino in aria simile alle fiamme, parte quasi come serpe si tessano fra li altri, parte crescendo in quà et parte in là. Così i rami ora in alto si torcano, ora in giù, ora in fuori, ora in dentro, parte si contorcano come funi. A medesimo ancora le pieghe facciano; et nascano le pieghe come al troncho dell' albero i suo' rami. In queste adunque si seguano tutti i movimenti tale che parte niuna del panno sia senza vacuo movimento. Ma siano, quanto spesso ricordo i movimenti moderati et dolci, piu tosto quali porgano gratia ad chi miri, che maraviglia di fatica alcuna. Ma dove così vogliamo ad i panni suoi movimenti sendo i panni di natura gravi et continuo cadendo a terra, per questo starà bene in la pictura porvi la faccia del vento Zeffiro o Austro che soffi fra le nuvole onde i panni ventoleggino. Et quindi verrà ad quella gratia, che i corpi da questa*

*parte percossi dal vento sotto i panni in buona parte mostreranno il nudo, dall' altra parte i panni gettati dal vento dolce voleranno per aria, et in questo ventoleggiare guardi il pittore non ispiegare alcuno panno contro il vento.*

It is pleasing to see some movement in hair, locks, boughs, leafy fronds, and garments. As I said, I myself take pleasure in seeing seven different movements of the hair: hair should twist as if trying to break loose from its ties and rippling in the air like flames, some of it weaving in and out like vipers in a nest, some swelling here, some there. Branches should twist upward, then downward, outward and then inward, contorting like ropes. Folds should do the same: folds should grow like branches from the trunk of a tree. They should follow every movement, rippling, so that no part of the garment is still. These should be gentle, moderate movements, as I frequently remind you, appearing to the onlooker as something pleasurable rather than as an effort to be marveled at. Where it is required to depict billowing garments, and where these are heavy and hang down to the feet; it is a good idea to portray in that painting the heads of the winds, Zephyrus or Auster, among the clouds, blowing the garments. Therefore, a graceful touch will be for the body beneath the garments, on the side struck by the wind, to reveal its nude form; on the other side the garments will fly in the air, blown by the gentle wind; and, in this billowing, the painter must take care not to show any drapery as moving against the wind.

- \* This rule of Alberti's shows both imagination and reflection in equal proportions. On the one hand, he is glad to see hair and garments in marked movement, and he gives rein to his fancy, attributing organic life to inanimate accessory forms; at such moments he sees snakes tangling, flames licking, or the branches of a tree. On the other hand, however, Alberti expressly insists that in depicting such motifs the painter keep his analogical wits about him sufficiently to avoid being tempted into unnatural excess, and that he set his accessory forms in motion only where the wind really might have caused such motion. This cannot be done, however, without one concession to the imagination: the youthful human heads that the painter is to show blowing, in order to account for the motion of hair and garments, are no more and no less than a compromise between anthropomorphic imagination and analogical reflection.

Alberti finished his *Libro della pittura*, dedicated to Brunelleschi, by 1435.<sup>21</sup> Not long after that, and still in the mid-fifteenth century, Agostino di Duccio filled the hair and drapery of the figures in his allegorical reliefs for the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini with a positively Mannerist liveliness of movement.<sup>22</sup> According to Valturi's account of Sigismondo Malatesta's attitude to the works of art in his chapel, the content and form of these should be seen as the product of learned reflection:

*...amplissimis praesertim parietibus, permultisque altissimis arcubus peregrino marmore exedificatis, quibus lapideae tabulae vestiuntur, quibus pulcherrime*

*sculptae inspiciuntur, unaque sanctorum patrum, virtutum quatuor, ac caelestis Zodiaci signorum, Errantiumque syderum, sybillarum deinde Musarumque et aliarum permultarum nobilium rerum imagines, quae nedum praeclaro lapicidae ac sculptoris artificio, sed etiam cognitione formarum, liniamentis abs te acutissimo et sine ulla dubitatione clarissimo huius seculi principe ex abditis philosophiae penetrabilibus sumptis, intuentes litterarum peritos et a vulgo fere penitus alienos maxime possint allicere.*<sup>23</sup>

...especially in its generous walls and many high arches built of exotic marble, clad with tablets of stone, on which are seen beautifully sculpted images assembled together, of the holy Fathers and the four Virtues, and the signs of the heavenly zodiac and the planets, of the Sibyls and the Muses, and of a great many other fine things, which—not only through the splendid workmanship of the stone-cutter and sculptor, but also through knowledge of the forms, because you (the most intelligent and undoubtedly the most brilliant prince of our time) took their designs from the deep recesses of philosophy—most powerfully attract those beholders who are steeped in learning and almost total strangers to the common run of men.

Alberti was the architect of the whole church, whose construction he supervised in every detail;<sup>24</sup> there is nothing to bar the assumption that he was the inspirer of these figures, with their agitated motion, which is entirely in keeping with his ideas.

In the uppermost relief by Agostino di Duccio on the left-hand side of the facade of S. Bernardino in Perugia, F. Winter has pointed to an antique source for the fluttering garments of one female figure,<sup>25</sup> a Hora seen from the back. This source is the celebrated krater in Pisa,<sup>26</sup> the very same vase from which Nicola Pisano borrowed the Dionysus for his pulpit reliefs in the Pisa Baptistry;<sup>27</sup> Donatello had used the same male figure for an apostle on the principal door of S. Lorenzo.<sup>28</sup> Might not Donatello have taken the Hora on the Pisan krater, with her slightly bent head, as the source for the Cappadocian princess on the relief below his statue of Saint George on Orsanmichele?<sup>29</sup>

A number of other verifiable antique allusions are to be found in the work of Agostino di Duccio. Thus, Winter considers that the episodes from the life of Saint Bernardine, in Perugia, recall the compositions on Roman sarcophagi.<sup>30</sup> Jahn, in an account of the Medea sarcophagi,<sup>31</sup> illustrates a figure from the Codex Pighianus in Berlin<sup>32</sup> in which Medea stands before the tree with the dragon; above her head is a garment billowing out spherically. The same motif, a rare one in this form, recurs in Perugia in the woman who stands on the shore, in front of Saint Bernardine and behind two women with a child. It is quite likely that the sarcophagus was already standing in front of SS. Cosma e Damiano, and that it was drawn there.

The angel on Agostino di Duccio's relief in the Brera has a classical source in a maenad.<sup>33</sup> Just as Agostino as a sculptor looks to antique sculptures for

models for the representation of hair and garments in motion, Poliziano looks to the poets of antiquity for accounts of motifs of movement, which he then faithfully reproduces in his own poems.

- \* Alberti's remarks may have prompted, or at least encouraged, Poliziano to concern himself with the artistic question of showing accessory forms in motion; equally, a current of ideas already present in Florentine artistic circles might have suggested his descriptions of the flying hair and draperies of the figures in his reliefs.<sup>34</sup> What is certain is that Poliziano consciously and independently confirmed this tendency by describing such forms in words modeled on those of the ancient poets, Ovid and Claudian.

On the first relief of the second series, flanking the portal of his palace of Venus, the scene shown was the rape of Europa:

105    *Nell' altra in un formoso e bianco tauro  
       Si vede Giove per amor converso  
       Portarne il dolce suo ricco tesoro,  
       E lei volgere il viso al lito perso  
       In atto paventosa: e i be' crin d'auro  
       Scherzon nel petto per lo vento avverso:  
       La vesta ondeggia, e in drieto fa ritorno;  
       L'una man tien al dorso, e l'altra al corno.*

The other shows us Jove, transformed for love  
 Into the shape of a fine, milk-white bull,  
 Carrying off his rich and cherished prize.  
 She turns her face to the deserted shore  
 With fearful glance; her lovely, golden hair  
 Sports in her bosom, caught by the opposing breeze;  
 Her garments flutter, wafting back behind;  
 Her one hand grips the bull's back, one its horn.

Not only is the exact description of Europa's flying hair and dress reproduced from Ovid's accounts of the same scene in the *Metamorphoses* (2.873) and *Fasti* (5.607 ff.);<sup>35</sup> another similar passage in the *Metamorphoses* (2.527) has also been used.

If the last five lines of the Italian are compared with their Latin sources, we are presented with the fact, seldom demonstrable in art history, of a thoughtful eclecticism combined with the ability to adopt and rework a suggestion

- \* with original artistic power:

*E lei volgere il viso al lito perso*  
 (She turns her face to the deserted shore)

*Met. 2.873    ... litusque ablata relictum  
               Respicit*





In Poliziano's description of the sculpture of the rape of Proserpina (stanza 113), not only Ovid himself but Claudian,<sup>36</sup> in all his hyper-Ovidian descriptive detail, is summoned to the poet's aid:

*Quasi in un tratto vista amata e tolta  
Dal fero Pluto Proserpina pare  
Sopra un gran carro, e la sua chioma sciolta  
A' zefiri amorosi ventilare.*  
(Seen, loved, abducted at a single stroke  
By savage Pluto, Proserpine appears  
In a great chariot; her unfastened hair  
The amorous zephyrs waft from side to side.)

As the source for the third line, Carducci cites, without giving a reference:<sup>37</sup>

*...volucris fertur Proserpina curru  
Caesariem diffusa Noto...*  
(...Proserpina is borne away by the swift chariot,  
Her hair spread out to the wind...)

One might expect to find that the "*zefiri amorosi*," at least, were invented by Poliziano in the spirit of his sources; but here, too, we find in Claudian:

\*

*...levibus projecerat auris  
indociles errare comas.*<sup>38</sup>  
(...she had held out her unruly locks  
To float in the light breezes.)

A juxtaposition of text and sources yields the same pattern as before:

*Quasi in un tratto amata e tolta  
Dal fero Pluto*  
(Seen, loved, abducted at a single stroke  
By savage Pluto)

*Met. 5.395 Paene simul visa est dilectaque raptaque Diti*  
(Almost in one moment she was seen and loved and carried off by  
Pluto)

*...Proserpina pare  
Sopra un gran carro, e la sua chioma sciolta*  
(...Proserpina appears  
In a great chariot; her unfastened hair)

Claud. 2.247 *volucris fertur Proserpina curru*  
*Caesariem diffusa Noto*  
(Proserpina is borne away by the swift chariot  
Her hair spread out to the wind)

*A Zefiri amorosi ventilare*  
(The amorous zephyrs waft)

Claud. 2.30 *... levibus proiecerat auris*  
*indociles errare comas*  
(... she had held out her unruly locks  
To float in the light breezes)

In the course of the amorous episodes recounted in Poliziano's stanzas there are two other relevant passages:

At 1.56, lines 7–8, Giuliano stares after the nymph, uncertain whether to follow her:

*Fra sè lodando il dolce<sup>39</sup> andar celeste*  
*E'l ventilar dell' angelica veste.*  
(Praising the heavenly grace with which she walks,  
Praising the waft of her angelic robe.)

The following verses from Ovid (*Ars amatoria* 3.299–301) should not, perhaps, be regarded as a direct source, but they show an affinity of mood:

*Est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris:*  
*Allicit ignotos ille fugatque viros.*  
*Haec movet arte latus, tunicisque fluentibus auras*  
*Accipit.*  
(There is in the way one walks no trifling part of grace:  
It can attract or repel men who are unknown to you.  
This girl moves her body artfully, and lets the breeze ripple through  
Her sheer tunic.)

Later, in the description of the realm of Venus,<sup>40</sup> from stanza 1.69 onward, the reigning goddess of spring is described as follows (1.72, lines 4–8):

*Jvi non volgon gli anni il lor quaderno;*  
*Ma lieta Primavera mai non manca,*  
*Ch'e' suoi crin biondi e crespi all' aura spiega*  
*E mille fiori in ghirlandetta lega.*  
(There the years desert their usual round;  
The joyful Spring is never lost to view,

Loosing her golden ringlets to the breeze  
And twining a thousand flowers into a wreath.)

Here, as in the emphasis on fluttering forms in the costume of the seasonal goddesses who welcome Venus,<sup>41</sup> no direct source can be proved. But it is safe to assume that all this Ovidian and Claudianesque description of mobile forms made the poet feel gratifyingly close to the spirit of the ancients.

The female figure who welcomes Venus, in Botticelli's painting, shows a remarkable affinity with the Horae as described by Poliziano, including the fluttering accessory forms. She stands at the water's edge, turned to face leftward in strict profile, and holds out to Venus the wind-blown mantle that she grasps in her outstretched right hand above and in her left hand below. In the critical literature she is almost unanimously described as a goddess of spring.<sup>42</sup> Her gown, embroidered all over with cornflowers, clings to her body, clearly revealing the outlines of her legs. A fold curves gently downward to the right from the back of her left knee, fanning out in smaller folds below. Her narrow sleeves, puffed at the shoulders, are worn over a white undergarment of soft material. Most of her fair hair wafts back from her temples in long waves, but some has been made into a stiff braid that ends in a bunch of loose hair. She is the "Hora of Spring," as imagined by Poliziano.

Spring stands on the bank to welcome Venus; the wind plays in her dress and caresses her "golden ringlets" as she "looses them to the breeze." The goddess of spring wears a rose branch as a girdle; and this is too unusual an article of dress not to "mean" something to the scholars of the Renaissance.

Let us suppose for a moment that Poliziano was called upon to supply a suitably clear but "classical" attribute for Spring, not only through the medium of his *Giostra* but in person, as Botticelli's learned adviser; and that to this end he turned to his favorite poet, Ovid. In the *Metamorphoses* (2.27), he found this account of Spring at the throne of Apollo:

*Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona*<sup>43</sup>  
(And young Spring stood wreathed with a garland of flowers)

—whereas in *Fasti* (5.217),

† *Conveniunt pictis incinctae vestibus Horae.*  
(The Horae assemble, clad in many colors.)

If Poliziano chose to interpret the word *cinctum*<sup>44</sup> as meaning "girt," or "belted," he thus had an indication of exactly what sort of girdle to put upon this Hora, in her "colorful belted robe."

The following passage from *Le imagini dei dei*,<sup>45</sup> by Vincenzo Cartari, demonstrates that there were other Renaissance scholars who considered a floral girdle to be an attribute of the goddess of spring:

*Le hore, lequali dicono essere i quattro tempi dell'anno, et aprire e serrare le porte del Cielo, sono date talhora al Sole, e tale altra a Cerere, e perciò portano due ceste, l'una di fiori, per la quale si mostra la Primavera, l'altra piena di spiche, che significa la està. Et Ovidio parimente dice nei Fasti<sup>46</sup> che queste stanno in compagnia di Jano <Apollo> alla guardia delle porte del Cielo, e quando poi racconta di Flora, in potere della quale sono i fioriti prati, dice che le hore vestite di sottilissimi veli vengono in questi talhora à raccogliere diversi fiori da farsene belle ghirlande.* †

The Horae, said to be the four seasons of the year, which open and close the gates of Heaven, are divided between the Sun and Ceres, and for this reason wear two girdles {recte: carry two baskets}, one full of flowers (signifying Spring) and the other full of ears of corn (signifying Summer). Ovid says likewise in his *Fasti* that the Horae stand guard with Janus <Apollo> at the gates of Heaven; when he speaks later of Flora, beneath whose sway the flowering meadows lie, he says that the Horae come dressed in diaphanous, flowing veils to gather flowers for their beautiful garlands.

From all this confused erudition we do at least gather that here, too, the two Ovid passages quoted above are the principal sources.

An allegorical figure of Spring from learned circles in Venice belongs to the same context. In the early Renaissance archaeological romance, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*,<sup>47</sup> the hero, Poliphilus, witnesses the triumph of Vertumnus and Pomona;<sup>48</sup> and among the works of art that he sees is a “*sacra ara quadrangula*” (sacred, four-sided altar), with the personifications of the four seasons “*in candido et luculeo marmoro*” (in white and Lucullan marble):

*In qualunque fronte della quale uno incredibile expresso duna elegante imagine promineva, quasi exacta. La prima era una pulcherrima Dea cum volante trece cincte<sup>49</sup> de rose et d'altri fiori, cum tenuissimo supparo<sup>50</sup> aemulante gli venustissimi membri subjecti, cum la dextra sopra uno sacrificulo de uno antiquario Chytropode<sup>51</sup> flammula prosiliente fiori et rose divotamente spargeva, et nel altra teniva uno ramulo de olente et baccato<sup>52</sup> Myrtho. Par a lei uno alifero et speciosissimo puerulo cum gli vulnerabondi insignii ridente extava, et due columbine similmente, sotto gli pedi della quale figure era inscripto:*

*Florido veri. S.*

On every face of this was an elegant and wonderfully lifelike image. The first was of a beautiful goddess, whose flowing tresses were garlanded with roses and other flowers, her diaphanous gown clinging to her shapely limbs. With her right hand she scattered a devotional offering of flowers and roses over an antique charcoal brazier. In the other hand she held a fragrant, berried branch of myrtle. Before her appeared a pretty, winged boy, smilingly holding his traditional weapons, and two doves. Beneath the feet of this figure was the inscription:

Hail to the blossoming Spring.

The woodcut illustration shows a woman standing in profile, facing right, throwing flowers into the “*antiquario Chytropode*” with her right hand and holding a myrtle branch in her left. A great tress of hair wafts to the left. At her right side stands the naked, winged Cupid with his arrow and bow. In the air, three doves fly.<sup>53</sup> As a number of other illustrations and descriptions in the *Hypnerotomachia* make clear, its Venetian author was another who considered that a sense of surface mobility in the figures was essential to any successful revival of the most telling achievements of antique art.<sup>54</sup>

As late as the sixteenth century, Luigi Alamanni (1495–1556) wrote of the goddess Flora:

13    *Questa dovunque il piè leggiadro muove,  
Empie di frondi e fior la terra intorno,  
Chè Primavera è seco, e verno altrove.  
Se spiega all' aure i crin, fa invidia al giorno.*<sup>55</sup>

Wherever now she sets her dainty foot,  
The earth is filled with greenery and flowers;  
For Spring is come, and Winter far away.  
Her hair she loosens, and puts Day to shame.

One more drawing is here adduced as relevant to the *Birth of Venus*; as it shows, to take accessory forms in motion as the touchstone of “antique influence” may be biased, but is not unjustified. The work in question is a pen drawing from the collection of the duke of Aumale, which was exhibited in Paris in 1879 and photographed by Braun, in whose catalog (1887, p. 376) it is described as follows: “No. 20. *Etude pour une composition de Vénus sortant de l'onde pour le tableau aux Uffizi.*” (Study for a composition of Venus emerging from the waves, for the painting in the Uffizi.)

This drawing<sup>56</sup> is unlikely to be by Botticelli himself: the details (such as the hands and breasts of the nude female figure) are too crudely handled. It is probably by a practiced artist who was a member of Botticelli's circle of pupils toward the end of the fifteenth century. Nor should it be regarded as a sketch for the *Birth of Venus*, as the pose of the nude female figure bears only a very approximate resemblance to Botticelli's Venus.

The drawing shows five figures. To the left is the torso of a woman, seen from behind; she has wrapped herself in a cloth, which is caught together at the front. Her head is turned to her right, toward the spectator. Her hair, part of which forms a chaplet around her head, falls in a thick braid onto her bare shoulders. Her right arm is raised.

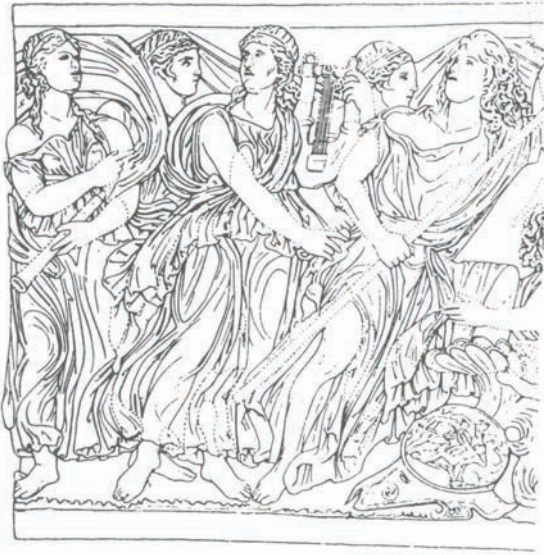
The nude female figure next to her—approximately in the pose of the Medici Venus—holds her right arm before her breast (without concealing it), with elbow bent at right angles; she covers her lower belly with her left. Her legs are crossed, and the feet are at right angles to each other: a stance that does not seem stable enough to support the trunk, with its slight backward



**Fig. 4. *Spring***  
Woodcut from *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499),  
fol. M IV<sup>v</sup> (see p. 104)



**Fig. 5. Donatello**  
*Saint George*  
Florence, Orsanmichele (see p. 97)



**Fig. 6. Achilles on Skyros**  
Drawing after sarcophagus. Woburn Abbey (see p. 107)

**Fig. 7. Botticelli (?)**  
Pen drawing. Chantilly (see p. 104)



tilt. Her hair is parted in the center, then gathered in a braid and wound round her head, ending in a loose, fluttering tress. The imaginary breeze swells a scarflike garment that is looped over her left shoulder.

The other three figures look as if extracted from a friezelike antique composition. They are: a woman with a lyre in her left hand, wearing a chiton and a girdle wrap; next to her the helmeted head of a youth; and finally a youth striding to the right, with his head turned back in profile. It turns out that these have been taken from a sarcophagus representing Achilles on Skyros: the woman with the lyre is one of the daughters of Lycomedes, and the striding youth is Achilles, making good his escape.<sup>57</sup>

As the drawing does not arbitrarily restore the parts that are missing from the sculpture, the actual object that served as the visual source can be determined. It is the sarcophagus now at Woburn Abbey, which was formerly among the antique reliefs built into the stairway of S. Maria Araceli in Rome from the mid-fourteenth century onward.<sup>58</sup> Michaelis describes it as follows:

To the l. of Achilleus are visible four daughters of Lykomedes: one, in a chiton and a chlamys draped like a shawl, and in a position similar to that of Achilleus, is holding a cithara (restored at the top) in her l. arm; another dressed in the same way, is hurrying l. (her forearms and flute have been added by the restorer); of the two other sisters only the heads are visible in the background.<sup>59</sup>

He goes on to say that Achilles' right arm and the spear have also been restored. Eichler's drawing<sup>60</sup> shows that the forearm of the female figure with the lyre is also a restoration. As all the fragmentary portions of the composition appear as such in the drawing, it follows that the latter was made from the very same sarcophagus, when it was still built into the stairway of S. Maria Araceli.

The two adjacent life studies show how a fifteenth-century artist extracts from an antique original what "interests" him. In the present case he has taken nothing but the garment, billowing out in an elliptical curve—which he has reconstituted as a scarf, dangling from left shoulder to right hip, in order to make the motif comprehensible to himself—and the coiffure of the female figure, to which he has added a flying lock of hair (not visible in the original), no doubt supposing that this was all very antique.

Later, Pirro Ligorio (died 1583) was another on whom the "dancing nymphs" on this sarcophagus made a particular impression:

16. <Achilles on Skyros> *Di Achille et di Ulysse. Veramente non è di far poco stima d'un altro monumento, di un pilo che è ancora quivi presso al sudetto, per esser copioso de figure, di huomini armati et di donne lascivamente vestite...* <lacuna in Dessau's publication> *Nel pilo sono sei donne sculpite, come vaghe Nymphe, di sottilissimi veli vestite, alcune di esse dimostrano ballare e far baldanzosi atti con un velo, con li panni tanto sottili et trasparenti, che quasi gnude si dimostrano,*

- \* *l'una delle quali suona una lyra, et l'altre havendo lasciato il ballo sono come che corse a pigliar Achille.*<sup>61</sup>

16. <Achilles on Skyros.> Achilles and Ulysses. There is another truly remarkable monument, a *pilum* still extant near the one described above, which is richly covered with figures of armed men and of women alluringly clad...<lacuna in Dessau's publication> The *pilum* bears six female figures sculptured as beautiful nymphs dressed in filmy veils. Some of them are shown dancing, and striking bold attitudes with a veil; their garments are so filmy and so transparent that they show themselves as if naked. One plays a lyre; another has ceased to dance and is chasing Achilles.

An analogous example from a different area provides further evidence that female figures with garments in motion were viewed at that time with preconceived ideas in mind. Filarete writes, after Pliny, of works of art in ancient Rome:

*Eragli ancora quattro satiri dipinti, i quali ancora per la loro bellezza furono portati a Roma, i quali l'uno portaua Baccho insù la spalla; l'altro la copriua, un altro gli era che pareua che piangesse come uno fanciullo; il quarto beueua in una cratera del compagno. Eragli ancora due nimphe con panni sottili suolazzanti.*<sup>62</sup>

There were four other satyrs depicted, so fine that they were taken to Rome. One was shown carrying Bacchus on his shoulder. A second was covering it. A third appeared to be weeping like a child. The fourth was quaffing from a large krater belonging to his friend. There were also two nymphs in filmy, billowing garments.

Pliny makes no mention of nymphs: he speaks of “*duaeque aerae velificantes sua veste*” (and two Breezes turning their dresses into sails).<sup>63</sup> Filarete was not the only one to assume that these *aerae* were nymphs, as is shown by the fact that the earliest editors of Pliny's text replaced the word *aerae*, the meaning of which was presumably not clear to them, with the word *nymphae*. The *editio princeps*, that of Johannes Spira (1469), still has the reading “*duaeque aerae velificantes sua veste*”;<sup>64</sup> but the Sweynheym and Pannartz edition of 1473 has “*Dueque nymphae velificantes sua veste*.”<sup>65</sup> Again, the Parma edition of 1481 has “*Duaeque nymphae velificantes sua veste*.”<sup>66</sup> And in Cristoforo

- \* Landino's translation of Pliny we read: “*Item due nimphe che fanno vela delle proprie veste*.”<sup>67</sup>

This concludes the series of excursuses prompted by Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*. A succession of works related by content—Botticelli's painting, Poliziano's poem, Francesco Colonna's archaeological romance, the drawing from Botticelli's circle, and Filarete's ecphrasis—has revealed the tendency, shaped by what was then known of antiquity, to turn to the arts of the ancient

- \* world whenever life was to be embodied in outward motion.

*Appendix: The Lost Pallas*

A piece of historical information supplied by Vasari, when seen in conjunction with other sources of evidence, documents a further connection between Poliziano and Botticelli that was known indirectly to the early art historians. The methodological importance of this evidence merits a brief interruption of the purely iconographical part of this study.

Ulmann's<sup>68</sup> remarks afford the certainty that a Botticelli drawing published by him, from the Uffizi, is a sketch for a figure of Athena on the tapestry published by Müntz;<sup>69</sup> and that a reference in the Medici inventory<sup>70</sup> to a painting by Botticelli in the "*camera di Piero*" (Piero's chamber) refers, as Ulmann conjectured, to a *Pallas*. Ulmann seeks to relate this *Pallas* to a work that Vasari described as follows:

*In casa Medici, a Lorenzo vecchio lavorò molte cose: e massimamente una Pallade su una impresa di bronconi che buttavano fuoco; la quale dipinse grande quanto il vivo.*<sup>71</sup>

In the Medici household, he made many things for old Lorenzo. In particular a *Pallas*, painted life-size, over a device of blazing firebrands.

However, it is unnecessary to connect this "*Pallas* . . . over a device of blazing firebrands" with the tapestry: a clearer impression of the painting emerges from the link between a passage in Paolo Giovio, an epigram by Poliziano, a drawing by Botticelli, and a woodcut illustration to Poliziano's *Giostra*. Paolo Giovio names an *impresa* of this kind as the heraldic device of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici, and ascribes its invention to Poliziano:<sup>72</sup>

*Usò il magnifico Pietro, figliuolo di Lorenzo, come giovane ed innamorato, i tronconi verdi incavalcati i quali mostravano fiamme, e vampi di fuoco intrinseco, per significare che il suo ardor d'amore era incomparabile, poi ch'egli abbruciava le legna verdi, e fu questa invenzione del dottissimo uomo M. Angelo Poliziano, il quale gli fece ancor questo motto d'un verso latino: "In viridi teneras exurit flamma medullas."*<sup>73</sup> \*

Piero il Magnifico, the son of Lorenzo, when he was young and in love, used as his device green sticks burning in a pile, emitting flames and inner bursts of fire, to show that the heat of his love was beyond compare, since it would burn green timber. This emblem was devised by the most learned Master Angelo Poliziano, who also made him this Latin verse as a motto: "The flame burns the tender pith within the green {stem}."

As the painting mentioned in the inventory hung in the "*camera di Piero*," the connection is clear, and it is only necessary to ask how we should visualize these "green sticks burning in a pile." The painting was about 2.44 m high and 1.22 m wide;<sup>74</sup> so that, if the Athena were life-size, about one third of the

picture surface was left free above or below her. As for what was depicted in the lower third, evidence is supplied by a woodcut that forms the tailpiece to the 1513 edition of the *Giostra*.<sup>75</sup> Giuliano is seen kneeling in adoration, hands upraised, before a goddess who stands in a niche; the goddess leans on a spear that she holds in her right hand, and before her stands a rectangular altar bearing the word "*Citarea*." In the center of its top are blazing logs. The image shows Giuliano invoking Pallas and Venus before the summons goes out for the joust. The statue is likely to represent Pallas, while the altar with its firebrands is sacred to Venus. The text of the poem does not mention the firebrands.<sup>76</sup>

This woodcut explains Botticelli's drawing in Milan. As far as can be seen from the Braun photograph, two figures have been assembled on the page.<sup>77</sup> Below, a beardless youth kneels with arms imploringly upraised; his long cloak fans out in folds across the floor. Above his head, on a slip cut out in a segmental form, the figure of a woman has been added. She stands on a plinth recalling that of an antique vase. In her right hand she holds a mace, and in her left she holds the upper edge of a shield with a gorgoneion in its center.

A glance at the woodcut enables the relative positions of the figures to be corrected and the pictorial content recognized. The goddess ought to be standing further to the right of the kneeling youth, with the altar and its blazing brands beneath her. For, in spite of some discrepancies of detail (in the garments of the kneeling figure, and in the simplified draperies and different weapons of the *Pallas*), the drawing in Milan can be assumed to be a preliminary drawing for the illustration of the closing scene of the *Giostra*.<sup>78</sup>

The format of Botticelli's lost painting makes it unlikely that it included the kneeling figure of Giuliano; so the drawing cannot be regarded as a sketch for it. Even so, enough has been said to allow us a reasoned conjecture as to the look of that work. In the chamber of Piero di Lorenzo,<sup>79</sup> there hung an *Athena* with a spear in her right hand and a shield in front of her; beneath her, and occupying about one third of the area of the canvas, was an altar bearing a burning firebrand.

The tracing of accessory forms in motion to their antique sources is once more the basis of the study that follows, of the painting known as *Spring*; and here, too, in the search for the person who supplied the *concetto* and for those who commissioned the work itself, the first names to come to mind are those of Poliziano and of the Medici.



**Fig. 8. Botticelli (?)**  
Drawing. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (see p. 110)



**Fig. 9. Giuliano at the Feet of Pallas**  
Woodcut from Poliziano, *Giostra* (Florence, 1513),  
fol. v (see p. 110)

## Chapter 2: Spring

\* ... What mystery here is read  
Of homage or of hope? But how command  
Dead Springs to answer? And how question here  
These mummers of that wind-withered New Year?  
—Dante Gabriel Rossetti, “For *Spring* by Sandro Botticelli”

Vasari mentions the so-called *Spring* together with the *Birth of Venus*:

...oggi ancora a Castello, villa del Duca Cosimo, sono due quadri figurati, l'uno, Venere che nasce, e quelle aure e venti che la fanno venire in terra con gli Amori; e così un'altra Venere, che le Grazie la fioriscono, dinotando la Primavera.<sup>80</sup>

... Two paintings are still in Duke Cosimo's villa at Castello: a Venus being born, and the breezes and winds bringing her ashore, with Cupids; and another Venus with the Graces, who deck her with flowers, denoting Spring.

Vasari thus emphatically links the two paintings by identifying the central figure in each as Venus: “a Venus being born... and another Venus with the Graces, who deck her with flowers...” And yet this work is almost invariably described in the critical literature as an “Allegory of Spring,” a view that is fostered by the difference in size between the two paintings<sup>81</sup> and by their separate locations.<sup>82</sup>

A detailed interpretation was recently supplied by Bayersdorfer, in his text for the *Klassischer Bilderschatz* series:

Allegory of Spring. In the center stands Venus, above whose head flies Cupid, who shoots blazing arrows at the dancing Graces on the left. Next to him is Mercury, dispersing the mists from the treetops with his caduceus. In the right-hand half of the painting, Flora makes her way through the countryside strewing roses;<sup>83</sup> at the touch of Zephyrus, flowers sprout from the lips of the earth nymph as she flees. Painted for Cosimo's Villa Careggi;<sup>84</sup> now in the Accademia in Florence.

The identifications that emerge from the present study are in agreement with those given here, except that the “earth nymph” is probably Flora, and the girl who strews roses is not Flora but the goddess of spring. We shall return to both these points in the course of the discussion that follows.

The approach of interpreting the design of the painting through analogies with the critical literature, art, and poetry of the period reveals itself to be fruitful as soon as we take the obvious first step of referring to Alberti.<sup>85</sup> After commending the subject of the *Calumny of Apelles* (which Botticelli also painted)<sup>86</sup> to painters as a particularly felicitous invention, Alberti goes

\* on to suggest that of the three dancing Graces:



**Fig. 10. Botticelli**  
*Primavera*  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 112)

*Piacerebbe ancora vedere quelle tre sorelle, a quali Hesiodo pose nome Eglie, Heufronesis et Thalia, quali si dipignievano prese fra loro l'una l'altra per mano, ridendo, con la vesta scinta et ben monda; per quali volea s'intendesse la liberalità, chè una di queste sorelle dà, l'altra riceve, la terza rende il beneficio, quali gradi debbano in ogni perfetta liberalità essere.*

It would also be pleasing to see the three sisters whom Hesiod named Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia; they are generally depicted holding hands and laughing, their robes ungirt and spotless. He meant them to stand for liberality: one of them is shown giving, the second receiving, and the third returning the boon; these are the degrees that must exist in all true liberality.

Just as Alberti concludes his account of the *Calumny of Apelles* by saying:

*Quale istoria, se mentre che si recita, piace, pensa quanto essa avesse gratia et amenità ad vederla dipinta di mano d'Apelle*<sup>87</sup>

If this story gives pleasure now, in the telling, imagine the grace and pleasure of it when painted by Apelles himself

—he adds to this second *concetto*, with the pride of discovery:

*Adunque si vede quanta lode porgano simile inventioni al artefice. Pertanto consiglio, ciascuno pictore molto si faccia familiare ad i poeti, rhetorici et ad li altri simili dotti di lettera, sia che costoro doneranno nuove inventioni o certo ajuteranno ad bello componere sua storia, per quali adquisteranno in sua pictura molte lode et nome.*

It is clear, therefore, what praise such inventions bestow on the artist. I advise all painters to become friendly with poets, rhetoricians, and other such lettered men, because these will provide new inventions or at least enrich the composition of their works, assuring them of great praise and renown for their painting.

The fact that Botticelli has chosen to paint the very subjects singled out by Alberti goes to prove how much he, or his humanist adviser, was “influenced” by Alberti’s ideas.

Janitschek (in his Alberti, note 62), points out that this allegory is derived from Seneca, *De beneficiis* 1.3, who follows Chrysippos. The passage reads as follows:

*...quare tres Gratiae et quare sorores sint et quare manibus inplexis et quare ridentes et iuvenes et virgines solutaque ac perlucida veste. Alii quidem videri volunt unam esse quae det beneficium, alteram quae accipiat, tertiam quae reddat; alii tria beneficorum esse genera, promerentium, reddentium, simul accipientium reddentiumque.*



...why there are three Graces and why they are sisters, and why their hands are intertwined, and why they are smiling and young and maidens and their garments are loose and transparent. Some, indeed, would have it that there is one to bestow a benefit, a second to accept it, a third to return it; others maintain that there are three kinds of benefactors: those who deserve a benefit, those who return it, and those who simultaneously accept and return it.

Seneca concludes:

*Ergo et Mercurius una stat, non quia beneficia ratio commendat vel oratio, sed quia pictori ita visum est.*

Therefore, Mercury appears together with them not because good deeds are improved by reason or eloquence, but because that was how the painter saw it.

That the ungirt, diaphanous garments of the three Graces were treated by the painter as an indispensable attribute emerges from the dress of the Grace on the left. Although the folds over her right thigh can only have been produced by tying the garment with a cord, there is no girdle to be seen: for the sake of the motif, he omits to account visibly for the lie of the drapery.

In the Codex Pighianus,<sup>88</sup> that celebrated volume of drawings from the antique, made in the mid–sixteenth century, there is a drawing (from an antique relief now in the Uffizi in Florence) of three women dancing in long dresses.<sup>89</sup> Beneath it the artist has written “*Gratiae Horatii Saltantes*” (The Graces of Horace, dancing).

Jahn thought that this referred to *Carmina* 1.4.6–7: “*junctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes / Alternò terram quatunt pede*” (And joined with the Nymphs, the lovely Graces / Stamp the ground in rhythm). But might not Pighius have been thinking rather of the description in *Carmina* 1.30: “*Fervidus tecum puer et solutis / Gratiae zonis*” (The glowing boy with you, and the Graces / With their girdles undone), which would correspond to Alberti’s (and Seneca’s) visualization of the Graces in loosened and ungirt garments?

In the Louvre there is a fresco fragment from the Villa Lemmi, not far from the Villa Careggi, that is ascribed to Botticelli.<sup>90</sup> It shows the three Graces approaching Giovanna degli Albizzi on the day of her wedding to Lorenzo Tornabuoni in 1486, led by Venus and bearing gifts. The three Graces, walking in file, have the same loose, ideal costume as those in the *Spring*, except that over this shiftlike garment the second and third (from the left) wear a cloak whose upper edge billows out from the hindmost Grace’s right shoulder and forms a swag across the lower part of her torso, without any evident means of support.

Whether these frescoes are autograph works by Botticelli, as Cosimo Conti \* asserts, or were at least partly carried out by assistants, as Ephrussi believes, would be hard to determine from the reproductions alone. There is an occasional harshness in the drawing that argues for the latter hypothesis.<sup>91</sup>



**Fig. 11. Niccolò Fiorentino**  
*The Three Graces*  
Reverse of medal for Giovanna Tornabuoni (see p. 117)



**Fig. 12. Niccolò Fiorentino**  
*Venus Virgo*  
Reverse of medal for Giovanna Tornabuoni (see p. 117)

Cosimo Conti adduced two medals to support his identification of the lady in contemporary costume as Giovanna Tornabuoni.<sup>92</sup> Both of these show her portrait on the obverse, but the reverses show two different mythological scenes, whose formal treatment, again, is iconographically remarkable.

The reverse of the first medal shows the three Graces nude, in their familiar entwined pose. Along with a description by Filarete of a painting in his imaginary hall of fame for artists (book 19, ed. Oettingen, 735), it shows that fifteenth-century artists knew the Graces in this guise.<sup>93</sup> The lettering around the figures reads: "*Castitas. Pul<chr>itudo. Amor.*" (Chastity. Beauty. Love.) [fig. 11].

The first medal thus shows these antique goddesses as we have been accustomed to see them since Winckelmann,<sup>94</sup> namely, "in the spirit of antiquity," nude and in a stable pose; but the second<sup>95</sup> shows a female figure whose hair and garments again show an unexplained but agitated movement [fig. 12]. She stands on clouds, with her head turned slightly to the right and her hair flying on both sides. Her dress is kilted up and girdled; its hem, and that of a pelt that she wears over it, flutters in the wind. The arrow in her raised right hand, the bow in her lowered left hand, the quiver of arrows slung behind her right hip, and the short boots, identify her as a huntress. The inscription from Virgil's *Aeneid* (1.315) identifies her: "*Virginis os habitumque gerens et Virginis arma*" (Wearing the face and the dress of a maiden and bearing a maiden's arms). This is the disguise in which Venus appears to Aeneas and his companion:

*Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,  
Virginis os habitumque gerens et Virginis arma  
Spartanae vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat  
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.  
Namque umeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum  
Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,  
Nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.*

His mother went to meet him, confronting him in the depths of the woods,  
Wearing the face and the dress of a maiden and bearing a maiden's arms—  
Of a Spartan girl, or like Thracian Harpalyce who urges on her horses  
And outraces the swift-flowing Hebrus in her flight.  
For from her shoulder she had hung a light bow, in the usual way—  
A huntress—and loosed her hair to the winds,  
With her knees bare and the flowing folds of her garment gathered into a knot.

The last two lines give the cue that is faithfully followed in the handling of the accessory forms in motion—the token, here as elsewhere, of "antique-inspired" design.

One of the long sides of an Italian *cassone*,<sup>96</sup> made around the middle of the fifteenth century, illustrates the same scene from the *Aeneid*. On the left,

\* Venus appears to Aeneas and his companion in the countryside; somewhat further to the right, she vanishes into thin air before his eyes. As on the medal, she stands on clouds and wears a winged helmet, short boots, a quiver on her left side, and her bow on her left shoulder; her garment, gathered up all around, is red, and is adorned with gold patterns in relief; her hair flutters loose in the wind. The other figures wear contemporary costume.

On the opposite side of the same *cassone*, Aeneas is shown with Dido, on the hunting expedition that ended with the fateful storm. Here, too, the impulse to illustrate the classics has borne fruit: above right are half-length figures of three Negroid wind gods,<sup>97</sup> with spherical, bouffant hairstyles,<sup>98</sup> who blow from their curved horns “*nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum*”<sup>99</sup> (a black storm cloud mixed with hail) [fig. 13].

\* For the group of the Graces, it has been necessary to go far afield in pursuit of our specific artistic theme; but another group in the *Spring* can be much more simply accounted for, with a direct reference to Poliziano. On the far right is an amorous pursuit scene. The grove is flanked by orange trees that bend in a gust of wind; and among them, we see the torso of a winged youth. In his rapid flight—his hair and cloak flutter in the wind—he has caught up with a (leftward) fleeing girl; he has already laid hands on her, and with furrowed brows and bulging cheeks he blows a powerful gust of wind at the nape of her neck. In her flight, the girl turns her head toward her pursuer as if in a plea for help; her hands and arms make a defensive movement; the wind plays in her loose hair and causes her diaphanous white dress to ripple in some places and fan out in others.<sup>100</sup> From the right-hand corner of the girl’s mouth issues a varied stream of flowers: roses, columbines, and others.

In Ovid’s *Fasti*, Flora tells how she was pursued, caught, and overpowered by Zephyrus. As his bridal gift, she has received the ability to turn whatever she touched into flowers:

*Sic ego, sic nostris respondit diva rogatis.  
Dum loquitur, vernas efflat ab ore rosas.  
Chloris eram, quae Flora vocor. Corrupta Latino  
Nominis est nostri littera Graeca sono.  
Chloris eram, Nymphæ campi felicitis, ubi audis  
Rem fortunatis ante fuisse viris.  
Quae fuerit mihi forma, grave est narrare modestae.  
Sed generum matri repperit illa deum.  
Ver erat, errabam. Zephyrus conspexit; abibam.  
Insequitur, fugio. Fortior ille fuit.  
Et dederat fratri Boreas jus omne rapinae,  
Ausus Erechthea praemia ferre domo.  
Vim tamen emendat dando mihi nomina nuptae:  
Inque meo non est ulla querela toro.  
Vere fruor semper; semper nitidissimus annus.  
Arbor habet frondes, pabula semper humus.*



**Fig. 13. Wind Gods**  
Detail of cassone. Hanover, Kestner-Museum (see p. 118)

**Fig. 14. Venus and Aeneas**  
Cassone. Hanover, Kestner-Museum (see p. 117)

*Est mihi fecundus dotalibus hortus in agris  
 Aura foveat; liquidae fonti rigatur aquae.  
 Hunc meus implevit generoso flore maritus:  
 Atque ait, Arbitrium tu, dea, floris habe.  
 Saepe ego digestos volui numerare colores  
 Nec potui: Numero copia major erat.<sup>101</sup>*

Thus I spoke, and thus did the goddess answer my questions.  
 As she spoke, she breathed spring roses from her mouth.  
 “I was Chloris, who am called Flora. A Greek letter of  
 My name has been corrupted by the Latin speech.  
 I was Chloris, a nymph of the happy fields where,  
 As you hear told, fortunate men once dwelt.  
 To describe what my figure was is hard, for a modest girl,  
 But it found my mother a god for a son-in-law.  
 It was spring, I was roaming. Zephyr saw me; I withdrew.  
 He follows, I flee. He was the stronger.  
 And Boreas had given his brother full license to rape  
 By daring to carry off his prize from the house of Erechtheus.  
 But he makes amends for his violence by giving me the name of bride:  
 And in my marriage-bed there is no complaining.  
 I enjoy perpetual spring; the season is eternally fertile.  
 Trees always bear leaves; the ground has fodder.  
 I have a thriving garden in the fields of my dowry:  
 The breeze warms it; it is watered by a clear spring.  
 My husband filled this garden with excellent flowers:  
 And he said, “You, goddess, become the arbiter of flowers.”  
 Often have I wished to count the colors arranged about,  
 But I could not: there were more colors than there are numbers.

This description supplies the nucleus of the composition; and the accessory forms in motion might have been regarded as Botticelli’s spontaneous contribution, if he had not already given more than one instance of his tendency to refer to established sources when depicting draperies in motion. The group \* turns out to be precisely based on Ovid’s description of Daphne’s flight from Apollo.<sup>102</sup> This becomes clear if we assemble the relevant lines together:<sup>103</sup>

497 *Spectat inornatos collo pendere capillos*  
*Et “quid, si comantur?” ait.<sup>104</sup>*  
 (He looks at her hair, hanging unkempt about her neck,  
 And says, “What if it were nicely arranged?”)

527 *...nudabant corpora venti,*  
*Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes,*  
*Et levis impulsos retro dabat aura capillos.*

(...the winds laid bare her figure,  
And the opposing breezes made her garments ripple as they met her;  
A breath of air sent her tresses flying back.)

540 *Qui tamen insequitur, pennis adiutus Amoris*  
*Ocior est requiemque negat tergoque fugacis*  
*Imminet et crinem sparsum cervicibus adflat.*  
(But her pursuer, aided by the wings of Love,  
Is swifter and permits no rest; hard behind the fleeing girl,  
He breathes on the hair strewn over her neck.)

553 *Hanc quoque Phoebus amat positaque in stipite dextra*  
*Sentit adhuc trepidare novo sub cortice pectus.*  
(This too Apollo loves, and with his hand on the trunk  
He feels her heart still quivering beneath the new bark.)

If we recall that Poliziano had taken this very passage from Ovid and used it for the description of the flying hair and garments on his imagined relief of the rape of Europa, then we are entitled to assume that this painting too reflects the influence of Poliziano.<sup>105</sup>

Furthermore, in Poliziano's *Orfeo*, "the first Italian tragedy,"<sup>106</sup> Aristeo, pursuing Euridice, borrows the words that Ovid's Apollo speaks to Daphne:

*Non mi fuggir, Donzella;*  
*Ch'i' ti son tanto amico,*  
*E che più t'amo che la vita e'l core.*  
*Ascolta, o ninfa bella,*  
*Ascolta quel ch'io dico:*  
*Non fuggir, ninfa; ch'io ti porto amore.*  
*Non son qui lupo o orso;*  
*Ma son tuo amatore:*  
*Dunque raffrena il tuo volante corso.*  
*Poi che 'l pregar non vale*  
*Et tu via ti dilegui,*  
*El convien ch'io ti segui.*  
*Porgimi, Amor, porgimi or le tue ale.*<sup>107</sup>

Fly not from me, fair Damsel,  
For I do love you so;  
I love you more than heart and life.  
Harken, O lovely nymph,  
Harken to what I say,  
Fly not, O nymph, I bring you love.  
I am no wolf or bear,  
But one who loves you true;

And so restrain your headlong flight.  
Now my entreaties fail –  
I see you vanish hence –  
So I must follow you.  
O Cupid, lend me now your wings!

Even more significantly, Poliziano took the pursuit of Daphne as the subject of one of the reliefs on the gate of Venus's realm; and here, too, Ovid's words ran through his memory:<sup>108</sup>

*Poi segue Dafne, e'n sembianza si lagna  
Come dicesse: O ninfa, non ten gire:  
Frema il piè, ninfa, sovra la campagna,  
Ch'io non ti seguo per farti morire.  
Cosi cerva leon, così lupo agna,  
Ciascuna il suo nemico suol fuggire  
Me perchè fuggi, o donna del mio core,  
Cui di seguirti è sol cagione amore?*<sup>109</sup>

He follows Daphne with a stricken look,  
As if to say: O nymph, turn not away:  
Suspend your flying foot above the ground,  
For I do not follow you to take your life,  
Like lion after deer, wolf after lamb.  
A girl is wont to flee her enemy:  
Why fly from me, O lady of my heart?  
I follow you for love, and love alone.

Ovid's *Fasti* were also a principal theme of Poliziano's public lectures in Florence from 1481 onward.<sup>110</sup> All this taken together supports the notion that Poliziano was Botticelli's humanist adviser.

\* Even before Poliziano, Boccaccio, in his *Ninfale fiesolano*,<sup>111</sup> had drawn on Ovid's imagination in writing a pursuit scene. Affrico calls after the fleeing Mensola:

100 *De, o bella fanciulla, non fuggire  
Colui, che t'ama sopr' ogn' altra cosa:  
Io son colui, che per te gran martire  
Sento di e notte sanz' aver ma' posa:  
I non ti seguo per farti morire*<sup>112</sup>  
*Nè per far cosa che ti sia gravosa  
Ma sol amor mi fa te seguitare  
Non nimistà, nè mal ch'i voglia fare.*

O lovely maiden, do not take your flight  
From him who loves you more than all the world;



For I am he who suffers agonies  
Each restless night, without a moment's peace.  
I do not follow you to take your life,  
Or to do anything that might displease you.  
For love, and love alone, I dog your steps—  
Not enmity, or wish to do you harm.

In stanza 109, Boccaccio minutely describes Mensola's flight, hampered by her dress:

*La Ninfa correa sì velocemente,  
Che pareva che volasse, e' panni alzati  
S'avea dinanzi per più prestamente  
Poter fuggir, e aveaglisi attaccati  
Alla cintura, sì che apertamente  
Di sopra a' calzerin, ch'avea calzati  
Mostrò le gambe, e'l ginocchio vezzoso,  
Che ognun ne diverria desideroso.*<sup>113</sup>

So swiftly did the nymph take to her heels,  
She seemed to fly. She'd kilted up her skirts  
In front, to lend her terror greater speed,  
And tied them to her belt in such a way  
That openly, above the shoes she wore,  
It showed her legs, and such a charming knee  
As must arouse desire in anyone.

Lorenzo de' Medici, too, "il Magnifico," Poliziano's powerful friend and like-minded "brother in Apollo," incorporates a very similar pursuit scene in his idyll *Ambra*.<sup>114</sup> The nymph Ambra is fleeing:

27    *Siccome pesce, allor che incanto cuopra  
Il pescator con rara e sottil maglia,  
Fugge la rete qual sente di sopra,  
Lasciando per fuggir alcuna scaglia;  
Così la ninfa quando par si scuopra,  
Fugge lo dio che addosso se le scaglia:  
Nè fu sì presta, anzi fu sì presto elli,  
Che in man lasciolti alcun de' suoi capelli.*<sup>115</sup>

Just as a fish, when soft, insidious net—  
As if enchanted—clings about its form,  
Feeling itself entrapped, contrives to flee,  
Leaving some scales behind in its escape:  
Thus did the nymph, her hiding place revealed,

Flee from the god, who hurled himself upon her.  
Her flight was swift; but he was swift enough  
To capture from her some few strands of hair.

The river god Ombrone, in his ardor, snatches at her too roughly; and is soon left ruefully contemplating the maiden's crowning glory:

... e queste trecce bionde,  
*Quali in man porto con dolore acerbo.*<sup>116</sup>

... and those fair locks,  
That here I hold with bitter pain and grief.

In Poliziano's *Orfeo*—the first attempt to confront an Italian audience with flesh-and-blood characters from classical antiquity—the shepherd Aristeo, in hot pursuit of Euridice, uses the very words that Ovid places in the mouth of Apollo when he strives in vain to catch Daphne. Nor was this the only play in which artists could have seen amorous pursuit scenes of this kind on the stage: such scenes seem to have been much liked, for several of them appear in the few surviving examples of early mythological drama.

In Niccolò da Correggio's *Fabula di Caephalo*, performed in Ferrara on 21 January 1486,<sup>117</sup> Procris is fleeing from Cefalo: an old shepherd tries to stay her flight with these words:

*Deh non fuggir donzella  
Colui che per te muore.*

O Damsel, do not flee  
The one who dies for you.

Preserved together with the Mantua manuscript of *Orfeo* is that of another mythological *rappresentazione*, known by various titles: *Di Phebo et di Phetonte*, or *Phebo et Cupido*, or *Dafne*. As far as can be made out from d'Ancona's summary,<sup>118</sup> the piece is closely based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It includes a pursuit scene:

*Dopo di che, Apollo va pei boschi cercando Dafne, che resiste ai lamenti amorosi di lui, esposti in un lungo ternale.*<sup>119</sup>

Whereupon Apollo ranges through the woods in search of Daphne, who resists his amorous lament, as voiced in a long triple stanza.

The third interlude in the *Rappresentazione di S. Uliva* (first printed 1568) also begins with a pursuit scene:

*...e in questo mezzo esca in scena una Ninfa adornata quanto sia possibile, e vada vestita di bianco con arco in mano, e vada per la scena. Dopo lei esca un giovanetto pur di bianco vestito con arco, e ornato leggiadramente senza arme, il quale giovane, andando per la scena, sia dalla sopradetta ninfa seguito con grande istanza senza parlare, ma con segni e gesti, mostri di raccomandarsi e pregarlo; egli a suo potere la fugga e sprezzi, ora ridendosi di lei e or seco adirandosi, tanto ch'ella finalmente fuori di ogni speranza rimossa, resti di seguirlo.*

... during this interlude a nymph appears, decked out as beautifully as possible; she crosses the stage, clad in white and carrying a bow and arrow. Behind her enters a young man, also clad in white and carrying a bow and arrow; he is lightly accoutred and unarmed. He crosses the stage and is hotly pursued by the nymph, who does not speak, but makes plain, by signs and gestures, that she is wooing and entreating him. He flees and spurns her, alternately laughing at her and giving her angry looks. Finally, she loses all hope and ceases to pursue him.

If we look for direct artistic reflections of dramatic scenes of this kind, our attention is once more drawn to *Orfeo*. The scenes from the Orpheus legend shown on a set of plates in the Museo Correr in Venice, attributed to Timoteo Viti, derive directly from Poliziano's poem.<sup>120</sup> \*

It is also worth suggesting that a number of works of art showing maenads in a nymphlike costume of antique inspiration, about to strike at the recumbent figure of Orpheus—a drawing from the school of Mantegna, an anonymous copper engraving in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, and a drawing after the latter by Dürer—may very well be directly or indirectly based on the concluding scene of *Orfeo*.<sup>121</sup> This would also explain the mixture of idealized and contemporary costume.

Once we assume that festive performances set the characters before the artist's eyes as living, moving beings, then the creative process becomes easier to follow. The program supplied by the humanist adviser loses its taint of pedantry: the inspirer is not imposing an object to be imitated, but simply facilitating its articulation. \*

As Jacob Burckhardt—anticipating future discoveries in one of his unerring intuitive generalizations—once said: “Italian festive pageantry, in its higher form, is a true transition from life into art.”<sup>122</sup>

Three more individual figures in the painting remain to be identified and precisely located.

The girl who scatters roses as she advances toward the viewer—although she differs from the corresponding figure in the *Birth of Venus* in a number of ways—is the goddess of spring. Like her counterpart, she wears a rose branch as a girdle round her floral dress. But the garland of leaves around her neck has now burst into varied bloom, and on her head is a chaplet of flowers; even the cornflowers (if that is what they are) embroidered on her dress are more full-blown. The roses that she scatters bring forth Zephyrus and Flora, whose precursor she is.<sup>123</sup> Her dress clings to her left leg, which she advances in

walking, and flutters down from the back of her knee in a shallow curve, fanning out at the hem.

For the costume of Spring, too, a specific antique analogy presents itself; although Botticelli's knowledge of it can only be made plausible, not affirmed—as it can be for the examples just given—with a degree of certainty.

† In the Uffizi there is a figure of *Flora* which, according to Dütschke, Vasari saw in the Palazzo Pitti in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>124</sup> Vasari's description of this makes especial reference to the costume:

*Una femmina con certi panni sottili, con un grembo pieno di varj frutti, la quale è fatta per una Pomona.*<sup>125</sup>

A woman in certain filmy draperies, with her lap full of assorted fruits, representing Pomona.

\* Bocchi saw it in the Uffizi in 1591, with the restored parts that it now has:

*A man destra poscia si vede una Dea Pomona, velata di panni sottilissimi; di bellissima grazia, con frutte in mano, con ghirlandetta in testa, ammirata dagli artefici sommamente.*<sup>126</sup>

On the right-hand side can be seen the goddess Pomona, clad in most filmy draperies; exquisitely graceful, with fruits in her hand and a garland on her head, she is greatly admired by artists.

There is an undeniable similarity in the treatment of the draperies, which—in the statue as in the painting—cling to the left leg and hang from the back of the knee. A derivation from this (or a similar) source is all the more likely because the subject is the same: the figure of a girl, her head garlanded with flowers, carrying blossoms and fruits in the lap of her dress, treated as a personification of seasonal recurrence.<sup>127</sup>

An approximate analogue for the figure of Hermes is the reverse of a medal designed by Niccolò Fiorentino for Lorenzo Tornabuoni,<sup>128</sup> a student of Poliziano's,<sup>129</sup> for whose wedding the Villa Lemmi fresco, mentioned above, was painted. Here, too, Hermes is probably meant to be seen as the leader of the Graces, who are depicted on the companion medal struck for Giovanna Tornabuoni.

The superficial similarities in Hermes' costume—the chlamys, the curved sword, the winged boots—are not so noteworthy as the presence of the figure on medals by Niccolò, whose work seems to have been done particularly for the Poliziano-influenced<sup>130</sup> section of Florentine society.<sup>131</sup>

Spring stands at the left hand of her mistress, Venus, who forms the central focus of the painting.<sup>132</sup> But before we approach the ruler of the scene we must inquire into the origins of one more member of her retinue, the Hermes on the far left-hand side of the painting.



**Fig. 15. *Pomona***  
Florence, Uffizi (see p.126)



**Fig. 16. *Pallas***  
Intarsia. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale (see p. 144)

The wings on his boots mark him out as the messenger of the gods; but it is no longer clear precisely what he is doing with the caduceus, which he holds in his upraised right hand. In the color print put out by the Arundel Society, he is using it to dispel a skein of cloud—which is how Bayersdorfer \* describes him in his *Klassischer Bilderschatz* text.<sup>133</sup> The grounds for this conjectural reconstruction are not immediately evident; but it makes more sense than the often-mooted idea that Hermes is doing something to the fruit on the trees.<sup>134</sup>

The present writer has had no success in finding analogies for this Hermes in the productions of the contemporary imagination. In this, he shares the predicament of Seneca, whose historical knowledge failed him in interpreting a pictorial allegory of the Graces:

*Ergo et Mercurius una stat, non quia beneficia ratio commendat vel oratio sed quia pictori ita visum est.*

Therefore, Mercury appears together with them not because good deeds are improved by reason or eloquence, but because that was how the painter saw it.

Might not these very words of Seneca's, which appear immediately after a passage vital to the program of the painting, have somehow prompted or eased the inclusion of this figure of Hermes?<sup>135</sup>

We already know enough to suppose that Hermes would never have found his way into the painting without a literary precedent known to Botticelli's advisers. A similar combination of deities, with the Cyprian Venus at the center, is supplied, for example, by one of the Odes of Horace:<sup>136</sup>

*O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique  
Sperne dilectam Cypron et vocantis  
Ture te multo Glyceræ decoram  
Transfer in aedem.  
Fervidus tecum puer et solutis  
Gratiæ zonis<sup>137</sup> properentque Nymphae  
Et parum comis sine te Juventas  
Mercuriusque.*

O Venus, queen of Cnidos and Paphos,  
Spurn your beloved Cyprus and come  
To the fair shrine of Glycera, who calls you  
With abundant incense.  
Let the glowing boy hasten with you, and the Graces  
With their girdles undone, and the nymphs,  
And Youth (graceless without you),  
And Mercury.

If we assume that Spring has been included in place of Juventas (Youth), and that “*properentque Nymphae*” is elaborated and classically illustrated by Zephyrus’s pursuit of Flora, then we have the same supporting cast as in Botticelli’s painting. This kind of free imitation of the Odes of Horace was a familiar idea to Poliziano and his friends: thus, there is an ode by Zanobio Acciaiuoli,<sup>138</sup> entitled “*Veris descriptio*” (Description of Spring), that is even written in the same meter as the Horace ode just quoted. In it, Flora and the Graces pay homage to Venus:

*Chloris augustam Charitesque matrem  
Sedulo circum refovent honore  
Veris ubertim gravido ferentes  
Munera cornu.*<sup>139</sup>

Chloris and the Graces surround their august mother  
And revive her with solicitous homage,  
Bringing a horn of plenty overflowing with  
The gifts of Spring.

In the center of Botticelli’s painting stands Venus as “Lady of the Grove, surrounded by the Graces and the nymphs of the Tuscan spring.”<sup>140</sup> Like the Venus of Lucretius, she is the “symbol of the annual renewal of nature”:<sup>141</sup>

*Te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila coeli  
Adventumque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus  
Summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti  
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine coelum.*<sup>142</sup>

Goddess, the winds flee from you, the clouds in the heavens  
Flee your coming; for you the inventive earth  
Puts forth sweet flowers; for you the broad expanses of ocean smile,  
And the sky becomes tranquil and glows with diffuse light.

Later in Lucretius’s poem (5.737 ff.), there is a description of the arrival of Venus with her train:

*It Ver et Venus et veris praenuntius ante  
Pennatus graditur Zephyrus, vestigia propter  
Flora quibus mater praespargens ante viai  
Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.*

Spring comes, and Venus, and before them walks the herald of Spring,  
Winged Zephyrus; close on his footsteps  
The Lady Flora, scattering flowers everywhere before them,  
Filling the way in front with wonderful colors and perfumes.

A passage in Poliziano's *Rusticus* (a bucolic poem in Latin hexameters, written in 1483)<sup>143</sup> shows that Poliziano not only knew this passage in Lucretius but added to it almost exactly the same figures that are found in Botticelli's painting. This alone would be enough to prove that Poliziano was Botticelli's adviser for this as well as for the former work. Poliziano describes the gods assembling in spring:<sup>144</sup>

*Auricomae, jubare exorto, de nubibus adsunt  
Horae, quae coeli portas atque atria servant,  
Quas Jove plena Themis nitido pulcherrima partu  
Edidit, Ireneque Diceque et mixta parenti  
Eunomie, carpuntque recenteis pollice foetus:  
Quas inter, stygio remeans Proserpina<sup>145</sup> regno,  
Comptior ad matrem properat; comes alma sorori  
It Venus, et Venerem parvi comitantur Amores:  
Floraque lascivo parat oscula grata marito:  
In mediis, resoluta comas nudata papillas,  
Ludit et alterno terram pede Gratia<sup>146</sup> pulsat:  
Uda choros agitat nais...*

Dawn's rays having risen, the golden-haired Horae appear,  
Who guard the gates and courtyards of heaven,  
Whom lovely Themis bore to Jupiter—beautiful offspring,  
Peace and Justice and (blending her parents' names) Good Governance—  
And pluck fresh fruit from well-pruned branches.  
In their midst, Proserpina, back from the Stygian realm,  
Hastens more lovely to her mother; Venus comes,  
Her sister's bountiful companion, and the little Loves accompany Venus;  
And Flora makes ready the kisses that delight her lusty husband.  
In the midst, with hair let loose, bare-breasted,  
One of the Graces frolics and stamps the ground in time to the beat;  
A damp Naiad urges on the dancers...

If the title of the work known as *Spring* is to be taken from the repertoire of ideas current in the artist's own time, then it ought to be called *Il regno di Venere* (The realm of Venus).

Here, too, the arguments are supplied by Poliziano and Lorenzo. Poliziano, *Giostra I*, st. 68–70:

68    *Ma fatta Amor la sua bella vendetta  
Mossesi lieto pel negro aere a volo;  
E ginne al regno di sua madre in fretta  
Ov' è de' picciol suo' fratei lo stuolo  
A regno ove ogni Grazia si diletta,  
Ove Beltà di fiori al crin fra brolo,*



*Ove tutto lascivo drieto a Flora  
Zefiro vola e la verde erba infiora.*<sup>147</sup>

69    *Or canta meco un po' del dolce regno,  
Erato bella che 'l nome hai d'amore...*

68    When Cupid had enforced his sweet revenge,  
Through the dark air he joyously took flight,  
Hastening away toward his mother's realm,  
Where bands of his young brothers have their home:  
That realm in which the Graces all delight,  
Where Beauty weaves a garden in their hair,  
And lustful Zephyr flying after Flora  
Scatters the greensward with a host of flowers.

69    Now sing a little of this joyful realm,  
Lovely Erato, named for Love himself...

There follows, in stanza 70, a description of the realm of Venus, closely based on Claudian:

*Vagheggia Cipri un diletto monte  
Che del gran Nilo i sette corni vede...*<sup>148</sup>

Cyprus adores a mountain of delight  
Which sights the seven horns of mighty Nile...

A sonnet by Lorenzo (Sonnet 27) sounds like a free imitation of the ode by Horace cited above:

*Lascia l'isola tua tanto diletta  
Lascia il tuo regno delicato e bello,  
Ciprigna dea; e vien sopra il ruscello  
Che bagna la minuta e verde erbetta.  
Vieni a quest' ombra ed alla dolce auretta  
Che fa mormoreggiar ogni arbuscello,  
A' canti dolci d'amoroso augello.  
Questa da te per patria sia eletta.  
E se tu vien tra queste chiare linfe,  
Sia teco il tuo amato e caro figlio;  
Chè qui non si conosce il suo valore.  
Togli a Diana le sue caste ninfe,  
Che sciolte or vanno e senz'alcun periglio,  
Poco prezzando la virtù d'Amore.*

Leave your beloved isle and all its charms;  
Leave now your delicate and lovely realm,  
O Cyprian goddess; come down to the brook  
That laps the edge of close-cropped, verdant turf.  
Come to this shade, and to the gentle breeze  
That rustles through the bushes all around,  
To the sweet chorus of the mating birds,  
Choosing this country for your very own.  
But if you visit these pellucid streams,  
Be sure to bring along your darling son;  
For here his power is still unrecognized.  
Steal from Diana her unsullied nymphs,  
Who safe from danger freely range the land,  
Paying scant heed to Cupid's mighty power.

For Lorenzo, too, Zephyrus and Flora are part of the scene. In the *Selve d'amore* we find:

*Vedrai ne' regni suoi non più veduta  
Gir Flora errando con le ninfe sue:  
Il caro amante in braccio l' ha tenuta,  
Zeffiro; e insieme scherzan tutti e due.*<sup>149</sup>

No longer seen in her own realm, but here  
Is Flora, roaming with her band of nymphs;  
About her is the arm of her true love,  
Her Zephyr, as together now they play.

Similarly, we read in the *Ambra*:

*Zeffiro s' è fuggito in Cipri, e balla  
Co' fiori ozioso per l' erbetta lieta.*<sup>150</sup>

Zephyr has fled to Cyprus, there to dance  
With flowers in idle dalliance on the grass.

Compare Sonnet 15:

*Qui non Zeffiro, qui non balla Flora.*<sup>151</sup>

Zephyrus and his Flora dance not here.

There can be no doubt that the *Birth of Venus* and *Spring* are complementary. The *Birth of Venus* shows Venus coming into the world, rising from the sea to be wafted by zephyrs to the Cyprian shore. The so-called *Spring* shows the moment that follows: Venus, in full regalia, makes her appearance in her own realm. In the branches of the trees above her, and on the ground beneath

her feet, the earth's new floral garment spreads out in all its immeasurable splendor. The Lady is surrounded by her faithful helpers in all that pertains to blossom time: Hermes, who dispels the clouds; the Graces, personifications of youth and beauty; Cupid; Spring; and the West Wind, whose love makes Flora into a bounteous dispenser of flowers.

### *Chapter 3: How the Works Came to Be Painted*

#### **Botticelli and Leonardo**

On the most cautious estimate, the composition of Poliziano's *Giostra* cannot \*  
be dated before January 1475 (when Giuliano de' Medici held his first tournament) or after 26 April 1478 (the day of Giuliano's death). Book 2 of the poem, which concludes with Giuliano's oath, must have been composed after 26 April 1476, as it refers (st. 10, l. 8 [and st. 33]) to the death of the "nymph" Simonetta, in real life Simonetta Cattaneo, the beautiful Genoese-born wife of the Florentine Marco Vespucci, who died of consumption on 26 April at the age of twenty-three.<sup>152</sup> It is likely, as will be seen, that Botticelli's two antique-inspired allegorical paintings were also painted at about this time, a supposition corroborated on stylistic grounds by the work of Julius Meyer.

The following considerations also apply. In both paintings, the goddess Spring is an indispensable part of the whole. In the poem she is no more than an allusion; even so, Poliziano's stanzas incorporate all the imagery and descriptive attributes required to define Spring exactly as—at his suggestion—Botticelli showed her. As has already been shown, the figure of Spring in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* is similar in costume and pose to the three Horae who welcome Venus in the imaginary work of art described by the poet. In exactly the same way, "Spring" in the *Realm of Venus* tallies with Poliziano's nymph Simonetta. \*

If we suppose that Poliziano was asked to point out to Botticelli how to enshrine Simonetta's memory in a pictorial allegory, then he must have had to \*  
take account of the specific representational requirements of painting. This has led him to assign the individual traits stored in his imagination to a number of specific mythological characters, in order to suggest to the painter the idea of a more clearly defined and therefore more readily paintable single figure, that of Venus's companion, Spring.

That Botticelli was acquainted with Simonetta herself we know from Vasari, who saw a profile portrait of her by Botticelli in the collection of Duke Cosimo:

*Nella guardaroba del signor Duca Cosimo sono di sua mano due teste di femmina in profilo, bellissime: una delle quali si dice che fu l'innamorata di Giuliano de' Medici, fratello di Lorenzo.*<sup>153</sup>

In Duke Cosimo's dressing room there are two profile heads of women by his hand, both very beautiful: one of them is said to have been the lady-love of Giuliano de' Medici, Lorenzo's brother.

In the *Giostra*, Giuliano comes upon her unawares:

She sits on the grass, twining a garland, and as she espies the youth, she timidly rises  
and, with a graceful movement, catches up the hem of her dress, the lap of which is  
full of the flowers she has plucked.<sup>154</sup>

Golden locks cluster around her brow;<sup>155</sup> her dress is strewn all over with  
flowers;<sup>156</sup> and, as she walks, with flowers springing up beneath her feet—

*Ma l'erba verde sotto i dolci passi  
Bianca gialla vermiglia azzurra fassi*<sup>157</sup>

The verdant grass beneath her precious feet  
Turns white and gold, vermilion and blue

—Giuliano gazes after her:

*Fra sè lodando il dolce andar celeste  
E'l ventilar dell'angelica veste.*<sup>158</sup>

Praising the heavenly grace with which she walks,  
Praising the waft of her angelic robe.

The Hora of Spring in the painting thus resembles the poet's Simonetta in every  
feature; might not she, too, be an idealized portrait of Simonetta Vespucci?

There are two paintings to which Vasari's statement might refer: one is  
in the Königliches Museum in Berlin,<sup>159</sup> and the other is in the collection of  
the Städelsches Institut in Frankfurt am Main.<sup>160</sup> Both show the head of a  
woman in profile. The neck is long, and the shallow arch of the chin begins  
almost at right angles to it. The mouth is closed; the lower lip droops very  
slightly. The nose, again, is almost at right angles to the steep slope of the  
upper lip. The nose turns up slightly at the tip, and the nostrils are crisply  
outlined; this, and the drooping lower lip, lend the face a look of resignation.  
The high forehead, fronting a long skull, gives the head a square look. Both  
women wear a fantastic "nymph coiffure": parted in the center, the mass of  
hair is partly woven into beaded braids, partly left to hang loose on the tem-  
ples and the nape. A lock of hair flies out behind, unmotivated by any bodily  
movement.

As early as 1473, in an elegy,<sup>161</sup> Poliziano had likened Albiera degli Albizzi,  
another who died young, to one of Diana's nymphs: here, too, the *tertium  
comparationis* was the hair:

*Solverat effusos quoties sine lege capillos,  
Infesta est trepidis visa Diana feris.*<sup>162</sup>

Whenever she let her hair tumble loose without restraint,  
She seemed a Diana, feared by the timorous beasts.

Again:

*Emicat ante alias vultu pulcherrima nymphas  
Albiera, et tremulum spargit ab ore jubar.  
Aura quatit fusos in candida terga capillos,  
Irradiant dulci lumina nigra face.*<sup>163</sup>

Albiera with her lovely face outshines the other nymphs,  
And a tremulous ray of light sparkles from her mouth.  
The breeze tosses her hair, spread out over her fair back;  
Her black eyes shine with sweet fire.

Poliziano seems to have had a particular fondness for women's hair, as witness these lines from his ode "In puellam suam":

*Puella, cujus non comas  
Lyaetus aequaret puer,  
Non pastor ille amphrysus  
Amore mercenarius,  
Comas decenter pendulas  
Utroque frontis margine,  
Nodis decenter aureis  
Nexas, decenter pinnulis  
Ludentium Cupidinum  
Subventilantibus vagas,  
Quas mille crispant annuli,  
Quas ros odorque myrrheus  
Commendat atque recreat.*<sup>164</sup>

A girl whose hair  
The Lyaeon boy could not match,  
Nor that famous Amphrysian shepherd  
Who was a mercenary for love;  
Hair that hangs becomingly down  
On each side of her face,  
Becomingly braided in golden knots,  
Becomingly straying when the little wings  
Of Cupids at play  
Fan it gently;  
Hair that a thousand rings curl,  
Hair that the liquid perfume of myrrh  
Graces and refreshes.

The Frankfurt painting (which at once suggests a Medici connection on the sitter's part, through the fact that she wears a gem showing the punishment of Marsyas)<sup>165</sup> depicts the same face as the Berlin painting, except that the enlargement of the head (it is over life-size) lends a certain vacuity to the features. The picture gives the impression of having been painted in Botticelli's workshop, perhaps later than the Berlin Simonetta, as a reproduction of a popular ideal head.

In her hair she wears a clip with feathers in it; and just such "nymphs" with feathers in their loose hair were seen, bearing bows and arrows, at a *giostra* in Padua in June 1466.<sup>166</sup> They walked in procession before a float that bore Mercury atop Parnassus; at the foot of the mountain the Muses sat around the Castalian Spring. In an eyewitness description we read:

*Vedeansi poscia venire dieci Ninfe in bianca veste colle chiome sparse sul collo, con pennacchi d'oro in capo, armate d'arco e faretra, a foggia di cacciatrici.*

Then ten nymphs appeared in white gowns, their hair loose on their shoulders and golden plumes on their heads. They were armed with bows and quivers, in the guise of huntresses.

If we compare the profile of the Spring figure in the *Birth of Venus* with the two Simonetta portraits just mentioned, there is nothing to prevent our concluding that the painting shows us not simply an idealized depiction of Simonetta as a nymph but the likeness of her very face. As in the portraits, the head is square, on a long neck, and the profile line is divided into three equal parts consisting of forehead, nose, and mouth-with-chin. The mouth is closed, and the lower lip protrudes slightly.

The identification of this figure with the woman shown in the Berlin portrait might even more safely be made, were it not that Spring has her head slightly raised, and were the head in the Berlin portrait more strictly seen in profile: the mouth would then be smaller, the eyebrows would seem more arched, and the full curve of the eyeball would no longer be visible.

A profile portrait with the inscription *Simonetta Januensis Vespuccia*, now in the collection of the duke of Aumale,<sup>167</sup> would be a fair basis for comparison, had it not been firmly attributed to Piero di Cosimo,<sup>168</sup> who was born in 1462; it cannot, therefore, have been painted from life. The sitter is shown  
\* as Cleopatra, at the fatal moment when the asp strikes. Even the poor reproduction in *L'art* (1887, 60) makes it clear that the type in this case is the same, except that the rendering is softer; the coiffure is again "fantastic" and adorned with pearls, but it starts further back on the head, and there are no flying locks of hair.

It seems likely that Spring in the *Realm of Venus*, who faces the viewer directly, also bears the—idealized—features of Simonetta: the departure from the usual Botticelli facial type suggests this, but conclusive proof waits upon a study of the proportions.<sup>169</sup>

Four sonnets by Lorenzo give eloquent testimony to the deep impression caused by Simonetta's death.<sup>170</sup> Such was the importance that Lorenzo attached to this event, and to his own poetic response to it, that he supplied the sonnets with a commentary, like Dante's for the *Vita nuova*, in which he gave a detailed account of the feelings that had prompted each poem in turn.

In the first sonnet, Lorenzo sees Simonetta in a bright star that he notices one night while sunk in a grief-stricken reverie. In the second, he likens her to the flower Clytië, waiting in vain for the Sun to return and restore her to life. In the third, he bewails her death, which has robbed him of all joy; Muses and Graces must help him to lament. The fourth sonnet is the expression of his deepest anguish. He sees no escape from racking pain but death.

If we bear in mind that the *Realm of Venus* had its origin in a sad event, this makes the pose and bearing of Venus more readily comprehensible: she gazes earnestly at the viewer, her head inclined toward her right hand, which she raises in an admonitory gesture. Botticelli devised a similar illustration for the words that Dante places in the mouth of Mathilde, when she draws his attention to the approach of Beatrice:

*Quando la donna tutta a me si torse,  
Dicendo: frate mio, guarda ed ascolta.*<sup>171</sup>

... when to me at once

She turned, and cried: "My brother! Look and hearken."

Just so might Venus, amid the eternally youthful denizens of her realm, point to the transient earthly reflection of her power. In Lorenzo's words:

*Quant' è bella giovinezza  
Che si fugge tuttavia!  
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:  
Di doman non c' è certezza.*<sup>172</sup>

How beautiful is youth,  
Fleeting though it is!  
Rejoice who will today,  
Tomorrow's never sure.

In similar vein, Bernardo Pulci, in his elegy for Simonetta,<sup>173</sup> calls on the \* Olympians to send back to earth the "nymph" who now dwells with them:

1      *Venite, sacre e gloriose dive  
Venite Gratie lagrimose e meste  
Acompagnar quel che piangendo scrive.*

- 10     *Nymphè se voi sentite i versi miei*  
        *Venite presto et convocate Amore*  
        *Prima che terra sia facta costei.*
- 145   *Ciprigna, se tu hai potenza in celo,*  
        *Perchè non hai col tuo figliuol difesa*  
        *Costei, de' regni tuoi delitia e zelo?*
- 166   *Forse le membra caste e peregrine*  
        *Solute ha Giove, e le nasconde e serra,*  
        *Per mostrar lei fra mille altre divine;*
- 169   *Poi ripor la vorrà più bella in terra,*  
        *Si che del nostro pianto il cel si ride*  
        *Et vede el creder nostro quanto egli erra.*
- 191   *Nympha, che in terra un freddo saxo copre*  
        *Benigna Stella hor su nel ciel gradita*  
        *Quando la luce tua vi si scopre*  
        *Torna a veder la tua patria smarrita.*<sup>174</sup>
- \*     1     Come, holy and resplendent goddesses,  
        Come, weeping Graces, in your solemn grief,  
        Keep company with one who writes in tears.
- 10     Nymphs, if my verses now do reach your ears,  
        Make haste to come to me, and call on Love  
        To come before she turns to lifeless clay.
- 145   Cyprian, if any power in heaven you hold,  
        Why did you not defend, you and your son,  
        This girl, the joy and passion of your realm?
- 166   Perhaps those rare, chaste limbs are swept away  
        By Jupiter, who holds and hides them close,  
        To show her off amid her heavenly peers
- 169   And then restore her, lovelier than before,  
        Once more to earth; so that all heaven laughs  
        At our laments, and sees how far we err.
- 191   O Nymph, interred beneath a cold, hard stone,  
        You kindly Star, who now adorn the skies,  
        As soon as your own light begins to shine  
        Turn back, see your forsaken native land.



It may be—and this is offered by way of hypothesis—that to Lorenzo and his friends the image of the personified Spring, the companion of Venus, who recalls the earth to life, the consolatory personification of renewal, represented the memory of “*la bella Simonetta*.” \*

P. Müller-Walde, in the first part of his *Leonardo*,<sup>175</sup> hints that he views certain drawings by Leonardo as the products of a milieu very like the one here ascribed to Botticelli; with this difference, that he traces the artistic stimulus to the spectacle of the joust (*giostra*) itself, rather than to Poliziano's poem on the subject. And yet these very drawings, now in Windsor, *Girl in Armor*, *Youth with Spear*, *Beatrice* (see Müller-Walde, illustrations {36,} 38–39), can be adequately explained by reference to figures who appear in Poliziano's commemorative poem, but not in relation to the joust itself.

The *Youth with Spear* is the Giuliano of Poliziano's *Giostra*, shown at the moment when, as a hunter, with horn and spear, he gazes at the “nymph” whom he pursues, and she turns back to look at him.<sup>176</sup> The “Simonetta” of the poem is surely the female figure whom Müller-Walde calls “Beatrice.”<sup>177</sup> She has gathered up her skirt as she walks; her hair and dress still flutter in the wind; and she turns her head to look back at Giuliano and say to him, pointing to Florence:

*Io non son qual tua mente in vano auguria  
Non d'altar degna non di pura vittima;  
Ma là souv' Arno nella vostra Etruria  
Sto soggiogata alla teda legittima.*<sup>178</sup>

I am not as you vainly guess I am:  
Not worth an altar, or a spotless sacrifice.  
For there, beside your Tuscan Arno's stream,  
I live in thrall to lawful marriage vows.

The *Girl in Armor* might be Simonetta as she appears to Giuliano in a dream:

*Pargli veder feroce la sua donna  
Tutta nel volto rigida e proterva...  
Armata sopra alla candida gonna,  
Che 'l casto petto col Gorgon conserva.*<sup>179</sup>

He seemed to see his love in fierce array;  
Her face was set in proud and haughty lines...  
Armor she wore above her pure, white gown,  
Chaste bosom sheltered by the Gorgon's head.

The mounted *Youth* (fig. 38 [Müller-Walde]) would thus be Giuliano riding out to the tournament; and in this drawing it is altogether possible—as M.-W. would have it—that the memory of the tournament itself contributed details to the depiction.

The clinging dress, with ends aflutter, worn by Simonetta ("Beatrice"), not only corresponds to Poliziano's description but represents for Leonardo, as for others, the proper garb for an antique nymph. This emerges from a passage in his *Trattato*:

*...ma solo farai scoprire la quasi vera grossezza delle membra à una ninfa, o' uno angello, li quali si figurino vestiti di sotili vestimenti, sospinti o' impressi dal soffiare de venti; a questi tali et simili si potra benissimo far scoprire la forma delle membra loro.*<sup>180</sup>

...reveal as it were the true size of the limbs only in a nymph or an angel, who is represented in filmy garments that flutter and cling in the breeze; with these, and their like, the form of their limbs may very well be revealed.

Elsewhere, Leonardo even more clearly presents antiquity as the appropriate source for motifs of movement:

*...et imita, quanto puoi, li greci e latini co 'l modo del scoprire le membra, quando il uento apoggia sopra di loro li panni.*<sup>181</sup>

...and imitate, as far as you can, the Greeks and Latins in their way of revealing the limbs when the wind presses the garments against them.

This view of the antique bears fruit in the agitated female figure on the stucco relief in the Kensington Museum;<sup>182</sup> her source lies in an antique maenad (such as Hauser's Type 30). That Leonardo had seen a neo-Attic relief of this kind emerges from a sanguine drawing in the Ambrosiana, showing a satyr with a lion (corresponding roughly to Hauser's Type 22).<sup>183</sup>

Proof of the relatedness of all the various images of Simonetta can be supplied, ultimately, only by a thorough study of the influence of antiquity on proportions—a pendant to the present work. The point of departure for this second essay is once more supplied by Botticelli (in the Frankfurt painting of Simonetta); but in the course of the exposition it is Leonardo who emerges as the artist most closely concerned with the problem.

There is just one other place in which Leonardo invokes the authority of antiquity: his reference to Vitruvius in connection with the proportions of the human body.<sup>184</sup> If the influence of antiquity on early Renaissance ideas of proportion could ever be successfully clarified, corroboration would be found in the words of this artist, who combined an unexcelled grasp of the particular and the unique with an equally powerful capacity to see general truths and laws, and who—totally self-reliant as he was—undoubtedly accepted the authority of ancient writers only where he saw it as a precedent that demanded respect, a living force both to him and to his contemporaries.

For every sharply demarcated, static object, Sandro Botticelli had the keen eye of the Florentine “goldsmith-painter”; in his accessory forms, this appears in the loving exactitude with which every detail is observed and reproduced. Lucid detail was basic to his art, so much so that he paid no heed to the “mood-creating” qualities of landscape. According to Leonardo, he was in the habit of saying “that landscape painting had no point; that one had only to throw a sponge, soaked in different colors, against the wall, and a fine landscape might be seen in the resulting stain.”<sup>185</sup>

Leonardo, who denied Botticelli the rank of a *pittore universale* (universal painter) on the grounds of this defective feeling for landscape, adds: “*e questo tal pittore fece tristissimi paesi*” (and that was a painter who painted sorry landscapes).

Most of Botticelli’s artistic contemporaries shared his attention to detail; but it was a personal liking for tranquil moods that gave his human figures the dreamy, passive beauty that is still admired as the especial mark of his creations.<sup>186</sup> One is tempted to say, of many of Botticelli’s women and boys, that they have just woken from a dream to become aware of the world around them; however active they may be in that world, still their minds are filled with images seen in dreams.

It is clear that Botticelli’s artistic temperament, dominated by a love of tranquil beauty,<sup>187</sup> requires some external prompting before it is likely to turn to the depiction of scenes of passionate agitation; and he is all the more willing to illustrate the ideas of others because this offers the most perfect scope for the other side of his character, his feeling for detailed depiction. But this was not the only reason why Poliziano’s inventions found a sympathetic ear and a willing hand in Botticelli: the surface mobility of inanimate accessory forms, draperies and hair, which Poliziano commended to him as characteristic of antique works of art, was an easily manipulated external sign that could be added wherever he needed to create the semblance of intensified life. Botticelli readily made use of this expedient to show human figures in a state of excitement, or even of inner emotion.

In fifteenth-century art, “the antique” does not necessarily require artists to abandon expressive forms derived from their own observation—which is what the sixteenth century does demand, wherever antique themes are treated in the antique manner—but only directs their attention to the most difficult problem in all art, which is that of capturing images of life in motion.

Firmly persuaded of their own equality with the ancients, the artists of the Florentine Quattrocento made vigorous efforts to extract from the life around them analogous forms that they could work into art in their own way. If the “influence of antiquity” then led to the unthinking repetition of superficially agitated motifs of motion, this was not the fault of “the antique” (which has subsequently inspired others, ever since Winckelmann, to describe it with equal conviction as the fountainhead of “tranquil grandeur”): the fault lay in the artists, and in their lack of mature artistic discretion.

Botticelli was one of those who were all too pliable.

“The more one succeeds,” says Justi,

...in coming truly close to a great artist, and in inducing him to respond to one’s tireless questioning, the more he appears to be strictly confined within his own work, as if in a world of his own. To put it in scholastic terms, the *general*—that which he derives from his ancestry, school, and period; that which he shares with others; and that which he bequeaths to others—is only his secondary essence (δευτέρα οὐσία): the *individual*, the idiosyncratic, is his primary substance (πρώτη οὐσία). The hallmark of genius is therefore initiative.<sup>188</sup>

To show how Sandro Botticelli dealt with contemporary views of antiquity, as a force that demanded resistance or submission, and how much of that force  
\* became his “secondary substance,” has formed the purpose of this inquiry.

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\* *Four Theses*

- I In autonomous, “major” art, the artistic manipulation of dynamic accessory forms evolves from an image of specific dynamic states originally perceived in reality.
- II The artist’s self-distancing from the true context of the object fosters the addition of “dynamic” forms; in so-called symbolic or allegorical works of art, the latter are the first to appear, because from the outset the context of reality is eliminated, rendered “metaphorical.”
- III The remembered image of generalized dynamic states, through which the apperception of the new impression takes place, is later unconsciously projected, in the work of art, as an idealizing outline.
- IV Mannerism or idealism in art is only a special case of the automatic reflex of the artistic imagination.

*Extract from L’arte, Vol. 5, Fasc. 11–12 (1902) on Botticelli’s Pallas*

To accompany my article “La Giostra medicea del 1475 e la Pallade del Botticelli,” printed on page 71 of the current volume of this journal, I publish a photograph of an intarsia in the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Warburg [fig. 16]. The analogy between the Pallas in the intarsia and the Pallas described in the narration of the *Giostra* of 1475 is such as to be evident at a glance.

It is not without interest to note, in addition, that Baccio Pontelli, to whom are ascribed “the designs and the intarsias that adorn the magnificent doors of the rooms” of the palace in Urbino—a Florentine and a pupil of Francesco Giovanni, alias Francione—was probably in Florence in 1475, assisting his master at the Palazzo della Signoria.<sup>189</sup> Only on the death of Luciano Laurana (in 1479) did he succeed Laurana in the work on the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino.<sup>190</sup>

— Giovanni Poggi

Notes

1. Florence, Uffizi, Sala di Lorenzo Monaco, no. 39 [now Sala VI, no. 878]; see fig. 1. *Klassischer Bilderschatz* 3, viii, no. 307.
2. Florence, Accademia, Sala Quinta, no. 26 [now Uffizi, Sala VI, no. 8360]. *Klassischer Bilderschatz* 1, x, no. 140.
3. See R. Vischer, *Über das optische Formgefühl* (1873); on this, F. T. Vischer, “Das Symbol,” in *Philosophische Aufsätze für Zeller* (1887), 153 ff.
4. Vasari, (Vite, ed.) Milanesi, 3:312.
5. (1881), 121; precise dimensions not given there or in *Klassischer Bilderschatz*. [Catalog 1927: 1.75 × 2.785 m.]
6. *Die Florentinische Schule des XV. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1890), 50 n. Also

adduced as an analogy by Woermann, "Sandro Botticelli," in Dohme, *Kunst und Künstler* (1878), 2.49, 50.

7. Preface reprinted by Bernard Botfield, *Praefationes et epistolae editionibus principibus auctorum veterum praepositae* (Cambridge, 1861), 180.

8. (Berlin, 1888), 2:232–33. Poliziano's *Giostra* was the poem written to commemorate the tournament held by Giuliano in 1475; it was composed between 1476 and 1478 and left unfinished on Giuliano's murder in 1478. The first book describes the realm of Venus; the second (and last) describes the apparition of the nymph whose task it is, at Venus's command, to convert Giuliano from a rough hunter to a votary of Love. See Gaspari, 2:228–33. G. Carducci's edition, *Le stanze, l'Orfeo e le rime di M. A. A. Poliziano* (Florence: Barbèra, 1863), from which the quotations here are taken, with its extensive critical apparatus, has been an essential foundation for the present work.

9. Bk. 1, st. 99–103. See Carducci [note 8], 56.

10. See Vasari, Milanesi [note 4], 312; also Ulmann, "Eine verschollene Pallas Athena des Sandro Botticelli," *Bonner Studien für Kekulé* (Leipzig, 1890), 203–13.

11. These are (1) the castration of Saturn; (2) the birth of the nymphs and giants; (3) the birth of Venus; (4) Venus welcomed to the earth; (5) Venus welcomed to Olympus; (6) Vulcan himself.

12. These are (1) the rape of Europa; (2) Jupiter as swan, shower of gold, serpent, and eagle; (3) Neptune as ram and bull; (4) Saturn as horse; (5) Apollo pursuing Daphne; (6) Ariadne forsaken; (7) the arrival of Bacchus and (8) of his train; (9) the rape of Proserpina; (10) Hercules dressed as a woman; (11) Polyphemus; (12) Galatea.

13. German translation by Schwenk (Frankfurt, 1825).

14. On its relationship to the Medici Venus, see the following: Michaelis, *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1880: 13 ff., and *Kunstchronik*, 1890, cols. 297–301; Müntz, *Histoire de l'art pendant la Renaissance* (1889), 224–25. Also significant is the illustration to a poem by Lorenzo de' Medici in Ms. Plut. XLI, cod. 33, f. 31 [fig. 2; see added text on p. 410]. See Vasari, Milanesi [note 4], 3:330. For Poliziano's epigrams on the *Birth of Venus*, see del Lungo, ed., *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di A. A. Poliziano* (Florence: Barbèra, 1867), 219.

15. Just as it does in Botticelli's Berlin *Venus* (1883 catalog, no. 1124), illustrated by Meyer (see note 6), 49. The hair blows to the left, and two little braids rest on the shoulder.

16. Gaspari [see note 8], 2:232, seems to think that it was the other way around.

17. Vasari, Milanesi [see note 4], 7:143. Ludovico Dolce, *Aretino*, Quellenschriften für die Kunstgeschichte 2, 80. See R. Springer, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, 2d ed. (1883), 2:58; R. Foerster, *Farnesina-Studien* (1880), 58. E. Müntz, *Précurseurs de la Renaissance* (1882), 207–8, concludes a detailed analysis of the *Giostra* with the words: "en cherchant bien on découvrirait certainement que Raphaël n'est pas le seul artiste qui s'en soit inspiré" (on close scrutiny, it would certainly be found that Raphael was not the only artist who drew inspiration from it). On the connection between Leonardo and the *Giostra*, as proposed by Müller-Walde, *Leonardo* (1889), see below, p. 139.

18. Ed. Janitschek, Quellenschriften für die Kunstgeschichte, no. 11 (Vienna, 1877), 192 ff.

19. Lützow, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 14 (1879): 61.

20. (1879), 157.

21. See Janitschek {note 18}, iii.

22. Especially apparent where the zodiac and the planets are concerned. Individual illustrations in C. Yriarte, *Rimini* (Paris, 1882): see, e.g., the *Mercury* (his fig. 105), 216, and *Mars* (his fig. 107), 217. These depictions recently discussed by Burmeister, *Der bildnerische Schmuck des Tempio Malatestiano zu Rimini* (Inaugural diss., Breslau, 1891).

23. In *De re militari* [12.12] (first printed in Verona, 1472). The passage is quoted by Janitschek, *Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1879), 108.

24. See the letter written in 1454 to his clerk of works, Matteo de' Pasti, printed in Guhl-Rosenberg, *Künstlerbriefe*, 2d ed. (1880), 33.

25. *Über ein Vorbild neu-attischer Reliefs*, Winckelmannsprogramm (Berlin, 1890), 97–124.

26. See Hauser, *Die Neu-Attischen Reliefs* (Stuttgart, 1889), 15, no. 17.

27. See, among others, E. Müntz, *Précurseurs* {note 17}, 9.

28. Illustrated in Müntz {see note 17}, 68. Second relief of the left-hand leaf of the door. [*Klassiker der Kunst: Donatello*, 74, 78.]

29. [Fig. 5.] Semper, *Donatellos Leben und Werke* (1887), 38, already had in mind a source in the “manner of Scopas.”

30. {See note 25}, 123.

31. *Archäologische Zeitung* (1866): plate 216; Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* (1890), 2:xli, 190'. Might not the two other women be modeled, however freely,

\* on the women with the child on the sarcophagus?

32. No. 211, fol. 251; see Jahn, *Sächsische Berichte* (1868), 224.

33. [Fig. 3.] See Yriarte {note 22}, fig. 112, 222.

34. *Giostra*: see the birth of Venus (1.200.2), her welcome to earth (1.100.5–6) and to Olympus (1.103.3–4), the rape of Europa (1.105.5–7), the rape of Proserpina (1.113.3–4), Bacchus and Ariadne (1.110.5).

† 35. In the *Fasti*, based on Moschus: see Haupt's note to *Metamorphoses* 2.874–75 [(Berlin, 1857), 94].

36. Just as Claudian's *Epithalamia* are Poliziano's favored source in general. See Gaspary {note 8}, 229.

37. The passage is from Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.247–48.

38. Ibid. 2.30; the person referred to is Apollo.

39. See Alberti, quoted above, p. 96, “*dal vento dolce voleranno*.”

40. Almost entirely after Claudian, *De nuptiis Honorii et Mariae*. See Carducci {note 8} on the verses cited.

41. On Venus and her coiffure, it is worth recalling Ovid's lines (*Amores* 1.14.31 ff.):

*Formosae periere comae: quas vellet Apollo,*

*Quas vellet capiti Bacchus inesse suo.*

*Illis contulerim, quas quondam nuda Dione*

*Pingitur umentis sustinuisse manu.*

(Her lovely hair is ruined: hair that Apollo would covet,

Hair that Bacchus would want for his own head.



I might compare her tresses to those the painter once  
Showed nude Dione supporting with a dripping wet hand.)

42. E.g., Meyer (see note 6), 50, and text to *Klassischer Bilderschatz* (see note 1).

43. Also *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.1.11: “*Tu neque ver sentis cinctum florente corona*” (Neither do you feel the spring, girl with its crown of flowers).

44. Whereas it is more correct to read “*cinctum florente corona*” as “garlanded” (around the head). Ovid’s *Fasti* were also a principal topic of Poliziano’s public lectures; see Gaspari (note 8), 2:667. On his own poem in the manner of the *Fasti*, see Mencken, *Historia vitae Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig, 1736), 609.

45. First ed., 1556, fol. CXIX<sup>v</sup>.

46. A mistake for *Metamorphoses* 2.

47. The author of the *Hypnerotomachia* was a Dominican, Francesco Colonna (died in Venice, 2 October 1527). According to the preface to the first edition by Leonardo Crasso, the book’s editor, it was composed at Treviso in 1467. See A. Ilg, *Über den kunsthistorischen Wert der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Vienna, 1872), and Lippmann’s comments in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 4 (1884): 198. Reproductions of the woodcuts recently published by J. W. Appel (London, 1888). †

48. Fol. m IV<sup>v</sup>.

49. Here, as will be seen, the passage from Ovid quoted above (see note 44) has been interpreted correctly (*cinctum* meaning “garlanded”).

50. *Subucula*: undergarment.

51. *Chyrotropus*: charcoal brazier.

52. *Buccatus*.

53. See fig. 4.

54. To take only the most important, see the description of the “nymphs” on the obelisk and the way in which they are depicted, Appel (see note 47) no. 5; also Appel nos. 9, 10, 22, 76–78.

55. *Flora in campagna* [*Versi e prose di Luigi Alamanni*], ed. Raffaelli (1859), 1:4, lines 13–16.

56. At Chantilly; see fig. 7. See P. de Chennevières, *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1879), 514: “*Notons encore la Vénus sortant de l’onde et entourée de naïades, du même Botticelli, première pensée du tableau des Offices de Florence et provenant de la collection Reiset.*” (Note also the Venus arising from the waves and attended by naiads, by the same Botticelli, a first sketch for the painting in the Uffizi in Florence. Formerly in the Reiset collection.)

57. Statius, *Achilleis*, ll. 836 ff.:

*Nec servare vices nec brachia iungere curat;*

*Tunc molles gressus, tunc aspernatur amictus*

*Plus solito rumpitque choros et plurima turbat.*

(He cares neither to take his turn nor to link arms;

Then he spurns the dainty steps, the cloaks,

More than usual, and breaks up the dances in great confusion.)

58. See the *Beschreibung Roms* 3.1:349 f., and Dessau, *Sitzungsbericht der Berliner Akademie* 2 (1883): 1077 ff.
59. *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 735.
60. See fig. 6, after Robert [see note 31], 2:34, pl. 19.
61. Dessau [see note 58], 1093.
62. See Oettingen ed., 733.
63. (*Historia naturalis*) 36.(4).29.
64. Hain, *Repertorium* 13087.
65. Hain, *Repertorium* 13090.
66. Hain, *Repertorium* 13094.
67. From the 1534 ed., p. dcclxvii.
68. See above, note 10.
69. *Histoire de la Renaissance* 1, color reproduction.
70. E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XV<sup>me</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1888), 86: “Nella camera di Piero. Uno panno in uno intavolato messo d’oro alto bra. 4 in circha e largo  
\* bra. 2: entrovi una fighura di Pa<llade> et con uno schudo dandresse <sic> e una lancia d’archo di mano di Sandro da Botticello, f. 10.” (In Piero’s chamber, a decorative panel in a gilded frame, about 4 braccia high and 2 braccia wide. Bearing a figure of Pallas with a shield <sic> and a spear, by Sandro Botticelli, f. 10.)
71. (See note 4), 3:312.
72. Reprinted in the Biblioteca rara series by C. Tèoli [1863], 22. Del Lungo, too [see note 14], refers to Giovio in connection with Epigram 104, “Pro Petro Medice”: “In viridi teneras exurit flamma medullas.”
73. In his *Ragionamenti*, Vasari assigns the *bronconi* to the elder Giuliano as a love emblem.
74. This emerges from the presence in Lorenzo’s inventory (page 85) of the following item: “Una storietta di bronzo di br. 1 per ogni verso, entrovi uno Christo crucifixo in mezzo di dua ladroni con otto figure a pie, f. 10” (A bronze relief about 1 braccio square, containing the figure of Christ crucified between two thieves, with eight full-length figures). This square bronze relief is undoubtedly identical with the *Crucifixion* in the Bargello in Florence, which M. Semrau, *Donatello’s Kanzeln in S. Lorenzo* (1891), 206–9, has shown to be the work of Bertoldo di Giovanni. According to Semrau, this work is 61 cm square. This yields the measurements given here for Botticelli’s painting.
75. Copy in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (2998a). This woodcut is reproduced with its text by Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus*, opposite 198. (Fig. 9.)
76. St. 2, ll. 41 ff.
77. Fig. 8 [from a new photograph].
- † 78. This would fit Lippmann’s surmise, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1882): 187 ff., that the woodcuts for the *Giostra* were made between 1490 and 1500, and that the illustrations to the *rappresentazioni*, too, “clearly show Botticelli’s artistic tendency.”
79. An attempt has latterly been made to show that the supposed portrait of Pico della Mirandola in the Uffizi is a portrait of Piero di Lorenzo painted by Botticelli between 1492 and 1494. See *Archivio storico dell’arte* 1:290 and p. 465.

80. See above, p. 90 [fig. 10].

81. The *Spring* is now in the Accademia in Florence. [Uffizi, Sala VI, no. 8360.] According to the information in *Der klassische Bilderschatz* 1 (1889): 10: panel, 203 × 314 cm.

82. However, G. Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte* (1876), 398, clearly indicated that the two paintings were companion pieces.

83. See J. Bayer, *Aus Italien* (1885), 269, "Frau Venus in der Renaissance": "Is it Zephyrus, who blows on the nymph of the forest floor and embraces her? Rosebuds spring from her mouth and slip down onto her neighbor's dress. This must be Flora herself."

84. The text of the third volume of the *Klassischer Bilderschatz* series (1891): viii, follows Vasari in giving Castello as the place for which the painting was intended; a more inherently plausible location would be Careggi, the meeting place of the Neoplatonic circle.

85. *Liber de pictura*, ed. Janitschek [see note 18], 147.

86. See Richard Foerster, "Die Verleumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 8 (1887): 29 ff.

87. [See note 18], 147.

88. Berlin, Königliche Bibliothek, libr. pict. A. 61; see above, p. 97.

89. No. 49, fol. 320. See Jahn, *Sächsische Berichte* (1868), 186. Illustrated in Winckelmann, *Monumenti inediti*, pl. 147. Discussed in Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke* 3:235. Hauser [see note 26], 49, no. 63, also p. 147.

90. Photo Brogi [*Klassiker der Kunst* 30 (1927): 55]. See Cosimo Conti, "Découverte de deux fragments de Sandro Botticelli," *L'art*, 1881, no. 4:86–87; 1882, no. 1:59–60; subsequently C. Ephrussi, *Gazette des beaux-arts* 25 (1882): 475–83, with illustrations of the fragments. See also, more recently, A. Heiss, *Les médailleurs de la Renaissance: Florence et les florentins* (Paris, 1891), 56 ff. On Giovanna Tornabuoni, see also F. Sitwell, "Types of Beauty," *Art Journal* (1889): 9, with illustration of the 1488 portrait of her ascribed to Ghirlandaio; and Enrico Ridolfi, *Giovanna Tornabuoni e Ginevra dei Benci sul coro di Santa Maria Novella in Firenze* (Florence, 1890). (From the abstract in *Archivio storico dell'arte* (1891): 68–69.)

91. Vasari, Milanese [see note 4], 3:269, mentions that Ghirlandaio painted a chapel *al fresco* for the Tornabuoni at Chiasso Maceregli (i.e., what is now the Villa Lemmi). An artist who stood stylistically between Botticelli and Ghirlandaio might well have painted those frescoes; but this is a matter that the writer can discuss only after seeing the frescoes for himself.

92. Collection of the Uffizi, Florence. Illustrated by Friedlaender, "Die italienischen Schaumünzen des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 2:243, pl. 28, nos. 13–14, where they are ascribed to Niccolò Fiorentino.

93. They are demonstrably present from the first half of the fifteenth century onward: (1) in the sketchbook of Jacopo Bellini, fol. 31; see Gaye, *Schorns Kunstblatt* (1840), no. 34, 135; (2) in Agostino di Duccio's relief of Apollo in Rimini, as the terminal ornament on his lyre; see Cartari, *Le imagini* [note 45], fol. 121, with reference back to Macrobius (1.17.13), photo Alinari 37367; (3) on the fresco of the *Triumph of Venus* in the Palazzo Schifanoia, photo Alinari 10831; (4) in an initial to a Horace

manuscript (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Ham. Ms. 334) written for Ferdinand of Naples (1458–94); (5) in a woodcut by Master J. B.—said by E. Galichon, *Gazette des beaux-arts* 4 (1859): 257–74, to be in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, but no longer to be found there—in which they are described as sheltered by a temple. For the statues of the Graces in Siena and the imitations of them, see Schmarsow, *Raphael und Pinturicchio* (1880), 6.

On a medal by Leone Leoni, illustrated by E. Plon, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni* (Paris, 1887), pl. 31, 4 (first half of sixteenth century), the Graces are shown together with two putti (to r. and l.), who receive fruits or flowers from them, just as they appear on antique sarcophagus reliefs. See Bartoli, *Admiranda*, 2d ed., pl. 68: “*In aedibus Mattheiorum*.” As early as Aldrovandi, *Le statue antiche di Roma* (1562 ed.), 144, a relief depicting the three nude Graces is mentioned in the house of Carlo da Fano.

94. See C. Justi, *Winckelmann* 2:287 [quotation]: “Gods and heroes are shown as if standing in holy places, where tranquillity reigns, and not as playthings of the wind, or in the act of brandishing a flag.”

95. Friedlaender [see note 92], pl. 28, no. 14.

96. [Fig. 14] In the Kestner-Museum, Hanover. My attention was drawn to it by Dr. Voegelé. The figures show the attributes now believed to stem from Vittore Pisano: short coats with wide sleeves, tight breeches with particolored hose, and tiered hats.

97. Prompted, perhaps, by *Aeneid* 4.168: “*summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae*” (the nymphs holloed on the topmost peak)?

98. For this coiffure, see the wind god in the miniatures of Liberale da Verona, illustrated in *L'art* 4 (1882): 227 [Venturi, 7:4, fig. 515]. It is not beyond conjecture that the artist had a late antique Virgil illustration in his memory or before his eyes. See, e.g., the Iris and the wind goddess in Vatican Ms. 3867 (fol. 74<sup>v</sup>, 77), illustrated by Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art*, pl. 63; and on this P. de Nolhac, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 4:321 f. Poliziano made use of this manuscript for purposes of collation; see *ibid.*, 317.

The majority of the works mentioned here in connection with the Villa Lemmi fresco are illustrated by Heiss (see note 90), 68 ff. He also reproduces the Theseus and the Ariadne from the Baldini engraving (71), with the following comment:

*Dans la Vénus chasserresse surtout, on retrouve l'allure très distinguée, mais très tourmentée, la profusion d'ornements et les draperies flottantes, si caractéristiques du style de Botticelli. Nous reproduisons ici, de ce maître, deux dessins dont les costumes et la façon dont ils sont traités ont une grande analogie avec les types des revers auxquels nous venons de faire allusion.*

(In the Venus as Huntress, above all, we find the same highly distinguished, but also highly restless, air, the same profusion of ornament and the same flying draperies that are so characteristic of the style of Botticelli. We here reproduce two drawings by this master, in which the costumes and their treatment evince a powerful analogy with the types on the reverses [of medals] to which we allude above.)

99. *Aeneid* 4.120.

100. Similar drapery folds are found in the work of Botticelli's teacher, Fra Filippo Lippi: e.g., in the fresco of the *Dance of Herodias* in Prato cathedral. See Ulmann,

*Fra Filippo Lippi und Fra Diamante als Lehrer Sandro Botticellis* (diss., Breslau, 1890), 14.

101. *Fasti* 5.193 ff.

102. *Metamorphoses* 1.497 ff.

103. Flora's hair in the painting is, accordingly, unbraided and unadorned; there is not even the fillet mentioned at 1.477: "*vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos*" (with a fillet she bound her unruly hair).

104. In the prose translation of the *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni di Bonsignore (composed ca. 1370, published with woodcut illustrations, Venice: Zoane Rosso, 1497), we have an authentic witness to the care with which the Italians upheld Ovid's concern for detail.

See, e.g., for 1.477 ff.: "*Cap. XXXIV...fugia con gli capelli sparti et scapigliata legati senza alcuna acimadura <?>*" (Ch. 34...she fled disheveled, with hair loose, tangled <?>, and unshorn).

For 1.497 ff.: "*Cap. XXXV. Phebo desiderava cozosersi con daphne per matrimonio la donna fugēdo lo negava. Poiche era levato lo giorno vedeva gli disordinati capegli di daphne pendere per lo collo e dicea: che seria costei se la pettinasse e conzassese con maestrevole mano.* (Ch. 35. Phoebus wanted to wed Daphne, but the lady refused him and ran off. At break of day he saw her hair hanging in disarray around her neck, and said: "What might she be, if only her hair were combed and dressed by a skillful hand.")

For 1.527: "...percio che fugendo lei lo vento che traevano di ricōtro gli scopriano alquanto gli pani e mandaregli gli capelli doppo le spalle" (...as she fled from him, the wind blowing against her lifted her garments and sent her hair flying behind her).

For 1.540 ff.: "*sēza alcuno riposo sempre gli andava quasi allato alle spalle: tanto chel suo fiato gli svētilava gli capegli...*" (kept tirelessly just behind her, so that his breath ruffled her hair).

105. See above, pp. 98 ff.

106. Probably first performed in 1472 [1471] in Mantua. See Carducci [note 8], lix ff.; Gaspary [note 8], 213 ff.; also, more recently, A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2d ed. (Turin, 1891), Appendice II: "Il teatro mantovano nel secolo XVI," 349 ff.

107. Carducci [see note 8], 102.

108. *Giostra* 1.109, Carducci [see note 8], 62.

109. See *Metamorphoses* 1.504:

*Nympha, precor, Penei, mane! non insequor hostis;*  
*Nympha mane! sic agna lupum, sic cerva leonem,*  
*Sic aquilam penna fugiunt trepidante columbae,*  
*Hostes quaeque suos: amor est mihi causa sequendi.*  
*Me miserum! ne prona cadas indignave laedi*  
*Crura notent sentes et sim tibi causa doloris.*  
*Aspera, qua properas, loca sunt; moderatius, oro,*  
*Curre fugamque inhibe; moderatius insequar ipse.*

(O nymph of Peneius [Daphne], I pray you, stay! I do not pursue you as a foe;  
Stay, nymph! Thus does the lamb flee the wolf, the doe the lion,  
Thus doves flee before the eagle on trembling wing,  
Each from its foe: but love is the cause of my pursuit.  
Alas for me! Lest you fall headlong, or your limbs, deserving no harm,  
Leave their mark on the path, and I be a cause of pain to you—  
The land is rough where you are hastening—run at a more temperate pace, I pray,  
And check your flight; I shall follow more temperately myself.)

110. See Gaspari [note 8], 667. A passage in a letter from Michael Verinus (died 1483; see Poliziano, *Epigrammata* 83, ed. del Lungo, 153) to Piero de' Medici bears the interpretation (if we follow Mencken) that a poetical commentary on the *Fasti* of Ovid, written by Poliziano in the language and style of the Latin poem itself, was circulated among his friends. The letter is printed by Mencken [see note 44], 609:

*Non sine magna voluptate, vel potius admiratione, Politiani tui poema, alterum Nasonis opus, legi. Dum enim fastos, qui est illius divini vatis liber pulcherrimus, interpretatur, alterum nobis paene effinxit, carmen carmine expressit, tanta diligentia, ut, si titulum non legissem, Ovidii etiam putassem.*

(Not without great pleasure, or rather admiration, have I read the poem by your Poliziano—a second work of Ovid. For while he was commenting on the *Fasti*, which is the finest book of that divine poet, he almost created another such work for us: he described a poem by a poem, with such great care that if I had not read the title I would indeed have thought it was Ovid's.)

See above, note 44.

111. [Originally] cited from the Italian duodecimo edition of 1851 [now ed. Wiese (Heidelberg, 1913)]. On this see Zumbini, "Una storia d'amore e morte," *Nuova antologia* a XLIV (1884), 5.

112. Poliziano, *Giostra* 1.109.4: "*Ch'io non ti seguo per farti morire.*"

113. See *Giostra* 1.64.

114. See Gaspari [note 8], 2:244 ff.

115. *Poesie di Lorenzo de' Medici* (Florence: Barbèra, Bianchi, 1859), 270.

\* 116. *Ibid.*, 273. As further evidence of the contemporary interest in this theme, a number of early artistic treatments may be cited:

1. The earliest representation in modern times (early fifteenth century) is probably the miniature in a manuscript in the British Museum (Christine de Pisan), Harl. 4431, fol. 143b. See Gray Birch, *Early Drawings* (London, 1879), 92.
2. A woodcut by Master J. B., Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.
3. Dürer's woodcut for Celtis's *Libri amorum* (1502).
4. Caradosso, plaque, illustrated in Bode and Tschudi, *Die Bildwerke der christlichen Epoche*, pl. 38, no. 785; also *ibid.*, pl. 35, no. 785.

That is without mentioning those images that directly illustrate the text of Ovid (from the Venice edition of 1497 to the mid-sixteenth century).

\* 117. D'Ancona [see note 106], 2:5.

118. Ibid., 2:350. [See our p. 400, note 136, and addendum.]
119. See d'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni*, 3:268–69.
120. Illustration of the pursuit scene in Müntz, *Histoire* [see note 14], 2:125.
121. The works mentioned are reproduced and discussed together by Ephrussi, *Gazette des beaux-arts* 1 (1878): 444–58.
122. *Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1885), 2:132 [*Gesamtausgabe* 5:290].
123. E. Foerster, *Geschichte der italienischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1872), 3:306, considers the two wind deities in the *Birth of Venus* to be Zephyrus and Flora—a conjecture which would fit well into the context presented here, but which is refuted by the very fact that both are represented as winds in the act of blowing. \*
124. Photo Alinari 1293; Uffizi catalog no. 74; *Antike Bildwerke* 3:74, no. 121. See fig. 15.
125. See Vasari, *Vite* (Livorno, 1772), 471 f. This list of the 24 *anticaglie* in the Sala of the Palazzo Pitti has been reprinted by L. Bloch in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)* 7 (1892): 81 f.
126. Bocchi, *Bellezze di Firenze*, ed. Cinelli (1677), 102 [*Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza* (1591), 46].
127. Dütschke tells us that the head of the statue is modern and “good Renaissance work.” It is noteworthy that the head of Botticelli’s *Hora of Spring* also departs from his customary female type: the oval is more elongated, the nose straight, without a prominent tip, and the mouth somewhat wider. Illustrated, e.g., in Müntz, *Histoire* [see note 14], 1.41.
128. Florence, Uffizi; see Heiss [note 90], pl. 7, no. 3; Friedlaender, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 2:243: “Without inscription. Mercury, striding to the right, draped, a curved sword at his side, caduceus in crook of right arm.”
129. See del Lungo [note 14], 72.
130. Niccolò produced one portrait medal of Poliziano (Heiss [see note 90], pl. 6, nos. 1, 2), and another of the latter’s sister, Maria (ibid., pl. 6, no. 3).
131. The three Graces on the reverse of Niccolò’s medal for Pico della Mirandola (see Litta, *Famiglie celebri italiane*), bear allusions to the Neoplatonic, allegorical view of Venus. Similarly, Niccolò’s “Venus Virgo” (see above, p. 117) might well be derived from kindred ideas of the symbolic interpretation of the *Aeneid*, as found in Cristoforo Landino’s *Disputationes camaldulenses*. On the relation between works of art of this kind and contemporaneous Neoplatonic poetry and philosophy, we may shortly expect enlightenment from a highly qualified source. \*
132. An analogy for the pose and costume of Venus, which recalls that of draped figures in late Roman art, may be found, e.g., in the ivory relief of Hygieia in Liverpool (Westwood, *Fictile Ivories*, 4): this stems from the Gaddi collection, which was extant in Florence by the end of the fifteenth century. See Molinier, *Plaquettes* 1:42.
133. See above, p. 112.
134. E. Foerster [see note 123], 307: “breaks off blossoms from a tree.” G. Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte* (1876), 398: “knocks fruit off a tree.” W. Lübke, *Geschichte der italienischen Malerei* (1878), 1:356: “youth of noble appearance, on the point of breaking off a branch from one of the laurel trees.” C. von Lützwow, *Die Kunstschätze Italiens* (1884), 254: “knocks the fruit from the tree.” \*

135. It so happens that even the archaeologists are at a loss to find a precise iconographical definition of the Hermes depicted together with Venus on a small red-figure vase from Athens (Berlin Museum, no. 2660). The words in which Kalkmann laments the inadequacy of methodical investigation in confronting the most complex works of art are precisely applicable to Botticelli's painting; see *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* (1886), 231 ff.; 253: "An art that wanders on sunlit paths rarely suffers anyone to think through every one of the thoughts that underlie its happiest inventions; and to many questions it returns no answer but in hints."

136. *Carmina* 1.30.

137. See above, p. 115.

138. Poliziano's friend and pupil, who published his master's Greek epigrams in 1495.

139. Ms. Marucell. Flor. A. 82, printed by Roscoe, *Leo X*, ed. Henke, 3:561.

140. Bayer (see note 83), 271.

141. Kalkmann (see note 135), 252.

142. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 1.6 ff. The manuscript had been discovered by Poggio. See Roscoe, *The Life of Lorenzo* (Heidelberg, 1825), 1:29; also Julia Cartwright in *Portfolio* (1882), 74: "The subject of the picture... is said" — by whom? — "to have been suggested by a passage of Lucretius: '*It Ver et Venus, etc.*'"

143. See Gaspary (note 8), 2:221.

144. Ed. del Lungo (see note 14), 315, lines 210–20.

145. Like Spring in the painting.

146. See (cited by del Lungo) Horace, *Carmina* 1:4:

... *Gratiae decentes*  
*Alternò terram quatunt pede.*  
 (...the lovely Graces  
 Stamp the ground in rhythm.)

The exact combination of Lucretius and Horace that the *concetto* of the painting requires!

147. Ed. Carducci (see note 8), 38 f. See also Ovid, *Fasti* 4.92: "*illa <Venus> tenet nullo regna minora deo*" (She <Venus> has no less a domain than any deity).

148. On the imitation of Claudian, see above, p. 100. This same passage had already been used by Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum* 11.4 (Basel, 1532), 272.

149. (See note 115), 186.

150. *Ibid.*, 264.

151. *Ibid.*, 80.

152. See A. Neri, "La Simonetta," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 5 (1885): 131 ff. The elegies of Bernardo Pulci and Francesco Timideo da Verona are also

\* reprinted there.

153. Vasari, *Milanesi* (see note 4), 3:322.

154. Gaspary (see note 8), 2:230; *Giostra* 1.47, 48.

155. *Giostra* 1.43.

156. *Giostra* 1.43, 47.

157. *Giostra* 1.55.

158. *Giostra* 1.56.



159. Königliches Museum, no. 106A. See Meyer {note 6}, 39: "Whether it"—the painting—"really depicted Giuliano's mistress, the beautiful Simonetta... can be no more than a conjecture." Ibid., 40: illustration (etching by P. Halm). The illustration in Müntz, *Histoire* (see note 14), 2:641, is indistinct.
  160. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, Italienischer Saal, no. 11. Illustrated in Müntz, *Histoire* (see note 14), 2:8. Also photographed by Braun.
  161. Carducci (see note 8), xxxvii f., and del Lungo (see note 14), 238.
  162. Carducci (see note 8), 240, ll. 33 f.
  163. Ibid., 242, ll. 79 ff.
  164. Ibid., 268, ll. 13–25.
  165. See Müntz, *Précurseurs* {note 17}, pl. adjoining 91.
  166. See Giovanni Visco, *Descrizione della giostra seguita in Padova nel giugno 1466, per nozze Gasparini-Brusoni* (Padua, 1852), 16. Here, once more, we see how the antique references in contemporary pageantry coincide with the antique influence on artistic form. On the "nymphs," see particularly above, pp. 107 f. As early as 1454, \* such figures were seen in a procession for the feast of the birth of Saint John the Baptist; see Cambiagi, *Memorie istoriche per la natività di S. Gio. Battista* (1766), 65–67 (cited by Matteo Palmieri [*Annales*, appendix to *Liber temporibus*, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, new ed., vol. 26, part 1, 1906, 173]): "Ventesimo [carro] Cavalleria di tre Re, Reine e Damigelle, e Ninfe, con cani, e altre appartenenze al vivo" (Twentieth [float]: cavalcade of three kings, queens, and damsels, and nymphs, with hounds, and other appurtenances, true to life).
  167. Chantilly; illustration in *L'art* (1887), 60.
  168. See Frizzoni (on Vasari, Milanese {note 4}, 4:144), *Archivio storico italiano* (1879): 256–57. Georges Lafenestre, *Gazette des beaux-arts* 2 (1880): 376, 482 (illustration), had already associated this portrait with the Simonetta of the *Giostra*.
  169. See below, p. 140.
  170. Barbèra ed. {see note 115}, 35–63.
  171. See Botticelli's drawings in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, *Purgatorio* 29.14–15. The right hand is raised almost at right angles to the arm and turned palm outward; the head is turned left, toward Dante, as are both starry eyes. The left hand lies over the left thigh; as there is no cloak there to hold, the gesture seems unmotivated.
  172. Lorenzo de' Medici, *Trionfo di Bacco ed Arianna* {see note 115}, 423.
  173. See A. Neri {note 152}, 141–46 [after the *editio princeps*, *Bucoliche elegantissimamente composte de Bernardo Pulci*..., Florence: Miscomini, 1481 O.S.]
  174. For the idea of Simonetta's return as a goddess, see Poliziano, *Giostra* 2.34.5:
- Poi vedea lieta in forma di Fortuna*  
*Sorger sua ninfa, e rabbellirsi el mondo*  
*E prender lei di sua vita governo*  
*E lui con seco far per fama eterno.*  
 (And then he saw his nymph arise with joy,  
 In Fortune's guise; the world again grew fair.  
 She now assumed direction of his life,  
 And bore him with her to eternal fame.)

175. *Leonardo da Vinci: Lebensskizze und Forschungen über sein Verhältnis zur Florentiner Kunst und zu Rafael* (Munich, 1889), 74 ff.

176. {Ibid.,} fig. 36. His head is idealized.

177. {Ibid.,} fig. 39. But now, admittedly, with no portrait features.

178. *Giostra* 1.51.1 ff.

179. *Giostra* 2.28. Müller-Walde, too, sees her as Simonetta. The “various circumstances” that bring him to this conclusion may well be similar to those set out here; and there is much for which the present writer would have been glad of M.-W.’s support and confirmation. But as a result of the curious plan of his work, his assertions have still to be followed by the evidence on which they are based; and three years have now elapsed.

180. Ed. Heinrich Ludwig, *Quellenschriften für die Kunstgeschichte*, no. 15 (Vienna, 1888), 1:528, no. 639. J. P. Richter, *Leonardo* (1883), 1:201, introduces this same drawing to accompany the same passage.

181. Ludwig {see note 180}, 1:522. In the same years (1476–78) when Botticelli was presumably working on his allegories of Venus, Leonardo was in Verrocchio’s workshop. See Bode, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 3 (1882): 258.

182. Ascribed by Müller-Walde to Leonardo and published by him as his fig. 81.

183. See the drawing by San Gallo, illustrated by Müntz, *Histoire* {see note 14}, 1:238; also Hauser {see note 26}, 17, no. 20.

184. See Richter {note 180}, 1:182, with illustration.

185. See Ludwig {note 180}, 1:116, no. 60: “...come disse il nostro boticella, che tale studio era uano, perche col solo gittare d’una spunga piena di diuersi colori in un muro esso lasciaua in esso muro una machia, doue si uedeua un bel paese” (...as our Botticelli used to say ...).

186. The remarks that follow can do no more than supplement Julius Meyer’s comprehensive and exhaustive analysis.

187. The duality of involvement and detachment is conveyed in Botticelli’s faces partly through the way in which the highlight is not located in the pupil, as a dot of light, but in the iris, where it sometimes takes the form of a circle. This gives the eye the appearance of being directed toward external objects but not sharply focused on them.

188. *Diego Velazquez* (Bonn, 1888), 1:123.

189. Gaye, *Carteggio*, 1:274–75.

190. See E. Calzini, *Urbino e i suoi monumenti* (Rocca San Casciano, 1897), 17.

# Sandro Botticelli

(1898)

Sandro Botticelli's eye and hand are the equipment of an early Renaissance Florentine artist, in all their natural freshness and keen precision; but in Sandro the sense of reality that distinguishes his contemporary mentors—Fra Filippo, Verrocchio, Pollaiuolo—becomes no more than a means to an end, that of expressing the whole cycle of human emotional life, from melancholy stillness to vehement agitation. \*

To linger with heartfelt understanding in the twilight of that delightful melancholy is the fashionable thing among today's lovers of art. However, anyone who is not content to bask in Sandro's artistic temperament, but wants a psychological understanding of him as an artist, must also follow him into the broad daylight of his work as a recorder of an intense and vigorous physical and mental life, and trace the intricate convolutions of the paths he followed as a willing illustrator to cultivated Florentine society.

In 1481, as a man of thirty-five, Botticelli was summoned to Rome to participate, in competition with the best artists of his time, in the decoration of the Sistine Chapel; and this makes a suitable vantage point from which to survey Sandro's career "in the midway of his mortal life." Very few authentic works of Sandro's youth exist to give us even a vague notion of his early manner, before 1475. By contrast, the comparatively brief period 1475–1480 offers a succession of works that represent the full range of Botticelli's technical abilities, his conceptual approach, and his range of ideas.

Two of these, in particular, the tondo of the Madonna writing, in the Uffizi (the so-called *Magnificat*), and the *Realm of Venus* (*Spring*, fig. 10), demonstrate Sandro's success in finding an individual solution to two diametrically opposed early Renaissance artistic problems. In one work he found a new mode of presentation for the devotional painting, the inexhaustible theme of Italian art from its earliest beginnings; and in the other he became the first painter to capture in a monumental picture the new ideas that were then emerging about the pantheon of antiquity.

Let us look first at the *Magnificat*. Mary, with the Christ child seated on her lap, has written the words of her own hymn of praise to the Lord who has so raised up his lowly handmaiden (Luke 1.46), in a book that is held for her, together with her writing implements, by a little angel. As she moves to dip her pen in order to write the last line, the Christ child, laying his hand on her outstretched arm, points to the words of the *Magnificat*; at the same time, he

looks up at the glory that emanates from the Holy Spirit, and at the crown that two angels hold above the head of the Mother of God as a solemn, symbolic confirmation of her elevation.

The composition and the types show that this was Sandro's first attempt at a tondo. The circular form of the painting is no longer, as with Fra Filippo, a fortuitous glimpse through a round window; it is motivated by the way in which the humility of Mary's pose is repeated by the line of the frame and thus emphasized as the dominant feature of the composition. At the same time, the circular outline obstructs a clear view of the group of angels, of whom we see only heads, torsos, and a few hands; the three angels at the outer edge can be visualized as sharing a plane with the Madonna and with the two kneeling angels only if we suppose them all to be crammed tightly together. There is so little artistic necessity for the two crown-bearing angels to be inside the circle that one would rather imagine them to be hovering round the edge of the tondo.

The older compositional formula of a lunette (as in the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Luca della Robbia) gives the angels more space to move and keeps them further away from the Madonna; and there is a hint of this in the curious diffidence with which these angels approach the Madonna. It is as if—having hitherto modestly kept their distance at the outer edge of a gloriole or of a sculptural medallion—they now hesitated to assume duties within doors, in close proximity to Mary herself.

There is an affinity to Luca della Robbia, too, in the gracious and yet earnest religious feeling that Sandro instills in his angels, spiritualizing the stolid physical presence that they inherited from the school of his teacher, Fra Filippo. The nonchalance of these Florentine choirboys is deepened, through Sandro's art, into a reverie: it reaches the viewer not as indifference but, on the contrary, as a personal and enigmatic melancholy—the pious enjoyment of which has now become an act of worship for the adherents of the Botticellian cult.

The minority of Sandro's admirers, those who would rather understand and follow him than sentimentally admire him, are not often to be met with in front of the *Magnificat*: they gather in front of the *Realm of Venus*.

Adolfo Venturi and the author of the present sketch have independently shown that the source of inspiration for the *Birth of Venus* and for the so-called *Spring* was Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo de' Medici's erudite friend and fellow-poet. In the Italian stanzas of Poliziano's *Giostra*—his poem in praise of Giuliano—the foam-born Venus, the Graces, the goddess Spring, Zephyrus, and Flora live again, in imitation of the poets of antiquity. There are historical and external grounds for supposing that the same cause that prompted Poliziano to write the *Giostra*—Giuliano's adoration of the "nymph," Simonetta—also spurred Sandro to give pictorial form, for the first time, to the same complex of mythological ideas. The image of Simonetta Vespucci, who had died young, and whom both Lorenzo and Giuliano had loved with all the chivalrous reverence that Dante felt for Beatrice or Petrarch for Laura, was to

be captured in the consolatory symbol of Dame Venus as the ruler of the re-awakening of nature. In the courtly Garden of Love, where the troubadours once went a-Maying, Sandro has set up an antique icon of the mystic, Neoplatonic cult of the soul.

The melancholy stillness is disturbed by a scene of amorous pursuit. Zephyrus chases Flora, from whose lips flowers spring. This curious detail in itself is a sign of an unexpectedly close adherence to Ovid, whose *Fasti* provide the only authority for this particular magical ability of Flora's, imparted by the touch of Zephyrus; what is more, the group of the fleeing Flora and the pursuing wind god is exactly modeled on Ovid's description, right down to the detail of the agitated accessory forms of hair and clothing.

This has a parallel in another, previously unnoticed source: the Botticelli drawing from the Malcolm collection (see fig. 17), which presents an allegory of fertility. A young woman, in motion, her dress girt up and her hair aflutter, carries in her right hand a great horn of plenty full of apples; with her left hand she leads on two putti who carry grapes and other fruits. She is the nymph who appears in Ovid after Achelous has told how his horn, wrested from his head by Hercules in single combat, was filled by kind naiads with apples and fragrant flowers and made into the horn of plenty: "So he spoke, and a nymph, girt in the style of Diana, her hair loose on her shoulders, hastened forward and brought all autumn's harvest in the rich horn, and delicious apples for dessert." [*Metamorphoses* 9.89 ff.]

The body in striding motion, the girdled, clinging, rippling garment, the flowing hair (the putti are an inessential addition, brought in to widen the range of autumnal fruits): these, again, are the motifs that inspired Botticelli to follow his source exactly. We shall be less likely to be "dismayed" by the artist's submissiveness to his text if, instead of thoughtlessly swallowing platitudes about Sandro's "naive interpretation of antiquity," we try to appreciate that his literary allegiance was not a surrender of his own individuality but the quickening of an evolution that came naturally to him.

Sandro did not rest content with his temperamental ability to reflect the subtlest nuance of a contemplative mood. He sought to be more than a lyric poet: he wanted to be a dramatist. Here, Poliziano's classical scholarship served the needs of Botticelli's imagination and of his conscious ambition. It eased the process of artistic creation and strengthened him in his preference for certain specific motifs.

The lively image of a maidservant hurrying in is already present in Fra Filippo; but it was not until Botticelli had become familiar with the nymphs of antiquity, both in art and in literature, that this running female figure acquired the sprightly, self-assured beauty of her first appearance in his fresco in the Sistine Chapel. There, Pinturicchio, Signorelli, Rosselli, and Ghirlandaio all learned from Sandro her place in art as the decorative personification of the Florentine nymph.

Botticelli uses the antique as if it were the sketch portfolio of an older and more experienced colleague; one page or another supplies a stimulus without



**Fig. 17. Botticelli**  
*Nymph of Achelous*  
Drawing. London, British Museum (see p. 159)

affecting the minute accuracy of his study of nature, and without introducing mannerisms into his language of forms, although the small group of “Simonetta paintings” already contain some signs of idealized proportional schemes influenced by Vitruvius.

In the late fifteenth century, the antique as a source of poised and measured beauty—the hallmark of its influence as we have known it since Winckelmann—still counted for comparatively little. The figures of ancient myth appeared before Italian society not as plaster casts but in person, as figures full of life and color, in the festival pageants through which pagan *joie de vivre* had kept its foothold in popular culture. The Bacchus and Ariadne in an engraving probably based on a drawing by Botticelli (see fig. 18) are the perfect embodiment of antiquity as the early Renaissance saw it. This was the image of the god of earthly exuberance, as Catullus had described him, surrounded by his riotous chorus of Bacchantes—and as Florence actually saw \* him, enthroned on his chariot in the festive pageant for which Lorenzo de’ Medici himself wrote the accompanying triumphal song. The words of that song now sound like an elegiac echo of those long-past days:

*Quant’ è bella giovinezza  
Che si fugge tuttavia!  
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia,  
Di doman non c’è certezza.*

How beautiful is youth,  
Fleeting though it is!  
Rejoice who will today,  
Tomorrow’s never sure.

Botticelli’s frescoes in the Sistine Chapel show him from a quite different angle, as a religious illustrator and as a painter of contemporary history. Together with Pinturicchio, Rosselli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, and Signorelli, he was commissioned to depict the deeds of Moses alongside the life of Christ, in keeping with medieval theological notions of the parallels between the Old and New Dispensations.

The *Rebellion of Korah* is one of Botticelli’s three frescoes. The inscription on the triumphal arch in the background, an otherwise faithful copy of the Arch of Constantine, reads as follows: “Let no man take the honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.” This explains the inner connection with the fresco by Perugino, the *Delivery of the Keys to Peter*, on the opposite wall: the solemn institution and maintenance of the dignity of priesthood in both the Old and New Dispensations. Just as Dante and Virgil in Botticelli’s illustrations to the *Divine Comedy* frequently appear several times over in a single image, in violation of the unity of the depicted space, but in conformity with the demands of the text, so here we find Moses three times over, in a succession of episodes in which he acts as a wrathful judge.



**Fig. 18. After Botticelli**  
*Bacchus and Ariadne*  
Engraving (see p. 161)





On the left the earth opens up at his command to swallow the company of Korah; in the center he calls down the avenging fire; and further to the right the blasphemer is hurried away at his behest to be stoned.

The three figures at the altar, gesticulating in despair as the flames lick around them, demonstrate the incapacity of Botticelli's imposed gestural language to find a simple and effective expression for the deepest emotions. In front of the classical backdrop of the Arch of Constantine, we are involuntarily reminded of three pagan priests who, like the followers of Korah, were struck down as they offered a sacrifice: Laocoön and his two sons. The motif was not a remote one: Botticelli's assistant Filippino, who made a composition sketch for the *Rebellion of Korah* (preserved in the drawing collection of the Uffizi), actually painted a *Death of Laocoön*, after Virgil—though it was another twenty-five years before the masterly sculptural group, with its threefold embodiment of agony, was unearthed to reveal the capacity of antique art to maintain harmony in motion. By that time, Italian painting had repressed its ornamental tendency and matured into a monumental, three-dimensional sense of form: the walls of the Sistine Chapel are surmounted by Michelangelo's ceiling.

† We owe to the recent researches of Müller-Walde the verdict of a knowledgeable contemporary on the work of Sandro, Filippino, Perugino, and Ghirlandaio: "Sandro Botticelli is an eminent painter of pictures and frescoes; his works have a manly expressiveness and are made with deliberation and proportion." As the same critic calls Filippino "*più dolce*" (sweeter) and Perugino "*molto dolce*," it was clearly mature consideration, rather than insensitivity, that led him to regard virile and purposeful endeavor as Sandro's characteristic quality.

It is the prerogative of modern sentimental rhetoric to offer up Botticelli's inmost essence for public delectation in the guise of "gracious naïveté" or "enchanted melancholy." Botticelli's artistic temperament was not worn for ostentation, like some elegant item of apparel: it was a constricting shell; and to expand it, with the inadequate tools of the thinking artist, was the conscious aim of his life's work.

# The Picture Chronicle of a Florentine Goldsmith (1899)

I n their efforts to keep alive the memory of Renaissance culture, the art lovers of our day almost rival the pietàs with which the leading spirits of the Renaissance sought to revive the grandeur of antiquity in living works of art. It is hard to imagine a more eloquent testimony to this truth than Sidney Colvin's recent publication of a mid-fifteenth-century Florentine picture chronicle.<sup>1</sup> The meticulous scholarship of this English specialist has combined with the skill of our own Imperial Press, and with the good taste of the English publisher Quaritch, to reproduce in a single magnificent volume ninety-nine sheets (now in the British Museum) of pen drawings by a Florentine artist.

Had the artist been permitted to return to life together with his work, I imagine that he would have been gratified, but also a little embarrassed, by so magnificent a personal Renaissance. "*Non avrei sognato la mia resurrexione chosì splendida!*" (I would never have dreamt my resurrection could be so splendid!), he might say, in that unvarnished Florentine dialect of which the chronicle gives so many amusing specimens. For the truth is that a number of his great contemporaries far excelled him in purely artistic ability. What makes this sequence of drawings so vastly attractive and instructive is the host of new insights that it affords us into the history and psychology of the minor arts in Florence.

By a chain of ingenious deductions, Colvin seeks to gain a clear picture of the career of Maso Finiguerra (1426–1464), named by an uncorroborated tradition as the earliest Florentine copper engraver. Not only does he identify Finiguerra as the artist of this picture chronicle, he also ascribes to him the earliest copper engravings in all of Italy, the series hitherto known by the name of the mythical Baccio Baldini. There is no doubt that this hypothesis of Colvin's, based as it is on scrupulous historical comparisons with relevant works of art (many of which he illustrates) and on documentary sources, represents a considerable advance in our understanding of the artistic circles from which the pioneer works of Italian engraving emerged. The absence of direct documentary proof means that the results are based on strong circumstantial evidence and no more; but Colvin's principal conclusion surely stands: namely, that the picture chronicle was drawn in the early 1460s by a Florentine goldsmith whose artistic idiom is close to that of Maso Finiguerra, as known to us from the intarsias of the Cathedral Sacristy and also from the

drawings widely (though not universally) ascribed to him—an artist, furthermore, whose invention, in terms of objects and ornaments, exactly coincides with the imagery of the Baldini series.

Attractive as this art-historical investigation may be, the sheer human interest of the work prevails with every drawing that we examine; we begin to cherish the hope that we may understand the artist's mind even in the absence of any additional evidence, documentary or stylistic, as to his identity. He was a child of his time; in him the new competed with the old, theological cogitation with worldly *joie de vivre*. But—and this is the strange thing about his whole attitude to life—the Middle Ages and the Renaissance do not fight for the soul of this Florentine: they peaceably share it between them.

According to the medieval authorities (from Orosius and Isidore to Antoninus of Florence), the history of the world was divided into six clearly distinct ages: (1) from the Creation to the Flood; (2) from the Flood to Abraham; (3) from Abraham to David; (4) from David to the Babylonian Captivity; (5) from the Captivity to the birth of Christ; (6) from the birth of Christ to the present. Biblical and historical characters were classified in terms of these epochs; and in them, alongside the patriarchs, prophets, and kings of the Old Testament, a number of exceptionally deserving pagan gods, heroes, sibyls, and magi took their place as representatives of those who lived in the pre-Christian era.

The present picture chronicle starts out entirely in accordance with this traditional scheme. On one page are a number of superimposed scenes, each figure with a scroll proclaiming his or her name and date. First, in succession, come Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Adah and Seth, Methuselah and Jubal, Lamech, Enoch, and Tubal Cain; but in the closing vignette of this first Age of the World we find the first stirrings of Renaissance man: a medallion consisting of a massive garland of fruit, in an antique-inspired style, with fluttering ribbons. It is inscribed, in less than perfect orthography: "*Hcui finiscie laprima e cominca secondda eta*" (Here concludes the First and begins the Second Age); sturdy Donatellian putti disport themselves all around.

The sequential arrangement of figures, with identifying scrolls and inscriptions, is maintained as far as the beginning of the Third Age; however, as early as Noah (fol. 4), a freer imagination begins to stir, prompting the artist to transform the marginal ornaments of this history book into lively genre scenes. He starts to devote each page to a single scene, fashioned into a unitary space by a perspectival landscape and architectural backdrops. Thus, we see Noah seated at a table in his vine arbor, his heavy head propped on one hand. Above him is an untamed profusion of gigantic bunches of grapes, and God's bounty flows from a massive silver jug. In the background, ringed with hills, is a bay in which ships ride at anchor.

However, bird's-eye views of landscapes and cities clearly appealed less to this goldsmith's imagination than did the minute depiction of utensils, costumes, and architectural details. No armory, however lavish, can boast a finer array of decorative weaponry than that worn by the warriors who appear in

this picture chronicle: Nimrod and Jupiter, Semiramis and Inachus, Caleb and Saturn, are equipped with the most magnificent Renaissance armor, including no fewer than twenty-eight fantastic tournament helmets, every one of them worthy to be the hotly contested prize at a Florentine *giostra*.

His highly original imaginary buildings are surrounded by a similar profusion of ornament: putti tugging heavy garlands of beribboned greenery, alongside stylized Gothic trails of blossom; old-fashioned windows, alongside classical architraves and quasi-Corinthian capitals adorned with dolphins—a beast that was adopted by the Quattrocento as an animal manifestation of the Line of Beauty and used for the same purposes of atmospheric ornament as is the swan in our own fin de siècle. And yet, thanks to the moderating influence of the austere classicism of Quattrocento architecture, even his most audacious castles in the air (the palace of Joseph, or the temples of Solomon and of the Goddess of Peace) retain a certain plausibility.

To convert such structures—or such baroque flights of fancy as the throne canopy beneath which “Linus” and “Museus” make music—into a technical reality was the prerogative of only one art, aside from that of the goldsmith: and that was the art of pageant decoration, with its short-lived but gorgeous edifices of timber, plaster, painted canvas, and gilding. We have only to take a second and closer look at the chariot on which Joseph travels through the countryside, and particularly at the vehicle in which “Pruto” carries off “Preserpina,” to recognize them as the same fantastic *carri trionfali* (triumphal cars) in which historical figures made their appearance in the masquerades, processions, and pageants of the Quattrocento. Not the tranquil grandeur of the plaster cast or of the assigned classic text, but these *carri* with their mythological and allegorical passengers were the truly popular vehicle (in every sense) of a past that was resurrected, in the flesh, before the very eyes of the public.

The influence of this pageantry on the education and training of artists in general has never yet been adequately appreciated; and yet it is hard to overestimate. Not only did festive architecture afford scope for decorative experimentation: it was also the main setting for the clash between energy and constraint that so often governs the course of artistic evolution. On the one hand there was a “naïve realism” that made no separation between present and past but accepted the visible, flesh-and-blood figures as the past itself; and on the other hand there was an “antiquarian idealism” that expected any revival of antiquity to embody a degree of archaeological accuracy, both in costume and in ornament. Pesello and Pesellino fell into the “naïve” category: on their *cassone* panels they painted scenes from pagan mythology just as if they were taking place on the Piazza della Signoria. Botticelli was the precursor of the other group: that of the antiquarian mythological painters in the grand style.

Here, too, the “Master of the Goldsmith’s Chronicle” is a curious transitional type: a *cassone* painter with Botticellian leanings. Like the *cassone* painters, he uses the facts of universal history primarily as a pretext for showing the splendor of contemporary costume—as is particularly evident in his

historical image of the abduction of Helen [fig. 19]. Paris and Helen make an elegant couple, dressed in the finest French taste (what is now called “chic” was then called *alla parigina*); the abduction itself is symbolically indicated by Lord Paris’s graceful gesture in taking Helen’s arm and inviting her to join him in stepping outside the pillared Renaissance pavilion in which they stand.

Costumes are rendered in such detail that the *imprese* or devices embroidered on the sleeves, as worn in high Florentine society on festive occasions, and especially at tournaments, can be seen and—I notice—sometimes identified. “Fortune’s swelling sail,” exactly as devised by Giovanni Rucellai, appears on the sleeves of Ascanius (fol. 76) and “Pulisena” (fol. 61). Another *impresa*, consisting of an eagle flying up to the sun and a tiny catlike animal beneath, is worn in the same manner by the page (fol. 59). These two emblems return on the sleeves of the women contestants in the so-called *Battle for the Breeches* in the Baldini series; as this engraving dates from before 1464, and as Giovanni Rucellai, in his *Ricordi*, specifically describes Maso Finiguerra as a *maestro di disegno*, we have here a new argument in favor of Colvin’s hypothesis.

A diametrically opposed effort to achieve an antiquarian stylization appears in a series of female figures (the Amazon, Ariadne, Medea) who wear billowing, antique draperies. These were the predecessors of the Florentine “nymph,” whom the early Renaissance naturalized as a decorative motif, and who was, as it were, the winged Victory of the Roman triumphal arches, rediscovered in real life as a woman in sprightly motion.

But our artist is not only fascinated by the radiant *joie de vivre* of antique art: he is also under the obscurantist spell of pagan superstition. He presents no fewer than six celebrated magicians, including such strange figures as

\* Ostanes, with all their apparatus of conjuration and their bizarre train of spirits.

But I hasten to conclude my notice. For anyone who can see the cultural history of the average artistic milieu as no less important than an art history confined to the major talents, the world reflected in the mind of our Florentine goldsmith will hold a great and growing fascination.

#### Note

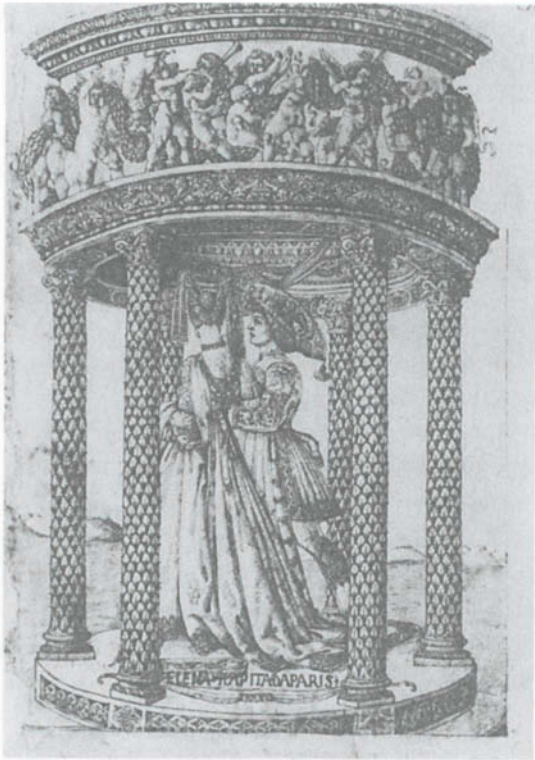
1. *A Florentine Picture Chronicle, Being a Series of Ninety-Nine Drawings Representing Scenes and Personages of Ancient History, Sacred and Profane*, by Maso Finiguerra, Reproduced from the Originals in the British Museum by the Imperial Press, Berlin, with Many Minor Illustrations Drawn from Contemporary Sources and a Critical and Descriptive Text by Sidney Colvin, M.A., Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898), 144 pages, 99 plates, 117 illustrations in text. Large folio.

# On *Imprese Amoroze* in the Earliest Florentine Engravings (1905)

A series of twenty-four round or oval engravings, attributed to the more or less mythical Baccio Baldini, and considered to be among the rarest and most interesting incunabula of Italian printmaking, have long since attracted and retained the attention of amateurs and historians of art. Baron von Stosch—a precursor of that generation of art-minded foreigners for whom Florence became a second home—discovered and purchased them, probably in Florence, where he lived amid his artistic treasures from 1731 until his death in 1757. In 1783 Stosch's nephew and heir, Stosch-Walton (also known as Muzel) sold the engravings to a rich Leipzig merchant, Peter Ernst Otto, whose name remained attached to them; long after his death in 1799, they were still known as *Otto-Teller* (Otto prints; literally, Otto plates), although scattered over the art-collecting world. They are now in public and private collections in London, Paris, Vienna, and Cambridge (U.S.A.).<sup>1</sup> Just as the name of Otto no longer corresponds to the location of the engravings, the word *Teller* corresponds even less to their nature and purpose. The earliest scholars to examine them referred to these tondi, much more appropriately, as lid decorations:<sup>2</sup> a purpose for which the shape of the oval ones, at any rate, is far better suited than it is for a plate, which would demand a circular shape and a consistent size.<sup>3</sup> These tondi are, in fact, ideally suited, in shape and in size, to be stuck to the lids of the little spice boxes (*bossoli da spezie*)<sup>4</sup> that the well-bred suitor was wont to present to the lady of his heart.

The printed tondi could thus take the place of paintings on the lids of these little love gifts (as seen in a rare surviving example in the Figdor collection).<sup>5</sup> Most of them depict a pair of courtly lovers, together with coats of arms and mottoes: a sure sign that these engravings belong in some way to the applied art of courtly life, with its function of proudly proclaiming, or discreetly implying, the donors' personal relationships. The impressions of each image were intended to be used on different occasions, as is shown by the circular blanks or unmarked escutcheons on nine of the engravings,<sup>6</sup> which were clearly intended to hold the arms of each lovelorn giver. In some cases, an early if not contemporary hand has filled in the blanks with the arms of Florentine families: on two occasions those of the Medici,<sup>7</sup> and once, it seems to me, those of the Buondelmonti.<sup>8</sup>

Although these externals invite us to investigate the identity of the couples depicted, and their relation to the *vita amorosa* of Quattrocento Florence,



**Fig. 19. *Rape of Helen***  
Florentine pen drawing. London, British Museum  
(see p. 168)



**Fig. 20. *Lorenzo de' Medici and Lucrezia Donati***  
Florentine engraving (see p. 171)



no one has hitherto done so—not so much because the figures and scenes themselves afford no clues,<sup>9</sup> as because the modern art-historical mind is not attuned to the cultural history of accessories; in the impatient longing for the “wider view,” such trifles tend to be passed over too hastily. In fact, the very quantity and quality of these *accessori del costume* reveals the true strength of the ornamental realism that, from the earliest beginnings of secular art, so charmingly clothed the personages of biblical history, Roman legend, and Italian poetry in a bizarre and almost impenetrable disguise. Naive and innocuous though it might seem, this realistic costume style *alla francese* was in fact the most powerful enemy of that elevated style of emotive rhetoric *all’antica* which was to shake off the sumptuous burden of fashionable dress, once and for all, only in the heroic manner of Antonio Pollaiuolo.

Our Baldini tondi, as I would like to show in the pages that follow, afford a unique insight into this crucial stylistic period of transition between late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, around 1465; this is because, although as ornamental love-tokens they are functionally related to the *cassoni*, they inevitably tend toward a more spiritual style of depiction of the figure. In the cycle of the *vita amorosa*, they pertain to the more poetic phase of the *amore desideroso* (desirous love), whereas the *cassone* has the far more prosaic function of storing the costly trousseau of a bourgeois bride: it is a symbol of *possessione nuziale* (marital fulfillment). This is the love that takes delight in seeing the lavish garments and jewels of the wedding guests commemorated on the gaily painted sarcophagus that marks the demise of *passione sentimentale*.

Evident though it is, this curious cultural dualism in matters of love has hitherto gone unobserved. It finds expression on the lids of those love-token boxes in which a stiff, ornamental realism of costume *alla francese* seems perfectly compatible with the wearing of swirling antique draperies. From this stylistic point of view, let us consider the reduced illustration shown here [fig. 20] of one of the most celebrated of these *tondini* (roundels), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.<sup>10</sup>

The outer circle has a diameter of 143 mm and the blank inner circle has a diameter of 67 mm; so that the figurative composition has to be fitted into a ring approximately 38 mm wide.<sup>11</sup> The ingenious and graceful way in which the artist makes a virtue of necessity suggests—as, indeed, the other tondi prove—that he was quite used to solving the difficult compositional problem involved: that of fitting two standing figures, a young man and a lady, into a narrow segment in such a way that they unite in some way without encroaching on the large circular blank left for the coat of arms. This done, there must be plenty of room left for other, external attributes.

First of all, the two figures must stand on separate rocky outcrops, divided by a flowery dell; this enables them more easily to come together at the pole of the circle, where their hands join indirectly. In her right hand, the lady holds up an armillary sphere, which the young man lightly touches with the fingers of his left hand. Their left hands are also indirectly linked by a fluttering motto scroll, which they hold between them; it bears the inscription

*“Amor vuol fe e dove fe nonne Amor non puo.”* (Love demands faith, and where faith is not, Love cannot be.)

Close to the sphere, and to this scroll, we see the true, personal *impresa amorosa* of the lover in the case, prominently displayed and visible in all the many reproductions of the engraving. His wide, embroidered sleeve, which he sports almost like a shield, bears the device of a ring with three ostrich feathers that is known to history as the personal *impresa* of Lorenzo il Magnifico.<sup>12</sup> This would indicate that the young man is Lorenzo himself, apparently at the age of sixteen or eighteen; and that the face, framed in its ample and characteristic *zazzera* (shock of hair), is a somewhat idealized version of his features—rather as in the fresco in the chapel of the Palazzo Mediceo, on the Via Larga, painted a few years earlier by Gozzoli.

Even at this age, young Lorenzo was already engaged in amorous adventures, as we know by chance through the letters of Alessandra Macinghi-Strozzi, who in 1465 gave her son Filippo a caustic account of Lorenzo's relationship with a certain Lucrezia. She did so not without a certain bitterness, because Lorenzo's favor had enabled Niccolò Ardinghelli, whom Lucrezia married, to pay a short visit to Florence—which Alessandra's sons, to her great grief, were still not permitted to do.<sup>13</sup>

Guasti, the editor of Alessandra's *Lettere*, surmises, without producing any documentary evidence, that this Lucrezia was a member of the Gondi family. Might this Lucrezia Gondi be the nymph we see here, in her strange quasi-antique disguise? We have no trace of any Lucrezia Gondi-Ardinghelli who might have been Lorenzo's beloved; on the other hand, another Lucrezia is known to have been loved by Lorenzo, and was indeed made famous by his poetic and Platonic adoration of her. This was Lucrezia Donati, whose relations with Lorenzo must date from 1467 at the latest.<sup>14</sup> Other evidence apart, this is clear from Pulci's poem on the tournament of 1469, in which he alluded to chivalric tributes that had been planned by Lorenzo at an earlier date but forbidden by Lucrezia's father, Piero. Pulci wrote of that abortive *giostra* (tournament):

*E perchè egli havea scritto in adamante  
Quello atto degno di celeste honore,  
Si ricordò, come gentile amante,  
D'un detto antico: CHE vuol' fede amore,  
Et preparava già l'armi leggiadre,  
Ma nol consente il suo famoso padre.*<sup>15</sup>

Because he had inscribed in adamant  
That action worthy of celestial praise,  
Mindful, as all true lovers still should be,  
Of the old saw THAT Love Demands Faith,  
He started to make ready his light arms;  
But then her famous sire denied consent.

The “*detto antico*” that Pulci cites as a well-known motto is thus identical in content to the motto on the scroll; which clearly shows that motto to refer to Lucrezia Donati.

In the course of his researches at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, † Giovanni Poggi discovered that the Lucrezia in Alessandra’s letters was not a Gondi, as Guasti had unwarrantably supposed, but a Donati. As the records confirm, she was the wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, whom she married when she was about fifteen years old, on 26 April 1465.<sup>16</sup> †

On 26 May of that year, Niccolò had to return to the Levant; and Lucrezia stayed behind, beautiful as ever (“*molto bella*”).<sup>17</sup> How Lorenzo continued to honor his beloved with all kinds of festivities we learn from a passage in Pulci’s *Giostra*:

*Poi cominciò a tentar nuove arti e ingegni,  
Et hor cavagli, hor fantasie, hor veste,  
Mutare nuovi pensier, divise, e segni,  
Et hor far balli, et hor notturne feste;  
Et che cosa è che questo amor no insegni,  
Et molte volte al suo bel Sole apparve,  
Per compiacerli, con mentite larve.*<sup>18</sup>

Later he tried his hand at other arts,  
At cavalcades, caprices, costumes, still  
Inventing new conceits, devices, signs;  
He ordered dances, festivals by night —  
For this love teaches endless ingenuity —  
Often appearing to his beauteous Sun  
With face disguised, to please her, in a mask.

A notable passage in Alessandra’s *Lettere* proves, besides, that Lorenzo was able to display his courtly love in public with the consent of the lady’s husband, Niccolò. On 3 February 1466, at Lucrezia’s request, Lorenzo held a masked ball in the Sala del Papa at S. Maria Novella, in honor of Niccolò, who had returned home laden with treasures. For the occasion, Lucrezia had devised a special *livrea* (livery) for herself, and Lorenzo also wore it:

*Ricordami ora di dirti, che Niccolò Ardinghelli ti potrà pagare; che si dice ha vinto bene otto mila fiorini. Doverra’lo avere sentito alla tornata delle galee. La donna sua è qua, e gode; che s’ha fatto di nuovo un vestire con una livrea, e suvvi poche perle, ma grosse e belle: e così si fece a dì 3, a suo’ stanza, un ballo nella sala del Papa a Santa Maria Novella; che l’ordinorono Lorenzo di Piero. E fu lui con una brigata di giovani vestiti della livrea di lei, cioppette pagonazze ricamate di belle perle. E Lorenzo è quegli che portano bruno colla livrea delle perle, e † di gran pregio!*<sup>19</sup>

Remind me to tell you that Niccolò Ardinghelli is now in a position to pay you; he is said to have made at least eight thousand florins. He must have heard this when the ships came in. His lady is here, and enjoying herself, because she has made another costume for herself, a livery with few pearls, it is true, but large and fine ones. A ball was held on the third, during their residence, in the Sala del Papa at Santa Maria Novella; it was arranged by Lorenzo di Piero. He was there with a party of young men dressed in her livery, purple doublets sewn with beautiful pearls. Lorenzo and those others in mourning, in livery encrusted with pearls, and valuable ones at that!

In the engraving we see Lorenzo wearing a *livrea d'amore* of this kind. Perhaps, indeed, it is the very one that he wore at that ball: even the few but large and fine pearls can be seen. Be that as it may, he is shown resplendent in fashionable "livery": over the tightly pleated, fur-trimmed doublet hangs a belt, *alla parigina*, fretted and nielloed, of the type that was made in Maso Finiguerra's shop at around the same time.<sup>20</sup> The livery also includes a curious pair of boots, the legs of which are made up of artificial leaves.

Lucrezia, on the other hand, is in a curious transitional stage, sartorially speaking, between burdensome contemporary high fashion, *alla franzese*, and a sprightly ideal costume, *all'antica*. On her head she wears a *fermaglio*, the weighty and ostentatious headdress with which, in their pride of possession, the mercantile citizens of Florence adorned their brides; but her hair is dressed *alla ninfa* and flows back freely. A pair of wings, proper attributes of the Etruscan Medusa, rises up from her temples: a symbol directly borrowed from antiquity, and thus an indication of the elevated, ideal nature of the figure.<sup>21</sup> The rest of her costume shows the same contrast between prosaic reality and the ideal. The bodice is fashionably low-necked, and the sleeves, with their ornately slashed shoulder-pieces, might well form part of a fantastic, but perfectly feasible, masquerade costume; but the skirt, from which her feet emerge in pagan nakedness, was never seen with so lightsome a swirl on any contemporary flesh-and-blood woman. It is like the dresses of the flying Victories on Roman triumphal arches, or of those dancing maenads, consciously imitated from the antique, who first appeared in the works of Donatello and of Filippo Lippi. Those figures revived the loftier antique style of life in motion, as we find it in the homeward-bound Judith, or in the angelic companion of Tobias, or in the dancing Salome, who emerged on biblical pretexts from the workshops of Pollaiuolo, Verrocchio, Botticelli, and Ghirlandaio, grafting eternal shoots of pagan antiquity onto the withered rootstock of Flemish-influenced bourgeois painting.<sup>22</sup>

The artist has made a notable effort to exalt the lady to an ideal plane; as witness a letter from Braccio Martelli to Lorenzo de' Medici, dated 27 April 1465, describing the real costume worn by the unnamed heroine of a *brigata amorosa* (an amorous intrigue).<sup>23</sup> The lady in question danced a "*moresca*" with a gentleman "*stranamente aconcio*" (strangely accoutred), and wore, in evident allusion to an intimate relationship with Lorenzo, a blue sleeve embroidered with the word "*Spero*" (I hope).



**Fig. 21. Judith**  
Florentine engraving (see p. 174)

† It is likely that, in accordance with the contemporary fondness for allegory, the sphere held by the *tondino* figure of Lucrezia is a play on the same word, *spero*, and that the ring with the feathers conceals, with the same labored ingenuity, the motto “*diamante in paenis*” (either “diamond in plumes” or “of a lover in torment”).<sup>24</sup> Again, in the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* published by Sidney Colvin, an elegant youth wears a sphere of the same kind on his sleeve.<sup>25</sup>

This apart, there can be no doubt that the female figure is meant to be quasi-antique: she reappears, in exactly the same guise, in a related engraving of Theseus and Ariadne.<sup>26</sup> And so Lucrezia, in mythological garb, directly faces the fashionably dressed Lorenzo; for this tondo represents the encounter between two stylistic principles.<sup>27</sup>

The same contrast can be traced through the other prints, where most of the couples are either both dressed *alla francese*—the lady in a heavy dress with a train, the stiff Burgundian hennin, and a wimple; the gentleman with mottoes in French embroidered on his sleeves or hose<sup>28</sup>—or both in antique style, as in the tondo of Jason and Medea,<sup>29</sup> in which both figures might have been taken from an ancient *lucerna fittile* (pottery lamp).<sup>30</sup>

† The barbaric Northern taste in dress became the object of a deliberate campaign of stylistic reform, *all'antica*. Conclusive visual proof of this is to be found, it seems to me, in an engraving from the planetary series attributed to the supposed Baccio Baldini.<sup>31</sup> Here the contact with the Northern European woodcut was a direct one: the Italian engraver probably worked from a Burgundian variant of a lost German original.<sup>32</sup> In earlier impressions of the engraving, we find a lady dancing in the outworn splendor of the true Burgundian fashion: a clumsy train renders her earthbound, and her head is burdened with a hennin with a voluminous veil. In later printings of the same planetary image, the antique butterfly has emerged from the Burgundian chrysalis: the dress flows free, like that of Victory herself; and a Medusa-winged headdress—a welcome aid to flight, for a nymph who dances on air—has banished the empty ostentation of the hennin [figs. 22, 23]. This is the native idealism of grace in motion that Botticelli made into the noblest expressive resource of early Renaissance art.

† It is entirely possible, therefore, that the young Sandro Botticelli himself was the draftsman responsible for these engravings. It is not only the analysis of the costume in this image that leads us irresistibly to Botticelli, the artist to whom the best of the so-called Baccio Baldini engravings have long been ascribed. Now that we know, thanks to Mesnil,<sup>33</sup> that Botticelli was born in 1444 or 1445, the last pretext for doubting the attribution is dispelled; and this can very easily be reconciled with the role assigned by Colvin to the Finiguerra workshop in the production of the earliest copper engravings on secular subjects.<sup>34</sup>

The Baldini engravings cannot be the work of Tommaso (Maso) Finiguerra himself, who died in 1464; but the similarity between his style and Botticelli's can be explained by another fact, not previously remarked on. Sandro's

father, Mariano di Vanni, says in his tax return for 1457 that his son Sandro “*sta a legare*,”<sup>35</sup> that is, he is apprenticed to a goldsmith and is learning to set stones. The goldsmith in question was, I surmise, none other than Antonio Finiguerra, Tommaso’s father; because in that very year, in *his* tax return, Antonio lists Mariano di Vanni<sup>36</sup> among those who owe him money: another hitherto unnoticed fact.

This modest lid ornament thus presents us with a symptom of that crucial period of transition in the style of Florentine secular painting in which it strove to develop away from the painting of wedding furniture, *alla francese*, and toward the antique sublimity of style afforded by the autonomous easel picture. Absorbed by the requirements of contemporary gallantry, in which secrets demanded to be simultaneously concealed and revealed, Sandro had yet to commit himself; and this was partly because his mentor, Poliziano, had yet to initiate him into the Platonic realm of the Celestial Venus.

A decade or so later, this same Sandro had decisively embarked on the great stylistic shift, and was transposing the matter of medieval romance into a visual world whose reference was to antiquity. He had celebrated Lorenzo de’ Medici and Lucrezia Donati in a style of mingled realism and idealism; but now, under the influence of Poliziano, he created the quasi-antique apotheosis of Giuliano’s love of Simonetta Vespucci in the *Pallas*,<sup>37</sup> in the *Birth of Venus*, and in the *Realm of Venus*.

In order to render the gift boxes—the *scatoline d’amore*—entirely credible as an organic transitional stage to the free mythological easel painting on canvas, it will be necessary to undertake a stylistic analysis of the other twenty-three *tondini*.<sup>38</sup> And another department of the applied art of courtship, hitherto equally neglected, must enter the purview of art-historical study: namely, the standards borne at tournaments, which, although lost, can be reconstructed from descriptions quite adequately for the purposes of critical study. Florentine festive pageantry, as a factor in the formation of style, must be absorbed into the history of the artistic cult and culture of the Renaissance. This I hope to attempt in the studies that follow.

### ***Lucrezia Donati and Lucrezia Ardinghelli***

(Note to page 173)

The identification of Lucrezia Donati as Lucrezia, wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, is supported principally by the note that follows, extracted from a *Libro di annotazioni e ricordi per la chiesa di S. Trinita* (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Conv. soppr., S. Trinita, vol. 135): “*Lucrezia Donati moglie di Niccolò Ardinghelli obligò il monasterio che facessi all’altare degli Ardinghelli la festa della Croce di Maggio e di Dicembre etc.*” (Lucrezia Donati, wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, engaged the monastery to celebrate the feast of the holy cross at the Ardinghelli altar in May, December, etc.)

In the tax return (*portata al catasto*) submitted in 1470 by Caterina, Niccolò’s mother (Archivio di Stato, Florence, S. Maria Novella, Unicorno), she lists among the members (“mouths”) of her household the following:





Fig. 22. *The Planet Venus*

Engraving from Baldini almanac, first edition (see p. 176)





Fig. 23. *The Planet Venus*

Engraving from Baldini almanac, second edition  
 (see p. 176)

“Nicholò d’anni 38, Luchrezia donna di decto Nicholò d’anni 21” (Niccolò aged 38, Lucrezia wife to the said Niccolò aged 21). A book of *Ricordi* of Filippo Strozzi, still in the archive of his family, yields a curious note on the baptism of a son of Lucrezia’s, to whom Clarice, wife to Lorenzo il Magnifico, stood godmother:

...a dì 15 detto <July 1471> fior. 32 s. 18 per più chonfetti ciera e altre choxe levai da lo speziale del diamante al chanto delli stampatoi e donate a la donna di Nicholò Ardinghelli per parte de’ conpari e chomari che fumo cinque, cioè messer Giovanni Bentivogli da Bologna, Messer Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, madonna Chlaricie di Lorenzo de’ Medici e Francescho Nori e io; ma quatro fumo a pa<gare?> perchè messer Gio<vanni> non achonchorse—E a dì 19 detto per valuta di fior. 3 larghi messi nella fasce del figliuolo di Nicholò Ardinghelli quando lo battezzai—E a dì 21 di Marzo fior. 1 largo per uno ciero bianco di libbre 7 auto da lo speziale del diamante e mandato a donare ala Luchrezia moglie di Nicholò Ardinghelli, per l’uxanza, avendoli battezzato il figliuolo.

—G. Poggi

...on the 15th of the same <July 1471>, 32 florins: 18 for sugared almonds, wax candles and other items collected from the Diamond grocery, beside the printing house, and given to the wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli on behalf of the five godparents: Messer Giovanni Bentivogli of Bologna, Messer Bongianni Gianfigliazzi, Madonna Clarice di Lorenzo de’ Medici, Francesco Nori, and myself. Only four of us paid, because Messer Gio<vanni> did not contribute. And on the 19th of that month, 3 florins placed in the swaddling clothes of the son of Niccolò Ardinghelli, when I stood godfather to him. And on March 21, 1 florin for a white candle weighing 7 pounds from “Del Diamante,” sent as a gift to Lucrezia, wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, as is customary, after standing godfather to her son.

## Notes

1. A systematic listing of these “plates” has lately been provided by M. G. Duplessis, “Mémoire sur quatre-vingts estampes italiennes du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle désignées sous le nom d’Estampes de la collection Otto,” *Mémoires...des antiquaires de France*, 4th ser., 6 (1875): 216–35, and by Kolloff in Meyer’s *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 2 (1878): 574 f. I adopt the numbering used by Duplessis and by Kolloff. A generous selection of the tondi has been published by the International Chalcographical Society; and many are to be seen reproduced in Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle* (1898). But eight still remain unpublished.

2. See the bibliographies in Duplessis and Kolloff (note 1).

3. The diameters of the tondi range from 94 mm to 200 mm.

4. This term appears frequently in the Medici inventory of 1492; see the ed. by Müntz (Paris, 1888), 34.

5. From the Spitzer collection; also reproduced by Frimmel, *Kleine Galleriestudien*, n.s., 4 (1896): 7, and by Weisbach, *Pesellino* (1901), 22.

6. Kolloff {see note 1}, nos. 151, 165, 166, 167, 172, and 160, 161, 162, 171 (?).

7. Kolloff {see note 1}, nos. 151, 157; in both cases a later hand has inserted the Medici arms, with six balls and with fleurs-de-lis in the topmost ball, thus after 1465; no. 157 also shows another coat of arms (Austria?)

8. See fig. 92 in Colvin {note 1}.

9. In my review of Colvin {see note 1} for the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1899), no. 2, I showed that a number of Florentine *imprese* seen on caps and sleeves reappear in the engravings of the so-called Baccio Baldini: e.g., the Rucellai *impresa* [see p. 168].

10. [Fig. 20.] This engraving has been reproduced several times: not only by Duplessis {see note 1} but by Delaborde, *La gravure en Italie avant Marc Antoine*, 66; by Müntz, *Les primitifs* (1889), 719; and also by Heiss, *Les médailleurs de la Renaissance: Florence* (1891), 30.

11. Our reproduction, taken from Delaborde's heliogravure [now fig. 20, taken from Kristeller], is slightly reduced.

12. The origin of this *impresa* and its connection with Lorenzo il Magnifico are not adequately known in detail, despite the account of it in Giovio, *Ragionamento sopra le imprese* [Rome, 1555]. From contemporary miniatures it seems that Lorenzo used it in conjunction with others that were personal to himself; see Carta, "Catalogo," in *Indici e cataloghi* 13 (Rome, 1891): 93 ff., Codice Berghieri, Biblioteca Nazionale, Milan. It is strange that the same *impresa* (although with some minor variants) appears as early as a painting by Fra Filippo, now in London: see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, [Italian ed., 1892,] 5:147, and Kristeller, *Archivio storico dell'arte* (1893), 394. Kristeller (ibid.) has also found it in an early Florentine engraving of the *Resurrection*. The personal connection of this *impresa* with Lorenzo il Magnifico would follow from the previously unnoticed fact that the ring with three feathers and the motto "*Semper*" appear, with the Medici and Tornabuoni arms, on the reverse of the *desco da parto* of the *Triumph of Fame* that was probably painted to mark Lorenzo's birth. Mr. Einstein, who has called my attention to this *desco* (now in the collection of the Historical Society), will shortly publish and illustrate it in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* [33 (1905): 416 ff.]. Unfortunately, there is still no study of the Medici *imprese*.

13. See *Lettere*, ed. Guasti (1877), 386: "... e forse Lorenzo suo vi s'adoperò per fare quello a piacere alla suo'dama e donna di Niccolò, perchè ne facci a lui; che spesso la vede... Gioverà forse più l'avere bella moglie, ch'e prieghi di 47 <the king of Naples?>" (and perhaps her Lorenzo endeavored to do this as a favor to his lady, Niccolò's wife, in hope of favors from her in return; he sees a great deal of her... It may do him more good to have a beautiful wife than to entreat 47 <the king of Naples?>).

14. See C. Carocci, *La giostra di Lorenzo de' Medici* (1899).

15. In the 1572 edition {*Giostra*, stanza 11, in Pulci, *Ciriffo Calvaneo*}, the words "*Che vuol*" are letterspaced; in the fifteenth-century edition, the words "*Amor vuole fede*" (Love demands faith) appear in the margin. I have yet to find the origin of this *sentenza*, which was in frequent use. A similar motto is found on the box in the Figdor collection: "*un puro amor vuol fè*" (a pure love demands faith). There is also a Venetian mirror bearing the image of a young man and the motto "*Amor vuol fè*," in Müntz, *La Renaissance à l'époque de Charles VIII* (1885), 68.

\*

16. *Lettere* [see note 13], 396: “Niccolò Ardinghelli mena domani la donna, ch’è gran festa. Ma dipoi mi penso sarà il contrario, ch’è n’andrà in Levante.” (Niccolò Ardinghelli is bringing his wife to the celebration tomorrow. But after that I think things will be different, and he will go off to the Levant.) [See note, pp. 177 ff.]

17. *Lettere* [see note 13], 408.

18. Stanza 17 (1572 ed.) [see note 15].

19. *Lettere* [see note 13], 575.

20. See Rinuccini, *Ricordi*, ed. Alazzi (1840), 251: “a dì 17 di Dicembre 1461... per uno fornimento d’ariento, l’ha dorato e lavorato con traforo alla parigina, tolsi da lui per mettere a una fetta alla domaschina...” (on 17 December 1461: to a silver ornament, gilded and openworked in the Parisian style, removed and attached to a damascened belt), and in the Acciaiuoli inventory, “1<sup>a</sup> cintoletta franciescha con ispranghe d’ariento orate e con ismalti alla fibbia e ’l punctale” (one French belt with silver gilt bars and enameled buckle and ferrule). See C. Mazzi, *Argenti degli Acciaiuoli* [1895], 24.

21. This becomes more evident if we look at the head of the Judith [fig. 21] (Kolloff [see note 1], no. 162, reproduced by Colvin [see note 1], fig. 74), which might be derived from the Medusa on the tomb of the Volumnii. The profile of the Medea (Colvin, pl. 58) shows the same headdress as the Medusa, although somewhat exaggerated. Compare, also, the *Pallas* in intarsia on a door in the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino [fig. 16], after a design by Botticelli, in which the Medusa on the shield has the same dragon wings that reappear on Pallas’s helmet: reproduced in *L’arte* 5 (1902): 407. On the *Venus Virgo* who appears with the same headdress on *cassoni* and on medals, see my “*Birth of Venus and Spring*” (1893) [see p. 117].

22. I have written elsewhere on the significance of this “nymph” in relation to the influence of antiquity. See “*Birth of Venus and Spring*” (1893); “Theatrical Costumes by Bernardo Buontalenti, 1589,” in *Atti del R. istituto musicale di Firenze* (1895, not for sale); and “Sandro Botticelli,” in *Museum* (1901), 22. I give these references because the point, which remains insufficiently clarified, has yet to attract the attention of other students [see pp. 107 f., 155 n. 166, 158 f., 379 ff.].

23. Del Lungo mentions the letter, which is in cipher, in *Florentia* (1897), 212; it is † in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, Med. av. il Princ., XXII, 29.

24. See Chassant-Tauzin, *Dictionnaire des devises* 2 (1878), 645, from *Le mausolée de la Toison d’or* (1689), 100; on the so-called *énigmes figurées* of Picardy, see the rare \* book by Tabourot, *Les bigarrures et touches du seigneur des accords* (1640), 22, 23, 24.

25. Colvin [see note 1], pl. 81.

26. Reproduced by Heiss [see note 10], 70; Colvin [see note 1], fig. 83, and Müntz, *Précurseurs* (1882), 235.

27. Only one print (Kolloff, no. 151), in Cambridge, U.S.A., reproduced in facsimile by Heineken, *Neue Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunstsachen* (1786), and by Ottley, *An Inquiry into the Origin and Early History of Engraving...* (1816), 1:354, shows the same contrast; and in that case, too, as I shall proceed to demonstrate, the persons represented are Lorenzo and Lucrezia.

28. E.g., Kolloff, nos. 155, 156, 160, 164, 167, 168; and 152, 153, and 161, in which fashionable costumes are shown.

29. Kolloff, no. 165 (Colvin {see note 1}, fig. 92), but the draperies and motifs are wholly archaizing, as in Kolloff, nos. 150, 162, 163, 170, 171, and 173.

30. See, e.g., Bartoli, *Lucernae veterum sepulcrales, cum annot. Bellorii*, ed. Beger (1702), part 2, fig. 36.

31. See Lippmann, *Die sieben Planeten*, published by the International Chalcographical Society (1895).

32. I have set out this hypothesis elsewhere, in *Sitzungsbericht der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* 2 (1905): 7 ff. {see p. 275}; the main points of the argument are presented by Kautzsch, who does not, however, carry them to their ultimate conclusion: see *Repertorium* (1897), 32 ff.

33. See Jacques Mesnil in *Miscellanea d'arte* (1903), 87.

34. Colvin {see note 1}, 21; Maso died on 24 August 1464.

35. See Vasari (ed. Milanesi), 3:286, who tells us that Pollaiuolo learned “*il legare le gioie e lavorare a fuoco smalti d'argento*” (jewelry setting and firing silver enamels). †

36. Colvin {see note 1}, 23 (pointed out by H. Horne). *Portata*, 1457, S. Maria Novella, Unicorn: num. verde 813, c. 163: among those who owed money to Antonio Finiguerra, the name listed after that of one Antonio di Vanni is “*Mariano di Vanni, fior. 3.*”

37. See G. Poggi, “La giostra medicea del 1475 e la Pallade di Botticelli,” *L'arte* (1902), 71 ff. [and 401 f.; p. 144 of the present volume].

38. I have since given an analysis of some other *tondini* in a paper on the “Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century,” delivered to the Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft of Berlin in February 1905 [pp. 275 ff.].



**Fig. 24. Giotto**  
*The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule*  
 Florence, Santa Croce (see p. 188)



**Fig. 25. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule*  
 Florence, Santa Trinita (see p. 188)

# The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinita: The Portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici and His Household (1902)

*Dedicated to My Wife*

*È grande errore parlare delle cose del mondo indistintamente e assolutamente, e, per dire così, per regola; perchè quasi tutte hanno distinzione ed eccezione per la varietà delle circostanze, in le quali non si possono fermare con una medesima misura; e queste distinzioni e eccezioni non si trovano scritte in su' libri, ma bisogna lo insegni la discrezione.*

—Francesco Guicciardini,  
*Ricordi politici e civili*, vol. 6.

It is a great error to speak of the affairs of this world in absolute terms, without discrimination, and—so to speak—by rule; for they almost always involve distinctions and exceptions, because circumstances vary, and they can never be subject to one single measure. These distinctions and exceptions are not to be found in books: this must be taught by mature discretion alone.



### *Prefatory Note*

- \* With all the authority of genius, that model pioneer, Jacob Burckhardt, dominated the field that he himself had opened up for scholarship: that of Italian Renaissance civilization. But it was not in his nature to be an autocratic exploiter of the land he had discovered. Such, indeed, was his self-abnegation as a scholar that, far from yielding to the temptation of tackling the cultural history of the period as a whole, he divided it into a number of superficially unrelated sectors, which he proceeded to explore and describe with magisterial poise and authority. On the one hand, in *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien*,<sup>1</sup> he discussed the psychology of the individual in society without reference to visual art; on the other, in *Cicerone*,<sup>2</sup> he undertook to offer no more than “an introduction to the enjoyment of works of art.” Burckhardt was content to do his immediate duty, which was to examine Renaissance man in his most perfectly developed type, and art in its finest manifestations, separately and at leisure, without worrying whether he would ever have time for the comprehensive presentation of the whole culture. If he could only sow the seeds undisturbed, then anyone might garner the harvest.

Even after his death, this connoisseur and scholar of genius presented himself to us as a tireless seeker: in his posthumous *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*,<sup>3</sup> he opened up yet a third empirical path to the great objective of a synthesis of cultural history. He undertook the labor of examining the individual work of art within the immediate context of its time, in order to interpret as “causal factors” the ideological and practical demands of real life.

Our perception of the greatness of Jacob Burckhardt must not deter us from following in his footsteps. A stay of some years in Florence, researches in the archive there, the progress of photography, and also the local and chronological limitation of the topic, have emboldened me to publish, in the present paper, a supplement to Burckhardt’s essay on “The Portrait” in his *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*. Further studies of the stylistic connections between bourgeois and artistic culture in the circle of Lorenzo de’ Medici—on Francesco Sassetti, both as a man and as a patron of art; on Giovanni Tornabuoni and the choir of Santa Maria Novella; on Medicean pageantry and the fine arts; and on other topics—will, I hope, follow in the foreseeable future.

To the friends, colleagues, and counselors of my years in Florence, I hope that these publications will come as a welcome expression of the same approach that Heinrich Brockhaus and Robert Davidsohn maintain in lives devoted to the close and unwearying study of the source material for the history of Florentine civilization.

Hamburg, November 1901



In a living art of portraiture, the motive forces of evolution do not reside solely in the artist; for there is an intimate contact between the portrayer and the portrayed, and in every age of refined taste they interact in ways by which both may be either stimulated or constrained. Either the patron wants his appearance to conform to the currently dominant type, or he regards the uniqueness of his own personality as the thing worth showing; and he accordingly edges the art of portraiture toward the typical or toward the individual.

It is one of the cardinal facts of early Renaissance civilization in Florence that works of art owed their making to the mutual understanding between patrons and artists. They were, from the outset, the results of a negotiation between client and executant. The idea therefore naturally sprang to mind of seeking to present the exact relationship “between portrayer and portrayed” in individual cases from the history of Florentine art, in order to grasp the universal principles behind the thought and conduct of prominent historical figures through specific acts in their real lives.

However, it is far easier to see the desirability of such an experiment, and to venture on it, than it is to bring it to a successful conclusion. In making a comparative study of the relations between artists and patrons, the history of art has only one aspect of the creative process to depend on: namely, its end product. It is rare for any part of the exchange of feelings and opinions between client and artist to reach the outside world; the indefinable, startling truth of the work of art is the gift of an unforeseen, happy moment, and so it most often evades the conscious scrutiny of the individual or of history. Eye-witness testimony being so hard to find, we must try—as it were—to prove the complicity of the public through circumstantial evidence alone.

Florence, the birthplace of modern, confident, urban, mercantile civilization, has not only preserved the images of its dead in unique abundance and with striking vitality: in the hundreds of archival documents that have been read—and in the thousands that have not—the voices of the dead live on. The tone and timbre of those unheard voices can be recreated by the historian who does not shrink from the pious task of restoring the natural connection between word and image. Florence has answers to all the questions that the cultural historian can ask—if only we never tire of asking questions, and if our questions are sufficiently narrow and specific.

The question raised above, that of the effect of the milieu on the artist, can therefore be concretely answered through a comparison between two frescoes, one of which takes the other as a model and represents the same subject, but with the conspicuous addition of portraits of individuals who may be identified as members of a highly specific circle. If we concentrate our whole attention, with the aid of archival and literary researches, on a single fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the chapel of Santa Trinita in Florence, the contemporary background emerges as a participant force with great immediacy and in entirely personal terms.

The lover of art whose only concern is enjoyment, and who believes on principle that a comparative, intellectualized approach is an attempt to work

- \* with inappropriate means, may console himself, as he reads the following study, in the contemplation of the masterpieces of Italian portraiture that emerge, among them a number of hitherto overlooked child portraits that are probably the earliest in the Florentine early Renaissance.

In the church of Santa Croce in Florence, soon after 1317, Giotto decorated the chapel of the Bardi family with scenes from the legend of Saint Francis.<sup>4</sup> One of these frescoes, a lunette, shows the important moment in the saint's career when he and his twelve friars knelt before the throne of the pope, in the presence of the College of Cardinals, to receive the confirmation of his rule. A summary indication of a basilica with single side aisles, and with a pediment containing the image of the apostle Peter, establishes that the action takes place in Saint Peter's in Rome; otherwise there is no scene-setting to distract the attention. In clear outline, the principal action fills the surface of the lunette and monopolizes the viewer's attention; in either side aisle, a pair of elderly, bearded men in voluminous cloaks bear witness to the sacred scene on behalf of Christendom at large.

Around 160 years later (between 1480 and 1486), a Florentine merchant, Francesco Sassetti, commissioned the painter Domenico Ghirlandaio and his workshop to paint the legend of Saint Francis as a series of six frescoes in the memorial chapel of his family in the church of Santa Trinita. Sassetti's primary intention was undoubtedly to pay due honor to his own namesake and patron saint; similarly, he made over his own ancient family home to the Church for the express purpose of ensuring that on all major feast days a

- \* solemn mass should be said in honor of Saint Francis.<sup>5</sup>

Giotto depicts the human body because the soul is able to speak through the lowly physical shell; Ghirlandaio, by contrast, takes the spiritual content as a welcome pretext for reflecting the beauty and splendor of temporal life—just as if he were still apprenticed to his goldsmith father, with the task of displaying the finest merchandise to the avid gaze of customers on the feast of Saint John. Ghirlandaio and his patron extend the donor's traditional modest prerogative of being devoutly present in some corner of the painting, and coolly assume the privilege of free access to the sacred narrative, as onlookers

- \* or even as participants in the action.

A comparison between the two frescoes reveals how radically secularized the social life of the Church had become since Giotto's day. So massive is the change in the official visual language of the Church that even a viewer with a general knowledge of art history, coming unprepared to Domenico Ghirlandaio's fresco, would at first sight imagine it to be anything but a scene from sacred legend. He might, for instance, suppose it to be a depiction of some church festival on the Piazza della Signoria in Florence, dignified out of the ordinary by the presence of the Pope in person; for there, in the background, is the Palazzo Vecchio,<sup>6</sup> with the Loggia de' Lanzi opposite. Enlisting the aid of photography,<sup>7</sup> we then realize that this historic Church occasion is taking place in a Renaissance loggia with pilasters and arches—presumably in deference to residual ecclesiastical and historical

qualms, and to prevent the scene from merging directly into the factual Florentine background.

Even so, neither loggia nor choir stalls, nor even the balustrade behind the bench of Cardinals, can shield the pope and Saint Francis from the intrusion of the donor's family and their friends. Sassetti's action in including himself, with his young son Federigo,<sup>8</sup> his elder brother Bartolomeo,<sup>9</sup> and opposite them his three adult sons, Teodoro I, Cosimo, and Galeazzo, might be regarded as permissible, because they at least remain modestly tucked away on the periphery of the action; but to introduce, between Francesco and Bartolomeo, none other than Lorenzo de' Medici in person begins to look like an unwarranted secular incursion. There is, however, more to this than a compliment to the most powerful man in Florence: Lorenzo was a close associate of the Sassettis, for Francesco was at one time a partner in the Medici Bank in Lyons, and was later entrusted with the onerous task of setting the Lyons firm's chaotic affairs in order. \*

Whatever theoretical arguments there may be to justify the inclusion of members of Sassetti's *consorteria*, they do not affect the extraordinary fact that—whereas Giotto, in his rapt and lapidary simplicity, concentrates on the unsought elevation of a group of unworldly monks to the status of sworn vassals of the Church Militant—Ghirlandaio, armed with all the self-regarding culture of civilized Renaissance man, transforms the legend of the “eternally poor” into a backdrop for Florence's opulent mercantile aristocracy.

Giotto's mere earthlings dare to show themselves only under the protection of the saint; but Ghirlandaio's confident personages patronize the characters in the legend. This is no mindless arrogance: these are churchgoers who love life, and whom the Church must accept on their own terms, because they are no longer prepared to be kept in a posture of abject submission. The artist and his patron maintain the proprieties: they do not cross the border like an enemy patrol but introduce their own likenesses into the chapel *alla buona*, with casual good humor, rather as a bizarre clan of “drolleries” might claim squatters' rights over the margins of a medieval book of hours—or, better, in the edifying mood of a suppliant who, whether in gratitude or in hope, appends his own effigy to a miraculous image as a votive gift.

By associating votive offerings with sacred images, the Catholic Church, in its wisdom, had left its formerly pagan flock a legitimate outlet for the inveterate impulse to associate oneself, or one's own effigy, with the Divine as expressed in the palpable form of a human image. The Florentines, descendants of the superstitious Etruscans, cultivated this magical use of images in the most unblushing form, right down to the seventeenth century; and the most significant instance of this (hitherto unnoticed by art historians) invites examination in some detail.

The church of Santissima Annunziata afforded to the leading citizens of Florence, and to distinguished foreigners, the coveted privilege of setting up wax effigies of themselves, dressed in their own clothes, in their own lifetimes.<sup>10</sup> In the age of Lorenzo de' Medici, the making of these effigies (*voti*)

was a highly developed and highly regarded branch of art, dominated by the

\* Benintendi, pupils of Andrea Verrocchio, who for generations ran an extensive manufacturing business on behalf of the Church and accordingly bore the name of “Fallimagini” (image makers).

Lorenzo himself, after his escape from the daggers of the Pazzi in 1478, had Orsino Benintendi make three life-size wax figures of himself; variously costumed, these were then installed in separate Florentine churches. In a church on Via San Gallo, his effigy hung in the clothes he wore on the day of his brother Giuliano’s murder, when he showed himself to the crowd from his window, wounded but alive; at the Annunziata he stood above a door wearing the *lucco*, the state dress of the Florentine republic; and he sent a third

\* wax portrait figure as a votive offering to the church of S. Maria degli Angeli in Assisi.<sup>11</sup>

By the beginning of the sixteenth century there were so many of these *voti* at the Annunziata that space ran out; the figures had to be suspended from the entablature on cords, and the walls had to be reinforced with chains. It was not until worshipers had several times been disturbed by falling *voti* that the whole waxworks was banished to a side courtyard, where its remnants were still to be seen at the end of the eighteenth century.

This lawful and persistent survival of barbarism, with wax effigies set up in church in their moldering fashionable dress, begins to cast a truer and a more favorable light on the inclusion of portrait likenesses on a church fresco of sacred scenes. By comparison with the magical fetishism of the waxwork cult, this was a comparatively discreet attempt to come closer to the Divine through a painted simulacrum. These were the same pagan Latins who actually contrived to interpret Dante’s poetic vision of hell as a literal experience and tried to enlist the awesome poet’s supposed command of the infernal arts for their own magical purposes: when Duke Visconti of Milan sought to cast a spell on Pope John XXII by an arcane ritual of burning incense before his miniature effigy in silver, the first person to whom he turned with

\* an—unsuccessful—request to carry out the invocation was none other than Dante Alighieri.<sup>12</sup>

When conflicting worldviews kindle partisan emotions, setting the members of a society at each other’s throats, the social fabric inexorably crumbles; but when those views hold a balance within a single individual—when, instead of destroying each other, they fertilize each other and expand the whole range of the personality—then they are powers that lead to the noblest achievements of civilization. Such was the soil in which the Florentine early Renaissance blossomed.

The citizen of Medicean Florence united the wholly dissimilar characters of the idealist—whether mediævally Christian, or romantically chivalrous, or classically Neoplatonic—and the worldly, practical, pagan Etruscan merchant. Elemental yet harmonious in his vitality, this enigmatic creature joyfully accepted every psychic impulse as an extension of his mental range, to be developed and exploited at leisure. He rejected the pedantic straitjacket of

“either-or” in every field, not because he failed to appreciate contrasts in all their starkness, but because he considered them to be reconcilable. The artistic products of the resulting compromise between Church and World, between classical antiquity and Christian present, exude all the concentrated enthusiasm of a bold, fresh experiment.

Francesco Sassetti is just such a type of the honest and thoughtful bourgeois living in an age of transition who accepts the new without heroics and without abandoning the old. The portraits on the wall of his chapel reflect his own, indomitable will to live, which the painter’s hand obeys by manifesting to the eye the miracle of an ephemeral human face, captured and held fast for its own sake.<sup>13</sup>

These marvelous portrait heads by Domenico Ghirlandaio have still to receive their critical due, whether as unique documents of cultural history or, in art-historical terms, as unsurpassed pioneer examples of Italian portraiture. \* This applies even to the life-size portrait of Lorenzo il Magnifico himself, though it is the sole surviving, authentic, datable, contemporary portrait of him in the monumental fresco style by a master of the first rank. Although the work has long been known to art history,<sup>14</sup> no one has yet performed the simple, obvious duty of having a large-scale detail photograph taken, or at least subjecting the image to a thorough scrutiny. This can be accounted for, to some extent, by the fact that the fresco is very high up, seldom well lit, and even then hard to discern in detail. And yet it happens that Lorenzo’s appearance is a matter of profound and universal human interest. Our just desire to have an accurate image of his outward self derives not only from a natural historical curiosity but from the mysterious nature of the phenomenon that he represents: that a man of such exceptional ugliness should have become the spiritual focus of a supreme artistic civilization—and at the same time the most irresistibly charming of autocrats, disposing of human wills and hearts as he pleased.

Contemporary writers agree in describing the grotesque deficiencies of his \* appearance: shortsighted eyes; a flattened nose with a bulbous, drooping tip, which in spite of its obtrusive appearance was not even equipped with a sense of smell; an extraordinarily large mouth; hollow cheeks; a pallid skin.<sup>15</sup> The other portraits of Lorenzo known to us, both in sculpture and in painting, mostly show a pinched, unprepossessing, criminal-looking face, or else the shrunken features of a man in pain; of the enchantment that emanated from \* Lorenzo—the nobility, the dignity, and the humanity—nothing is to be seen. It is only Ghirlandaio, in this fresco, who allows us to sense the spiritual quality that could make such demonic, distorted features so irresistibly attractive.

The eyebrows and the eyes are not (as they are, for instance, on the medals by Pollaiuolo and Spinelli)<sup>16</sup> gathered together into a beetling promontory; \* beneath a gently curved brow, the eye gazes into the distance with an air of calm expectancy, and not without a trace of benevolent, princely condescension. The upper lip is not ominously pressed against the lower lip but rests lightly on it, conveying an expression of effortless superiority; at the corner of



**Fig. 26. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Poliziano and Giuliano de' Medici*  
 Detail of fig. 25 (see p. 194)

**Fig. 27. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti*  
 Detail of fig. 25 (see p. 191)

**Figs. 28a,b. Spinello**  
*Lorenzo de' Medici*  
 Medal (see pp. 191, 203)

the mouth there lurks a combative, ready, ironic wit, softened almost into humor by the placid crease in the cheek. The whole personality breathes a sense of supreme assurance, with an unerring instinct for holding his closest associates at their proper relative distances. The right hand clasps his scarlet coat together on his chest; the left forearm is stretched out, and the hand is raised, half-startled, half-demurring.

Francesco Sassetti, too, is making a momentary hand gesture: he is pointing straight ahead with his index finger, evidently toward his three sons, who stand on the far side, in order to mark them out as members of his family.

Lorenzo's startled gesture has a different, and much more overtly surprising, motivation: the hard stone pavement of the Piazza della Signoria has opened up beneath his feet to reveal a stairway, on which three men and three children are climbing up toward him. This is evidently a deputation of greeting, whose members (although only their heads and shoulders are visible) have all the verve of a Florentine *improvvisatore*, each approaching Lorenzo, his lord and master, with his own entirely personal nuance of devotion.

So eloquent is the mute interaction between Lorenzo and this group that on close consideration one comes to see the "deputation on the stairs" as the artistic and spiritual center of gravity of the entire composition, and to wish that these lively presences could speak for themselves. Let us try, therefore, to find what these individuals—whose entrance means so much to Francesco Sassetti that he has so remarkably given over the foreground of his picture to them—may have to say. They are quite willing to talk. Only resort to a variety of subsidiary evidence—documents, medals, paintings, and sculptures—and they will begin to tell us all manner of intimate, beguiling, and curious things about the family life of Lorenzo il Magnifico, leaving Sassetti himself and his family, for the time being, firmly in the background.

The leader of the group, the man with the sharp profile, loses his anonymity at once if we compare him with his effigy on a medal. This is Messer Angelo Poliziano,<sup>17</sup> Lorenzo's erudite friend and fellow poet: Poliziano of the unmistakable—and much mocked—aquiline nose, with its pendulous, Epicurean tip; the shallow upper lip; and the full-lipped gourmet's mouth.<sup>18</sup> Lorenzo had entrusted Poliziano with the education of his children—though not without some initially effective opposition on the part of his wife, Madonna Clarice, whose sure, feminine intuition divined the lack of a firm moral backbone in the purely aesthetic, pagan idealism of this Renaissance scholar. From 1481 onward, Poliziano was back in favor. Leading the party, cap in hand, in the attitude of a devoted retainer, he climbs the stairs toward Lorenzo. He can be sure that his master will pardon the intrusion, for those whom he now brings to him are the pride of the house of Medici and a credit to his own skill as an educator: they are Lorenzo's own sons, Piero, Giovanni, and Giuliano.

We see only the children's heads and shoulders, but in Ghirlandaio's hands such universal expressive devices as the attitude of the head in relation to the body, the direction of the gaze, and the play of facial expressions become

instruments of great subtlety with which he captures the successive nuances of a princely education, from the carefree child to the ruler with a public image to maintain. Little Giuliano,<sup>19</sup> whom, as the youngest, the tutor may not yet allow to leave his side, steals a rapid and curious glance at the spectator from his brown eyes, while his mentor, Angelo, gazes upward, rapt in devotion. Giuliano knows that he must immediately face forward again.

\* Piero,<sup>20</sup> the eldest, who follows, also looks out at us, but confidently, with the arrogant indifference of the future autocrat. The proud, Roman blood of the Orsini, inherited from his mother, is already beginning to rise, ominously, in rebellion against the clever, compromising, mercantile Florentine temperament. In later life, Piero never allowed himself to be painted except as a knight in armor: a typical, and fateful, sign of the superficiality of a man who, when only good generalship could have saved his position as ruler of Florence, proved to be barely more than a decorative tournament fighter.

\* The chubby features of Giovanni,<sup>21</sup> the future Pope Leo X, still bear a child-like expression, thanks to his snub nose [fig. 29]; the fleshy lower part of the face, with its prominent lower lip, already contains the germ of the imposingly full features of Leo X.<sup>22</sup> Giovanni does not yet wear the tonsure, which dates from 1 June 1483; and as this sign of ecclesiastical dignity, so keenly desired by Lorenzo as the most visible success of his own Roman policy, would certainly not have been overlooked, this gives us the middle of 1483 as the latest date for the completion of the fresco. This would lead us to assume that Piero was then around twelve, Giovanni seven and a half, and little Giuliano four and a half, which corresponds very well to the look of the children.

It is harder to identify the two men whose heads conclude the little procession: peerless examples of portraiture that seem to unite the noblest and most distinctive qualities of both the Flemish panel painting and the Italian fresco, reflecting the inner life of the soul in a style of monumental grandeur [fig. 32].

The first of these heads is impossible to identify by reference to any contemporaneous portrait; but on internal evidence I believe that this striking face—with its shrewd but good-natured eyes, its scornfully flared nostrils, its sarcastic mouth, which looks ready for a quick verbal exchange, its remorselessly jutting chin—is that of Matteo Franco, Lorenzo's confidant, elementary schoolmaster to his children, and Poliziano's best friend.

In the letter that Poliziano wrote to Piero in 1492, to congratulate him on appointing Matteo Franco as a canon of the cathedral, he described Matteo and himself as a celebrated example of friendship.<sup>23</sup> Poliziano could find no praise high enough for the services that Matteo had performed for Lorenzo's family; and indeed they were so varied as to be hardly possible to overestimate. By profession, and in his capacity as a fellow tutor and as a cleric, he was Poliziano's colleague; but the loyal and self-sacrificing Matteo was temperamentally worlds apart from that cool, erudite, and refined man of letters. His own sole literary productions are the notoriously libelous sonnets to Luigi Pulci, still alive in Italian oral tradition, instinct with the spontaneous genius



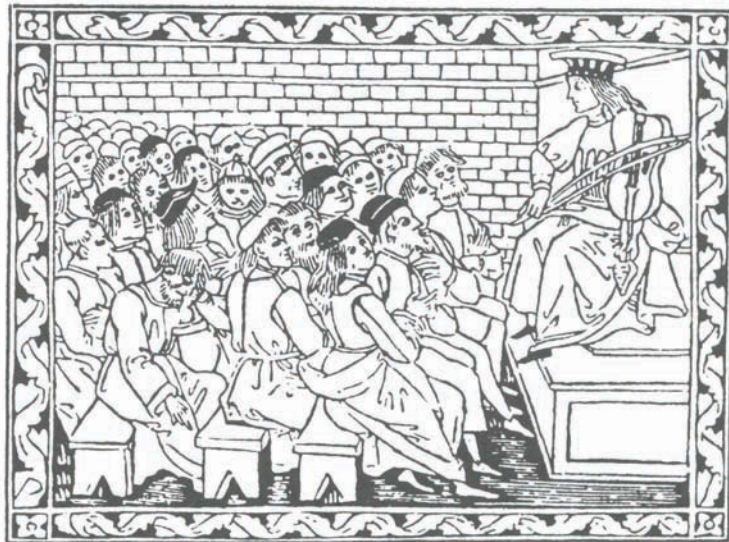


**Fig. 29. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Piero and Giovanni de' Medici*  
Detail of fig. 25 (see p. 194)

**Fig. 30. Leo X**  
Medal, Florence, Museo Nazionale (see p. 194)



**Fig. 31. Spinello**  
*Poliziano*  
Medal (see p. 193)



**Fig. 32. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Luigi Pulci and Matteo Franco*  
 Detail of fig. 25 (see p. 194)

**Fig. 33. *Compare della viola***  
 Woodcut from Luigi Pulci, *Morgante* (Florence, 1500)  
 (see p. 201)

of a man of the Tuscan people for whom a swearword was a contact with his native soil.

Lorenzo called this uninhibited, licensed jester “one of the first and dearest members of his household”; and when his favorite daughter, Magdalena, was married off for political reasons to a pope’s son, Franceschetto Cybò, he sent Matteo along with her as a fatherly friend. He could not have made a better choice; for in Magdalena’s service Matteo proved to be a man for all seasons who oversaw the household, kept a close watch on her delicate health, nursed her, even made soup for her, and whiled away the time with Florentine jokes when her husband was late home. When need arose, he even ran a spa hotel in Stigliano for her, the revenues of which formed one of Cybò’s meager sources of income. It was as a reward for these services as “slave and martyr of the Cybò”<sup>24</sup> that Matteo received the Florentine canonry. An insatiable benefice hunter, he later also secured the mastership of a hospital in Pisa; but at least he did not treat this as a sinecure, for it was in the course of duty, tending his patients during an epidemic, that he died in 1494.

• Corroboration of the likely presence of this earthy domestic cleric is supplied by a letter from Matteo himself. It was Ghirlandaio’s unique achievement, in these monumental and yet intimate portraits, to have discovered and depicted the world of childhood; and Matteo equaled him in his subtle appreciation of the spontaneous, humorous, and endearing nature of the child’s awakening soul. In a letter to his friend Bibbiena, Lorenzo’s secretary, he described the welcome accorded by Lorenzo’s children to their mother, Clarice, on her return to Florence from a journey to take the waters at a spa. Matteo, who was in attendance as Clarice’s majordomo, wrote to Bibbiena on 12 May 1485:

Shortly after passing Certosa, we came across Paradise, full of rejoicing angels—that is to say, Messer Giovanni, Piero, Giuliano, and Giulio, in a group with their retinues. As soon as they saw their mother, they bounded from their horses, some by themselves and some with assistance. They all ran to embrace Madonna Clarice, with so much joy and happiness, so many kisses, that it would take more than a hundred letters to describe it. Even I could not remain on horseback, and I dismounted. Before they remounted, I embraced them all and kissed each of them twice, once for myself and once for Lorenzo. Sweet Giuliano said, with a long “O”: “O, o, o, o, o, where is Lorenzo?” We said, “He has gone to the Poggio to meet you.” He said, “Oh, never,” almost in tears. You never saw anything so affecting. Piero has become a handsome lad, the best-looking boy you could find on God’s earth. He has grown somewhat, and his face in profile is like that of an angel; his hair is on the long side, and more flowing than it was; it looks charming. Giuliano is as fresh and lively as a rose, as clean and shining as a mirror. His eyes look happy and very intelligent. Messer Giovanni still looks good; not much color in his face, but healthy and natural. And Giulio a healthy brown complexion. All of them, in fact, are bounding with high spirits. And so we pressed on, full of joy, along Via Maggio to Ponte a Santa Trinita, San Michele Berteldi, Santa Maria Maggiore,

Canto alla Paglia and Via de' Martegli. Then we arrived home, for ever and ever and deliver us from evil amen.<sup>25</sup>

Although this letter was written two years later than the assumed date of the fresco,<sup>26</sup> the characterization of the individual children is startlingly close to that of Ghirlandaio's faces.

The last character head, too, belongs (we surmise) to a well-known figure in the Medici circle: a man who, if he were absent, would decidedly be missed. This is Luigi Pulci.<sup>27</sup> A gaunt, pale, joyless face, looking up trustfully, if  
\* gloomily, to Lorenzo; a prominent nose with heavy nostrils, a thin upper lip, resting on the prominent lower lip with a hint of embitterment. A comparison is available with the portrait of Pulci in the fresco by Filippino Lippi in the church of S. Maria del Carmine in Florence;<sup>28</sup> the juxtaposition is not convincing at first sight, but it should be remembered that Filippino's portrait was painted later, probably after Pulci's death in 1484, and from a death mask: this is suggested by its lifeless look, which contrasts with all the lively-looking heads that surround it, by the hollowness of the eye socket despite the superimposed half-open eye, by the absence of hair, and by the awkwardly positioned neck. The whole lower half of the face, including the relative positions of nose, lips, and chin, together with the highly individual expression of weary resignation, is entirely the same in both heads.

Even without the portrait by Filippino, internal evidence would immediately point to Pulci. He was an intimate of Lorenzo's and his confidant in political matters; he was also the celebrated author of a humorous popular epic of chivalry, the *Morgante*, the cantos of which were performed at the Medici table (to the particular delight of Lorenzo's mother, Lucrezia). But what has kept him alive in popular memory is his famous flyting contest with Matteo Franco. The sonnets of both men are superb specimens of a courtly genre, the poetry of vituperation, that Lorenzo found vastly amusing—so much so that even little Piero, at much the same age as in the fresco, was made to declaim them for the amusement of the adults present.

Until weightier evidence or sounder hypotheses establish the contrary, we are at liberty to postulate the *concetto* that these two intimate foes meet here in the one thing in which they were profoundly united: the wish to demonstrate their veneration for Lorenzo.

It may be doubted whether even this tributary procession of his own children, with their retainers, would have been entirely welcome to Lorenzo at such a moment. However, the shrewd Poliziano surely knew just how far he could go. Lorenzo had once had occasion to make it clear to him that he was a ruler and a statesman first and foremost, and only secondarily a father, and that his children's ailments could never be a primary concern. The following exchange of letters took place in April 1477,<sup>29</sup> after Poliziano had attempted to break the news of his children's illness to him by roundabout means.

Lorenzo de' Medici to Angelo Poliziano:

I gather from your letter to Michelozzo that my little sons are in poor health. I bore that news, as befits a humane father, with heavy sorrow. You, surely foreseeing this distress, sought to fortify my soul with such a profusion of words and arguments that you appear to have fallen into the greatest doubt of my firmness of character. Although I am sure that this was prompted by your love for me, nonetheless it grieved me much more than any indication of my children's ill health. For, although children are said to be of the substance of a parent, the infirmity of one's own mind is a much more intimate concern than that of one's children. Those whose minds are sound and healthy easily find soundness in all other matters; but for those whose souls are infirm, there is never any safe haven from the tempests of fortune; there are no waters so still, no calm so serene, that they cannot be agitated by emotion.

Do you think me so feeble by nature as to be moved by such a trifle? Even if my nature is of the sort to be readily pulled this way and that by disturbances, a mind strengthened by wide experience of life has long since learned to be constant. I have known not only sickness but sometimes death in my children. The untimely death of my father, snatched away when I was twenty-one years old, so exposed me to the blows of fortune that at times I regretted being alive. For this reason you must believe that the valor that nature denied me, experience has supplied...

Poliziano replied:

It was not because I doubted your steadfastness and wisdom that I wrote to Michelozzo rather than to you about your children's health, but because I feared to seem thoughtless, if a message of some importance from me were to be presented to you at an inopportune time. For the courier often delivers a letter at the wrong time and place, whereas the secretary watches for all the critical moments...

In itself, however, the excessive fervor with which the twenty-eight-year-old Lorenzo here proclaims his stoical view of life demonstrates that Poliziano's concern sprang from a tact that was fully justified in human terms, however inadmissible at court. In later years, with the benefit of a sure self-knowledge, Lorenzo would probably not have been so quick to assert his own outward composure and dignity. He possessed, as none of his contemporaries did, the gift of an unshakable inner discretion. It was his most effective political instrument; it made Florence into a state whose friendship was sought on all sides, and Lorenzo himself into the first, unexcelled virtuoso practitioner of the balance of power.

In the person of Lorenzo, the "High and Mighty,"<sup>30</sup> a new type of ruler began to emerge from the mercantile bourgeoisie and to move toward equality with the feudal monarch. An overweening condottiere might, in time-honored fashion, hurl his sword into the balance; but a wise merchant held the balance in his own hands and kept it level: "*e pari la bilancia ben tenere*."<sup>31</sup> Admitted-  
\*ly, Lorenzo's policy—a mercantile policy writ large—achieved no more than a long period of peace in Italy and a respite from the incursions of warlike and covetous neighbors.

Among Lorenzo's few faults of character, Machiavelli cites the lack of due self-esteem that showed itself in his over-protracted love affairs, in his fondness for the company of witty and caustic talkers, and in the fact that he could play with his children as if he had been a child himself.<sup>32</sup> That expert judge of human nature, to whom otherwise nothing human is foreign, here finds himself (we can imagine him shaking his head at the sight of the little deputation climbing the stairs) face to face with an irreconcilable anomaly: "If we look at his frivolous life and his serious life side by side, it appears that two different † persons are conjoined in him by a downright impossible<sup>33</sup> conjunction."

This failure to appreciate the lively and unconventional side of Lorenzo's character is characteristic of the turn from the Quattrocento to the Cinque- \* cento. Perhaps the keen eye of that intelligent historian—usually so startlingly unprejudiced—was clouded by the sense of stylistic dignity that he derived from Livy, and above all by the utterly different, ideal political type whose advent he longed to see. As the fortunes of Italy fell to their lowest ebb, Machiavelli yearned for a patriotic superman with an iron fist; and to him, at such a moment, the childlike and the popular, the romantic and the artistic, inevitably looked like unaccountable weaknesses.

The truth is, however, that the genius and the power of Lorenzo il Magnifico had their roots in just these qualities; his largeness of spirit soared beyond the common measure in the range, and above all in the force, of its evolutions. This was a man who could pay pious homage to the past, relish the fleeting moment, and look the future shrewdly in the eye, all with equal vigor. By education he was an erudite reviver of antiquity; by temperament he was a lively poet in a popular vein;<sup>34</sup> by will and by necessity he was a thoughtful and pre-scient statesman.

Lorenzo's towering intellectual and human qualities were backed by a constant stream of impetuous energy; and this he derived in no small measure from the active exercise of his artistic temperament. His unaffected enjoyment of the festive pageantry of contemporary life, as a participant, as an author, and as a spectator, was a direct source of physical relaxation; on a higher level, through his poetry—and in his vernacular songs he restored the Italian language to parity of esteem with Latin—he achieved a degree of spiritual self-liberation through artistic creativity.

Lorenzo's lack of aptitude for the conventional heroics of a policy of aggression was something more than a deficiency in his own temperament. It was inherent in the evolution of the Florentine state itself. This was what made him what he was: not a conqueror but a prudent custodian of the rich inheritance of the past.

The age of Lorenzo lacked Dante's high seriousness and his monumental, concentrated power; but in the Florence of Il Magnifico an interest in art had yet to degenerate into what it has since become: the stimulus that rouses jaded but cultivated persons to tour an overfilled artistic bazaar in the hope that mere passive attention may thereby be converted into a buying mood or even a purchase. Then, the making and the enjoyment of art were no more than

successive stages in a single, organic, circulatory process, which with ever-renewed vigor impelled the Florentines of the early Renaissance to the experiment of treating and using all human qualities as the tools of an expansive art of living.

Matteo Franco and Luigi Pulci were no court dwarfs, cutting grotesque capers to amuse some torpid Serene Highness: they were personal friends of the prince, men of the people, licensed to echo in their own crude way what even their master was not always privileged to say aloud. Lorenzo had clearly inherited his love of storytelling from his mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni.<sup>35</sup> She was a poet herself, *alla casalinga*, writing homespun verses for her children in which she put into crude but vivid rhyme “The Life of Saint John” and the tales of “Tobias and the Angel,” “Esther,” and “The Chaste Susanna,” rather as if those biblical personages had been baptized in the Baptistery of San Giovanni. She also had Luigi Pulci recount the deeds of the knights of Charlemagne, with somewhat greater refinement but still in the style of the street balladeers, for the benefit of the Medici household; and this was the origin of the *Morgante*, celebrated as Italy’s first poem of chivalry.

Luigi Pulci and his brother Luca were also expected to turn their poetic talents to the celebration of the knightly exploits of the Medici themselves. The verse narrative of the *giostra* of 1469—the tournament in which Lorenzo was the victorious champion—was almost certainly composed by Luigi Pulci.<sup>36</sup> With its detailed descriptions of the participants and their caparisons, it affords us a comprehensive image of that display of mercantile chivalry.

Luigi Pulci ended his account of the *giostra* with the words: “Let that be the end; it is time to stop, because as I write our friend with the fiddle is waiting.” This “friend with the fiddle” (*compare della viola*) can be seen in the woodcut tailpiece to the edition of the *Morgante* from 1500,<sup>37</sup> plying his trade, which was that of a public balladeer, recounting heroic deeds in rhyme to a raptly attentive audience in the public squares, to his own fiddle accompaniment. The *compare* referred to here was probably Bartolomeo dell’Avveduto, who as well as being a *cantastorie* (tale singer) worked as an itinerant book vendor for the Ripoli printing office.<sup>38</sup>

Even Poliziano, professor of Greek and classical philologist though he was, had his literary roots in the vernacular world. As the author of lively Italian dance and love lyrics, he was later prevailed on to follow Pulci in turning his hand to a courtly occasional poem in commemoration of another chivalric Medici occasion. In the *Giostra*, his celebrated poem on the tournament held by Giuliano in honor of Simonetta Vespucci in 1475, Poliziano captured his ephemeral theme with grace, freshness, and immediacy, while taking classical Latin models as his source. This wonderfully subtle interaction between popular spirit and classical grace gave rise to the ideal figure of the “nymph,”<sup>39</sup> who became a universal ornamental type of the female form in motion, as depicted concurrently by Botticelli in the maidens who dance, or flee from a suitor, in his *Spring*.

The poet Poliziano’s involvement in Florentine life also took other, more

down-to-earth forms. In May 1490, he gave a vivid and unvarnished description of the demands made on him by the members of high society:

... For if anyone wants a brief motto for the hilt of a sword or for the emblem in a ring; if anyone wants a verse for his couch or bedchamber; if anyone wants something distinctive—I would not even say for his silver, but for his earthenware—he trots straight off to Poliziano, and you may now see every wall covered by me as if by a snail with various writings and captions. Just look: one man demands the slyness of fescennine verses for a bacchanalian feast; another, solemn speeches for public assemblies; another, pathetic ditties for his lute; another, lascivious songs for an all-night party. This man tells me—one fool telling a greater fool—about his intimate love affairs. That one requests a symbol whose meaning will be clear only to his girl, while provoking vain conjectures from other men.<sup>40</sup>

- † Even the first Italian drama, Poliziano's *Orfeo*, was first composed as a half-improvised occasional piece for the court of Ferrara. In its origins, the visual and literary art of the Florentine early Renaissance is an occasional art; and this gives it its constantly renewed power to draw nourishment from its roots, which rest in the soil of everyday life. Significantly, all of the great Florentine painters grew up in goldsmiths' workshops. The bourgeois public of the 1470s respected the artist as a master of technical tricks, born under the planet Mercury,<sup>41</sup> who could do anything and supply anything; who painted and sculpted in his back workshop, but who had a front shop in which he sold all that anyone might need: belt buckles, painted marriage chests, church furnishings, votive waxes, engravings.

It was not then the practice to visit the artist, remote and abstracted in his studio, and to strike an aesthetic pose beneath his northern light while feeling most profoundly the malaise of world-weary, civilized men. Then, people used to drag their goldsmith-painter out of his workshop into the real world whenever the cycle of life itself demanded a new form: a building, a jewel, a utensil, a festive procession.

This is one reason why the figures in the paintings of the weaker artists are all too obviously wrenched out of their proper context. They retain an almost provincial flavor; there is something about them that is stiffly, stolidly physical; even their animation is strained and stylized, redolent of dry goods and theatrical wardrobes. It is the aim and the achievement of the great artists to reduce all this bourgeois happenstance to the subtlest hint of local color.

- \* Ghirlandaio's background was the goldsmith's trade. His father, Tommaso Bigordi, was a dealer in gold articles, and was said by Vasari to owe his sobriquet of Ghirlandaio to his unique skill in making (or in having others make) garlands of metal flowers as circlets for the heads of Florentine ladies. If Vasari is to be believed, Tommaso worked as a goldsmith himself,<sup>42</sup> making silver altar lamps and votive articles for SS. Annunziata.

In the workshop of the painter Alessio Baldovinetti, Domenico learned how to paint good and rapid likenesses, and by 1480 he became the most



popular purveyor of portraits to the best society in Florence. In all his work prior to the completion of his frescoes in the church of Santa Trinita, in 1485—and this applies even to his work in the Sistine Chapel in Rome—he retained from his origins, his temperament, and his training something of the serviceable impersonality of a sought-after artisan.<sup>43</sup> He knew that no rival could satisfy the demands of Florentine society more quickly, more solidly, or more tastefully than his workshop, whose popularity was not even impaired by the presence in it of his very much less gifted brothers, Davide and Benedetto, and of his brother-in-law Mainardi—or by Domenico's own frequent absences from it. Domenico was superbly equipped to observe with a keen eye and capture with a rapid hand all that his shrewd and unprejudiced eye discerned; but he needed a strong external pressure to shake him out of his rut—or, to be more precise, he needed some personal stimulus that would divert him away from his prosaic, undifferentiated scrutiny of body, clothes, and background and toward a degree of emphasis that would evoke the spiritual quality inherent in outward appearances. \*

Francesco Sassetti and his sons stand right in the foreground, as large as life, but they show, by their assumption of a marginal position in relation to the pope and to the College of Cardinals, that they are aware of their modest status as lay spectators. And yet, the majestic folds of Francesco's mantle, and his reverend, age-worn features, conceal a bold taste for innovation. After campaigning with such vigor to be allowed to depict the legend of his name saint,<sup>44</sup> this same Sassetti erected in his own lifetime—and beneath the very frescoes that enshrine that legend—a pair of tombs for himself and for his wife in an entirely pagan, Roman style, with sculpture and inscriptions carefully imitated from the antique on scholarly advice.

With his clear and sure sense of the task in hand, Sassetti surely eased Domenico's departure from convention; but the real and magical inspiration stemmed not from him but from Lorenzo de' Medici. It is toward Lorenzo that the members of the little deputation ascend, like chthonic spirits rising into their master's presence. Does Lorenzo make a demurring gesture? Or is he beckoning them on? He has the air of a writer-director, standing on the set of a mystery play and improvising a spectacular contemporary interlude—entitled, shall we say, "Florence beneath the Laurel's Shade": *Lauri sub umbra*.<sup>45</sup> \*

It is time for a scene change: the contemporary backdrop, painted with the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia de' Lanzi, has already been lowered into place; in the wings, the Sassetti stock company awaits its cue. Enter, through a trap, three little princes and their professor—learned in all matters pagan, privy dancing master to the nymphs of Tuscany—together with a witty domestic chaplain and a court balladeer, all ready to launch the intermezzo. As soon as they reach the top step, even the cramped space still occupied by Saint Francis, the pope, and the consistory will be taken over as a playground for secular diversions.

Ghirlandaio and his patron can hardly have planned so tragic a collision

from the outset. The deputation climbing the steps even seems to have been added as an afterthought: this is the only explanation for the overpainting that shortens the balustrade on the right to make room for Poliziano, and for the whole device of the stairway itself, which permits the group to enter the space without masking any of the existing action. Faced with the difficult task of reflecting an abundance of vigorous life on a limited area of wall, Ghirlandaio dispenses with the ornamental treatment of the human figure and speaks, with wonderful power, solely through the expressive character of his heads.

One thing remains to be said. The concentrated assurance of these figures, so filled with individual life—portraits detaching themselves from their ecclesiastical background—carries a distinct reminder of the figures in Northern European interiors; and elsewhere I shall try to explore in detail these connections between Flemish panel painting and the artistic culture of Lorenzo de' Medici's circle.

## Appendixes

### \* I. Votive Statues in Wax

In this appendix, I outline the history of wax votive images in Florence, in chronological order; and to this I add a quantity of unpublished archival material that came into my hands when, prompted by Andreucci,<sup>46</sup> I looked into the papers of that admirable local antiquarian, Palagi.<sup>47</sup>

Francesco Sacchetti, in his *Novella* no. 109, mocked the *voto* figure as a depraved and heathenish custom:

*Di questi boti di simili ogni dì si fanno, li quali son più tosto una idolatria che fede cristiana. E io scrittore vidi già uno ch' avea perduto una gatta, botarsi, se la ritrovasse, mandarla di cera a nostra Donna d' Orto San Michele, e così fece.*<sup>48</sup>

Every day votive effigies like this are made, which are more a form of idolatry than of Christian faith. And I, the writer of these lines, have seen a man, who had lost a she-cat, vow that if he found her he would send her image in wax to Our Lady of Orto San Michele; and so he did.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, votive effigies seem to have gotten so much out of hand that on 20 January 1401, the Signoria found it necessary to decree that only citizens qualified to hold office in the senior guilds might erect a *voto*.<sup>49</sup> In 1447 the figures at SS. Annunziata were rearranged in an orderly fashion in the nave, to the left and right of the *tribuna*. Of course, the proprietors of side chapels found that these life-size figures, on their rostra—some of them even on horseback—blocked their view; and, after effective protests from the powerful Falconieri family, the equestrian *voti* were moved to the far side of the nave. Here is the text of the manuscript cited by Andreucci:<sup>50</sup>

1447. *In questo tenpo si comincia<va> a fare in chiesa e' palchi per mettervi l' immagini. M<sup>o</sup> Tano di Bart<sup>o</sup> e M<sup>o</sup> Franc<sup>o</sup> furno e maestri che gli feciono e M<sup>o</sup> Chimenti<sup>51</sup> dipintore fu quello gli dipinse insieme con quegli di S<sup>o</sup> Bastiano, e questo fu fatto per la multitude de' voti e imagini che erano offerte e per acrescer la devotione a quegli che venivano a questa S<sup>ma</sup> Nuntiata, perche 'l veder tanti miracoli per sua intercessione da N. Signor' Idio fatti, faceva che ne' loro bisogni a lei ricorrevano: Onde in questi tempi medesimi furno fatti palchi per tenervi sopra homini ill<sup>mi</sup> a cavallo tutti devoti di questa gran' madre. Erono dua palchi uno alla destra, l' altro alla sinistra avanti alla tribuna. Ma nuovamente havendo uno fatto un poco di frontispitio d' orpello avanti la capella de' Falconieri, non gli parendo fussi veduto a suo modo, persuase alcuni padri che gl' era buono levar quel palco, e metter que' cavalli tutti dall' altra parte; cosi rimase quella parte spogliata, e senza proportione dell' altra. Idio gli perdoni.*

1447. At this time the custom of making rostra for votive images was beginning. Maestro Tano di Bartolomeo and Maestro Franco were the best-known craftsmen, and Maestro Chimenti, the painter, painted them, including those in Santo Bastiano; they were designed to hold the many votive offerings and images, and to increase the devotion of those coming to pray to the Blessed Virgin of the Annunciation, because people in need were encouraged to resort to her when they saw so many miracles being performed through her intercession with Our Lord God. Rostra were set up at that time to hold equestrian figures of illustrious men, all dedicated to that Great Mother. There were two rostra, one to the right and one to the left of the front of the tribune. But recently a person who had had a kind of pinchbeck frontispiece made for the Falconieri chapel, considering that it could not be seen as he would wish, persuaded some of the Fathers to have the rostrum taken down and all the horses moved to the other side; and so that part was left bare and out of proportion with the other. May God forgive him.

In the records for 1481 I have found a contract between Vicar Antonio and Maestro Archangelo, which vividly reflects the craft activity and the division of labor in this ecclesiastical industry:<sup>52</sup>

*Richordo chome in questo di 13 de zugno 1481 M<sup>o</sup> Archangelo ciraiolo di Zoane d' Antonio da Fiorenze promette a me M<sup>o</sup> Antonio da Bologna vicario del convento del Anuntiata de Fiorenze tute le volte che io voro fare ymagine de cera grande al naturale nel modo e forma che in questo ricordo se contiene. In prima chel deto M<sup>o</sup> Archangelo debia fare l' imagine in quello modo e forma e habito secondo che piacerà al deto vicario o qualunch altri che fusse in luogo del priore overo priore. Item che le debia fare forte d' armadure e ben legate. Item che le dette ymagine le debia depignere e cholorire a sue spexe e de suo cholori e sue chapigliare e barbe e tute l' altre chosse che apartengono al depintore salvo che lavorare di brocato. E debia el deto M<sup>o</sup> Archangelo fare qualoncha immagine in termine de X di lavorie overo in termine di XII.<sup>53</sup> e facendo queste tute chosse promette el dito M<sup>o</sup> Ant<sup>o</sup> Vicario in nome del convento al deto M<sup>o</sup> Arcan<sup>lo</sup> ff. dui larghi per qualoncha ymagine provedendo*

*el convento di cera e di tute l' altre chosse che achaderano salvo che di chollori e chapigliare. E chossi se obligo el dito M<sup>o</sup> Archangelo osservare a la pena di 25 ducati presente Mariano di Francesco di Bardino e Zanobio de Domenico del Iocundo ect. Io Archangiolo di Giuliano d' Ant<sup>o</sup> ceraiuolo sono contento a quanto in detto ricordo si contiene e perciò mi sono sottoscritto di mia mano questo di sopra.*

Memorandum to record that on 13 June 1481, Maestro Archangelo di Zoane d'Antonio of Florence, waxworker, undertook to me, Maestro Antonio of Bologna, Vicar of the Priory of the Annunziata in Florence, that he would make life-size images in wax, of the size and shape specified in this document. Firstly, the said Maestro Archangelo shall make the image in style and shape and dress to the requirements of the said vicar, or of any person acting on behalf of the prior, or of the prior himself. He shall give the images a strong armature, the separate parts well linked. He shall paint and color the said images at his own expense, providing hair, beards, and all other items pertaining to the painter's work except for fabrics. And the said Maestro Archangelo shall make every such image in the space of ten or at most twelve working days. And on his fulfilling all these undertakings, the said vicar, Maestro Antonio, in the name of the priory, promises to pay the said Maestro Archangelo the sum of two florins per wax image, the priory to provide wax and all other requisites with the exception of paints and hair. This Maestro Archangelo has undertaken to perform, subject to a penalty of 25 ducats for default. As witnessed by Mariano di Francesco di Bardino and Zanobio de Domenico del Iocundo, etc. I, Archangiolo di Giuliano d'Antonio, waxworker, am satisfied with the terms set forth in this document, and have therefore signed the above with my own hand.

On 9 April 1488 Pagolo di Zanobi Benintendi received a payment for, among other things, *voti* that had been hung aloft from the dome. Even at this early date, therefore, the *voti* were already dangling perilously over the heads of the congregation.<sup>54</sup>

\* The Florentine state archive contains a detailed inventory,<sup>55</sup> dated 1496, of the silver votive offerings (images of persons or of human limbs, listed with exact indications of weight and type), which the church was having melted down to pay a new tax. This list is an anatomical museum in itself, of the greatest interest to the historian of culture and art; but to describe it in detail would lead us too far afield. Incidentally, it contains no mention of any lamps made by the father of Domenico Ghirlandaio.

\* The interior of the church must have looked like a waxwork museum. On one side stood the Florentines (including the figure of Lorenzo il Magnifico, mentioned above, and a number of prominent condottieri, mounted and in full armor) and alongside them the popes (Leo X, Alexander VI, Clement VII).<sup>56</sup> Particular objects of pride, however, were the foreigners who, out of veneration for the Santissima Annunziata, had left their own life-size effigies in wax by way of visiting cards: among them King Christian I of Denmark, who passed through Florence in 1474, and—a particular curiosity—a Muslim Turkish pasha, who, unbeliever though he was, dedicated his *voto* figure to the

Madonna to ensure a safe journey home.<sup>57</sup> Portrait *voti* of famous women were there, too, including that of Isabella, marchesa of Mantua, which, together with that of Pope Alexander, was mentioned in 1529 as in need of repair.<sup>58</sup>

Perhaps the Hofkirche in Innsbruck, with the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I and the two rows of portraits in bronze that line the nave, gives a similar impression (*mutatis mutandis*) of pagan sculpture in a Christian church; the difference is, however, that Maximilian and his counselor, Konrad Peutinger, were engaged in a deliberate reproduction of the Roman ancestor cult,<sup>59</sup> whereas what happened in Florence was a spontaneous reversion to a popular pagan custom legitimized by the Church.

The workshop of Verrocchio, which seems to have pioneered a more artistic treatment of votive figures, specialized in the art of making plaster and stucco death masks, which Vasari tells us were displayed in Florentine houses as true ancestral likenesses,<sup>60</sup> and which so often enabled Florentine painters to supply accurate portraits of the dead. Verrocchio's shop was like a surviving limb of pagan Roman religious art: its *fallimagini* and *cerauoli* were the makers of what the Romans called *imagines* and *cerae*.<sup>61</sup>

In the church of SS. Annunziata, as late as 1630, there were 600 life-size figures, 22,000 papier-mâché *voti*, and 3,600 paintings of miracles wrought by the Santissima Annunziata herself.<sup>62</sup> In 1665 the wax figures, "*cagione di continua trepidanza per i devoti*" (a source of constant trepidation to the faithful), were removed to the small cloister, a move that del Migliore laments in characteristic terms:

... non sapemmo il concetto nè qual fosse l' animo di que' Padri, in spogliar la Chiesa d' un arredo tanto ricco di Voti, a rischio di diminuirvi, e rendervi fiacca la devozione, che s' aumenta e mirabilmente s' ingagliardisce per sì fatto modo, ci giova credere che il Popol sagace similmente non intendendo i lor fini modesti, alla gagliarda ne mormorasse e massime i maligni ch'anno come s' usa dir' a Firenze, tutto il cervello nella lingua: e in vero apprò loro sussisto un' articolo di ragione vivissimo, perchè, non potendo lo'ntelletto nostro arrivare così facilmente a conoscere le cause alla produzione degli effetti, d'un efficacissimo mezzo son le cose apparenti di Voti, di Pitture ed altre materie simili esteriori sufficienti ad ogn' idiota per concepirne maggior aumento di spirito, di speranza e di fede più viva alla intercessione de' Santi; onde non è gran fatto, che'l Popolo se ne dolesse e stimasse privata la Chiesa d' una bellissima memoria.<sup>63</sup>

... we were at a loss to understand the motives of the priests in divesting the Church of furnishings so rich in votive images, with the risk of diminishing and weakening devotion, which is increased and marvelously stimulated by such means—as witness the fact that the people in their wisdom, similarly failing to understand, vigorously complained, and most of all those malicious persons who, as the Florentine saying goes, keep their brains in their tongues. The truth is that they had one very powerful argument on their side, which is that, since our human intellect has difficulty in connecting cause with effect, there is great virtue in visible things such as

votive images, pictures, and similar outward objects, which suffice to strengthen any ordinary person in spirituality, in hope and in a livelier faith in the intercession of the Saints; no wonder, therefore, that the people mourn, and that they believe the Church to have been deprived of a lovely tradition.

## II. Bartolomeo Cerretani, *Storia fino all' anno 1513*

### *The Character of Lorenzo de' Medici*<sup>64</sup>

...il quale fu di grande ingegno maximo in iudicio, eloquentissimo, haveva professione universale optima nel ministrare le cose publiche, achutissimo, et sollecito, et savio: fortunato quanto huomo de suo tempi, animoso, modesto, affabile con tutti; piacevole, co' motti destrissimi et acuti;<sup>65</sup> per uno amicho no' dubitava mettere<sup>66</sup> tempo danari et insino a lo stato, onesto, cupido del' onore et fama, liberale, onorevole; parlava pocho, grave nell' andar; amava e' valenti et gl' unichi in ogni arte; fu solo notato che era alquanto vendicativo et invidioso: fu religioso e nel governare molto era volto agl' huomini popolani piutosto che agl' huomini di famiglie. Era grande bella persona, brutto viso, la vista corta, le charne nere, cosi e chapelli, le ghote staccate, la bocha grande fuori dell' ordine e nel parlare faceva molti gesti chola persona; bella andatura grave; vestiva richamente, dilectavasi fare versi volgari e facevagli benissimo; fu suo preceptore messere Gentile<sup>67</sup> <fol. 166> charidenssi <Caridensis> huomo doctissimo il quale dapoi fe' veschovo d' Arezo perche fu d' optimi costumi e quali tutti da detto suo preceptore comprese et messe in atto; ebbe per donna la figlola del Conte Orso dell' antica casa de gl' Orssini romani delaquale n' ebbe tre figlioli maschi l' uno fu Piero, l' altro messere Giovanni cardinale di S. Ma. in Domnicha, l' ultimo fu Giuliano: Usava dire che haueva un figlolo armigero (questo era Piero) uno buono (questo era il chardinale), un savio (questo era Giuliano) et come presagiente dixè più volte che dubitava che Piero un di non fussi la rovina di casa loro il che come savio chonobbe et predixè.

He was a man of great intellect and outstanding judgment, an eloquent speaker, an able public administrator, perspicacious, careful, and prudent. As fortunate as any man of his day, courageous, modest, and gracious to all. Charming, and in his speech sharp-witted and acute. To help a friend, he was unstinting with his time, his money, and even his own position; he was desirous of honor and renown, generous and honorable. A man of few words, and of grave demeanor, he loved talented and exceptional individuals in every art. His only faults were that he tended to vindictiveness and envy. He was devout, and in government he preferred men of the people to men of the aristocracy. He was tall, with a good figure and an ugly face, shortsighted, dark-skinned and with dark hair, high cheekbones, and an uncommonly large mouth. He gesticulated a great deal when he spoke. A fine, weighty gait. He dressed richly; he took delight in writing poetry in the vernacular, and was very skilled at it. His tutor was Messer Gentile Caridensis, a man of great learning whom

he later made Bishop of Arezzo, because he was a man of excellent morals—all of which he, Lorenzo, had learned from this tutor of his and put into practice. His wife was the daughter of Conte Orso, of the ancient Roman house of Orsini, and they had three sons, the first being Piero, the second Messer Giovanni, cardinal of S. Maria in Domnica, and the youngest Giuliano. He was wont to say that he had one son who bore arms (this was Piero), one good son (this was the cardinal), and one wise son (Giuliano); and, as if gifted with prophecy, he more than once voiced the suspicion that one day Piero would be the ruin of the family—which he as a wise man knew and foretold.

### III. Niccolò Valori, *La vita del Magnifico Lorenzo*

*The Character of Lorenzo de' Medici*<sup>68</sup>

*Fu Lorenzo di grandezza piu che mediocre, nelle spalle largho, di corpo solido et robusto, et di tanta agilità che in questo ad alcuno non era secondo, et benche nell' altre esteriori doti del corpo la natura gli fusse matrigna, nondimeno quanto all' interiori qualità madre benigna gli si dimostrò ueramente, fu oltre a questo di colore uliuigno, et la faccia ancor' che in quella non fusse uenustà, era nondimeno piena di tal dignità che a' riguardanti induceva riuerenza: fu di uista debole, haueua il naso depresso, et al tutto dell' odorato priuato, ilche non solamente non gli fu molesto, ma usaua dire in questo proposito, esser molto obligato alla natura, conciosia che molto più siano le cose che all' odorato s'offeriscano, le quali offendono il senso, che quelle che lo dilettono; ma tutti questi difetti et mancamenti, se così chiamar si possono, con le doti dell' animo ricoperse, le quali con continoue esercitationi, et assidua cura ornò sopra modo, di che fecero testimonio molti giudizij di quello.*

Lorenzo was above average height, broad-shouldered, of strong, sturdy build, and second to none in agility. Nature showed herself a stepmother to him in other outward features, but a truly kind mother in bestowing inward qualities. His complexion was olive; though his face was not handsome, his dignified air invited respect. He was shortsighted, with a flat nose and no sense of smell; he used to claim that not only was this no loss to him, but he was even grateful to nature, because there are many more things that give offense by their smell than things that give pleasure. All these defects and shortcomings, however, if such they can be called, were overshadowed by the rich endowments of his soul, which he cultivated with exceptional grace; to this, many of his contemporaries have borne witness.

### IV. Letter from Angelo Poliziano to Piero de' Medici<sup>69</sup>

*Angelus Politianus Petro Medici suo S. D.*

(Angelo Poliziano to His Friend Piero de' Medici: Greetings)

*Facere non possum, quin tibi agam gratias, mi Petre, quòd autoritate operaque tua curaueris, ut in collegium nostrum Matthaeus Francus, homo (ut*

*scis) mihi amicissimus, cooptaretur. Est autem non modò isto (licet inuidi quidam rumpantur) sed quouis honore dignissimus. Prima illi commendatio contigit apud patrem tuum, sapientissimum uirum, iocorum & urbanitatis, cùm faceta illa scriberet carmina patrio sermone, quae nunc Italia tota celebrantur. Quin idem parens tuus, penè infantem adhuc te, quaedam ex his facetiora ridiculi gratia docebat, quae tu deinde inter adductos amicos balbutiebas, & eleganti quodam gestu, qui quidem illam deceret aetatulam, commendabas. Nec tamen insuauior Francus in sermonibus, usuque domestico, siue tu dicteria, siue fabulamenta, siue id genus oblectamenta alia requiras, in quæis non eius ingenium magis eminet, quàm prudentia. Nihil enim unquam scurriliter, nihil immodestè, nihil non suo loco, nihil extra rem, nihil incautè, nihil sine delectu. Quare siue rusticaretur animi causa, siue balneis operam daret Laurentius parens tuus (quod te meminisse non dubito) Francum sibi adducebat comitem, cuius lepòre quasi recrearetur. Adhibuit eum deinde consiliarium Magdalenae sorori tuae Romam proficiscenti ad uirum, uidelicet ut rudis adhuc puella, quae nunquam de materno sinu se prompserat, paternum aliquem circa se haberet amicum, ad quem de re dubia referret. Hic se Francus (ut homo est eximia patientia, sed et dexteritate) sic nescio quo pacto diuersis ignotisque moribus acomodauit ut et uniuersorum beneuolentiam collegerit, et sorori ipsi tuae facilè unus omnia paternae domus solatia repraesentet. Gratus esse Innocentio quoque pontifici mirè dicitur, gratus aliquot è purpuratis patribus: tui certè illum ciues, qui Romae negotiantur, in oculis gestant. Quid quòd breui causarum forique Romani sic peritus euasit, ut iam non inter postremos habeatur? Est autem omnino ingenio uersatili Francus noster, et quod rebus ac personis omnibus congruat. Caeterum dispensatione domestica nemini cesserit, quippe gnarus omnium quae postulat usus, non tam praescribere familiae potest ac solet, quid quisque agat, quàm quomodo, et quatenus agat. Addam unum adhuc illius insigne, nemo diligentius amicos parat, nemo fidelius retinet. Meus certè in ipsum, contraque ipsius in me sic*

\* *amor innotuit, ut quod gratissimum est, et nos inter rara admodum paria numeremur. Itaque bis me esse canonicum puto abs te factum, quando illum quoque nunc, id est alterum me, nostro coetui aggregasti. Non enim minus in eo mihi, quàm in meipso uideor honestatus. Vale.*

I cannot but thank you, my Piero, because by your authority and effort you have seen to it that Matteo Franco—a man very dear to me, as you know—has been elected to our chapter. He is eminently worthy not only of that honor (though certain envious men may burst) but of whatever honor you like. The earliest recommendation came his way from your father, a man of great wisdom, for his jests and his urbane wit when he was writing in our native tongue those elegant poems that are now famous throughout Italy. Why, your father, when you could still barely talk, even taught you some of the more clever of these poems, for the sake of a laugh: you would then lisp them out among the friends he had assembled, and show your approval with a certain elegant gesture that to be sure suited your tender age.



Franco is no less agreeable in his conversation and private behavior, whether you want witticisms or anecdotes or other amusements of that sort, in which his good sense shines forth as much as his talent. For he never says anything buffoonish or extravagant; nothing out of place, nothing off the subject, nothing careless, nothing not deliberately chosen. And so, whether your father Lorenzo was staying in the country to refresh his spirits, or visiting the baths (as no doubt you remember), he would summon Franco to him as a companion, to be, as it were, invigorated by his charm.

And then he employed him as an adviser to your sister Magdalena when she set out for Rome to her husband, obviously so that the girl, as yet inexperienced, who had never left her mother's bosom, might have some father figure nearby as a friend whom she could consult about a problem. Here Franco (a man of remarkable forbearance, but also of adroitness) somehow adapted himself to different and foreign ways of life in such a way that he has garnered universal esteem and, for your sister herself, easily represents in his own person all of the comforting support of her father's house.

He is also said to be uncommonly popular with Pope Innocent, and with a number of the fathers in purple (cardinals); certainly your fellow citizens who do business at Rome think the world of him. And what of the fact that in a short time he has shown himself so skilled at law and the public affairs of Rome that he is already considered among the leaders? Our Franco is a man of a thoroughly versatile genius, which adapts to all matters and persons. In his management of household affairs he yields to no one, knowledgeable as he is on every detail that occasion may call for; he can and usually does prescribe to the household staff not so much what each one is to do as how and to what extent he should do it.

Let me add one more thing that is distinctive about him: no one acquires friends more diligently, or keeps them more faithfully. Certainly my love for him, and his for me, has become so well known, most gratifyingly, as to place us among the rarest couples (of friends). And so I think that you have made me a canon twice over by adding him, that is, my second self, to our company. For I consider myself no less honored in him than in myself. Farewell.

#### V. Letter from Matteo Franco to Piero Bibbiena of 12 May 1485

*Dipoi intorno a Certosa riscontrammo il paradiso pieno d' agnoli di festa e di letizia, cioè messer Giovanni, Piero, Giuliano e Giulio in groppa, con loro circumferenze. E subito come viddero la mamma, si gittorono a terra del cavallo, chi da sè e chi per le man d' altri; e tutti corsono e furono messi in collo a madonna Clarice, con tanta allegrezza e baci e gloria che non ve lo poterei dire con cento lettere. Ancora io non mi potetti tenere, che io non scavalcassi; e prima che ricavalcassino loro, tutti gli abbracciai e due volte per uno gli baciai; una per me, e una per Lorenzo. Disse el gentile Giulianino, con uno O lungo: "O, o, o, o, dove è Lorenzo?" Dicemo: "Egli è ito al Poggio a trovarti." Disse: "Eh mai non." E quasi piagnendo. Non vedesti mai la più tenera cosa. Egli è Piero che è fatto el più bello garzone, la più graziosa*

cosa che, per Dio, voi vedessi mai; alquanto cresciuto; con certo profilo di viso, che pare un agnolo; con certi capegli un poco lunghi e alquanto più distesi che prima, che pare una grazia. E Giuliano viuolino e freschellino com' una rosa; gentile pulito e nettolino come uno specchio; lieto e tutto contemplativo con quegli occhi. Messer Giovanni ancora ha un buon viso, non di molto colore ma sanozzo e naturale; e Julio una cera brunaza e sana. Tutti, per concludere, sono la letizia al naturale. E così con gran contento e festa, tutti di bella brigata, ce n' andammo per Via Maggio, Ponte a santa Trinita, san Michele Berteldi, santa Maria Maggiore, Canto alla Paglia, Via de' Martegli; e ce n' entrammo in casa, per infinita asecula aseculorum eselibera nos a malo amen.<sup>70</sup>

{This letter translated in full above, pp. 197–98}

## VI. Exchange of Letters between Poliziano and Lorenzo in 1477<sup>71</sup>

*Laurentius Medices Angelo Politiano S. D.*

(Lorenzo de' Medici to Angelo Poliziano: Greetings)

*Ex literis, quas ad Michelotium dedisti, factus sum certior filiolos nostros aduersa ualetudine uexari. Id ut humanum parentem decet, grauiter molestique tuli. Quam profectò molestiam tu praeuidens, ita multis uerbis ac rationibus animum nostrum confirmare conatus es, ut in maximam de nostra constantia dubitationem incidisse uideare. Quod tametsi ab amore in nos tuo proficisci certus sum, multo tamen maiori molestia nos affecit, quam significatio ulla aduersae ualetudinis liberorum. Quamuis enim parentis substantia liberi esse dicantur, multo tamen magis propria est animi aegritudo, quam filiorum. Quibus enim integer ac sospes est animus, caeterarum facilerum incolumitatem consequuntur; quibus uerò infirmus, nullus unquam portus est à fortunae fluctibus tutus, nullum est tam placatum aequor, tam quieta malacia, quin perturbatione uexentur. Existimasne me adeò natura imbecillum, ut tam parua re mouear? Si uerò eiusmodi nostra natura est, ut facilerè huc atque illuc perturbationibus agatur: multarum rerum experientia confirmatus animus sibi constare iam didicit. Ego filiorum non ualetudinem tantum, sed fatum quandoque expertus sum. Pater immatura morte praereptus, cum annum agerem primum et uigesimum, ita me fortunae ictibus exposuit, ut quandoque uitae poeniteret meae. Quapropter existimare debes, quam nobis uirtutem natura negauit, experientiam attulisse. Verum cum tu in epistola ad Michelotium imbecillitati animi nostri diffidere non parum uidearis, atque in tuis ad nos literis summopere uirtutem atque ingenii nostri dotes extollas, haecque simul pugnare uideantur, aut alterum falsum est, aut non ea es animi magnitudine, quam in me desiderare uideris, cum ea in tuis ad nos literis silentio praetereas, quae scripta ad Michelotium sunt, tanquam non tua à me accipienda sunt: utpote qui existimas multo magis nuncium, quàm liberorum ualetudinem, mihi molestiam allaturum. Sed nolo esse in paruis longior, ut non idem incurram uitium, quod in te uitupero, neque in iisdem*

*litteris et parua spernere, et prolixioribus uerbis prosequi uidear. Si quid est in epistola quod te mordeat, id totum condones amori nostro, atque exercitationi, cui, ut puto, abundantius materiam suppeditat, si in quenquam inuehimur, quàm si laudamus, multoque latior campus est in unoquoque uituperationis, quàm laudis. Gaudeo mirum in modum, Iulianum nostrum se totum litteris tradidisse, illi gratulor, tibiue gratias ago, quòd eum ad haec prosequenda studia excitaueris. Tu uerò fac ut hominem ad litteras inflammasti, ita sedulò cures, stimulosque adiicias, ut perseueret. Ego propediem uos reuisam, comitemque uobis in hoc felici Musarum itinere me adiungam. Bene uale, Pisis pridie Calend. Aprilis, M.CCCCLXXVII*

I gather from your letter to Michelozzo that my little sons are in poor health. I bore that news, as befits a humane father, with heavy sorrow. You, surely foreseeing this distress, sought to fortify my soul with such a profusion of words and arguments that you appear to have fallen into the greatest doubt of my firmness of character. Although I am sure that this was prompted by your love for me, nonetheless it grieved me much more than any indication of my children's ill health. For, although children are said to be of the substance of a parent, the infirmity of one's own mind is a far more intimate concern than that of one's children. Those whose minds are sound and healthy easily find soundness in all other matters, but for those whose souls are infirm, there is never any safe haven from the tempests of fortune; there are no waters so still, no calm so serene, that they cannot be agitated by emotion.

Do you think me so feeble by nature as to be moved by such a trifle? Even if my nature is of the sort to be readily pulled this way and that by disturbances, a mind strengthened by wide experience of life has long since learned to be constant. I have known not only sickness but sometimes death in my children. The untimely death of my father, snatched away when I was twenty-one years old, so exposed me to the blows of fortune that I sometimes regretted being alive. For this reason you must believe that the valor that nature denied me, experience has supplied.

But since in your letter to Michelozzo you seem to be not a little anxious about the weakness of my mind, and yet in your letter to me you greatly extol the strength and endowments of my nature, and since these two attitudes seem to contradict each other, either the second is false or you yourself lack that greatness of mind that you seem to find wanting in me; since in your letter to me you pass over in silence what you wrote to Michelozzo, as if your words are not to be received by me: as if you judge that this news will bring me much more distress than the ill health of my children.

But I do not want to be too long in trifles, lest I fall into the same fault that I reprove in you, and seem in one and the same letter both to scorn small things and to pursue them at too great length. If there is anything in my letter that pains you, may you pardon it all, out of love for me and as an exercise, for which (as I think) it furnishes matter more abundantly if we attack someone than if we praise him; and on any subject at all the field for blame is much

broader than that for praise. I rejoice greatly that our Giuliano has devoted himself to letters; I congratulate him, and I thank you for having encouraged him to pursue these important studies. But see to it that, as you have inflamed the man to letters, so do you remain vigilant and apply the goads to make him persevere. I shall see you again very soon, and attach myself as your companion on this happy journey of the Muses. Farewell. Pisa, 31 March 1477.

*Angelus Politianus Laurentio suo S. D.*

(Angelo Poliziano to His Lorenzo: Greetings)

*Non quòd tuae constantiae sapientiaeque diffiderem, propterea literas dedi ad Michelotium potius, quàm ad te de liberum tuorum uoletudine: sed quoniam sum ueritus, ne fortè inconsultior uiderer, si grauior tibi à me nuncius alieno tempore obiiceretur. Tabellarius enim saepe literas non aptè, non loco reddit: scribe uerò temporum captat omneis articulos. Reueritus igitur iure sum Laurentium Medicem; Cui malè si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus: Nec uerò ista repugnant, quòd hic te reueor, ibi laudo. Non enim ob aliud reueor, quàm quòd omni laude puto dignissimum. Molles uerò illae tuae morsiunculae, tantum abest ut me laedant, ut ipsas quoque nescio quo pacto penè mihi magis blanditias commendent. Iulianus tuus uerè frater, hoc est, ut docti putant, ferè alter, ipse sibi in studiis est non modò iam mirificus hortator, sed et praeceptor. Nihilque nobis ad summam uoluptatem deest, nisi quòd abes. Vale.*

It was not because I doubted your steadfastness and wisdom that I wrote to Michelozzo rather than to you about your children's health, but because I feared to seem thoughtless, if a message of some importance from me were to be presented to you at an inopportune time. For the courier often delivers a letter at the wrong time and place, whereas the secretary watches for all the critical moments. Rightly, therefore, did I treat Lorenzo de' Medici with deference: If you stroke him wrong, he protects himself by kicking back in all directions; nor is it really inconsistent that I show due respect for you here and praise you there. For I show no respect for anything other than what I consider most deserving of every kind of praise. As for those gentle little nips of yours, so far are they from hurting me that somehow they even commend themselves to me almost more as flattery.

Your Giuliano (truly a brother; that is, as learned men think, almost a second self) is in his studies not only his own excellent exhorter but his own preceptor. And we lack nothing for our complete enjoyment, except that you are not here. Farewell.

## VII. Luigi Pulci and the *Compare della Viola*

Luigi Pulci<sup>72</sup> concludes his *Giostra de Lorenzo de' Medici* thus: "Let that be the end; it is time to stop, because our friend, as I write, is waiting, and has already taken up his fiddle. And now, friend, strike up":

*Hor sia qui fine che pur convien posarsi  
Perche il compar, mentre ch'io scrivo, aspetta,  
Et ha gia impunto la sua violetta,  
Hor fa compar che tu la scarabelli...*<sup>73</sup>

That this friend (*compare*) with the fiddle was no mythical person, but one of those real Florentine balladeers who recounted popular tales to a hushed and attentive crowd in the open air to their own fiddle accompaniment, appears quite clearly from a woodcut that serves as tailpiece to the published edition of Pulci's poem *Morgante*.<sup>74</sup> It looks like an illustration to the closing words of Pulci's *Giostra*. The fiddler sits on a podium, and at his feet, in a public square (Piazza San Martino?), is his attentive audience. The very same designation, *compare della viola*, appears on the official lists of the members of the personal suite of Lorenzo de' Medici<sup>75</sup> and later of his son Piero.<sup>76</sup>

I believe that I have found out the first name of this *compare della viola*. A certain "Compare Bartolomeo" is mentioned in the daybook of the Ripoli printing office,<sup>77</sup> whose legends and histories he performed in public and then, as was customary,<sup>78</sup> sold in printed form. Luigi Pulci himself addressed a sonnet to one Bartolomeo dell' Avveduto, beginning with the words:

*Poich' io partij da voi Bartolommeo,  
Di vostri buon precetti ammaestrato...*<sup>79</sup>

Since I left your side, Bartolommeo,  
Well briefed by your good precepts...

These words suggest that the two were colleagues in some way, and that Bartolomeo had given Luigi something. What he had given him appears from the sobriquet by which he is addressed, dell' Avveduto. He had given to Luca or Luigi Pulci the popular nucleus of their poem *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, which is known to have been based on a verse tale, hitherto supposed to be anonymous, that was entitled *Libro del povero avveduto* (Book of the cunning pauper).<sup>80</sup> And so the chain of names leads very simply to an interesting and previously unregarded personality, and we can venture to surmise that the *compare* who has shouldered his fiddle is identical

- (a) with the "*compare* Bartolomeo" who worked as a balladeer and itinerant book-seller for the Ripoli printing house;
- (b) with the *compare della viola* in the Medici household; and
- (c) with the Bartolomeo dell' Avveduto whom Luigi addresses as a colleague.<sup>81</sup>

And so we see before us in person the Pulcis' purveyor and distributor of popular poetic romances of chivalry; at the same time, in the most natural way possible, we remove all those difficulties raised for the literary critic and historian by the reference to the *compare* in Pulci's *Giostra*.<sup>82</sup>

VIII. Letter from Poliziano to Hieronymus Donatus<sup>83</sup>

*Angelus Polizianus Hieronymo Donato suo S. D.*

(Angelo Poliziano to His Hieronymus Donatus: Greetings)

*... Nam si quis breue dictum, quod in gladii capulo, uel in anuli legatur emblemate; si quis uersum lecto, aut cubiculo, si quis insigne aliquod non argento dixerim, sed fictilibus omnino suis desiderat, ilicò ad Politianum cursitat, omnesque iam parietes à me quasi à limace uideas oblitos argumentis uariis, et titulis. Ecce alius Bacchanalibus Fescenninorum argutias, alius conciliabulis sanctas sermocinationes, alius citharae miserabiles naenias, alius peruigilio licentiosas cantilenas efflagitat. Ille mihi proprios amores stultus stultiori narrat. Ille symbolum poscit, quod suae tantum pateat, caeterorum frustra coniecturas exerceat. Mitto scholasticorum garritus intempestiuos, uersificatorum nugas, seque, et sua de more admirantium, quae quotidie cuncta demissis auriculis perpetior. Quid plebeculam dicam, uel urbanam, uel agrestem, quae me tota urbe ad suum negotium, quasi naso bubalum trahit? Ergo dum proteruè instantibus negare nihil audeo, cogor et amicos uexare caeteros, et (quod molestissimum est) ipsius in primis Laurentii mei Medices abuti facilitate...*

... For if anyone wants a brief motto for the hilt of a sword or for the emblem in a ring; if anyone wants a verse for his couch or bedchamber; if anyone wants something distinctive—I would not even say for his silver, but for his earthenware—he trots straight off to Poliziano, and you may now see every wall covered by me as if by a snail with various writings and captions. Just look: one man demands the slyness of fescennine verses for a bacchanalian feast; another, solemn speeches for public assemblies; another, pathetic ditties for his lute; another, lascivious songs for an all-night party. This man tells me—one fool telling a greater fool—about his intimate love affairs. That one requests a symbol whose meaning will be clear only to his girl, while provoking vain conjectures from other men. I pass over the inopportune gabble of scholastics and the trifles of versifiers, who in the usual way admire both themselves and their own creations, all of which I put up with daily, with my ears drooping. Why mention the riffraff, whether of town or country, who drag me all over the city, like a buffalo by the nose, to attend to their business? And so, while I dare not say No to those who impudently harass me, I am compelled both to vex the rest of my friends and (this is the most annoying) to abuse the good nature of the one who means the most to me, Lorenzo de' Medici himself...

*... viva parola di uomini che da quattro e più secoli dormono nei sepolcri, ma che può destare e utilmente interrogare l'affetto.*

—Cesare Guasti, *Ser Lapo Mazzei*, iii

... the living words of men who have slept for four centuries and more in the tomb, but whom love can awaken and usefully consult.

Notes

1. Latest (7th) ed., ed. Geiger (1899) [now *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 5].
2. Latest ed., ed. Bode (1901). Also his *Geschichte der <Architektur der> Renaissance*, 3d ed., ed. Holtzinger (1891) [now *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6].
3. Including *Das Altarbild; Das Porträt in der Malerei; Die Sammler*, ed. H. Trog (1898) [*Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 12].
4. See H. Thode, *Giotto*, 128. See our figure 24.
5. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Protocols of Andrea di Angiolo di Terranova A.381, p. 269 f. In 1487 additional gift to the chapel with express and detailed stipulation of Mass in honor of Saint Francis.
6. Still with its tall *ringhiera*.
7. See figure 25.
8. Federico, born 1472, destined for a career in Holy Orders, and by that time already prior of San Michele Berteldi; Teodoro I, born 1461, died before 1479; Galeazzo, born 1462; Cosimo, born 1463; Bartolomeo, born 1413; Francesco himself, born 1421. More on Francesco Sasseti and his family in the second essay in this series [pp. 223 ff.].
9. It is improbable that the person represented is his father, Tommaso, who had been dead since 1421.
10. On the *voti*, see appendix I [204 ff.]; on Lorenzo's *voti*, see Vasari, [ed. Milanesi,] 3:373 f.
11. It may be that the painted stucco bust of Lorenzo in the Berlin Museum is a replica of one of these votive effigies: the artisan quality of the painting, and the crude likeness, without any refinement of execution, would support such a supposition. Illustrated by Bode, *Italienische Porträtskulpturen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (1883), 31.
12. See Eubel, "Über Zauberverwesen und Aberglauben," *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Görres) 18 (1897): 608–31; comment by Grauert, *ibid.*, 72.
13. See figure 27. The details reproduced as figures 26, 27, 29, and 32 were taken for the first time, at my request, by Fratelli Alinari. Figure 24 is from an existing photograph by Fratelli Alinari.
14. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Italian ed., 7:190 f. On portraits of Lorenzo, see von Kenner, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 18 (1897) [: 148 f.] and Müntz, *Le musée de portraits de Paul Jove* (Paris, 1900), 78. A terra-cotta bust by Pollaiuolo (?) illustrated by Armstrong, *Lorenzo de' Medici and Florence in the Fifteenth Century* (1897); portrait material for the history of the Medici reproduced by Heyck, *Die Mediceer* (1897). The basic source for Lorenzo is still A. von Reumont, *Lorenzo de' Medici il Magnifico* (1883).
15. See appendixes II and III [pp. 208 f.]; characterizations by Bartolomeo Cerrertani and Niccolò Valori.
16. See figure 28a, medal by Spinelli (after Friedlaender, *Italienische Schaumünzen*; also figures 28b, 31).
17. See figures 26, 31.
18. The Spinelli medal shows him in later life; born in 1454, he was around twenty-nine years old at the time when the fresco in S. Trinita was painted. It looks to me as if Ghirlandaio has portrayed him a second time, in the same chapel, in the fresco of the

*Lamentation at the Death of Saint Francis*, where he is seen, once more in profile, to the left of the bier; later he reappears in the *Annunciation to Zacharias* in the choir of Santa Maria Novella.

19. Born 12 August 1478. The face of the child is easily recognizable in the bearded man portrayed in later years by Bronzino (Heyck {see note 14}, fig. 133). By a strange irony of fate, Giuliano, the carefree child whom Ghirlandaio thus leads by the hand into Florentine art, makes his departure from it as an ideal type of prematurely spent vital power: as the duke of Nemours, on the tomb by Michelangelo in S. Lorenzo.

20. Born 15 February 1471. See figure in Müntz {note 14}, 80.

21. Born 11 December 1475. See figure after Giovio in Müntz {note 14}, and painting by Bronzino in the Uffizi.

22. See figure 30. Plaster cast from a lead medal in Museo Nazionale, Florence.

23. *Opera* (Basel, 1553); see appendix IV [pp. 209 f.]. On Matteo Franco, born 1447, see principally del Lungo, *Florentia: Uomini e cose del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1897), 422: “*Un cappellano medico*.” Also the excellent study by Guglielmo Volpi in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 17 (1891): “Un cortigiano di Lorenzo il Magnifico (Matteo Franco) ed alcune sue lettere.”

24. See letter in del Lungo {note 23}, 441.

25. See appendix V [pp. 211 f.]. This Giulio, son of the murdered Giuliano, is the later Pope Clement VII.

26. I have no wish to urge the date 1483 too strongly; the present inscription, which has obviously been wrongly restored, gives 1486 instead of 1485 as the date of completion: of which more shortly, in part 2. It is known from documentary evidence that the chapel was free of scaffolding by the beginning of 1486, since regular masses were said there from 1 January 1486 onward.

27. Born 1432. For the literature of the Quattrocento in general, see the recent, and highly instructive, account by P. Monnier, *Le Quattrocento: Essai sur l'histoire littéraire du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle italien* (1901). Luigi Pulci's letters have been published by Bonghi (1886).

28. See fig. [195, in van Marle, vol. 12]. The first face in the deputation that I recognized was that of Poliziano, followed by that of Pulci, which I had seen in the same fresco by Filippino.

29. See appendix VI [pp. 212 f.].

30. *Magnifico* as a pure title: see Reumont, *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Görres) (1884), 146. But better translated as “High and Mighty” than by the far too adjectival “Magnificent.”

31. Lorenzo's own words in the *Rappresentazione di S. Giovanni e Paolo*, ed. Carducci (Florence: Barbèra, 1859), 375. Compare Karl Hillebrand, “La politique dans le mystère [du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle],” *Etudes italiennes* (1868): 204 ff.

32. At the end of the *Istorie fiorentine*: “*Tanto che a considerare in quello e la vita leggera e la grave, si vedeva in lui essere due persone diverse quasi con impossibile congiunzione congiunte*.” (If you compared his serious side and his light side, two distinct personalities could be identified within him, seemingly impossible to reconcile.)



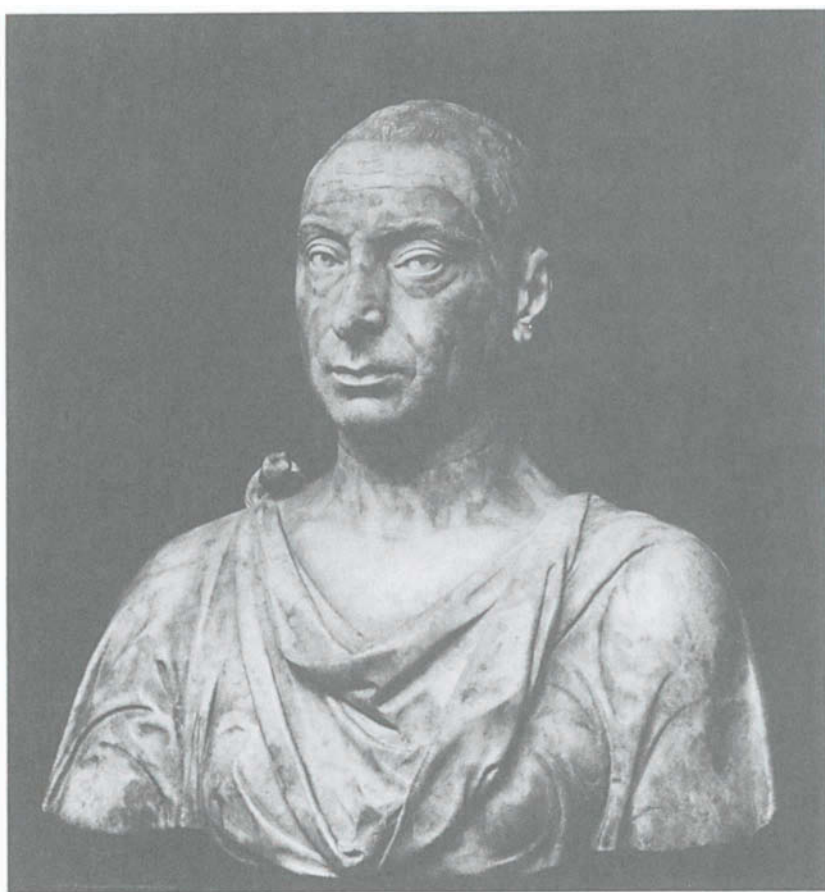
33. "Inorganic" might be the word today. I found this passage in Machiavelli only after I had written the description of the deputation on the stairs and defined the psychology of Lorenzo's lighter side.
34. See Cerretani, appendix II [pp. 208 f.]: "*Faceva molti gesti colla sua persona.*"
35. See Levantini-Pieroni, *Lucrezia Tornabuoni* (Florence, 1888).
36. This question most recently discussed by Cesare Carocci, *La giostra di Lorenzo de' Medici [messa in rime da Luigi Pulci]* (Bologna, 1899).
37. Fig. 33. See Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (1897), fig. 150.
38. See appendix VII [pp. 214 ff.].
39. See A. Warburg, "Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*" (1893), pp. 47 f.
40. See appendix VIII [p. 216] and Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, 258.
41. See the engraving (ascribed to Baccio Baldini) of the attributes associated with the planet Mercury.
42. According to the 1480 survey, Tommaso worked purely as a *sensale* (broker) [see p. 440]. By 1486, however, Domenico was officially known by the name "del Grillandaio," which does suggest that Tommaso was directly involved with the making of jewelry. See Archivio di Stato, Florence, S. Trinita 15, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>; also Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 3:280, 264, 270, 277.
43. See the anecdote in Vasari, {ed. Milanesi,} 3:270.
44. For his dispute with the friars of S. Maria Novella, see the second essay in this series, which is to appear shortly [pp. 229 ff.]. \*
45. *Lauro* being a pun on Lorenzo: see fig. 28b, reverse of the medal shown in fig. 28a, with the inscription "*Tutela Patriae*" ("His Country's Safeguard").
46. Andreucci, *Il fiorentino istruito nella Chiesa della Nunziata* (1857), with many valuable references to manuscript material.
47. Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. II. I. 454: "Notizie dei ceraiuoli e lavoratori d'imagini di Cera in Firenze."
48. See *Novelle*, ed. Gigli (1888), 264.
49. Andreucci {see note 46}, 86: "*non potere alcuno mettere voto in figura che non fosse uomo di Repubblica ed abile alle arti maggiori*" (no one might make a votive offering of a figure unless he was a citizen of the republic and master of the greater guilds).
50. Archivio di Stato, Florence, SS. Annunziata, no. 59, doc. 19, "Notizie delle cose memorabili del convento e chiesa della Nunziata," fol. 11.
51. Chimenti di Piero (?).
52. Archivio di Stato, Florence, SS. Annunziata, No. 48, "Ricordanze 1439-1484," fol. 131<sup>v</sup> ff.
53. That is, ten working days within a period of twelve calendar days.
54. See Ms. Palagi {note 47}. If an effigy fell, it was considered a very bad omen for the subject.
55. Archivio di Stato, Florence, SS. Annunziata, no. 50, "Ricordanze 1494-1504," fol. 18 ff. Similar material in Andreucci {see note 46}, 250 f.
56. Andreucci {see note 46}, 86.
57. See del Migliore, *Firenze città nobilissima illustrata* (1684), 286 f., who names a string of other historical personalities.

58. "1529 rifatto l'armagine <sic> di papa Alessandro e la marchesa di Mantova..." Ms. Palagi {see note 47}.
59. See Justi, *Michelangelo*, 231, n. 3. Very instructively, Stiassny, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1898), nos. 289, 290, cites a Gothic votive statue from the same source, although much earlier.
60. [Ed. Milanesi,] 3:373 and 8:87.
- \* 61. See Benndorf, *Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulkralkmasken* (1878), 70 f., and Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer* (1886), 1:242 f.
62. Andreucci {see note 46}, 249.
63. Andreucci {see note 46}, 287.
64. Never printed; Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. II. II. 74, fol. 165<sup>v</sup>. Reumont {see note 30}, 2:420, does not seem to have used a good manuscript.
65. Added by copyist.
66. That is, *a rischio*.
67. Gentile de' Bechi.
68. *La vita del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici il vecchio scritta da Niccolò Valori patrizio Fiorentino, nuovamente posta in luce* (Florence: Giunti, 1568), a. III<sup>r</sup>.
69. Poliziano, *Opera* (Basel, 1553), *Epistolarum* lib. X, 144.
70. Published by del Lungo, *Un viaggio di Clarice Orsini de' Medici nel 1485* {descritto da Ser Matteo Franco, Scelta di Curiosità letterarie}, 98 (Bologna: {Romanogli}, 1868), and later in *Florentia* {see note 23}, 424 f.
71. Poliziano {see note 69}, 141.
72. See Carocci, *La giostra di Lorenzo de' Medici messa in rime da Luigi Pulci* [note 36].
73. *Giostra di Lorenzo*, appendix to *Ciriffo Calvaneo*, in Giunti ed. (1572), 91.
74. Illustrated by Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (1897), fig. 150.
75. See the list of the retinue in del Lungo [note 70], 7: "...2 cantori. El compare. Bertoldo scultore."
76. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Filza medic. avanti Princip., no. 104, doc. 85, fol. 583<sup>v</sup>: Piero's retinue on his journey to Rome in 1492 included "*Matteo Franco, il chonpare della viola, il chardiere della viola*." (See Reumont {note 30}, 2:353.)
77. On the daybook of this earliest of Florentine printing houses (which has yet to be adequately studied by cultural historians), see Fineschi, *Notizie storiche sopra la stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, 1781); Roediger, "Diario della stamperia di Ripoli," *Bibliofilo* 8 (1887), 9, and 10, series unfortunately never completed; P. Bologna, "La stamperia fiorentina del Monasterio di S. Jacopo di Ripoli e le sue edizioni," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 20 (1892): 349 ff., 21 (1893): 49 ff. In the daybook we read: "1447. Entrata: a dì 3 di giugno soldi cinquanta sono per una legenda, ci vendè el compar Bartolomeo..." (1447. Entry: June 3, fifty soldi for a history, sold to us by Compare Bartolomeo). See Roediger, as above, 92.
78. See Flamini, *La lirica toscana del Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico* (1891), and P. Monnier, *Le Quattrocento* [note 27], 28 f.
79. Sonnet 146, 1759 ed., "Luigi Pulci a Bartolommeo dell' Avveduto."
80. On this see, most recently, Laura Mattioli, *Luigi Pulci e il Ciriffo Calvaneo* (1900), 9. See Ms. Laur. plut. 44, Cod. 30.

81. Might this Bartolomeo be identical with the “Bartolomeo da Pisa detto Baldaccio,” who is mentioned elsewhere as a book vendor or *cernatore*? (See Roediger {note 77}, 134.) On 24 November 1477 he took one thousand *orationi* to sell on commission. And might not our Bartolomeo have supplied the *materia del Morgante*?

82. See Carocci {note 36}, 35 ff.

83. *Opera* {see note 69}, 26: “*Cal. Maias MCCCCLXXXX*” (1 May 1490).



**Fig. 34. Workshop of Rossellino**

*Francesco Sassetti*

Marble bust. Florence, Museo Nazionale (see p. 233)

# Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons (1907)

In 1600 Francesco di Giovambattista Sassetti compiled his *Notizie* on the history of his family. He had before him the papers of his ancestors, going back to the middle of the thirteenth century, and a family tree drawn up by his great-grandfather's cousin, Paolo d'Alessandro (died 1400).<sup>1</sup> The *antichità e nobiltà* of such potent ancestors must have struck their impoverished and powerless descendant in two ways: as a depressing contrast between then and now, and as a heartening testimony to the toughness of a patrician family that had traveled and traded and taken its chances with the goddess Fortune through ten generations.

"*Non son atto a disperarmi*"<sup>2</sup> (I am not a man to despair), wrote his brother Filippo in 1583 from Cochin, where he had arrived after a perilous seven-month journey. There, as pepper broker to the Portuguese crown, he amassed a considerable fortune and an even vaster store of new impressions, which he recorded with astonishing open-mindedness. His letters from India are an imperishable monument to the Florentine spirit; they have turned out to be far more durable than the wealth that he bequeathed to his Florentine family on his death in 1588. Of this, only one-tenth fell into the hands of his impractical brother Francesco—not that any larger sum would ever have turned him into a successful businessman. He went on "living on dreams,"<sup>3</sup> turning over old papers, copying extracts, leaning on the lost greatness of his ancestors. \*

Among those ancestors, the most impressive figure that confronted him was his great-grandfather Francesco di Tommaso (1421–1490), whose own reminiscences, complemented by contemporary documents, the great-grandson piously preserved and studied.

Basing myself on the information supplied by the younger Francesco, I was eventually able to find a number of those original documents and memoirs, including the previously unknown last injunctions that Francesco Sassetti left behind for his sons when he set off on a visit to Lyons in 1488.

This document contains evidence that can be useful to the art historian, if we first make the effort to understand Francesco's thinking, to cast light on the psychology of an educated layman in early Renaissance Florence. The background is supplied by his descendant's *Notizie*, with their hitherto unexploited abundance of reliable facts; I shall therefore first quote the younger Francesco's biography,<sup>4</sup> which sets the man's personality clearly before us as a \*

whole, albeit with rather more feeling for the costly material of the edifice than for the subtleties of its inner structure.

\* *Francesco, il minore figliolo di Tommaso di Federigo, dal quale io discendo, nacque a' 9 di marzo 1420.<sup>5</sup> Fu uomo di gran virtù e valore in sua gioventù, e su circa il 1440 andò in Avignone nelle faccende di Cosimo de' Medici, che fu chiamato Padre della Patria, dove si portò di maniera, che in capo a poco tempo lo messano compagno, e poco appresso gli dettano il nome con uno de' Rampini, e poi con Amerigo Benci. Morto Cosimo, successe Piero suo figliolo, con il quale continuò nel medesimo servizio. Poi, morto ancora Piero, successe il Magnifico Lorenzo suo figliolo, con il quale il nostro Francesco ebbe tanta familiarità, che li confidò tutto lo stato suo interamente, di maniera che, quanto a' negozi, non si faceva se non quanto disponeva e voleva Francesco. Et essendo occorso che li negozi che si facevano in Avignone, si trasferirno a Lione sul Rodano, qui ancora si condussano quelli de' Medici, e di molti anni cantorono in Lorenzo de' Medici e Francesco Sassetti, e al governo assoluto di Francesco, il quale l'anno 57 o 58 sopra il 1400 se ne tornò a Fiorenza, lasciando li medesimi negozi e nomi. E non solamente si negoziava a Lione, ma qui in Fiorenza e a Roma e a Milano e a Bruggia in Fiandra si negoziava con li medesimi nomi, al governo di vari ministri, li quali tutti, d'ordine e volontà del Magnifico Lorenzo, riconoscevano Francesco nostro per principale, e a lui davano conto e ragguaglio del tutto: e con questi tanti maneggi et occasioni aveva fatto grandissime facultà; di maniera che in quei tempi la sua si contava per una delle prime ricchezze di Fiorenza.<sup>6</sup> Ma perchè nulla in questo mondo è stabile, quella fortuna che per spazio di 40 o più anni l'aveva sempre favorito e prosperato, non solo l'abbandonò, ma ancora se li mostrò contraria, essendo a Lione et in Fiandra, per colpa de' ministri,<sup>7</sup> seguito di molti disordini e danni gravissimi, con avere messo lo stato istesso de' Medici in grandissimo pericolo: di maniera che il povero Francesco, l'anno 1488, di sua età 68, fu necessitato, per riparare a tanto disordine, andare a Lione quasi che in posta, dove il rimedio non potette essere senza scapitare grossamente delle facultà per avanti guadagnate. Tornato in Fiorenza di Lione, poco sopravvisse, chè morì l'anno 1491.<sup>8</sup> Fu uomo molto conosciuto e stimato et amato generalmente da ogni sorte di persone, così in Fiorenza come in altre parte dove li occorre farsi conoscere; e con il Marchese di Monferrato<sup>9</sup> tenne stretta familiarità e amicizia, e tale che volse battezzarli il suo primo figliolo, che dal suo nome fu chiamato Teodoro. Con molti gentiluomini bolognesi ebbe familiarità e grand' amicizia, li quali generalmente nel passare che facevano per Fiorenza, sempre da lui erano accarezzati, alloggiati in casa sua, e magnificamente tratti e pasteggiati. Nè questo faceva con uno o dua amici particolari, ma generalmente con tutti: per il che vi era in universale tanto amato, che l'anno 1484, a' 9 di giugno, per publico decreto di quel Senato lo crearono loro cittadino, lui e suoi descendentì in perpetuo, abilitandolo a tutti gli onori e dignità della loro città, come cittadino originario di essa, e gliene mandorono il decreto in amplissima forma sino in Fiorenza; il quale si conserva in casa mia, in carta pecora, in una conserva di stagno. Tornato in Fiorenza l'anno 1468 per ripatriare, tolse moglie madonna Nera de' Corsi<sup>10</sup> della quale ebbe X figlioli, cioè 5 masti e 5 femmine: cioè Vaggia che fu*

moglie d'Antonio Carnesecchi; Lisabetta moglie di Gio. Batista de' Nerli, e poi d'Antonio Gualterotti; Sibilla moglie d'Antonio Pucci, che fu madre del cardinale Pucci; Violante moglie di Neri Capponi; Lena moglie di messer Luca Corsini. Li masti si addomandarono Teodoro (1460-1479), Galeazzo (1462-1513), Federigo (1472-1490), Cosimo (1463-1527), Teodoro;<sup>11</sup> e d'un'altra donna n'ebbe un naturale, il quale chiamò Ventura. Fu il detto Francesco uomo splendido, onorevole, e liberale. Tornato in Fiorenza, non intermettendo la cura de' negozi, attese alla cura particolare della sua casa e famiglia, cercando di lasciarla in quel buon grado che debbe fare ogni onorato e buon padre di famiglia. Ne' governi pubblici fu assai adoperato, e, dal Gonfaloniere di Giustizia in poi, ebbe tutti li supremi onori e magistrati della città; e nella borsa del Gonfaloniere era imborsato, ma non uscì mai, come lui stesso testifica in un suo ricordo che fa del corso di sua vita, che appresso di me si conserva.<sup>12</sup> Fece di belli acquisti di beni stabili. Al canto de' Pazzi comprò una bella e comoda casa, dove egli abitò gran tempo; e credo che sia quella che oggi è di messer Lorenzo Niccolini. Poi ne comperò un'altra più comoda nella via larga da' legnaioli di S. Trinita, ch'è quella che oggi è de' figlioli di Simone Corsi; e in processo di tempo comperò quasi tutte l'altre case quivi intorno verso li Tornaquinci sino a quelle della Vigna; e dalla banda di dietro comperò il sito dell'osteria dell' Inferno, con altre case quivi all' intorno; e dalli ufiziali della Torre comperò quella viuzza senza riuscita che, uscendo di sotto le vòlte di S. Trinita, si dà all'uscio di dietro della sua casa, che oggi è de' Corsi, e si chiamava il Chiasso de' Sassetti. E ancora nel ceppo delle case antiche de' Sassetti fra' ferravecchi,<sup>13</sup> fece qualche acquisto, rimettendo in casa alcuni membri di detti casamenti, che per avanti n'erano usciti. Oggi di tutti questi acquisti non resta ne' suoi discendenti altro che una casa in Parioncino; di rimpetto alle vòlte di S. Trinita, e due stanze nel ceppo delle case antiche fra' ferravecchi, che sono de' discendenti de Galeazzo suo figliolo: l'altre tutto sono uscite di casa o per vendita o per dote o per altri accidenti, come occorre. Costavano tutte queste case, salvo quella del canto de' Pazzi, che la rivendè il medesimo Francesco in vita sua, come si trova per alcuni suoi ricordi, circa fiorini ottomila. Oltre a dette case, si vede avere speso altri tredici o sedicimila fiorini in altri beni stabili in diversi luoghi, come a Montui, Nuovoli, Gonfienti e Val di Bisenzio;<sup>14</sup> de' quali beni oggi ne resta in casa la minor parte. E perchè era persona magnifica et onorevole, stava in casa splendidamente, e fornito di masserizie et altri abbigliamenti, forse più di quanto comportava lo stato e grado suo: a tal che si trova (per un calculo che fece dello stato suo l'anno 1472, registrato a un suo quadernuccio<sup>15</sup> coperto di cartapecora) che in quell' anno si trovava tra la casa di Fiorenza e quella di villa, masserizie per il valore fiorini 3550: panni per il vestire suo e della moglie e de' figlioli, per fiorini 1100: argenti in vasella per uso di casa per fiorini 1600: gioie e orerie di più sorte per uso suo e della moglie e figliole, per fiorini 1750. E se bene non fu uomo di lettere, si diletò con tutto ciò di tener pratica di persone letterate. Per il che tenne amicizia e pratica con Marsilio Ficino, Bartolomeo Fonzio<sup>16</sup> et altri litterati di quelli tempi; et aveva condotto in casa sua una libreria de' più stimati libri latini e volgari che in quelli tempi andassino in volta, e la maggior parte scritti in penna, che, come si vede per suoi ricordi,<sup>17</sup> li costavano meglio di fiorini 800. Murò in Francia e a Ginevra sul ponte del Rodano

*un Oratorio in onore di Nostra Donna, dove spese fiorini duemila; che oggi s'intende essere rovinato dalla rabbia e furore degli eretici.*<sup>18</sup> Tornato in Fiorenza, fece edificare il palazzo di Montui, con spesa di fiorini dodicimila o di passo: fabbrica tanto bella e magnifica, che è reputata fra le belle di questo Stato; la quale ancor oggi ne serba il nome de' Sassetti, e della quale facendo menzione Ugolino Verini nel secondo libro del suo trattato *De illustratione Urbis Florentiae*, ne dice in questo modo:

*Montuquas Saxetti si videris aedes,  
Regis opus credes.*<sup>19</sup>

Oggi è posseduto detto palazzo da sig. Francesco Capponi, per compra fattane da Piero suo padre sino l'anno 1545. Di più, nella badia di Fiesole edificò e dotò una cappella, con figure bellissime di terretta.<sup>20</sup> E avendo disegnato di restaurare et abbellire l'altare e cappella maggiore di S. M<sup>a</sup>. Novella, che era di giurisdizione di casa nostra, come è fatta menzione a dietro in questo al cap. 14; et avendone convenuto con li frati di detto convento per pubblico notaro, nominato ser Baldovino di Domenico Baldovini sotto di 22 di febb. 1469, dando principio a mettere ad effetto detta sua intenzione, vi fece paramenti di broccato ricchissimi, con spesa di fiorini 300, come lui medesimo testifica in un suo ricordo: li quali paramenti sino a oggi sono conservati da' detti frati con gran diligenza, e messi in opera 4 o 5 volte l'anno nelle maggiori solennità. Venuto poi detto Francesco in disparere con li frati per conto di quello si doveva dipignere nella cappella, li detti frati non volsano mantenerli quello avevano convenuto, et allogorono il medesimo sito di capella a' Tornabuoni; e Francesco nostro si gettò in S. Trinita, dove fece edificare la capella che vi è ora, e la fece dipignere a Domenico del Grillandaio; e da ogni banda dell' altare fece il ritratto suo e di madonna Nera sua donna. E per lui e per lei fece fare due cassoni di pietra di paragone, bellissimi; et in uno di essi fu sotterrato l'anno 1491, che si morì, e che a Dio piaccia aver ricevuto l'anima sua nella sua santa gloria.

Francesco, the youngest son of Tommaso di Federigo, from whom I am descended, was born on 9 March 1420. He was a man of great strength and courage in his youth, and around 1440 he went to Avignon in the service of Cosimo de' Medici, known as the Father of his Country. There he was so successful that after a while he was made a partner, working first with one of the Rampini and later with Amerigo Benci. When Cosimo died and was succeeded by his son Piero, Francesco continued in the service of the family. When Piero died, his son Lorenzo il Magnifico succeeded him; the ties between him and Francesco were so close that Lorenzo handed over his business affairs entirely to Francesco, so much so that in any negotiation Francesco's wishes would always be carried out. When the business that was transacted in Avignon moved to Lyons on the Rhone, the Medici firm moved with it, and this was carried on there for many years by Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti, Francesco holding absolute power. In about 1457 or 1458 Francesco left his position in Lyons and returned to Florence. From Lyons, his affairs had taken



him to Florence, Rome, and Milan, and to Bruges in Flanders; with the same colleagues he had led a number of missions to foreign governments, and, although nominally the representative of Lorenzo il Magnifico, he was generally recognized to be in sole charge, and due respect and attention were paid to him. Thanks to his skill in business, and the opportunities open to him, he amassed great wealth; in his day he was reckoned to be one of the richest men in Florence. Nothing in this world is stable, however; and Fortune, which had smiled on him for forty or more years, abandoned him—nay, even turned against him. Both in Lyons and in Flanders, by the fault of subordinates, he was afflicted by great disorder and serious losses, which placed the house of Medici itself in the utmost peril. As a result, in 1488, at the age of sixty-eight, the unfortunate Francesco had to return to his previous position in Lyons to try to set matters to rights; the remedy inevitably greatly reduced the wealth that he had previously amassed. He returned from Lyons to Florence, but did not survive long, dying in 1491. He was a man of great renown, widely respected and loved by all ranks of people, in Florence as in the other places where he was known. He was a close friend of the marchese di Monferrato and chose him as godfather to his eldest son, who was named Teodoro after him. He had many friends among the gentry of Bologna, and when they used to come to Florence he would always welcome them to stay in his house, where they would be magnificently feasted and entertained. He did not behave like this only with one or two particular friends, but with everyone: as a result, he was universally loved, and on 9 June 1484 the Senate of Bologna granted him citizenship by public decree. He and his descendants, in perpetuity, were granted all the honors and dignities of the city as if they had been born there; the decree was brought home to Florence in all its glory. The parchment deed is preserved in a metal capsule in my house to this day. He returned to Florence in 1468 and married Madonna Nera de' Corsi. They had ten children, five boys and five girls: the girls were Vaggia, later the wife of Antonio Carnesecchi; Lisabetta, wife of Gio. Batista de' Nerli, then of Antonio Gualterotti; Sibilla, wife of Antonio Pucci and mother of Cardinal Pucci; Violante, wife of Neri Capponi; Lena, wife of Messer Luca Corsini. The boys were named Teodoro (1460–1479), Galeazzo (1462–1513), Federigo (1479–1490), Cosimo (1463–1527), and Teodoro; and he had a natural son, Ventura, by another woman. Francesco was a splendid and honorable man, and very generous. On his return to Florence, without neglecting business, he attended to his house and family, and he endeavored to leave it all in good order, as a respected family man and good father should. He was much involved in local affairs, and received all the highest honors the city could bestow, with the exception of the office of *gonfaloniere di giustizia*. His name was on the ballot for the post of *gonfaloniere*, as he notes in a personal memoir that is in my keeping, but was never drawn. He acquired some valuable real estate. He bought a handsome, comfortable house near the Palazzo Pazzi, and lived there for a long time; I believe it to be the house that now belongs to Messer Lorenzo Niccolini. Then he bought a larger house on Via Larga da' Legnaioli di S. Trinita, which today belongs to the heirs of Simone Corsi; and as time went by he bought nearly all the houses in the neighborhood, from Tornaquinci right along to La Vigna. And in the row behind he bought the site of the Osteria dell'Inferno, with

the houses around it. And from the Uffiziali della Torre he bought the little cul-de-sac that emerges from under the arcade at S. Trinita and ends behind his house (the one that now belongs to the Corsi); it used to be called the Chiasso de' Sassetti. He also bought up some of the stock of old Sassetti houses near the Ferravecchi, rehousing some of the residents who had been evicted. Of all the houses that he bought, all that remains to his descendants is one house in Parioncino, opposite the arch of S. Trinita, and two apartments in the old houses near the Ferravecchi, which belong to descendants of his son Galeazzo. The rest of the family houses have either been sold, or given as a dowry, or something of the kind, as is wont to happen. All of these houses, excluding the one in the Canto dei Pazzi—which Francesco resold during his lifetime, as he records in his memoirs—cost about 8,000 florins. Besides these houses, he appears to have spent another 13,000 to 16,000 florins on real estate in other places, such as Montui, Nuovoli, Gonfienti, and Val di Bisenzio; not much of this property remains in the family today. And because he was a distinguished and honorable man, he lived in some splendor, with household effects and clothes that were perhaps a little more exalted than his rank required. A calculation of the value of his estate in 1472, recorded in a vellum-backed notebook of his, assesses the combined worth of the furnishings of his house in Florence and his country villa at 3,550 florins; clothes for himself, his wife, and children at 1,100 florins; household silverware at 1,600 florins; jewelry and gold for himself, his wife, and children at 1,750 florins. And although he was not himself a man of letters, he enjoyed having dealings with such people. He maintained friendly relations with Marsilio Ficino, Bartolomeo Fonzio, and other literati of the day, and in his house he accumulated a library containing the most highly esteemed books of the day, Latin and vernacular, mostly in manuscript; these, as he records in his memoirs, cost him more than 800 florins. He spent 2,000 florins in building a chapel to Our Lady on the bridge over the Rhone in France, in Geneva; this has apparently been reduced to a ruin by the frenzied rage of the heretics. On his return to Florence he had the Palazzo di Montui built for himself, at a cost of 12,000 florins or more; this palace is so well built and magnificent as to be considered one of the handsomest in the country. Today it still bears the name of Sassetti, and Ugolino Verini mentions it in the second book of his treatise *De illustratione urbis Florentiae*, describing it in these words:

If you see Sassetti's palace of Montui,  
You will think it the dwelling of a king.

The palace is owned today by Signor Francesco Capponi, having been purchased by his father, Piero, in 1545. In addition, he built and endowed a chapel in the Badia at Fiesole, decorated with beautiful figures modeled in clay. He also planned to restore and redecorate the largest chapel in S. Maria Novella, which was under family jurisdiction, as is mentioned below in Chapter 14. And, by a contract with the friars of S. Maria Novella, drawn up before a notary public on 22 February 1469, he commissioned Ser Baldovino di Domenico Baldovini to begin realizing his designs; vestments of rich brocade were made, at a cost of 300 florins, as he notes

in a memoir. These vestments are still carefully preserved by the friars, and are used at religious functions three or four times a year. Then Francesco entered into a dispute with the friars over the paintings to be done in the chapel, the friars not wishing to stand by what had been agreed; they then assigned the chapel site to the Tornabuoni family. Francesco went straight to S. Trinita, where he had the chapel built that is there today, employing Domenico del Ghirlandaio to do the paintings; on either side of the altar he placed portraits of himself and of Madonna Nera, his wife. Two beautiful black marble sarcophagi were made for him and his wife: he was buried in one of these on his death in 1491, and may it please God to receive his spirit in glory.

Of all Francesco's *magnificenza*, in wealth, in breeding, and in status, all that remained to his great-grandson was a collection of honorable but financially far from substantial relics. The parchment diplomas, which he so carefully kept in their metal capsules, were long-since worthless manifestations of contemporary esteem; however, Sassetti's celebrated collection of manuscripts, which had passed by way of his son Cosimo to the Biblioteca Laurenziana,<sup>21</sup> continued to reflect honor on his descendants. It remains a distinguished testimony to the culture of an enlightened humanist collector.

Captured by the genius of Ghirlandaio, Francesco Sassetti lives on, above all, in the frescoes in S. Trinita. There he presents himself to posterity as the type of a leading citizen of the Medicean republic; at his side appears the most powerful man of the age, Lorenzo il Magnifico himself, who comes with his children to reaffirm to the man who has been the trusted friend and partner of his house for three generations the bond that unites the Sassetti and the Medici.<sup>22</sup>

In spite of its clarity, and the corroboration supplied by the archives, the information provided by the *Notizie* on Francesco's patronal relationship to this chapel has yet to receive any part of its scholarly due. At first sight, the fact that Francesco placed his tomb in S. Trinita only after failing to resolve to his own taste a dispute with the friars of S. Maria Novella might seem to have more to do with the history of ecclesiastical law than with that of art. But once we appreciate the massive outlay of money and of mental energy that Francesco Sassetti invested in getting his way in this matter, his combative response to a question of decoration begins to look like an expression of highly individual artistic feeling.

Apart from having to give up his long-established family burial place in S. Maria Novella, which left him with nowhere to install the completed monument to his father Tommaso, he lost the privilege of decorating the choir of the church, so zealously sought and so solemnly granted,<sup>23</sup> and the patronage of the altarpiece, a right that he had inherited from Baro Sassetti, a Dominican friar at S. Maria Novella, "*confessor idoneus et magnus praedicator*"<sup>24</sup> (a well-qualified confessor and a great preacher). With its predella emblazoned twice with the Sassetti arms, the altarpiece by Ugolino da Siena<sup>25</sup> upheld the dignity of the Sassetti family in the most solemn position in the church.

The bitterness felt by his great-grandson, helpless even to prevent the final removal of the painting from the Cappella de' Spagnuoli (after which it vanished forever), is evident from the words in which he justifies his own detailed account of the matter by urging later generations of Sassetti to reinstate this symbol of the *onore e reputazione* of his house:

*...per memoria e chiarezza de' nostri posterì, acciocchè, concedendoci Iddio che venissimo in miglior fortuna e più comodo stato, abbino pensiero di farla tornare a luce, ricordando loro, che oggi sono in Fiorenza facilmente poche case che possano mostrare un' antichità di casa loro di 300 e più anni, come è questa. [Notizie, xxx.]*

... as a reminder and explanation to our descendants, in order that, if God grant an improvement in our fortunes and a more comfortable life, they may be minded to reinstate it, bearing in mind that in Florence today there are few families able to display a family heirloom more than 300 years old, as this one is.

The vigor with which he urged this fantasied restoration sprang from something more than the idle pride of a descendant who was powerless to recover his family's patrician status; for his ancestor Francesco had addressed his sons in his last injunctions to them with the same passionate intensity—and even, in part, in the same words—on the family duty of restoring the altarpiece:

As you know, ... the friars ... insulted us by removing our arms from the high altar, and also the painting. I admonish you not to take this lightly, because what is at stake is the honor of our house and the proof of our antiquity; and, if ever you return to authority and high estate, see that everything is set to rights and restored to its place ...<sup>26</sup>

The iconographic dispute with the friars of S. Maria Novella—which brought stirrings of outraged earthly pride into Francesco's mind, even as he wrote his last instructions to his sons—had its origins in the same extra-artistic region of family patronal rights, albeit on a much more elevated level. In his choice of the subject matter for the frescoes, Francesco was seeking not so much to exercise the customary social rights of a patron as to do his own patronal duty—in the purely religious sense of the term—as he saw fit. This is clearly if indirectly confirmed, and his great-grandson's general account of the episode complemented, by the present decorative scheme of his funerary chapel in the more amenable church of S. Trinita. There he was allowed to adorn the walls with the imagery on which he had so obstinately tried to insist before: the legend of Saint Francis, his own namesake and patron saint, under whose especial protection he wished to remain in death as in life.<sup>27</sup>

The same principle of loyalty to a patron saint explains why the Dominican friars of S. Maria Novella had no desire to see the patron of a different order glorified in the most solemn part of their own church. The dispute

between Francesco and the Dominicans was a vigorous collision of entrenched religious attitudes, which unexpectedly transformed the good relations between a generous donor and an equally well-meaning church into irreconcilable hostility.

This hypothesis, which I have hitherto presented only orally,<sup>28</sup> received confirmation a few months ago from the chronicle compiled by Fra Modesto Biliotti. Unavailable to me in 1900, this has since been studied by Dr. Geisenheimer,<sup>29</sup> to whom I owe the text of the passage concerned:

*Confirmatum itaque fuit maius altare ipsi Francisco anno 1468 confectaque de eo fuit scriptura, quam scripsit Balduccius Baldovinius florentinus notarius, quae sane scriptura permanet hodie, id est anno 1586, paenes Franciscum et Filippum, Joannis Baptistae Saxetti filios, consobrinos meos, quam lata scriptam membrana notariique subscriptione ac signo notatam, ego saepius vidi et legi et multis fratrum ostendi: ex ea collegimus haec quae in praesentiarum scripturae mandamus. Receptum ergo altare exornavit Franciscus pulcherrimo ac ditissimo pallio ex aurea braccato confecto, ex quo etiam eodem planetam et utramque fecit dalmaticam, et singulis his sua adiecit insignia. Cur vero altare illud processo temporis a Saxettis migrarit ad Tornabuonos, qui illud et geminata tabula, pallii sacratisque vestibis adornatum hodie possident, nunquam ego certam inueni causam. Tantum a maioribus natu accepi, quod Franciscus ille quasdam divi Francisci historias in eo sacello pingere cupiebat. Cuius cupiditatem quamquam bonam, ubi patres nostri etsi D. Francisco affecti, divi tamen Dominici filii cognoverunt, eam (tamquam quae parum nostrae ecclesiae et eius praecipuo loco conveniret) haudquaquam probarunt. Ea propter indignatus (ut aiunt) ad sanctissimae Trinitatis aedem, quam divi Joannes Gualberti monachi tenent, secessit, ubi... sacellum quod maioribus suis olim vendiderant fratelli, qui et alio nomine Petriboni<sup>30</sup> dicebantur, multa restauravit impensa et divi Francisci pro voto exornavit historiis, quas more suo multa accuratione et diligentia pinxit Domenicus Grillandarius...*

And so quite a large altar was built for Francesco himself in 1468 and a contract concerning it was completed, written by Balduccio Baldovini, a notary of Florence; the entire contract still exists today, in 1586, in the possession of Francesco and Filippo, the sons of Giovanni Battista Sassetti and my cousins. It is written on wide sheets of parchment and signed with the notary's subscription and seal; I have often seen and read it and have shown it to many of the friars. From it we have assembled the information that we now commit to writing. After he received the altar, Francesco adorned it with a very beautiful and very costly pallium made of gold brocade; of the same material he also made both a chasuble and a dalmatic and applied his own insignia to each of these items. But why that altar in the course of time migrated from the Sassetti to the Tornabuoni (who today possess another one, also decorated with a two-part altarpiece, with palliums and sacred vestments), I have never found out for certain. I have only heard from my elders that Francesco wanted to paint certain scenes of Saint Francis's life in that chapel. Worthy though this desire was in itself, when our priests—however well disposed to Saint Francis,

they were nevertheless sons of Saint Dominic—learned of it, they did not at all approve, on the grounds that it would little suit our church and its special position. Angry at this (so they say), he withdrew to the church of the Holy Trinity, which the monks of Saint John Gualberti maintain; there, . . . at great expense, he restored the chapel (also known by the name of the Petriboni) that the friars had long ago sold to his ancestors, and in keeping with his vow he had it decorated with the legends of Saint Francis, which Domenico Ghirlandaio painted in his usual way, with great accuracy and attention to detail . . .

Biliotti's account is based on documentary knowledge and sound oral tradition, and we can take the words "*pro voto exornavit*" as a precise and reliable piece of information. The inconspicuous phrase "*pro voto*" allows us to see that Ghirlandaio's naturalism and his use of portraiture—which might otherwise, by comparison with Giotto's concentrated drama, seem a profane intrusion into the Franciscan legend—are in fact the entirely appropriate vehicles of the donor's personal gratitude. If Francesco believed himself bound by oath, not simply through a general religious feeling of loyalty to his patron saint, but through an entirely personal experience, to manifest his gratitude to his "*avvocato particolare*" (particular champion),<sup>31</sup> one begins to understand why the portraits of the Sassetti and their friends intrude so conspicuously and in such numbers into the scene of the *Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule* and in that of the *Miracle of the Revivification of Saint Francis*.<sup>32</sup> They are there to commend themselves to the saint's protection. To those whose susceptibilities, as far as the Renaissance is concerned, are purely artistic, such devout ostentation may seem merely crass; but to the Florentines of the day, accustomed as they were to gazing reverently at the throng of fashionably dressed, internationally endowed, life-size waxworks in SS. Annunziata,<sup>33</sup> it could never remotely have seemed excessive or profane.

We have it on the impeccable authority of Marsilio Ficino that, to a contemporary, Francesco Sassetti's pious munificence appeared to be the salient feature of his character. Ficino's epistle to Sassetti<sup>34</sup> reads rather like a professional opinion, delivered on request by an expert in moral philosophy, on the nature of human happiness. To Ficino, Francesco seemed to have a twofold claim to true—which is to say, religious—happiness, by virtue of the fact that his magnificent house contained not one but two chapels:

*Ut autem ita res existimare possimus ideoque feliciter vivere, sola nobis potest praestare religio. Praestabit autem id tibi quandoque plus duplo, quam caeteris, mi Francisce, si tantum ipse religione alios superabis, quantum haec tuae aedes amplissimae alias superant. Duplo tibi Saxette, religiosior domus est, quam caeteris, aliae certe sacellum vix unum habent, tua vero gemina et illa quidem speciosissima continet. Vive religiosior duplo, quam ceteri, mi Francisce, vale duplo felicior.*

But the ability to judge matters in such a way, and so to live happily, is something that religion alone can give us. In due course of time, it will give this to you twice

as much as to others, my Francesco, if you will surpass your fellows in religion as your magnificent palace surpasses other houses. Your house, Sassetti, is twice as godly as others: for they have barely a single chapel, but yours contains two, and very handsome ones at that. Live doubly more religious than others, my Francesco, fare doubly well.

In the first article of his last injunctions to his sons, Francesco draws the inescapable consequence from his established connection with his funerary chapel: in an authoritative tone (*"vi comando et ordino"*), which he adopts only in one other passage, he demands of his sons that, wherever he may be when God and Nature set an end to his life, his body shall be brought back to Florence and interred in S. Trinita.

Francesco's own words thus enrich the mute donatorial reverence of his appearance in Ghirlandaio's fresco with the authentic voice of a man who has a firm and principled attachment to his medieval roots. But the injunctions also lend a voice to the other aspect of this Florentine, caught up as he was in the transition between the Middle Ages and modern times: this is the worldly intelligence that speaks so commandingly from the Renaissance bust in the Bargello.<sup>35</sup>

The occasion on which the document was written demanded straightforward clarity in disposing of his worldly goods. Before setting out on the most critical mission of his life, to restore the endangered Medici fortunes by his own personal intervention, he needed to leave for his sons a clear plan of campaign for the defense of their threatened inheritance, in case he did not return. The original of this *ricordo*, which Francesco wrote in his *libro segreto*, is not preserved; but after long search I found a copy<sup>36</sup> with an inscription that confirms that it was made at the same time as the original, and that Sassetti upheld its provisions even after his successful return from Lyons. The document reads as follows:

† 1488

*Qui disotto farò memoria della mia ultima volontà.*

*Ricordo fo io Francesco di Thomaso Saxetti questo venerdi santo adì 4 d'aprile 1488 in Firenze sendo per partire per transferirmi in Francia cioè alla città di Lione in sul Rodano per i facti nostri di maggiore importanza che cosa che mi advenisse mai in questo mondo poi ch'io nacqui. Respecto ai pessimi et straccurati ghoverni di chi ministrò la ragione vecchia di decto luogho di Lione, che disse in Lorenzo de' Medici et Francesco Saxetti cioè di Lionetto de' Rossi col danno et pericolo gravissimo, che sapete voi Ghaleazo et Cosimo miei figliuoli maggiori, dove Iddio mi conduca a salvamento et riduca et mi die gratia di fare quel fructo ch'io desidero et che sia la salute nostra.*

*Truovomi come sapete nella età di 68 anni incircha et sono oramai mortale ogni giorno. Quando Iddio et la natura ponessin fine alla mia vita, voglio che dovunque io manchassi, el mio corpo sia portato et seppellito in Santa Trinita nella nostra cappella et sepoltura nuova et così vi comando et ordino.*



**Figs. 35a,b. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Nera Corsi and Francesco Sassetti*  
Florence, Santa Trinita (see p. 233)



*Come sapete non ho fatto testamento nè voglio fare, et se io lo feci già fa più di 40 anni, lo disfeci et anichilai dipoi ch'io tornai im [sic] Badia di Firenze, presente Neri Capponi mio genero et più altri frati, rogato Ser Andrea da Terranuova, come troverrete per ricordo ai libri mei et al luogho suo, si che restate sciolti et in vostra libertà fate della mia redità a vostro modo con pari ragione l'uno verso l'altro et dovere così al picholo et al prete<sup>37</sup> come a voi medesimi immodo non possiate aver carico nè biasimo perchè in voi rimetto tutto senza imporvi alcuno altro obligho ne leghame; trovandovi im buono stato fate quel bene che vi pare per memoria di me e per salute della anima mia, stando pacifichi et uniti et portando amore et riverenza l'uno all'altro immodo che tra voi sia ogni concordia, imitando le virtù et i buoni costumi della vita, fuggiendo et dilunghandovi da tucti e vitii come miei veri et legiptimi figliuoli, parendomi esser vivuto immodo non habbiate da vergognarvi chi sia vostro padre et voi conosciuti mie figliuoli aprovatì et commendati.*

*Non so dove la fortuna ci aproderà che vedete nelle conversione et pericoli che noi ci troviamo (a Dio piaccia concederci gratia di pigliare porto di salute) et come ella si vada in qualunque modo dove mi capiti, vi comando et richieggo per quanto voi disiderate ch'io ne vada contento che la mia redità non rifiutate per nessuna cagione, quando bene vi lasciassi più debito che mobile, voglio che viviate et moiate in quella medesima fortuna, parendomi che così si richiegga al debito vostro. Difendetevi et aiutatevi valentemente et con buono animo immodo non siate giunti al sonno ne giudicati imbecilli o da poco, et habbiendovi a dividere fatelo segretamente et d'accordo con l'aiuto di cognati et parenti vostri bisognando, vivendo in amore et carità et vivere insieme, maxime habbiendo cura de' minori di voi et della loro parte come di voi medesimi acciò che per alcuno tempo nessuno possa dolere con cagione ne habbia cagione giustificata di discordarsi o alienarsi dalla riverentia et ordine di voi maggiori, et io sopra questa parte non vi darò altro precepto ne altra legge.*

*A Messer Federigo et a Teodoro et a Madonna Nera et anche in alcuno di voi ho facto carta et contracti d'alcuno de' nostri beni quando si sono comperati et prima et poi secondo ch'è accaduto come troverrete pe' libri miei al luogo suo,<sup>38</sup> voglio non dimancho che ogni cosa sia comune tra voi, ciascuno per la rata sua, come se e' decti contracti non fussino facti et che nessuno vantaggio sia dall' uno all' altro, come è ragionevole. Così seguite interamente et unitamente come giusti e buoni figliuoli et frategli immodo apparisca et si dimostri la vostra carità et benivolenza fraterale, maxime sappiendo decti contracti essersi fatti a altro fine cioè per salvare i vostri beni e non per fare vantaggio l'uno dall' altro.*

*Avete a raguagliarvi insieme quando vi dividessi de fiorini mille prestati a voi Ghaleazo et Coximo et tirare a voi tanto mancho come è ragionevole cioè il capitale et non quello havessi guadagniato o perduto, lo quale ha a esser vostro o quello più o mancho che in quel tempo restassi a dare acciocchè nessuno si possa con ragione dolere, così seguite.*

*Come sapete ho ridotto in casa nella stalla di drieto quella capella d'altare o vero sepultura di marmo per Thomaso vostro avolo et nostro padre, la quale come v'è noto avevo disegnato in Santa Maria Novella drieto alla sepultura nostra antica,<sup>39</sup> dipoi<sup>40</sup> per la aspreza et straneza de' frati di decto luogho che come sapete ci anno facto villania et levate via l'arme nostre dell'altare maggiore et la*

*tavola, amoniscovi di non ve lo gittare drieto alle spalle et di tenerlo a mente perchè è l'onore di casa nostra et il segnio della nostra antichità et se mai voi tornate in altorità et in buono stato, fate correggiere et riporre tutto al luogo suo et non essendo voi d'accordo con decti frati di Santa Maria Novella mi contento, quando harete il modo, facciate porre decto edificio di cappella et altare et sepultura in Santa Trinita dirimpetto a l'uscio della sagrestia, dove è al presente uno uscio rimurato coll' arme di decti Scali nel cardinale ed a piè della capella di decti Scali, che credo ve ne daranno licentia. Così facciendo o seguendo mutate le lettere dello epitaffio che sono scripte nel vaso della sepoltura, in modo vengano approposito non esservi dentro l'ossa di nostro padre, come parrà al Fontio o a qualche huomo docto intendente di simili cose.*

*La quale capella et sepoltura voglio sia dotata di messa ogni giorno di festa almancho et consegnarle quella bottegha nostra di chiavaiuolo ch'è in sul canto tra Ferravechi<sup>41</sup> che va dalle case nostre antiche, maxime verrebbe approposito et starebbe bene se mai Messer Federigho fussi abate di decto luogo di Santa Trinita, come habbiamo pratichato. Credo che di decta bottegha sie carta in decto Messer Federigho come tucto troverrete ne mei ricordi et scripture.*

*El palagio di Montughi come sapete ha dato gran fama et reputatione al nome mio et alla famiglia nostra et è molto celebrato per Italia et altrove non inmerito, perchè come sapete è bello et costa danari assai, per questo vorrei faciessi ciò che potessi di mantenerlo sotto il nome et titolo di Messer Federigho in cui è cartoreggiato et fattogliene donazione come troverrete ne' miei ricordi, tucta volta quando la fortuna vi perseguitassi vi bisognerà restare contenti alienarlo et lasciarlo andare per non fare peggio, maxime per essere di molta burbanza et di poca rendita et luogo da richi [sic] che lo possono mantenere perchè come sapete si tira drieto grande spesa et grande invidia, parmi lo lasciate in decto nome de Messer Federigho perchè con la cherica lo saprà et potrà meglio difendere, in quanto il tempo vi dimostri così essere il meglio.*

*Credo sappiate che havete un 'altro fratello ma d'un altra donna che vostra madre, portandosi bene tractatelo bene secondo che merita un suo pari, se non fatene come se fussi figliuolo d'uno vostro lavoratore. Sogliono i simili nelle case et nelle famiglie grande [sic] alle volte esser buoni a qualche cosa, a voi la rimetto.*

*A Madonna Nera vostra madre portate quella reverentia che a me proprio s'io fussi vivo perchè come sapete è donna venerabile degna d'ogni laude et a me stata dolcissima et suavissima compagnia [sic], simile l'o amata et tenuta cara quanto la mia propria vita, fatele honore contentandola d'ogni sua voglia et lasciatela godere quella parte de' nostri beni ch'io le ho disegnato così tucto il resto mentre vive, perchè così è la mia ultima volontà et a Dio vi raccomando.<sup>42</sup>*

*Et noi suoi figliuoli maggiori come obbedienti et riverenti a nostro padre promettiamo osservare in ogni parte la sua volontà vivo et morto, pregando Iddio che lungha tempo ce lo mantenga et perciò io Ghaleazo maggiore et primogenito mi soscrivo qui da piè decto giorno.*

*Questo medesimo fo io Coximo perciò mi sottoscrivo decto di.*

*Simile io Federigho prete et priore di Santo Michele Berteldi et nel medesimo modo decto giorno.*

† 1488

There follows a memorandum of my last wishes.

I, Francesco di Tommaso Sassetti, on this Good Friday, 4 April 1488, in Florence, being about to depart and travel to the city of Lyons on the Rhone, in France, on business more important than any that has concerned me since I came into this world. This concerns the wicked and negligent mismanagement of the person in charge of the old Lyons firm bearing the names of Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti, that person being Lionetto de' Rossi; the grievous and dangerous consequences of which are well known to you, Ghaleazo and Cosimo, as my elder sons; and may God lead me to redeem the situation, and bring me back safely, and give me grace to bring about the benefit that I desire, and may this be the salvation of our family.

As you know, I am about sixty-eight years old, and death daily draws closer. When God and Nature together see fit to end my life, and wherever I may then be, I desire my body to be returned to Florence and buried in Santa Trinita, in our new chapel and tomb. Such is my command and wish.

As you know, I have drawn up no will, nor do I wish to do so; and though I drew up a will more than forty years ago, I canceled and annulled it on my return, at the Badia in Florence, in the presence of Neri Capponi, my son-in-law, and several friars, before the notary Ser Andrea da Terranuova; as you will find recorded in my papers and in the proper place. You will thus be unconstrained, and at liberty. Do as you will with my estate, dividing things equally between yourselves, treating the youngest and the priest as you treat yourselves, in such a way as to incur neither blame nor reproach: I leave everything to you, without obligation or legal ties. On finding yourselves in good circumstances, do as you think fit in memory of me and for the salvation of my soul, remaining united and at peace, and treating one another with love and respect, that harmony may reign among you. Emulate the virtues and good habits you have known during my lifetime; as my true, legitimate sons, shun all vices, as I believe that I have lived in such a way that you have no need to be ashamed of your father, being known and approved and commended as my sons.

Where Fortune intends us to make landfall, I know not, in view of the upheavals and the changes amid which we now find ourselves (may God grant us a safe haven). But wherever Fortune may carry me, and whatever may become of me, I command and require you, if you wish me to depart this world contented, not to refuse my inheritance on any grounds whatever. Even if I were to leave you more debts than assets, I want you to live and die in that same state of Fortune; for this I regard as your duty. Defend and help one another valiantly and wholeheartedly, lest you seem to be sleepers or paltry fools. Where a division must be made, let it be made discreetly, with the agreement and assistance of your brothers-in-law and your relations, if need be. Live together in love and charity, most of all taking as much care for those younger than yourselves and for their portions as you do for yourselves, so that none may at any time have cause to complain or grounds to depart from the reverence and agreement due to you as their elders. That is all the advice and instruction that I shall give to you on this matter.

To Messer Federigo, to Teodoro, to Madonna Nera, and also to others of you, I have assigned the deeds and contracts concerning a number of our properties, when they were acquired, and what became of them thereafter; you will find the records in the proper place among my papers. It is still my wish that everything be shared equally between you, each receiving his portion, as if the said contracts had never been drawn up: and that, as is reasonable, no one of you shall receive more than another. Follow my wishes to the letter, like righteous and well-behaved sons and brothers, demonstrating your fraternal love and goodwill; in the knowledge, above all, that the said contracts were drawn up for a higher purpose, namely, to preserve your assets, and not to give any one of you an advantage over another.

When you divide the inheritance, you must take into account the thousand florins lent to you, Galeazzo and Cosimo, and accept less in reasonable proportion. That is to say: count the capital and not any profit or loss on your part, which is entirely your own, nor any greater or lesser sum remaining to be paid at the time. Please act in this matter so that no one has good cause for complaint; and continue in the same way.

As you are aware, in the stable behind our house I have stored the altar chapel or tomb made in marble for your grandfather Tommaso, my father. I intended it, as you know, to be placed in Santa Maria Novella, behind our old family tomb; then (it was rejected; see note 40) because of the animosity and rudeness of the friars of that place (they insulted us by removing our arms from the high altar, and also the painting). I admonish you not to take this lightly, because what is at stake is the honor of our house and the proof of our antiquity; and, if ever you return to authority and high estate, see that everything is set to rights and restored to its place. If you do not reach agreement with the friars of Santa Maria Novella, it suffices for me that you should, when you have the means, cause the said altar chapel and tomb to be set up in Santa Trinita, just by the sacristy door, where there is now a blocked doorway with the arms of the Scali family on the architrave, and at the foot of the chapel of the said Scali, who will I believe grant you permission. When you do this, change the wording of the epitaph on the body of the tomb, to make it clear that my father's bones are not within; take advice from Fontio, or from some other educated man who understands such things.

I wish mass to be celebrated on all feast days (at least) in this funerary chapel, and the proceeds of our locksmith's shop in the Canto tra' Ferravecchi, where our old properties are situated, to be devoted to this end. I think this will easily suffice. It would be most appropriate if Messer Federigo were one day to be made abbot of Santa Trinita, as we have arranged. I believe that this shop was made over to Messer Federigo; you will find details with the other deeds amongst my papers.

The Palazzo di Montui has added great luster to my name and to our family, and it is justly famous throughout Italy and beyond; as you know, it is beautiful and costs a great deal of money. I should like you therefore to do all you can to maintain it in the name of Messer Federigo, who holds the title deeds and to whom it has been given, as you will find in my memoranda. If at any time Fortune should desert you, you will have to sell the palace and let it go rather than fall into dire straits, for it is an expensive luxury and produces scant revenue. It is a place for

rich people, who are in a position to maintain it, for as you know it carries heavy expenses and invites envy. Leave it, I think, in Messer Federigo's name; as a clergyman, he will be best able to protect it, until time shows you the most suitable course to take.

I believe that you are all aware that you have another brother, by a woman other than your mother. If he behaves well, treat him as befits one of his rank; if not, treat him as if he were the son of one of your workmen. His kind often have their uses, in great households and families; and so I leave it in your hands.

To Madonna Nera, your mother, accord the reverence that I would show if I were alive; she is, as you are aware, a woman worthy of great praise. She has been a sweet and gentle companion to me, and I have loved and cherished her as much as my own life. Honor her and do all her bidding; permit her to enjoy that part of our worldly goods that I have set aside for her and all the rest as long as she may live. This is my last wish, and I commend you to God.

We, his elder sons, obeying and honoring our father, promise to respect all his wishes both in his lifetime and after his death, praying God that he may survive for many years to come, and thereto I Galeazzo the eldest and firstborn do this day sign my name.

I Cosimo do likewise, and this day do sign my name.

I Federigo, priest and prior of Santo Michele Berteldi, this day do likewise.

For all the down-to-earth, practical tenor of this document, Francesco's own words do not instantly reveal him as a man of the new age. On the contrary, the Middle Ages—if by that we mean an old-fashioned and backward-looking attitude, as opposed to that of the egocentric superman in quasi-antique disguise—seems not only to persist in the habitual religious sentiments of his *vita contemplativa* but to determine the style of his *vita activa*. In itself, the form of this record reveals how deeply Francesco's character had been formed by a medieval culture of loyalty: this last will is expressly stated not to be a formal testament but a morally binding injunction. To the testator, his personal appeal to his sons' loyalty and faith seemed a better guarantee of compliance than any legally certified document. Only this could justify his most notable testamentary provision: for only the consciousness of being united with his heirs by a sure and instinctive sense of honor could explain the exaction of a solemn undertaking to assume the inheritance unconditionally. By so doing, for the honor of the family name, he imposed on following generations a burden that could not fail to threaten—and did indeed shake to its foundations—the peaceable and magnanimous family life<sup>43</sup> whose maintenance was so dear to Francesco's heart.

As an experienced, practical businessman, Francesco did attempt to protect some of the family property from liability for the Medici-Sassetti losses by transferring it to individuals; but he himself sensed that this would not be enough and advised his heirs to relinquish the Palazzo Montughi, so shrewdly placed under clerical protection,<sup>44</sup> rather than cling to it out of sheer vanity in the face of a hostile Fortune.

In defense of his honor, the chivalrous Francesco was prepared to take arms against that pagan deity herself. In the very moment when Fortune stood before his mind's eye as a personification of a hostile world, a capricious wind demon who might at any moment catch and strand his own frail bark, he exhorted his sons to resist to the last:

\* Where Fortune intends to us to make landfall, I know not, in view of the upheavals and the changes amid which we now find ourselves (may God grant us a safe haven). But wherever Fortune may carry me, and whatever may become of me, I command and require you, if you wish me to depart this world contented, not to refuse my inheritance on any grounds whatever. Even if I were to leave you more debts than assets, I want you to live and die in that same state of Fortune; for this I regard as your duty. Defend and help one another valiantly and wholeheartedly, lest you seem to be sleepers<sup>45</sup> or paltry fools.

In this, the most critical moment of his life, which demands the concentration of all his energies, Francesco finds himself summoning up, together, the two antithetical forces that mold his determination to survive: in him, the instinctive valor of the Ghibelline chieftain,<sup>46</sup> rooted in the ideals of chivalric caste and family feeling that maintained the medieval *consorteria*, is backed by the conscious daring of humanist-educated individualism. The knight, rallying his clan to make a last stand around the family banner, receives from the Florentine Renaissance merchant, as a device for that banner, the wind-blown goddess Fortune, who presents herself so vividly to him as the personification of fate.

\* Why this particular pagan deity, Fortuna, was revived by the Renaissance as the stylistic embodiment of worldly energy is explained by her important function in the art of the *impresa*. In this hitherto insufficiently studied genre of applied allegory, courtly culture had produced an intermediary stage between the sign and the image, as a symbolic illustration of the inner life of the individual. It was characteristic of the early Renaissance to use the words and images of a revived antiquity to express, in terms of pagan heroism, the stance of the individual at war with the world.

If we now examine how this same Fortune emerged from the mind of a contemporary of Sassetti's, Giovanni Rucellai, as a symbol of energy in the antique vein, she will indirectly show us how Francesco Sassetti's own attitude to antiquity (so conspicuous in the pagan ornament of his funerary chapel), served as the natural antithesis to his medieval mentality. In their emblematic use of antique imagery, both Sassetti and Rucellai reveal how in that upheaval of subjective sensibility they aspired to a new balance of energies: they faced the world with a heightened assurance founded on two still-compatible forms of the cult of memory, Christian-ascetic and antique-heroic; and yet they were well aware that individual human strength was pitted against the mysterious and arbitrary decrees of fate.

The background to all this conscious reflection is supplied by the

*Zibaldone*,<sup>47</sup> the “sundry commonplace book” of Giovanni Rucellai, which takes us close to the origin of the figure of “Fortune with the Sail,” the seemingly “naive ornament” that he devised as the crest for his coat of arms: a naked woman, standing in a ship and acting as its mast, gripping the yard in her left hand and the lower end of a swelling sail in her right. The unidentified carver of this armorial relief has found an adroit stylistic formulation for the answer that Rucellai gave, through this *impresa*, to his own momentous question: “Have human reason and practical intelligence any power against the accidents of fate, against Fortune?” The answers supplied by the writers of Italy and the ancient world (Aristotle, Boethius, Seneca, Epictetus, Dante, Saint Bernard)<sup>48</sup> clearly failed to satisfy him, and he solicited and received an expert opinion in the form of a long epistle from Marsilio Ficino.<sup>49</sup> The response to his inquiry as to how man could counteract or prevent future events, especially so-called chance ones, took the form of an opinion in keeping with the arcane and divine spirit of Plato, which culminated in the following advice on the battle against Fortune:

It is good to do battle with Fortune, wielding the weapons of foresight, patience, and noble ambition. It is even better to withdraw, and to shun such a combat, from which so few emerge victorious—and then only after intolerable labor and effort. It is better to make peace or a truce with Fortune, bending our wishes to her will and willingly going the way that she directs, to prevent her from resorting to force. All this we shall do, if we can combine within ourselves the might, the wisdom, and the will. Finis. Amen.

Giovanni Rucellai's own experience prompted him to declare, through natural symbolism, that he, too, regarded Ficino's third option—that of yielding to Fortune—as the best guide to the struggle for existence: for in Italian usage, then as now, the Latin word *fortuna* signified not only “chance” and “wealth” but also “storm wind.”<sup>50</sup> To him, as a merchant venturer, these three distinct meanings were the attributes of a single being: Storm-Fortune, whose uncanny ability to switch from daemon of destruction to bountiful goddess fostered the atavistic image of her single, anthropomorphic, mythical identity.

When the heraldic sculptor came along, with his Albertian sense of the grace of fluttering accessory forms,<sup>51</sup> the result was a crest—ostensibly purely decorative—that represents an evolutionary process profoundly typical of early Renaissance culture. In it, popular pagan feeling unites with antique-inspired artistic fancy and theological humanism to strip three layers of conceptual wrapping from the thoroughly pagan mental and visual image of “*Fortuna Audax*” (Bold Fortune).<sup>52</sup>

Rucellai's unimpaired ability, as a Christian, to submit piously to the unfathomable will of God permitted him, without any sense of conflict, to place the heathen goddess's sail as his emblem on the facade of S. Maria Novella, which was built at his expense. Whenever he was afflicted by

\*

Fortune—“*percosso dalla fortuna*,” as he was when pirates caused him serious losses—he saw her as the just instrument of God’s punishment for sin.<sup>53</sup> And yet stylistically it was just as apt for the same Sail of Fortune to appear—suitably conjoined with the *impresa* of the Medici—on the facade of his own palace, which was built in classic vein as a monument to worldly gratitude; for Rucellai rightly regarded his Medici connection as a major gift from his own “*buona fortuna*.” With admirable timing, he had, by marrying his son Bernardo to Piero’s daughter Nannina,<sup>54</sup> “boarded their ship of fortune.”

I find an allusion to this, with a witty use of the Rucellai *impresa*, in a hitherto unremarked engraving (see fig. 36),<sup>55</sup> in which Bernardo acts as the mast of a ship, propelled by puffing wind gods under the orders of the modishly dressed Nannina, who takes the helm. The motto, too, fits perfectly with Giovanni’s philosophy of life, and with that of his adviser, Ficino:

J[O] MJ • LAS[CI]O • PORTARE • ALLA • FORTVNA • SPERANDO  
ALFIN • DAVER • BVONA • VENTURA

I let Fortune take me where she will, hoping  
in the end to have good luck

On this printed token of congratulation, printed as an “*impresa amorosa*” in happy days of aspirations fulfilled and wealth augmented, Fortune discreetly veils her true character as an “*impresa militare*” (military *impresa*).

The emblem of Fortune had first presented itself to Rucellai’s troubled mind in hard times, both as a stimulus and as a curb; but its tenor was as an emblem of energy, a stimulus to bold and decisive action. The Fortune with a sail on the armorial relief has a forelock, like Opportunity or Fortuna-  
\* Occasio;<sup>56</sup> and yet—if we reflect on the content of the *impresa*—this is not  
\* there for the merchant to grasp. Let the condottiere brag of the ease with  
\* which a strong right hand might grasp Fortune by the forelock; it was the  
\* merchant’s part to lay hold of the tiller. To brave the struggle for existence, in  
\* Rucellai’s mind, meant to grasp the helm; and thus, to his own modest won-  
\* derment, he rode out his spells of adversity, navigating “*molto a punto e senza*  
\* *errore*” (accurately and without error).<sup>57</sup>

We now feel why the wind goddess, Fortune, came into Francesco Sassetti’s mind in the crisis of 1488 as a measure of his own tense energy: for Rucellai and for Sassetti alike, she functions as an iconic formula of reconciliation  
\* between the “medieval” trust in God and the Renaissance trust in self. Both  
\* men belonged, by age and by inclination, to the generation of those elder  
\* Medici who headed their overseas business contracts with the words “Col  
\* nome di Dio e di Buonaventura” (In the name of God and of Good Fortune);<sup>58</sup>  
\* and both continued to aspire to a new equilibrium, a state of self-assertion  
\* that would be equally remote from monkish, unworldly asceticism and from  
\* worldly self-conceit.

Now that Sassetti’s use of words has led us to recognize an apparently





**Fig. 36. Fortune**  
Florentine engraving  
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (see p. 242)

**Fig. 37. Bookplate of Francesco Sassetti, from**  
**Ms. Aristotle, *Ethics*, trans. Argyropoulos.**  
Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana  
(see p. 244)

**Fig. 38. Fortune**  
Armorial relief. Florence, Palazzo Rucellai (see p. 241)

**Fig. 39. Adlocutio**  
Coin of Gordian (see p. 246)

decorative antique figure in Rucellai's *impresa* as a personal expression of vigorous inner life, Sassetti's very own *impresa* affords the final clue to the psychology of this curious state of suspense. He, too, as a symbolic adornment for his family coat of arms, chose an antique elemental deity: the centaur.

At the culminating moment of his life, Sassetti chose a centaur wielding a sling as the symbol of his own self-image. On a bookplate (see fig. 37) used in his collection of manuscripts—that precious armory of ancient knowledge, collected with such discerning enthusiasm—a centaur celebrates the cultivated patron in the midst of his well-governed riches. Francesco posted the same heraldic supporter in the place where he watches over his master's mortal remains to this day: in the band of sculptures around the funerary niche in S. Trinita.

The centaur—who, like Fortune, is a nature spirit—is used to combine an antique nuance with a suggestion of expressive energy, conveyed by the fact that he wields David's sling. This last had been a family *impresa* since the fourteenth century,<sup>59</sup> and in the fifteenth it had become a heraldic badge accessory to the family arms (argent, a bend sinister azure, bordured or). The official coat of arms on the relief over the portal of the funerary chapel is flanked by two slings. So keenly did Francesco feel the meaning of the sling as the instrument of David's divinely inspired prowess that he had Ghirlandaio paint David himself, complete with sling, on the piers below the coat of arms with its merely heraldic slings, as if David himself were the official doorkeeper and supporter of the Sassetti arms. Beneath him, so Francesco's great-grandson Filippo tells us, was the Latin line: "*Tutanti puero patriam Deus arma ministrat.*" (God supplies arms to the boy who defends his country.)<sup>60</sup>

Here, unmistakably, Francesco was invoking the spirit of the Old Testament to watch over his own eternal resting place; on the bookplate, on the other hand, the sling conceals its biblical origin and stylishly conforms to the new age. David is replaced by centaurs and putti, and words of childlike faith in God by the motto "*A mon pouvoir*" (In my power). And so a motto of practical wisdom, probably picked up by Francesco himself as a merchant in France, unites with figures from pagan antiquity into a symbol of conscious energy.

Significantly, the manuscript in which this highly secular bookplate is found is the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, translated by John Argyropoulos.<sup>61</sup> In these pages lay the resurrected philosophy of antiquity, brought to Florence by Argyropoulos himself, a Greek exile, who succeeded in arousing great enthusiasm for the precious treasures of authentic Greek learning.<sup>62</sup> He was doing this at the exact time when (in 1458) Francesco Sassetti returned from France. Aristotle's ethical teaching, with its equation of ethical happiness with virtuous energy, fortified the individual courage of early Renaissance man; at the same time, however, to those more conservative temperaments who shrank from the pretensions of individualism, Argyropoulos's words offered an opportunity to pursue in the name of Aristotle—as Rucellai and Ficino pur-

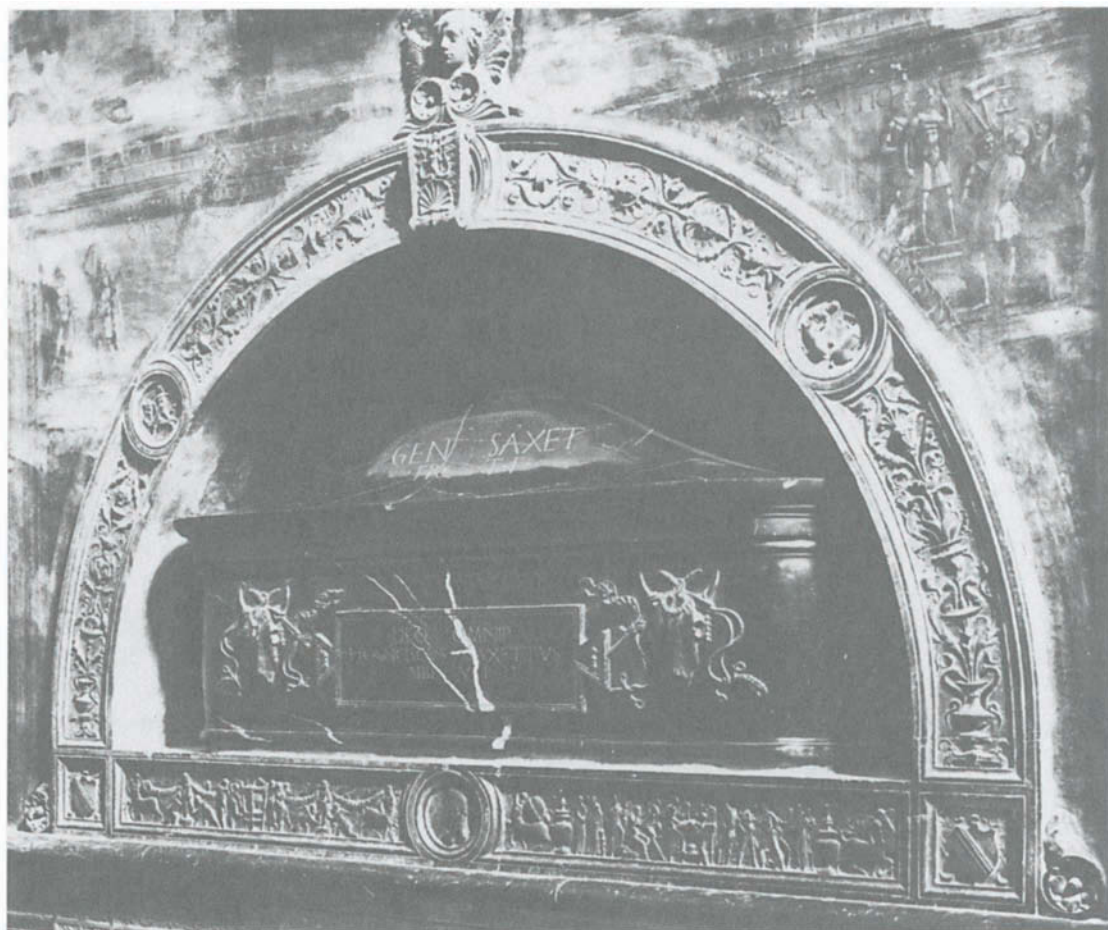
sued in that of Plato—a middle way, *pace e tregua* (peace and truce), between antique and Christian ethics.

Francesco's second motto, appended to his manuscripts even more frequently than the French motto quoted above, is "*Mitia fata mihi*," or "*Sors placida mihi*" (Fate merciful to me). In this we see Croesus, mindful of Solon's warning, moderating the slight hyperbole of the French motto with an apotropaic formula. What emerges from the occasional simultaneous use of both mottoes—and the phrase "*mitia fata mihi*" was formerly present in the Argypopoulos *Ethics* manuscript itself<sup>63</sup>—is that Sassetti, conscious that he was oscillating between two extremes, and wanting a new ethical equilibrium, deliberately chose to express himself through two antithetical devices: setting the passive fervor of the Latin prayer against the French motto, its zest for action underlined by the high spirits of the centaur.

The centaur's true fiery mettle—held in check, on the bookplate, conceptually by the contradictory motto and formally by his position as a heraldic supporter—is unleashed, in all its antique gestural vehemence, only in the Christian funerary chapel at S. Trinita. In the sculptured archivolt of both niches, by Giuliano da Sangallo (see fig. 40),<sup>64</sup> the centaur serves as a supporter six times in all; but this ceremonial duty does not prevent him, here at least, from vigorously brandishing his sling, with hoofs stamping and tail flying. He also appears, ecstatically twirling the sling above his head at the moment of letting fly, in the circular medallions that interrupt the archivolt ornament. On Nera's tomb, the centaurs stand apart in the square, framed corner compartments; on Francesco's, they enter the space occupied by the figurative relief panels, to act as heralds both at the lively games of the putti and at the tragic scene of the funeral rites.

There can be no doubt as to the source from which these creatures derive their striking animation. Still in Florence to this day are two Roman sarcophagi bearing the pagan reliefs—of putti and of the legend of Meleager, respectively—from which Sassetti's joyous child-genii learned their martial games and his mourners their forbidden excesses of orgiastic grief.<sup>65</sup> Additionally, in the case of the centaurs, we cannot exclude an indirect affiliation with Greece; for the centaurs of the Theseion and the Parthenon had long since found their way to Florence by way of the drawings of Ciriaco d'Ancona; and their impact on the artistic imagination is proved by the fact that Ciriaco's Parthenon sketch was preserved for us by none other than Giuliano da Sangallo.<sup>66</sup>

Here, at the point where unbridled pagan exuberance breaks in, lies the crucial test of our psychological hypothesis of balance: for Francesco built his chapel in his own lifetime, and primarily in honor of his name saint. It is just not possible to suppose that so strong a personality would have admitted this wild, pagan horde to his own Christian tomb out of some purely aesthetic delight in their formal qualities. If he chose to proceed to his eternal rest with a fresco of pious Christian lamentation for the hallowed passing of his name saint above him, and with a relief of frenzied pagan keening for the wrathful hunter of Calydon beneath him, then the respectful historian can only ask:



**Fig. 40. Giuliano da Sangallo**  
Tomb of Francesco Sassetti, Florence, Santa Trinita  
(see p. 245)

How did Francesco Sassetti attempt to reconcile the pagan histrionics of the sarcophagus with a traditional, medieval view of the world?

In that age of transition, the problem was an entirely natural one; and when we turn our minds to it the solution is supplied, quite simply, by the altarpiece of the same Sassetti Chapel [fig. 41]. In it we find that an antique marble sarcophagus<sup>67</sup> serves to proclaim the victory of the Christian Church over paganism, by serving as a crib for the Christ child and as a manger for the ox and the ass. Its inscription records the prophetic words of a Roman augur: "One day my sarcophagus will give the world a God."

And so the ritual focus of the chapel, the altarpiece, uses all the weight of the new historical and archaeological learning to establish antiquity in its rightful position, as confirmed by typological learning: in the antechamber of the Christian edifice.

This Nativity scheme of decoration—the chapel was probably consecrated at Christmas 1485—is maintained by the four Sibyls in the compartments of the vault and, above all, by the massive prelude on the outside wall above the entrance: the fresco that shows the Tiburtine Sibyl<sup>68</sup> prophesying to Emperor Octavian the birth of Christ. A second miracle, traditionally associated with this prophecy, brings us back to the altarpiece: for there the two antique piers that so unexpectedly hold up the ramshackle roof of the shed look to me like relics of the Templum Pacis (the Basilica of Constantine), which was believed to have proclaimed the downfall of paganism by collapsing on the very night of Christ's birth—and which was a familiar piece of scenery in popular Florentine nativity plays. \*

Once Ghirlandaio had so unequivocally established the donor's orthodoxy through the figure of David, the Nativity cycle of Sibyls, and the *Legend of Saint Francis*, he felt free, inside the chapel, to allude to Sassetti's interest in the secular art of the *impresa*—and to do so in an authentically high-flown antique style. In the shadowy midrealm, below the Saint, and above the unbridled antics of the nature spirits, the spandrels of both funerary niches are painted with military scenes in grisaille, faithfully copied from Roman imperial coins. Over Francesco's tomb are two generals in conversation and an *adlocutio* (oration before battle; see fig. 39); over Nera's, a *decursio* (funeral parade) and a triumphal procession with a *quadriga* (four-horse chariot).<sup>69</sup>

The iconographical position of these grisaille figures will by now be clear. They form part of the symbolism of energy, synthesis, and balance; but they are confined to a shadowy existence, beneath the sphere of the sacred, where they can never disrupt Ghirlandaio's serene realism by introducing the gestural eloquence of their Roman *virtus*. This seems to me to symbolize the retarding function performed by the culture to which Sassetti belonged, in the stylistic shift from Middle Ages to High Renaissance.

In the work of Ghirlandaio, that shift was accomplished a very few years later. In his Tornabuoni Chapel, the same *adlocutio* reappears in grisaille, together with a relief of a battle scene, on the triumphal arch in the background of the *Massacre of the Holy Innocents*; and, if we look closely at the





**Fig. 41. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*Adoration of the Shepherds*  
Florence, Santa Trinita (see p. 247)

intense foreground drama of the struggle between women and soldiers, their apparently spontaneous gestures are revealed as the conventional warlike attitudes of Roman sculpture, as copied from the reliefs on Trajan's Column by the builders of the Arch of Constantine.

Like Giuliano da Sangallo, Ghirlandaio is known to have kept an archaeological sketchbook; this was the source of the emotive formulas<sup>70</sup> that infuse the prose of the Tornabuoni frescoes with the loftier style of an idealized antique rendering of motion. Once freed, the votaries of antique emotive gesture could no longer be kept discreetly at a distance.

We now understand the symptomatic significance of the triumphal arch in the *Adoration*, through which the Three Kings' lively, antique cavalcade passes: with its purely artistic delight in mobile form, this serves as a Renaissance counterweight to the medieval concern—that of illustrating a religious truth *pro voto*, to fulfill a vow—which here summons revived antiquity into the presence of the newborn king to bear witness to its own demise.

In all good faith, Francesco Sassetti could thus display his Christian piety amid the signs and portents of the Roman world; not because he was at all capable of kneeling in guileless prayer, like one of the shepherds, oblivious of the alien stonework all around, but because he believed that he had laid the unquiet spirits of antiquity to rest by building them into the solid conceptual architecture of medieval Christianity. He was not to guess—before the advent of Savonarola—just how critical a test this optimistic attempt to absorb and enlist antiquity would prove to be.

The apparently bizarre incompatibilities between the shepherds' Flemish garb and the panoply of the Roman general, between God and Fortune, between David with his sling and the centaur, between "*mitia fata mihi*" and "*à mon pouvoir*," between the death of the Saint and the death of Meleager, may therefore be viewed as a whole. This was the organic polarity that existed within the capacious mind of one cultivated early Renaissance man: a man who, in an age of transformed self-awareness, strove for a positive balance of his own.

Historically analyzed, such attempts to achieve balance serve to define the powerful forces of resistance to the organic evolution of style. Such forces have tended to escape notice, because the modern aesthete looks to Renaissance culture either for primitive naïveté or the heroic pose of an accomplished revolution. The possibility that Francesco Sassetti's injunctions to his sons might reveal not only the impressive individual behind them but also the natural interpreter of the iconography of his funerary chapel—so much of a piece with the man itself—seems to me to justify the admittedly problematic attempt to take a synoptic view, embracing both an attitude to life and an artistic style. The general psychological notions introduced here may do no more than stimulate the imagination; but at least I hope to have shown that it is possible, from the inexhaustible human riches of the Florentine archive, to reconstruct the background of the age clearly enough to supply a historical corrective to the narrowly aesthetic view so often taken of it.

## Notes

1. The *Notizie* were published by Ettore Marcucci in 1855, in the introduction to his edition, now out of print, of the *Lettere* of Filippo Sassetti. His source was the manuscript then owned by Francesco Cambiagi, which I have been unable to locate; the family tree is printed only in part.

2. *Lettere* [see note 1], 257.

3. "...e non vivete di sogni come voi solete fare" (and do not live on dreams, as you [plural] usually do), writes Filippo to his sister Maria Bartoli, *ibid.*, 258.

4. *Notizie* [see note 1], xxxv–xxxviii.

5. A note of 1587 (Inserito Bagni [see note 36]) gives a different version: "*nacque il detto Francesco 1420 ab incarnatione*" <1421 N.S.> "*a di primo di Marzo a ore 10...*" (the said Francesco was born in the year of Our Lord 1420 <1421 N.S.>, on March 1, at ten o'clock).

6. See Machiavelli, *Storie fiorentine* 7.6.

7. Lionetto de' Rossi and Tommaso Portinari; see H. Sieveking, "Die Handlungsbücher der Medici," *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Philologische Klasse*, no. 151 (1905).

8. The records of the *Medici e Speciali* (Archivio di Stato, Florence, 247, p. 3a) show that he was interred in S. Trinita on 2 April 1490, not 1491.

9. Probably identical with the cardinal legate, Teodoro Paleologo (died 1484; see Litta [fasc. 63, tav. II]).

10. The true date—as previously given by the younger Francesco himself—is 1458, not 1468; the date of the marriage is to be found in del Migliore's copy of the *Gabella* list (A. 110—1459—129), in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

11. In accordance with the custom of the day, Teodoro II (1479–1546) was named as if to restore to life the eldest son, Teodoro, who had died in Lyons in 1479. An even more remarkable case of this practice was the action of Nicolò Bartolini Salimbeni (*Delizie* 24.287), in resurrecting both his dead daughter Margherita and another daughter, Cilia, who had been rendered unmarriageable through an accidental injury, by calling his eighth child Margherita Cilia: "...e fu così chiamata, per rifare un'altra Margherita chessi morì chome appare in questo e pel sechondo nome si pose Cilia per cagione di un'altra fanciulla chiò che anome Cilia ed è inferma chi' nolla credo maritare." (She was given this name to replace another Margherita, who died as described, and her second name was Cilia, after another girl whose name is Cilia and who is infirm, therefore it was not expected that she could be married off.)

As an elegant schoolboy, Teodoro II is seen with his father in Ghirlandaio's portrait in the collection of Mr. Benson in London [now New York, Bache Collection; see L. Venturi, *Pitture italiane in America* (Milan, 1931), pl. 206]. Information on the individual descendants is in *Notizie* [see note 1], xix ff.

12. This autobiography can be traced as far as its entry into a practically inaccessible private archive. Along with many other still untraced documents of family history, it would constitute the essential basis for any truly comprehensive biography of Francesco Sassetti. It probably formed the closing part of the still extant but incomplete *quadernuccio*, of which the younger Francesco speaks in a later passage; but when it



was in his possession it seems already to have been separate, as “4 fogli cucite insieme” (*Notizie* [see note 1], xx).

13. Now Via de' Sassetti, where the palace and tower of the Sassetti once stood; see Carocci, *Studi storici sul centro di Firenze* (1889), 37.

14. Further information on these purchases is to be found in Francesco's tax returns, in Archivio di Stato, Florence, 1470 and 1480 (S. M. Novella, Leone Bianco [No. 921, fol. 282–83, and No. 1013, fol. 319–21]).

15. I found this *quadernuccio* in the Archivio di Stato, Florence, again in the Carte Stroziane, 2d ser., no. 20. It was begun in 1462 and contains domestic and business records. The figures given are essentially the same as those given in *Notizie* [see note 1].

16. On Fonzio and Francesco Sassetti, see C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo della Fonte* (1900), 131.

17. On fol. 3a to 5 of the *quadernuccio*, around sixty of his manuscripts are listed by title, with estimates of value. His significance as a discoverer and collector of ancient manuscripts is assessed by R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (1905), 139, 165.

18. As Mr. Vulli  ty, in Geneva, was kind enough to inform me six years ago, the registers of the *Conseil* mention a “Chapelle du Pont du Rh  ne,” under the date of 3 February 1482, but without Sassetti's name. In the *quadernuccio* (c. 71) we read under the date of 8 November 1466: “E con la cappella overo edificio di nostra donna di Ginevra stima circha schudi 500—f. 600.” (And the chapel or building dedicated to Our Lady in Geneva is estimated at about 500 scudi, 600 florins.) \*

19. See *De illustratione urbis Florentiae* (1790), 1:140; Verino's relations with Sassetti are mentioned by Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino* (1897), 45.

20. I have yet to find any more information on these figures. The *quadernuccio* (c. 71) records under the date of 6 November 1466: “E' ragion   avere debito per la cappella della Badia fiorini—200.” (He reported owing 200 florins for the chapel at the Badia.)

21. According to the *Notizie* [see note 1], xxxix, the library initially passed, shortly † before Cosimo's death (in 1527), to Pope Clement VII.

22. See Warburg, “Portraiture . . .,” pp. 223 ff. I now consider that the older man who stands on the other side of Lorenzo il Magnifico—as also suggested to me by Dr. Sch  ffer—is Antonio Pucci, a powerful Medici supporter. In my opinion, he also appears twice over, as the father of the groom, on the *cassone* of scenes from the legend of Nastagio degli Onesti that was painted in Botticelli's workshop for the Pucci-Bini wedding in 1483. Antonio Pucci was connected by marriage to the Sassetti; his son had married Francesco's daughter Sibilla in 1483. \*

23. The patronage of the altarpiece, which derived from Baro Sassetti, was taken up by Frondina Sassetti Adimari: see her testament, dated 11 January 1429 (1430 N.S.), in the Santa Maria Novella records in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. She left a sum for the painting of a choice new altarpiece; and in 1468 Francesco Sassetti undertook to carry out this unfulfilled obligation. A full chapter meeting, held on 22 February 1469, confirmed his rights of patronage subject to a purchase of land stipulated in the testament and extended this to include—as a gift—the right to decorate the choir: “dictum hedeficium dicti altaris cum juribus et pertinentiis ejusdem, cum potestate ornandi

*ipsum hedificium et faciendi ea quae de jure permittuntur patronibus similium altarium*" (the said structure of the said altar with the rights and appurtenances thereto, with the power to adorn the structure and to do whatever the law permits the patrons of such altars to do): see the record, by the Baldovini mentioned in the *Notizie* {see note 1}, in Archivio di Stato, Florence, A. B. 397, fol. 380; B. 398, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>; B. 398, fol. 153<sup>r</sup>.

24. *Notizie* {see note 1}, xxix.

25. Sassetti's great-grandson Francesco saw it before 1598 and describes it from memory as a "*Madonna vestita alla greca*" (Madonna dressed in the Greek style), with the Child in her arms, flanked by saints (*Notizie* {see note 1}, xxx). The painting has never come to light; see Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* 5 (1907): 589.

26. See the Italian text; its detailed points of agreement with the phraseology of the *Notizie* {see note 1} suffice to prove their dependence on it.

27. Under the terms of an additional donation to the funerary chapel in 1487 (see "Portraiture . . .," p. 203), the church of S. Trinita undertook to celebrate an annual solemn mass in honor of Saint Francis.

28. In a lecture series given for the Oberschulbehörde, Hamburg, in 1901.

29. See Geisenheimer, "Fra Modesto Biliotti, cronista di S. Maria Novella," *Rosario (Memorie dominicane)* 1905: 306 ff.: the passage quoted is on fol. 12 and 13 of the chronicle.

30. This statement, which shows that Biliotti knew the background in some detail, is borne out by a note in a church ledger of S. Trinita (Archivio di Stato, Florence, S. Trinita A), in which the following items appear under the date of 1 February 1479: "*Al Castagno Beccamorto . . . soldi 3 sono per tramutare un corpo fracido nella sepultura comune perchè Francesco Sassetti voleva cominciare acconciare la cappella de' Petribonsi trasferita a Francesco Sassetti 1479.*" (To Castagni the sexton . . . 3 soldi for the transfer of a rotting corpse to the public grave, because Francesco Sassetti wished to begin the renovation of the Petribonsi Chapel, transferred to Francesco Sassetti in 1479.) This suggests that it was not until then that he finally lost the dispute.

31. See Francesco di Giovambattista (Sassetti) (*Notizie* {note 1}, xv).

32. Might not—and here I seek only to open the way to better suggestions from others—the miracle of Saint Francis's return to life have some connection with the resurrection of Teodoro I, whose death in Lyons was so profoundly mourned by his family, in the person of Teodoro II? See Bartolomeo Fontio, "Somnium Theodori Saxetti," *Saxettus*, in *Opera* (printed Frankfurt, 1621), 393.

33. See "Portraiture . . .," p. 189; this passage from Biliotti would have been very useful to me on that occasion, where my grounds for presenting the art of *voti* for objective assessment in terms of naturalism were of a purely general, cultural-historical nature.

34. See *Opera* 1 (1576): 799 f. I have found no reference to these domestic chapels (the use of the expression *continet* makes it impossible to suppose that the chapels in churches are here referred to) beyond a hint in *Saxettus* {see note 32}, 382.

35. The marble bust (fig. 34), formerly ascribed to Antonio Rossellino himself, is probably a good studio work, as the treatment of the hair and skin does not clearly show the style of his portrait busts (see, e.g., the bust of G. A. di San Miniato, *Museum* \* 10:129). Francesco seems to be represented at the age of forty-five or so, some twenty years younger than he appears in the 1485 fresco [fig. 35]; it was at about that time, in

1466, that he listed in his *quadernuccio* (fol. 70b) a sum of 94 florins paid to a “M[astr]o Antonio intagliatore” (“Maestro Antonio, carver”). The sum involved might even suggest that Rossellino was engaged on a larger commission: the monument to Tommaso Sassetti? (See note 39.)

36. In the winter of 1900, following a clue supplied by Carlo Strozzi, I searched in vain through the rich treasure-house of documentary material left by him to the Archivio di Stato in Florence. In the end, having been set on the right trail by a kind suggestion from my colleague Jodoco del Badia, I found the *Ricordo* in what was then a new acquisition (Appendice Carte Bagni, Inserto no. 25), and the authorities of the Archivio di Stato readily agreed to my making a study of it. The *Ricordo* is written in a contemporary hand on a double sheet (285 × 220 mm), formerly folded five times. On what was the outside, the following has been written in another hand:

† 1490.

*Copia del Ricordo fatto Fran*

*ciescho scripto di sua*

*Mano a <i>l libro segreto*

*quando vienne chosti*

*che dipoi tornato non vi*

*a arrotto ne levato.*

(Copy of the memorandum drawn up by

Francesco and written in his own

hand. A secret book

in which current costs

are entered, added up

and the totals extracted.)

On the first page, in the upper left-hand corner, is “No. 1”; in the upper right, “1944” (in Carlo Strozzi’s hand) and “106” (in another hand). My friend Alceste Giorgetti, archivist at the Archivio di Stato in Florence, has been kind enough to collate my six-year-old copy. I also owe to Mr. Giorgetti the identification of the handwriting on the outside as that of Francesco Sassetti.

That the *quadernuccio* (see notes 12, 15) is identical with Sassetti’s cashbook or *libro segreto* in the Archivio di Stato is confirmed by the fact that the cashbook, according to a note at the beginning in Francesco’s own hand, was intended for the recording of “things valuable and secret.”

Carlo Strozzi’s information has now also been discussed in outline by J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella* (1902).

37. Teodoro II and Federigo.

38. In Sassetti’s tax return for 1480 a number of plots of land are listed as having been transferred in this way to Galeazzo, Nera, Cosimo, and Teodoro.

39. According to Rosselli’s *Sepultuario*, as Professor Brockhaus has kindly informed me, the Sassetti owned two burial places in S. M. Novella: one in the Cimitero, the so-called Cassone di Azzo Sassetti, where the last of the Sassetti, Federigo di Carlo, was buried in 1651; and the other, from 1363 onward, beneath the high altar in the Cappella del Pellegrino, “*in testa delle sette volte sotto l’altare maggiore*” (at the head

of the seven vaults under the high altar). As the chapel is now walled up, it has been impossible to learn more about this burial place, of which I have found no mention elsewhere.

40. After “*dipoi*,” some such expression as “*è stata respinta*” seems to me to have been omitted.

41. The house was purchased in 1471 and is referred to in the 1480 survey: “*per dotare una cappella in Santa Trinita*”; see note 27.

42. Here, in the original, the sons signed their names.

43. This family benevolence extended to Ventura; according to a note of Strozzi’s, † which I have not verified, he became head cook to Pope Clement VII, probably through the influence of his brother Cosimo.

44. Although Messer Federico died as early as 1491 (December 21), and the villa thus lost the protection of clerical ownership, the Sassetti heirs succeeded in holding on to it until 1545, when their financial plight forced them to sell it to the Capponi. The deed of sale, in the Archivio di Stato, Florence (Inserto dei, [No. 17]) contains—a sign of the dire straits in which the family now found itself—the assent of Filippo di † Galeazzo, who at that time was imprisoned for debt.

45. In the same vein, Alessandra Macinghi {degli Strozzi} (*Lettere*, 459) praised Caterina Tanagli by saying: “... *e mi parve nell’ andare suo e nella vista sua, ch’ella non è addormentata*” (her bearing, and the look of her, suggest to me that she has her wits about her {lit., is not asleep}).

46. The elder Francesco derived his family’s name from a Castello di Sassetta, in the Maremma di Pisa, which he believed to have been the seat of his Ghibelline forebears; see *Notizie* {note 1}, xx. It is known that the Sassetti were among the leading Ghibelline families in Florence; but by 1312, held hostage in the Imperial camp, they were Ghibellines much against their will and against their own interests. See Davidsohn, *Forschungen* 3 (1901): 139. Francesco the great-grandson tells of a vague oral tradition, which he probably conflated with the fantastic ancestral legend of Ugolino Verino (*Notizie* {see note 1}, xxi), that the family was of Germanic origin.

47. Marcotti has earned our gratitude for his exact description and partial publication of the codex. I owe to his kind cooperation the complete transcript of the epistle by Marsilio Ficino, which he printed only in part. I have as yet, unfortunately, been † unable to examine the *Zibaldone* itself, the property of Mr. Temple Leader or of his heirs [now in the private archive of the Rucellai family, Florence]. See Marcotti, *Un mercante fiorentino e la sua famiglia* (1881) and “Il Giubileo dell’anno 1450 secondo una relazione di Giovanni Rucellai,” *Archivio della società romana di storia patria* 4 (1881): 563 [separate publication, Florence: Barbèra, 1885].

The superbly carved heraldic relief [fig. 38] is in the center of the court, above the arches of the loggia, which makes a close stylistic analysis difficult. For the permission to photograph it in 1898, I am indebted to the late Marchese Rucellai. See also the illustrations of the Rucellai arms in Passerini, *Genealogia della famiglia Rucellai* (1861).

48. Rucellai’s relationship with ancient sources, discussed only briefly by Marcotti, can be explored in any depth only through a study of the *Zibaldone*; failing which, I have been able to make some use of a codex in the Biblioteca Nazionale (Cl. XXV, 636).

49. I print Marsilio Ficino's epistle in full, because even the generalities about providence and fate serve to typify his influential philosophy of balance [see p. 461]:

*Epistola di Marsiglio Ficino a Giovanni Rucellai, viro clarissimo, che cosa è fortuna e se l'uomo può riparare a essa.*

(Epistle from Marsiglio Ficino to the illustrious Giovanni Rucellai, on the definition of Fortune, and whether man can have any redress against it.)

*Tu mi domandi, se l'uomo può rimuovere o in altro modo rimediare alle cose future et maxime a quelle che si chiamano fortuite. Et certamente in questa materia l'animo mio è quasi in diverse sentenzie diviso. Imperocchè, quando considero la confusa vita del misero volgo, truovo che a' futuri casi non pensano gli stolti, et se pensano non provvedono a' ripari, oppure, se si sforzano di porre remedij, o nulla o poco giovano. Sicchè in questa considerazione l'animo pare che mi dica la fortuna essere senza riparo. Ma quando dall'altra parte mi rivolgo nella mente l'opere di Giovanni Rucellai et d'alcuni altri, a' quali la prudenza è regola ne' loro effetti, veggio le cose venture essere antivedute et alle vedute posto riparo. Et in questa cogitazione lo 'ntelletto mi giudica el contrario di quello che nella prima considerazione mi diceva. Questa tale diversità dipoi mi parebbe da ridurre in questa prima conclusione, che a' colpi fortuiti non resiste l'uomo nè la natura umana, ma l'uomo prudente et umana prudenzia. Di qui si procede in un'altra meditazione, nella quale veggiamo molti uomini di pari desiderare, equalmente affaticarsi et exercitarsi con simili modi et instrumenti esterni per acquistare questa prudenzia, la quale abbiamo di sopra posta per regola della vita umana e per riparo contro alla fortuna, et nientedimeno non pari nè equalmente, nè in simile modo conseguire et possedere o usare detta prudenzia. Per la qual cosa sono mosso a dire che la prudenzia non è tanto acquisto d'uomo quanto è dono di natura. Onde forse parrebbe che non pone remedio a' casi l'uomo, ma la prudenzia umana, non la prudenzia da opere umane acquistata, ma da natura data. Dopo questo procediamo più oltre dicendo che la natura è qualità inanimata, dalla cui radice nasce inclinazione ad movimenti et dalla cui regola procede ne' movimenti ordine dall'uno all' altro et di tutti al certo et propinquo fine et [dell'uno fine particolare all'altro fine et di tutti e fini] proprii al fine comune a tutti, in tutti per partecipazione presente, da tutti per purità d'essenzia seperato. Ma perchè moto ordinario è opera di vita, et ordine di moto è opera d'intelletto, et fine dell'ordine è opera di bontà, seguita che la natura nè in se consiste, nè da se dipende nè per se adopera, essendo la sua radice inanimata, la sua regola necta [nuda] d'intelletto, la sua essenzia dalla prima bontà per molti gradi rimota. Adunque conviene ridurre la natura ad uno fondamento intellettuale, ad uno fonte vitale, ad un principio di bontà, ovvero ad una bontà principale, dove sia sustanzia intelligente, vivente et buona, ovvero intelletto, vita è bontà, ovvero intelletto vitale, vita intellettuale, bontà intelligibile et vivente, ovvero unità, principio di bene, fonte di vita, fondamento d'intelletto. Dal principio sia il fine, dal fonte trascorra il movimento al fine, dal fondamento nasca la proporzione et ordine ne' moti intra se et in tutti e moti ad fine et in tutti e fini ad uno fine comune, il quale per necessità è prima bontà, fonte di vita, origine d'intelletto. Per la qual cagione vedi che questa sustanzia circularmente, da se principiando, in se finisce, e tutti e*

*movimenti per circolo ritornano al centro, donde si mossono alla circumferenzia. Per questo processo platonico puoi conchiudere che la prudenzia umana sia dono non di natura semplicemente, ma molto più del principio, fonte et origine della natura. Et perchè intra l'agente et paziente debbe essere conforme proporzione, la natura muove quello che in noi è naturale, il principio della natura muove quello che in noi è vitale et intellettuale et boniforme. Da due fondamenti adunque dipende la prudenzia dell'uomo, dalla natura corporea in uso come da instrumento, et da principio divino in radice como da primo agente. Di qui si comprende che colui che è principio degli effetti presenti preteriti et futuri, lui medesimo è quello che è principio della moderazione nelle cose presenti, della moderazione [remediation] nelle preterite, della prudenzia nelle future. Adunque l'uomo prudente ha potestà contro alla fortuna, ma con quella chiosa che gli dette quello sapiente: Non haberes hanc potestatem nisi data esset desuper [John 19.11].*

*Onde ora chi mi domandasse che cosa sia fortuna et che riparo dia contro di lei, alla prima quistione rispondo che fortuna è uno advenimento di cosa, la quale, benchè advenga fuori dall'ordine che comunemente da noi si conosce et desidera, nientedimeno è secondo ordine conosciuto et voluto da chi sopra nostra natura conosce et vuole. Sicchè quello che per rispetto di noi si chiama fortuna et caso, si può chiamare facto [fato] rispetto della natura universale, et prudenzia [providenzia] rispetto del principio intellettuale, et regola per rispetto del sommo bene. Alla seconda quistione rispondo che'l modo da governarsi bene nelle cose che adengono per l'ordine fortuito, fatale et legale è insegnato da quel medesimo che è principio di tale ordine, et tale sapere è ancora in questo ordine assegnato. Sicchè non impedisce nè rimuove, ma seguita et finisce l'universale governo. Tenendo queste cose di sopra trattate, ci accosteremo alla segreta et divina mente di Platone nostro, principe de' philosophi, et finiremo la pistola in questa morale sentenza: che buono è combattere colla fortuna coll'armi della prudenzia, pazienza et magnanimità. Meglio è ritrarsi et fuggire tal guerra, della quale pochissimi hanno vittoria, et quelli pochi con intellettuale [intollerabile] fatica et extremo sudore. Optimo è fare collei o pace o triega, conformando la volontà nostra colla sua, et andare volentieri dov'ella accenna, acciocchè ella per forza non tiri. Tutto questo faremo, se s'accorda in noi potenza, sapienzia et volontà. Finis. Amen.*

(You ask me whether man can influence or in any way remedy future events, and in particular those events that are deemed fortuitous. I am certainly of two minds on this matter. For when I consider the uncertain lives of the wretched common herd, I see that foolish people take no thought for the future; if they do take thought, they do not provide for a remedy; or else, if they do seek to improve matters, their efforts are of little or no avail. So that when I think of them, my opinion is that Fortune is irremediable. On the other hand, if I turn my mind to the works of Giovanni Rucellai and others, whose lives are governed by prudence and moderation, I see that things to come can be foreseen, and things foreseen can be remedied. When I consider this, my mind reverses its former opinion. This distinction amounts, it seems, to the following initial conclusion: that the blows of Fortune are not to be resisted by man or by human nature, but only by a provident man and by human

providence. This brings us to another consideration: we see many men desire equally, exert themselves equally, and labor equally, by similar external means and instruments, to acquire the providence that we have defined above as the rule of human life and as the remedy against Fortune; and nevertheless they are not equal, nor do they use similar means, in the pursuit and acquisition or employment of that providence. For this reason I would advance the opinion that providence is not a human acquisition but a gift of nature. Therefore, perhaps, human providence can influence events where man cannot; not providence acquired by any human endeavor, but providence bestowed by nature. Having said this, let us proceed to say that nature is an inanimate quality, the root and source of the inclination to act, and the rule that governs the order of actions, both as they affect each other and between all of them and the immediate, certain end, [and from one particular end to another end, and between all specific ends,] and the one end common to all, in which all participate, but which is distinct from all by virtue of the purity of its essence. But because action springs from life, and the ordering of action springs from the intellect, and the end pursued by that ordering springs from good, it follows that nature neither consists in itself, nor depends on itself, nor operates by itself; its root being inanimate, its rule is bereft of intellect, and its essence is many degrees removed from the prime good. It is therefore necessary to reduce nature to an intellectual foundation, a source of life, a first principle of goodness; or a prime good, in which resides a substance that is intelligent, living, and good; or intellect, life, and goodness; or living intellect, intellectual life, intelligible and living goodness; or unity, first principle of goodness, source of life, foundation of intellect. From first principle to desired end, the motion passes from the source to the end; from the foundation derives the proportion and order that prevails among and within all motions leading to the end, and in all the ends leading to a common end: which is, by necessity, the prime good, the source of life, the origin of intellect. From this you can see that this substance moves in a circle, beginning and ending in itself; all its movements are circular, returning to the center and thence moving outward again to the circumference. This Platonic process may lead you to the conclusion that human providence is not simply a gift of nature, but rather springs from the first principle, source, and origin of nature. And because some proportion must exist between the agent and the recipient, nature moves what is natural in our being, and the first principle of nature moves the parts of our being that are vital, intellectual, and tending to good. Man's providence thus derives from two foundations: in practice from corporeal nature as an instrument, and at root from divine principle as the prime agent. From this it will be understood that he who is first principle of effects present, past, and future is also first principle of moderation in things present, of reflection upon things past, and of providence in things to come. Thus a provident man has power against Fortune, but with the gloss that was set upon it by that wise man: "Thou couldest not have this power except it were given thee from above" [John 19.11].

And so, if I am asked what Fortune is, and what redress there may be against her, I would reply to the first question that Fortune is an event, which, though it

falls outside the order of things that we commonly know and wish for, nevertheless conforms to the order known and willed by him whose knowledge and volition transcends our nature. And so the thing that is called Fortune, or chance, in relation to ourselves, may be called Fate in relation to universal nature, and Providence in relation to the principle of intellect, and Rule in relation to the highest good. To the second question I would reply that the way to conduct oneself well in those matters that are governed by the order of Fortune, or of Fate, or of Law, is taught by the nature of the principle that underlies that order. Such knowledge is implicit in that order itself; it neither impedes nor alters, but prosecutes and fulfills, the governance of the universe. If we bear in mind what has been set out above, we shall be enabled to approach the secret and divine meaning of our Plato, prince of philosophers; and I shall conclude this epistle by enunciating the following moral precept. It is good to do battle with Fortune, wielding the weapons of providence, patience, and noble ambition. It is better to withdraw, and to shun such a combat—from which so few emerge victorious, and then only after intolerable labor and effort. It is best of all to make peace or a truce with Fortune, bending our wishes to her will and willingly going the way that she directs, lest she drag us by force. All this we shall do, if we can combine within ourselves the might, the wisdom, and the will. Finis. Amen.)

50. On the use of *fortuna* in the Romance languages (including Old French) to refer to a wind, see the standard dictionaries and Corazzini, *Vocabulario nautico*. The earliest example in late Latin usage accessible to me (see Ducange) dates from 1242, in the *Annales januenses*. Significantly, in 1429, the German equivalent is given as *Ungebyter* (*Ungewitter*, storm); see Brenner, *Ein altes italienisch-deutsches Sprachbuch* (1895), 2. Rucellai himself gave an admirably vivid description of the disastrous cyclone of 1456, which he called “*mirabil fortuna*.” See Marcotti in *Atti della Real Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 3, *Transunti* 5 [1881]: 252.

51. See “Botticelli’s *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*” (1892), pp. 95 ff.

52. The figure of Fortune with a sail, though ubiquitous then as now, was presented to a Renaissance public as a new formulation in Cartari, *Le immagine* (1556), fol. 98<sup>v</sup>. As a mental image, she was known to the Middle Ages from Cicero (*De officiis* \* 2.6), as quoted by Lactantius, *Instit. Div.* 3.29 (1841), 167. Direct artistic precedents (aside from, say, a Venus on a dolphin) might have included—as Dr. Regling has kindly pointed out to me—the figure of Isis Pharia (see, e.g., Froehner, *Les médaillons de l’empire romain*, xiii). *Fortuna Audax* was her name as, e.g., the principal Fortune in [Jean Cousin’s] *Liber Fortunae* (1568), ed. Lalanne (1883).

53. As Dr. Doren points out to me, Rucellai, in his tax return for 1480 (S. M. N. Leone Rosso [no. 1011, fol. 344]), describes himself as “*percosso dalla fortuna*” (afflicted by Fortune). He writes to his mother that God has taken away from him a part of his goods, “*in correzione di mie mancanze, che di tutto pure sia grandemente benedetto e ringraziato meritando assai peggio*” (to punish my shortcomings; may his name be blessed and thanked, for I deserved far worse). See G. Mancini, *Vita di L. B. Alberti* (1882), 466.

54. As the son-in-law of Palla Strozzi and father-in-law of a Pitti woman, Rucellai was suspect to the Medici, and consequently deprived of political power, until in 1461



he betrothed Bernardo, then thirteen, to Nannina, who was only six months younger. The marriage took place in 1466. Later, Giovanni thankfully confessed that the Medici connection had made him “*onorato, stimato e riguardato, e la loro felicità e prosperità me l’ho goduta e godo insieme con loro, di che ho preso grandissimo contentamento*” (honored, revered, and respected; their happiness and prosperity I have enjoyed and still enjoy along with them, and this has been a source of great contentment to me). (Mancini {see note 54}, 465 n.)

55. The reproduction shows the engraving at half original size, from the copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, formerly pasted into Codex II. III. 197; it is one of those *imprese amorose*, over-hastily ascribed to Baccio Baldini, that were used, as I have shown, to ornament courtship gift boxes in the Medici circle. See “Delle imprese amorose,” *Rivista d’arte* (July–August 1905) [pp. 169 ff.]. Its origins in “modish gallantry” are at once revealed by the torch-bearing (?) Cupid on the right, no longer very clear on our copy, but also by the bands of cloth in the sail, painted in the appropriate heraldic colors of gold, red, and green. Kolloff briefly describes the engraving in *Meyers Künstlerlexikon*, no. 147. In the Petrarch engravings in the same series (see Müntz and Essling, *Pétrarque*, 169 ff.), Fortune is seen at sea, standing on a dolphin. The *Hosenkampf* engraving from the same series (see “Über den Austausch künstlerischer Kultur zwischen Norden und Süden,” *Berichte der Berliner Kunsthistorischen Gesellschaft* (17 February 1905) [p. 277]) also alludes to the amatory affairs of the Rucellai-Medici circle, as the sail of Fortune on the sleeve of one of the women indicates. See also the youthful Ascanius in the *Florentine Picture Chronicle*, ed. Colvin (1898), plate 76; my notice, *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1899), No. 2 [p. 168]. The unusual youth of the bridegroom, and the (in contemporary eyes) advanced age of the bride, caused the wedding to attract attention as more than a simple act of family policy. As Nannina here wears the married woman’s headdress (the *corna alla francese*), the engraving may be dated, in agreement with its stylistic character, to around 1466.

56. A crude pen drawing in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, Codex II. III. 83, fol. 241<sup>r</sup> (mid-fifteenth century) shows her as “Ventura,” with a prominent “opportunity” forelock, in the context of the thirteenth-century sonnet by Frescobaldi, “*Ventura son’ che a tutto il mondo impero, / Dirieto calva e con ciufetto in alto . . .*” (I am Ventura, and I rule the world. / My head is bald behind, my forelock high); see Trucchi, *Poesie italiane* (1846), 2:76. On Fortune with a forelock, as she appeared in the Triumph of Alfonso of Naples in 1444, see Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance* (1899), 2:140 [*Gesamtausgabe* 5:302]. According to a note by Leonardo, Ludovico il Moro himself appeared in the procession as “*Ventura con i capelli e panni e mani inanzi*” (Ventura, with hair, and garments, and hands to the fore). See Richter, *Leonardo* 1:350, and drawing in Müller-Walde, *Leonardo* (1880), fig. 41. What seems to me a clear illustration of Occasio-Kairos, based on the epigram by Ausonius, appears in the Mantua fresco (Antonio da Pavia); see Kristeller, *Mantegna*, 479 (photo Anderson). I consider it altogether possible that there is an allusion here to the famous Kairos relief at Torcello [Roscher, 2:899]. In a procession in Bologna in 1490, Fortune appeared on a globe, with swelling sail and forelock; see A. Medin, *Propugnatore*, n.s., 2, no. 1, 132.

57. See Mancini {note 54}, 465; full text in the fragment published by Temple Leader for the *Nozze Leoni-Arnaldi* (1872?), 7.

58. See the business contracts in Archivio di Stato, Florence, Fa.84 (25 July 1455), fol. 31, fol. 27 (August 1465). How strict the prohibition on the pagan deities of Fate (and of Fortune in particular) had been as recently as the beginning of the fifteenth century is shown by the Salutati-Dominici controversy; see A. Rösler, *Cardinal Johannes Dominici* (Freiburg, 1893), 90.

59. According to the *Notizie* [see note 1], xxx, Niccolò Sassetti used the sling as an *impresa* on a letter from Lisbon; and, if the accompanying illustration is accurate, also  
\* on his coat of arms. The choice of a rock (*sasso*) in a sling as an *impresa* is probably a pun on the Sassetti family name.

60. {Filippo Sassetti:}

*Sarà forse poco dicevole che io faccia qui menzione della impresa della famiglia mia; ma lo avere di lei, piùche di niuna altra, contezza, fa che io di quella ragioni. È adunque l'impresa nostra una frombola col motto francese: "A mon pouvoir," che importa: a mio potere. Fu la fromba quell' arme con la quale il giovanetto David ammazzò il gigante Golia; onde quegli che fece in S. Trinita dipignere la cappella nostra, dalla parte di fuori sopra un pilastro, fece immaginare quel giovanetto armato di questa arme con un motto tale: Tutanti puero patriam Deus arma ministrat. Donde, s'io non sono errato, si cava il concetto dell' impresa nostra, quasi dicesse chi la fece: A mio potere m'adoperero io; e Dio farà il restante; si come egli prestò aiuto a David contro al nimico.*

(It may perhaps be unseemly to bring in my family's *impresa*; but I discuss it because I have a better knowledge of it than of any other. Our *impresa*, then, shows a sling or catapult with the motto, in French: "*A mon pouvoir*," which means: In my power. The sling was the weapon with which the boy David slew the giant Goliath. He who commissioned the painting of our chapel in S. Trinita had the young man shown with this weapon and the words: "God arms the boy who defends his country." This, if I am not mistaken, gave rise to the idea for our *impresa*, which might be interpreted thus: "I will exert myself, within my power; God will do the rest, just as God helped David to vanquish his enemy.")

The antique addition of the centaur, who so characteristically displaces the emphasis, was lost on Filippo, Francesco's great-grandson, whose words are taken from his unpublished [second] *Lezione sulle imprese* (Cod. Ricciardianus 2435, fol. 66a). See M. Rossi {addendum to page 249}, 107 f., on Filippo's position within the *impresa* literature. The David with sling, on the outside wall of the chapel, has recently been  
\* uncovered, together with the fresco of the Sibyl discussed below; see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Italian edition (*Storia della pittura in Italia*), 7 (1896): 294.

61. See Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cl. 79, I Bandini Catal. III, col. 171. The miniature is on the verso of the unpaginated first leaf: leaf size 325 × 225 mm. I am indebted to the authorities of the Reale Biblioteca Laurenziana, and in particular to Professor Rostagno, for permission to photograph.

On Argyropoulos, see Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums* 1 (1893): 367 ff.

62. The two relevant passages of Aristotle were translated by Argyropoulos, in a lecture delivered on 1 February 1457 (i.e., probably 1458 n.s.), as follows: "... *summun*

*esse hominis bonum operationem animi secundum virtutes et in vita perfecta*" (... that the highest good of man is the operation of the soul according to the virtues and in perfect life); and "*Virtus est habitus electivus in mediocritate consistens*" (Virtue is a deliberately chosen state, standing fast in moderation). See the whole *praefatio* in Müllner, *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten* [Vienna, 1899], 25, 26.

63. Bandini [see note 61] says quite explicitly: "*In fine vero legebantur verba: Mitia fata mihi. Francisci Sassetti Thomae filii civis Florentini, quae litura postea deleta fuerunt.*" (But at the end were the words "The Fates kind to me. Francesco Sassetti, son of Tommaso, citizen of Florence," which were later erased.) As Dr. Posse has kindly verified for me once more, there is now no trace of this inscription. Both devices appear together in, e.g., Cl. 68, 14 and Cl. 49, 22. At a provisional count, "*Mitia fata mihi*" and "*Sors placida mihi*" appear a total of nineteen times, but "*A mon pouvoir*" only four. The coat of arms, the sling, and the putti also appear a few times separately. So far, however, I have found the centaurs only in the Argyropoulos manuscript. I intend † in due course to undertake a more thorough study of the Sassetti manuscripts.

64. There is no documentary confirmation of the attribution to Giuliano da Sangallo; see Fabriczy, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902), 3; detail illustrations of the Sassetti tomb in Burger, *Das florentinische Grabmal bis Michelangelo* (1904), 192 ff.

65. I showed in 1901 (lectures for the Oberschulbehörde, Hamburg) that Giuliano da Sangallo's source was the Meleager sarcophagus, together with the Alcestis sarcophagus, which also influenced Verrocchio's relief of the death of Tornabuoni. Independently, Frida Schottmüller recognized the same connections and published her findings in *Repertorium* (1902): 401. Professor Robert, with his unfailing kindness, helped me in identifying the particular piece that served as the model (Montalvo [Borgo degli Albizzi 24], Florence). Burger, too, is indebted to him for material on other borrowings of Giuliano's from antique sarcophagi, including especially valuable and convincing information on the games of the putti.

66. See Fabriczy, *Die Handzeichnungen Giulianos da Sangallo* (1902), 42. The Theseion centaurs, as drawn by Hartmann Schedel after Ciriaco, have been published by Rubensohn, *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlichen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenenser Abtheilung* (1900). On Giuliano's centaur groups in the Siena Sketchbook, see Fabriczy, [*Handzeichnungen*,] 80.

67. The first to establish the meaning of the inscription was Jordan, in the German edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle [3:236]. Its full text is:

ENSE • CADENS • SOLYMO • POMPEI • FVLV<IVS>

AVGVR

NVMEN • AIT • QUAE • ME • CONT<E>G<IT>

VRNA • DABIT

(Falling by Pompey's sword at Jerusalem, Fulvius  
the Augur

Said: the urn that shelters me will yield up a god.)

No antique original text has yet been found, despite the ready cooperation of the leading experts in the field; my own inquiries in the area of Renaissance scholarship have

also been in vain. I was hopeful of finding a clue in the writings of Bartolomeo Fonzio, Sassetti's erudite friend and adviser (whom he recommends to his sons as a qualified person to compose the epitaph for his father's tomb), but have so far found nothing. In Rome, in April 1485—the same year in which, at Christmas (see note 68), the Sassetti Chapel was consecrated—a sarcophagus was discovered containing a girl's body in a supposedly miraculous state of preservation; Sassetti heard all about it from Fonzio. See Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* 3 (1895): 239.

68. The history of the legend is in Graf, *Roma nella memoria... del Medio Evo* 1 (1882): 308 ff. The Basilica of Constantine is illustrated, as it now stands, in Hülsen, *Das Forum Romanum* (1905), 207. How much life there still was in the legend, even in highly educated circles, is proven by the mention of it in Rucellai's description of Rome in 1450. See Michaelis, *Bollettino dell'imperiale istituto di archeologia germanico* (1888), 267.

† On the *rappresentazione*, performed in Florence as early as 1465, see d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro* 1 (2d ed., 1891): 270 [see *ibid.*, 12:228] and Graf, 323. The description of the *edifici* with the *tableaux vivants* in Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle* (1898), 6, and D'Ancona, 229: “*undecimo: templum Pacis, con l'edificio della Natività per fare la sua Rappresentazione*” (Eleven: Temple of Peace, with the edifice of the Nativity, for the play thereof). Any last doubts are dispelled by the architectural setting of the traditional Neapolitan Christmas crib. We have only to look at fig. 4 in Hager, *Die Weihnachtskrippe* (1902), to recognize the survival of the *Templum Pacis* in the festive decor.

The date of the inscription beneath the donor figures, at present wrongly restored, can now be guessed correctly: instead of “XV Decembris” we should read, in agreement with the epigraphic findings of Professor Brockhaus, “XXV Decembris MCCCCLXXXV” (not “VI”). Now everything fits harmoniously together: Sassetti endowed and consecrated his funerary chapel partly as a Christmas chapel. The altarpiece, of course, is now in the Accademia [since returned to S. Trinita].

69. The grisailles, which reveal the unmistakable style of the school of Ghirlandaio, have hitherto eluded identification. It was in Gori, *Musaeum Florentinum* [Florence, 1740], lxi, that I first noticed the *adlocutio* on the coin of Gordian (see figure), which exactly matches the *adlocutio* on the right above Francesco's tomb, including the position of the general's arms. See also Froehner, *Les médaillons romains* (1878), 187; *ibid.* (13) also the *decursio* of Nero (source of the right-hand grisaille above Nera's tomb). Dr. Regling later kindly pointed out to me that Titus and Domitian, on the left above Francesco, derive from the reverse of a bronze coin of Vespasian; and that the emperor in the *quadriga* (on the left, above Nera) is Germanicus, riding in his triumph [see Regling, *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* (1924), 875, pl. 43].

70. On the subject of these emotive gestural formulas (*Pathosformeln*), see “Dürer und die italienische Antike,” in *Verhandlungen der 48. philologischen Versammlung in Hamburg*, 55 [pp. 553 ff.]. I intend to discuss Ghirlandaio and the antique at a later date. For the moment, see Egger, *Codex Escurialensis* (Vienna, 1905).

# Matteo degli Strozzi

An Italian Merchant's Son, Five Centuries Ago  
(1893)

In her letters to her sons, so fortunately preserved and now printed,<sup>1</sup> Alessandra degli Strozzi gives us a vivid picture of the domestic life of a Florentine mercantile family in the fifteenth century. She returned to Florence as a widow in 1436; her husband, banished by the Medici in 1434, had died of the plague in Pesaro. With him died three of her children. She was left with five: Filippo (born 1428), Lorenzo (born 1430), Caterina (born 1432), Alessandra (born 1434), and Matteo, born in 1436, after his father's death. Her two eldest sons were soon apprenticed to their Strozzi cousins abroad: Filippo went to Naples; Lorenzo to Bruges by way of Avignon, Valencia, and Barcelona.

In 1447 Filippo wrote to his mother to ask her to send his brother Matteo, now eleven, to work under him in Naples, but she considered that too early. She wrote to Filippo on 24 August 1447:

I do not want to send Matteo out yet; he is too young, and then I would have no company and it would be hard for me to manage, especially so long as Caterina is still betrothed. I have not the heart to send him away; if he behaves well, I will keep him here. It is a hard life; he will not be equal to it until sixteen at the earliest, and he is only eleven now. He can already reckon, and I am now having him taught handwriting, and this winter he is to go into the banking business; then we shall see what can be made of him. God give him the strength he will need.

The next March, young Matteo himself wrote a long letter to his exacting brother. First, at his mother's dictation, he reported on a number of business matters, and then he wrote about himself:

The reason why I have not written to you for so long is firstly because in the intervening time Caterina was married, which made a great deal of work. Then I fell down and got a hole in my head, and was sick for a month. And then, when I heard that you had gone to Palermo, I waited for you to write, because I did not know where to send mine; everyone was surprised not to get a letter from you. And lately I have been going to a writing master; up to now I have done my writing at home, and the letters never got to be well formed, and so Mona Alessandra <Madonna Alessandra, his mother> wants me to go to a writing master, who is going to give me lessons for two months. By God's grace. We wonder that Lorenzo has not written for several months now. Remind him, when you write to him, to write often.

No more for the present. Christ protect you from all evil. Your Matteo degli Strozzi in Florence.

It was not long before Matteo acquired a fine hand; as his mother wrote to Filippo on 4 November 1448: "...only when he wrote too fast and did not look carefully at the paper, his good and his bad handwriting were as different as black and white."

When Matteo was fourteen, Filippo refused to let him stay at home any longer: he must come, so that something might be made of him. With a heavy heart, his mother let her darling go. In a letter (22 October 1450), she advised the hot-tempered Filippo to treat him gently: "Do not strike him, and treat him with consideration. In my opinion he has a good character; if he does anything wrong, rebuke him gently. In that way you will achieve more than ever you will with blows."

So one fine day the boy took leave of his mother and rode away, escorted by his cousin Niccolò. He wore a short purple doublet, and he had just been given a new cloak. We might imagine him as looking like one of the young horsemen who ride with the procession of the Three Kings in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in the Palazzo Riccardi, in Florence. First, Matteo accompanied Niccolò to Spain, and later he went on to Naples, where, for seven years, he worked faithfully under his brother. Then in 1459 he contracted a raging fever; his health was not strong, and in three days he was dead. He died on 22 August 1459.

Even this blow, the heaviest that fate could have dealt her, failed to disturb Madonna Alessandra's inner tranquillity. She found words to comfort Filippo. On 6 September 1459 she wrote him:

Although the pain I have felt is greater than any in my life before, two things console me in this grief: first, that he was with you, and that I am therefore sure that everything possible was done by way of physicians and medicines, and that nothing was left untried to save his life; for it was God's will that it should end so. The second thing that gave me peace was that in the face of death, through the grace of Our Lord, he repented of his sins, confessed, communicated, and received extreme unction, and, as I hear, was composed and submissive. These are signs that God has kept a good place for him.

It must also have been a consolation that her two remaining sons were permitted to return to Florence from banishment in the following year. Filippo became one of the most respected citizens of Florence; and his palace is still an admired monument of that time.

#### Note

1. The letters have been collected and published by Cesare Guasti: *Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi: Lettere di una gentildonna Fiorentina del secolo XV. ai figliuoli esuli* (Florence: Sansoni, 1877).

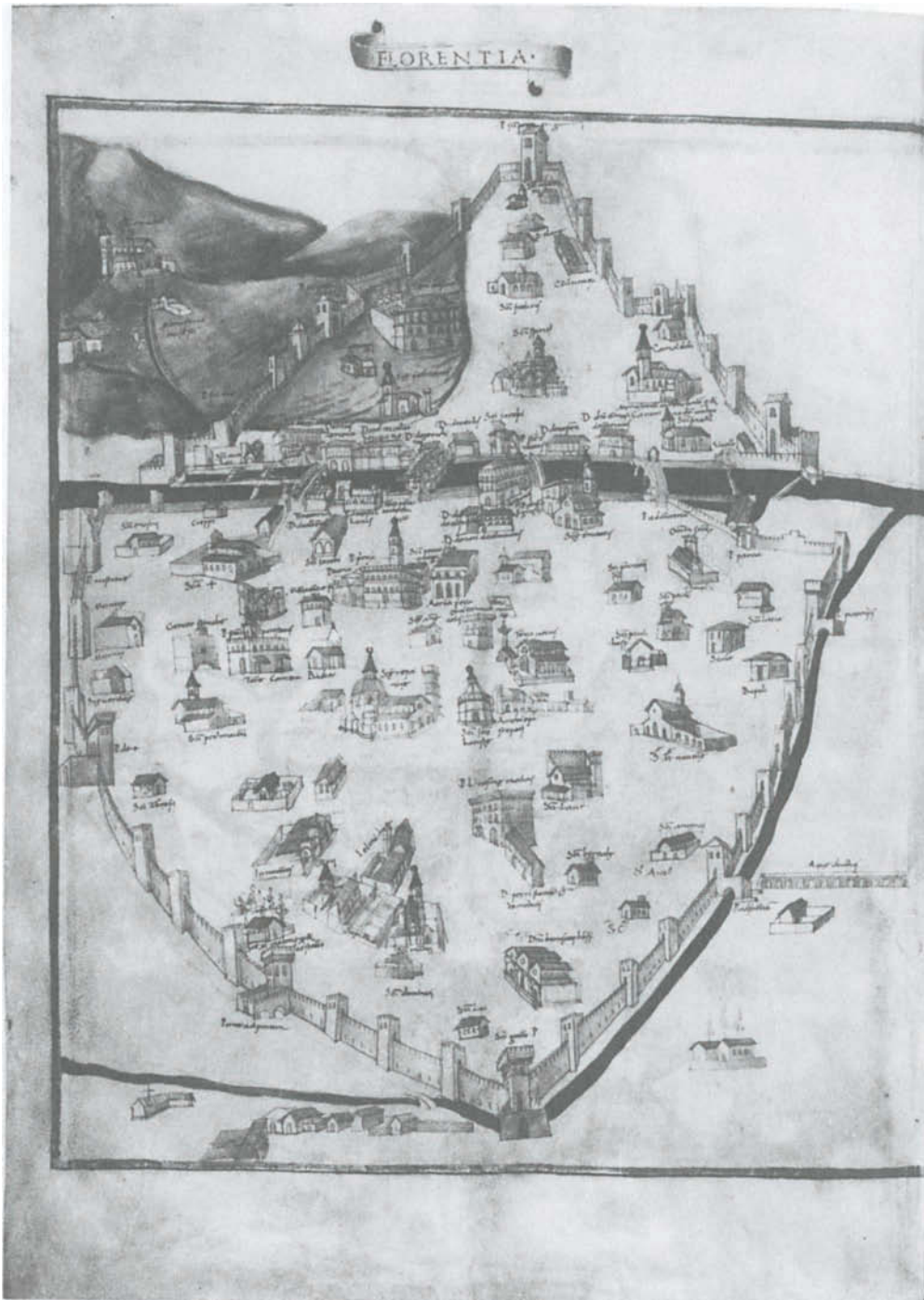
# The Commencement of Building Work at the Palazzo Medici (1908)

**D**r. A. Warburg supplemented his paper on “The Commencement of Building Work at the Palazzo Medici,” given by him in 1901 at one of the first meetings of the Kunsthistorisches Institut (Art historical institute), with a detailed reexamination and clarification.

Gianozzo Salviati records in his *Zibaldone* (manuscript in Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence [Magl. II. IX. 42, fol. 11a]) that “*nell’anno 1444 si cominciò a murare la chasa di Chosimo de Medici*” (the building of Cosimo de’ Medici’s house was started in 1444). Now, as Gianozzo was born no earlier than 1462, this is secondhand information and stands in need of confirmation from authentic and contemporaneous Medici documents. Authoritative sources of just this kind are cited, in a different context, by Herbert Horne (“The Battle-Piece by Paolo Uccello in the National Gallery,” *Monthly Review*, No. 13, October 1901): namely, Cosimo de’ Medici’s tax returns for 1446 and 1451, in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. From these it transpires that Cosimo and his nephew Pierfrancesco—then still his ward—were living together in the old family house, on the San Marco side, which had been expanded by the incorporation of smaller houses; and that, between that house and the corner opposite San Giovannino, the palace was under construction on a plot of land mostly purchased as recently as 1443–1447.

The 1446 survey records a number of individual houses as having been demolished and the land as being in use for the construction of the palace on the corner of Via Larga (e.g., “*più casette... hora son tutte disfatte ed mura-visi il palagio si fa sul chanto della detta via largha*” {a number of houses... at the moment they are all demolished and are being used for masonry; the palace is being built at the corner of the above-mentioned Via Larga}). But even in the *portata* (or tax return) of 1451 the palace is still described as under construction (“*palagio muriamo sul chanto*” {we are building a palace at the corner}). Accordingly, the arbitration award of 1451, terminating the conservatorial community of goods between the two branches of the family, contains the provision that the construction costs of the palace, when finished (“*perfectum erit*”), are to be the exclusive responsibility of Cosimo’s line for all times past and future.

Even so, the palace seems to have been close enough to completion by the beginning of 1452 for Cosimo and his family to move in there, in accordance with the arbitration award, while his nephew Pierfrancesco continued to



**Fig. 42. Map of Florence**  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Urb. 277  
(see p. 267).



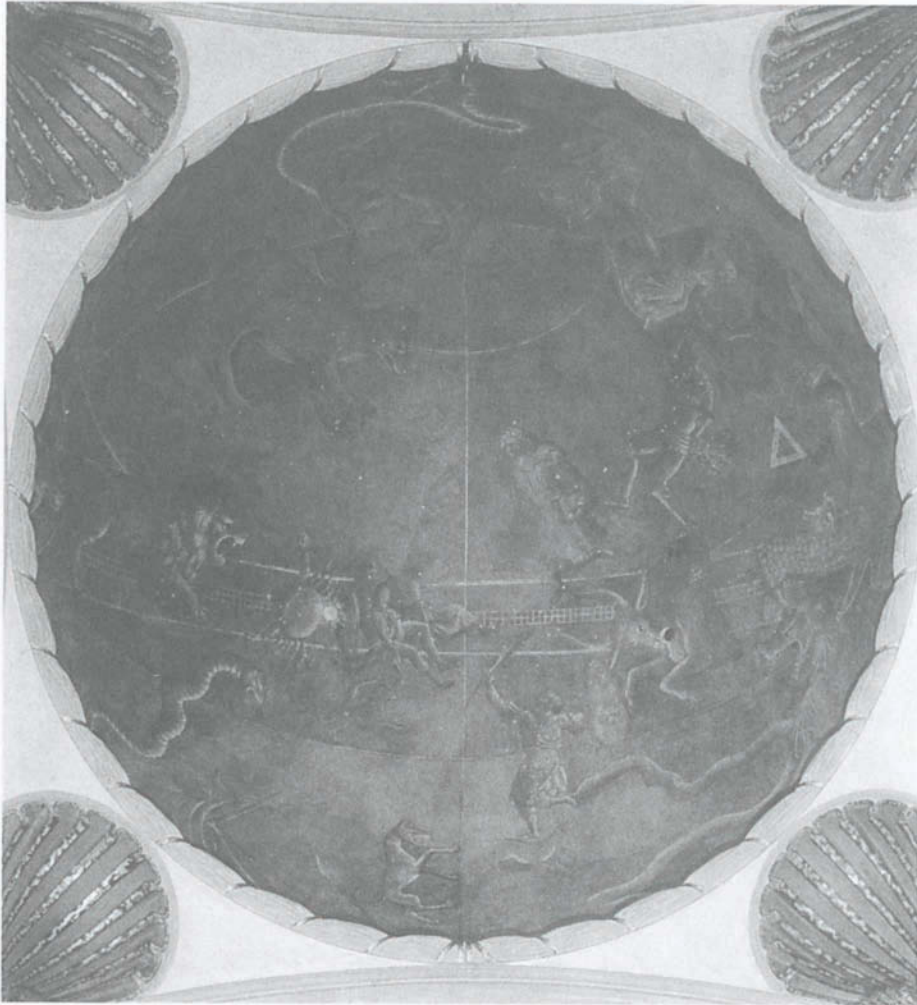
occupy the old family house as previously extended; the 1470 survey expressly states that this had been assigned to him as his residence under the terms of the *divisa*. In the same volume of the survey, Cosimo's son and heir, Piero, is declared to be the owner of the "*palagio*."

A contemporary and previously unnoticed view of Florence, discovered by the speaker in a translation of Ptolemy by Jacopo d'Agnolo da Scarperia (Cod. vat. urb. 277), usefully provides a view of the Medici houses as they were in 1472 (see fig. 42). It shows the massive, three-story palace and, immediately adjoining it, a narrow two-story house with a pointed roof. Beneath the latter is the caption "*D[omus] Petri Francisci de Medicis*"; above the palace is "*P[alatium] L[aurentii] Cosmae Medicis*."

Salviati's note thus receives irrefutable documentary confirmation, and it may therefore be assumed (with C. von Fabriczy) that Salviati transferred this date into his "sundry" commonplace book from a lost original, together with his own earlier chronological notes. In any case, there is both historical and biographical evidence to refute the supposition, which has been voiced, that the palace was begun as early as 1435, that it was largely complete by around 1440, and that it then housed both branches of the family.<sup>1</sup> The date of 1444 for the beginning of construction is supported by the contemporary documentary record in the form of the Medici tax returns, cited by Horne, for the years 1446 and 1451.

#### Note

1. Karl Frey, *Michelagnolo Buonarroti: Quellen und Forschungen zu seiner Geschichte und Kunst* 1 (1907): 24 f.



**Fig. 43. Astronomical map**  
Florence, San Lorenzo, Sagrestia Vecchia (see p. 269)

# An Astronomical Map in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence (1911)

**D**r. A. Warburg assigned a date to the astronomical representation of the heavens in the vault over the altar of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence, on the basis of research undertaken at his request by Dr. Graff, of the Hamburg astronomical observatory. The depiction in question is illustrated here (fig. 43). Dr. Graff's report is as follows:

The ceiling painting shows the stars visible at approximately latitude  $45^{\circ}$  ( $\pm 1^{\circ}$ ) North, at the moment when the solstitial colure passes through the meridian (vertical line in the illustration). Also shown are the following: the ecliptic, divided into degrees, with the limits of the zodiac on either side, here assumed to be at a distance of approximately  $6^{\circ}$ ; below this the celestial equator; and below that again the tropic of Capricorn. At the appropriate distances from the celestial North Pole are the polar circle, divided into four equal parts by the solstitial and equinoctial colures, perpendicular to each other; and the (incomplete) tropic of Cancer.

In the zodiac the following are shown: part of Pisces, Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, part of Virgo. Near the celestial equator: Cetus, Eridanus, Orion, Canis Minor, Hydra. Lower still: Lepus, Canis Major, Argo. At the far edge, above left, we see a part of Boötes, and to the right of it Ursa Major; Draco and Ursa Minor; Cepheus and Cassiopeia. Below that is Perseus, and a little to the right of center is Auriga. On the far right edge of the circular image are Triangulum and Andromeda.

The approximate date might be determined from the position of the ecliptic, if the stars were more precisely positioned. It can be seen, however, that the artist's only guides were the intersecting circles drawn on the celestial sphere. It seems, moreover, that the stars themselves were added, very roughly, only after the figures had been drawn, and without any special attention to the position of the circles.

The customary interpretation of the stars has been maintained: for instance, Castor and Pollux as the eyes of the Twins; Aldebaran as the right eye of the Bull;  $\delta$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\zeta$  Orionis as the Hunter's belt, etc. However, from a rough measurement of the distances between a number of stars and the solstitial point, the date of the armillary sphere employed can be estimated as 1400 or 1300.

The position of the Sun corresponds to a date some 23 days after the summer solstice, i.e., in the fifteenth century approximately July 6 ( $\pm 2$  days).

The Moon is in the Hyades, but its position is more difficult to assign to an

exact time. It is, first of all, almost at its maximum south latitude, so that the approximate positions of the lunar nodes can be computed as

$$\Omega = 150^\circ$$

$$\varpi = 330^\circ$$

In the period in question (1420–1440), the lunar orbit occupied this position in the following years:

1421, 1422, 1423, 1430, 1440.

It can also be deduced, from the phase and position of the Moon, that the configuration depicted applies to the point approximately four days before New Moon.

This would correspond to the following dates:

1421 June 25	1439 July 7
1422 July 14	1440 June 25
{1423 July 4}	

The date derived above from the position of the Sun, July 6, harmonizes best with the following dates:

1423 July 4  
1439 July 7  
1422 July 14

--and 1421 and 1440 can thus virtually be excluded from the reckoning.

The position of the sphere corresponds to the time of 10:30 a.m.; but this is probably selected only in order to arrange the constellations symmetrically around the solstitial colure.

† The speaker coupled this account of the astronomical data with the information (Giamboni, *Diario sacro... della città di Firenze*, 1700 [136]) that the high altar of San Lorenzo was consecrated on 9 July 1422, and concluded that the star map shows the positions of the stars on that date.

The speaker went on to draw attention to the portrait of an astrologer by  
† Pulzone, in the exhibition of portraits at the Palazzo Vecchio, showing a large comet, which, as the constellations are indicated, ought to be identifiable.

# The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal in Early Renaissance Painting (1914)

Enlarging on his view, already set out in studies of Botticelli (1893) and of Dürer (1905), that the influence of antiquity on the art of the Renaissance led to an idealized style of intensified mobility, the speaker supplied an evolutionary outline of the forces that impelled, and those that resisted, this stylistic metamorphosis.

Raphael's *Battle of Constantine* typifies the process of stylistic change in the High Renaissance, as inspired by the revival of antiquity. The reliefs of the Arch of Constantine [fig. 67] are direct sources, stylizing the emotive gestural rhetoric of the warrior to the last detail.

The speaker stressed, however, that this stylistic shift took place only after a difficult process of accommodation with the realism of the Quattrocento (as most formidably represented by Piero della Francesca's *Battle of Constantine*, which the author was able to show in color in its undamaged state, after an old watercolor by Ramboux [figs. 68, 69]). It was also necessary to resist the influence of those painters who, under the influence of Burgundian tapestries and Flemish devotional painting, sought to evoke persons and things as static, self-contained phenomena.

In an attempt to satisfy both tendencies, two workshops—those of the Pollaiuolo brothers and the Ghirlandaio brothers—adopted a composite style in which the distinction between the two stylistic principles was still clearly apprehensible. Here, through a series of specific examples, the author showed the emergence of the new emotive formulas of gesture.

Of the Pollaiuolo brothers, it was Antonio who more vigorously injected new fire and vigor into the resurrected art of antiquity [fig. 44]. What he found in his ancient sources (from gems to free-standing sculpture) he exaggerated to the point of creating an almost Baroque muscular rhetoric. His influence, with all the new attraction of an enhanced expressivity, carried a neoantique style far beyond the borders of Italy, affecting Dürer among many others.

Eventually, the stylistic influence of Roman triumphal sculpture—and in particular, as the speaker showed in detail, that of the very same reliefs on the Arch of Constantine—found its way into Ghirlandaio's work; and the stability of contemporary painting was undermined. The result was the apparently effortless victory of Raphael's idealized style.



**Fig. 44. Antonio Pollaiuolo**  
*Battle of Nudes*  
 Engraving (see p. 271)



**Fig. 45. *Battle for the Breeches***  
 Norwegian *tine*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (see p. 276)

Referring to an excavation report written in 1488, which expresses admiration of a *Laocoön* group precisely on the grounds of its extreme intensity of emotive expression—a response diametrically opposed to Winckelmann’s view of the essence of antiquity—the speaker called for the present-day world to adopt a similarly unprejudiced approach to the dual nature of the rich inheritance of antiquity. As modern historians of religion had shown, a tragic sense of “classical unrest” was basic to the culture of Greco-Roman antiquity, which might be symbolized by “a double herm of Apollo-Dionysus.” †



**Fig. 46. Master of the Banderoles**  
*Battle for the Breeches*  
 Engraving (see p. 275)



**Fig. 47. *Battle for the Breeches***  
 Florentine engraving (see p. 275)



# Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century (1905)

ANalyzed from the viewpoints of stylistic criticism and cultural history, the engravings attributed to the so-called Baccio Baldini cast new light on the whole issue of artistic exchanges between North and South in the fifteenth century: an issue that hitherto—for all its importance to the historian of artistic style—has barely been defined. As a result, it becomes possible to assess this unresolved blend of Northern popular comedy, quasi-French costume realism, and dynamic, quasi-antique idealism in gesture and drapery movement as a symptom of a crucial transitional phase in the emergence of secular Florentine art.

The fact that contemporary prints from the North—such as the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* of Master E. S.—were the sources for even the smallest details of the *Prophets* and *Sibyls* of “Baccio Baldini” was first observed by Mariette [*Abecedario* 1 (Paris, 1852–53): 53 ff.] and more comprehensively established by Lehms ([“Italienische Kopien nach deutschen Kupferstichen des XV. Jahrhunderts,”] *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1891[: 125 ff.]). In his turn, Lippmann was able to show a clear relation of dependency between engravings ascribed to Baldini, the *Planets* and the *Hosenkampf* (Battle for the breeches), on the one hand, and certain Northern European woodcuts and copper engravings, on the other ([“Die sieben Planeten,”] *International Chalcographical Society*, 1895, and [“Ein italienischer und ein deutscher Kupferstich des XV. Jahrhunderts,”] *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1886[:73 ff.]).

In these cases, however, it has hitherto been supposed that Italy was the giver and not the receiver: wrongly so, in the speaker’s opinion. For the German planetary cycle is known to have existed in a well-defined form as early as 1445 (Kautzsch, [“Planetendarstellungen aus dem Jahre 1445,”] *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1897: 32 ff.), and this clearly determined the illustrative arrangement of the Italian planetary images, probably through the intermediary of a Burgundian woodcut variant similar to the *Berlin Blockbook*. There is no specific case in which individual idiosyncrasies in early Renaissance art can be shown to have exerted any influence on Northern European prints.

The same applies, in the speaker’s opinion, to the relationship between the *Hosenkampf* ascribed to Baccio Baldini (and engraved before 1464 [fig. 47]) and the engraving by the Master of the Banderoles [fig. 46]. The latter did not

imitate the Florentine master: both derive (a supposition that Lippmann considered and then rejected) from a lost Northern European source. This is suggested in formal terms by the fact that in the Italian engraving the “breeches” for which the women are fighting are barely identifiable as such without some knowledge of the Northern European version. Reduced to a mysterious appendage, dangling from a putti-borne laurel wreath that rings a heart pierced by an arrow, this euphemistic object reveals that an Italian aesthetic sense has intervened to cast an antique veil over this crude symbol of erotic longing.

The solid Northern roots of the *Hosenkampf* image can now be demonstrated, once and for all, thanks to aid from an unexpected quarter: that of a modern work of art—and one, moreover, from a realm that is generally rather neglected in the consideration of major stylistic developments: that of the humble folk art of Scandinavian household utensils. Visiting Norway in 1896, the speaker found in a toy store at Dahlen (Telemark) a little painted box, a miniature of an eighteenth-century *tine* or “carrying box,” depicting a group of women having a tug-of-war with a garment. The inscription on the box, which the speaker displayed to his hearers (now presented to the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin), reads as follows: “*Efter Spaadom skal syv Qvinder Træltes om en mans buxe A.º 1702*”; that is: “According to the prophecy, seven women shall strive for one man’s breeches” [fig. 45].

The prophecy referred to—as the speaker was able to ascertain with the assistance of Adolf Goldschmidt—is the passage in Isaiah 4.1 in which the sinful women of Jerusalem are threatened with a dearth of menfolk: “And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.”

This explained an image that had long remained a puzzle to historians of art. The literary historians had already solved the puzzle, as the speaker later found: Wackernagel (Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas* 1 [1893]: 406) had identified this same biblical allusion, grotesquely disguised, in one of the earliest German carnival plays, that of the “Seven Women” (Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, no. 122 [Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 46, 1858, 14 ff.]).

This down-to-earth piece of biblical exegesis can thus be seen to have its roots in popular merrymaking, from the Middle Ages to the present; and, as the speaker showed by specific reference to other drawings and prints, it is possible to follow the chain of derivations that link the medieval carnival play to the Scandinavian peasant “love gift.”

The Northern origins of the *Hosenkampf* are apparent in the dramatic, pictorial, and applied arts alike; and they reflect the vitality of the art that brought the Flemish iconographic repertoire, in styles varying from the humblest to the most elevated, all the way from Bruges into the Italian household.

In this connection, the speaker has on several occasions (*Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft*, 1901, and *Jahrbuch der Preussischen*

*Kunstsammlungen*, 1902 [see our pp. 305 ff., 281 ff.]), referred to the importance of the Flemish *arazzo*, and of Flemish “painted cloths” (*panni dipinti*), in the dissemination of the secular iconographic repertoire. He intends shortly to expand on this in greater detail; for the present, he draws attention to the fact that Burgundian applied art, as applied to household goods, brought the purest types of Northern comic imagery directly into the most select private collections in Florence.

These precursors and progenitors of Bruegelesque humor found their way even into the Medicean treasury itself; as witness the celebrated enamel cup from the Thewalt collection, now owned by Morgan [fig. 49]; its swarming † figures are monkeys that have robbed a peddler—a scene from the typical repertoire of Northern European comedy, both visual and dramatic. The peddler robbed by monkeys was depicted in the mural paintings of the Château de Valenciennes (Dehaisnes, *Documents [et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre 2* (Lille, 1886):] 533); and the antics of seven dancers dressed as apes formed an intermezzo at the banquet held for Duke Charles the Bold in Bruges in 1468. A cup of just this kind, even perhaps the † same one, was a prized item in the treasury of Piero de' Medici, as a previously overlooked passage from the inventory shows: the wording clearly refers to this exact type of cup, as well as to other, similar enamel cups of Burgundian origin (ed. Müntz [*Les collections des Médicis au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and London, 1888)], 40): “*un bicchiere chon la fiera delle bertuoccie smaltata di bianco, fior. 100*” (a cup with the monkeys' antics enameled in white, 100 florins).

This joke, like that of the *Hosenkampf*, also circulated in the freer and more democratic world of the early Italian print, as can be seen from an anonymous Italian copper engraving that may well have its source in a decorated utensil or in an early Burgundian woodcut (in Gotha). \*

Just as the farcical humor of the North found its way into Florentine festivities on a functional level, so to speak, as the ornament on an enamel cup, the satirical image of the *Hosenkampf* became closely associated on a personal and practical level with the courtship pastimes of the Florentines through *imprese*—those picture puzzles that the women wore embroidered on their sleeves (*Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 1899 [see our p. 168]).

Similarly, the so-called *Otto-Teller* prints ascribed to Baccio Baldini were part of the practice of courtly love in Florence. These circular or oval engravings, evidently made to adorn the lids of boxes used as love gifts, often incorporate clear allusions to the identities of specific couples. Thus, one pair, depicted with an astrolabe, are identifiable from clear—albeit hitherto overlooked—devices and mottoes as Lorenzo de' Medici and Lucrezia Donati—as the speaker intends to show in an article shortly to appear in the *Rivista d'arte* [our pp. 169 ff. and fig. 20].

From a formal point of view, this particular engraving is of interest through its bizarre juxtaposition of the young man's fashionable and stiffly



**Fig. 48. *Punishment of Cupid***  
Florentine engraving (see p. 279)

**Figs. 49a,b. *Peddler and Monkeys***  
Enamel cup, formerly Morgan Collection (see p. 277)

ornate dress with the lively, ideal costume of the nymph who faces him, in which the fossilized Burgundian headdress of hennin and wimple, so often worn in the Baldini engravings, has been replaced by pseudo-antique Medusa wings.

This revolution in costume, the phases of which the speaker elucidated with the aid of other specimens from the same cycle of prints, should not be seen as a mere shift of fashion but as the beginnings of the reaction, rooted in the native formal sense of the Italians, against the realistic depiction of costume *alla francese* that had previously tended to engulf even classical and Italian motifs.

The most notable instance of this, again from the *Otto-Teller* series, is the pair of circular engravings that represent *Punishment of Cupid* [fig. 48]. Here, very much in the style of the *Hosenkampf*, is a more moralistic counterpart to that farcical scene of lustful women: Cupid, lashed to a tree and deprived of his arrows and his bow, is assailed by four women with an assortment of masculine and feminine weapons: sword, club, distaff, scissors, and slipper. The women administer punishment with great verve, although hampered in their movements by the uncomfortable fashions *alla francese* that they wear: voluminous dresses with elaborate, trailing sleeves.

One might at first suppose this to be a scene from some comic carnival play; especially as the figure of the pagan love god—which one might have supposed to be the prerogative of antique art—actually derives, as Lehrs has shown with great plausibility (*Chronik für vervielfachende Kunst* [4], 1891, [2 f., with illustration]), from a German copper engraving, Schongauer's *Saint Sebastian*. But beneath an opaque disguise of modern-dress realism this unclassical engraving conceals a genuine classical motif, adapted with masterly skill by an Italian poet: for the scene, as no one has yet pointed out, is an illustration to Petrarch's *Trionfo della Castità*, in which Cupid is punished in just this way. In turn, Petrarch's main source—again, hitherto unnoticed by scholars—was clearly Ausonius, the celebrated Latin poet of the last age of paganism: *Cupido cruciatur* [ed. Peiper (Leipzig, 1880), 109 ff.]. †

A similar motif of the punishment of Eros was already well established in the classical heyday of ancient sculpture: in Rome, for instance (Jahn, *Sächsische Berichte*, 1851) there was a sarcophagus showing Eros chastised by Psyche that might well have served as the model for the smaller of the two circular engravings—just as in Florence the memory of an antique Marsyas may spring to life after reaching us by a paradoxical detour via Schongauer. On close analysis, these works thus distinctly show some dependence on classical models; but, equally distinctly, they lack the truly antique emotive impetus, the dramatic simplicity of gesture, that is to be found for example in Signorelli's *Punishment of Cupid* (London, National Gallery). †

It remained for the lavish accumulation of comic accessories to be transcended and eliminated by the one artist whose work spans the whole range of fine and applied secular art in Florence: Sandro Botticelli, by whom, in his youth, the best of the *Otto-Teller* were probably designed. Early on, as a

Florentine goldsmith's apprentice, he had been made to smother the ideal figures of the Greek pantheon with the inexpressive ornament demanded by late medieval taste; and for that reason he now saw liberation from courtly *alla franzese* material culture in terms of a rebirth of antiquity. The reason why his mythological figures exude that strange, insinuating, antique sense of mobility is that they are not free but emancipated inventions: emancipated, that is, from the constraints of the fashionable finery that remained *de rigueur* in the courtly art of gift boxes, planetary manuals, and tournament flags. Botticelli's Venus Anadyomene emerges from the sea, unclad, as the still-hesitant precursor of those eloquent Olympians who would one day teach the Flemings to make effective use of the language of Roman sublimity.

# Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance

Studies  
(1902)

## I

Initially at least, the noticeable fondness for Northern European workmanship in early Renaissance Italy<sup>1</sup> did not derive from any profound appreciation of the essence of Flemish panel painting. On the contrary, the appeal of Flemish art derived from its most immediately apprehensible qualities. The avid and discerning Florentine collectors were all the more delighted by the colorful, illusive reflection of people, animals, and landscape in Flemish art because they did not always feel equal to the grand gestures of monumental religious mural painting and sculpture.

This same mood contributed to the fifteenth-century popularity of the *arazzo* (arras). These Flemish or French tapestries, on which the heroic deeds of biblical or classical antiquity, or of the age of chivalry, were enacted by figures resplendent in Burgundian court dress, were so much in demand, and so expensive, that efforts were made to attract skilled Flemish weavers to settle in Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Florence, Urbino, Siena, Perugia, and Rome.<sup>2</sup>

Giovanni de' Medici, Cosimo's second son, who was to die young, collected tapestries<sup>3</sup> with the same discriminating zeal as he did ancient manuscripts and coins.<sup>4</sup> On the recommendation of his agents in Bruges, he had a tapestry worked there from a cartoon by an Italian artist; the subject was the *Triumphs of Death and of Fame*, after Petrarch. The figurative style of this and other lost tapestries can, I think, best be visualized as similar to that of the anonymous engravings of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, now in the Albertina:<sup>5</sup> the same florid blend of contemporary Burgundian foppery and quasi-antique drapes, of fanciful Florentine goldsmith's work and down-to-earth Flemish realism: a "missing link," in fact, between the Burgundian tapestries now in Bern and the monumental Northern Italian genre painting of Gentile da Fabriano, Pisanello, and Domenico Veneziano, whose appealingly anecdotal manner ultimately crystallized, and transcended itself, in the solitary, classic, epic grandeur of Piero della Francesca's frescoes in Arezzo.

The numerous painters of bridal chests (*cassoni*), makers of birth plates (*deschi da parto*),<sup>6</sup> miniaturists, and copper engravers, whose works are now so zealously collected and so sumptuously reproduced,<sup>7</sup> were for the most part talents of the second rank, who, by offering a skillful decorative dilution of the latest Northern Italian painting, succeeded in recruiting a wider public

of affluent followers of fashion to the “modern trend.”<sup>8</sup> What gives this decorative art its undoubted attraction is not its intrinsic artistic value, or the “romance” of its subject matter, but the vigorous relish with which it records the festive pleasures of life, seizing on antique battles and poetic triumphs as pretexts for pageantry.

A number of bridal chests show specific festive occasions—tournaments, processions, and plays or *rappresentazioni*—in accurate (though hitherto mostly unremarked) historical detail. The art of the *cassone*, like the tapestry style, depicts a self-regarding society that presents itself, in all its pleasing detail, in the conversational tone of a court balladeer. Only in Mantegna’s *Triumph of Caesar* does this ephemeral vitality learn from the antique to present itself in measured, epic tones.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, through the influence of its superb and autonomous tradition of portraiture, Flemish art furthered the efforts of Italian painters to attain a deeper and more penetrating vision of the human form in painting. As early as the mid-fifteenth century, the astonishing technical skill of Jan van Eyck had delighted the educated eye of King Alfonso of Naples; and Rogier van der Weyden, on his visit to Ferrara (in 1449), had won admiration at court for the earnest spirituality of his devotional paintings.<sup>10</sup>

No longer kept at a distance by the remoteness of church art, the patron and amateur now had a proprietary interest: here was something for him to collect. Freed from its ecclesiastical context, the panel painting raised the humble donor from his knees and put him in command. Not only did the world in all its colorful splendor, and the whole range of human emotion, now become his to feel and enjoy, in a handy format, whenever and wherever he wished: he was now in receipt of the most delicate personal tribute. In his own chosen setting, the client himself became the lovingly depicted central focus of the work.

A portrait in very much this vein, but unique in its intensity, was painted in Bruges as a result of the encounter between a merchant venturer from Lucca and a Northern painter, both of them closely linked with the Burgundian court as honored members of the duke’s personal entourage. Utterly contrasted both in occupation and in nationality, the two were brought together by the sumptuous artistic tastes of the duke of Burgundy. One supplied His Highness with magnificent finery; the other honored him by depicting it. The draper and the painter found their point of inner contact in the lofty detachment with which the one organized the trade in earthly treasures over vast distances and the other coolly observed and reproduced the splendors of this world. Such may have been the relationship between Giovanni Arnolfini<sup>11</sup> from Lucca and Jan van Eyck, and between both men and Duke Philip, at the moment in 1434 when van Eyck painted Arnolfini with his Flemish wife, just as they presented themselves in their own domestic setting.

This ruthlessly objective masterpiece is not an article made to be sold abroad, or to insinuate itself into the good graces of some pampered collector; it is the natural and necessary outcome of the mixing of certain human elements that



attracted each other through their very oppositeness. Like a work of nature, it stands beyond beauty and ugliness.

"*Jan de Eyck fuit hic*" (Jan van Eyck was here) is the autograph inscription,<sup>12</sup> not "...*fecit*" (... did this): Jan van Eyck was here in this room. It is as if the painter meant to say: "I have painted the pair of you, to the best of my ability, because you have allowed me to witness the intimacy of your domestic life." Arnolfini must have been well satisfied with van Eyck's objective approach, for in later years he had the artist paint another portrait of him.

Some forty years later, an Italian financier at the Burgundian court showed a similar appreciation of quintessential Flemishness, when Tommaso Portinari employed Hugo van der Goes to paint his *Adoration of the Shepherds*, that astounding work in which the Northern panel painting seems to have been gripped by a violent spasm of growth. Though the whole never quite takes on a unified depth proportionate to its vast surface area, Hugo van der Goes's power of portraying human individuals, while losing none of its intimate expressive power, attains an incomparable monumentality of presentation.

Between Jan van Eyck and Hugo van der Goes, Hans Memling deserves a position of equal eminence as an interpreter of Florentine society in Bruges. He has never received his due in this respect, and I shall endeavor to rectify this injustice in the pages that follow. Not only are members of the Portinari family identifiable in a number of his portraits of donors, but it can above all be shown that the senior representative of the house of Medici in Bruges, Angelo Tani, was the donor of an altarpiece that is rightly regarded as the purest expression of the vision of the Northern European school: Memling's *Last Judgment* in the Marienkirche, Danzig.<sup>13</sup>

Professor and Volunteer Officer von Groote of Cologne has my orders to retrieve all works of art stolen from Germany by the French; those in positions of command under my authority will support him with armed force where necessary; for the rest, I assume responsibility for all acts and omissions on the part of the said Volunteer von Groote. Blücher.

This indeed was a free ticket to the Paris Museum. The National Guard tried to refuse entry, but when General Ziethen brought up a battalion of Pomeranian militia, the way was cleared, the doors were opened, and the *Last Judgment* was the first painting to leave the room.

With this jubilant account of a patriotic exploit at which he himself was present, Friedrich Förster introduced a series of outline engravings after the *Last Judgment*, published with the almanac *Die Sängerfahrt* in 1818.<sup>14</sup> The intention was to carry the Romantic enthusiasm for German art into wider sections of society; and this very painting was selected to serve as the centerpiece of a German national museum that was to be set up in Berlin.

The citizens of Danzig were not, however, to be outdone in artistic feeling by any Berlin Romantics, or even by those Pomeranian grenadiers who had after all genuinely risked their necks for the sake of art. Cato-like, the Danzigers



**Fig. 50. Hans Memling**  
*The Last Judgment*  
Danzig, Marienkirche (see p. 283)

spurned temptation and demanded only their rights, which the personal intervention of the king secured for them.<sup>15</sup> As a visible token of gratitude, they arranged for the following distich to be placed on a label beneath the central panel, where it may still be seen:

*Als das ew'ge Gericht des Kleinods Räuber ergriffen,  
Gab der gerechte Monarch uns das Erkämpfte zurück.*

\*

When the Judgment Eternal had seized the thieves of the treasure,  
Just was the King who restored our treasure reconquered in war.

If those Danzig citizens had been aware of how they themselves had come by the painting, they might not have been so ready to point the finger, in their joy of restored possession, at the “thieves” who had carried off their treasure.

Had it not been for a bold Hanseatic sea captain by the name of Paul Benecke, who in 1473 took as fair prize a galleon bound from Bruges to London and then handed over the *Last Judgment* as part of the share due to his Danzig owners, Sidinghusen, Valandt, and Niderhoff, the “treasure” in question would long since have been hanging, not in Danzig, but in a Florentine church. Part of the ship’s cargo was bound for England,<sup>16</sup> then at war with the Hanseatic League, and was thus lawful prize for all Hanseatic ships; but the galleon *Saint Thomas* was sailing under the express protection of the neutral Burgundian flag, to which her owner, Tommaso Portinari, as a counselor to the duke of Burgundy, held an undisputed—and now flagrantly violated—right.

At first it looked as though Duke Charles the Bold and Pope Sixtus V would visit immediate and devastating retribution on the offenders; but Charles the Bold was killed in the Battle of Nancy in 1477, and the pope—after publishing a minatory bull in 1477, in which the Danzigers in general, and his well-beloved son the pirate Paul Benecke in particular, were exhorted to right the wrong that they had done<sup>17</sup>—withdrew his support from the Florentines on finding himself dragged into war with Florence by the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478.

On the exterior panels of the *Last Judgment* kneel two donors,<sup>18</sup> husband and wife. To seek their identities among the Florentine residents in Bruges seems an obvious notion—so obvious, indeed, that it has never yet occurred to anyone. This field of inquiry, so neatly predefined, yields all the more readily to the determined investigator because the two clearly emblazoned coats of arms<sup>19</sup> positively challenge identification and hold out the prospect of total success.

The wife’s arms (lion rampant, defaced by a bend charged with three teneacles or pincers) affords only the choice between the family names of Tazzi and Tanagli.<sup>20</sup> The husband’s arms (lion, simple bend) are too common to permit an immediate identification; but the name of one Angelo Tani had already come to my attention in the course of my attempts to reconstruct the membership

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**Figs. 51a,b. Hans Memling**  
*Angelo Tani and Catarina Tanagli*  
Outer shutter panels of *The Last Judgment*  
Danzig, Marienkirche (see p. 285)

of the Florentine colony in Bruges. Both before and alongside Portinari, Tani was the respected chief of the Medici branch in Bruges.<sup>21</sup> As his arms corresponded to those of the male donor on the Danzig painting, I was able to make use of the inexhaustible specialized resources that Florence offers for the study of cultural history. There are still extant—albeit unfortunately only as copies—lists of those who paid the tax on marriage contracts in Florence in the fifteenth century; and this made it possible to verify my hypothesis. If it was correct, then Angelo di Jacopo Tani would appear as the husband of a Tazzi or of a Tanagli. This is indeed the case: we read, in the *Zibaldone* of del Migliore,<sup>22</sup> that in 1466 Angelo di Jacopo Tani married Catarina, daughter of Francesco Tanagli.

Other archival information allows us to survey the external facts, at least, of Tani's career, which typifies the life of a Florentine merchant abroad. In 1446, when he was thirty, we find him working as a bookkeeper and correspondent in the Medici branch in London.<sup>23</sup> By 1450 he held a responsible post in Bruges in conjunction with Rinieri Ricasoli: the two were joint recipients of a payment from the duke of Burgundy.<sup>24</sup> In 1455 he signed a comprehensive contract to act as an official partner and agent for the firm of Piero & Giovanni de' Medici. In 1460 his name appears in the Burgundian court accounts alongside that of Tommaso Portinari.<sup>25</sup> In 1465, on the renewal of the contract, Tani's name was mentioned first; but it seems that in 1469 the actual management was taken over by Portinari, and in 1471 Tani was officially listed in second place. By 1480, as we learn from a tax return,<sup>26</sup> he, his wife, and his three daughters were once more resident in Florence. In April 1492 Angelo, his wife, and one daughter died within a short time, probably carried off by an epidemic.<sup>27</sup> In Florence in 1467 [on December 12] Angelo Tani had made his will,<sup>28</sup> naming his wife as sole beneficiary.

In the *Last Judgment* there is a tombstone on which a woman sits wringing her hands, with an inscription that seems to read as follows: "1467 hic jacet" (here lies). Did that year, in which they returned to Bruges, possess some somber significance in the lives of both donors? The motto "*pour non falir*" (not to falter)—which does not, as far as I can see, feature in the Tanagli family arms as such—seems to suggest something of the kind; and the choice of subject, too, looks like a votive offering after an escape from some grave peril.

The archangel Michael, as Angelo's name saint, was the obvious central focus for a painting presented by him; and, probably for this reason, Michael reappears on the exterior above Catarina's head. The tutelary saint assigned to her husband is the Madonna, probably because one of her churches in Florence (S. Maria Nuova?) was to be the recipient of the painting.

I have not so far succeeded in finding any letters or journals of Tani's that might animate and connect these dry facts; so that the material supplied by historical detective work lies before us, for the time being, inert. For all the effort that has been lavished on digging for information, nothing has yet emerged but the milestones on long-buried roads, with the distances half-

obliterated. And yet, as we cast about for indirect ways of bringing the record to life, historical nominalism at long last comes into its own. Even so superficial a fact as the knowledge of Catarina's maiden name restores her to us as a living personality, part of the massive edifice of Florentine family life, in which the plain domestic virtues of the bourgeoisie were the weapons in a daily battle against need, misfortune, iniquitous taxation, and pestilence.

Madonna Catarina Tani, whose portrait now hangs in a church in a harsh Northern clime, kneeling with such resignation beneath the wing of the angel of the Last Judgment, opposite the older husband with whom she had traveled to Flanders, had seemed at the age of eighteen to be the chosen bride of another man, later one of the powerful contemporaries of Lorenzo de' Medici: Filippo Strozzi. In her letters, his mother, Alessandra,<sup>29</sup> tells of her determined but ultimately fruitless efforts to win Catarina as a bride for her son, who, as a banished man, could not make a choice for himself. The story is told in the compelling, natural idiom of a true Renaissance housewife; in her unforced, heroic simplicity, Alessandra brings the dauntless spirit of a mother of the Gracchi to every duty of her life as a widow.

Marriageable girls in those days lived in extreme seclusion, and the only opportunity of actually setting eyes on any young lady of good family was that afforded by attendance at Early Mass. In a letter to her son Filippo on 17 August 1465,<sup>30</sup> Mona Alessandra reported on just such an inspection:

I want to tell you, too, that on Sunday morning, when I went to the *Ave Maria* at Early Mass at S. Riparata, as I have done on several feast days past, to see the Adimari daughter who goes to that Mass, I found the Tanagli girl there instead. Not knowing who she was at first, I sat down beside her and had a look at the girl, who seems to me to have a pretty face and a good figure. She is as tall as Catarina,<sup>31</sup> or even taller, and has a healthy color; she is not one of those anemic girls, but looks well;<sup>32</sup> she has a long face, features not very delicate, but not rustic by any means; her bearing, and the look of her, suggest to me that she has her wits about her. All in all, I think, if everything else about her pleases us equally well, that there is nothing in her to spoil the bargain; she will be a very honorable match.<sup>33</sup> After church I walked behind her, and it was then that I saw she was a Tanagli, so that now I know a little more about her. The Adimari girl, on the other hand, I did not find at all; to me this seems significant, for after all I did go there especially for that purpose, and she failed to appear as she usually does. While I was concentrating my thoughts on her, this other girl, who does not usually come, crossed my path. I positively believe that God set her in my way, so that I might see her; nothing could have been farther from my thoughts than seeing her.

There was none of her prospective daughters-in-law on whom Alessandra so set her heart as she did on this eldest daughter<sup>34</sup> of Francesco Tanagli; and to this end her son-in-law, Marco Parenti, made considerable progress in striking up a friendship with Francesco. But Filippo failed to respond to his redoubtable mother's encouragement; he hesitated and lost the good will of the Tanagli.

After 1466 the project is not mentioned in the letters again. Now we know why: by this time Catarina's hand had been promised elsewhere, to Angelo Tani, the chief representative in Bruges of the great firm of Medici.

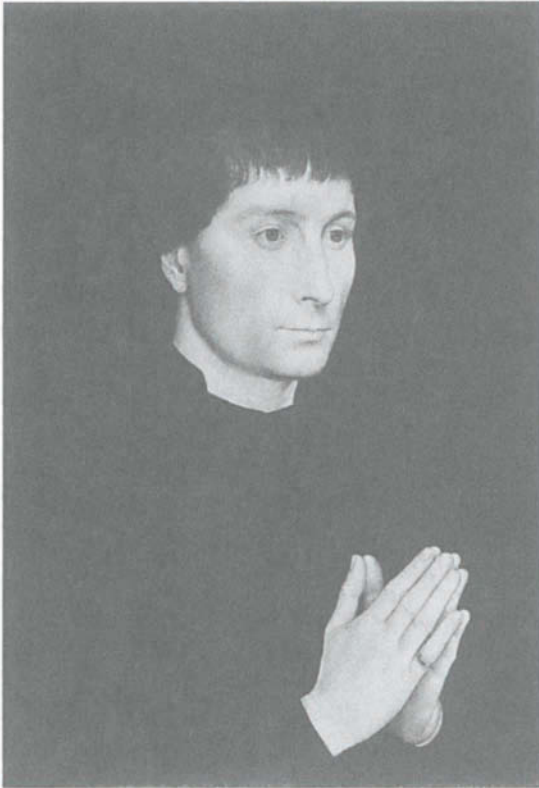
Some critical observers tend, on seeing any *Last Judgment*, to be overwhelmed by a sense of Michelangelo's absolute superiority. They cannot but be disappointed here by the central figure on the main panel, the archangel Michael: for where, at Michelangelo's command, a new world of spatial depth opens to disgorge titanic hordes of supernatural trumpeters, this gangling archangel's burnished breastplate reflects the whole panorama of the Judgment as a meticulous miniature painting.

Even so, neither the minute care that is lavished upon the entire painting, nor the comparative lack of variation in the types, affords us any pretext to overlook the elemental expressive force that dwells in the gestures and the grouping of the damned. At the same time, the look of serene submission on the faces of the blessed is a transparent veil for an array of entirely individualized heads. In this group of resurrected figures there are some faces that are unsurpassed by the finest of Memling's individual portraits; and portraits they indubitably are. I believe, for instance, that the man who kneels in the right-hand pan of the balance<sup>35</sup> is a specific individual whom it comes as no surprise, on purely historical grounds, to find here: he is none other than Tommaso Portinari, the head of the Florentine colony in Bruges.

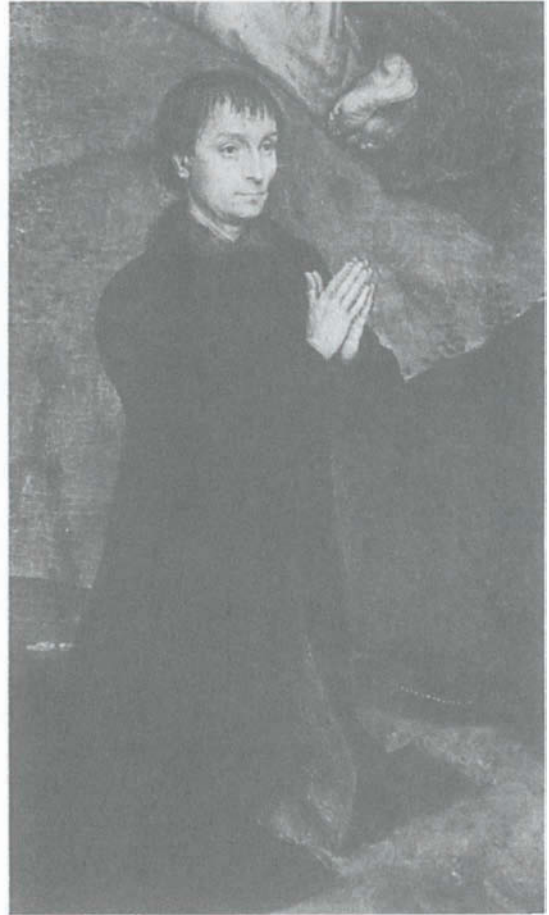
On grounds of provenance, Portinari's name has been linked with Memling's *Passion* in Turin, said to be identical with the work painted—as we know from Vasari—by Memling for Portinari and later transferred from the hospital of S. Maria Nuova to the grand ducal collection.<sup>36</sup> This identification, which has not gone unchallenged,<sup>37</sup> receives confirmation from two portraits by Memling, which have come to light in Florentine private collections, and which undoubtedly represent Tommaso Portinari and his wife.<sup>38</sup> The facial resemblance permits these to be identified with the donors in the paintings in Turin, Paris, and Florence.<sup>39</sup> \*

It transpires that the Turin portraits mark the beginning of the series, the Paris ones the middle, and the Florentine ones the end. A firm basis for a positive dating is, once more, supplied by marriage records: Tommaso was thirty-eight when he married the fourteen-year-old Maria Baroncelli in 1470.<sup>40</sup> As I have stated elsewhere,<sup>41</sup> the triptych by Hugo van der Goes was probably painted around 1476; and so we have a clearly defined space of six years within which the three likenesses of Madonna Portinari were painted; so that three successive ages of woman can be seen with remorseless, almost symbolic clarity. \*

In the painting in Turin, Maria has yet to outgrow the diffidence of extreme youth; her childlike face seems ill-at-ease beneath the heavy Burgundian hennin with its long veils. In the Paris painting, she wears the hennin as the natural emblem of woman's estate; and in keeping with her standing in life she has learned to carry off a resplendent necklace—cinquefoils of massive gemstones on a web of gold—with a sophisticated ghost of a smile that does



**Fig. 52a. Hans Memling**  
*Tommaso Portinari*  
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see p. 292)



**Fig. 53a. Hans Memling**  
*Tommaso Portinari*  
Donor portrait from *Crucifixion*  
Turin, Pinacoteca (see p. 292)





**Fig. 52b. Hans Memling**  
*Maria Baroncelli*  
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see p. 289)



**Fig. 53b. Hans Memling**  
*Maria Baroncelli*  
Donor portrait from *Crucifixion*  
Turin, Pinacoteca (see p. 289)

not quite suit the praying posture of her hands. The third portrait reflects an even greater degree of luxury, for the hennin is now strewn with pearls;<sup>42</sup> but all this magnificence is no longer an occasion for joyous self-congratulation. Maria kneels, with a look of resignation, under the protection of Saint Margaret and Saint Mary Magdalene, and her finery is now a purely external attribute, the churchgoing dress that was expected of ladies of rank at the Burgundian court. Her haggard look in this Uffizi triptych is perhaps a little exaggerated, as seen through the astringent temperament of Hugo van der Goes; but his tendency to “pare down” alone does not explain the profound alteration in Maria’s features. The years 1470–1477, in the course of which she had given birth to her children Maria, Antonio, Pigello, and perhaps Margherita as well,<sup>43</sup> had left their mark.

The three corresponding portraits of Tommaso fall into the same known sequence. The portrait of him in the *Last Judgment*, as one of the souls in the pan of the balance, is probably closest chronologically to the Paris painting.<sup>44</sup> All have in common the entirely individual characteristic of a thin upper lip pressed firmly down on a short, full lower lip; a fairly long narrow nose; and small, closely set eyes, peering out shrewdly and expectantly beneath sparse, straight eyebrows that thicken toward the bridge of the nose.

\* The chronology that emerges is as follows: the Turin portrait around 1471; the Paris portraits, and the Danzig triptych, before 1473; and the Florentine triptych around 1476. The more angular look that Hugo van der Goes gives to Portinari’s head is not such as to cast doubt on the identification with the other portraits: the older man’s diplomatically impassive face has probably been more incisively captured and more accurately reproduced by van der Goes than by Memling, who tends to soften any overly sharp outlines with a touch of amiable whimsy.

There was much more to Tommaso than his image as a prayerful donor: alertly responsive to the real world, he seems to have had the intellectual qualities to carry off in style a leading position in an age of violent political and economic upheaval. Behind the controlled exterior of the financier-diplomat lay the daredevil temper of an ambitious condottiere, who was all too ready to tie his own capitalist fate to the uncertain destinies of his belligerent royal debtors.

Piero de’ Medici, with his sure instinct, had seen through Tommaso. In drafting the 1469 trading contract with him,<sup>45</sup> he attempted to define the line to be followed in Medici commercial policy. Piero wanted loans to princes and courtiers kept to a minimum, as these brought far more danger than profit; they were to be permitted only so long as they served to retain the friendship of the monarchs concerned. The house of Medici was in business to expand its own patrimony, its own credit, and its own reputation, rather than to enrich itself by taking risks. For these reasons, Piero demanded the immediate liquidation of all personal shipping enterprises and expressly forbade Tommaso

\* to speculate in alum, declaring him personally responsible for any consequent debts. In 1471, again, Lorenzo de’ Medici instructed<sup>46</sup> and admonished

Tommaso to be on his guard in allowing credit to persons of royal blood, lest he meet the same fate as Gherardo Canigiani with the king of England.<sup>47</sup>

The loss of the galleon in 1473 began the succession of financial misfortunes<sup>48</sup> that eventually led Lorenzo, in 1480, to part company with Tommaso,<sup>49</sup> who soon afterward had to suspend payments. The imposing house on Rue des Aiguilles, which Piero de' Medici had bought and partly converted for commercial use,<sup>50</sup> had to be vacated.<sup>51</sup> During the period 1480–1487 Tommaso Portinari and his family were saved from penury only by the customs dues from Gravelingen, which Maximilian continued to farm out to him.<sup>52</sup>

In 1490 Tommaso's diplomatic talents were once more exercised in the service of the Florentine state, on whose behalf, in collaboration with Cristofano di Giovanni Spini in London, he concluded a trade agreement of historic importance in the history of English economic and commercial policy.<sup>53</sup> Tommaso and his wife probably returned to Florence around 1497. In 1498 he handed over the administration of his personal Florentine interests to his son Antonio, who lodged a claim against the Medici, couched in tones of some bitterness, for monies still outstanding.<sup>54</sup>

We hear of Tommaso again as late as April 1499, when he personally handed over to the Salviati the "*riche fleur de lyz*," the celebrated Lily of Burgundy, studded with relics and laden with gemstones, which was held in pledge for a debt by his nephews Folco and Benedetto [di Pigello di Folco] Portinari, now in charge of the Bruges firm. It was assigned to the Salviati, on behalf of the Frescobaldi in Bruges, in return for a payment of 9,000 ducats.<sup>55</sup> Of Tommaso's sons, Antonio stayed in Florence; Francesco, a priest, who was cited as sole beneficiary in Tommaso's will in 1501,<sup>56</sup> later lived for a time in England;<sup>57</sup> Guido took service with Henry VIII of England as a military engineer and married an Englishwoman.<sup>58</sup>

Memling has left us a magnificent likeness of one of these Portinari sons: for the portrait of a young man in the Uffizi [1926 catalog, no. 1090], dated 1487, may in my opinion be identified as a portrait of Benedetto. There is no inscription, but the patron saint on the other leaf of the diptych is identified by an inscription as Saint Benedict, and this gives us the sitter's name. Born in 1466, Benedetto was twenty-one when the diptych was painted; and as it was formerly owned by the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, the repository of Flemish panel paintings commissioned by the Portinari and their close associates, there is every indication that he was the sitter. At twenty-one he was already no stranger to adversity, and this no doubt accounts for the air of pensive disillusionment that Memling conveys, with sympathy but with no trace of sentimentality.

On the reverse of the portrait, Benedetto has had his device painted: the stump of an oak tree, bringing forth new shoots (?), with the words: "*De Bono in Melius*" ("From Good to Better"). Also in the Uffizi is a pair of early sixteenth-century Flemish portraits of men between the ages of twenty and forty;<sup>59</sup> one of these has the same device on the reverse, with the motto in French. No doubt these, too, are members of the Portinari family.

Another Florentine man and wife from the same milieu had their portraits painted in Bruges,<sup>60</sup> in so downright Flemish a style that, were it not for the clearly identifiable coat of arms on the husband's portrait,<sup>61</sup> no one would have guessed that they are Pierantonio Bandini Baroncelli and his wife, Maria, née Bonciani, whom he married in 1489 (fig. 54).<sup>62</sup> It appears, from information supplied by Scipione Ammirato,<sup>63</sup> that Pierantonio was the only member  
 \* of his family who occupied a prominent position in Bruges at that time: formerly the agent for the Pazzi, he had taken over the management of the Medici subsidiary on Tommaso's departure in 1480. He, too, must have been possessed of unusual diplomatic gifts; for in 1478 Mary, duchess of Burgundy, appointed him her "*Valet de Chambre*"; and Francis, duke of Brittany, for whom he had ably concluded certain commercial treaties, appointed him his "*Maistre d'Ostel*." Pierantonio was probably also the "Piro Bonndin" to whom King Maximilian's "armor and certain golden harness" were pawned in 1489 for a sum of 12,000 guilders.<sup>64</sup> At his death in 1499, he was plenipotentiary commander of the Florentine forces at the siege of Pisa.

Were it not for Pierantonio's chain of office, with its pearl-set pendant, which catches the eye as an emblem of princely favor, he and his wife might be a petit bourgeois couple from Bruges, in their best clothes, resigned to the tedious ordeal of sitting for their portraits. Among the blessed, in the *Last Judgment*, next to a Moor's head, we see a man who has the features of a somewhat younger Pierantonio. At that time, the Pazzi and the Portinari were still friends, and there was no reason not to include him among the elect of the Florentine colony.

A few years ago, the Italian state paid a debt of honor by purchasing the collection of paintings of the hospital of S. Maria Nuova; and the triptych by Hugo van der Goes, the portraits of the Portinari, and that of Pierantonio Baroncelli, now hang together with other Northern European old masters in one room of the Uffizi. If we add the *Last Judgment* in Danzig to this group of works presented by Florentines in Bruges to the world-famous hospital of their native city (founded by Folco<sup>65</sup> Portinari in 1289), we gain—in spite of the small size of the collection—a strong and surprisingly unified impression of the Italian donors' unprejudiced understanding of Northern art.

In the Danzig triptych, the members of the Florentine colony,<sup>66</sup> who so hopefully forgather beneath the archangel's protection as humble, naked sinners, are those who at about the same time were to be seen marching in pious procession, dressed in costly red and black silks, at Charles the Bold's marriage to Margaret of York. First came sixty torchbearers in blue livery, with four mounted pages in silver brocade; then, in the court dress of a counselor to the duke of Burgundy, came Tommaso Portinari, the Florentine Consul, leading a column of twenty-one merchants of his city, marching in pairs. The procession was rounded off by twenty-four "varlets" on horseback.<sup>67</sup> A few years later, on the battlefield of Nancy, Charles the Bold was killed by a band of Swiss peasantry; he was still clad in the same senseless, bejeweled finery<sup>68</sup> that his Italian drapers and financiers had supplied to him.



**Figs. 54a,b. Baroncelli Master**  
*Pierantonio Baroncelli and Maria Baroncelli*  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 294)



**Figs. 55a,b. Hugo van der Goes**  
*Tommaso Portinari and Maria Baroncelli*  
Lateral panels of *Adoration*  
Florence, Uffizi (see pp. 289, 292)

They later took possession of what remained of it, as scant collateral for his lost magnificence.

Anyone who lives in such constant touch with the treasures of this world seems hardly suited, by nature or by calling, to figure in the scales of judgment as a poor, penitent sinner. We are impelled to wonder just how those Italians, the promoters and purveyors of the international trade in luxuries, the born virtuosi of animated pageantry and sumptuous display,<sup>69</sup> ever came by their genuine feeling for the unique physiognomy of Northern devotional paintings.

Did an overly refined aesthetic sense perhaps incline them to clothe their own worldly skepticism in the more acceptable style of naive Flemish piety? They may indeed have taken pleasure in some such self-serving image of themselves; but this was not a prime motive for the Florentine donor, who was still "primitive" enough to insist that a donor portrait must be an unmistakable likeness: only thus could it fulfill its primary purpose, that of setting the seal of authenticity on his votive offering. It was the Florentines, after all, who so long maintained the curious pagan custom of setting up votive wax-works, as a means of establishing, by obvious and palpable imitation of the individual's external appearance, the mysterious identity of donor and effigy. This idiosyncratic practice still further intensified the Florentine preoccupation with manifest likeness; with the consistency of deep-rooted superstition, they took it for granted that their votive figures would operate at any distance. Even in Bruges, they remembered to have their own wax effigies dedicated at home in SS. Annunziata;<sup>70</sup> and when the Florentines of Bruges had their portraits included in Memling's *Last Judgment*, they were following a similar impulse by committing themselves, through painted votive effigies, to the archangel's protection.

The Flemish style, with its deft blend of inner spirituality and outer truth to life, was the ideal vehicle for the donor portrait. The individuals portrayed were beginning to detach themselves, as individuals, from their ecclesiastical background, not as rebels but simply by natural growth: for "man and the world still blossomed, grafted on a single stem."<sup>71</sup> The hands maintain the self-forgetful gesture of appealing for heavenly protection; but the gaze is directed, whether in reverie or in watchfulness, into the earthly distance. There are overtones, as it were, of the worldly personality; and the lineaments of the self-assured observer emerge, spontaneously, from the posture of the worshiper at prayer.

Where Memling's portraits convey the sense of individual autonomy in the guise of an air of dreamy preoccupation, Hugo van der Goes's Tommaso looks reality in the eye with such pragmatic keenness that the folded, inactive hands seem stylistically out of keeping with the overriding sense of tension and expectancy. In the guise of an individual mood, this portrait of an Italian merchant hints at a new assurance that corresponds to the dominant creative impulse of the Flemish painters themselves: intense, penetrating, watchful attention.

As is well known, the three awestruck shepherds in Hugo van der Goes's triptych were the source of the three Italian shepherds in the *Adoration*

painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio for Francesco Sassetti's chapel in 1485; and here the original was far superior to the imitation, not only because Northern realism was more deceptively convincing and specific, but because these figures, absorbed in the act of seeing, are the unconscious symbols of that self-forgetful candor of observation in which the Flemings so greatly excelled the classically educated and rhetorically minded Italians.

The specific quality of the paintings sent home by the Medici representatives in Bruges inevitably influenced Italian painting toward a sense of depth for just so long as the general evolution of art demanded—and also tolerated—keener attention and sharper observation of detail: until, in fact, the Italian “eagles”<sup>72</sup> dared to take wing and soar to the higher world of ideal forms.

Florentines in Bruges also appreciated the expressive capacity of Northern art in another respect, and one entirely antithetical to the earnestness of devotional painting and portraiture: for, from the middle of the fifteenth century onward, Flemish paintings on canvas of elegant social life or earthy plebeian bustle—the precursors of Netherlandish genre and still-life painting—found a place in Florentine dwellings as a cheaper substitute for the expensive courtly *arazzo*. To elucidate the origins, probable appearance, and hanging places of these *panni fiandreschi* will be the object of the study that follows.

#### Notes

- \* 1. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* (1898), 313 ff. [*Gesamtausgabe* 12:311 ff.]
- 2. Müntz, *Les primitifs* (1889), 716 ff.
- \* 3. See Gaye, *Carteggio* 1:158, letter from Fruoxino (de' Pazzi?) to Giovanni; and Müntz, *Les précurseurs* (Paris, 1882), 161 f., who gives extracts from a letter written by Tommaso Portinari around 1460. The name of the artist responsible for the cartoon is not given. In 1454 Vittore Ghiberti and Neri di Bicci drew cartoons for the *Ringhiera dei Signori*, which was probably executed in Florence by Lievin of Bruges; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 2:86.
- 4. See V. Rossi, “L'indole e gli studj di Giov. di Cosimo de' Medici,” *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* [5th ser., vol. 2] (Rome, 1893), 38, 129 ff.
- 5. Essling and Müntz, *Pétrarque* (1902), illustrations on 168, 170.
- 6. On these *deschi da parto*, see Kinkel, *Mosaik zur Kunstgeschichte* (1876), 368; Müntz, “Les plateaux d'accouchées” (1894) in *Monuments de la fondation Piot*.
- 7. See S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle* (1898); Weisbach, *Francesco Pesellino und die Romantik der Renaissance* (1901); and Essling and Müntz [note 5].
- 8. I intend shortly to publish, in extenso, the sales ledger of a *cassone* workshop, extant in a copy made by Carlo Strozzi (Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence), to which Professor Brockhaus drew my attention. It lists one hundred fifty couples from the “best” Florentine society, for whom two previously almost unknown painters, Marco † del Buono and Apollonio, painted *cassoni* or *deschi da parto* in the period 1445–65.
- 9. Kristeller, *Mantegna* (1902), 281 ff.
- 10. Burckhardt [see note 1], 319 [*Gesamtausgabe* 12:316].



11. Arnolfini (who, according to Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico*, was \* of German descent) is known to have been in Bruges from 1421 onward with his wife, Jeanne de Chenany. Described as a chevalier and *membre du conseil* to the duke, he died in 1472. See J. Weale, *Notes sur Jean van Eyck* (1861), 22 ff. A few facts of his mercantile career: in 1423 he supplied, as a ducal gift to Pope Martin V, six Flanders tapestries showing scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary; see Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes* 1 (1878): 26, and Delaborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne* 1 (1849): 196. He also imported cloth of gold to dress the image of Notre Dame de Tournay (Delaborde, 1:209, 1:211): purple in 1416 for the duke of Gloucester's state robes (*ibid.*, 1:135) and velvet for the duke of Burgundy's chairs and mantle (*ibid.*, 1:145). On the exclusively Italian provenance of these costly stuffs, see Jan Kalf, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der middeleeuwschen kunstweverij in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1901).

12. See Weale [note 11], 23, 27.

13. The illustrations here [fig. 50] are reproduced from new photographs, taken in the ill-lit church with the greatest difficulty.

14. *Die Sängerfahrt: Eine Neujahrsgabe für Freunde der Dichtkunst und Mahlerey* (1818), iii. On this, see James Taft Hatfield, "Wilhelm Müllers unveröffentlichtes Tagebuch und seine ungedruckten Briefe," *Deutsche Rundschau* 110 (1902): 366 ff.

15. See T. Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig* (1843), 421 ff., and Hirsch and Vossberg, *Caspar Weinreichs Danziger Chronik* (1855), 13 ff., 92; synoptic review by Hinz and Ohl, *Das jüngste Gericht in der St. Marien-Ober-Pfarrkirche zu Danzig* (1893). An instructive insight into contemporary commerce, with specific reference to the prize vessel, is supplied by G. von der Ropp, "Zur Geschichte des Alaunhandels im 15. Jahrhundert," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* (1900), 117 ff., who also traces the progress of the litigation; this was concluded, nominally in Portinari's favor, as late as 1496. See also E. Remus, "Die Hanse und das Kontor zu Brügge am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins* 30 (1892): 1 ff. \*

16. Consigned to England: spun gold, brocades, silk, velvets, and pepper. Probably consigned to Italy: two tons of caps, feather beds, towels, carpets and cloths, skins, and two altarpieces. See von der Ropp [note 15].

17. See Reumont, "Di alcuni relazioni dei Fiorentini colla città di Danzica," *Archivio storico* [ed.] Viesseux (1861), 37 ff. The Florentines listed as having suffered the worst losses are Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, Antonio Martelli, Francesco Sassetti, Francesco Carnesecchi, and (the ship's captain) Francesco Sermattei. See also Schäfer, *Hanse-Rezesse* 1:70, and Gottlob, *Aus der Camera Apostolica* (1889), 278 ff.

18. See fig. 51.

19. See in Hirsch and Vossberg [note 15], 92, the lithograph of the wife's arms and blazon of both coats: "Husband's arms: Or, a lion rampant sable, langued, eyed, and unguled gules, toothed argent, defaced with a bend azure. Wife's arms: gules, a lion or, langued of the first and unguled argent, defaced with a bend azure charged with three tenacles or pincers, in the dexter chief a pair of compasses with a scroll argent bearing the words: *Pour non falir.*"

20. No armorial arranged on heraldic principles exists for Florence; for rapid orientation I have made use of the concise armorial in name order, compiled by del Migliore, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

21. See below.

22. Del Migliore, a prolific antiquarian of the eighteenth century, preserved much valuable material for local history in his *Zibaldone*. The extracts from the *Gabella de' contratti* in Ms. Cl. XXVI, 140–46 of the Magliabechiana, Biblioteca Nazionale; *ibid.*, Ms. 145, p. 115, after the lost *Gabella* D.117, no. 47: “1466 Angelus Jacobi Tani Caterina Francesci Guglielmi Tanagli.”

23. See L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England* (1902) [247], who gives a highly interesting extract from an indenture [242 ff.] similar to others that exist in the Archivio di Stato (av. Princ. Fa. 94) and are also known from later years. At a meeting at the Kunsthistorisches Institut early in 1901, Dr. Lichtenstein drew attention to a number of these, relevant to Portinari in particular; I intend to print them in full elsewhere. Indentures are in existence dating from 1455 (Fa. 84 c. 31a), 1465 (Fa. 84 c. 27), 1469 (Fa. 84 c. 32 bis, ter), 1471 (Fa. 84 c. 29), 1480 (Fa. 84 c. 84).

24. Delaborde [see note 11], nos. 1435, 1436 [p. 402].

25. Delaborde [see note 11], no. 1845 [p. 474].

26. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Portata del Catasto 1480 S. Gio. Leon d'Oro [no. 1017, fol. 694].

27. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Libro dei morti della Grascia [5, fol. 221<sup>r</sup>] and Libro dei morti dei Medici e Speziali (247, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>).

28. Archivio di Stato, Florence, Prot. Girolamo di Gio. da Colle [Beltramini, B.1185, fol. 356<sup>v</sup>–358<sup>v</sup>].

29. These early documents of “woman’s history” are classics of their kind. Published in an inexpensive edition by Cesare Guasti in 1877, they should be required reading for any lay or specialist student of Renaissance civilization. The title is: *Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi: Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina del secolo XV ai figliuoli esuli pubblicate da Cesare Guasti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1877). [German ed. by A. Doren, Jena, 1927.]

30. Guasti [see note 29], 458.

31. Her daughter, married to Marco Parenti.

32. “È di buon essere.”

33. “Che sarà orrevole.”

34. The Tanagli girl’s first name is not mentioned in the letters; but her identity with

\* Catarina is proven by the original *portata* of Guglielmino di Francesco Tanagli (Archivio di Stato, Florence, 1447 [1446 O.S.], S. Gio. Chiavi [681, fol. 611<sup>r</sup>–614<sup>r</sup>]), where [among the *bocche* (mouths) to feed] “*Catarina figliuola*” is listed by name as the first child [of Guglielmino’s son Francesco and his wife, Viaggia], then two months old [fol. 613<sup>v</sup>].

35. See fig. 50.

36. Kaemmerer, *Memling* (1899), 96; and Bock, *Memling-Studien* (1900), 22, who remarked upon the identity of the Turin and Florence donors; but the chronological sequence is reversed; see fig. 53.

37. See Weale, “Remarks on Memling,” *Repertorium* (1901): 134.

38. Dr. Friedlaender identified them and informed me in November 1901; see fig. 52. Catalog of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, nos. 57 and 58; now in the collection of M. Léopold Goldschmidt, Paris [now New York, Metropolitan Museum].

39. See fig. 55.

40. Del Migliore, *Zibaldone* [see note 22], Ms. 145, p. 146, from the lost *Gabella* volume D.121, no. 165, for 1470.

41. See *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (1901): 43 [our pp. 305 f.]. The children present are Antonio and Pigello, kneeling with their father under the protection of Saint Anthony and Saint Thomas (the latter identified by a lance, as, e.g., in the grisaille sculpture in the Rogier van der Weyden triptych in Frankfurt); this supplies a chronological baseline, as they were born in 1472 and 1474, respectively. There is no Guido, born in 1476, although a place would certainly have been found for him, even as a very small child. As the picture took a long time to paint, the widest chronological limits that we can set are 1474 and 1477. Valuable information on the Portinari family was collected in 1706 by Canon Folco Portinari. See Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 2009 [and Ms. 1484].

42. The pearl embroidery forms the letters M(aria) and T(ommaso).

43. The daughter kneeling next to Maria Portinari is the eldest, also a Maria, \* whose exact age is not given in the 1480 *catasto*; nor is that of her sister Margherita, although the order of listing shows that Maria was the elder. As seen in the triptych, she is clearly older than Antonio, who was born in 1472; so her birth can be dated to 1471. If Margherita had been born by the time the painting was commissioned, she would surely have been included, as the saint shown is her patroness, Saint Margaret, who was also the saint most invoked by women in childbirth: see Luther, *Werke* (*Volksausgabe*, Berlin, 1898), 7:64 [original Latin text in Weimar ed., 1:407]. Perhaps Margherita was born while van der Goes was working on the painting; in any case, in Florence the Portinari lived in the parish of S. Margherita and owned a chapel in the parish church. The children's names were as follows: (1) Maria, 1471–?, became a nun in 1482; (2) Antonio, 1472–?; (3) Pigello, 1474–?; (4) Guido, 1476–after 1554; (5) Margherita, 1475(?)–?, married Lorenzo Martelli in 1495(?); (6) Dianora, 1479–?, married Cornelio Altoviti; (7) Francesco, before 1487–after 1556, a cleric; (8) Giovanni Battista; (9) Gherardo(?); (10) Folco(?). The two last-named are recorded only in an unverifiable source in Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 2009.

44. Might not the woman who is being resurrected in the foreground, and who clutches her brow in terror, be Maria Portinari?

45. {Contract of 1469, see note 23.} I give only an extract here, because the Medici commercial archives demand a separate publication to themselves.

46. {Contract of 1471, see note 23.}

47. See Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Lettres et négociations de Philippe de Commines* 1:66, n. 2: “Gerard Quanvese <sic>.” Also Pagnini, *Della decima* [Lisbon and Lucca, 1765], 2:71.

48. See Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger* (1896), 1:276, and von der Ropp [note 15], 136. The papal collectorship was also withdrawn; see Gottlob [note 17].

49. See the *staglio* or indenture of 1480, in the Archivio di Stato [note 23].

50. See the 1469 indenture [note 23], in which there is a warning against further expenditure. The house is not mentioned in that of 1465. Piero's device is still to be seen, carved and painted, on the cornice of the hall; and Piero's and Lorenzo's device, the ring with three feathers, appears repeatedly. It is still clear in the borders of the two

medallions, now whitewashed over, which I believe to be hitherto unnoticed portraits of members of the Medici family. In style, they recall the terra-cotta heads at the Portinari bank in Milan (see Meyer, *Oberitalienische Frührenaissance* (1897), vol. 1, fig. 62).

51. See Weale, *Bruges et ses environs* (1884), 213, and C. Verschelde, *Les anciens architectes de Bruges* [Annales de la société d'émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre, 3d ser., vol. 6] ([Bruges,] 1871), 17 ff.

52. Oral communication from Mr. Gilliodts van Severen, in Bruges, who intends † shortly to publish a study of the Portinari and the *tonlieu* (tolls) of Gravelingen.

53. See Pagnini [note 47], 2:288; Pöhlmann, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik der Florentiner Renaissance* (1878); and Doren, *Studien aus der Florentiner Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1901) 1:435. In 1473 it was Tommaso who had the difficult task of pacifying an irate Charles the Bold; see B. Buser, *Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich* (1879), 164, 448. In 1478 he carried important letters to the Duchess from Milan; see Kervyn [note 47], 1:227.

54. The principal demands concerned speculations in alum, on which Tommaso Portinari was out of pocket, and an unauthorized payment made by him to Guillaume † de Bische. See Archivio di Stato, Florence, Fa. 84, c. 54 and 85.

55. See Pagnini [note 47], 2:291, and Ehrenberg, *Fugger* [note 48], subject to corrections of detail in light of the information given above.

56. See Archivio di Stato, Florence, Protocol of Ser Giovanni di Ser Marco da Romena [G. 429, fol. 177], 3 February 1500 (1501 N.S.). Tommaso died on 15 February 1501, survived by his wife.

57. Ehrenberg, *Fugger* [see note 48]. His will of 18 May 1556 is also extant (see Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 2009, c. 285<sup>v</sup>). In 1524 he presented Henry VIII with a lengthy memorial on the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, founded by his ancestor Folco. See Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza* (1853), 304.

58. See the passages quoted by Ehrenberg [note 48] from the *Calendar of State Papers*.

59. Unknown Flemish artists, end of fifteenth century, no. 801 bis [new no. 1102] and 801 [with motto in French, new no. 1123]. The French version of the motto is probably the original one; thus, the motto of Chatelvillain, the herald at the Burgundian court, was "*De bien en mieuls*." The portrait of a young man of the Portinari family mentioned by Firmenich-Richartz, *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* (1897), col. 374, after Bode, *Liechtenstein-Galerie, Wien* (1896), 117, might well represent Folco, Benedetto's brother, who was three years older. Portrait no. 779 [new no. 1101] in the Uffizi is probably another young Florentine in Bruges. The identification of portraits of this kind is made very much more difficult by lack of knowledge of the provenance; and, regrettably, this has often been deliberately obscured. I would accordingly be most grateful for any information as to portraits of this period identifiable on grounds of † heraldry or of provenance.

60. See fig. 54; this work is attributed to Petrus Christus, but its date of painting, probably subsequent to 1489, makes this implausible. "School of Hugo van der Goes" would be better.

61. Argent, three bendlets gules (see the coat of arms on the Bandini Baroncelli tombs in S. Croce).

62. See del Migliore, *Zibaldone* (note 22), Ms. 141, p. 376, from D.140, no. 16: “1489 Pierant.<sup>s</sup> Guasparrij Pieri Bandinj Gardellis <sic> Maria Simonis Gagliardi de Boncianis.”

63. In a remote corner of the *Delizie degli eruditi toscani* 17:200 f. [214–15]. He was a member of the other Bandini branch of the Baroncelli family.

64. *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1 (1883): xxv.

65. Tommaso, too, made contributions to the hospital, in 1472 and in 1488 (see Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 2009).

66. The closest associates of the Medici branch at that time, apart from Angelo Tani and Tommaso Portinari, were the following: Rinieri Ricasoli and his brother Lorenzo; \* Cristofano di Giovanni Spini, as legal adviser; and Tommaso Guidetti. The Rabatta, Frescobaldi, Salviati, Strozzi, Martelli, Gualterotti, Carnesecchi, Pazzi, and other families also had representatives in Bruges at this period; I list the names to facilitate the identification of previously unidentified portraits through coats of arms or mottoes. (See also Dei's list of names, in Pagnini (note 47), 2:304.)

67. See Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, 3 [1885]: 113 and 4 [1888]: 104.

68. “Or, dit Martial d’Auvergne, on s’harnachoit d’orfaverie, expression heu- reuse pour rendre cette surcharge excessive et ridicule.” (“In those days,” says Martial d’Auvergne, “they armored themselves with jewelry”: a happy expression for such excessive and laughable ostentation.) Delaborde (see note 11), xx–xxi.

69. Pope Boniface VIII called the Florentines “the Fifth Element.” They were uni- versally renowned as *festaiuoli* (revelers).

70. Alessandra Strozzi dedicated a wax effigy of her son Lorenzo to the Annun- ziata in 1452, when he had done no more than break an arm when playing tennis in defiance of her often-repeated injunctions. Again, after her son Matteo died in Naples in 1459, she had a figure made of him (see *Lettere* (note 29), 129, and 197). See also Warburg, “The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie” (1902), our pp. 189 f., 204 ff., [and addenda, 441 ff.], on the *voti* at SS. Annunziata in Florence.

71. Jean Paul (Richter), *Vorschule der Ästhetik* [§ 50].

72. See the remarks on Flemish painting attributed to Michelangelo by Francisco de Hollanda, ed. Joaquim de Vasconcellos (1899), 28–35.

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# Flemish and Florentine Art in Lorenzo de' Medici's Circle around 1480 (1901)

The theme of the influence of Flemish art in Italy was first broached by that model pioneer, Jacob Burckhardt, who assembled the detail and described the evolutionary process in broad terms. With the aid of photography, the comparative study of paintings can now be carried further, and the use of hitherto untapped archival resources can clarify those issues that relate to individual lives.

The most obvious starting point is the triptych by Hugo van der Goes [Uffizi, nos. 3191–3193], from which Ghirlandaio, as is well known, borrowed the group of the three shepherds for his altarpiece in the Sassetti Chapel. Aside from the similarity of the grouping, and the sturdy facial features, it is particularly noteworthy that Ghirlandaio has taken the highlight in the eye, which Italian artists borrowed from the Flemings, and, with all the joy of a new discovery, has given it not only to all the human figures in his painting (now in the Accademia) but to the ox, the ass, the horses, and even the robin.

The dating of the triptych by Hugo van der Goes—painted for Tommaso Portinari, the Medici representative in Bruges—has yet to be discussed. No straightforward answer offers itself: an inscription on the painting, presumably a subsequent addition, makes no sense. As might be expected, however, there is a direct personal reference to the donor; so that the identity of the persons represented can be established beyond doubt [fig. 55]. On the Burgundian hennin worn by the kneeling woman are the initials M. T., which designate the person portrayed as Tommaso's wife, "Maria Tomasi." Alongside Maria Baroncelli kneels her eldest daughter, also Maria; and behind these two are their respective tutelary saints, Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Margaret. On the opposite wing we see Saint Anthony, presumably in his capacity as the patron of Tommaso Portinari's eldest son, Antonio, who is seen with Tommaso himself and the second son, Pigello.

Tommaso's brother has left us an exact indication of the ages of all the members of the family, as included in the tax list (*catasto*) for 1480. This cites a second daughter, Margarita; another son, Guido, born in 1476; and the six-month-old Dianora. As Tommaso married in 1470, and as Pigello (born 1474) is shown in the triptych and Guido is not, it follows that it must have been painted around 1475–1476. Margarita was probably born in 1475, and

this gives a special meaning to the presence of Saint Margaret, who was invoked for her aid in childbirth. Maria was commending herself to the protection of the saint whose name she would give to the child she was about to bear.

Painted in Bruges, the triptych was probably brought to Florence when the family moved there between 1480 and 1482. Their business connection with the Medici ceased in 1480, and the girl Maria Portinari took the veil in 1482.

Another Flemish painting in Florence has a Portinari connection: this is a portrait from the hospital of S. Maria Nuova, representing Saint Benedict with a young donor and dated 1487 [Uffizi, nos. 1100, 1090]. To judge by the sitter's age and the provenance of the painting, this is probably a portrait of Benedetto, a nephew of Tommaso Portinari.

We can identify the sitters with greater certainty in the case of a pair of portraits in the Uffizi [fig. 54; Uffizi, nos. 1036, 8405]. The husband's coat of arms is that of the Bandini Baroncelli family, of which there is a history, written by Scipione Ammirato. Among its members was one Pierantonio, who took Tommaso Portinari's place as chief Medici representative in Bruges, and whose wife's maiden name was Maria Bonciani. His is the only name that deserves consideration here.

Another case in which we are on firm ground is that of the hitherto unidentified donors of the *Last Judgment* triptych by Hans Memling, in Danzig. The work was dispatched from Bruges on board a galleon bound for Italy, by way of England, with a cargo consisting mainly of alum. This fell into the hands of a Hanseatic privateer, Paul Benecke, and when the spoils were divided the painting was taken by Benecke's owners, in Danzig, who had it set up in the chapel of Saint George in the Marienkirche. The exterior of the triptych has portraits of the donors, with clearly identifiable coats of arms; one of these, which includes tongs, can only be that of the Tazzi or the Tanagli family.

Burgundian court records, and the trading contracts kept in the Florentine archive, yield the information that, before Portinari, one Angelo Tani was appointed to represent the interests of the Medici in Bruges. The arms of the husband on the triptych agree with those of Tani's family: which explains, firstly, the subject of the painting, since Angelo Tani's patron, the archangel Michael, is the central figure; and, secondly, the heraldic combination. For Angelo, as the Florentine tax lists show, married one Catarina Tanagli in 1466: a person whom we know in some detail from the letters of Filippo Strozzi's mother, who wanted her at one time as a wife for her son. Angelo Tani and his wife died in Florence in 1492 and were buried in S. Maria Novella.

As well as tracing these individuals who lived at the periphery, we must take a second and more central route to the definition of the relationship between Flemish and Florentine art, by making use of the extant inventories of the Medici art collection, one of which was published by Müntz from a copy dated 1512. The speaker has unearthed an inventory of the Villa Careggi, clearly drawn up in 1482, immediately after the death of Lucrezia de' Medici; and from this it transpires that the villa contained no fewer than sixteen

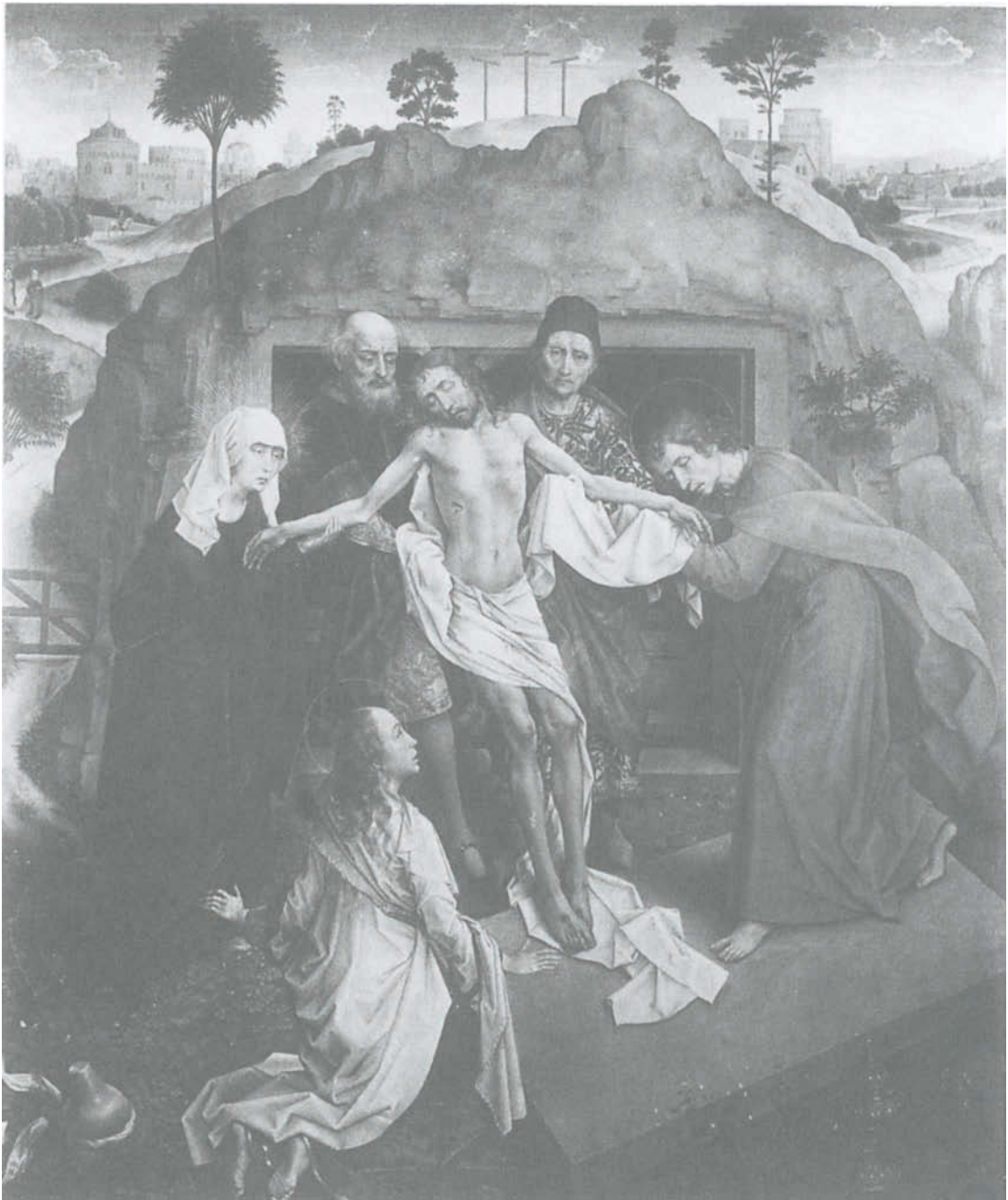


Flemish “painted cloths” (*panni dipinti*): ten showing sacred and—notably—six showing secular subjects. The description “painted cloths,” which appears throughout, is not used consistently in Müntz’s listing; and there are other discrepancies, as for example with the first painting of all, which Müntz lists as an *Entombment* with five accessory figures, whereas here it is listed as an altar-piece of the *Resurrection with Saint Cosmas as a Physician*. However, Müntz’s description perfectly fits Rogier van der Weyden’s *Entombment* panel in the Uffizi [no. 1114, fig. 56].

Other works listed here include: a panel of *Holy Fathers*, which in all probability is the *Thebaid* now in the Uffizi corridor [Uffizi, no. 447]; a “painted cloth” of four girls and three young men; a *Last Supper*; a peacock in a dish on a sideboard; an *Entry into Jerusalem*; a *Christ with Mary Magdalene*, as she seeks to kiss his feet; a *Road to Emmaus*; a “painted cloth” of peacocks and other birds; women bathing; and a party dancing a *moresca*. (Here one is reminded of the Baldini engravings, which can only be understood as offshoots of Burgundian court life.) There follow “painted cloths” of *Saint Jerome*; the *Crucifixion*, the *Entombment*, the *Annunciation*, two heads of Christ and Mary, the *Nativity of Christ*, and the *Adoration of the Magi*.

As far as the secular subjects are concerned, Burckhardt has already pointed out that “Bacchanalian figures” are mentioned as being in one room of the Palazzo Riccardi, surrounding a *quaresima* (Lent), which Burckhardt [*Beiträge . . . , Gesamtausgabe* 12:317, n. 33] no doubt rightly interprets as a scene showing mockery of a personification of Lent. A scene of the same kind is shown in a Florentine engraving, wrongly ascribed to Squarcione, unique to the Uffizi, and with entirely un-Italian figures. In Amsterdam, the speaker has found a depiction of a procession with similar figures: clearly a † carnival procession.

The one subject above all that the Italians regarded as Flemish was *Saint Jerome in His Study*, the scholar deep in thought amid his abstruse literary paraphernalia. What they learned from Flemish artists was not the embodiment of life in motion but the psychology of the interior. And so, in the fresco medium, Domenico Ghirlandaio with his *Saint Jerome*, and Sandro Botticelli with his *Saint Augustine*, vied with one another to prove that they could equal the best that Flanders had to offer. Domenico followed closely in his mentors’ footsteps, but achieved no more than miniature painting writ large. Botticelli treated his *Saint Augustine* more rhetorically, and much more in the Italian vein. Not long afterward, at the Palazzo Vecchio, Ghirlandaio in his turn was supplying his Roman heroes with all the gestures of forensic oratory. In the evolution of Italian art, the influence of Flanders was no more than a fleeting episode.



**Fig. 56. Rogier van der Weyden**  
*Entombment*  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 309)

# Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment* in the Uffizi (1903)

Rogier's *Entombment* in the Uffizi [fig. 56] is all the more likely to have impressed itself on the mind of the young Michelangelo because it is clearly identical with the one work, among the few early Flemish paintings in the Medici collection, that Vasari [ed. Milanese, 1:85] singled out for separate mention: the "*tavola in Careggi*" (panel painting at Careggi). Guicciardini also mentions it as a "*bella tavola*" (fine panel). Both writers ascribe it to "Hansse" (i.e., Rogier's pupil, Hans Memling). The obvious—but hitherto unadopted—course of referring to the 1492 inventory of the Villa Careggi (ed. Müntz, 1888, 88 [see our pp. 306–307]) leads to two conclusions: that the word *tavola*, used by both writers, can only refer to the altarpiece in the chapel, as the only other panel painting mentioned in the inventory is out of the question; and that the altarpiece represented an *Entombment* wholly identical in content, and in number of figures, with Rogier's painting: "*el sepolcro del nostro Signore schonfitto di crocie e cinque altre figure...*" (the entombment of Our Lord, disfigured by his sufferings, with five other figures). What is more, the dimensions of Rogier's *Entombment* (1.1 × 0.96 m) would fit the still extant and much wider altar in the Villa Careggi chapel, because the altarpiece (see inventory cited above) was housed in a very elaborate frame. It is not likely to have lost any wing panels, as these would have appeared in the inventory.

Accordingly, the hypothesis that Rogier's painting in the Uffizi is identical with the *Entombment* by him that Ciriaco d'Ancona saw in Ferrara in 1449 is untenable. Firstly, the Este would hardly have given away the central panel of their celebrated altarpiece in isolation, without the two wings that show the donor and Adam and Eve; secondly, Ciriaco's description does not refer to an *Entombment* at all but to the completely different pictorial type of the *Deposition* or *Descent from the Cross*, with carefully worked out accessory details and a strongly emotive play of gesture; in this respect, this painting seems strangely muted by comparison with Rogier's famous oblong *Depositions*.

In the speaker's view, a remote echo of that Este *Deposition* is to be found in a fifteenth-century tapestry, of which he showed a photograph, and which is based on a cartoon by Cosimo Tura [fig. 57], as Privy Councillor Bode was the first to observe.

Further to the communication from Mr. Goldschmidt [*Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* 8 (Berlin, 1903)], the speaker also drew

attention to another example of the continuation of Northern influence in Italian iconography. In another *Pietà*, the well-known drawing from the Warwick collection, formerly ascribed to Michelangelo and now reassigned to Sebastiano del Piombo, there is a clear reminiscence of the *Pietà* by the German engraver E. S.; see illustration in the catalog of the Grosvenor Gallery [Winter Exhibition, 1877–1878, no. 648]; or in Berenson [*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (London, 1903), text vol., 236 ff., plate vol., plate 147; and illustration in Lützow, *Geschichte des deutschen Kupferstiches* [Berlin, 1889].

Works with a pronounced Northern quality were among the formative youthful experiences of the classical masters of Italian art: by sheer force of contrast with their own artistic temperament, such works provoked them to transmute what they saw and to shape it afresh.

# On a Florentine Painting That Ought to Be in the Exhibition of French Primitives

(1904)

On a tour of the Auvergne, many years ago, Paul Mantz was surprised to find two Italian paintings in the church of the small town of Aigueperse:<sup>1</sup> a *Saint Sebastian* by Andrea Mantegna and an *Adoration* by Benedetto Ghirlandaio [fig. 58]. Although the whereabouts of the Benedetto were known, Mantz was the first person to decipher the mutilated inscription in the right-hand half of the painting, on a *cartellino* high up on the stable wall. The inscription is extremely difficult to read and parts of it remain uncertain, but it runs as follows:

*Je Bedit a Guirlandaje florentin  
Ay fait de ma main ce tablautin  
Mil CCCC...a b...n maison  
de Monseigneur le con<sup>net</sup> Mon-  
treau Daupin Dauvergne*

I, Benedetto Ghirlandaio, Florentine,  
have painted this picture with my own hand.  
Fourteen hundred...house  
of my Lord Constable  
Montreau Daupin d'Auvergne.

Mantz supplied no reproduction of the painting, and this was a particularly grave omission for someone like myself, engaged in a study of the relationship between Flemish and Italian art, and eager to discover how a Florentine artist—one whose presence in France was already well documented—might have conducted himself in a French atmosphere. At last, however, through a kind friend in Lyons, I have succeeded in obtaining a photograph of the painting and am happy to publish it for the first time in a Florentine journal, although it is far from satisfactory, having been taken in very poor light.<sup>2</sup>

The reproduction published here seems to me to make evident the most important characteristic of the painting, which is its strangely un-Italian style. In the absence of the inscription, it would be difficult to tell for certain



**Fig. 57. After Cosimo Tura**  
*Entombment*  
Tapestry (see p. 309)



**Fig. 58. Benedetto Ghirlandaio**  
*Adoration*  
Aigueperse (see p. 311)

whether this was the work of a Flemish or French painter under Tuscan influence or of an Italian working in the French manner.

Lafenestre, in his introduction to the catalog of the exhibition of *Primitifs français* (xxix), uses documentary evidence to discover more about the Franco-Italian personality of the master usually known as the Master of Moulins or *Peintre des Bourbons*. Documents will certainly be of great assistance, but in the meantime I think that so important an artistic document as this painting by Benedetto—which by itself might supply a solid foundation for the stylistic analysis of a whole series of hitherto mysterious works—ought on no account to be omitted from an exhibition of French Primitive paintings, if only to show how the native spirit of these so-called Primitives did not preclude a refined eclecticism.

Let us hope, therefore, that Ghirlandaio's painting will be removed from the remote church of Aigueperse and included in the exhibition of Primitives alongside that *Peintre des Bourbons* who has on occasion been confused with Benedetto, and who worked for Pierre II de Bourbon, brother to Jean: the lord constable who in all probability, as Mantz has shown, commissioned Ghirlandaio to paint the Aigueperse *Adoration*.

#### Notes

1. "Une tournée en Auvergne," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 34 (1886): 381 ff.
2. I expect shortly to be in a position to provide a more adequate reproduction.



**Fig. 59. *Peasants Working***

Flemish tapestry, fifteenth century

Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (see p. 315)



# Peasants at Work in Burgundian Tapestries

(1907)

Maurice Demaison has published a number of the tapestries in the new Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris,<sup>1</sup> almost all of them outstanding examples of this monumental and at the same time highly convenient form of wall covering and decoration, which from the fourteenth century onward was the proudest possession of the late medieval art collector.

The tapestry, which we now admire as a mere aristocratic fossil in a show collection, brings with it from its origins some rather more democratic features: for by its very nature the woven tapestry *arazzo* (arras) was never the product of unique, original creativity. The weaver, as the anonymous purveyor of the image, could repeat the same subject as often as the client demanded. Nor was the tapestry, like the fresco, permanently attached to the wall: it was a mobile support for the image. In the history of methods of reproduction and dissemination it figures, in a sense, as an ancestor of printing—the same craft whose cheaper product, wallpaper, has appropriately enough usurped the position of the tapestry in the bourgeois home.

These mobile, albeit costly, iconographic vehicles transported life-size Northern European figures beyond the borders of France and of Flanders; they served to disseminate the legends of a classical or chivalric past through figures costumed in the latest fashion, *alla francese*. As a result, well on into the early Renaissance, even at the Italian courts, the new style *all'antica* had still to compete with French court dress for the privilege of costuming the figures of a revived antiquity.<sup>2</sup> These bizarre, courtly personages in contemporary dress required labels to identify them as the heroes of pagan antiquity, Hercules, Alexander, or Trajan; but their glittering accoutrements long continued to appeal to art lovers who appreciated and accumulated a treasure of rich materials.

In firm contrast to these products of the courtly decorative instinct, our three Burgundian tapestries reveal a rugged Flemish realism of observation. All are variations on the same popular genre theme: woodcutters at work. Two of these tapestries date from the fifteenth century, the larger (fig. 59) certainly so, the smaller (fig. 60) in all probability. The third (fig. 61) seems, on the evidence of its composition and the detail of the costumes, to date from around 1500.

In the earliest tapestry in the group, eight life-size woodcutters have been excellently observed hard at work in an oak wood. In the center, one man is

pushing a tree over, after undercutting it just above the root; two others in the foreground are lopping the felled trunks with an ax and a billhook; two more sturdy woodmen are plying the saw. The logs are stacked by a man in a turbanlike headdress; and his neighbor, the only inactive member of the party, recruits his strength for his strenuous labors with a draft from a capacious flask.

Each individual figure surprises by the naturalness of its posture and expression, even though the halftones in the faces have faded. There is, however, no sense of perspectival coherence: the figures, who ought to appear one in front of the other, are piled up on top of each other, and the tapestry weaver's *horror vacui*, his compulsion to fill every inch of the surface, destroys the ambient atmospheric space by crowding it with foliage and with animals of every kind. Monkeys, stags, deer, pheasants, rabbits, even beasts of prey—a lion, a wolf, a leopard—have gathered in the woods for purely decorative purposes; even the large mastiff in the foreground seems to have no wish to disturb the peace of this animal paradise.

This hound has a coat of arms worked into its collar: three keys with the wards to the sinister (heraldic left) side.<sup>3</sup> The same arms are visible at the top of the tapestry, above the tree feller's hand; and as these same three keys appear on the arms of the famous Burgundian family of Rolin,<sup>4</sup> I set out to pursue further connections, remembering that Soil's book mentions Tournai tapestries of woodcutters (*bûcherons* or *bocherons*).<sup>5</sup> This brought the dry heraldic identification to life; for the archival records show that this very theme formed part of the standard repertoire of the celebrated workshops of Pasquier Grenier.

Three times—in 1461, 1466, and 1505—woodcutters are recorded as the sole subject of whole cycles of tapestries. On the first of the three occasions, these were ordered by the ruler of the country himself, Duke Philip the Good. This first order, dated 1461, reads as follows:

A tapestry chamber worked in linen and silk, containing nine pieces, six cushions, and a bench cover, to wit: one counterpane for the large bed, a canopy, a bed-head, a counterpane and bedhead for the small bed, and four wall hangings entirely covered with verdure and foliage; and the said pieces are to show several large figures, as peasants and woodmen, seen as if working in various ways in the said thicket.<sup>6</sup>

Brief though this specification is, the subject of the suite of tapestries now under consideration could not have been more clearly defined. Chronologically, it would be entirely plausible to suppose that Philip the Good ordered such a *chambre* (set of tapestries) for Chancellor Nicolas Rolin; but this is unlikely, because in 1461 Rolin was out of favor.<sup>7</sup>

Be that as it may, Philip the Good seems to have taken particular pleasure in these *bocherons*: not only did he repeat the order in 1466 as a present for his niece, the duchess of Guelders, but at the same time he ordered yet another



**Fig. 60. *Peasants Working***  
Flemish tapestry, fifteenth century  
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (see p. 315)



**Fig. 61. *Peasants Working***  
Flemish tapestry, sixteenth century  
Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (see p. 315)

*chambre* for his sister, the duchess of Bourbon, which was probably a variation on the same theme of men working with trees. Its subject was defined as orange trees, *orangers*: which probably does not refer to the indoor cultivation of this fruit, as there were no orangeries in Northern Europe at that time. The orange was, however, known in Flanders from paintings evocative of the South—as the presence of a clump of orange trees in van Eyck’s triptych shows<sup>8</sup>—and it may have been a ducal whim to have his own peasants sturdily cropping the mysterious tree of the Hesperides.

Might the smaller tapestry fragment be part of this sequence?<sup>9</sup> It evidently belongs to the series on the theme of woodmen; and, unless the seemingly arbitrary cutting down of the tapestry is recent, it might be seen as a bedhead curtain. Rightly, the curators of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs have displayed it as the inner hanging of a Gothic bed.<sup>10</sup>

In 1505 another “*Chambre... à personnages de bucherons*” is mentioned in the Tournai records. This is one of the three celebrated tapestry sequences that Philip the Handsome bought from Jean Grenier, Pasquier’s son, and took with him to Spain together with a “*Chambre... à personnages de vignerons*”:<sup>11</sup> winegrowers, too, had claimed their fair share in the pictorial drama of peasant life.<sup>12</sup>

I consider that the second large tapestry of woodmen (fig. 61) is the very same tapestry chamber by Jean Grenier, just mentioned, in which the son is unmistakably reusing the vigorously observed motifs of sawing, gathering, and stacking that he found in the cartoons inherited from his father. Here, however, there is some attempt at a unified perspectival space, and the figures no longer seem so “naively” absorbed in their toil as to be oblivious of their own appearance. The face of the overseer, to whom the landowner is speaking, already reveals the self-regarding vanity of an individual almost too refined to take any pleasure in the rough-and-ready life of woodmen.

Duke Philip the Good’s repeated commissions, on the other hand, suggest that he and his courtiers—their high spirits tamed only in appearance by cumbersome finery and courtly ceremonial—delighted in the grotesque exertions of their foresters, even when the worthy *paysan et bocheron* spread himself over 135 square meters of a bedchamber. The realm of nature, for which every overcivilized society longs, was peopled here in the North not by the satyrs of antiquity but by the involuntary comedians of the world of heavy manual labor.

If we refuse to be distracted by the current tendency to regulate art-historical inquiry by posting border guards, then it becomes evident that monumental pictorial forces are at work within this “inferior” region of Northern European applied art; and there is no historical difficulty in assigning all of this Burgundian genre art to its true place within a general stylistic evolution.

In the few surviving tapestry inventories, scenes from the life of the common man appear frequently enough to make them a typical iconographical feature of court tapestry art from the beginning of the fifteenth century onward. Here are a few instances at random. In 1407 Valentine d’Orléans owned

a “*chambre . . . semée de bocherons et de bergiers*” (chamber . . . patterned with woodmen and shepherds).<sup>13</sup> In 1440 Pope Felix V took with him to Basel, as part of his household stock of tapestries, a “*magnum tapissium grossarum gentium*” (great tapestry of coarse folk).<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Pope Paul II owned an old Flemish tapestry “*cum hominibus et mulieribus rusticalibus*” (with rustic men and women).<sup>15</sup> What was new, therefore, was not so much the genre subject as the surprising skill with which Pasquier Grenier, or his designer, captured life-size figures in a compelling expression of momentary activity.

Here, too, however, there was a precedent: a far greater man, from the same city of Tournai, had already passed that way. Obscured and coarsened by the artisan weaver, the tapestries now in Bern probably represent all that remains of Rogier van der Weyden’s lost paintings on the theme of Justice, once the pride of the city hall of Brussels. Carel van Mander praises them in the following words:

For he greatly improved our art in respect of invention and handling alike, by giving his works a more perfect exterior, both as to the movement of the figures and in the composition and characterization of the motions of the soul, such as sorrow, anger, or joy, as demanded by the subject. To bear eternal witness to his memory, there are highly celebrated paintings by him to be seen in the city hall in Brussels, namely, four scenes on the subject of Justice. The foremost of them is the excellent and remarkable picture in which the old father, lying on his sickbed, cuts the throat of his wicked son.<sup>16</sup>

This praise contains its own qualification. True, Rogier’s vaunted art of facial expression emerges from the faces in the Herkinbald Tapestry with a clarity that borders on grimace;<sup>17</sup> and yet, in spite of the flailing extremities, the bodies themselves are bundled like mummies in heavy, cumbersome contemporary garments that detract from the unified effect of facial expression and gesture. The woodmen, on the other hand, unburdened by the demands of sartorial fashion, can present themselves in plain, authentic prose, with all the trenchant gestural and facial expressiveness that comes naturally to them.

The name of Rolin has hitherto been known to art history only in relation to the rarefied regions of ecclesiastical art. Chancellor Rolin kneels as donor before the Virgin and Child in Jan van Eyck’s *Rolin Madonna* in the Louvre, and, with his wife, on the fixed shutters of the great *Last Judgment* altarpiece in his own hospice at Beaune. Not that Rolin would have had any difficulty in reconciling his closeness to two masterpieces of Netherlandish devotional art with a sympathetic delight in the vigor of a tapestry of woodmen: such a “compatibility” of taste between sacred and profane was typical of that age of cultural transition from the medieval court to the Renaissance, in which the private collector gradually transformed himself from the keeper of a treasure-house into the creator of a museum. The appreciation of purely artistic qualities was still held in check by a discriminating appreciation of materials for their own sake, which in turn was fostered by the active—though in practical

terms slow and difficult—international trade relations within Western Europe. The result was a combination of a delicate feeling for quality with an indiscriminate urge to accumulate.

Rather unexpectedly, Italy at the same period—where our uncritical modern view of the Renaissance leads us to expect only manifestations of lordly native self-sufficiency—yields clear examples of this same phenomenon of compatibility. The kings of Naples, the dukes of Ferrara, and the Medici rulers of Florence treasured secular tapestries, woven to their own specifications by Flemish masters, among their most precious possessions, alongside the rapt devotional paintings on wood or on canvas that Rogier van der Weyden himself had naturalized in Italy.<sup>18</sup> What is more, the Medici reserved a place of honor in their domestic interiors, not only for woven hangings, but for cheaper substitutes, the genre paintings on canvas that adorned the *soprapporti* of their banqueting chambers at the Villa Careggi<sup>19</sup> and the Palazzo Medici; and this at the very time (around 1460) when, in the same palace on Via Larga, Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo were proclaiming in their canvases of the *Labors of Hercules* the new, idealistic style of life in motion—and when they had already unfurled the new and all-conquering banner of the *Pathos-formel*: the emotive formula *all'antica*.<sup>20</sup>

In the contest for a style to represent life in motion, a down-to-earth, humorous Northern realism based on the monumental genre art of the Burgundian tapestries held its own against Dionysian emotive bravura until the classically minded Italian High Renaissance rediscovered the antique satyr as a safety valve of its own, more appropriate to the art of a humanistic society. When pitted against the elemental, orgiastic quality of the pagan satyr, whose nakedness gave him the added advantage of a direct connection between face and body, the grimacing Northern buffoon tended to recede from view, until the satyr in his turn, worn smooth by daily use, lost his freshly minted air. And then, in art produced for private collectors, Bruegel was able to restore to his peasants the privileges they had formerly enjoyed as the licensed fools, the court jesters of late medieval civilization.

#### Notes

1. *Les arts* (1905), no. 48.
2. See “Delle imprese amorose nelle più antiche incisioni fiorentine,” *Rivista d'arte* (1905), nos. 7–8 [our pp. 169 ff.].
3. On an azure ground, keys argent, as Mr. K. E. Schmidt, in Paris, kindly first informed me. He also drew my attention to the coat of arms on the dog collar, not clearly visible in the illustration in *Les arts*; this can, however, be seen in our photograph, taken by kind permission of Mr. Metman.
4. See the illustrations in *Gazette des beaux-arts* 35 (1906): 23, 25. For Rolin the keys have their wards facing to the sinister (heraldic left) side; for his wife they are to the dexter (heraldic right).
5. E. Soil, *Les tapisseries de Tournai* (1892).

6. "...plusieurs grans personnaiges come gens paysans et bocherons lesquels font manière de ouvrier et labourer ou dit bois per diverses façons." Soil {see note 5}, 378.

7. The fact that the hound wears his heraldic identification so prominently might have some connection with the exalted privilege, granted to Rolin, of hunting all manner of game: see A. Perier, *Nicolas Rolin* (1904), 317. The chancellor's son, Antoine Rolin, was the duke's *grand-veneur* (master of the hunt); and his arms (see de Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés* 3 [1900]: 264) show the three keys, just as on the tapestry, wards to the dexter side, but with a bordure enrailed for difference.

8. See F. Rosen, *Die Natur in der Kunst* (1903), fig. 30.

9. I initially regarded this hypothesis as an audacious one, since there is no sign of an actual orange. But it was recently confirmed when, in Paris, I came across a somewhat later version of the *Chambre des orangiers*, in which the same workmen are shown with real orange trees. In that case, however, there is an element of romance in the subject matter, so that the motif of labor is not the exclusive theme.

10. I cite the measurements given for the *Chambre des orangiers* (Soil {see note 5}, 379) in detail, to ease the work of other students of tapestry. I am taking the length of the Tournai ell, as kindly communicated to me by Mr. Hocquet, to be 0.74125 or, for all practical purposes, 0.75 meters.

Parts of chamber	height		width	
	ells	m	ells	m
<i>Couverture du lit</i> (counterpane)	6½	4.75	7½	5.50
<i>Chiel</i> (canopy)	5	3.75	6	4.50
<i>Gouttières</i> (valance round canopy)	¾	0.56	4¼	3.19
<i>Couverture de couchette</i> (cot counterpane)	3	2.25	4	3.00
<i>Tappis de muraille</i> (wall hanging)	5¼	3.93	9	6.75 (× 2)
"	5¼	3.93	8¼	6.18
"	5¼	3.93	7	5.25
<i>Bancquier</i> (settle cover)	1½	1.12	8	6.00

11. Soil {see note 5}, 249.

12. Tapestries showing *boscherons* and *vignerons* are listed and described as old English (*sic*) in the *Mobilier de la couronne sous Louis XIV*, ed. Guiffrey, 1 (1885): 347. Two fifteenth-century tapestries, one in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the other in the Gaillard collection (no. 761), most probably stem from the same *Chambre des vignerons*.

13. *Recueil d'anciens inventaires* 1 (1896): 226.

14. See Müntz, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie [Italie]*, 12, n. 2.

15. See Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes* 2:282.

16. *Das Leben der niederländischen Maler*, German translation by Hanns Floerke, 1 (1906): 75.

17. See the illustrations after Jubinal in Müntz, *La tapisserie* (small edn.), 151.

18. See "Flandrische Kunst und Florentinische Frührenaissance," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902), 207 [our pp. 281 ff.] and "Austausch künst-



lerischer Kultur zwischen Norden und Süden,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (1905) [our pp. 275 ff.].

19. See “Flandrische und Florentinische Kunst im Kreise des Lorenzo dei Medici,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (1901) [our pp. 305 ff.].

20. See “Dürer und die italienische Antike,” *Verhandlungen der 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* [our pp. 553 ff.].



**Fig. 62. Master of the Housebook**  
*King Maximilian's Banquet*  
 Pen drawing. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (see p. 328)



**Fig. 63. Master of the Housebook**  
*King Maximilian's Mass of Peace*  
 Pen drawing. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett (see p. 326)

# Two Scenes from King Maximilian's Captivity in Bruges on a Sheet of Sketches by the So-Called Master of the Housebook (1911)

## *Prefatory Note*

The drawing purchased for the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, at the auction of the von Lanna collection in Stuttgart in 1910,<sup>1</sup> the recto and verso of which are here reproduced in collotype, has been little noticed<sup>2</sup> in the disturbingly inflated body of literature on the artist known as the Master of the Housebook. The illustrations will be all the more welcome in these pages because four other drawings attributed to the same artist have already been reproduced here.<sup>3</sup>

The paper, which has no watermark, is 27.5 cm high and 19 cm wide.

The unusual subject matter, which is not immediately identifiable, has prompted A. Warburg to make an attempt at interpretation. The results of his investigation of the meaning and content of the compositions are such as to cast light both on the date of the drawing and on the identity of the artist.

There is little to say on purely stylistic grounds, at least now that all that concerns the "Housebook Master" is in a state of crisis. The attribution given in the auction catalog, presumably the work of Joseph Meder, is "In the manner of the Master of the Housebook"; and this is surely correct. However, the tentativeness of this formulation should not be allowed to detract from the quality of the drawings themselves. This is not a copy, or a drawing based on a previously existent work, but a sketch by a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century master: summary, even rough in places, but free and original. Some caution is called for in the attribution, simply because the identity of the Housebook Master himself has become blurred by the excessive scholarly zeal of his admirers. Now that the drawings of the "Housebook" itself have been divided up among a number of different artists, it will presumably not be long before the same process of critical dismemberment is applied to the engravings.

Among those few drawings (aside from the "Housebook" itself) that have been attributed to this artist, the silverpoint now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett stands alone, not only technically but also in its tenderness and grace—qualities that are, of course, inseparable from technique. The two somewhat

cruder pen drawings also in Berlin, the tondo in Dresden, and the *Crucifixion* in Paris are closer to the sketches reproduced here.<sup>4</sup> In the present drawings, however, the line is markedly looser and more forceful than in any of the others mentioned—and is, indeed, surprisingly unsystematic for its period. This restless, impatient line is something that one would be ready to ascribe to that engraver who broke with the calm, methodical uniformity of the burin stroke—an action in which he had no precursors and almost no successors—and to no other artist whatever.

Insofar as any dating is possible on the basis of style and costume, I would tend to assign a date close to the turn of the century. Within the body of work ascribed to the Housebook Master, this looks like one of the later, or even one of the latest, works. I make this suggestion without prejudice to any better-founded dating that may emerge from the following remarks.

The number 1511, which is visible in the Mass scene, deserves no credence whatever. It is a subsequent addition, in another ink, and I suspect that it was formerly accompanied by a spurious Dürer monogram, of which a faint trace seems still to be visible.

—Max J. Friedländer

The sheet of drawings by the so-called Housebook Master, purchased from the Lanna collection by the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, shows on one side a \* solemn High Mass [fig. 63] and on the other a secular banquet [fig. 62].

The Mass is shown shortly before its liturgical climax. Before a large, simple altar, on which two great candles are burning, the celebrant is seen on the point of completing the consecration. The two kneeling deacons have already lifted the hem of his vestment for the genuflection.<sup>5</sup> However, the lay persons who are to be seen on both sides of the altar are not wholly concentrating on the sacred ceremony. Their attention is held by a scene that is taking place beside the altar, very much in the vein of the *tableaux vivants* common in the Flemish pageants of the day.<sup>6</sup> A curtained cubicle opens to reveal a man of rank who kneels, bareheaded and wearing a long fur-lined mantle, at the side \* of a small altar; his hands rest on a tall altar cushion (?). At his side is the \* smaller figure of another kneeling man, whose hands are joined.

The technique of the drawing itself reveals that the layman kneeling at the altar is the principal figure; for while all the other figures are shown only in an outline traced by the Housebook Master's vigorous shorthand, this man's head is so sculpturally modeled, through graduated hatching, that it instantly struck me as a portrait likeness of the distinctive features of Maximilian I. At the same time I was reminded of one of the most perilous episodes in the adventurous career of "Teuerdank": his captivity in Bruges, from which he managed to free himself only by pronouncing a solemn oath of peace on the Grande Place on 16 May 1488.<sup>7</sup>

On 5 February of that year Maximilian, king of Rome, had fallen into the hands of the rebellious citizens of Bruges; there he was to suffer the sanguinary humiliation of seeing his own followers' heads laid on the block<sup>8</sup> on

the Grande Place, a sacrifice to the Bruges mob. Although menaced with retribution by Maximilian's father the emperor, who was approaching at the head of the Imperial forces, the Brugeois finally prevailed on the prince, enfeebled by his captivity (*fort amagry et palle* {grown very thin and pale}),<sup>9</sup> to confirm by a public oath the substantial concessions that they had exacted.

Before he would do so, however, a delegation of citizens had to appear bareheaded before the king of Rome, who stood with his retinue at the window of the Craenenburg, and beg on bended knee for forgiveness, which Maximilian was graciously pleased to grant. Only then did he mount the great dais<sup>10</sup> that had been set up on the Grande Place opposite the Craenenburg. That morning, the Holy Sacrament and the relics of the holy cross and of Saint Donatian had been brought out in solemn procession and placed on the altar erected there for the purpose, next to which was "*ung triumphant siège pour le roi*" (a triumphal seat for the king). Kneeling before this altar, Maximilian swore, with his hands on the Sacrament and on the relics,<sup>11</sup> that he would—among other, lesser matters—renounce the regency that he had assumed on behalf of his son Philip, withdraw the German garrisons from the cities of the territory, and take no vengeance on the Brugeois:

*Nous promectons de nostre franche volonté, et jurons en bonne foi sur le saint sacrement cy present, sur la sainte vraye croix, sur les evangiles de Notre-Seigneur, sur le précieux corps saint Donas, patron de paix, et sur le canon de la messe, de tenir...*

We promise, of our own free will, and swear in good faith upon the Holy Sacrament here present, upon the holy true cross, upon the gospels of our lord, upon the precious body of Saint Donatius, patron of peace, and upon the canon of the Mass, to keep...

Such, according to Molinet, were the terms of Maximilian's oath, which was lent solemn religious sanction by the celebrant at the altar, who was the suffragan bishop of Tournai:

*Et receut le serment le suffragan de Tournay, lequel avait chanté la messe, et lequel incontinent tourna sa face vers l'autel, print le sacrement, chanta une oraison et bénédiction à ceulx qui garderoient la paix, et jectant malédiction sur les infracteurs d'icelle, puis les enfans crièrent Noël et l'on chanta Te Deum laudamus.*<sup>12</sup>

And the oath was received by the suffragan of Tournai, who had sung Mass. and who at once turned to face the altar, took up the Sacrament, chanted a prayer and blessing upon those who would keep the peace, and pronounced a malediction upon the violators of the same; then the boys cried "Noël," and "Te Deum laudamus" was sung.

On the same dais, the nobles and representatives of the estates and of the citizens of Bruges swore the same oath.

Newly arrived in Bruges, Philip of Cleves—to whom it fell to assume the onerous obligation of vouching in person for Maximilian's good faith by becoming a hostage in Ghent—took the same oath of peace with equal ceremony at the church of Saint Donatian that same afternoon, 16 May. Also at Saint Donatian, some time later, the count of Hanau<sup>13</sup> and the lord of Wolkenstein pledged themselves to the citizens of Bruges itself as hostages for Maximilian's oath. Philip of Cleves had already met with Maximilian at the sumptuous peace banquet that the Brugeois, at the king's especial wish, held for him and the estates in the house of Jan Caneel, immediately after the oath-taking ceremony in the Grande Place.<sup>14</sup>

The three salient features of the two drawings on the sheet—the portrait likeness of Maximilian in the kneeling figure, the solemn High Mass nearby, and the banquet—thus independently concur, both historically and iconologically. This alone explains the meaning and inner connectedness of the three events, and the reason why they are shown on a single sheet of paper. We now see why the Mass scene contains no suggestion of a substantial church building: the altar is flanked by four thin columns, the capitals of which seem to support a little canopy, and its framework is directly continued by the curtain rails of the tapestried cubicle or *chambre de tapisserie*.

The strong double accent of the composition derives, both in content and in form, from the historical reality of the confined space in which, on 16 May 1488, the celebrant with his portable altar, and the king kneeling in his tapestried enclosure, presented themselves in a telling symbolic juxtaposition to the eyes of the people of Flanders.

In the banquet scene [fig. 62], the king sits alone at a table beneath a throne canopy, the back of which, like the curtain that surrounds the king's little altar, is decorated with heraldic ornaments running diagonally. The royal cook,<sup>15</sup> with a napkin over his shoulder, stands in the foreground, facing the long side of the table, while a young nobleman, bareheaded and dressed in a long mantle, attends at the short side. Onlookers and guests in Caneel's house press closely around the royal table. Maximilian's features and hairstyle are unmistakable—although, beneath the wide, "*fyne roode schaerlaken bonette*" (fine red scarlet bonnet) that he wore on that day,<sup>16</sup> they are not so clearly visible as they are in the other scene. He seems to be dipping with his right hand into a large dish of pike that lies before him. In front of the dish, in a curious, symmetrical, cruciform arrangement, are two wide knives and a smaller eating implement (?). As 16 May 1488 fell on a Friday, the fish is readily explained as a suitable dish for a fast-day.<sup>17</sup>

A comparison with the narrative historical sources underlines the highly personal immediacy of the artist's style. Retrospective reporting tends to place the emphasis differently; but for this artist the most striking moment of the final tableau, the supreme religious consecration of the royal oath, asserts itself as an immediate visual experience. As for the banquet, no one would ever have regarded this as a historic occasion except at the very moment when it took place and was there to be watched. However, the artist certainly did

understand the full significance of what was going on: this is proved, in my opinion, by the figure of the kneeling youth in the foreground of the consecration scene, who is quite clearly raising his right hand in the gesture of oath-taking.<sup>18</sup>

Although the remarkable, pamphletlike immediacy of the drawings<sup>19</sup> cannot be reconciled with the letter of the known historical narratives, it seems to me that the known fact that the king of Rome, on one single day, made peace with his Flemish subjects by attending first a public High Mass and immediately thereafter a secular banquet, taken together with the portrait likeness of Maximilian, sufficiently corroborates the interpretation of this sheet of sketches that is offered here: which is that it is an artistic record of the ceremonies held in Bruges, on the Grande Place and in the house of Jan Caneel, on 16 May 1488.

#### Notes

1. Auction catalog no. 27.
2. See L. Baer, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (1910): 408 ff.
3. See *Jahrbuch [der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen]* 20:177, 25:142, 26:68.
4. The drawings recently ascribed to the Housebook Master, in Erlangen and elsewhere, I leave out of account as open to varying degrees of doubt.
5. See Gühr, *Das heilige Messopfer* (1907) and Hartmann, *Repertorium rituum* (1908), 445 ff.
6. See, e.g., the Hamilton manuscript (78.D.13 [now 78.D.5]), in the Kupferstich- \*  
kabinett in Berlin, portraying the festivities in Brussels in 1496.
7. General narrations in Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* 5 (1850): 347 ff., and Pirenne, *Geschichte Belgiens* 3 (1907): 57 ff. My principal contemporary sources include the account written immediately after the event by Jean Steelant for the magistrates of Ypres, in Diegerick, *Correspondance des magistrats d'Ypres* (1853), 212 f.; *Het boeck van al't gene datter gheschiedt is binnen Brugghe, sichtent Jaer 1477, 14 Februarii, tot 1491*, ed. C. C[arton] (Ghent, 1859); N. Despars, *Cronijcke van den Lande ende Graefscpe v. Vlaenderen*, ed. de Jonghe, 4 (1840): 402 ff.; Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. Buchon, 3 (1828); Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune-Arbaumont (1885) [3:292 ff.]; *Wilwolt von Schaumburg* (Bibl. Liter. Verein, 1859); Rollius in R. Duellius, *Miscellaneorum* 1:247, etc.
8. *Flaischpank*: See *Wilwolt* (note 7), 78 ff.
9. Anthoine de Fontaine, in Gachard, *Correspondance inédite de Maximilien* 1:80.
10. According to Steelant (see note 7), 214, it was 6 rods by 4; which, if we take a rod (information kindly supplied by Mr. Gilliodts van Severen) as measuring 3.78 m, gives a width of approximately 23 m and a depth of 15 m. *Het boeck* (see note 7), 221, gives the dimensions as 86 (local) feet wide, 56 feet deep, and 7 feet high.
11. "Dit alzo ghedaen zynde, hy commende huut den huuze vorseyd, toot up de voorseyde stage, voor den voorseyden houtaer, daer up dat rustende was tglorieux lichame van Sinte Donaes, theleghe, ghebenedyde cruce van Onzer Liever Vrouwe ende ghebenedyde, helich sacrament van Sinte Donaes, hy de kuenync voorseyd, leyde up

*elc zyn hand, end hy zwoer daer, up zynen heed, up zyn borst, ende up zyn edelhede, den pays ende deendrachtichede te houdene...*" (So, this being done, he, issuing forth from the aforesaid house, onto the aforesaid stage, before the aforesaid altar, on which reposed the glorious body of Saint Donatian, the Holy, Blessed Cross from [the church of] Our Lady, and the Blessed, Holy Sacrament of Saint Donatian, he, the king aforesaid, laid his hand upon them and swore there, by his own head, by his breast, and by his nobility, to maintain peace and concord...). *Het boeck* (see note 7), 223.

12. Molinet (see note 7), 316, 317.

13. Molinet (see note 7), 311, 319, 349. In view of the relationship, discussed at length by Flechsig, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 8 (1897), between the so-called Housebook Master and the count of Hanau, with reference both to the Housebook itself and to the drawing of a loving couple now in Gotha, it would be highly desirable to know exactly who this count of Hanau was: he might have been either Philip the Younger of Hanau-Münzenberg (1449–1500) or Philip II of Hanau-Lichtenberg (1462–1504).

14. "...zo zyn ale de vors. Staten metten coninc ghegaen ten huuse van Jan Canele dar dat, by de begherte wille ende ordonnancie van den coninc ghister avent by hem ghedaen, met hem alle t'samen gheghaen eten, de welke maeltyt die van Brugge hadden ghedaen bereeden ende besorghen." (...and so the aforesaid estates went with the king to the house of Jan Caneel, there to eat with him in accordance with the desire, will, and command of the king, uttered by him on the evening before: a meal which they of Bruges had caused to be prepared and provided.) Steelant (see note 7), 216. The expenses of the feast are recorded as follows (information by courtesy of Mr. Gilliodts van Severen): "*Item doe betaelt ten causen van eene chierlike ende heerlike maeltydt ten huuse van Janne Canele, de welke ghegheven was den prinze van den Romeynen ende alle den landen van onzen natuerliken heere ende prinze hertoghe Philips, als de voorseide coninc den pays bezworen hadde, coste XXIII lb. V s. III d.*" (Paid on account of a seemly and magnificent banquet in the house of Jan Canele, which was given for the Prince of the Romans and of all the lands of our natural lord and prince, Duke Philip, when the aforesaid king had sworn an oath of peace, cost £23 5s. 3d.)

15. According to Rollius (see note 7), his permitted retinue included Jörg, his personal cook, and Litbara or Bibara, a page.

16. "...ende hy hadde an eenen zwarten fluweelen keemel, ende up zyn ooft, eene fyne roode schaerlaken bonette" (...and he had on a black velvet robe, and on his head a fine red scarlet bonnet). *Het boeck* (see note 7), 222.

17. The idea that the eating of fish had some kind of deeper legal symbolism is not to be dismissed out of hand, when we read—e.g., in A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (1902), 625, n. 1—of the priest who, because he reads the canon of the Mass silently, turns, in the popular imagination, into a magical fish-celebrant; or when we learn from Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube* (1900), 115, that the bones of a pike's head are supposed to be the instruments of Christ's Passion. Might there not have been in Burgundy a *vœu du brochet*?

I need hardly say that these miscellanea are presented merely as raw materials, to invite the assistance of colleagues with more specialized knowledge.

18. The only feature that seems to me to conflict with my suggested interpretation  
\* is the absence of the rather conspicuous insignia of rank proper to a suffragan bishop



(Gillis de Baerdemaeker, bishop of Sarepta: see Fris in *Compte rendu de la Commission royale d'histoire* [1901], 564); unless, that is, we were to make the somewhat arbitrary supposition that the Y-cross on the chasuble is in fact the pallium. We might also expect to see, in place of the oversize altar cushion, the document recording the oath; and indeed its pattern does not look purely ornamental to me.

19. To assume that these drawings were made as illustrations for a much later chronicle (which would certainly fit in better with the valid stylistic considerations that have been advanced) is difficult, for the reason that, as Maximilian did not keep the oath that he had sworn under duress, and as the Flemish uprising was suppressed by 1492, neither of the parties had any motive to draw these events to the attention of posterity by putting them in an illustrated chronicle. The *Payse*, printed in Bruges on the very same day by Jean Brito (?), has unfortunately been lost. See Campbell, no. 1373, \* and *Annales de la société d'émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre* (Bruges, 1897), 160.



**Fig. 64. *Alexander's Ascent with the Griffins  
and Journey to the Depths of the Sea***

Flemish tapestry, fifteenth century  
Rome, Palazzo Doria (see p. 333)

# Airship and Submarine in the Medieval Imagination (1913)

In Rome, in the fall of 1912, when the participants in the Tenth International Congress of the History of Art were invited into the private apartments of their host, Prince Doria, they were startled to come upon the two fifteenth-century Northern European figurative tapestries that form the most substantial scheme of mural decoration in his palace. The strange and un-Italian figures that swarm in baffling profusion across the vast expanses ( $4.3 \times 10$  m) of these two Flemish tapestries—probably woven in Tournai \* between 1450 and 1460—look down, as they probably have done for several centuries now, on a festive Italian social scene. Early Italian Renaissance collectors had a taste for *arazzi* of this kind; and these wall hangings, which combined convenience with entertainment, enjoyed the privilege of presenting mythological and historical narratives in a curiously unclassical style—until the High Renaissance, that is, when Italian artists began to provide cartoons of their own, and Northern influence was gradually eliminated from all Flemish figurative tapestries made for the Italian market.

These two Burgundian tapestries depict the life of Alexander the Great. One shows the exploits of his early youth; the other his fabled deeds as the \* conqueror of the world. Two scenes from the latter are reproduced here [the whole tapestry, fig. 64]. The king is seen flying aloft, to the amazement of the bystanders, in a metal cage drawn by four griffins; nearby, we see him lowered into the sea in a glass tub. We recognize him again, by his face and his crown, as he is welcomed after his landing. To the right he reappears in full armor, vanquishing fearful monsters in the depths of a virgin forest.

This imagery—which is as naive, to our eyes, as a page from some huge book of fairy tales—was then regarded by the educated society of Western Europe as accurate and well-documented history. It precisely corresponds to the facts as given in the *Romance of Alexander*: a Greek text, replete with fantastic accretions, that long preserved Alexander's memory in East and West alike, through countless manuscripts in something like twenty-four languages. In an absorbing paper in the *Freiburger Münsterblätter* (1906), Friedrich † Panzer has shown that Alexander's attempt at flight—his "Ascent with the Griffins"—was already a favorite theme in the earliest medieval art and literature and enjoyed a wide international circulation.

For a direct source for our illustration we may turn to the French writer Jean Wauquelin, who recounted the history of Alexander the Great to the \*

Burgundian court around 1450. We shall allow him to speak for himself, in a free translation from a manuscript now in Gotha:

After Alexander had subdued the kingdoms of the Orient as far as India, he came to a mountain so tall that its summit seemed to touch the sky; and, as he gazed at this mountain, he pondered how he might travel beyond the clouds to learn what manner of thing the air was. So without delay he provided himself as follows. He summoned carpenters to make him a cage, large enough for him to sit inside in comfort. As soon as this was ready, he sent for eight griffins, of which he had many in his army, because he had brought along with him all of the strange things he had found in India; and he caused the griffins to be firmly chained to the cage, two on each side. Then he commanded his barons to wait until they heard from him, and entered the said cage and took with him sponges soaked in water and a lance, on the point of which he placed a piece of meat, and held it out above the cage.

Then the griffins, which were hungry, began to rise into the air, trying to catch the meat, and as they took flight they bore up the cage with the meat, and they were off. So high did they fly, at last, that the barons lost sight of their lord, his cage, and the birds; and he of them. And at last these flew so high that Alexander was carried far beyond the sphere of pure air into that of fire. Then he started to rub his birds' feet with his sponges to refresh them, and also used them to cool himself. At last he was carried so high that he felt the glare of the fire. When he looked down, he was so high, the story tells us, that the earth looked to him like a little garden surrounded by a tiny hedge, and the sea that surrounds the earth seemed no more than a little snake.

When Alexander found himself so high, he feared that the feathers of his birds might burn, and he prayed to Almighty God, in his grace and mercy, to let him return safe and sound to his people, for his own sake and for his people's sake. Then the Almighty wrapped the cage and the birds in a cloud, so that they turned back and came again to earth. But he came down more than ten days' journey from his army. Then Alexander alighted from his cage and gave thanks to Our Lord for the honor and favor that he had done him by permitting him, in his grace and mercy, to return safe and sound to earth.

Thereupon Alexander began to range about, inquiring after his army, and he reached it with great difficulty on the sixth day. He was received with great joy and many tokens of honor, for, as soon as his barons saw him, they came to meet him and welcomed him with all possible solemnity and respect. They praised and extolled him, crying: "Long live King Alexander, lord and governor of the whole world, of the air as well as of the earth!"

We can now understand the scene shown on the left. Alexander the Great sits in a lavishly ornamented metal construction, from the side windows of which he holds up two hams on long spears, which serve as an inducement to the four griffins harnessed to the craft to do their aerial work. Above them, however, God the Father, in a glory peopled with angels, signifies with an ominous gesture that, as a mortal, Alexander is forbidden to rise above the

sphere of the fourth element, fire, into heaven. On earth, nevertheless, Alexander receives an admiring welcome from his courtiers, who pay tribute to his daring. Nor, indeed, does Alexander allow the less than total success of this flight to deter him from his other enterprise, that of exploring the depths of the sea. Jean Wauquelin continues:

Shortly after this, he felt the desire to explore the bottom of the sea, to see its wonders; and forthwith he sent for craftsmen, whom he commanded to make him a glass tub, large and wide enough for a man to turn around within. In such a tub he would have an excellent view of all that went on below. Then he had the tub bound with good iron chains and furnished with a ring at the top, to which a stout hempen rope was secured. Once the tub was as he desired it, he entered it, taking with him a number of lamps, and had the opening above so firmly stopped that not a drop of water might enter, and took ship and sailed out to sea and let himself down on a rope.

What he saw below was hardly to be believed, as he said on his return: had he not seen it with his own eyes, he himself would not have credited it. He saw fishes that walked on the ground like quadrupeds and ate the fruits of the trees they found on the bottom of the sea; and whales of quite incredible size, which recoiled, however, from the bright glare of the lamps that he had brought with him. In the end he refused to tell the half of what he had seen. He did, however, go so far as to say that he had seen fishes in human form, both men and women, who walked on their feet and hunted fish for their food, just as animals are hunted on earth.

After he had looked his fill on all these wonders, he gave a sign to those above to draw him up again. They did so, and he was hauled back on board. There he broke open the tub, stepped out, and returned to his tent, where his barons awaited him in fear and trembling. They began to chide him for exposing his person to unnecessary danger. But Alexander replied: "My Lords, the man who desires to maintain his honor, or to extend his power and to advance himself, must often take his chances with Fortune. He must take little thought for the presence of his enemies; nor must he speak opprobriously of them, for there is no valor and no fortitude in empty words. Well may you marvel, now that I have exposed myself to this danger, at the greater wisdom with which I shall now rule my kingdom, because I have learned how great an advantage it is to have strength within oneself, even though strength without cunning is worth little. I say this, because in the depths of the sea I saw small fish that contrived to overcome greater ones by cunning, although they could never have vanquished them by their own strength alone."

Alexander in his glass tub, a flambeau in either hand, can be seen through the shimmering waters of the sea, into which bearded warriors in a tiny boat have lowered the tub on stout chains. The rest of his barons ply the oars of three other equally diminutive boats; they wear the ornate Greek cap that was worn by the Greek emissaries who came to Western Europe in the fifteenth century to seek aid against the Turks. To a contemporary eye, Alexander's retainers thus had the authentic look of true Greeks. †

Alexander's attempts to conquer the more inaccessible of the elemental spheres are framed and flanked by his warlike exploits on earth. In the left-hand third of the tapestry (of which only part is included in our illustration), we see the siege and storming of a citadel; and on the far right Alexander subdues the horrific creatures that peopled the "Ends of the Earth" in the imagination of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. He and his trusty retainers kill dragons, club-wielding woodwoses, and even those shaggy monsters whose faces are set in their chests. Alexander himself is seen running his sword through one of these offspring of a debased ethnography.

The sunlit uplands of classical culture seem to bear no relation to this underworld of childish phantasms; and yet there clearly resides in all this the nucleus of an authentic Roman-Oriental solar religion. To my mind, Alexander's ascent and descent clearly echo the legend and the cult of the sun god, who ascends and descends every day in his chariot—a chariot drawn, in the † Syrian cult of Malachbel, by a team of four griffins. In the state religion of the later Roman Empire, this solar cult found its ultimate expression in the belief that the deified spirit of a deceased Roman emperor would return to the sun. For all its plethora of marvels, this romance has a rationalistic side to it: Alexander enjoys his solar apotheosis here on earth, as it were, in the form of his flight with the four griffins. The prosaic Burgundian courtier does not deify his own prince, in a poetic cult of nature, by making him into a sun god; but he hails and honors him in the guise of a more fortunate Phaethon, safely returned from a perilous voyage of exploration.

For all his delight in grotesque marvels, Jean Wauquelin also takes pleasure in undaunted practical competence; so does the artist responsible for this tapestry. Against the same ground on which the hero earns easy plaudits for defeating mere phantasms, the siege (on the left; shown here only in part) is carried through in a sound and workmanlike manner. A gunner is firing his bombard, shielding his face from the flash with his free hand; a second artilleryman raises the shield to make way for the massive stone cannonball as it flies. And so the medieval and modern minds meet in a spontaneous symbolic antithesis: above, the uncritical faith in griffins and in the impassable fiery sphere; below, the sober, inventive spirit that puts fire to practical use, in the siege artillery of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy.

That this Alexander tapestry actually was woven for Philip the Good, by Pasquier Grenier in Tournai, is suggested not only by documentary evidence \* that such a commission was issued in 1459 but, above all, by the hitherto unremarked fact that the two *arazzi* in the Palazzo Doria incorporate portraits of Philip and of his son, Charles the Bold. Philip the Good and his consort are shown on the first tapestry (to be discussed elsewhere) as the parents of the youthful Alexander; and on the present tapestry the king himself, in my opinion, unmistakably bears the features of Charles (born 1433).

Charles was brought up in an atmosphere of courtly romance, in which flattering parallels were drawn between Philip of Burgundy and Philip of Macedon, in a Northern re-creation of an idealized ancient world. This was

pagan antiquity as it appeared to the Burgundian court in the age of Philip the Good: the expression—however dense the medieval disguise—of a genuine passion for the grandeur of the ancient world.

The Portuguese author Vasco de Lucena, in his own later Alexander romance (which he dedicated to Charles the Bold), pointed with pride to his omission of the puerile legend of Alexander's flying and diving exploits as evidence of an advance in historical scholarship. But did this new and academically respectable Alexander mean more to Charles—who proudly displayed Alexander tapestries at his meeting with Emperor Frederick III in 1473—than the fairy-tale king of the *Roman d'Alixandre*, whom he had known and admired since childhood?

It was at about this time that the Italian "early Renaissance" restored a more classical form to the subject matter of antiquity; or at least it presented Western culture with the ideal of a truly attainable human greatness, and thereby gave modern man a new weapon against the debilitating belief in a perfidious world of magic. Even so, the ability to see Alexander as a clear-cut classical profile did not necessarily make him more of a living presence in the heart.

This was the century in which Christian Europe, for all its supposedly greater learning, stood by helplessly while Constantinople fell to Sultan Mehmet II. As part of the ransom paid for the Burgundian Prince John (Philip's father, captured in the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396), the Sultan—whose ancestor Bajazet claimed descent from Alexander the Great himself—had demanded and received arras tapestries of the life of Alexander. It is said of Mehmet II that he listened to daily readings from the history of Alexander in order to learn from the Macedonian hero how to conquer the whole world. And were not those inartistic Turkish warriors truer successors of Alexander than, for instance, the lover of Roxana, as portrayed with elegant and authentically "antique" stylization by Sodoma in the Villa Farnesina?

The tapestry in the Palazzo Doria, not previously noticed in the literature, can thus be seen as a revealing document of the evolution of historical consciousness in the age of the revival of classical antiquity in Western Europe. The exaggerated costume detail, and the fantastic air of romance, in the Alexander tapestry—its superficially anticlassical style—should not close our eyes to the fact that here in the North the desire to recall the grandeur of antiquity was as vigorously felt and expressed as in Italy; and that this "Burgundian Antique," like its Italian counterpart, had a role of its own to play in the creation of modern man, with his determination to conquer and rule the world. While continuing to visualize the elemental sphere of fire as inaccessible even to the preternatural strength of fabulous oriental beasts, man himself, through firearms, had already tamed the fiery element and pressed it into his own service. It seems to me by no means far-fetched to tell the modern aviator, as he considers the "up-to-the-minute" problem of motor cooling systems, that his intellectual pedigree stretches back in line direct—by way of Charles the Bold, trying to cool the burning feet of his heaven-storming griffins with wet sponges—to *le grand Alixandre*.



**Fig. 65. Piero della Francesca**  
*Battle of Chosroes*  
 Arezzo, San Francesco (see p. 339)

**Fig. 66. Johann Anton Ramboux**  
 Watercolor copy after Piero della Francesca  
 Düsseldorf, Akademie (see p. 339)



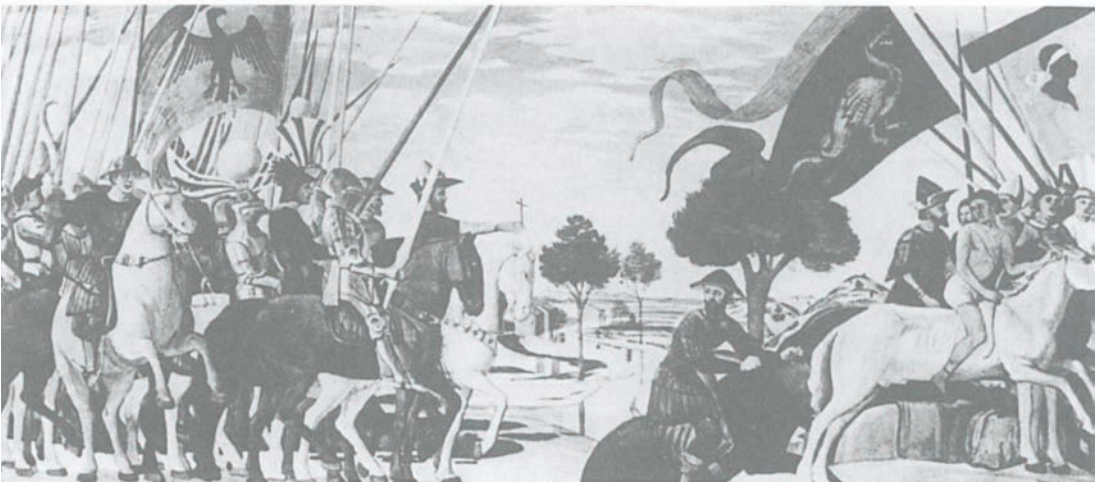
# Piero della Francesca's *Battle of Constantine* in the Watercolor Copy by Johann Anton Ramboux (1912)

There is hardly a work in the whole of Italian art that makes us more painfully aware of the transitoriness of supreme artistic achievement than does the fresco known as the *Battle of Constantine*, painted by Piero della Francesca in Arezzo [fig. 68]. The wall of the choir chapel in San Francesco can no longer hold the colors; the right-hand side has already been lost to the point that the composition can no longer be made out. We have hitherto had nothing but Vasari's admiring description to convey an approximate idea of this section. He says [ed. Milanesi, 2:496 f.]:

*...merita lode grandissima; non meno che per aver fatto nell'altra faccia, dove è la fuga e la sommersione di Massenzio, un gruppo di cavalli in iscorcio così maravigliosamente condotti, che, rispetto a que' tempi, si possono chiamare troppo belli e troppo eccellenti. Fece in questa medesima storia un mezzo ignudo e mezzo vestito alla saracina, sopra un cavallo secco, molto ben ritrovato di notomia, poco nota nell'età sua.*

...he merits the greatest praise; no less than for painting, in the scene of the flight and drowning of Maxentius on the other side, a group of horses so marvelously rendered in foreshortening that they may be regarded as too good, too excellent, for the period in which they were done. In the same history, he painted a figure half-naked and half-clad in Saracen costume, on a lean horse, which was extremely well rendered in anatomy, a science little known in his day.

A watercolor by a German artist, which I can show you in a Lumière photograph, succeeds in evoking the impression of these vanished equestrian groups, both in color and in outline. The two watercolor copies (each 245 × 255 mm), made in situ by the Rhineland artist Johann Anton Ramboux (1790–1866) between 1816 and 1842 [figs. 66, 69], may not bear the masterly impress of the hand of the “Monarca dei Pittori,” but in their plain fidelity they are an inestimable and a reliable aid in bringing Vasari's description to life. We see the “Saracen” archer, so highly praised by Vasari, plunging forward on his bony horse like one of the horsemen of the Apocalypse; behind him, clustered together, are his fellows, all fleeing from the tiny cross that Constantine,



**Fig. 68. Piero della Francesca**  
*Battle of Constantine*  
Arezzo, San Francesco (see p. 339)

**Fig. 69. Johann Anton Ramboux**  
Watercolor copy after Piero della Francesca  
Düsseldorf, Akademie (see p. 339)



**Fig. 67. *Battle Scene***  
Relief. Rome, Arch of Constantine (see p. 342)

**Figs. 70a,b. Pisanello**  
*Johannes Palaeologus*  
Portrait medal (see p. 342)

from across the Tiber, holds out like a magical talisman with a calm and solemn gesture.

We believe in the emperor's prowess, even without the idealized style of antique sublimity that is imposed on him by the triumphal rhetoric of the relief on the Arch of Constantine [fig. 67]. Contemporary reality, as seen and shaped by Piero's temperament, speaks to us with monumental seriousness without any need for antiquarian heroics; for this Constantine—as has not  
 \* previously been noticed—has the features and the costume of the Greek emperor John Palaeologus, who was then in Italy, vainly appealing to the West for help against the Turkish Sultan.

In features, pose, and costume, the likeness to the famous portrait medal by Pisanello [fig. 70] is so close that this might even have served as Piero's immediate source; however, Piero had an opportunity of his own to see the emperor in Florence in 1439. This is also suggested by the strange, tall caps and miters worn by some of the figures in the fresco of the *Adoration of the True Cross*: these are echoes of the real headdresses that Piero had seen worn  
 \* by the dignitaries from the Eastern Church who attended the Councils of Ferrara and Florence in vain pursuit of the unity of Christendom.

Through the symbolism of the legend of the true cross, which was one of the supreme ecclesiastical glories of the first Christian imperial house, Byzantium seems here to be calling for help against the Turkish terror; and it was as  
 \* a symbol of that threat that an Asiatic bowman found his way into the rear guard of the fleeing army of the Roman emperor Maxentius.

# Medicean Pageantry at the Valois Court in the Flemish Tapestries of the Galleria degli Uffizi

(1927)

Florence, Kunsthistorisches Institut. On 29 October 1927, in the main hall of the institute (Palazzo Guadagni), the winter series of lectures was opened by Professor Warburg, of Hamburg.

He spoke on the eight magnificent Brussels tapestries in the main corridor of the Uffizi as aids to the understanding of the history of European festive pageantry. Four of these were previously on display in the Museo degli Arazzi; around thirty years ago, with the active cooperation of the museum authorities, the speaker succeeded in identifying the four others; and two were seen in an exhibition in Paris in 1904. Even so, it has not yet been possible to attempt a precise historical identification of the events depicted. To do this requires an exact comparative study of contemporary printed accounts whose rarity is † matched by their obscurity.

The speaker chose as his principal examples three tapestries depicting festivities that took place in Bayonne in May and June of 1565 [figs. 71–73]. With the aid of a published description, it has been possible to document these in detail: they were organized by the Queen Mother of France, Catherine de Médicis, on the occasion of her meeting with her daughter Elizabeth, queen of Spain. On that occasion, the two women were able to veil the potentially catastrophic differences on matters of ecclesiastical policy between France and Spain in a scintillating cloud of pageantry, in which medieval theology and courtly chivalry, together with the pagan deities as revived by modern scholarship, were pressed into service to give palpable form to ideas that had no life of their own except as allegories. †

In one tapestry [fig. 71], Catherine looks on from her royal box at a tournament held between the French princes and nobles. The two contending parties have arrived in procession, led by chariots bearing allegorical figures; and, as these indicate, the battle is one between sacred and profane love. Verses by Baïf and, in a similar vein, by Ronsard, together with the *faveurs* (favors) that have survived in woodcut form [fig. 75], show how, at the Valois court, a medieval allegory of Psychomachia, the Battle of the Soul, looked in vain to Renaissance Platonism for an appropriate style of psychological drama—such as was to be supplied much later, in Florence around 1600, by the new invention of opera. †



**Fig. 71. *Tournament, Bayonne, 1565***  
Flemish tapestry  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 343)





**Fig. 72. *Hill of the Muses, at the Festivities  
in Honor of the Polish Envoys, 1573***

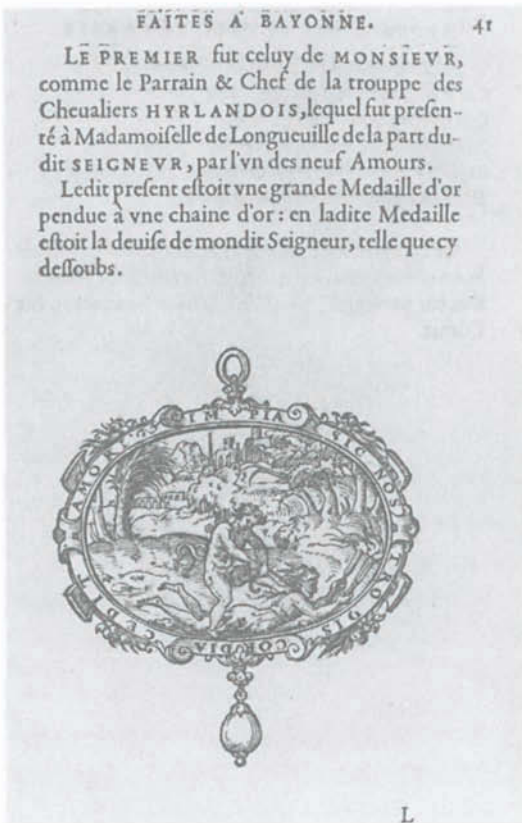
Flemish tapestry

Florence, Uffizi (see p. 348)



**Fig. 73. *Water Pageant, Bayonne, 1565***  
Flemish tapestry  
Florence, Uffizi (see p. 348)





**Fig. 74. Great Seal of Charles II of England**  
(see p. 348)

**Fig. 75. Favor Worn at Bayonne, 1565**  
Woodcut (see p. 343)



**Fig. 76. Barbados Postage Stamp**  
(see p. 348)

† The endeavors that proceeded in France in the second half of the sixteenth century, simultaneously and parallel with those in Italy, to reform the musical drama on antique lines, had never progressed beyond a combination of pantomime and song—as the speaker was able to show from the example of the “Mount of the Muses” on another of the eight tapestries, which shows the festivities held in honor of the Polish ambassadors to the Valois court [fig. 72].

The second tapestry in the Bayonne series [fig. 73] depicts an aquatic musical pageant devised by Catherine herself. Pagan deities and monsters in human form sail in to pay tribute to the members of the house of Valois. Not only is there a battle with a gigantic whale: musical sirens or mermaids appear, riding on a dolphin, with tritonic sea monsters in the background. The ruler of all these spirits of the deep, Neptune in person, approaches in a triumphal car drawn by sea horses.

† The speaker used this image (and similar motifs from the other tapestries, the origin and design of which were traced iconologically) in order to illustrate—by the example of their astounding persistence, in both the fine and the applied arts, over the centuries—the importance of the manifest presence of antiquity in court pageantry for the maintenance of the “social mneme”: the means whereby the mental world of pagan imagery is absorbed into the expressive repertoire of European civilization. One surprising and illuminating instance of the continuing vitality of pagan nature symbolism is the king of England, as he appears, in a triumphal car drawn by sea horses, in the current issue of Barbados postage stamps (fig. 76). The figure of Neptune holding sway over the world stems from the king’s ancestor, Charles II, who derived this effective political metaphor from the court pageantry of the day and from the Virgilian scholarship of his court antiquaries (fig. 74).

The lecture concluded with particular thanks to the authorities of the Uffizi, who, by placing them on display for the first time, have made it possible to survey a group of works that are probably unique in their value as documents of universal history.

# The Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589

Bernardo Buontalenti's Designs and  
the Ledger of Emilio de' Cavalieri  
(1895)

## *An Art-Historical Essay*

Having laid aside the cardinalitial purple in 1588, Grand Duke Ferdinand I very soon ventured on the next step toward becoming the true father of his country: he chose as his bride Christina of Lorraine, the granddaughter of Catherine de Médicis, queen of France. In April 1589 the French princess entered Tuscany as its future sovereign; and in May she was acclaimed with all the pageantry with which, for more than a century, Florentine society had been accustomed to celebrate every major event in the life of the Medici family.

Detailed accounts of these celebrations survive in the diaries of Pavoni, Cavallino, and Benacci; the triumphal arch is described by Gualterotti, and the *commedia* and the Intermedi by Bastiano de' Rossi.<sup>1</sup> According to these sources, then, the festivities unfolded in the following sequence:

On 1 May peasants came in from Peretola and brought a magnificent maypole.

On the evening of 2 May the comedy *La pellegrina* (The pilgrim) by Dottore Girolamo Bargagli was performed by "Gli Intronati Senesi," with Intermedi by Giovanni de' Bardi di Vernio.

On 4 May *calcio a livrea* was played on the Piazza di S. Croce.

On 6 May the Intermedi were repeated, and the comedy was *La zingana* (The gypsy) performed by "I Gelosi," with their prima donna, Vittoria Pisimi,<sup>2</sup> in the role of the gypsy.

On 8 May there was a *caccia di leoni, et orsi, et ogni sorte d'animali* (hunt with lions, bears, and animals of all kinds) on the Piazza di S. Croce. In a battle between rats and cats, the rats were the victors, "*con gran riso di tutti*" (with much laughter on all sides).

On 11 May the *sbarra* (jousting at barriers) and the celebrated naumachia took place in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti.

On 13 May the Intermedi were repeated again, partly for the benefit of the Venetian ambassadors, who had not seen them before. The comedy, performed by "I Gelosi," was *La pazzia* (Madness), written by Isabella Andreini,<sup>3</sup> who also played the main role. Her big scene was that in which, as a *finta pazza* (feigning madness), she spoke in a number of languages:

... *hora in Spagnuolo, hora in Greco, hora in Italiano ed in molti altri linguaggi, ma tutti fuor di proposito, e tra le altre cose si mise a parlar Francese e di cantar certe canzonette pure alla Francese che diedero tanto diletto alla serenissima sposa, che di maggiore non si potria esprimere.*<sup>4</sup>

... in Spanish, then in Greek, then in Italian, and in many other languages at random: and in the midst of it all she began speaking French and even singing songs in the French manner, which gave great delight to Her Highness the Bride; nothing could have pleased her more.

On 23 May there was a *corso al saracino* (tilting), and on 28 May a *mascherata de' fiumi* (masquerade of rivers).

As will be seen, the new grand duchess was greeted by a living compendium of Florentine festive pageantry. And yet, in spite of all the careful descriptions that are still extant, it is hard for us today to gain a clear notion of what was seen. Nowadays, the last thing that anyone thinks of on 1 May is a maypole. Lions, foxes, and wolves no longer do battle on the Piazza di S. Croce; and the traditional game of *calcio* is no longer played there. Nothing remains of the *sbarra* and the *corso al saracino* but weapons and caparisons in museum showcases; and today we go to the theater to see something quite different from the “*macchine quasi soprannaturali*” (almost supernatural machinery) of Bernardo Buontalenti.

There is only one way to transform the contemporary narratives, which now strike us at first sight merely as dry or bizarre enumerations, into vividly remembered images: and that is by making the effort to see them in the context of the depictions of festive pageantry in the art of the period—an effort that has yet to be made, either in a specific case study or in a more general work. Amid the inexhaustible wealth of the Florentine collections and libraries, I have come upon Buontalenti's original designs and the account book for the theatrical costumes, as well as a number of engravings that refer to the Intermedi of 1589; and it is therefore a pleasure as well as an honor for me to take the opportunity that presents itself and, in an essay in art history, to attempt to describe the historical position of the Intermedi of 1589 within the evolution of theatrical taste.

In all the contemporary descriptions, it is the Intermedi that are described as the highlights of the festivities; and historians, too, have always regarded them as such.<sup>5</sup> The guiding spirit of these Intermedi was Giovanni de' Bardi dei Conti di Vernio, from whose celebrated circle, the Camerata, the classically inspired reform of musical drama, the *Riforma Melodrammatica*, was to emerge. At his side were Emilio de' Cavalieri, theater manager and organizer of the singers and actors, and Bernardo Buontalenti, costume designer and machinist. A fourth figure was the learned *prologo* Bastiano de' Rossi, “L'inferigno,” chief secretary to the Accademia della Crusca, whose task it was to expound to an educated public both the overall theme and the primary and secondary meanings of the elaborately conceived details. His

precise, comprehensive, and erudite description is naturally our most important source.

Bardi, Buontalenti, and Rossi had collaborated in the same way in 1585, when Bardi's comedy *L'amico fido* (unfortunately now lost) was performed in honor of the wedding of Cesare d'Este to Virginia de' Medici; and the memory of the fine effect achieved on that occasion led Ferdinando to entrust them with devising the festivities of 1589.<sup>6</sup> The only new member of the team was Emilio de' Cavalieri, who had been appointed superintendent (*intendente*) of fine arts on 3 September 1588.<sup>7</sup>

For Bardi—the friend of Vincenzo Galilei, the adviser to Caccini and Peri, the scholar and man of taste who was to launch the humanistic reform of music—to be found still, in 1589, inspiring florid Intermedi in which bedizened gods sang the praises of a princely couple to the madrigalesque music of Marenzio and Malvezzi, may at first sight seem strange and even undignified. It was works of just this kind, so highly appreciated in court circles for their “variety,” that formed the main hindrance to the emergence of any dramatic art and music based on psychology and unity. But we should not pass judgment too hastily. Bardi may have made his concessions to courtly tastes in 1585 and 1589, but he did not do so without a vigorous effort to impose his own taste; and this, as has not hitherto been noticed, went entirely in the direction of greater unity and clarity.

In his account of the 1585 festivities, Rossi plainly expresses his regret at the spoiling of an originally unified plan:

*Ma passiamo ad altro, e diciamo qual fu l'animo del Poeta, quando, da principio, gli convenne cercar la favola per la rappresentazion de'detti intermedi, che fu questo, di ritrovarla con un sol filo, e poscia far nascer da quella tutte e sei le rappresentazion, che gli abbisognavano. Ma fu giudicato opportuno alla'ntenzione, che s'aveva principalmente nel presente spettacolo, che innanzi ad ogni altra cosa s'attendesse alla varietà: di maniera, che gli fu necessario, per cotal riguardo, perderne l'unità, e per conseguente il pregio, che per essa può guadagnarsi.*<sup>8</sup>

Let us move on and describe how the poet felt when he wanted, at the outset, to find a story for the Intermedi he was staging: to find one with a single thread that could be carried through all the six scenes that he needed. It was, however, considered best for the main purpose of the present spectacle that the need for variety should take precedence over everything else; for which reason he was obliged to sacrifice their unity, and with it such merit as unity is able to confer.

In the Gabinetto dei Disegni of the Uffizi, there is an autograph pen and watercolor drawing, no. 7059, by Bernardo Buontalenti,<sup>9</sup> which bears the following inscription: “*Primo intermedio. Inven. Fece Bernardo Buontalenti, architetto di...?*” This can only refer to the first Intermedio of 1585. At the very top, in the center, Jupiter is seen enthroned on a cloud and flanked by eighteen goddesses on four other clouds. Below left are four Muses, led by a



**Fig. 77. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Design for the First Intermedio of 1589*  
 Drawing, Florence, Gabinetto delle Stampe (see p. 351)

**Fig. 78. Agostino Carracci**  
*Scene from the First Intermedio of 1589*  
 Engraving (see p. 354)

bearded, laurel-garlanded god (Apollo?); below right are five Muses led by a goddess in armor (Pallas?). In the center, between these two groups, is a gigantic eagle, with five putti peeping through its wings. The subject might thus be described as “Muses and Genii being sent out from Olympus.” But as this agrees only in the most general terms with Rossi’s description of the first Intermedio, in which eight *beni* (blessings)—Virtù, Fede, Bellezza, Gioventù, Felicità, Sanità, Pace, and Evento (Virtue, Faith, Beauty, Youth, Happiness, Health, Peace, and Success)—are sent from Olympus; it would probably not be wrong to suppose, therefore, that Buontalenti’s drawing is a sketch for Bardi’s first, rejected *conchetto* of the scene.<sup>10</sup>

Be that as it may, by 1589 Bardi was more successful in imposing a degree of inner coherence to the content of his six Intermedi. The subjects now were as follows:

1. Harmony of the Spheres;
2. Contest between Muses and Pierides;
3. Apollo’s Battle against Python;
4. Realm of the Spirits;
5. Rescue of Arion;
6. Apollo and Bacchus with Rhythm and Harmony.

All these, as will be seen, were pantomimes with an antique flavor, interspersed with madrigals, on the theme of the power of music;<sup>11</sup> and, as clearly emerges from Rossi’s description, they were designed down to the last detail in accordance with the information supplied by the writers of antiquity.

They fall into two groups. Intermedi 1, 4, and 6 are Neoplatonic allegories of the cosmic significance of music: what was then called *musica mundana*.<sup>12</sup> Intermedi 2, 3, and 5 are scenes from the lives of gods and men in legendary † times, illustrative of the effect of music on the soul; they represent classical instances of *musica humana*.

There are two remarkable things about this. The first is that, in the guise of Baroque allegorical personifications, and to the strains of madrigal music, the first group of Intermedi introduced in 1589 the very same Neoplatonic concepts of *musica mundana*—Harmonia Doria (1), Rhythm and Harmony (6)—that were to provide Bardi himself with the purely theoretical basis for his “reform of music.”<sup>13</sup> The second is that the first artistic product of that reform—the *Dafne* of Rinuccini and Peri—had its germ in the third of these Intermedi, the combat between Apollo and the dragon Python.

We are thus faced with the disconcerting fact that within a very brief span of years the very same antique ideas and legends, in the same hands, gave rise to two diametrically opposed theoretical conceptions and artistic treatments. How did the influence of antiquity come to be so transformed? To answer this question in some detail, we shall examine the content of Intermedi 1 and 3, and the form in which they were performed. †

Rossi’s erudite observations are not—as might at first be supposed—mere

learned scholia for the edification of a cultured public, devoid of practical significance for theatrical performance. Buontalenti's autograph costume designs for the Intermedi, preserved in a volume in the Palatina,<sup>14</sup> and the account book for the costumes of the Intermedi and the comedy,<sup>15</sup> show us how hard and consistently the deviser, the composer, the superintendent, the designer, the machinist, and—not least—the costumer, worked together to create in every detail the contemporary idea of an authentic antique spectacle.

To give us an idea of the staging and grouping of the whole, we have not only Buontalenti's drawings but four engravings, the true content and interrelatedness of which have not hitherto been noticed. Two engravings by

- \* Agostino Carracci are free treatments of the scenes of Intermedi 1 and 3;<sup>16</sup> and, as reference to Rossi's description makes clear, two others, by Epifanio d'Alfiano, a monk of Vallombrosa, show Intermedi 2 and 4.<sup>17</sup>

Three successive grand dukes—Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando—had reason to be glad that Bernardo Buontalenti had been rescued from the 1547 floods at the age of ten; for he served the Medici, as their universal architect, for sixty years. He built their palaces, villas, gardens, and fortifications, and showed the same zeal in applying his art to the celebration of family occasions. He decorated the baptistery for their christenings, made toys for the little princes at Christmas, and designed writing desks and a perpetual motion machine. At weddings he supplied fireworks and brought down the whole of Olympus, by means of his much-admired theatrical machinery, to congratulate each happy pair; and it was he who made the preparations for their last, solemn rites.<sup>18</sup>

- † Alongside all this, Buontalenti showed himself a true Renaissance architect, by no means uncultivated or lacking in theoretical interests. In 1582, at his request, Oreste Vannocci Biringucci<sup>19</sup> sent him an Italian translation of Hero of Alexandria (*Moti spiritali*); and he himself was said to have written *Alcuni trattati di scultura* and an *Arte dell'ingegnere*.<sup>20</sup> But his chief claim to fame—which even, says Baldinucci, led Torquato Tasso to pay him a brief though cordial visit in his house on Via Maggio<sup>21</sup>—was the theatrical machinery that he constructed and operated in the theater installed in the Uffizi in 1585.<sup>22</sup>

Buontalenti's costume designs are to be found in the Palatina volume mentioned above. This is the second of two large folio volumes of miscellaneous drawings, misshelved among the Palatina printed books and misleadingly labeled with the name of Giulio Parigi.<sup>23</sup> There are 260 drawings in all, mostly concerned with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century festivities, and I intend to discuss them as a whole elsewhere. Buontalenti's drawings<sup>24</sup> are pasted onto the first 37 folios of the second volume (one isolated drawing is on fol. 74). As six of the versos also carry drawings (fols. 24, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36), we thus have 44 drawings in all, inserted without any regard for coherence.

They refer to Intermedi 1, 2, 3, and 5, as follows:

1. 11 (Harmonia, fig. 80), 27 (Necessity with the Fates), 28 (*Nugola* [cloud] with Diana, Venus, Mars, Saturn), 29 (*Nugola* with Mercury, Apollo,



- Jupiter, Astraea, fig. 81), 32–37 (Sirens of the ten spheres), 74 (Vestal?); \*
2. 7 (woodpecker), 8 (Muse), 9 (Pierid), 30<sup>v</sup> and 31 (Mount of the Hamadryads);
3. 12 (Apollo), 13–24 (couples from Delphic chorus, fig. 84),<sup>25</sup> 24<sup>v</sup> (Apollo shooting an arrow, fig. 83), 25 (dragon, fig. 83);
5. 1 (*putto*?), 2 (*marinaro* {seaman}), 3 (*mozo* {shipboy}), 4 (*nochiere* {helmsman}), 5 (*marinaro*), 6 (Arion),<sup>26</sup> 10 (*ninfa marina* {sea nymph}).

There are handwritten additions in three different hands: in the first,<sup>27</sup> names of performers above the drawings for Intermedi 1 and 3; in the second,<sup>28</sup> names of performers above the drawings for Intermedio 5; and in the third, notes on the significance of the figures and on the colors and quantities of garments to be made up according to the drawings.

Finally, the account book of Emilio de' Cavalieri is a stout volume of 760 pages,<sup>29</sup> made up of three parts:

1. the so-called *Libro del taglio*, which is a survey of the materials used (194 folio pages);
2. the *Quadernaccio di ricordi*, the daily records of cloth given out for tailoring, wages to tailors, receipts, etc. (388 folio pages);
3. a file of individual notes and letters, mostly referring to the performance of *La pellegrina*. A request from the Gelosi company concerning the set for the mad scene ("*la pazzia d'Isabella*") bears a long holograph minute signed by Emilio de' Cavalieri.

The *Libro del taglio* and the *Quadernaccio di ricordi* are in the same hand throughout.<sup>30</sup> Names of performers, forty-one in all, are found only in relation to Intermedio 1 (*Quadernaccio*, 291–296, notes 414–416, 423–424). As Buontalenti's drawings also have running numbers that correspond to the captions under the drawings for Intermedio 1, the performers' names can be plausibly assigned to the figures mentioned by Rossi. Although these casting notes are given only for Intermedio 1, six tables on pages 301–308 give the quantities and kinds of materials used for each of the six Intermedi, and page 191 gives the total number of costumes<sup>31</sup> for which the master costumers, Oreto Belardi and Niccolò Serlori, and their fifty helpers were paid in September 1589. Oreto also received a special payment for his work at the dress rehearsal, held in Lent, and for the repeat performance of the *commedia*. On page 93 is a copy of the accounts for the cost of the *sbarra* and *commedia*, audited by the *uffitiali del monte* (officials of the public debt) on 26 May 1593. Total expenditure on the *commedia* and Intermedi: Fl. 30,255 £4 11s; for the *sbarra* Fl. 14,457 £10s 6d.<sup>32</sup> The same account shows that there was also a dress rehearsal of the comedies in Siena. The austere *uffitiali del monte* were far from satisfied, however: it was their verdict that the performances had been arranged "*con poca diligentia di risparmio*" (with scant regard for economy).



**Fig. 79. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Siren*  
 Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 357)



**Fig. 80. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Harmonia Doria*  
 Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 359)



**Fig. 81. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Three Planets and Astraea*  
 Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 368)

Preparations for the comedies and Intermedi were in full swing from the beginning of October 1588. By then, Bardi and Cavalieri had already cast Intermedio 1; and by the end of December the costumes for the principal performers were ready. Oreto the tailor had received “16 braccia di tela cilandrata” (calendered cloth) to make a costume “per uno che va in una nughola, et detto abito serve per modello nel primo Intermedio”<sup>33</sup> (for one who goes in a cloud, his costume to serve as a pattern for the costumes in Intermedio 1). The one who went in a cloud was Cesarone Basso, and the figure that he portrayed was the Siren of the eighth sphere.<sup>34</sup> His name appears beneath the drawing in question, written in Buontalenti’s own hand; the same drawing served for the other ten Sirens—whose costumes, as will be shown later, represented the first stage of preparation for the performances.

With admirable tact, Giovanni de’ Bardi<sup>35</sup> had chosen to present on the stage one of Plato’s profoundest parables. According to Plato (*Republic* 10.617), the harmonious music of the spheres is generated as follows. From the lap of Necessity descends the adamantine spindle that forms the axis between the two poles of the universe. The three Fates, Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, sit at their mother’s feet, helping her to turn the spindle and singing their eternal song of past, present, and future. Their song blends with the sounds voiced by the Sirens, rulers of the eight spheres that revolve about the axis of the universe; and thus eternal harmony springs from the concord of Necessity and Nature.

Here are Plato’s words, after he has described the relative positions of the spindle and of the spheres:

*Fusum vero in Necessitatis genibus circumverti. Superne praeterea cuilibet circulo insistere Sirenem, quae una cum eo circumferatur, vocem unam, tonum unum emitentem; ex omnibus octo autem unam concinere harmoniam. Alias autem tres aequali intervallo circa sedentes in solio quamque, Necessitatis filias, Parcas, vestibis albis, capite coronato, Lachesin et Clotho et Atropon, ad Sirenium harmoniam canere, Lachesin praeterita, praesentia Clotho, Atropon futura, et Clotho quidem cum matre simul intermissione quadam temporis dextra manu tangentem fusi extimum volvere circuitum, Atropon vero sinistra interiores similiter; Lachesin denique alternis utraque manu tangere utrosque.*<sup>36</sup>

The spindle turns on the knees of Necessity. Above, on each whorl, stands a Siren, who is carried around together with it, uttering one sound, one note; from all eight, however, a single harmony sounds in concert. Three others sit around at equal intervals, each on a throne: the daughters of Necessity, the Fates, dressed in white with garlands on their heads, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos. They sing to the harmony of the Sirens—Lachesis of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future. And Clotho, from time to time touching the outermost whorl of the spindle with her right hand, joins with her mother to make it revolve; Atropos with her left hand likewise turns the inner whorls; finally, Lachesis with each hand in turn touches both.

Bardi ingeniously combined this idea of Plato's with another.<sup>37</sup> He personified the harmony of the universe as Harmonia Doria—the Dorian mode, which the musical theoreticians of the Renaissance, following Plato and Aristotle, supposed to be the supreme form of music—and brought her on stage, as a preordained harmony, before the song of the spheres. In his discourse, Bardi says of Harmonia Doria:

*...della qual Musica Doria, o tuono, che vogliamo dire, lodata oltre misura da tutti i gran Savj, ed altresì in altro luogo ragionandone Aristotele disse, che ella aveva del virile, del magnifico, e del divino, del grave, e dell'onorato, del modesto, del temperato e del convenevole.*<sup>38</sup>

...this Dorian Music, or mode, of which we speak, has been excessively praised by all the great philosophers, and Aristotle likewise has described it elsewhere as partaking of the manly, the magnificent, the divine, the grave, the honorable, the modest, the temperate, and the seemly.

The Platonist philosopher Francesco Patrizzi, in his *Poetica* of 1586, had described Harmonia Doria in similar terms:

*...haveva del melanconico, e dell'austero, e perciò del virile, e del grande, e del grave, e del magnifico, e del maestevole, e del divino; e appresso del temperato, del modesto, e dell'onorato, e convenevole.*<sup>39</sup>

...it partook of the melancholy, of the austere, and thus of the manly, the grand, the grave, the magnificent, the majestic, and the divine; and consequently of the temperate, the modest, the honorable, and the seemly.

The idea of representing the musical harmony of the universe in mythological terms was current in the Quattrocento in a different form. Here the musical soul of the cosmos was personified as Apollo, and he was surrounded by eight Muses as rulers of the spheres.<sup>40</sup> Seven Muses corresponded to the planets, and Urania to the eighth sphere; Thalia, in accordance with the myth, remained earthbound. The ninth and tenth spheres, which the Middle Ages had added to the system,<sup>41</sup> were personified as "Primum Mobile" and "Prima Causa." These notions were reflected, for example, in the engravings of the

\* so-called *Tarocchi* (tarot cards) of Baldini.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, Gafurius, in his *Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, depicts the Harmony of the Cosmos as an eight-stringed lyre. In the woodcut,<sup>43</sup> Apollo is seen enthroned above; at his right hand are the Graces. Above him is a scroll with the words "*Mentis Apollineae vis has movet undique musas*" (the power of Apollo's mind moves these Muses on all sides). From Apollo's feet a long serpent slithers down, with its three heads on the earth below. Across the serpent's back, the names of the Greek modes form the eight strings of the lyre. At either end of each string is a circular medallion: Muses on the right, planets on the left.<sup>44</sup>

Bardi subjected this idea to a curious metamorphosis by replacing Apollo with Necessity and the Fates, and the Muses by the Sirens. But let Bastiano de' Rossi explain:

INTERMEDIO PRIMO<sup>45</sup>

*Si rappresentò in questo intermedio le Serene celesti, guidate dall'Armonia, delle quali fa menzion Platone ne'libri della Repub.<sup>46</sup> e due, oltre alle mentovate da lui, secondo l'opinion de'moderni,<sup>47</sup> vi se n'aggiunse, cioè quelle della nona, e decima sfera. E perchè nello stesso luogo si truova scritto, che ciascuna delle dette Sirene siede sopra il cerchio, o circonferenza di esse sfere, e gira con essa circonferenza, e girando manda fuori una sola voce distesa, e di tutte se ne fa un'Armonia consonante; il Poeta, poichè Platone vuole, che da tutte ne nasca una consonante, e sola Armonia, e l'Armonia per natura va sempre avanti a color, che cantano, la diede loro per iscorta, e mandolla avanti in iscena. E perchè lo stesso Platone in altro luogo<sup>48</sup> de'medesimi libri della Repub. afferma la Doria di tutte l'altre Armonie esser la migliore, e Aristotele altresì, pur nella sua Repub.<sup>49</sup> lo conferma, e oltr'a ciò dice, che tutti consentono lei aver dello stabile, e del virile, e propriamente della fortezza, la Doria<sup>50</sup> gli piacque di dimostrarci, e vestilla con abito, che aveva forte intenzione a questo costume: ma degli abiti più di sotto. Cadute le cortine si vide immanentemente apparir nel Cielo una nugola, e in terra, avanti alla scena, d'ordine dorico, un tempietto di pietra rustica: in essa nugola una donna, che se ne veniva pian piano in terra, sonando un liuto, e cantando, oltre a quel del liuto, ch'ella sonava, al suono di gravicembali, chitarroni, e arpi, che eran dentro alla Prospettiva, il madrigal sottoscritto. Allato le sedevano, sì dall'una banda, come dall'altra, ma bene alquanto più basse, quasi ad ascoltare il suo canto, tre altre donne,<sup>51</sup> tanto naturalmente, e con tal rilievo dipinte, che parean vive. La musica fu d'Emilio de'Cavalieri: le parole del trovatore degl'intermedi.<sup>52</sup>* †

*Dalle celesti sfere,  
Di celesti Sirene amica scorta,  
L'Armonia son, ch'a voi vengo, o mortali:  
Poscia che fino al Ciel battendo l'ali  
L'alta fama n'apporta,  
Che mai sì nobil coppia il Sol non vide,  
Qual voi nuova Minerva, e forte Alcide.*

## INTERMEDIO 1

This Intermedio presented the Celestial Sirens, led by Harmony, whom Plato mentions in his *Republic*; the two Sirens of the ninth and tenth spheres have been added to those he mentions, in conformity with the views of the moderns. In the same place he writes that each Siren is seated on the circle or circumference of a sphere, and moves round with that circumference, singing a single continuous note as she goes, the notes together making a consonant Harmony. Since Plato stipulates that a single consonant Harmony is produced, and since Harmony by her very nature always precedes those who sing, the Poet has given Harmony to the Sirens as an

escort, and it is she who comes first on to the stage. And because Plato states elsewhere in the *Republic* that the Dorian is the best of all modes of musical Harmony, and Aristotle, too, confirms this in his *Republic*, adding that everyone considers it to have the qualities of stability, manliness, and fortitude, the poet chose to show the Dorian Harmony, dressing her in a costume that bore a close reference to this tradition; but of the costumes more in due course. When the curtain fell away, a cloud appeared at once in the heavens; and on the earth, in front of the stage, was revealed a small, rusticated Doric temple. In the cloud was a lady, who gradually descended to earth, playing a lute and singing; the madrigal she sang, which is printed below, was accompanied not only by the lute but by harpsichords, chitar-roni, and harps behind the scenes. On either side of her, but somewhat lower, as if listening to her song, sat three other ladies, painted so naturally and realistically that they seemed alive. The music was by Emilio de' Cavalieri, the words by the deviser of the Intermedi:

From the celestial spheres  
 Escort and friend of the celestial Sirens,  
 I, Harmony, descend to you, O mortals.  
 Then, soaring to high heaven on beating wings,  
 May lofty Fame announce  
 That never did the Sun behold so noble a pair  
 As you, new Minerva and strong Alcides.

Whereupon the cloud opened:

*...in manco tempo, ch'io non l'ho detto.*

*E ciò fu, che sparita, videro tutto quanto il Cielo stellato, con un sì fatto splendor, che lo illuminava, che l'avreste detto lume di luna: e la scena tutta in cambio di case (che a buona ragion pareva che si dovesson vedere) piena di nugole, alle vere sì somiglianti, che si dubitò, che non dovesser salire al Cielo a darne una pioggia. E mentre che tal cosa si riguardava, si vide di su la scena muoversi quattro nugole, su le quali erano le mentovate Serene, che fecero di se non solamente improvvisa, ma sì bella mostra, e sì graziosa, e con tanta ricchezza, e magnificenza d'abiti, che come di sotto potrà vedersi, eccedevano il verisimile: e cominciarono tanto dolcemente a cantare questo suono in su liuti, e viole, che ben potevano, se la lor vista non gli avesse tenuti desti, con la dolcezza del canto loro, addormentar di profondo sonno, come vere Serene, gli ascoltatori.*

Noi, che, cantando, le celeste sfere  
 Dolcemente rotar facciamo intorno,  
 In così lieto giorno,  
 Lasciando il Paradiso,  
 Meraviglie più altere,  
 Cantiam d'una bell'alma, e d'un bel viso.

*Le parole di questo canto, e gli altri madrigali, che seguono appresso in questo intermedio, furono composizione d'Ottavio Rinuccini, giovane gentil'huomo di questa patria, per molte rare sue qualità ragguardevole, e la Musica di Cristofano Malvezzi da Lucca Prete, e Maestro di Cappella in questa Città. Cantato, ch'ell'ebbero, immantenente s'aperse il Cielo in tre luoghi, e comparve, con incredibil velocità, a quell'apertura, tre nugole. In quella del mezzo la Dea della Necessità con le Parche, e nell'altre i sette Pianeti, e Astrea: e tale fu lo splendore, che vi si vide per entro, e tale gli abiti degl'Iddei, e degli Eroi che si paoneggiavano in esso Cielo, ricchi d'oro, e di lucidi abbigliamenti, che potette ben parere ad ognuno, che'l Paradiso s'aprisse, e che Paradiso fosse divenuto tutto l'Apparato, e la Prospettiva. Aperto il Cielo, in esso, e in terra cominciò a sentirsi una così dolce e forse non più udita melodía, che ben sembrava di Paradiso. Alla quale, oltre a gli strumenti, che sonarono al canto dell'Armonía, e delle Serene, vi s'aggiunsero del Cielo, tromboni, traverse, e cetere. Finita la melodía, le Parche, le quali sedevano per egual distanza, e toccanti il fuso, intorno alla madre Necessità nel mezzo del Cielo, e che, come dice Platone, cantano all'Armonía di quelle Serene, Lachesi le passate, Cloto le presenti, e Atropo le cose a venire, cominciarono, richiamandole al Cielo, a cantare: e per far più dolce Armonía, parve al Poeta, che i Pianeti, che sedevano nell'altre aperture del Cielo, allato a quella del mezzo, cantassero anch'eglino insieme con le tre Parche, e con esso loro la Madre Necessità. Al qual canto movendosi le Serene in su le lor nugole, e andandosene verso il Cielo, cantando, e facendo un gentil Dialogo, che fu questo, rispondevan loro a vicenda:*

- P. — *Dolcissime Sirene,*  
           *Tornate al Cielo, e 'n tanto*  
           *Facciam, cantando, a gara un dolce canto.*
- S. — *Non mai tanto splendore*  
           *Vide Argo, Cipro, o Delo.*
- P. — *A voi, regali amanti,*  
           *Cediam noi tutti gran Numi del Cielo.*
- S. — *Per lei non pur s'infiora,*  
           *Ma di Perle, e rubin s'ingemma Flora.*
- P. — *Di puro argento ha l'onde*  
           *Arno, per voi Granduce, e d'or le sponde.*
- S. — *Tessiam dunque ghirlande a sì gran Regi,*  
           *E sien di Paradiso i fiori, e i fregi.*
- P. — *A lor fronte regal s'intrecci stelle,*
- S. — *E Sole, e Luna, e cose alte, e più belle.*

*Fu veramente cosa mirabile, il vedere andarsene quelle nugole verso il Cielo, quasi cacciate dal Sole, lasciandosi sotto di mano in man, che salivano, un chiaro splendore. Arrivate le Serene al Cielo su dette nugole, soavemente cantando, finì il dialogo, e cominciarono tutti insieme, e le Parche, e i Pianeti, ed elleno, in su i mentovati strumenti, novellamente a cantare:*

*Coppia gentil d'avventurosi Amanti,  
 Per cui non pure il Mondo  
 Si fa lieto, e giocondo,  
 E spera aver da voi  
 Schiera d'invitti, e gloriosi Eroi.  
 Ma fiammeggiante d'amoroso zelo  
 Canta, ridendo, e festeggiando 'l Cielo.*

...in less time than it takes to describe it.

And when the cloud was gone, the starry heavens were revealed to all, in a light so contrived that you would have taken it for the light of the moon itself: and the stage entirely full, not (as the spectators reasonably expected) of houses, but of clouds, so lifelike it seemed they might rise up to the sky and deliver a shower of rain. While the audience contemplated this, four clouds descended from above the stage carrying the Sirens, whose appearance was not only unexpected but so beautiful and graceful, with such rich and magnificent costumes, that, as will be seen below, they were beyond belief. They began very gently to sing the following, to the strains of lutes and viols, so that, if the sight of them had not kept the audience awake, they might, like true Sirens, have lulled them into a deep sleep with the sweetness of their song:

We, who by singing make the spheres  
 Of heaven sweetly turn around,  
 On such a joyful day,  
 We leave our Paradise,  
 To sing of loftier marvels,  
 A virtuous spirit, and a lovely face.

The words of this song and of the other madrigals in this Intermedio were written by Ottavio Rinuccini, a young gentleman of Tuscany, possessed of many rare and admirable qualities; and the music was composed by Cristofano Malvezzi, priest, of Lucca, and master of music in this city. While the madrigal was being sung, the heavens suddenly opened in three places; and, with incredible speed, three clouds appeared in the openings. In the middle cloud was the goddess Necessity, with the Fates, and in the other two were the seven Planets with Astraea. The splendor revealed was such, and the costumes of the gods and heroes who thus paraded in the heavens were so rich in gold, and sparkled so brightly, that the audience might have imagined that the gates of Paradise were opening, and that the whole stage and its scenery were a Paradise. As the skies opened, a sweet melody that had never been heard before began to play, which certainly seemed to come from Paradise. To the instruments accompanying Harmony's song, and those played by the Sirens, were added sackbuts, flutes, and citterns from above. When the melody finished, the Fates, seated at equal distances around their mother Necessity, who was in the center of the sky, and all touching her spindle, began their song to the accompaniment (as Plato says) of the Sirens: Lachesis sang of things past, Clotho of



things present, and Atropos of things to come, commending their song to heaven. To make their song sweeter, the Poet caused the Planets, seated in the other openings in the sky to either side of the central one, to sing with the three Fates, as did Mother Necessity herself. During this song, the Sirens on their clouds moved skyward, singing, and they exchanged this charming dialogue with the Fates, each replying in turn:

- F Sweet Sirens now return  
     To heaven, and meanwhile  
     Let us compete with our sweet song.
- S. Never was such splendor  
     In Argos, Cyprus, or Delos.
- F To you, O regal lovers,  
     All we great deities of heaven yield.
- S. For her, not flowers alone,  
     But pearls and rubies Flora now will wear.
- F For you, Grand Duke, the Arno  
     Has waves of silver now, and banks of gold.
- S. Let us weave garlands for such great Monarchs,  
     Of flowers and ornaments from Paradise.
- F And wreath their regal brows with stars,
- S. And Sun and Moon, and all things high and fair.

The ascent of the clouds into heaven, as dispelled by the sun, was indeed a wondrous sight; gradually they rose higher, a brilliant light remaining below. The Sirens arrived in heaven, still singing; the dialogue concluded; and then all joined together, the Fates, the Planets, and Sirens, with all the instruments mentioned above, and began a new song:

O gentle pair, intrepid lovers both,  
     Not only does this World  
     Here revel and rejoice,  
     Expecting from your line  
     A glorious and unvanquished host of Heroes:  
     The Heavens too, aflame with amorous zeal,  
     Laugh, sing, and celebrate this day.

In the following section of his text, Rossi gives an exact description of the costumes, adding that in the heavens, like the blessed in Plato's Elysian Fields, there were twelve more "*huomini e donne eccellenti nelle più sovrane virtù*"<sup>53</sup> (men and women excelling in the most sovereign virtues).

Rossi thus mentions 35 characters in all;<sup>54</sup> the account book, however, mentions 41 performers and 45 costumes. This discrepancy is explained by the fact that in performance, in order to strengthen the band, a number of musicians (students from the school of Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta)

were posted in the heavens among the heroes. (The planetary deities, too, as we shall see, were added to the cast of the Intermedio only in rehearsal.)

It is worth pausing to consider all the musicians, as they—like all the performers mentioned in the account book and in the designs—are more or less known individuals who belonged either to the grand ducal court chapel<sup>55</sup> or to Bernardo Franciosino's instrumental school.<sup>56</sup> We give here a brief outline of the performers and their roles, without entering into undue detail about individuals, marking with an asterisk the names of those soloists who did not belong either to the Franciosino's Scuola or to the grand ducal chapel.<sup>57</sup>

*Armonia* was played by:

1. Vittoria Archilei.<sup>58</sup>

The fifteen<sup>59</sup> *Sirene* by:

2. Antonio Archilei (*Luna*).
  3. Lucia Caccini (*Mercurio*).
  4. Jacopo Zazzerino (*Venere*).
  5. Antonio Naldi (*Sole*).
  6. Gio. Lapi (*Marte*).
  7. Baccio Polibotria (*Giove*).
  8. Niccolò Castrato (*Ottava Sfera*).
  9. Cesarone (*Ottava Sfera*).
  10. Gio. Batt. del Violino [Jacomelli] (*Nona Sfera*).
  11. Raffaello Gucci (*Decima Sfera*).
  12.  $\frac{mp}{p}$  Giulio Caccini
  13.  $\frac{dp}{s}$  Gio. Batt. di Ser Jacopi
  14.  $\frac{zp}{f}$  Duritio
  15.  $\frac{tp}{q}$  Zanobi Ciliani
- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| } | Sfera dell'Empireo. |
|---|---------------------|
16. A contralto from Rome.

The four *Pianeti* on the right:

17. Mario Luchini (*Luna*).
18. Alberigo\* (*Venus*).
19. Gio. del Minugiaio\* (*Mars*).
20. [Lu]ca Marenzio (*Saturno*).

1.a Parca: 21. Don Gio. Basso.

2.a Parca: 22. Ludovico Belevanti.\*

Necessità: 23. Onofrio Gualfreducci.

3.a Parca: 24. Piero Masselli.\*

The four *Pianeti* on the left:

25. Pierino (*Mercurio*).
26. Mongalbo\* (*Giove*).
27. Ser Bono (?)\* (*Apollo*).
28. Cristofano\* (*Astraea*).

The following thirteen musicians as heroes in the heavens:

29. Gio. del Franciosino.
30. Gio. Batt<sup>a</sup> del Franciosino.

31. Paolino del Franciosino.<sup>60</sup>
32. Antonello del Bottigliere (?).
33. Orazio del Franciosino.
34. Prete Riccio.\*
35. Tonino di M.<sup>o</sup> Lena (?).\*
36. Paolino Stiattesi (?).\*
37. Piero Malespini.
38. Oratio Benvenuti.\*
39. Il Biondino del Franciosino.
40. Lex.<sup>o</sup> del Franciosino.
41. Feduccio.

The Carracci engraving<sup>61</sup> shows us the elaborate stage spectacle: above, in the heavens, sat Necessity, with thirteen musicians behind her as heroes in Elysium; the eight planetary deities paraded on the two upper clouds, and the fourteen Sirens on the two lower clouds.

There is no doubt that Intermedio 1 afforded a brilliant and surprising spectacle; but whether it left the onlookers with any clear impression of the meaning of the characters, or of the connection between them, is another question altogether. The resources proper to the theater, those of words and action, were used hardly at all to characterize the mythological *concetti*. The dramatic action consisted in the fact that a number of the mythological company floated aloft to sing—with some slight mythological allusions—the praises of the grand ducal couple.

The figures in Intermedio 1 were thus given no opportunity to convey their nature and identity through words or dramatic actions. The author, if he wanted to convey some sense of meaning and coherence to the spectator, was left with only one recourse: the path to the emotions, through the ear, was closed; but the path to the understanding, through the eye, remained open. The characterization must be conveyed through clear, symbolic visual signs that would be familiar to the spectator as attributes of mythological beings. In the event, however, his excessive zeal in the pursuit of attributes led to some arbitrary and unnatural combinations. As typical examples of this formative process, let us take the figures of Necessity and the Sirens.

Between the beginning of October and the beginning of December, Siren costumes were made for fifteen of the singers in the grand ducal chapel.<sup>62</sup> At this stage we find no mention of any other figures, which suggests that Bardi may initially have intended to present the choral dance of the stars, mentioned † as the principal subject of the ancient choruses in a *Trattato sulla musica degli antichi* by an unknown author who was certainly well versed in the ideas of † the Camerata.<sup>63</sup> As in 1584, therefore, the initial conception was a comparatively simple one, which became less clear as work proceeded and the cast grew by two thirds. Bardi himself had already made some concessions toward the use of larger forces, adding five more Sirens to those of the ninth and tenth spheres.<sup>64</sup>

In any case, the Sirens were the principal figures, and it was necessary to devote great attention to their headdresses. Two attributes must be instantly recognizable: that they were the winged songstresses of antiquity and that they were the movers of the spheres. As Sirens, they were therefore given garments of feathers and, as stars, the emblems of their respective spheres on their heads. Each Siren also wore a colored satin skirt and above it a shorter garment of the same color: a distant echo of the Greek chiton. Her face was covered by a mask, held in place by a bandeau, and in her hair, as well as the emblem of her sphere, were a number of plumes and stars.<sup>65</sup> Her ornate shoes were designed with particular care, as the possession of human feet showed that these cosmic Sirens had nothing in common with the bird-footed or fish-tailed<sup>66</sup> Sirens who bewitched men with their song.

Here is Rossi's description of the costume of the Siren of the Moon:

*Dopo l'Armonia le Serene: la prima d'esse, che volgeva il Ciel della Luna, era infin dalla spalle a' fianchi, si come l'altre Serene, che si diranno, tutta pennuta, e addosso le penne soprapposte l'una all'altra in maniera che in più acconcio modo non istanno le naturali addosso agli uccelli: erano finte di sbiancato ermisin mavi, e lumeggiate d'ariento, che la facevano apparir del color proprio del suo pianeta, quando di notte si vede in Cielo. Alla fine delle penne un bel fregio d'oro, e sotto un'abito vago di raso bianco, con alcuni ornamenti d'oro, che le andavano a mezza gamba. I suoi calzaretti mavi adorni di gioie, di cammei, di mascherini, e di veli d'ariento, e d'oro, avendo il poeta avuto riguardo, contrario alle malvage Serene, che hanno le parti basse brutte, e deformi, di far queste in tutta perfezion di bellezza. Aveva biondi i capelli, e piena di raggi lunari l'acconciatura, dalla quale pendevano in ordine vago, e bello, alcuni veli mavi, che svolazzando faceano una lieta vista: e sopra all'acconciatura una Luna: e per più farla lieta, e adorna le mise dietro alle spalle un manto di drappo rosso, nel quale, percotendo i lumi, che invisibili nele nugole furono dall'artefice accomodati, come più di sotto diremo, risplendeva sì fattamente, che non vi si poteva affisare gli occhi.*<sup>67</sup>

After Harmony came the Sirens. The first of these, who turned the Moon's heaven, was covered like the other Sirens in feathers from neck to knee, and on her back the feathers overlapped just as naturally as they do on the back of a bird; the feathers were made of soft, sky-blue silk, heightened with silver, which made the Siren look the same color as her planet when it is seen in the night sky. At the end of the feathers a beautiful gold decoration, and below the feathers she wore a charming white satin gown to her knees, with some gold embroidery on it. Her little, pale blue shoes were covered with jewels, cameos, little masks, and with gold and silver ribbons. In contrast to the wicked Sirens, who have ugly and misshapen lower parts, the poet had taken care to make these admirable in their perfection. Her hair was blond, and her headdress shaped like the rays of the moon; to her headdress were attached, in pretty disarray, several gaily fluttering pale blue veils; and on top of her headdress was a Moon. To make her more cheerful and lovely, she wore a red cloak; when this caught the light (I shall have more to say later about the

lights, artfully concealed in the clouds) it glittered so brightly that the eye could not rest on it.

The costumers, Oreto Berardi and Niccolò Serlori, with eight or so assistants each week,<sup>68</sup> set to work to transpose all this ingenious and almost over-subtle symbolism from the realm of ideas into the crude reality of costume. The first difficulty was the coats of feathers, which could never be made for fifteen Sirens from expensive real feathers. But Francesco Gorini found a substitute: on October 5 he took delivery of “53 br. di tela di quadrone per far dipingere e somigliare penne per 14 vestiti del primo intermedio”<sup>69</sup> (53 braccia of canvas to be painted to look like feathers for 14 costumes for Intermedio 1). Clearly, there was going to be an element of illusion.

All through October, and until the middle of November, the tailors worked hard. By 15 November, 99 braccia of *tela cilindrata* (calendered cloth) had been made up into “*tredici busti con maniche, mezze maniche, bendoni, alietti, e altri abbigliamenti per il primo Intermedio*”<sup>70</sup> (thirteen bodices with sleeves, half sleeves, bands, little wings, and other garments for Intermedio 1), in which they were to be worn by singers 2–16, as listed above.

On 17 November Giovanni Lapi’s costume was ready.<sup>71</sup> By 19 November the costumes for the other named performers had been cut out and were being made up. During November work proceeded on the trimmings, including “*spallacci, maschere, mascherini e rose di cartone*”<sup>72</sup> (shoulder pieces, masks, half-masks, and roses of paper). Such was the concern for authenticity that efforts were made to compensate for the anatomical deficiencies of the male performers: “*Poppe e petti di cartone d’ogni sorte devono dare il 3 di dicembre n.º 24 poppe di cartone dipinte havute da Francesco Gorini*”<sup>73</sup> (breasts and bosoms made of paper of all kinds; to deliver on 3 December, 24 painted paper busts from Francesco Gorini).

All of this goes to show what skill and care were lavished on the making of appropriate, expressive accessories for the Sirens; and even more erudition was required to devise the attributes of Necessity. Buontalenti’s beautiful drawing<sup>74</sup> shows Necessity more or less as Plato describes her: she sits on her throne, and the spindle descends in front of her, spun by the three Fates, garlanded and clad in white. In her left hand, Necessity holds two large nails, in her right hand a bunch of gut strings, and on her head she wears a garland of cypress. These last two attributes are not mentioned by Plato but by Horace,<sup>75</sup> in whom Bardi was fortunate enough to find a number of attributes proper to Mother Necessity:

*Te semper antit saeva necessitas*  
*Clavos trabales et cuneos manu*  
*Gestans athena, nec severus*  
*Uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.*

Grim Necessity always walks before you,  
 Brandishing spikes and ties (*recte*: wedges)  
 In her brazen hand, and she has  
 Her dread hook and molten lead.

We leave the explanation to Rossi:

*Stava la Madre Necessità nel Cielo all'apertura di mezzo, e sopra un seggio di color cenerognolo si sedeva. Figurata dal facitore nella guisa, che ce la describe Orazio in quella sua ode: di fiera vista, chiamandola egli saeva: le mani di bronzo, e in esse due fortissimi, e grossi chiovi, di quelli, con che si conficcan le travi. I cunei, cioè erano certi legami fortissimi, e sottilissimi, quasi della spezie della minugia, che s'adoperavano a tormentare i colpevoli, in guisa strignendo con essi le membra loro, che venivan quasi ad unirsi. L'oncino e'l piombo strutto, che similmente l'è assegnato da quel Poeta, gliele dipinser nel seggio. La 'ncoronò di Cipresso, e la vestì di raso bigio argentato: tra le ginocchia le mise il fuso, il qual pareva di Diamante, e sì grande, che con la cocca entrava ne' Cieli, come un fuso ordinario in un fusaiuolo.<sup>76</sup>*

Mother Necessity appeared in the sky, in the central opening, seated on an ashen-colored throne. She was figured by the artist as she is described by Horace in his ode: fierce-featured (he calls her *saeva*), with hands of bronze, in which she held two huge, strong nails like those used to fix beams. The *cunei*, very strong but supple ties (*sic*), like gut, were used to torture criminals by tying their limbs together so tightly that they almost fused. The little weighing scales and the molten lead, which that poet also ascribed to her, were painted on her seat. Crowned with cypress, she wore a silver-gray satin gown. Between her knees was the spindle, which seemed to be made of diamond and was so long that the tip fitted into the heavens as a normal spindle fits into a whorl.

- \* And so Plato's and Horace's profound allegories, their poetic interpretations of the mysteries of life, were taken by the scholars of the sixteenth century as personal descriptions; their recondite symbols served to define the costumes and props that the decorators and costumers gave to the actors to wear or carry, or else, when—like Necessity—the performers had their hands full already, painted on their thrones. (Since the sides of the latter, as Bardi's drawing shows, were totally invisible from the front, the spectators never saw them; but at least the deviser's conscience was set at rest.) If we compare Buontalenti's other drawings (Harmonia and Planets) with Rossi's description, which I cannot discuss at any greater length here, we find at once the same Baroque style of invention and execution.

† Did all of this labored and obtrusive symbolism enable Bardi to make clear, at least to the educated portion of the public, the profound, underlying idea of his carefully wrought composition?<sup>77</sup> The diaries of Pavoni and Cavallino, who can certainly be regarded as intelligent and unprejudiced spectators, supply a negative answer. Both were filled with admiration for the Intermedi, and

gave faithful descriptions of their externals; but neither seems to have guessed that the central idea of this Intermedio was that of the harmony of the universe. Pavoni did at least perceive that the musicians above the clouds represented the “*Sirene celesti e altri Pianeti*” (Celestial Sirens and other Planets); but he describes the figure of Harmonia as follows: “*una donna che stava a sedere sopra una nuvola, e con un liuto cominciò a sonare e cantare molto soavemente*”<sup>78</sup> (A lady seated on a cloud began to play on a lute and sing most sweetly); and Cavallino tells us “*restò in aria una nube che vi era dentro una donna da angiola vestita, che a guisa d’angiola cantava sì sonoro, e con bellissimi concenti che ogn’uno restò meravigliato*”<sup>79</sup> (there was a cloud in the air that had within it a lady dressed as an angel, who sang as sweetly as an angel, with harmonies so beautiful that all were enchanted). Neither noticed Necessity, seated with the Fates at the axis of the universe. †

Bardi’s fate was that of an artist whose finely elaborated work of art, designed to be seen by connoisseurs at leisure and at close quarters, is shown to the public briefly and in an ornate and distracting setting. From our modern point of view, the failure of all these hieroglyphic symbols seems entirely natural and predictable; and most people will smile at Bardi’s efforts and consider that this sort of costume symbolism deserved, at best, the approval of those sophisticated scholars whose questionable pastime it was to puzzle over the pictorial riddles of the ancient world. But such a judgment is too closely tied to the standpoint of modern theatrical practice. It fails to take account of the true origins of the Intermedio, which did not lie in the spoken drama so much as in the mythological pageant; and this, being an essentially mute and gestural art, naturally relies on accessories and adornments.

All those now extinct transitional forms between real life and dramatic art, which the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries produced in such abundance—as, for example, in the carnival *mascherate*, for the *sbarre*, the *giostre*, and the *bufole*—afforded a unique opportunity for members of the public to see the revered figures of antiquity standing before them in flesh and blood. And in them the aid of decor and costume was all the more necessary, because the figures moved past the spectator in large numbers and in rapid succession, leaving him only a short time in which to divine their often highly involved significance.

For just one example of the complexity of the demands that were made on the ingenuity of the deviser and of the artist, even in a wholly mute *mascherata*, I refer to the figure of Memoria, presented in the celebrated *Mascherata della genealogia degl’iddei de’ Gentili*, performed in honor of the wedding of Francesco de’ Medici and Giovanna d’Austria in 1565, in the conception and execution of which the grand duke himself took an active interest. Aside from the celebrated descriptions of the event by Baldini<sup>80</sup> and Vasari,<sup>81</sup> the costume designs have also been preserved, in three different collections,<sup>82</sup> and we can therefore form a clear idea of the look of the individual figures.

The design by Vasari (?) for Memoria,<sup>83</sup> a member of the train that followed the Chariot of the Sun, shows a female figure in profile, stepping to the right,

in a dress fantastically adorned with veils. With her right hand she touches her ear, and in her left she carries a little dog; on her head is a nest containing fabulous beasts. Baldini explains her significance by saying that the deviser of the pageant

*...ordinò che con le due prime dita della man'destra ella si tirasse spesso la punta dell'orecchio dritto, perciocche Plinio nell'undicesimo libro dell'Hystoria Naturale scrive:*

*Est in aure ima memoriae locus quem tangentes attestamur.*<sup>84</sup>

*Et Virgilio nella sesta Egloga dice:*

*Cum canerem reges et praelia, Cynthus aurem*

*Vellit et admonuit, pastorum [sic] Tityre, pingues...*<sup>85</sup>

*Et quel che segue. Dettegli in mano un cagnuol'nero per la medesima cagione, che egli haveva vestita la figura di questo stesso colore,<sup>86</sup> e perchè il cane è animal' di grandissima memoria, come si vede giornalmente per isperienza, la onde Socrate appresso a Platone nel Phedro giura per il Cane,<sup>87</sup> che Phedro haveva imparata a mente tutta quella bella oratione, che Lysia haveva composta. messegli oltre à di questo in capo una acconciatura piena di molte, e di varie cose, per dimostrare che la Memoria è fedelissima ritenitrice, e conservatrice di tutte le cose, che gli son' rap-presentate da'sentimenti nostri, e dalla phantasia, come si è detto disopra...*<sup>88</sup>

...commanded her to tug repeatedly at the lobe of her right ear, with the first two fingers of her right hand, because Pliny writes in the eleventh book of his *Natural History*:

The seat of memory lies in the ear lobe, which we attest to when we touch it.

And Virgil in his sixth Eclogue says:

When I would sing of kings and battles, Apollo tugged

My ear and warned, "O Tityrus, the shepherds' [sic] fat..."

And so forth. He gave her a small black dog to carry, because he had dressed the figure in black, and because the dog has the best memory of any animal, as we witness daily. In Plato's *Phaedrus*, Socrates swears by the Dog that Phaedrus has memorized the fine oration written for him by Lysias.

Along with these, she was given a headdress bearing many and various objects, to show that Memory is a most faithful keeper, preserving all that our feelings and imagination portray to it, as was remarked above.

Such a travesty of classical literature speaks for itself. The motive for this remorseless plundering of the writers of antiquity for visible attributes is clear: † the mute, allegorical *mascherata* demanded clear symbols, and the scholars had to do their best to justify them.

Despite the use of stage machinery, Intermedio 1 and the other two concerned with the *musica mondana* (4 and 6) evidently came closer to the mute *mascherata* than to the drama. These were creations designed for an educated audience that wanted to see an accurate antiquarian re-creation of the pageantry of the ancient world. However, Bardi would not have been the head of



the Camerata if he had not also tried to breathe new life into these ossified, ancient forms. We can see—and this is extremely interesting from the point of view of theatrical history—how Bardi, in the Intermedi of the second group, and especially in Intermedio 3, seeks not only to appeal to the memory through the mute language of attributes and antique trappings but, with the aid of Ottavio Rinuccini, also to speak to the emotions with the means proper to the theater: words and actions.

However, this collaborative work by two pioneers of the *Riforma Melodrammatica* could not be made entirely consistent. Bardi wanted to achieve a direct dramatic impact, but he was too much of a scholar to abandon archaeological reconstruction altogether. The result, in Intermedio 3, was a curious hybrid product, somewhere between mythological pantomime and pastoral drama.

Intermedio 3 was intended as a musical pageant in the manner of the ancient Greeks. The intention was to enact the *battaglia pitica*, Apollo's victory over the dragon Python, as it was commemorated at the Pythian Games in Delphi. According to the ancient writers, the musical part of this festival consisted of a solo song, recounting the god's battle with the dragon, which was sung in the earliest times to the accompaniment of a kithara, later also to that of a flute.<sup>89</sup> Bardi, however, perhaps basing himself on a passage in Lucian,<sup>90</sup> elected to suppose that the performance in honor of Pythian Apollo consisted not only of a song but also of a mime performance, with chorus, representing Apollo's liberation of the people of Delphi from the dragon. In this he had the support of Francesco Patrizzi, who actually derived the institution of the chorus in antiquity from the Delphic festival:

*Non andò guari, che Filammone poeta anch'egli, e cantando e sonando, fece un coro intorno al tempio d'Apollo Delfico danzare. E questa appo Greci, fu la prima origine del choro.*<sup>91</sup>

It was not long before Philemon, himself a poet, had a chorus dance around the temple of Apollo in Delphi, while he sang and played music. And this was the origin of the chorus among the Greeks.

Seeking authoritative antique guidance as to the look of such a mime performance, Bardi once more resorted to some arbitrary readings of his classical sources. As Rossi's description shows, he used the account by Julius Pollux<sup>92</sup> of the various poetic meters used in the ancient Νόμος Πυθικός<sup>93</sup> to convey the dramatic phases of the fight between Apollo and the serpent, and deduced from this the dance movements to be performed by the actor who played the part of Apollo.

We might well suppose that this Intermedio, like the first, was a mimed illustration of a philological conceit. But we still possess Buontalenti's designs for almost all of the characters in the chorus,<sup>94</sup> for Apollo, and for the dragon,<sup>95</sup> as well as the engraving by Carracci that depicts the scene;<sup>96</sup> and these show that the Delphic chorus supplied a dramatic element such as might arouse the

interest even of an unlearned public through the emotions of terror and pity: the chorus of Delphians, thirty-six strong, supplied an accompaniment to the battle in words, song, and mime. It expressed first the terror aroused by the monster, then the people's pleas for Apollo's assistance, then the tense expectancy during the battle, and finally joy at the final deliverance.

The engraving by Carracci depicts the moment of Apollo's descent from the skies. A semicircle of men and women, standing in couples, express horror and revulsion at the dragon, which is upstage center, wings outstretched and spitting fire. Apollo swoops down from above. The engraving faithfully reproduces the monster as drawn by Buontalenti,<sup>97</sup> but the other figures are only remotely reminiscent of the originals, which are much more subtly done. Buontalenti's drawings<sup>98</sup> show the men and women of Delphi, in pairs, miming in duet, exchanging their impressions through movements and gestures; this arrangement lends dramatic animation to the whole scene without destroying its unity.

Rossi's description refers us back to other details of the designs:

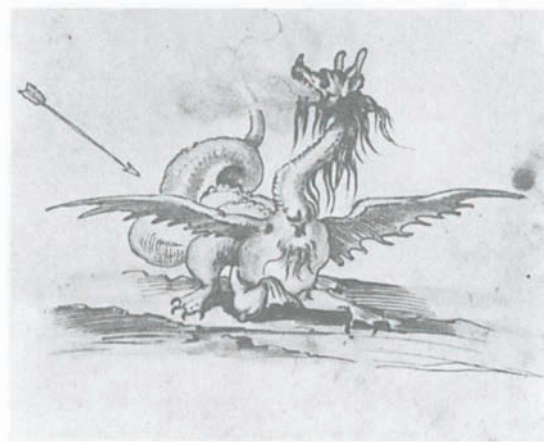
#### INTERMEDIO TERZO<sup>99</sup>

*Sparito il monte, e le grotte, e dileguatesi gracchiando, e saltellando le piche,<sup>100</sup> ritornò la scena al primiero modo, e cominciò 'l secondo atto della commedia: e finito, furono ricoperte le case, da querce, da cerri, da castagni, da faggi, e da altri arbori di questa sorta, e tutta la scena diventò bosco. Nel mezzo del bosco una scura, grande, e dirocciata caverna, e le piante, vicine a quella, senza foglia, arsicciate, e guaste dal fuoco. L'altre più lontane, la cui cima pareva, che toccasse il Cielo, erano belle, e fresche, e cariche delle frutte, ch'elle producono. Apparita (nuova meraviglia) la selva, si vide dalla sinistra venire nove coppie tra huomini, e donne, in abito quasi alla greca:<sup>101</sup> ma tutti, e per qualche colore, e per gli ornamenti, come diremo poco di sotto, differenti l'un dall'altro in alcuna parte, e al suono di viole, di traverse, e tromboni, cominciarono, giunti in iscena, a cantare.*

*Ebra di sangue in questo oscuro bosco  
Giacea pur dianzi la terribil fera,  
E l'aria fosca, e nera  
Rendea col fiato, e col maligno toscò.*

*Le parole di questo, e de'seguenti madrigali dello 'intermedio presente, furono d'Ottavio Rinuccini sopra mentovato, e la Musica del Marenzio. E mentre, che gli usciti in iscena cantavano il madrigal sopraddetto, si vide, dell'altra banda, venire altre nove coppie d'huomini, e donne, e ripigliare sopra gli stessi strumenti, il canto, dicendo.*

*Qui di carne si sfama  
Lo spaventoso serpe: in questo loco  
Vomita fiamma, e foco, e fischia, e rugge;  
Qui l'erbe, e i fior distrugge:*



**Fig. 82. Agostino Carracci**  
 Scene from the Third Intermedio of 1589  
 Engraving (see p. 371)

**Figs. 83a,b. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
 Apollo and the Dragon  
 Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 372)

Ma dov'è 'l fero mostro?  
Forse avrà Giove udito il pianto nostro.

*Ne appena ebber quest'ultime parole mandate fuori, che un serpente, drago d'inestimabil grandezza, dal poeta figurato per lo serpente Pitone, vomitando fuoco, e col fume d'esso oscurando l'Aria d'intorno, cavò fuori dell'orrida, e tetra caverna il capo. E quasi coperto da quelle arsicciate piante, non vedesse quegli huomini a lui vicini, li stava lisciando al Sole, che bene al Sole si poteva assomigliar lo splendore del lacosi bene allumata scena, e alquanto stato il rimise dentro. Onde i miseri veduta la cruda fiera, tutti insieme, sopra gli strumenti predetti, con flebile, e mesta voce, cantarono queste parole, pregando Iddio, che volesse liberargli da così acerbo, e strano infortunio.*

Oh sfortunati noi,  
Dunque a saziar la fame  
Nati sarei, di questo mostro infame?  
O Padre, o Re del Cielo,  
Volgi pietosi gli occhi  
Allo 'nfelice Delo,  
Ch'a te sospira, a te piega i ginocchi,  
A te dimanda aita, e pianga, e plora.  
Muovi lampo, e saetta,  
A far di lei vendetta,  
Contra 'l mostro crudel, che la divora.

*E mentre, che durò 'l canto, cavò egli nella stessa guisa dua altre volte il capo, e 'l collo della spelonca. E finito, con l'aliacce distese, pieno di rilucenti specchi, e d'uno stran colore tra verde, e nero, e con una smisurata boccaccia aperta, con tre ordini di gran denti, con lingua fuori infocata, fischiando, e fuoco, e toscio vomendo, in vista spaventoso, e crudele, quasi accorto degli'infelici, che erano in quella selva, per uccidergli, e divorargli, tutto in un tempo saltò fuor di quella spelonca: ne appena fu allo scoperto, che dal Cielo, venne un'huomo armato d'arco, e saette, che gli soccorse, e per Apollo fu figurato: perciocchè ci volle il Poeta in questo intermedio rappresentar la battaglia Pitica, nella guisa, che c'insegna Giulio Polluce, il quale dice,<sup>102</sup> che in rappresentandosi con l'antica musica questa pugna, si dividea in cinque parti: nella prima rimirava Apollo se 'l luogo era alla battaglia conveniente, nella seconda sfidava 'l serpe, e nella terza, col verso iambico, combatteva: nel qual iambico si contiene ciò che si chiama l'azzannamento, dichiarato poco di sotto. Nella quarta col verso spondéo, con la morte di quel serpente, si rappresentava la vittoria di quel Iddio. E nella quinta, saltando, ballava un'allegro ballo, significante vittoria. Essendo a noi, dalla malvagità, e dalla lunghezza del tempo, tolto il poter così fatte cose rappresentar con que'modi musici antichi, e stimando il poeta, che tal battaglia, rappresentata in iscena, dovesse arrecare, sì come fece, sommo diletto agli spettatori, la ci rappresentò con la nostra moderna musica, a tutto suo potere, sforzandosi, come intendentissimo di*

*quest'arte, e d'imitare, e di rassomigliar quell'antica;*<sup>103</sup> *fece venire Apollo dal Cielo, e con incredibil maraviglia di chiunque lo rimirò: perciocchè con più prestezza non sarebbe potuto venire un raggio, e venne, quasi miracolo (perciocchè niente si vide, che 'l sostenesse) con l'arco in mano, e 'l turcasso al fianco pien di saette, e vestito d'un'abito risplendente di tela d'oro, nella guisa, che fu posto nel primo intermedio, tra i sette pianeti in Cielo. E ben vero, che'l detto abito non era tanto infocato, e, perchè fosse destro, e spedito, non circondato da raggi. Arrivato in questa maniera sul palco, alla melodía di viole, di traverse, e di tromboni, cominciò la prima parte della battaglia, che è di riconoscere il campo, e con gran destrezza, ma da lontano, intorno al serpe ballando, acconciamente quel riconoscimento ne dimostrò: e ciò con prestezza fatto, e mostratosi al fier serpente, saltando, e ballandogli intorno, con bello atteggiamento, e gentile, ci rappresentò la disfida, e si vide il serpe fischiando, scotendo l'ale, e battendo i denti, accignersi fiero, e con grande orrore alla pugna.*

*Nella terza parte ci mostrò egli, pur tuttavia ballando, e saltando, il combattimento, e frecciando spesso il serpente, e 'l serpente lui seguitando: e al suon della melodía ruggendo, e dirugginando i denti, con maravigliosa attitudine, si troncava le saette, ch'egli avea fitte nel dosso, e squarciavasi le ferite, e da esse versava in gran copia il sangue, brutto, e nero, che pareva inchiostro: e con urli, e con gemiti spaventevoli, tuttavia mordendosi, e perseguitando chi lo feriva, cadde, e morì. Caduto, e morto, egli tutto lieto, gonfio, e altiero, ballando sopra musica significante vittoria, espresse col ballo felicemente quell'atto di quella lieta alterezza: e ballato si ritirò dal serpente morto, e gli pose il piè dritto, quasi trionfante, sopra la testa. E, ciò fatto, s'accostarono due coppie di quegli huomini, che erano lungo la selva<sup>104</sup> a veder la pugna, quasi non credessero, e volesser chiarirsi del morto drago: e vedendolo in terra, tutto imbrodolato, in uno scuro, e quasi nero lago di sangue, e Apollo, che 'l piè gli teneva sopra la testa, cominciarono in allegro tuono, e sopra dolci strumenti, lodando quel Dio, e chiamando i compagni a tanta letizia, a cantare in questa maniera.*

O valoroso Dio,  
 O Dio chiaro, e sovrano,  
 Ecco 'l serpente rio  
 Spoglia giacer della tua invitta mano.  
 Morta è l'orribil fera,  
 Venite a schiera a schiera,  
 Venite, Apollo, e Delo  
 Cantando alzate, o belle Ninfe al Cielo.<sup>105</sup>

*A quel canto s'accostarono tutti gli altri, che uscirono al principio dello 'ntermedio, i quali s'erano ritirati lungo la selva, a veder da lontan la pugna, e andarono a veder con maraviglia il morto serpente, il quale alla fine del canto, fu via strascinato, ne più si vide. E sparito il mostro, Apollo, alla solita melodía, festeggia, e balla, e con grazioso atteggiamento della persona, esprime la quinta parte di quella musica, che fu la letizia dell'aver liberato i Delfi da peste sì orribile, ed importuna,*

*com'era quella di quel serpente. Finito il su ballo, i Delfi, così huomini, come donne, che gli si ritrovavano intorno, cominciarono, ed egli insieme con esso loro, rallegRANDOSI, e ringraziando Iddio d'una tanta grazia, una carola, cantando, sopra liuti, tromboni, arpi, violini, e cornette, dolcemente queste parole.*

*O mille volte, e mille  
Giorno lieto, e felice:  
O fortunate ville,  
O fortunati colli, a cui pur lice  
Mirar l'orribil'angue  
Versar l'anima, e 'l sangue,  
Che col maligno toscò  
Spogliò 'l prato di fior, di frondi 'l bosco.*

*E carolando, e cantando, se n'andarono per la medesima via, ond'eran venuti: sparve la selva, e lo 'ntermedio finì. E perchè dagli antichi fu finta la battaglia Pitica in Delo, alla presenza de i Delfi, il poeta ci rappresentò quei popoli, che furono tra huomini, e donne diciotto coppie, in abiti tendenti al greco, e de'colori si rimise nella discrezion dell'Artefice. E perchè alcuni vogliono, che Delo fosse edificata da Delfo figliuolo di Nettuno,<sup>106</sup> a tutti adattò in mano, o in capo, o nella vèsta alcuna cosa marina.*

### INTERMEDIO 3

The hill and grottoes having disappeared, and the magpies having scattered, croaking and hopping, the scene returned to its original state, and the second act of the play began. At the close of the act, the houses were masked by oaks, turkey oaks, chestnuts, beeches, and other such trees, and the whole stage became a wood. In the midst of the wood was a large, dark, rocky cave, and all the plants around the cave had been parched and rendered leafless by fire. The trees farther from the cave, whose tops seemed to touch the sky, were green and fresh and laden with fruit.

After the appearance of the wood (a wonder in itself), nine couples, men and women, dressed after the Greek fashion, appeared from the left. Each couple differed slightly from the next, whether in the color of their dress, or in their ornaments—these will be described later. No sooner had they arrived on the stage than viols, flutes, and sackbuts struck up, and they began to sing:

*Here is the spot where, drunk with human blood,  
The monster lay within this gloomy grove,  
Clouding and blackening the air  
With its foul breath and its malignant venom.*

The words of this and the other madrigals in this Intermedio are by the above-named Ottavio Rinuccini, and the music by Marenzio. While the nine couples on stage sang this madrigal, nine more couples of men and women entered from the other side and took up the song on the same instruments, singing:

This is the place where, craving flesh,  
The fearful worm stands; in this place  
It spews out fire and flames, hisses, and roars,  
Destroying grass and flowers;  
But where's the monster now?  
Can Jove at last have heard our pleas?

Hardly were these words spoken when a serpent of immense size, portrayed by the poet as the serpent Python, belching flames and black smoke that darkened the air around the cave, thrust its head out of the dark and fearsome cavern. Screened, as it were, by the charred foliage, it failed to see the human beings nearby; it stood preening itself in the sunlight—for the brilliancy of the stage rivaled the Sun itself—and after a while went back into the cave. When those poor wretches saw the cruel beast, they sang, in plaintive and melancholy voices, accompanied by the same instruments, a prayer to God, that he might deliver them from their strange and cruel misfortune:

O miserable we,  
Were we then born to slake  
The hunger of this loathsome beast?  
O Father, King of Heaven,  
Look mercifully down  
On miserable Delos,  
Imploring you on bended knee,  
Pleading for help with bitter tears.  
Send your lightning and your bolt  
To avenge poor Delos  
On the ferocious monster that devours her.

While this song was being sung, the serpent thrust its head and neck out of the cave twice more in the same way. When the song was over, it unfurled its small wings, which were of a curious color between green and black and studded with little glinting mirrors, and opened wide its vast mouth, showing three rows of huge teeth and a flaming tongue. Then, hissing and spitting fire and venom, fierce and horrid to behold, the monster caught sight of the wretches in the wood and made one great bound out of the cave to kill and eat them.

No sooner had it emerged into the open than a man with bow and arrows, dressed as Apollo, appeared from the sky to help them. In this Intermedio, the poet has indeed sought to recreate the Pythian Battle, as described by Julius Pollux, who states that, when the battle was enacted with the ancient music, it was divided into five parts. First, Apollo looked round to see if the place was suitable for a battle, then, in the second part, he confronted the serpent, and in the third (in iambics) he fought the battle. The section in iambics also contains what is called the “biting,” described below. The fourth, spondaic section represented the death of the serpent and the victory of Apollo. In the fifth section he danced a joyful dance, signifying victory.

Through the depredations of time, we have lost the ability to perform such things with the musical modes of antiquity; the poet, however, feeling that this battle, reenacted, should give the utmost delight to the audience (as indeed it does), has presented it to the accompaniment of our modern music, doing his utmost, as one highly learned in that art, to imitate and recreate the music of antiquity. He made Apollo descend from the skies, to the utter stupefaction of all who saw it: a ray of light could not have descended quicker, as he appeared miraculously (for, whatever the mechanism that held him up, it was not visible), his bow in his hand and a quiverful of arrows at his side, dressed in a gleaming robe of cloth of gold, in the manner described in Intermedio 1, where he appeared among the seven planets in the heavens. Truth to tell, his costume was no longer so much covered in flames; and, for greater agility and speed, it had no surrounding rays.

When he had thus arrived on stage, to the music of viols, flutes, and sackbuts, he began the first part of the battle, which is the reconnaissance of the field of battle, and with great skill, but at a distance, he executed a dance around the serpent, appropriately enacting that reconnaissance. This he did with agility, dancing and leaping, showing himself to the fell serpent in elegant attitudes, expressing his contempt, and the serpent could be seen hissing, beating its wings and gnashing its teeth, hideously bracing itself for the fight.

In the third part he enacted the fight, still dancing and leaping, shooting frequent arrows at the monster, which pursued him around the stage. The monster roared to the sound of the music and gnashed its teeth; striking extraordinary poses, it tore out the arrows that lodged in its back, rending the wounds they caused, and from the wounds flowed vast quantities of dreadful black blood, like ink. Then, with terrifying groans and cries, still tearing at its own flesh and pursuing its assailant, the serpent fell and died. Apollo, joyous and full of pride at its death, danced to music signifying victory, and felicitously expressed his state of happiness and pride; after this dance, he stood beside the dead serpent and set his right foot on its head in triumph.

This done, two of the couples who had been in the wood, watching the fight, approached, as if incredulous and eager to make sure that the serpent was dead. When they saw it on the ground in a pool of dark, almost black, blood, with Apollo with his foot planted on its head, they began singing and playing dulcet instruments for joy, praising the God and inviting their companions to share their joy. This is what they sang:

O valiant God,  
 Illustrious and sovereign God,  
 See the foul monster,  
 Slain by your unconquered hand.  
 Dead is the loathsome beast;  
 Come, rank after rank,  
 Come, lovely nymphs, and with your song,  
 Exalt Apollo and his Delos to the skies.



As they sang, the others, who had appeared at the beginning of the Intermedio, and had then withdrawn to the forest to watch the fight from farther off, came forward to marvel at the dead serpent; when the song finished, the serpent was dragged offstage, out of sight. When the serpent had gone, Apollo, accompanied only by instruments, danced and made merry, and with graceful movements of his person interpreting the fifth part of the music, which was the joy of having freed the people of Delphi from so vile and hideous a scourge as the serpent. When his dance was finished, the people of Delphi surrounding him, men and women alike, began to rejoice, and he rejoiced with them. They thanked the God for so great a favor; and, to the accompaniment of lutes, sackbuts, harps, violins, and cornetts, sweetly sang a carol to these words:

A thousand times, a thousand,  
 O joyous, happy day!  
 O blessed homes,  
 O blessed hills, allowed to see  
 The fearful serpent  
 Drained of its life and blood—  
 Which with malignant venom  
 Did rob the fields of blooms, the woods of leaves.

Thus singing and dancing in a ring, they returned the way they had come; the wood disappeared, and the Intermedio came to an end. And because this was a reenactment of the Pythian Battle in Delos, in the presence of the people of Delphi, the poet showed us those people, eighteen couples, men and women, in costumes in the Greek style, leaving the colors to the discretion of the artist. And because some maintain that Delos was founded by Delphos, son of Neptune, each person was made to carry or wear something connected with the sea.

At the end of his narration, Rossi gives us the most precise indications of the form and shape of the costumes worn by two of the couples in the Delphic chorus; these agree precisely with Buontalenti's designs (V.D. 26, 13), reproduced as fig. 84. This agreement is interesting<sup>107</sup> not only because it gives us an insight into the nomenclature of theatrical costumes but also because the fantastic costumes of the female figures, with their multiple layers, cloaks, and flying veils,<sup>108</sup> present us with an instructive and hitherto overlooked source of evidence for the history of ornament.

These Baroque theatrical accessories are distant offshoots of a quasi-antique decorative formula that originated in the early Renaissance. Rossi says expressly that the Delphians, whose dress an unprejudiced observer might take for an exaggerated Turkish costume, were dressed "*quasi alla greca*"<sup>109</sup> (after the Greek fashion); and, indeed, the female costumes were ultimately \* derived from the garb of the nymph (*ninfa*), who evolved, through the fruitful interaction of the arts, as the Renaissance type of the young woman of classical antiquity.



**Figs. 84a-d. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Men and Women of Delphi*  
Watercolor. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 379)

The *ninfa* was among the attractive offspring of a multiple conjunction of art and archaeology, such as only the Quattrocento could produce. As a boldly striding maiden, with flowing hair, skirts kilted up *all'antica* and fluttering in the breeze, she appeared in the visual arts and also—as a living figure—in the performing arts. In processions,<sup>110</sup> and in the first dramatic performances on mythological subjects,<sup>111</sup> she was a virgin huntress, one of the companions of Diana; in painting and in sculpture, she supplied a general feminine type, both in historical and in mythological subjects. This explains why we find Savonarola already inveighing against the “nymph,”<sup>112</sup> as an embodiment of pagan life, and against the billowing veils (*veliere*), which, to him and to his followers, were the embodiment of worldly wantonness.<sup>113</sup> †

It may be added that an artistic reflection of the nymph type can be found in the striding maiden, carrying a basket or a pot on her head, who appears so often as a generalized ornamental motif in the panel paintings and frescoes of the Florentine School, from Filippo Lippi to Raphael.<sup>114</sup> But it would take too long to trace this figure through all her successive phases, down to the end of the sixteenth century. \*

In the specific context of the theatrical costumes just discussed, it should be mentioned that she reappears as a favorite type, not only in sixteenth-century masquerades and Intermedi<sup>115</sup> but also in pastoral drama. In this period the memory of antique art,<sup>116</sup> already faint, receded even further: the dress, initially simple and kilted up, had transformed itself into an assortment of ornate overgarments, although the veils and the flourishes remained, as relics of the costume of the fleet-footed huntress, even when the nymph had taken on much more of the character of a sentimental shepherdess.

Her importance in pastoral drama can be seen in a passage from the *Dialoghi* of Leone de' Sommi, an experienced actor at the court of Mantua, who devotes a long note to the costume of the nymph, singling out her flowing accessories as a characteristic and graceful ornament. He says:

*Alle Nimphe poi, dopo l'essersi osservate le proprietà loro descritte da' poeti, convengono le camiscie da donna, lavorate et varie, ma con le maniche; et io soglio usare di farci dar la salda, acciò che legandole coi manili o con cinti di seta colorata et oro, facciano poi alcuni gonfi, che empiano gl'occhi et comparano leggiadrissimamente. Gli addice poi una veste dalla cintura in giù, di qualche bel drappo colorato et vago, succinta tanto che ne apaja il collo del piede; il quale sia calzato d'un socco dorato all'antica et con atilatura, ovvero di qualche somacco colorato. Gli richiede poi un manto sontuoso, che da sotto ad un fianco si vadi ad agroppare sopra la oposta spalla; le chiome folte et bionde, che paiano naturali, et ad alcuna si potranno lasciar ir sciolte per le spalle, con una ghirlandetta in capo; ad altra per variare, aggiungere un frontale d'oro; ad altre poi non fia sdicevole annodarle con nastri di seta, coperte con di quei veli sutilissimi et cadenti giù per le spalle, che nel civil vestire cotanta vaghezza accrescono; et questo (come dico) si potrà concedere anco in questi spettacoli pastorali poi che generalmente il velo sventoleggiante è quello che avanza tutti gli altri ornamenti del capo d'una*

*donna et ha però assai del puro et del semplice, come par che ricerca l'habito d'una habitatrice de'boschi.*<sup>117</sup>

The *nymphs* will be dressed in keeping with their descriptions by the poets. They should wear bodices, variously embroidered, but with sleeves, and it is my practice to have them starched, so that when they are tied with cuffs or with colored silk ribbons or with gold bands, they puff out a little, gratifying the eye and looking wonderfully light. With this goes a skirt made of beautiful, richly colored fabric and kilted up to reveal the instep; the feet should be clothed in tight-fitting buskins, gilded in the antique style or stained with sumac. Then they should wear a flowing mantle, fixed low on one side and gathered up to the opposite shoulder. Their hair should be thick and fair, and should look natural. Some should wear their hair loose on their shoulders, crowned with a garland. Others, for variety's sake, could wear a gold bandeau. The remainder might tie up their locks with silk ribbons, and cover their heads with those filmy veils, falling to the shoulders, that add such grace to civil dress. This may be permitted (as I say) in these pastoral performances, since in general a wafting veil excels all other head ornaments that a woman can wear, and yet it conveys a strong sense of purity and simplicity, such as is appropriate to a forest dweller.

Similarly, Angelo Ingegneri says, of pastoral plays:

*Come che in queste sia già accettato per uso irrevocabile l'abbigliare le Donne alla Ninfale, ancora ch'elle fossero semplici Pastorelle; il qual habito riceve ornamenti e vaghezze assai sopra la loro conditione.*<sup>118</sup>

In these, it has become an invariable custom for the ladies to be dressed in the *nymphal* style, even where they themselves are nothing but shepherdesses: a costume that entails ornaments and graces far superior to their condition.

Rossi, in his account,<sup>119</sup> pauses to admire the graceful motions of these veils and draperies, not only in the costume of the people of Delphi but also in those of the Sirens and the Luna of Intermedio 1; in the Muses, Pierides, and Hamadryads of the second; and in the Muses of the sixth. He, too, thus considers them to be accessories proper to the nymphlike figures of antiquity. What the Delphic chorus looked like to a contemporary audience is apparent from Cavallino's account of Intermedio 3: "*Usciti di due parti un buon numero de'pastori e Ninfe*" (Enter from both sides a good number of shepherds and nymphs).<sup>120</sup>

Rossi was thus quite right to detect something Greek and antique in the costumes of the chorus. This outlandish garb, which now looks at first sight like the offspring of the artist's personal caprice, had its origin in the still-vital tradition of the nymph type; and this in turn owed its artistic existence to the Quattrocento desire to give bodily shape to the figures of antiquity. However, these fluttering veils, flounces, and draperies have their artistic justification

not on the stage but in processions: they are ornaments designed to be seen in motion and in profile;<sup>121</sup> only in motion do they reveal those graceful lines that had appealed to Renaissance artists since the time of Leon Battista Alberti.<sup>122</sup>

Leaving aside for the moment the aesthetics of ornament in general, we penetrate a little more deeply, with Rossi,<sup>123</sup> into the secrets of the theatrical wardrobe:

*La prima coppia*<sup>124</sup> *un bel giovane huomo, e una bella giovane donna: l'huomo con roba di raso azzurro scollata, che gli arrivava a mezza la gamba, con ricami, e frange d'oro dappiè, e tutta l'abbottonatura di botton d'oro; stretta infino alla cintola, da indi in giù alquanto più larga, e due maniche strette, e lunghe quanto la vesta gli pendevano dalle spalle. Sopra aveva un'altra vesticiuola più corta d'Ermisino verdegiallo, con bendonì a ricamo d'oro dappiè. E sopra questa un'altra robetta a mezza la coscia, di raso incarnato con fregio intorno, e dagli spallacci pendevano alcuni bei nappon d'oro, ed era cinto con una cintura di raso rosso, la cui serratura, erano due belle maschere d'oro, che serrando si congiugnevano insieme.*<sup>125</sup> *In capo una bella, e bionda ricciaia, e in piede i calzari di raso rosso, lavorati a nicchie, e a chiocciolette, e ricamati d'oro, come la vesta. In mano strumenti.*

*La donna*<sup>126</sup> *il busto di raso turchino a ricamo co'suoi spallacci a bendonì con frange d'oro. La vesta di sotto di raso bianco con un fregio d'oro dappiè, e una sopravvesta di drappo incarnato con bel ricamo; squartata, e le squartature abbottonate con certi riscontri d'oro. Dalla serratura del cinto, che era una testa di marzocco, che avea due risplendenti gioie per occhi, pendevano due veli d'oro, che, serpeggiando, le cadevano con bello ornamento fin quasi a'piedi. L'acconciatura, tutta adorna di branche di corallo, e di veli, e un velo turchino grande sotto la gola, che con amendue i capi, per lo 'ntrecciamento passando de'suoi capelli, e dalla parte di dietro cadendole infino a'piedi, faceva sventolando una bella vista.*

*Nell'altra coppia un'huomo*<sup>127</sup> *con una vesta lunga di raso azzurro abbottonata infino in terra a riscontri d'oro, e alcune borchie d'oro sopra le spalle: gli spallacci verdi, e le maniche di raso rosso, con ricamo di seta nera, e similmente i calzoni. In capo un turbante a chiocciola, in cima al quale aveva una chioccioletta marina, e nella serratura del cinto due nicchie dentrovi alcune gioie di pregio.*<sup>128</sup>

*La donna*<sup>129</sup> *con busto di raso rosso con un pregiato fregio alla fine d'esso. Le si partia dalla scollatura un'ornamento d'oro massiccio, che l'arrivava sotto le poppe. Gli spallacci bianchi ricamati di seta nera, e le maniche di colore all'arance simile. La vesta lunga, per fino a'piedi, mavi, fregiata a ricamo d'oro, e di seta. Una robetta sopra di raso bianco, a ogni palmo traversata con due liste gialle, che n'avieno una turchina nel mezzo. Il cinto era tutto d'oro, e da una testa di marzocco, che copriva la serratura, pendevano alcuni veli di seta, e d'oro, che, con alcune ricasce artificiose, le facean dinanzi un bello ornamento. Al collo un vezzo di grosse perle, e di sotto la gola le si partiva un velo turchino, che andava annodandole con bel gruppo le bionde trecce, le quali facieno una cupola con tre ordini, e in cima una palla, dalla quale surgeva una branca di bel corallo. Un velo d'oro, e 'ncarnato le pendeva con belli svolazzij infino in su'piedi, e sopra la fronte le cadevano alcuni ricci pieni de perle, e di coralletti.*

*Gli abiti, e gli ornamenti di tutti gli altri, così huomini, come donne,<sup>130</sup> ne di bellezza, ne di ricchezza, ne d'ornamenti, ne d'artificio, ne di splendore, non cedevan punto a'primieri. Ed erano tutte adorne l'acconciature di quelle donne, e similmente le veste, di coralli, di nicchie, di perle, di madreperle, di conchiglie, e d'altre cose marine, e tutte diverse l'una dall'altra. E anche agli huomini, e in capo, e ne' pann isì fatte cose. E tanto, e più vaghi, e più belli fur giudicati, quanto furono differenti d'artificio, e d'ornamento, e tutti simiglianti all'abito greco, che si mostrò veramente l'artefice, che ne fece i disegni, richissimo d'invenzione, poichè potette esser tanto vario, e tanto vago nell'unità. Ma passiamo alquanto, perciocchè se particolarmente dovessimo scrivere tutto ciò ch'avieno i personaggi di questo intermedio intorno, allungheremmo troppo 'l volume. Faccia ragione il leggitor da'descritti, in che maniera il rimanente fosse vestito; non essendo, come abbiám detto, niun di loro all'altro inferiore in alcuna parte.*

The first couple, a handsome young man and a beautiful young woman. The man was in a collarless robe of blue satin, to midcalf, embroidered, with a gold fringe round the hem and gold buttons throughout; straight to the waist and slightly flared below. Narrow sleeves, the same length as the robe, hung from his shoulders. Over this, a second, shorter tunic of yellow-green sarcenet, with bands of gold embroidery round the bottom. And over this another short gown, to midhigh, made of scarlet satin with a border, gold tassels hanging from the shoulders, and a red satin belt. The belt had a remarkable clasp made of two gold masks, which made a single mask when clipped together. His hair was blond and curled, his shoes of red satin, embroidered with shells and scrolls, in gold as on the robe. In his hand he held musical instruments.

The woman wore a bodice of dark-blue embroidered satin, with shoulder pieces and gold fringes; the underbodice was white satin with a gold border; the overgarment, of embroidered scarlet fabric, was slashed and the slashes fastened with gold fastenings. From the clasp at the waist, fashioned to represent the head of a *marzocco* [i.e., the lion of Florence], with two little glinting jewels for eyes, two twisted gold scarves hung elegantly almost to her feet. Her headdress was adorned with coral branches and veils, and she wore a large dark-blue veil under the chin. Both ends of this blue veil were threaded through her hair and hung to her feet, billowing out elegantly behind her.

The man of the second couple was dressed in a long, bright-blue satin robe, buttoned through with gold fastenings, and gold studs on the shoulders. Green shoulder pieces, sleeves of red satin embroidered with black, and matching breeches. On his head a turban, with a sea shell on top; two shells containing rich jewels in the clasp of his belt.

The woman wore a red satin bodice, richly bordered. From her neckline a solid gold jewel hung below her bust. White shoulder pieces embroidered with black silk, and orange sleeves. Her ankle-length undergarment was pale blue, embroidered around the hem with silk and gold thread. The white satin overdress was horizontally striped, with double yellow stripes separated by a narrower dark blue stripe. The gold belt had a *marzocco* over the clasp, from which hung gold and silken veils,

artfully gathered, which made a fine ornament when seen from the front. Round her neck was a string of large pearls, and lower on her throat a dark blue scarf which bound her blond tresses into a three-tier crown with a sphere on top, from which arose a beautiful branch of coral. A long gold and scarlet veil hung fluttering behind, and the curls hanging on her forehead were full of pearls and little pieces of coral.

The clothing and ornaments of all the others, men and women alike, yielded nothing to those just described, whether in beauty, richness, decoration, artifice, or splendor. The headdresses and the robes of the women were all adorned with coral, shells, pearls, mother-of-pearl, conchs, and other marine ornaments, all different. The men's headgear and clothes were decorated in the same way. The more varied these were, both in invention and in ornament, the more elegant and beautiful they were judged to be; and yet all retained the likeness to Greek costume; the artist who made the designs truly showed himself rich in invention, by contriving such variety and such elegance within unity. But let us pass on, for if we were to describe in detail everything worn by the actors in this Intermedio, this volume would grow too lengthy. The reader may imagine from what has already been described how the remainder were dressed; as we have said, none was inferior to any other in any part.

This concludes our brief art-historical interpretation of Intermedi 1 and 3; we have chosen them as examples, because they reflect two successive evolutionary phases through which the Intermedio passed on the way to melodrama.

We have seen how Giovanni de' Bardi, in Intermedio 1—the *armonia delle sfere*—was still trying to make himself understood through the technique of the mute “mythological procession”: that is, through the language of attributes and ornaments that spoke only to a public versed in the subtle inventions of the Quattrocento. But by Intermedio 3—the *battaglia pitica*—the deviser, <sup>†</sup> with the help of Ottavio Rinuccini, was already on the way to adapting to the new requirements of the theater a learned conceit that still belonged, in its inner character and its external trappings, to the realm of Renaissance humanism.

The strength of Bardi's continuing faith in this sort of Intermedio is apparent from his use of the genre, on this occasion, to embody the most profound philosophical ideas and poetic myths of the ancients on the subject of the power of music: the very ideas that the Camerata studied with a view to the revival of melodrama.

In the house of Jacopo Corsi, after Count Giovanni had left Florence for Rome in 1592, his musician friends, Jacopo Peri and Giulio Caccini, not only kept his ideas alive but further developed them to the point where the new melodrama was born at last. The presiding poetic genius of both Camerate was Ottavio Rinuccini;<sup>131</sup> and he was the librettist both of Intermedio 3 in 1589 and of the very first opera, *Dafne*, which was performed at Jacopo Corsi's house in 1594.<sup>132</sup> A comparison of these two libretti, in terms both of dramatic style and of interpretation of antiquity, will illustrate better than anything the artistic and cultural gulf that separates the Renaissance from modern times.

In *Dafne*, the fight with the dragon has shrunk to a brief prologue, in which there are still traces of the spectacle of 1589, both in the grouping and action of the chorus and in the *danza bellica* of Apollo.<sup>133</sup> But the archaeological ambition to perform that dance in accordance with the rules of Julius Pollux<sup>134</sup> no longer dominates the psychology of Apollo. The process of rejuvenation, which gave new life and spirit to the figure of Apollo in the Florentine scenic festivals of the second half of the sixteenth century,<sup>135</sup> had reached its conclusion. Since 1565 he had transformed himself from an antique cosmic symbol, and a mute dancer, into a youthful and sentimental deity who had found not only words to speak but new and previously unheard melodies: none other than the age-old song of the power of love, the lovelorn shepherd, † and the coy shepherdess.<sup>136</sup>

It was now the turn of Florence to witness the triumph of the pastoral feeling that had found its purest expression in Tasso's *Aminta* and in Guarini's *Il pastor fido*: works that were the delight of a sentimental and courtly society that had none of the subtle erudition of the early Renaissance. There remained, even so, one great distinction. In Florence—though there was a desire, as elsewhere, to touch the soul more deeply through the psychological resources of drama—the ultimate criterion remained the authority of the ancients.<sup>137</sup>

That authority was still quite strong enough to provide, as it were, the raw material to which the Florentine genius applied its uniquely harmonious blend of artistic originality and imitative capacity. However, the progress of dramatic art did not derive so much from reliance on antique sources as from the way in which they were interpreted. In the Intermedi of 1589 and the *Dafne* of 1594, we have two opposite conceptions of classical sources. One tended, in the Baroque manner that sprang from the illustrious traditions of the Quattrocento, to endow the figures of antiquity with solid form and a certain outward archaeological accuracy; the other, which in a way was more classical, looked to melodrama for a new form of expression in which words and sounds would be united, as they were believed to have been united by the Greeks and Romans in the *melopoea* of tragedy.

At the height of the Baroque, we witness a momentary rebirth of a subtle, Florentine artistic sense: capable of ridding the antique of all the erudite accretions that in 1589 had so much preoccupied all those involved—from the poet to the costumer—and capable, at the same time, of remaining true to its classical ideals while looking for a new way to involve not only the minds but the hearts of the spectators.

The *tragedia in musica* addressed a twofold public demand. On one hand, it referred to the antique, through its plots; on the other, through the intensity of feeling evoked by the new technique of the *stile recitativo*, it offered a \* replacement for the rarefied delights that audiences had previously found in the studied inventions of the Intermedi.

In closing, I would like to thank Mr. A. Giorgetti for his kind assistance in translating this essay into Italian from my German original.



## Appendixes

### I

The most important descriptions are listed in the book by P. A. Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni* (1893).

The title of the book by Bastiano de' Rossi is the following:

*Descrizione | dell'Apparato, | e degl'Intermedi. | Fatti per la Commedia rappre-  
| sentata in Firenze. | Nelle nozze de' Serenissimi Don Ferdinando | Medici, e  
Madama Cristina di | Loreno, Gran Duchi di | Toscana. | In Firenze. Per Anton  
Padovani. M.D.LXXXIX. In-4º, 72 pp.*

The principal source for the other festivities of 1589 is the *Diario* of Pavoni:

*Diario | descritto | da Giuseppe Pavoni | delle feste celebrate nelle solennissime  
nozze delli Serenissimi Sposi, il sig. Ferdinando Medici, e la signora Donna Cristina  
di Lorena Gran Duchi di Toscana. | Nel quale con brevità si esplica il Torneo, la  
Battaglia navale, la Comedia con gli Intermedi; et altre feste occorse di giorno in  
giorno per tutto il dì 15 di Maggio MDLXXXIX. | Alli molti illustri, et miei  
Patroni osservandiss., li signori Giasone, et Pompeo fratelli de' Vizani. | Stampato  
in Bologna nella Stamperia di Giovanni Rossi, di permissione delli Signori  
Superiori. In-8º, 48 pp.<sup>138</sup>*

To this is added the:

*Racolta di tutte | le solennissime Feste | nel Sponsalizio | della Serenissima | Gran  
Duchessa | di Toscana | fatte in Fiorenza il mese di Maggio 1589. | Con brevità  
raccolte da Simone Cavallino da Viterbo. | All'Illustriss. et Reverendiss. sig. Patri-  
arca Alessandrino, Caetano. | In Roma, Appresso Paolo Blado Stampatore Came-  
rale 1589. In-8º, 46 pp.<sup>139</sup>*

I have not been able to consult the *Diari* of Benacci,<sup>140</sup> or his descriptions in French of the same festivities.<sup>141</sup> Among the poems<sup>142</sup> written on the occasion of the wedding of Ferdinando and Cristina the following is of interest:

*Venuta | della Serenissima Cristina di Loreno in Italia | al Seggio Ducale di Fio-  
renza | del suo Serenissimo Sposo | Don Ferdinando Medici Gran Duca | Terzo di  
Toscana. | Raccolta in ottava rima da M. Pietro Niccola | de Cardi, Cittadino  
Fiorentino, 1589. | In Firenze, appresso Giorgio Marescotti MDXC. In-4º, 48 pp.*

The *Ricordanze* of Giovanni del Maestro, majordomo to Ferdinand I, offer much factual information on festivities at the grand ducal court. In the Archivio di Stato there exist both the original notes<sup>143</sup> and the historical compilation that Giovanni<sup>144</sup> himself began in 1589; he intended it for the grand

duchess, as can be seen from the dedication, which became detached and is now included in another series in the same archive.<sup>145</sup> The *Ruolo della casa et familiarii del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Cardinale*<sup>146</sup> also seems to have been compiled under the direction of this same Giovanni, as the title is written in his hand.

## II

The first engraving,<sup>147</sup> by Epifanio d'Alfiano,<sup>148</sup> shows Intermedio 4. Seated above, on a cloud, are those spirits who live, according to Plato, in the sphere of fire, and who serve as intermediaries between men and gods. Beneath them, in a chariot drawn by two dragons, a sorceress approaches, wearing a fantastic costume draped with veils. Below, there arises the three-headed Lucifer of Dante, with bat wings, holding a sinner in either hand and another, waist-deep, in his mouth, surrounded by his devils, who are busy tormenting the damned souls with their pitchforks. The city of Dis is seen in the background. On one wheel of the sorceress's chariot is the inscription: "*D. Epifanio d'Alf. M. Vall. Incid.*"

In the second engraving,<sup>149</sup> we see Intermedio 2, with the metamorphosis of the Pierides into magpies. Apollo sits on a mountain peak, center stage, on which the nine Muses sit three by three, and beneath which, in a cave, there reclines the god of the Castalian spring. In two other caves, to left and right, are another nine goddesses (the Hamadryads?) playing various instruments. The sides of the stage are formed by pergolas and other garden structures. Downstage, the nine Pierides run hither and thither, transformed into magpies.

In spite of the discrepancies between the engraving, Rossi's description, and Buontalenti's drawings, there can be no doubt that this plate does represent Intermedio 2: such discrepancies are explained by the fact that the engraving dates from 1592, as the inscription tells us: "*S. Epif. Alfiano Mon.<sup>co</sup> Vallombrosano f. 1592.*"<sup>150</sup>

## III

On the cover of the *Ruolo* is the inscription, in the hand of Giovanni del Maestro:

1588.—*Ruolo della Casa del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Ferdinando Medicis, Cardinale, Gran Duca di Toscana.*<sup>151</sup>

1588.—Register of the household of His Serene Highness Ferdinando Medici, cardinal, grand duke of Tuscany.

On the first page, in the hand of his bookkeeper:

*Ruolo della Casa et familiarii del Ser.<sup>mo</sup> Car.<sup>le</sup> Gran Duca di Toscana da di primo di settembre 1588. Con la provisione et ogn'altra comodità che da S. A. Ser.<sup>ma</sup> ad essi si concede. Dichiarata a ciascuno al suo nome proprio, o, sì vero nella intitolatione del suo offitio.*

Register of the household and family members of His Serene Highness the cardinal grand duke of Tuscany, on 1 September 1588. Including the pay and allowances granted to them by His Serene Highness. Each person is listed under his own name, with his post listed where appropriate.

I extract from this ledger the names of the musicians, listed on p. 17, with their monthly pay in ducats:

<i>Musici</i>	<i>Duc.<sup>152</sup> *</i>
1. <i>Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta</i>	20
2. <i>Luca Marentio</i>	15
3. <i>Cristofano Malvezzi insegna alle Signore principesse</i>	9
4. <i>Gio. Batt. Jacomelli del Violino</i>	16
5. <i>Ant.<sup>o</sup> Archileo con cavallo a tutto governo,</i>	
6. <i>et per la Margherita sua putta et per la balia</i>	
<i>et per pigioni di casa in tutto</i>	18
7. <i>Vittoria sua moglie</i>	10
8. <i>Onofrio Gualfreducci da Pistoia</i>	15
9. <i>Giulio Caccini</i>	16
10. <i>Gio. Franc. Sanese, Trombone</i>	15
11. <i>Ant.<sup>o</sup> Naldi, guardaroba della Musica mangia in tinello et ha</i>	6
12. <i>Mario Luchini</i>	6
13. <i>Don Gio. Basso et serva anco al Duomo</i>	9
14. <i>Don Cornelo, Basso</i>	4
15. <i>Gio. Piero Manenti</i>	3
16. <i>Baccio Palibotria</i>	5
17. <i>Zanobi Siciliani</i>	6
18. <i>Jacopo Peri detto Zazzerino</i>	6
19. <i>Ant. Franc. d'Annibale, Trombone</i>	4
20. <i>Frate Andriano de' Servi, Trombone</i>	4
21. <i>Pierino Polibotria</i>	4
22. <i>Niccolò Bartolini da Pistoia, Eunuco</i>	6
23. <i>S.<sup>r</sup> Cav.<sup>re</sup> Cosimo Bottigarj con cavallo a paglia e striglia senza altro.</i>	

<i>Musicians</i>	<i>Ducats</i>
1. Bernardo Franciosino, cornett	20
2. Luca Marentio	15
3. Cristofano Malvezzi, tutor to the princesses	9
4. Giovanni Battista Jacomelli, violin	16
5. Antonio Archileo, with full keep for horse	6
6. and Margherita, his woman, plus wet nurse	
and the rents, a total of	18
7. Vittoria his wife	10
8. Onofrio Gualfreducci da Pistoia	15
9. Giulio Caccini	16

10. Giovanni Francesco Sanese, sackbut	15
11. Antonio Naldi, sees to the musicians' wardrobe and eats in the small dining room, and receives	6
12. Mario Luchini	6
13. Don Giovanni, bass, also sings in the Duomo	9
14. Don Cornelo, bass	4
15. Giovanni Piero Manenti	3
16. Baccio Palibotria	5
17. Zanobi Siciliani	6
18. Jacopo Peri, known as <i>Longhair</i>	6
19. Antonio Francesco d'Annibale, sackbut	4
20. Brother Andriano, Servite, sackbut	4
21. Pierino Polibotria	4
22. Niccolò Bartolini da Pistoia, eunuch	6
23. Signor Cavaliere Cosimo Bottigari, with horse (straw and grooming only)	

On p. 29, the following names have been added in Emilio de' Cavalieri's hand:

24. *Cesare del Messere basso musico con provisione di scudi quindici il mese, come apparisce per rescritto di S. Alt. sotto dì 1<sup>o</sup> d'ottobre 1588 da cominciarli il 1<sup>o</sup> di settembre prossimo passato.*
25. *Duritia Uorelli della Viola musico con provisione di scudi otto il mese da cominciar il medesimo detto dì, come per il medesimo rescritto.*
24. Cesare del Messere, bass, an allowance of 15 scudi per month, as was added by His Highness's rescript on 1 October 1588, with effect from 1 September preceding.
25. Duritia Uorelli, viol, an allowance of 8 scudi per month, to commence as no. 24 above.

## Notes

1. For fuller information on the sources, see appendix I.
2. See d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro* (1891), 2:167, 2:466 f.
3. For information on her, see Bevilacqua, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 23 (1894): 88 ff.
4. For the subject of the comedy, see Pavoni [appendix I], 46, where details of the jealousy between these two prima donnas will also be found.
5. See Baldinucci (1846), 2:509–23; Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro* (Venice, 1785), 1:208 ff.; G. Giannini, "Origini del dramma musicale," *Propugnatore*, n.s., 6, no. 1 (1893), 209 ff. [especially 250, n. 1]; U. Angeli, *Di alcuni Intermedi del Cinquecento* (Modena, 1891); Renier, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 22 (1893): 381.
- \* 6. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 4–5.

7. The decree of appointment is printed, in part, by Gaye, *Carteggio* 3:484, and his representatives are listed as “*maestro Giaches <Bylifelt?> . . . tedesco, nostro gioelliere*” † (Master Giaches <Bylifelt?> . . . , a German, our jeweler), for the visual arts, and Paolo Palluzzelli, gentleman of Rome, for music (Archivio Mediceo, Minute di Ferdinando, filza 62, p. 222). The Venetian ambassador, Tommaso Contarini, gives the following account of Cavalieri’s character in his *Relazione* of 1588 on Ferdinando’s court: “*Il signor Emilio Del Cavalliero romano, servitore molto del Granduca, abita in palazzo; non è così assiduo alla persona come gli altri, perchè ama la libertà; ma possiede assai la grazia di S.A.; attende a’ trattenimenti di musica e di piaceri.*” (Signor Emilio de’ Cavalieri, the Roman, waits on the grand duke and lives in the palace; he is not as attentive to his employer as the others, because he values his liberty; but he nevertheless finds favor with His Highness; he sees to musical and dramatic entertainment.) See Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni veneziane: Appendice* (Florence, 1863), 285. We know the date of his death (11 March 1602) from Gandolfi. See *Rassegna nazionale* [15:297 ff.] (16 November 1893).

8. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1585), 61.

9. [Fig. 77.] 45 × 75 cm.

10. This subject may have been derived from Martianus Capella’s poem *De nuptiis Philologiae cum Mercurio*, which also supplied material for Intermedi in Mantua in 1584 and 1598; see A. Neri, “Gli ‘Intermezzi’ del ‘Pastor fido,’” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 11:412 ff. This would also explain Rossi’s remark (*Descrizione*, 6<sup>v</sup>) that Jove was represented “*nell’abito appunto, che alle nozze di Mercurio s’appresentò*” (in the very same costume in which he appeared at the nuptials of Mercury).

11. Intermedio 4, with its sorceress and spirits, although based on Plato, was less well integrated with the overall *concetto*. It was the kind of spectacular fantasy that was a favorite at the time. A similar scenario—sorceress, spirits, hellfire, and all—appears in, for example, the second Intermedio of 1585 (Rossi, *Descrizione* (1585), 12<sup>v</sup>). See also the first Intermedio of 1567, as described by Ceccherelli (Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni*, 1893, no. 3401), and the second Intermedio of 1569, as described by Passignani (Bigazzi, no. 3512). This may be because the verse text of Intermedio 4, unlike the others, was not by Ottavio Rinuccini but by Giovanni Battista Strozzi.

12. See G. B. Martini, *Storia della musica* 1 (1757): 9, after Boethius, *De institutione musica* 1, no. 2; and Luigi Dentice, *Duo dialoghi della musica* (1553), 2; also Zarlino, *L’istitutioni harmoniche* (1589), part 1, ch. 6–7, in *Opere* (Venice), 1:16 ff.

13. See Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (1887), 4:160 ff., and Bardi, “Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini sopra la musica antica e ’l cantar bene,” in Doni, *Trattati di musica*, ed. Gori (1763), 2:233–48.

14. Biblioteca Nazionale, C. B. 53. 3. II, pp. 1–37, 74.

15. Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, no. 140.

16. See figs. 78, 82. The originals are in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, 19:69, nos. 123, 124. Bartsch, *Le peintre-graveur* 18:106, nos. 121, 122, erroneously explains them as *Eternité paroissant dans l’Olympe* (Eternity appearing on Olympus), and *Persée descendant de l’Olympe pour combattre le dragon* (Perseus descending from Olympus to do battle with the dragon).

17. The originals are in the Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:72–73, nos. 399, 400. For description see appendix II.

18. Baldinucci, *Notizie* (1846), 2:490 ff.; Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstils in Italien* (1887), 229 ff.; P. F. Covoni, *Il Casino di San Marco costruito dal Buontalenti ai tempi Medicei* (1892).

19. Gaye, *Carteggio* 3:449.

20. See Giovanni Cinelli, "Scrittori fiorentini," Ms. Magliabech. C. IX, 66, vol. 1, fol. 136<sup>v</sup>.

21. Tasso's visit has recently been discussed by Giosuè Carducci: *Nuova antologia* (1895), 34–35.

22. On the present state of the Teatro Mediceo, see Marcotti, *Guide-souvenir de Florence* [1892], 80. The auditorium was some 56 m long, 35 m wide, and 14 m high, according to the value given for the braccio by Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia* (1883), 206. The rake of the floor was 1.25 m. To gain a clear idea of the technical aspect of the stage machinery, see in particular Nicola Sabbattini, *Pratica di fabbricar scene e macchine ne' teatri*, 2d ed., including book 2 (Ravenna, 1638), 2:71–165.

23. It is labeled as follows:

*Parigi Giulio, Disegni originali de' carri e figure de' personaggi che decorarono la Mascherata rappresentante la Genealogia degli Dei, fatta in Firenze nelle nozze di Francesco de' Medici con Giovanna d'Austria descritta da Giorgio Vasari* <this is correct>, *aggiuntivi i disegni del personaggi che rappresentarono la Commedia intitolata La Pellegrina di Girolamo Bargagli, recitata nel salone sopra gli Uffizi per le nozze di Ferdinando I* <here the compiler is in error; the designs are all for the Intermedi>, *e Disegni del festino dei Pitti nel matrimonio di Cosimo III* <?>.

(Parigi, Giulio, original designs for chariots and figures for the masque representing the Genealogy of the Gods, performed in Florence to celebrate the marriage of Francesco de' Medici to Giovanna d'Austria, described by Giorgio Vasari <this is correct>, together with designs for the costumes of the actors in the comedy entitled *La pellegrina* by Girolamo Bargagli, performed in the Salone above the Uffizi for the marriage of Ferdinand I <here the compiler is in error; the designs are all for the Intermedi>, and designs for the festivities at the Pitti on the marriage of Cosimo III <?>.)

See Bigazzi, *Firenze e contorni*, no. 3509. In my opinion, only two of the drawings (2:39–40) are actually by Parigi.

24. They are pen and watercolor drawings on sheets of thick paper, approximately 57 × 47 cm. The figures are 27 cm high, except the sketches for the Sirens in Intermedio 1, which are around 37 cm high. As external evidence that they are really by Buontalenti, we draw particular attention to the monogram B.T. on fol. 10. The drawings on fols. 32 and 36 are merely copies, made to guide the costumer.

25. See fig. 84.

26. See fig. 92.

27. Although this first hand resembles that of Emilio de' Cavalieri, I believe that it is not his but that of Bardi or Buontalenti.

28. The *Libro di conti* of Emilio de' Cavalieri is in the same hand. It may be that of Francesco Gorini, who was *provveditore alla commedia*; his lists served to authenticate items of expenditure.

29. On its vellum spine, the volume is inscribed as follows: “Libro di conti relativi alla commedia diretta da Emilio de’ Cavalieri” (Book of accounts relative to the comedy directed by Emilio de’ Cavalieri). For the sake of brevity, we shall use the abbreviation L.C. to refer to this account book and V.D. to refer to the volume of drawings.

30. Perhaps, as we have suggested, that of Francesco Gorini, *provveditore alla commedia*.

31. For Intermedio 1, 45 were made; for Intermedio 2, 34; for Intermedio 3, 38; for Intermedio 4, 42; for Intermedio 5, 37; for Intermedio 6, 90: a total of 286 costumes. The price per costume was £2 17s 6d. In addition, Oreto received “*ducati dodici per essersi fatta la commedia una volta più dell’altra, e provato dua Intermedii la quaresima passata*” (twelve ducats because the comedy was performed once more than the other, and two Intermedi rehearsed last Lent). Of the total of Ducats 117 £3 5s, Oreto had been paid the greater part on account. On 16 September 1589, he acknowledged receipt of the balance due, i.e., Ducats 30 £2 15s (L.C., 197).

32. See L.C., *Taglio*, 91.

33. L.C., *Quadernuccio*, 291.

34. See V.D., 37, and fig. 79. The artist’s name, in the left-hand corner, is hard to decipher in the reproduction.

35. The catalog of Bardi’s writings given by Mazzuchelli affords a general idea of the breadth of his erudition. Bardi deserves a whole biography to himself.

36. Plato, *Republic* 10.617 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1846), 2:192 f. See Cartari, *Le imagini dei dei* (Padua, 1603), 276. Cartari’s first edition (Venice, 1556) lacks both the description and the engraving of Necessity. †

37. See Plato, *Republic* 3.399 and *Laches* 188; Aristotle, *Republic* 8.4; [?Pseudo-] Plutarch, *De musica* 17.

38. Bardi [see note 13], 240.

39. Francesco Patrici, *Della poetica* (Ferrara, 1586), “La deca istoriale,” 298. This work, as well as the same author’s *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591), which we have not had the opportunity to consult, may well have influenced Bardi. In 1586 † Bardi wrote Patrizzi about the dispute between Pellegrini and the Accademia della Crusca; see Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d’Italia* 2.1, 334. Patrizzi also speaks of exchanging ideas on the music of antiquity with Bardi and Galilei; see *Della poetica*, 286.

40. See Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.

41. For instance, Dante, *Convito* 2.3–4.

42. See Kolloff, in *Meyers Künstlerlexikon* 2:589. Similar conceits are expressed in the reliefs by Agostino di Duccio in Rimini.

43. *Franchini Gafurii . . . de Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus* (Milan, 1518), fol. 92, “*Quod Musae et sydera et Modi atque Chordae invicem ordine conveniunt*”; 94<sup>v</sup> (our fig. 96).

44. In Bardi’s system, Astraea, identified by the ancients with the Virgo of the zodiac, represented the eighth sphere. Astraea also appears as an allegorical figure in † Frezzi’s *Quadriregio* [ed. Filippini (Bari, 1914)], 4.11–13.

45. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 18–32.

46. *Republic* 10.616–17.

47. As for instance in Dante [see note 41]. \*

48. *Republic* 3 and *Laches* [see note 37].

49. *Republic* 8.5 (and 7.10).

50. See p. 358.

51. Personifications of the Harmonies or modes: Hypodoria, Hipofrigia, Hipolidia, Frigia, Mixolidia. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 23.

52. This was the only direct collaboration between the deviser of the Intermedi and the superintendent of fine arts.

53. The Virtues were represented as follows: Justice by Numa Pompilius and Isis; Religion by Massinissa and by a Vestal; Piety by Aeneas and by the dutiful daughter mentioned by Valerius Maximus; Conjugal Love by Tiberius Gracchus and by Portia; Liberty by Hieron and by Busa; Fortitude by Lucius [Siccus] Dentatus and by Camilla.

54. Harmonia, 10 Sirens, 8 Planets; Necessity, 3 Fates and 12 Heroes.

55. See Archivio di Stato, Depositeria gen., no. 389: "*Ruolo della casa et familiari del Ser.mo Cardinale Gran Duca di Toscana per da di primo di Settembre 1588...*" See appendix III. There were 24 musicians in all, and for each the monthly salary is given.

56. Bernardo Franciosino della Cornetta heads the list, with a monthly salary of 20 scudi. See also Bonini in La Fage, *Diphthéographie* (1864), 167–80.

57. For personal details see principally Malvezzi, *Intermedii et concerti, fatti per la Commedia rappresentata in Firenze* (Venice, 1591). The personal details are printed by Vogel, *Bibliothek der weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens* 1:382–85.

58. No. 1: see V.D., 11. —Nos. 2–15: see V.D., 32–37, and L.C. *Quadernaccio*, 291, 293, 294. —No. 16: see V.D., 36<sup>v</sup>, and L.C., 293. —Nos. 17–20: see V.D., 28, and L.C., 431 f. —Nos. 21–23: see V.D., 27, and L.C., 432. —No. 24: see V.D., 27, and L.C., 441. —Nos. 25–28: see V.D., 29, and L.C., 441. —Nos. 29–41: see L.C., 424, 423.

59. On the number of Sirens see p. 365.

60. Probably identical with Paolo del Franciosino, who died in 1657 at the age of 90. See Bonini [note 56], 178.

61. See fig. 78. Although the figures are rather freely drawn, the presence of Necessity with her spindle and the three Fates proves beyond doubt that this refers to the present Intermedio. The engraving was probably made some time after the performance, as was that by Epifanio d'Alfiano for Intermedio 2, which bears the date of 1592.

62. See nos. 2–16. No. 1 was Vittoria Archilei, as Harmonia, whose green velvet robe was to be made up later to highly precise specifications.

63. Published by Bandini in Doni, *Trattati* 2, appendix, p. 99. The author describes the choral dances as follows, apparently drawing on a passage in Lucian, *De saltatione* 7:

... i quai balli o rappresentavano il moto dell'ottava Sfera, o del Sole, o della Luna, o d'altro Pianeta, e la teorica di essi, o altri maravigliosi soggetti. E per più intelligenza addurremo l'esempio di quando rappresentavano il primo mobile conducente i globi celesti...

(... these dances depicted the movement of the eighth sphere, or of the sun and the moon, or of the planets, and sometimes processions of them all, or other magnificent subjects. To convey their content more vividly, one example might be the dance in which the Primum Mobile was portrayed, leading the celestial spheres...)



This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that the Planets were originally intended to appear not on clouds but in chariots of their own. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1689), 26, says of Bardi:

... *Avrebbe voluto, che ciascun di questi pianeti fosse comparito in sul carro, che dagli scrittori è assegnato loro, ma non avendo, per più cagioni, l'artefice potuto eseguire il suo intendimento, volle, che gli dipignesse ne'seggi.*

(...He would have liked each of the planets to appear in the chariot assigned to them by the poets; but since the artist, for a number of reasons, had been unable to carry out his intentions, he had him depict them on thrones.)

64. Only three drawings exist of the Sirens of the highest spheres (V.D., 35–36). As can be seen from the inscriptions on the drawings themselves, they are all dressed in the purest colors of the Empyrean, “*trasparenti sì come la foglia del diamante*” (transparent as lamina of diamonds). An additional note specifies; “*di questa sorte dove sono disegnate tre ànno a essere cinque*” (so that where three are drawn, there are to be five); the latter number has subsequently been altered to “seven.”

65. See fig. 79, reproducing Buontalenti's design for the Siren of the eighth sphere. Rossi supplies only a brief description of her (*Descrizione*, 1589, 25):

*Quella volgente l'ottava sfera, sopra una bella, ma semplice acconciatura, un'orsa tutta circondata di stelle. Il vestimento, e le penne cilestrine. La sopravvesta, che le si partia dalle penne, e andava infino al ginocchio, cirdondata dappiè con bendonì a vago ricamo, da'quali pendevano nappon d'oro: ed essa, e la vesta, tutta quanta ricamata di stelle.*

(The Siren circling the eighth sphere in a simple but elegant headdress bearing a she-bear surrounded by stars. Robe and feathers, sky-blue. Her mantle, attached to the feathers and reaching to her knees, had a richly embroidered border, hung with gold tassels; the robe and mantle embroidered all over with stars.)

66. It was thus that they appeared at the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleonora di Toledo in 1539: “*Apparsero in un tratto tre Serene ignude, ciascuna con le sue due code minutamente lavorate di scaglie d'argento.*” (Suddenly three naked Sirens appeared, each with her two tails minutely worked with silver scales.) See Giambullari, *Apparato et feste* (1539), 111.

67. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 23.

68. See L.C., 87–89. The numbers of assistants employed were as follows:

Oct. 5–15	9
" 15–20	13
" 20–27	6
" 27–Nov. 4	10
Nov. 9–11	5
" 11–18	5
" 18–25	5
<hr/>	
53	

69. See L.C., *Quadernaccio*, 291. The ingenious idea of making the feathers out of paper was reserved for a later age (1763): Ademollo, *I primi fasti del teatro di via della Pergola*, 30 n.

70. L.C., 291.

71. I reproduce the following as an interesting curiosity [*Quadernaccio*, 292]:

*Nota di quello si mette in un abito di n.º 6 di Gio. Lapi: A dì 17 di novembre 1588.*

*Raso rosso per li braccialetti, sottana e sottanella br. 11  $\frac{2}{3}$  <ca. 6.5 m>. — Taffetà turchina per fodera de bendoni br. 1  $\frac{0}{8}$  <ca. 1.3 m>. — Velo giallo br. 8 per dintorni e mostre che non servirono br. 8 <ca. 4.6 m>. — Velo bianco br. 5 per gorgiere e calzari e dintorno br. 5 <ca. 8.7 m>. — Velo ad oro br. 4  $\frac{2}{3}$ , per cignere e inanzi br. 4  $\frac{0}{3}$  <ca. 2.5 m>. — Tela cilindrata per fare il busto, maniche e bendoni e altro br. 7  $\frac{3}{5}$  <ca. 4.4 m>. — Tela di quadrone dipinta a penne br. 8 <ca. 4.6 m>. — Guarnitione di tela con stag.<sup>lo</sup> <?> e verde fra larghe e strette per la sottana e sottanella br. 14 <ca. 8 m>. — Maschere piccole n.º 4, e 2 grande per le spalle n.º 6. — Tela bott.<sup>na</sup> <?> per la gorghiera br.  $\frac{3}{4}$  <ca. 0.45 m>.*

(Note of materials required for a costume, for no. 6, Giovanni Lapi: 17 November 1588.

Red satin for the bands, skirt, and underskirt <ca. 6.5 m>. — Deep blue taffeta for lining the bands <ca. 1.3 m>. — Yellow voile for overskirts and for patterns that will not be used <ca. 4.6 m>. White voile for ruffs, footwear, and overskirts <ca. 8.7 m>. Gold voile for trimming and front <ca. 2.5 m>. Calendered cloth for the bodice, sleeves, bands, etc. <ca. 4.4 m>. — Canvas painted with feathers <ca. 4.6 m>. — Green cloth cut unevenly <?> for the skirt and underskirt <ca. 8 m>. — Small masks, 4, and large shoulder masks, 2, total 6. — <?> fabric for the bodice <ca. 0.45 m>.)

72. L.C., *Taglio*, 11.

73. L.C., *Taglio*, 19.

74. V.D., 27.

75. *Carmina* 1.35.

76. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 25.

77. Rossi's *Descrizione*, the preface to which is dated 14 May 1589, cannot have been of any use to those present at the performances.

78. *Diarii*, 14.

79. *Raccolta di tutte le feste* . . . , 3.

80. *Discorso sopra la mascherata* . . . ; see Bigazzi {note 23}, no. 3371.

81. *Opere*, ed. Milanese, 8:519.

82. Vasari's originals are in the above-mentioned volume in the Palatina, 1:1–164; there are also copies in the Uffizi, nos. 2666–2945 [Disegni di figura, Vasari, Carri trionfali delle Divinità], and in a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Follini, II, I, 142).

83. V.D., 1:37.

84. *Nat. hist.* 11.103. A better reading is *antestamur* (we call as a witness); this verb was used for a special manner of testifying in court.

85. *Egloga* 6.{4–5}:

... “*pastorem Tityre pingues  
Pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.*”  
(... “O Tityrus, the shepherd should  
Fatten his sheep, but sing a slender song.”)

Of course, this act has no symbolic value in itself.

86. See *Discorso*, 36.

87. That is, he swears  $\nu\eta$  τὸν χύνα, by the constellation Canis, the Dog; it need hardly be added that the passage bears no reference to a real animal.

88. See *Discorso*, 36.

89. See T. Schreiber, *Apollon Pythoktonos* (1879), 17–38, and Arteaga (note 5).

90. *De saltatione* 16, in which he speaks of the ὑπόρχημα (*hyporchema*, choral hymn) of Apollo [see *ibid.*, ch. 38]. [See also pp. 539 f. of the present volume.]

91. *Della poetica* [see note 39], “La deca disputata,” 180.

92. *Onomasticon*, bk. 4, segm. 84. See note 102.

93. See Zarlino (note 12), part 2, ch. 5, p. 81 f., on the “Pythian law.”

94. See plates 5, 6, 7 (V.D., 26, 13, 24) [fig. 84]. The sketch for the twelfth couple (nos. 23, 24) is the only one to have been lost; the actors’ names are given, but as they are mostly the same as in Intermedio 1, we have not repeated them.

95. V.D., 25.

96. See fig. 82.

97. See fig. 83. It may therefore be supposed that this engraving, too, was made some time after the performance.

98. See fig. 84.

99. *Descrizione* (1589), 42–48.

100. This refers to Intermedio 2.

101. See below, p. 379 ff.

102. *Onomasticon* 4.10, segm. 84 [Amsterdam, 1706]:

*De quinque Pythicis certaminibus. Pythici vero modi, qui tibia canitur, partes quinque sunt, rudimentum, provocatio, Iambicum, spondeum, ovatio. Repraesentatio autem, est modus quidem pugnae Apollinis contra Draconem et in ipso experimento locum circumspicit, num pugnae conveniens sit. In provocatione vero provocat Draconem. Sed in Iambico pugnat. Continet autem Iambicum tubae cantus, et odontismum, utpote Dracone inter sagittandum dentibus frendente. Spondeum vero, Dei victoriam repraesentat. Et in ovatione, Deus ad Victorialia carmina saltat.*

(On the five Pythian competitions. The Pythian mode, which is played on the flute, has five parts: the Trial, the Challenge, the Iambic, the Spondaic, and the Triumph. This mode is a representation of Apollo’s battle against the Python. In the Trial, he looks around to see whether the place is suitable for the fight. In the Challenge, he summons the Python forth. In the Iambic he fights; the Iambic includes the music of the war trumpet, and the *odontismos*, the effect of the Python grinding its teeth when assailed with arrows. The Spondaic represents the victory of the god. And in the Triumph the god dances to the songs of victory.)

103. This remark proves how hard the deviser tried to reproduce not only the action of the antique pantomime but its music, conscious though he was of the inadequacy of the imitation.

104. See fig. 82.

105. I heard the music of this madrigal at the commemoration of the Florentine *Riforma Melodrammatica* on 17 February 1895. It is reprinted as an appendix [to the *Commemorazione della Riforma Melodrammatica*, Atti dell'Accademia del Real Istituto Musicale di Firenze (1895)].

† 106. This is one of Bardi's arbitrary assumptions, adopted in order to link Delos (Delo) with Delphi (Delfo)—the true relationship being far from clear to him—and thus to procure another attribute for his figures, most of whom accordingly hold seashells or branches of coral.

107. The agreement is so manifest as to suggest that Rossi had personally inspected either the designs or the costumes themselves.

108. The designs that are not reproduced here show an even more marked Mannerist style in the treatment of the costume.

109. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 42; also 46, “*in abiti tendenti al greco*,” and 48, “*e tutti simiglianti all'abito greco*.” See pp. 372, 376, and 384.

\* 110. See examples in d'Ancona [note 2], 1:225, 1:296, and passim. On Madalena Gonzaga, costumed as a “nymph,” see Luzio-Renier, *Mantova e Urbino* (1893), 48. An idea of the costumes of these “nymphs” can be gained from the frontispiece of Boccaccio's *Ninfale* in the Panizzi edition (Florence, 1568), and from an engraving in the 1546 edition of Luca Pulci's *Driadeo*. See also the “Canzona delle Nimphe e delle cicale,” in the first edition of the *Canti carnascialeschi* of Lorenzo de' Medici; interestingly, subsequent editions change “*Nimphe*” (nymphs) to “*Fanciulle*” (girls).

111. For example, in the *Orfeo* of Poliziano and in the *Fabula di Caephalo* of Niccolò da Correggio. See d'Ancona [note 2], 2:5, 2:350. In my own work, “Botticelli's *Birth of Venus and Spring*” (1893), [our] pp. 120–25, there are further indications of the relations between the nymph, as she appeared in pageantry and in poetry, and Quattrocento works of art.

112. See—to take just one example—the mythological paintings and drawings of Botticelli. The characteristic nymph type has also been preserved for us in an engraving by an anonymous Quattrocento artist, who may well have worked from a drawing by Botticelli himself. The subject is the *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, and in their train are Bacchantes costumed as nymphs. See the publication of the International Chalcographical Society (1890), no. 4; I consider it not unlikely that a connection exists between this drawing and the celebrated *Trionfo di Bacco e d'Arianna* written by Lorenzo il Magnifico [see fig. 18].

113. See Savonarola, *Prediche quadragesimale... sopra Amos propheta, sopra Zaccharia propheta...* (Venice, 1539), c. 175':

*Guarda che usanza ha firenze; come le donne fiorentine hanno maritate le loro fanciulle: le menono a mostra: e acconciatela che paiono nymphe: e la prima cosa <è che> le menano a santa liberata: questi sono lidoli vostri.*

(Look at the Florentine custom. See how the matrons of Florence have married off their daughters. They put them on show, dressed up to look like nymphs, and the first thing they do is to lead them straight to Saint Uncumber; and these be your idols.)

See G. Gruyer, *Les Illustrations des écrits de Savonarole* (1879), 206. On the veils, see the sermon on the Kine of Samaria in Perrens, *Hieronymus Savonarola*, trans. Schroeder (1858), 540, and Landucci, *Diario*, ed. del Badia (1883), 123.

114. This figure appears, for example, in Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella, and in those by Botticelli, Signorelli, and Rosselli in the Sistine Chapel. The engraving by Agostino Veneziano (1528; Bartsch, vol. 16, section 9, no. 470) shows us the type in Mannerist guise.

115. Anyone interested may refer to the descriptions mentioned by Bigazzi [see note 23] of *feste Fiorentine* in 1539, 1567, 1569, and 1579. See also Giannini [note 5] and Angeli [note 5]. A characteristic example is also to be found in the little book by G. E. S[altini], *Di una mascherata pastorale fatta in Siena per la venuta della Granduchessa Bianca Cappello, la sera del 22 di febbraio 1582* (Florence, 1882) [especially 18 ff.].

116. Compare, for instance, the nymphs of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, in the first edition of 1499 and in the French edition of 1546. The relation between the nymph and the art of antiquity is something that I intend to discuss at greater length elsewhere.

117. See d'Ancona [note 2], 2:581: "*Degli abiti da usarsi nelle rappresentazioni sceniche.*" The dialogues were probably composed around 1585; *ibid.*, 410. Depictions of these theatrical nymphs are to be found in the illustrated editions of Tasso's *Aminta* [Venice: Aldo, 1583 etc.] and of Guarini's *Il pastor fido* [Venice: G. B. Ciotto, 1602 etc.]. The theatrical type of the nymph held the stage, not only in Italy but in France, England, and Germany, until the mid-seventeenth century.

118. Angelo Ingegneri, *Discorso della poesia rappresentativa* ([Ferrara,] 1598), 72.

119. See Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 24, 26, 40, 41, 47, 48, 49, 67, 68. Buontalenti's sketches for other figures in Intermedi 2 and 3 exemplify the use made of veils in the Intermedi: in all, no less than 5287 br. (some 3,000 m) of Bolognese veiling.

120. *Ibid.*, 14. In his rough stanzas in honor of the wedding of Ferdinando and Christina (Florence, 1590; see appendix I), Niccolò de Cardi tells us:

116 *Degl'Intermedij ognun prese diletto*  
*Delle Sirene venute dal Cielo*  
*Con muse, e Ninfe in canto, e mortal velo.*

117 *Le quali in drappi belli, e trecce attorte*  
*Nell'Intermedio primo in lieto accento...*  
(All delighted in the Intermedi,  
In Sirens swooping from the skies,  
Muses, and singing nymphs in mortal veils,  
Who, beautifully draped, with tresses curled,  
In the first of the Intermedi in joyful tones...)

121. G. Semper coined the right word for this type of decoration: *Richtungsschmuck* (directional ornament); see Semper, *Kleine Schriften* (1884), 319 ff.

122. *Liber de pictura* (Vienna, 1877), 129 f. [See *Birth of Venus*, our pp. 95–96].

123. Rossi, *Descrizione* (1589), 46–48.

124. See the figure on the right in fig. 84a; the actor was Onofrio Gualfreducci.

125. This clasp is missing in the drawing.

126. See the figure on the left in fig. 84a; the actor was Oratio (del Franciosino?).

127. See the figure on the right in fig. 84b; the actor was Giovanni Lapi.

128. Here, too, the clasp is missing in the drawing.

129. See the figure on the left in fig. 84b; the actor was Alberigo (Malvezzi?).

130. A number of the women of Delphi are dressed more simply, as matrons. See fig. 84c, which we select advisedly, because this particular woman was played, as the inscription shows, by none other than Jacopo Peri. Because of Peri's importance in the history of the *Melodramma*, we have also given, in fig. 92, a reproduction of the costume he wore as Arion in Intermedio 5. See also G. O. Corazzini, "Jacopo Peri e la sua famiglia" [*Atti* {note 105}].

131. Guido Mazzoni, "Cenni su Ottavio Rinuccini poeta" [*Atti* {see note 105}].

132. For the musical history of this, see R. Gandolfi, "Dell'opera in musica" [*Atti* {note 105}].

† 133. See the preface by Marco da Gagliano to Rinuccini's *Dafne* (1608), reprinted by Corazzini in the same volume (appendix) [*Atti* {see note 105}]. Apollo's *danza bellica* was still important enough for Marco da Gagliano to recommend that an expert dancer should take the part of Apollo in the fight scene; in the third Intermedio, too, the Aghostino (V.D., p. 24<sup>v</sup>) who played Apollo was probably a dancer.

134. See p. 371.

† 135. See the description of the *Carro del Sole* (chariot of the sun) in the *mascherata* of 1565, in Ingegneri, *Discorso* {note 118}, 29–36, and that of the Chariot of Pythian Apollo in the *sbarra* of 1579. See also R. Gualterotti, *Feste nelle nozze... Francesco... Bianca Cappello* (1579), 17 f.

136. It comes as a surprise to find that Rinuccini, in his *Dafne* and in his *Euridice*, follows in the footsteps of Poliziano, both in the choice of subject and in the infusion of pastoral feeling; and that, in the same manuscript in Mantua as the *Orfeo*, there is also the *Rappresentazione di Phebo et Phetonte*, which, according to d'Ancona's analysis of it {see note 2}, 2:350, bears a certain resemblance to Rinuccini's *Dafne*. D'Ancona

† hypothesizes, on good grounds, that this *rappresentazione* is identical with the *Festa di Lauro* composed in 1486 by the Florentine Gian Pietro della Viola.

137. Emilio de' Cavalieri, in his pastoral dramas with madrigal music, still fell

† short of the new ideals. I shall give an account elsewhere of the sixteen drawings that refer to *La disperazione di Fileno*, staged in 1594.

138. There is still no copy of this extremely rare volume in any public library in

† Florence. Mr. Tito Cappugi, who does possess a copy, was kind enough to allow me to consult it.

A brief account exists, by this same Pavoni, of the *Entrata della serenissima gran duchessa sposa... al molto illustro Giovanni Battista Strada Hispano...* (Bologna: Rossi, 1589), 8<sup>o</sup>, 4 pp.; it is in the Biblioteca Moreniana.

139. In the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.

140. Bigazzi, no. 3379: *L'ultime feste*... Benacci also wrote a brief account of the solemn entry alone: *Descrittione della solennissima entrata... fatta alli 30 di Aprile 1589* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1589), 8°, 4 pp.

141. Bigazzi, no. 3443: *Discours de la magnifique réception*... (Lyons, 1589); and Bigazzi, no. 408: *Discours veritable du mariage*... (Paris, n.d.).

142. I have not had sight of the poems by Paolini and Borghesi (see Moreni, *Bibliografia*). The *Canzone* by Muzio Piacentini (in the Biblioteca Moreniana) perhaps refers to the *mascherata de' fumi* of 28 May 1589; see p. 350.

143. Filz. Strozz. 1<sup>a</sup> serie no. 27, 28, 29, 30, 51. See Guasti, *Le carte Stroziane* (1884), 147, 148, 274 f.

144. This is the so-called *Storia d'etichetta*, of which the Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, holds three copies; I owe the reference to the kindness of Mr. Carnesecchi.

145. Filz. Strozz. 1<sup>a</sup> serie no. 20. See Guasti [note 143], 110; the text of the dedication is also found, without the signature, in the *Storia d'etichetta* 1.

146. See appendix III.

147. Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:72, no. 399; 258 × 262 mm. Compare Rossi, *Descrizione*, 49–51, and see p. 354.

148. See W. Schmidt, in *Meyers Künstlerlexikon* 1:296 [and Paul Kristeller, in Thieme-Becker, 1:279].

149. Biblioteca Marucelliana, 1:73, no. 400; 250 × 332 mm.

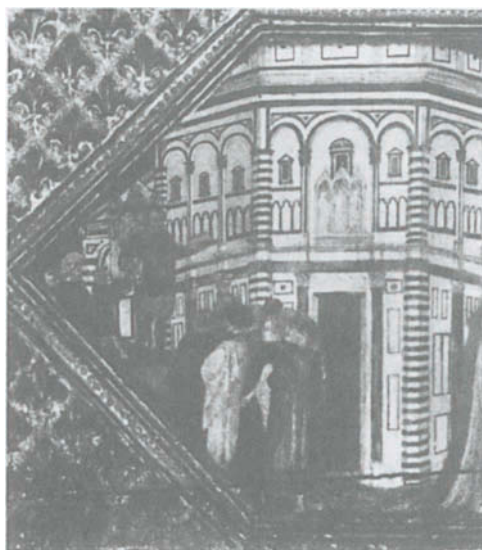
150. The engraving by Epifanio, mentioned by Ottley, *Notices of Engravers* (1831), under no. 2, which represents a procession of mythological figures headed by Neptune, might well refer to the *mascherata de' fumi*; see p. 350.

151. Archivio di Stato, Guardaroba Medicea, 389; see p. 387.

152. Per month.



**Fig. 85. Giulio Romano**  
*Quack*  
 Mantua, Palazzo del Tè (see p. 403).



**Fig. 86. Quack**  
 Detail of *cassone*  
 Florence, Museo Nazionale (see p. 403).



# Contributions to the Cultural History of the Florentine Quattrocento (1929)

**M**r. Warburg gave three brief contributions to the history of the representation of Florentine life in motion.

He supplemented his documentation of the procession of the Medici children in the fresco in S. Trinita (see pp. 193 f.) by showing a photograph of a drawing of the work after Ghirlandaio (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett; fig. 89), from which it could be seen that the procession of children, but not the large donor portraits of the Medici and the Sassetti, had been intended from the start. Also, an ecclesiastic was intended to appear in the place now occupied by Poliziano.

Two other scenes of festive pageantry conceal pagan religious origins beneath a surface of popular merrymaking. On a *cassone* in the Bargello (Museo Nazionale), made in the first third of the fifteenth century (G. de Nicola, *Burlington Magazine* 32 (1918): 218 f.), he had been able to identify the figure of a treacle-monger — already at that date a feature of the S. Giovanni fair (fig. 86) — as one of those quacks described by Tommaso Garzoni in Discorso 105 of his *Piazza universale* (Venice, 1665), 549, as “*uomini della casa di San Paolo*” (men of the house of Saint Paul). These men professed to come from Malta, and claimed that the balls of earth that they sold as pills were taken from the place where Saint Paul was bitten by a viper and, miraculously unharmed, hurled it into the fire. A tondo by Giulio Romano, in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua (see fig. 85), illustrates the Laocoön-like appearance of one of these survivors of the ancient cult of Asclepius, as, twined about † with serpents, he hawked his dubious wares around the country.

The third communication concerned a fresco by Stradano in the Palazzo Vecchio. In the lower right-hand corner is a sword dance in which the participants dance in a ring, performing an ancient, traditional rite (grasping † the scabbard) that has its last surviving offshoot among the English morris dancers.

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# Addenda to Volume I

See pages 77 and 87 for explanations of the typographical conventions.

## Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*

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89 {Published as Sandro Botticellis “Geburt der Venus” und “Frühling”: Eine Untersuchung über die Vorstellungen von der Antike in der italienischen Frührenaissance (Hamburg and Leipzig: Leopold Voss, 1893).} This work was submitted to the Faculty in Strasbourg on 8 December 1891; accepted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on 5 March 1892. Printed and published by Leopold Voss, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1892 (dated 1893).

89 Epigraphs added in manuscript by Warburg to his working copy:

Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, bk. 1, ch. 1:

“Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.” Surely the plain rule is, Let each considerate person have his way, and see what it will lead to. For not this man and that man, but all men make up mankind, and their united tasks the task of mankind.

Wilhelm Dilthey, “Die drei Epochen der modernen Ästhetik und ihre heutige Aufgabe,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 72 (1892): 219 (now *Gesammelte Schriften* 6:265 f.):

This interest <in any consideration of art> depends on the question of the function of art in the mental economy of human life. Insofar as this question can be precisely answered at all, that answer must be expected to come from a combination of an analysis of impressions and a historico-social study of art.

89 For “what it was in antiquity that ‘interested’ the artists,” read: “some of what it was . . .”

89 On this word, see Theobald Ziegler, “Zur Genesis eines ästhetischen Begriffs,” *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, n.s., 7 (1894): 113 ff., in which the first mention of the concept of “*Einfühlung*” (empathy) is ascribed to Novalis, *Lehrlinge zu Sais*; see Novalis, *Schriften*, ed. Ernst Heilborn, 1:241 f.:

*So wird auch keiner die Natur begreifen, der kein Naturorgan, kein innres naturerzeugendes und absonderndes Werkzeug hat, der nicht, wie von selbst, überall die Natur an allem erkennt und unterscheidet, und mit angeborener Zeugungslust, in in-niger mannichfaltiger Verwandtschaft mit allen Körpern, durch das Medium der Empfindung, sich mit allen Naturwesen vermischt, sich gleichsam in sie hinein fühlt.*

(No one will ever comprehend nature unless he has an organ for nature, an inner apparatus that generates and secretes nature; unless he spontaneously recognizes and distinguishes nature in everything; unless, with innate procreative joy, and in manifold inward kinship with all bodies through the medium of sensation, he mingles with all living things and, as it were, feels his way into them.)

- 90 Mentioned as a curiosity, a free translation of the *Pervigilium Veneris* into Italian: Saverio Rogati Napoletano, *Le veglie di Venere ossia Inno sulla Primavera tradotto liberamente dal verso latino per nozze Lorenzo Sangiantoffetti e Lucrezia Nani* (Padua, 1792). Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Misc. Capretta, 4:401.

- 90 Marsiglio Ficino's first translations from Greek were the *Homeric Hymns*; he sang them in the antique style, to the lute. See addendum to the conclusion of this chapter, pp. 426 f.

- 96 *Kunstchronik* 25 (1900), 398, published Warburg's rejoinder to Steinmann's comment on his demonstration of the relationship between Alberti and Botticelli: Correction. E. Steinmann's review in *Kunstchronik* 22, of the book on Botticelli by Supino—which I, too, salute as a welcome and useful contribution from Italy—seems to call for a correction. In his general remarks, Steinmann has tended to identify my own case with that of German scholarship as a whole. Steinmann cites the discovery of the relationship between the theories of Alberti and the art of Botticelli as a defining instance of the ability, supposedly exclusive to Italian scholars, to point to connections that are lost on the “foreign” researcher; but Supino derived this very statement (as he himself has told me) from my own work on Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*, which he has accordingly given as his source on several occasions.

The connection between this Alberti passage and Botticelli was (as Warburg himself says) first made by Springer.

- 97 For Saint Bernard, as in the first edition, read: San Bernardino. This correction emerged from a letter sent to the author on 27 December 1892 by Jacob Burckhardt, to whom Warburg had sent his dissertation. Burckhardt encouraged him “to turn now to Sandro the mystical theologian, as he shows himself in the painting of the *Shepherds and Angels* (National Gallery), in the great tondo of the *Madonna Writing* (Uffizi), and above all in the *Temptation of Christ* (Sistine Chapel).” See the essay “Sandro Botticelli,” pp. 157 f.

- 97 Duccio relief in Milan, see fig. 3: *Das Museum* 9 (1904), fig. 72, under the erroneous title of *Augustus and the Sibyl*!—instead of *Scene from the Legend of Saint Sigismund*; the angel gesturing to him to stop = Hauser's Maenad 28. Also relief depicting the Rape of Europa; see Andy Pointner, *Die Werke des florentinischen Bildhauers Agostino d'Antonio di Duccio* (Strasbourg, 1909), pl. 21a.

As for the scene on the Brera relief: Cicognara, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia* . . . , 2d ed., 5 (Prato, 1824): 536 ff., had already interpreted this as

the episode in which an angel appeared to Saint Sigismund to tell him how to atone for his guilt. At the behest of his second wife, Sigismund had procured the murder of his own son by his first marriage (Pointner, 114 f.). This interpretation is supported by the provenance of the relief, which features a personal connection with Sigismondo Malatesta. It comes from the convent of Scolca, Rimini, where the Malatesta women-folk took refuge (Charles Yriarte, *Rimini*, Paris, 1882, 220–21), and where Sigismondo's first wife, Ginevra d'Este, and her son died. The alleged murder of Ginevra was one of the counts in Pius II's indictment of Sigismondo. On all this, see Corrado Ricci, *Il tempio Malatestiano* (1924), 395 ff.

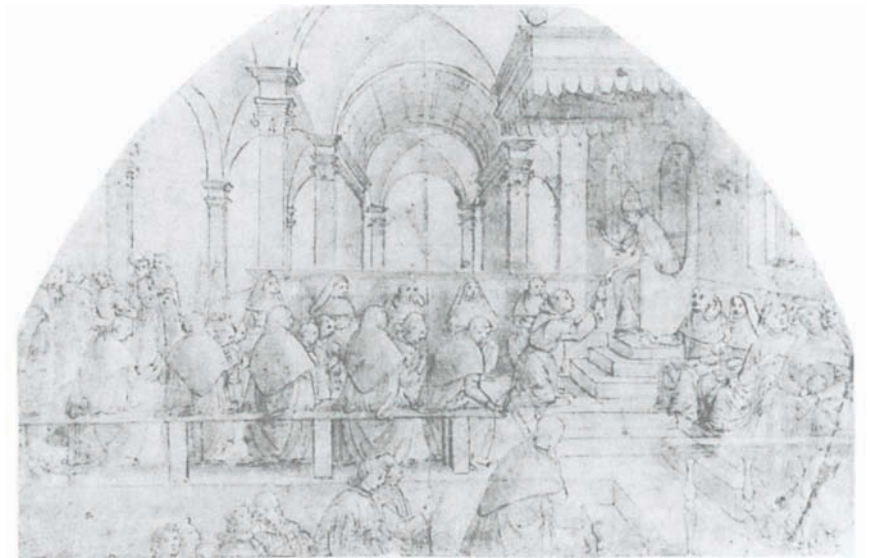
- 98 Richard Förster, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, n.s., 6 (1893): 482, denies that Poliziano was personally influenced by Alberti.
- 98 Franz Wickhoff, "Die Hochzeitsbilder Sandro Botticellis," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 27 (1906): 198–207, considered that Latin sources must exist for both paintings (for the *Birth*, the *Pervigilium Veneris*, "*maritis imbribus*" (wedded waters) [l. 14]; for the *Primavera*, Fulgentius). But I still think Poliziano was the intermediary: the agreement is too close, both in the choice of poetic sources and subject and in the taste for formal motifs.
- 100 Virgil, *Ciris* 25 ff.:  
*Cum levis alterno Zephyrus concrebruit Euro*  
*Et prono gravidum provexit pondere currum.*  
*Felix illa dies, felix et dicitur annus;*  
*Felices qui talem annum videre diemque.*  
(When the light Zephyr gathered strength, taking turns with the East Wind,  
And moved the chariot, heavy with sinking weight, forward.  
That day is called happy, happy too is the year;  
Happy those who have seen such a year and a day.)
- 102 A reading of *Fasti* 5.217 that comes even closer to Poliziano's view is recorded in the Ehwald and Levy ed. (Leipzig, 1924), 141: "*Libri recentiores lectionis vulgatae: Conveniunt pictis incinctae floribus Horae*" (More recent recensions of the vulgate text: The Horae assemble, girt in varicolored flowers).
- 103 The Italian word "*ceste*" (baskets) has been mistranslated here [by Warburg] as "girdles," probably as a result of a confusion with "*cesto*" (as in "*cesto di Venere*").
- 104 In Perugia (University Museum, Antichità Romane, no. 296, no catalog), a relief, *Birth of Venus*. With a cloth in her upraised right hand, Venus stands on a shell, hair windblown, twisted dance posture, cloth draped over an urn [fig. 87].

On the motif of Venus on a shell in the art of antiquity, see Ludolph Stephani, "Erklärung einiger im südlichen Russland gefundener Kunstwerke," *Compte-rendu de la Commission impériale archéologique pour les années 1870 et 1871* (Saint Petersburg, 1874), 128 ff., and Maria Britschkoff, "Afrodite nella conchiglia," *Bollettino*

*d'arte* 9 (1929): 563 ff. It emerges from these articles that the motif of Venus standing on a shell was unknown in antiquity. Botticelli takes it from medieval iconographic tradition—see Fulgentius *Metaforalis*, Cod. palat. lat. 1066, fol. 230<sup>r</sup>, fig. 10 in Liebeschütz, *Fulgentius Metaforalis*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 4 (Leipzig, 1926), 116—and gives the goddess the pose of the Medici Venus. This process of liberation from medieval scholarly tradition through newly discovered, authentic antique imagery parallels the relationship between the *Primavera* and its popular antecedents, the engravings of the planetary series (see below, p. 425). The relief in Perugia (as Dr. Britschkoff has confirmed) is a Renaissance imitation, in which a type first defined by Botticelli reappears, complete with its “antique” hallmark of accessory forms in motion, and masquerades as authentic.

On the shell as a symbol of immortality and of rebirth, see W. Deonna, “Aphrodite à la coquille,” *Revue archéologique* 2 (1917): 407 ff., and E. Strong, “A Note on Two Roman Sepulchral Reliefs,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 4 (1914): 149. On the idea of rebirth in another painting of Venus by Botticelli, see the addendum to the conclusion of this chapter, pp. 424 ff.

- 104 In M. Friedlaender’s opinion, the drawing (H. Ulmann, *Sandro Botticelli*, Munich, 1893, 104) is by Luc Antonio de Giunta; compare Heineken, *Idée générale d’une collection complète d’estampes* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1771), 232; B.13:390, no. 2 (new ed., 1920, 211) and P.5:62, no. 2. Berenson (*Florentine Drawings*, no. 1371) ascribes this drawing to the school of Filippino Lippi.
- 107 The nude figure, too, matches the first figure on the sarcophagus, except that the clothing has been omitted.
- 108 The Recognition of Achilles, on an ancient mural painting in Palmyra, illustrated in Josef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (Berlin, 1901), pl. 1; see also Christine de Pisan, Cod. Harl. 4431, fol. 127<sup>v</sup>: Nuns’ schoolroom, *antichità alla francese*. On the expression *antichità alla francese*, see Warburg’s essays “A Florentine Goldsmith’s Picture Chronicle” and “*Imprese Amoroze*.” The Christine de Pisan miniature is another representation of the recognition of Achilles by Odysseus. In keeping with Christine de Pisan’s text, Skyros has become a convent, and the daughters of Lycomedes are nuns. Odysseus is a peddler in Flemish costume, and Achilles, who reaches out to grasp the weapons, wears a black-and-white conventual habit. This interpretation of Christine de Pisan’s has a precedent in the *Ovide moralisé*; see P. G. C. Campbell, *L’épître d’Othéa* (Paris, 1924), 101 ff.; the same episode is set in a nunnery in Boccaccio’s *Amorosa Visione*, canto 32, where Achilles is described as “*una suora, ch’ivi istava presso*” (a sister who stood nearby). Boccaccio’s later account of the same episode, in *Genealogia deorum* 12.52 (Basel, 1532, 307 f.), gives the story without a trace of *antichità alla francese*, probably after Statius, *Achilleis* 1.
- 108 Likewise in Treviso edition of 1479 (Hain 13092), “*duae nimphe velificantes sua veste*” (And two nymphs making sails of their dresses); and in Nicolaus Jenson’s Venice edition of 1472 (Hain 13089): “*Duaeque nimphae velificantes sua veste*”



**Fig. 87. Venus**  
Marble relief. Perugia, Museo dell'Università (see p. 407)

**Fig. 88. Silenus**  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
Cod. Vat. Urb. Lat. 899, fol. 77<sup>v</sup> (see p. 431)

**Fig. 89. Domenico Ghirlandaio**  
*The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule*  
Drawing. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. (see pp. 403, 438)

(And two nymphs making sails of their dresses). See R. Sabbadini, “Le edizioni quattrocentistiche della Storia naturale di Plinio,” *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 8:439.

- 108 As appendix: the Cinquecento drawings illustrating Lorenzo’s poems in the Laurenziana (Pl. 41, 33; Bandini, 5:140 f.; on fol. 77<sup>v</sup>, in the ornament, the letters AFA—DFP) show the birth of Venus, with the addition of the three Horae with wildly flying garments and of Neptune (frontal, gem? as, e.g., in Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 1900, vol. 1, pl. 37, 3). Ibid., other instances of nymph with Manneristic drapery motifs. See fig. 2; the poem by Lorenzo in question is “Canto di Pan”; *Opere* 1 (Bari, 1903): 317 f.

- 109 On Piero di Lorenzo’s impresa: letter from Stephanus, 2 February 1488 O.S. (Roscoe, *The Life of Lorenzo de’ Medici*, Heidelberg, 1825, 3:271 ff., appendix 47; see A. Fabronius, *Laurentii Medicis vita*, Pisa, 1784, 2:296 ff.), on Piero’s appearance at the wedding of Isabella d’Aragona to Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Milan 1489:

*La vesta del nostro Piero col broncone è stata tenuta cosa admiranda, et secondo il iudicio mio ha abbattuto ogni altra. Hoggi questi Signori hanno mandato per epsa, e l’hanno voluta vedere, e molto bene esaminare, ed in effetto ognuno ne sta maravigliato* (p. 273).

(Our Piero’s coat with the bough on it was vastly admired, and in my opinion it outshone all the rest. Today, Their Graces sent for it, wanting to have another look at it and examine it closely, and everyone was struck with admiration.)

Tailor Girolamo; embroiderer Gallieno; see fa. Med. a. Pr. 104, doc. 85 (now pp. 580–85), p. 580: “*Ritratto della ispexa della gita di Roma 1492*” (Summary of the expenses from the trip to Rome in 1492). These two individuals are named on pp. 580 and 583<sup>v</sup> as requiring payment. Under the heading (p. 582): “*spesa delle veste del Mang<sup>co</sup> <sic> Piero fatosi per la gita di Roma. Inbacadore <sic> a papa Alesandro*” (expense of the clothes commissioned by Piero the Magnificent for the trip to Rome. Ambassador to Pope Alexander), they are clearly identified as the tailor and embroiderer of Piero’s personal wardrobe (p. 585<sup>v</sup>: “*Girolamo sarto per la sua manifattura... Ghaliemo richamatore per al choperta*” {Girolamo the tailor for the manufacture of the coat... Gallieno the embroiderer of the cloak}). Fa. 104 consists almost exclusively of Medici inventories. Warburg’s work on one of these inventories will be published in a later volume of his unpublished writings.

“Nuptiae Mediolanensium Ducum sive Joannnis Galeacii cum Isabella Aragona... 1489 idibus Februariis,” in *Tristani Chalci Mediolanensis historia residua* (Milan, 1644), 59 ff., p. 80:

*...nam in viris centum et sexdecim togae, auro et argento textae, dinumeratae sunt: inter quos unius maxime omnium oculi prosequabantur Petri Medices holo-sericam; cuius latus a medio homine ad talos densa ramis arbor ex candidissimis unionibus grandissimisque gemmis composita tegebat. Hic berillus, hic adamas, smaragdus pretiosissimique lapilli spectabantur: opus, quale vel superbissimum honestaret Regem...*

(...for among the men one hundred and sixteen robes, woven of gold and silver,



were counted; among them the eyes of everyone followed that of one man especially, the pure silk one of Piero de' Medici. Its side, from his middle to his heels, was covered by a tree thick with branches, made of the whitest pearls and very large gems. Here a green beryl, there a diamond, an emerald and small precious stones were seen: work of a sort to do honor to even the proudest king...)

Vasari (ed. Milanese, 6:251):

*Lorenzo figliuolo di Piero de' Medici; il quale, dico, aveva per impresa un broncone, cioè è un tronco di lauro secco che rinverdiva le foglie, quasi per mostrare che rinfrescava e risorgeva il nome dell'avolo...*

(Lorenzo, son of Piero de' Medici, who, as I say, had as his heraldic device a bough, or rather a branch of withered laurel that produced fresh green leaves, as if to demonstrate how his grandfather's name was being born again, restored...)

- 112 The nineteenth-century view of Botticelli: *Dilettantes* (Paris, 1894), 86. The speaker is Marc:

*Il sera trop sensé pour être troublé dans son extase artistique par un terme <"moderne"> que j'interprète moi-même peut-être aussi mal que beaucoup d'autres, puisque pour moi le Printemps de Botticelli est plus moderne que certaines toiles des derniers Salons. Le grand réaliste du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle <sic> a eu la vision de l'homme tel que nous l'envisageons à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup>, plus beau peut être, mais toutefois déjà atteint de tristesse, de la terreur secrète qui plane sur nous.*

(He will have too much sense to be distracted from his creative ecstasy by a term <"modern"> that I myself perhaps interpret as erroneously as anyone—since to me Botticelli's *Spring* is more modern than some of the paintings in the most recent Salons. The great realist of the fourteenth century <sic> had the same vision of man that we envisage at the end of the nineteenth; more beautiful, perhaps, and yet already tinged with sadness, with the secret terror that hangs over us.)

- 112 On the Graces in Benivieni and Pico, see p. 427.

- 115 The frescoes at the Villa Lemmi are certainly by Botticelli.

- 117 The appearance of Venus Virgo and the Virgil quotation on the nuptial medals is explained by a reference to a Quattrocento interpretation of Virgil: Christoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (Strasbourg, 1508), fol. H VI<sup>r-v</sup>: Venus's message and appearance deliberately unsensual. See Landino's edition of Virgil (Florence, 1487; Proctor 6326), with the commentaries of Donatus, Servius, and Landino himself. Donatus's commentary on this passage (*Aeneid* 1.314), fol. 106<sup>v</sup>: "*Nam cum se se foemina ad fallendum composita sola in sylva obtulisset, motus libidinis non est...*" ([For when the woman, dressed to deceive, had betaken herself alone into the forest, it is not the impulse of desire...]) Donatus, ed. Henr. Georgii, Leipzig, 1905, 1:68). See below, note 128.)

Servius's Virgil commentary in Quattrocento editions:

*Multi volunt Aeneam in horoscopo virginem habuisse. Bene igitur in media sylva virginis habitu Venerem facit occurrere, quia Venere in virgine constituta misericordes procreantur foeminae, et viri per illas foelicitatem consequuntur.*

(Many hold that Aeneas had Virgo in his horoscope. Well, therefore, in the depth of the forest, does he [Virgil] make Venus come to [Aeneas] in the habit of a maiden; for, when Venus is in Virgo, females are born compassionate, and through them men obtain felicity.)

Quoted from the Florentine edition of 1487 (as above), fol. 106<sup>v</sup>. See the edition by Thilo and Hagen, 1 (Leipzig, 1881), 114.

That is to say: the theme of these nuptial medals stems from the propitious astrological omen of Venus in the sign of Virgo.

- 117 Emphasis on motion: In Bocchi (1584), treatise on Donatello's *Saint George* (ed. Semper, *Quellenschriften für die Kunstgeschichte*, no. 9, 196), the idea that Venus in Virgil revealed her identity to Aeneas only through her gait. See *Aeneid* 1.405: "*Et vera incessu patuit dea*" (And by her walk she truly appeared a goddess).

The importance attached by the Renaissance to the gait of the gods is illustrated also by Jacobus Pontanus in his annotated edition of Virgil, *Symbolarum libri XVII* (Augsburg, 1599), col. 746, where he enlists Homer to elucidate *Aeneid* 1.405:

*Homerus ut aliam linguam verbaque tribuit diis quam hominibus, ita et alium incessum, ut in Neptuno, Iliad. N:*

Ἰχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἦδε χνημάτων  
βεῖ' ἔγνων ἀπρόντος ἀργύρωτοι δὲ θεοί περ.

*Eius igitur imitatione Maro de Venere.*

(Just as Homer gave the gods a different tongue and speech from that of men, he also gave them a different gait, as with Neptune, *Iliad. N* [13.71 f.]:

For from behind, as he went away, from the outlines of his feet and legs  
I easily knew him: gods, though gods, are easy to recognize.

Hence, in imitation of this, Virgil of Venus.)

See also the other analogies supplied by Pontanus (col. 728 f.) from Horace, Ovid, and Claudian. By contrast, for a mediievally static representation of Venus as huntress and as goddess, see Cod. Ricc. 881 (see p. 415).

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The "accessory forms in motion," the flying hair and tucked-up skirt that characterize Venus-Diana, reappear in Giovanni Bonifaccio, *L'arte de' cenni con la quale formandosi favella visibile, si tratta della muta eloquenza, che non è altro che un facondo silentio. Divisa in due parti. Nella prima si tratta dei cenni, che da noi con le membra del nostro corpo sono fatti, scoprendo la loro significatione, e quella con l'autorità di famosi Autori confirmando. Nella seconda si dimostra come di questa cognitione tutte l'arti liberali, e mecaniche si prevagliano. Materia nuova à tutti gli huomini pertinente, e massimamente à Prencipi, che, per loro dignità, più con cenni, che con parole si fanno intendere* (Vicenza, 1616).

Vol. 1, page 84:

*Crini sciolti: Il portare i crini sciolti e sparsi era segno d'esser vergine e fanciulla: E però Virgilio di Venere, che finge d'esser Cinthia, disse: Namque humeris de more habilem suspenderit arcum Venatrix, dederatque comas diffundere ventis [Aen. 1.318 f.]*

(For a woman to wear her hair loose was a sign of being a maiden and a virgin; Virgil says of Venus, who was pretending to be Cynthia {Diana}: "For from her shoulder she had hung a light bow, in the usual way — a huntress — and loosed her hair to the winds.")

{Bonifaccio} also quotes Horace {*Carmina*} 2.5; Petrarch, Sonnet 69, and Canzone 15 (critical ed. by Mestica, Florence, 1896); Tasso, *Aminta* 1.2.

Page 85: "*Quando poi erano maritate, legavano i crini in treccie*. Petrarca, Son. 163" (Later, when they were married, they bound up their hair in braids.); Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 2.148 ff.

Page 480: *Habito succinto* ... (with dress kilted up ...):

*Et il Tasso d'Armida, Ger. Lib. XVII, 33:*

*Venia sublime in un gran carro assisa*

*Succinta in gonna, e faretrata arciera.*

—imitando Virgilio, dove fà che Venere in forma di cacciatrice ad Enea, et a' compagni suoi, dice:

*"Heus," inquit, "iuvenes monstrate mearum*

*Vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum*

*Succinctam pharetra."* (Aeneid 1.321 ff.)

(And Tasso, speaking of Armida, *Gerusalemme liberata* 17.33:

Aloft she rode in a great chariot,

With kilted skirts, an archer with a quiver.

In imitation of Virgil: Venus comes to Aeneas and his companion dressed as a huntress, and says:

"Ho there," she said, "young men, tell me if by chance

You have seen any of my sisters roaming here,

Belted with a quiver.")

In Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.536, Venus in search of Adonis again appears as Diana, "*fine genu vestem ritu succincta Dianae*" (with her garment kilted up to the knee, like Diana). Luca Pulci is clearly referring to this passage in *Driadeo d'Amore*, Prologo, st. 3: "*Venus i' priego te per quello Adone, / Il qual ti fece in selva cacciatrice...*" (Venus, I conjure you by that Adonis, for whom in forests once you played the huntress...)

On Bonifaccio, see Benedetto Croce, "Il linguaggio dei gesti," *Critica* 29 (1931): 224 f.

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On feminine hairstyles, see The works on "Bellezze delle donne." The fullest of these is Federico Luigini da Udine, *Il libro della bella donna* (1st edition 1554), in *Trattati del Cinquecento sulla donna*, ed. Giuseppe Zonta (Bari, 1913), 221 ff: p. 231:

...io vengo a considerare con voi, signori, se male sarebbe questo...: darle capelli

*fuori di legge, e farla andare con essi sopra il collo sciolti e ricadenti or su l'omero destro ed or sul manco. Vergilio a Venere, fattasi allo incontro al suo pietoso figlio Enea, che non sapeva dove si fusse, gli dà sciolti e diffusi al vento. Ma il medesimo poi a Camilla gli dà annodati, ed a Didone insieme. Laonde si cava che in amendue le fogge può parer bella una donna...*

(I now come to consider with you, gentlemen, whether the following might not be good...: to make her hair loose, hanging around her neck and over her right shoulder, or sometimes over her left. Virgil, writing of Venus searching for her dutiful son Aeneas and not knowing where he was, gave her loose hair, blowing in the wind. He likewise wrote of Camilla with her hair down, and Dido as well. So it follows that a woman can look beautiful in either way...)

He goes on to say that in Petrarch's time unmarried women wore their hair loose, married women "*avolte in perle*" (twisted up with pearls). This is in accordance with Poliziano's descriptions of the hair of Diana and of Venus in his elegy on the death of Albiera degli Albizzi (ll. 33 ff., del Lungo ed., 240; see below, pp. 134 f.):

*Solverat effusos quoties sine lege capillos,  
Infesta est trepidis visa Diana feris;  
Sive iterum adductos fulvum collegit in aurum,  
Compta cytheriaco est pectine visa Venus.*  
(Whenever she let her hair tumble loose without restraint,  
She seemed a Diana, terror of the wild beasts.  
Or if she gathered her tresses again into tawny gold,  
She seemed a Venus, her hair dressed with the Cytherean's comb.)

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Derivation of the "accessory forms in motion" from antiquity: Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th ed. by Carl Robert (1894), 1:725, refers to Longus. Attitude and dress of nymphs, Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.4. In the Italian version by Annibal Caro, made around 1530 (first printed Parma, 1786), the passage reads as follows:

*Era dentro, al suo pascolo una grotta consacrata alle Ninfe, cavata d'un gran masso di pietra viva, che di fuori era tonda e dentro concava: stavano intorno a questa grotta le statue delle Ninfe medesime nella medesima pietra scolpite; avevano i piedi scalzi insino a' ginocchi, le braccia ignude insino agli omeri, le chiome sparse per il collo, le vesti succinte ne' fianchi, tutti i lor gesti atteggiati di grazia, e gli occhi d'allegria, e tutti insieme facevano componimento di una danza.* (Paris, 1800, 24.)

(There was a solitary, sacred cave of the Nymphs, a huge rock, hollow and vaulted within, but round without. The statues or images of the Nymphs were cut out most curiously in stone, their feet unshod, their arms bare to the shoulder, their hair loose over their necks, their eyes sweetly smiling, their lawny petticoats tucked up at the waist. The whole presence made a figure of a divine amusing dance or masque. [*Daphnis and Chloe*, with the English translation of George Thornley (1657), revised and augmented by J. M. Edmonds, The Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1911), 15.]

This is clearly a description of an antique relief of nymphs.

- 118 Virgil's Venus-Diana in medieval and Renaissance illustration. See the illustrations to Dares, Ms. Flor. Ricc. 881 (fourteenth century, Miscellanea of Guido Carmelita), fol. 62<sup>v</sup> and 63<sup>r</sup>: Venus is shown first in a short dress with bow and quiver. Aeneas stands before her. The second time, after being recognized, she wears a long robe and a crown and is half covered by a disk of the spheres (shaded from light to dark blue). Aeneas kneels before her. Both times she is shown standing still. This codex is described by Richard Förster, "Laokoon im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 27 (1906): 151 f.

By way of contrast, a Renaissance version: Riccardiana Virgil (Cod. Ricc. 492, fol. 67<sup>r</sup>, 68<sup>v</sup>). Here Venus bears the same attributes as on the medal (notably, hat with dragon's wings) and is shown in the same scenes (with corresponding motion in garments). This manuscript was probably used as a model by the *cassone* painter.

P. Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig 1915, 113 f., 273 ff. (pl. 49 ff.), ascribes to the painter of this *cassone* (as does Warburg) a number of similar *cassoni* (Yale University; Lanckoronski, Vienna, etc.), but also the Virgil codex in the Riccardiana itself. On this see P. E. Küppers, "Die italienischen Gemälde des Kestner-Museums zu Hannover," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1916): 127; van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, 10 (1928): 554 f.; R. Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University* (New Haven, 1927), 27–30. On the Riccardiana Virgil, see *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures* 13 (Paris, 1930): 17 ff.; P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina* (Florence, 1914), 2:519 ff. P. Schubring (see above), pl. 53, fig. 240.

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Similar view of the antique in the English Renaissance: Chaucer, *The House of Fame* (ed. Skeat, 3:8):

- l. 225 And on the morow, how that he  
           And a knight, hight Achatee,  
           Metten with Venus that day,  
           Goinge in a queynt array,  
           As she had ben a hunteresse,  
           With wind blowinge upon hir tresse.

Compare legend of Dido, *ibid.*, ll. 47 ff. (ed. Skeat, 3:119).

Reliefs with scenes derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are also described by Chaucer in the Temple of Diana in the Knight's Tale, *Canterbury Tales*, ll. 2051 ff. (ed. Skeat, 4:59). These reliefs represent those tales from Ovid in which Diana appears—including that of Apollo and Daphne, in which the latter is rescued by Diana. On this, see the discussion of the amatory pursuit scene, pp. 120 ff.

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Venus in Virgil takes on the character of Diana; conversely, in the *Romance of Merlin* (see Gröber, *Grundrisse* 2.1:999), "the huntress Diana from Virgil's time gives her name to an episode" (?).

The episode in question is to be found in the Pseudo-Robert de Boron, in the Huth manuscript (now London, British Museum, Add. Ms. 38117); see G. Paris and

J. Ulrich, *Merlin, roman en prose du XIII<sup>me</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1886), 2:144–151. Merlin comes to Lake Dyane with Nivienne (or Viviane) and tells her the story of Faunus and Diana: “*Dyane, che savés vous bien, regna ou tans Vergille grant pieche devant chou che Ihesucrist descendist en terre...*” ([Diana, as well you know, reigned in the time of Virgil, a long while before Jesus Christ came down to earth...]) According to J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1928, 1:149 ff., Viviane herself is to be identified with Diana.) Diana, who is treated as a historical figure, keeps a Roman knight called Faunus captive in her forest to be her lover, and builds him “*dessus cel lac son manoir*” (his manor on this lake). The motif is plainly reminiscent of Venus and the Mount of Venus: Diana has lost her character as a chaste huntress. In medieval popular superstition, too, Venus was closely allied to Diana, who was the leader of a night-riding horde of women (Holda, Dame Habonde): see F. von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1922), 72.

- 118 For “flanked,” read: “bounded.”
- 120 With this pure Renaissance image, contrast the depiction *alla francese* in Christine de Pisan, Cod. Harl. 4431, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>; discarding of Daphne’s costume = recovery of authentic antique temperament. Apollo, by contrast, in contemporary costume with no antique accessories. For the analogous representation of Achilles on Skyros, in the same manuscript, see p. 408.
- 122 A woodcut in the Florence 1568 edition of the *Ninfale* (c. B IV<sup>r</sup>) shows the shepherd in pursuit of three nymphs with loose hair blowing in the wind and flying or tucked-up dresses. Illustrated by P. Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London, 1897), cut 98. See, *ibid.*, cut 102, the woodcut of a shepherd in pursuit of a nymph, first found in a fifteenth-century edition of Poliziano’s *Orfeo* (n.p., n.d., fol. c. D I<sup>r</sup>) at the point in the text where Aristeo says: “*Non mi fuggir donzella...*” (Flee me not, damsel...): Hain 13238, Kristeller (as above), 131 f., no. 336. Many similar Ovidian pursuit scenes are illustrated in the *Quadriregio* of Francesco Frezzi, ed. Pacini (Florence, 1508).
- 124 This pursuit scene—nymph with accessory forms in motion, altogether Botticellian, with pasteboard scenery—depicted by Jacopo del Sellaio (before 1493, when Jacopo del S. died); see Schubring, *Cassoni*, no. 358 f., pl. 85. Depictions of episodes from the Orpheus legend seem closely related to the Italian drama. The *cassone* by Jacopo del Sellaio even shows a centaur, absent from the text but mentioned in connection with a performance projected in Mantua for 1490–91; see d’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* (1891), 2:363; also del Lungo, *Florentia* (Florence, 1897), 348 f. Corroboration for this may also be found in the costume of Orpheus on Sellaio’s *cassone*; he appears as Virgil (Mantovanus), just as in contemporary illustrations to Dante. “Orpheus among the wild beasts” in Italian drawings and engravings belongs to the same context. Orpheus in theatrical performances; see also the following addendum and “Dürer,” p. 555.

- 125 Orpheus in festive drama: the third Intermedio at the wedding of Lucrezia d'Este and Francesco Maria d'Urbino in Pesaro, 9 January 1571 (Giuseppe Baccini, *Per nozze Fiorini-Lippi 1882*, Florence B.N. 2191.17): *Morescha* of Orpheus among the wild beasts (portrayed by ten dwarfs) and Orpheus slain by the “*Ninfe . . . a imitation della fabulosa historia di Ovidio.*”

*Descrizione dell' ingresso e delle feste fatte in occasione delle nozze di Lucrezia d'Este col principe Francesco Maria d'Urbino*, ed. Giuseppe Baccini (Firenze: Letture di Famiglia, 1882). Page 26:

*Adì 9 genaro 1571 Sua Ecc<sup>ta</sup> menò moglie la Sra Lucretia da Este sorella del duca di Ferrara. La prima entrata fu fatta a Pesaro con grande pompa e legrezza e cerimonie assai.*

(On 9 January 1571 His Excellency married Signora Lucretia d'Este, sister of the duke of Ferrara. Their first grand entrance into Pesaro was marked by joyful pomp and great ceremony.)

Chapter heading, page 41: “Ordine delli Intermedj della Comedia di S. Ecc<sup>a</sup>.” (Program of the Intermedi in His Excellency's theater.)

Page 42 f.:

*Intermed. alla fine dell' terz'atto.*

*Alla fine del terz'atto con la sua lira, uscì Orfeo, che con la suavità del suono et della voce, sfogando la fiamma degli amorosi ardori suoi, porgeva a' spettatori non minor gusto di quello, che mostravano sentire molti artificiosi animali, che allettati dalla dolcezza dei musicali accenti mansuetamente seguendo l'orma dei passi suoi l'accompagnavano, li quali animali erano fatti da X nani di S. Ecc<sup>a</sup>. vestiti delle pelli de gli imitati animali con tanta diligenza che la natura stessa, avrebbe a riconoscerli pigliato errore, tanto sembravano naturalissimi. Comparve un'orso, un leoncino, un cinghiale, un serpente, un lioncorno, un lupo, un tauro, un' aquila, un tigre, et una scimia, la quale essendo fatta del piu piccolo, et ardito nano del Duca andava scherzando et saltando fra gli altri animali, con gli accenti di si facete novità, che havrebbe invitato a ridere Saturno con la melanconia. Et nel mentre che il detto Orfeo si prevaricava nelli versi suoi a entrar in biasmo del feminil sesso, ecco uscir una torma di vaghissime Ninfe, delli già detti ornamenti cinte, che con dardi in mano, cantando con bellissimo ordine, gira ballando con passi da moresche, cunforme al tenor della dolce canzone, la quale finita entrando fra loro nell' abbattimento de i dardi, morescando insieme con detto Orfeo, che in attitudine paurosa, mostrava temer dei colpi, come presagio della congiura d'esse Ninfe, le quali battendo ogni lor colpo sopra de lui, fintamente l'uccisero, a imitation della fabulosa historia di Ovidio, che riuscì amiranda.*

(Intermedio at the End of the Third Act

At the end of the third act, Orpheus appeared with his lyre. The sweet sound of his voice, expressing all the strength of his love and passion, charmed the audience no less than it did the many ingeniously contrived animals, which, drawn by the sweetness of the music, softly followed behind him, treading in his footsteps. The animals were played by ten of His Excellency's dwarfs, dressed in the skins of the animals they were intended to represent; they were costumed so carefully, and looked so convincing, that Nature herself might have been deceived. There were a

bear, a lion whelp, a wild boar, a snake, a unicorn, a wolf, a bull, an eagle, a tiger, and a monkey. The part of the monkey was taken by the smallest and boldest of the duke's dwarfs, who jumped and tumbled amongst the other animals, playing such witty pranks that Saturn and Melancholy conjoined would have been forced to laugh. And as Orpheus, in his verses, began to speak ill of womankind, a throng of beautiful nymphs appeared, dressed as described above and holding darts. They sang in harmony and danced the *moresca*, keeping time with their song; when that was over they began to strike with their darts, still dancing with Orpheus; he, timorously shrinking, seemed to fear their blows, anticipating that they would combine against him. They each struck a blow in turn, seeming to kill him, in imitation of that legendary tale told by Ovid. It was a great success.)

An early — albeit misinterpreted — account of an Orpheus scene, incorporated in a two-act eclogue, is given by Bernardino Prosperi to Isabella d'Este in his description of the 1506 Carnival in Ferrara. See Luzio and Renier: "Niccolò da Correggio," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 21 (1893): 262 ff. The subject of the eclogue, staged — if not written — by Niccolò da Correggio himself, was the freeing of a shepherd from his amorous servitude by the arts of a sorceress. At the end,

... *vene uno Appollo [sic] sonando la lira, quale lo sequia uno leone, uno orso et un altro animale artificiosamente facti. Et mentre sonava usite alcune Nymphe quali lo percossino et retirolo fra loro. Lo soggetto de questo non lo intesi, se non fosse stato per la gratia concessa a le force de la incantatrice.*

(There came an Apollo [sic], playing a lyre, and followed by a lion, a bear, and another animal, ingeniously made. And, as he played, a number of nymphs entered, who struck him down and transported him from the stage. I did not understand what this was about, unless it might be the power wielded by the wiles of the enchantress.)

The *moresca*, along with pursuit and abduction scenes, is frequently found in the drama of the period, especially in Northern Italy: Bologna, 1496 (Protonotario Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio); Ferrara, 1499; Ferrara, 1502 (wedding of Lucrezia Borgia and Alfonso d'Este), all mentioned by d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2d ed., 2:369 ff., 133, 135.

On pictorial representations of the *moresca*, see p. 307.

- 125 *Spring* itself is recorded as featuring in one of these performances: See **Intermedio 3, Arrival of Spring; wedding of Cesare d'Este and Virginia dei Medici, 1585**. See [Bastiano de' Rossi,] *Descrizione del magnificetiss. apparato e de' maravigliosi intermedi fatti per la commedia rappresentata in Firenze nelle felicissime nozze degli Ill. ed Ecc. Signori Il Signor Don Cesare d'Este e la Signora Donna Virginia Medici* (Florence, 1585), col. 15 ff.; Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno* 2 (Florence, 1846): 513.

- 125 For "articulation," read: "expression."

- 126 Properly speaking, this is not a Flora but a Hora, as is pointed out by Jolles, *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 8.2, col. 2312 (s.v. "Horai").



- 126 Eugène Müntz, *Les collections d'antiques formées par les Médicis au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1895).

In Bocchi (*Le bellezze di Firenze*, ed.) Cinelli (1677), 396, a similar Pomona is described in the house of Bernardo Martellini (in Martelli collection: tondo by Fra Filippo). In thus linking the Pomona, on grounds of ownership, with the tondo by Filippo Lippi (now in the Palazzo Pitti), Warburg seems to have been toying with the possibility that this particular antique was the source of the figure of the running servant girl in the painting. However — as Warburg's own notes reveal — on closer examination this hypothesis proved untenable.

The painting by Filippo, a *desco da parto*, was commissioned by Lionardo di Bartolommeo Bartolini-Salimbeni: document dated 8 August 1452; see H. Ulmann, *Fra Filippo Lippi und Fra Diamante...* (Breslau, 1890), 6, n.1; and E. C. Strutt, *Fra Filippo Lippi* (London, 1901), 188. However, on the back of the painting there is a coat of arms with a device of a griffin, whereas the Bartolini have a lion. Poggi (*Rassegna d'arte*, 1908:44, with illustration) pointed this out as a possible clue to ownership, without suggesting a name. Warburg recognized the arms as those of the Martelli family and accounted for the discrepancy between the document and the coat of arms by supplying evidence of a possible change of ownership, as follows.

The patron who commissioned the work from Filippo, Lionardo di Bartolommeo Bartolini (died 1479: *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, 24:81 ff., § 130, 161, 164), had a son, Bartolommeo, whose second marriage, to Piera di Francesco di Papi Tedaldi, took place in 1471. Their daughter, Lucrezia, Lionardo's granddaughter, married Luigi di Conte Ugolino di Niccolò Martelli in 1487 (Litta, *Famiglie celebri*, s.v. "Martelli"). It is thus possible that the painting came into the Martelli family as part of Lucrezia's dowry. If so, the armorial bearings on the back date from 1487 and could not have been painted by Filippo (who died in 1469).

On the Tuscan custom of "*quadri da sposare*," see Giovanni Battista Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, bk. 3, ch. 10 (Pisa, 1832), 211. See Burckhardt, "Die Sammler," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien* (Gesamtausgabe 12:300).

On Martellini, the owner of the Pomona, whose heraldic beast was a stag, see Passerini and Ademollo, *Notizie* (Florence, 1845), 2:2044.

- 126 Saint Dorothy depicted in the guise of Pomona: Woodcuts on the legend of Saint Dorothy, in Weigel and Zestermann, *Anfänge der Druckerkunst* (Leipzig, 1866), nos. 28, 129, 363, 370.

Further examples: Altar panels by Ambrogio Lorenzetti: (Galerie, Siena), Venturi 5:716 ff., figs. 580–82. Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London, 1897), cut 182 (after 1554).

- 126 Or as pendant for the Diana? Warburg here refers to the Venus (shown on the medal in hunting garb) as a Diana, pure and simple. Compare addenda on pp. 411 ff., 416. The Hermes medal illustrated by George F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini* (London, 1930), pl. 178, no. 1068.

- 128 Hermes scattering clouds: Virgil, *Aeneid* 4.242 ff.:

*Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco  
Pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit;  
Dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.  
Illa fretus agit ventos, et turbida tranat  
Nubila.*

(Then he takes his wand: with it he summons the pale shades forth  
From the lower world; others he sends down to gloomy Tartarus;  
He gives sleep and takes it away, and opens the eyes of the dead.  
With it he drives the winds, and flies through the stormy clouds.)

Boccaccio, *Genealogia deorum* 2.7: “*Ventos agere Mercurii est*” (Driving the winds is Mercury’s task).

The painting is now (1894) so displayed as to make the caduceus with dragons clearly visible. Above, a skein of cloud discernible (with difficulty).

See Dante, *Purgatorio* 27.115–17.

- 129 Professor Kapp has kindly pointed out to us that the correct manuscript reading of Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 5.737 ff.—and the only one that could have been known to Poliziano—matches Botticelli’s picture even better than does the version quoted by Warburg. It reads as follows:

*It Ver et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante  
Pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter  
Flora quibus mater praespargens ante viai  
Cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.*

(Spring comes, and Venus, and before them walks  
Venus’s winged herald, and close on the footsteps of Zephyr  
The lady Flora, scattering flowers everywhere before them,  
Filling the ways in front with wonderful colors and scents.)

Poliziano will have been familiar with this passage from the manuscript in his own collection (see Munro’s edition, 4th ed., Cambridge, 1886, 1:8, center of page) or from the 1473 edition. As is clear from Munro’s introduction (*ibid.*, vol. 1), he cannot possibly have known or adopted the conjecture by his enemy Pontanus that was to find its way into later editions (Spence and Lessing cite a conflation of both readings) before eventually being abandoned. His own lines make it quite clear that he read Lucretius correctly.

The view espoused by Munro (1:602), that these lines of Lucretius’s seem to describe a procession of mimes, dates back to Joseph Spence’s *Polymetis: An Enquiry Concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists* (London, 1747), 192, and is roundly dismissed by Lessing in his *Laokoon* (part 1, bk. 7, ed. Lachmann and Muncker, Stuttgart, 1893, 9:59 f.) as typical of the prevalent—and, in Lessing’s view, untenable—eighteenth-century doctrine of the influence of visual art on literature.

It is striking that these very lines from Lucretius, which may well have supplied the inspiration for festive processions in the Renaissance, are interpreted by Spence as a description of a procession in antiquity. Might not this interpretation, which is

unsupported by any ancient source, have crept in through memories of Renaissance pageants based on Lucretius?

- 133 The change of heart associated with the name of Savonarola was already on the horizon. On 24 April 1475 Savonarola left Ferrara; on 25 April 1475 Savonarola's letter from Bologna to his father; see P. Villari and E. Casanova, *Scelta di prediche e scritti di Fra Girolamo Savonarola* (Florence, 1898), 419 ff.

- 133 In favor of the connection with Simonetta, only Thode; almost everyone else against: Ulmann, Foerster, Frey. However, Adolfo Venturi comes to the same conclusion: "La Primavera nelle arti rappresentative," *Nuova antologia*, 3d ser., 39 (1892): 39–50. Page 47, note 1:

*La ipotesi che nel quadro sia espresso anche l'innamoramento di Giuliano ha pure un fondamento nella rappresentazione "dell' innamoramento di Galvano da Milano" edito dal Fossa nel secolo XV. L'incisione del libro mostra la Donna di Galvano con fiori in mano, come una Primavera, e in alto, sul suo capo, Cupido che ha appena scoccato un dardo sull' innamorato giovane cavaliere. La scena, benchè semplificata, è in sostanza quella della Primavera del Botticelli.*

(The hypothesis that the painting is also an expression of Giuliano's love finds support in the *rappresentazione* of the *Innamoramento di Galvano*, published by Fossa in the fifteenth century. An engraving in this work shows the lady-love of Galvano da Milano bearing flowers, like a figure of Spring; above her head is Cupid, who has just loosed an arrow at the lovelorn young knight. Though simplified, this scene is essentially the same as that shown in Botticelli's *Spring*.)

Illustrated in F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro* 4 (Milan, 1923), fig. 52.

Apropos of this woodcut in *Galvano da Milano*, see also the woodcut in *Fiore e Biancifiore*, Hain no. 7188 (Erlangen), fol. 1r: Venus and Cupid with Fiore and Biancifiore.

Warburg regarded the connection between Venus and Simonetta's birthplace as a further confirmation of his hypothesis; see below, pp. 423 ff.

- 133 She died in April, the month of the planet Venus! See Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opere*, ed. Attilio Simioni, 1 (Bari, 1913): 27 ("Comento sopra alcuni de' suoi Sonetti"):

*Morì questa eccellentissima donna del mese d'aprile, nel quale tempo la terra si suole vestire di diversi fiori molto vaghi agli occhi e di grande recreazione all'animo.*

(This most excellent lady died in the month of April, at the time when the earth desires to deck herself in divers flowers, to the delight of the eye and the great comfort of the soul.)

On the connection between Botticelli's painting and the iconography of the planetary rulers, see the addendum to the conclusion of this chapter, pp. 424 ff.

- 136 It is not true that Piero's painting shows the instant of the bite. The snake perhaps a piece of jewelry? It is worth recalling that until the eighteenth century the sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican Museum was taken for a Cleopatra because of the snake

bracelet on her arm. See the poem by Benedetto Castiglione: Michaelis, “Statuenhof im vatikanischen Belvedere,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 5 (1890): 18 ff., and Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* 2:640.

- 137 Concerning the deaths of Giuliano and Simonetta, see Girolamo Benivieni, Eclogue 5, “Atheon,” on Giuliano, and the sonnets “Sparito, occhi miei lassi, è ’l chiaro sole (per la morte de la Simonetta in persona di Giuliano de’ Medici)” (Gone, O my weary eyes, is the bright sun {on the death of Simonetta; spoken in the person of Giuliano de’ Medici}) and “Se morta vive anchor colei in vita” (Though dead she liveth still). In his Eclogue 4, “Nemesis,” Benivieni describes the happiness of Florence, prior to Giuliano’s death in 1478, in terms of the countryside in spring.

Later, under the influence of Savonarola, Benivieni was to write a commentary to his Eclogues, reinterpreting them as Christian theological allegories. In Eclogue 4, for instance, the “*nymphæ, e pastori et le greggi lacere et abbatute ogni buona cogitatione, opera et affetto*” (nymphs and shepherds, and flocks, mortified and dejected, {signify} all good thoughts and words and deeds); compare the first edition, in *Bucoliche elegantissimamente composte* ... (Florence: Miscomini, 1481 O.S.), with the later editions (Florence: Giunti, 1519, 1522). The sonnets, too, acquired new dedications: the sonnet “per la morte di Simonetta” (On the death of Simonetta) was now addressed to “Amore divino” (Love divine); the other, “Se morta vive anchor” (Though dead she liveth still), acquired the subtitle “*Consolatoria a se medesimo per la morte di Messer Domenico suo fratello*” (By way of consolation to himself on the death of Messer Domenico, his brother).

On this see E. Pèrcopo, “Una tenzone su Amore e Fortuna,” *Rassegna critica* 1 (1896): 11.

- 138 For an English Renaissance parallel to the glorification of the lost beloved through the imagery of Spring, see Ben Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd*, ed. W. W. Greg, *Materia-  
lien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, no. 11 (Louvain, 1905), 136, 153 ff.:

... Earine,

Who had her very being, and her name,  
With the first knots or buddings of the Spring,  
Borne with the Primrose and the Violet  
Or earliest Roses blowne: when Cupid smil’d,  
And Venus led the Graces out to dance,  
And all the Flowers and Sweets in Natures lap  
Leap’d out, and made their solemne Conjuraction,  
To last but while shee liv’d! ... [1.5.329 ff.]  
But shee, as chaste as was her name, Earine,  
Dy’d undeflowr’d: and now her sweet soule hovers  
Here in the Aire above us. [3.2.1089 ff.]

Earine’s bereaved and despairing lover believes her soul to have been transported into the heavens, where, after a journey through all the planetary spheres, she is received into the sphere of Phoebus and adds her voice to the planetary harmony (3.3.1110 ff.) See W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (London, 1906), 297 ff.

- 139 The Gulf of Genoa was believed to have been the place where Venus arose from the sea, and therefore her special “realm.” The name of Simonetta’s birthplace, Porto Venere, is an allusion to this tradition. Poliziano, *Giostra*:

51 *Mia natal patria è nella aspra Liguria*  
*Sopr’una costa alla riva marittima,*  
*Ove fuor de’ gran massi indarno gemere*  
*Si sente il fer Nettunno e irato fremere.*

52 *Sovente in questo loco mi diporto;*  
*Qui vengo a soggiornar tutta soletta:*  
*Questo è de’miei pensieri un dolce porto:*  
*Qui l’erba e’ fior, qui il fresco aere m’alletta...*

53 *Maraviglia di mie bellezze tenere*  
*Non prender già, ch’i’ nacqui in grembo a Venere.*  
 (My birthplace is in harsh Liguria,  
 Along the coast, where, on the rocky shore,  
 Are heard the unheeded groans of massive boulders,  
 The fierce and angry Neptune seethes with rage.  
 Often I come for pleasure to this place;  
 Here only, all alone, I meditate.  
 It is a gentle haven for my thoughts;  
 The grass, the flowers, the fresh air, draw me here...  
 Marvel not to see the tender beauty  
 I own: for I was born in Venus’s lap.)

Isolde Kurz (*Stadt des Lebens*, 4th ed., 1907, 131 ff.) is the first to stress, forcefully and rightly, that this is an allusion to Simonetta’s birthplace of Porto di Venere. On this see the letter from Aeneas Silvius, 15 January 1444, on the “Mons Veneris” at Porto Venere (*Briefwechsel des Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, ed. Wolkan, no. 118, 1:283 f.). An astronomer wrote to ask Aeneas Silvius whether he knew the whereabouts in Italy of the Mount of Venus, because he was interested in the magical arts practiced there. Aeneas Silvius replied that he knew only Porto Venere, near Luni in the Ligurian mountains, where he himself had once spent two days on the way to Basel. Otherwise there was a Mount Herix, in Sicily, without any recorded connection with magic. In reference to a lake in Umbria, near Nursia, he referred his inquirer to a jurist by the name of Savinus, in Siena, whose address he gave, and who had given him an account of the witches and demons who dwelt there; this Savinus would be able to give more details. The great geographer thus regarded the existence of a “domain of Venus” near Genoa as an established fact.

On this see Bellincioni, *Eclogue for the Count of Cajazzo*; *Le rime*, ed. Fanfani (Bologna, 1878), 235, 236, where he speaks of Genoa itself as the “Realm of Love.” When a girl from Genoa appears, the shepherd says:

*Certo costei all’ abito mi pare*  
*Del bel sito ove Amor par che s’onori,*  
*Perchè quel dì che uscì Vener del mare*  
*Andò per quei giardin cogliendo fiori;*  
*E tanta grazia li volse lassare,*

*Che felici vi son tutti gli amori;  
Però chi s'innamora oggi in quel loco  
Senza travaglio alcuno arde nel foco.*

.....

*A tuo modo costei darà sentenza,  
Che nata ell' è nel bel regno d'Amore,  
Non si trovò mai donna Genovese,  
Che non seguisse l'amorose imprese.*

(By her dress, she seems to me to come  
From that fair town where Love's in high esteem.  
On the same day, when Venus from the waves  
Arose, she roamed those gardens, gathering flowers,  
Leaving behind such quantity of grace  
That ever since all loves are happy ones;  
And all who fall in love now, in that place,  
Burn in the fire and yet can feel no pain.

.....

Let this one prove my promises to you,  
Born as she was in the sweet realm of Love.  
For never a lady was in Genoa born  
Who did not practice all the arts of love.)

Simonetta's association with Venus was thus strongly corroborated by her place of birth.

- 141 Giosuè Carducci, Sonetto: "Dietro un ritratto dell' Ariosto":

*Ne l' ampia fronte e nel fiso occhio e tardo  
Lo stupor de' gran sogni anche ritiene.*  
(On that broad brow, in that set, distant gaze,  
Still dwells the wonder of his mighty dreams.)

- 141 After "vigorous efforts," add: "on which we shall not enlarge here." See the following addendum.

- 142 Emil Jacobsen, "Allegoria della Primavera di Sandro Botticelli, saggio di una nuova interpretazione," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 2d ser., 3 (1897): 321 ff., interprets the painting as "the awakening of the soul to new life," whereby Simonetta sees her soul, harried by the spirit of Death, as Venus; Zephyrus is a blue-green destroyer; Flora is the nymph Simonetta. But the green of decomposition here is the result of the darkening of the paint (just as the existing green has turned black); the figure with flowers issuing from her mouth must surely be Flora!

Jacobsen, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 102 (1900): 141 ff.: Mercury as Psychopomp. Jacobsen is probably right in his increased emphasis on the infernal aspect, insofar as this defines the painting as a commemoration of the dead. Above all, however, it seems to me that Lorenzo's relationship with Lucrezia Donati, as well as that with "la Bella Simonetta," does play a part in the *Spring*, even if at a further

remove. In fact, it may well be that besides Simonetta and Lucrezia a number of other women, some in deliberately stylized form (such as Albiera degli Albizzi; see Poliziano's elegy, pp. 134 f.) appear in this idealized Garden of the Soul *all'antica*, which has evolved beneath the planetary rule of Venus out of the medieval garden of courtly love.

Or rather: Venus in hunting garb relates to the figures in the Baldini-Botticelli engraving (with its moresque dance and bathing scenes) as Venus, the naked goddess of the *Birth of Venus*, relates to the *Spring* (with its round dance of nymphs). The profane medieval garden of courtly love had taken on a cosmological significance in the planetary images of the month of April (Baccio Baldini's *Venus* engraving, figs. 22, 23). Here the appearance of the planet Venus in hunting garb is matched by her context: bathing scenes and folk dances. In Botticelli, the goddess has cast aside her burdensome costume, and the dancers become nymphs. Despite its affinity with the courtly Garden of Love, the Realm of Venus here derives an idealized remoteness from its classical stylization.

This depiction of Venus *all'antica* retains some elements of the culture of courtly love, which had established in art a genre of its own, dedicated to the special purpose of hinting at personal relationships in abstruse riddles for those in the know, while keeping them discreetly and gallantly veiled. The objects deployed to this end were what Warburg called "utensils": domestic articles such as gift boxes (see Warburg's essay "*Imprese Amoroze*") and tapestries, as well as such accessories of festive pageantry as banners (as with the *Pallas* in the *giostra* of 1475, p. 144), crests, and garments. The *Spring* must be understood in utensil terms, in its connection with *imprese*, love riddles, festivals, and tapestries.

Within the same context of imagery, there is another path to the presumption that this courtly-antique Garden of Venus embodies a reference to Lorenzo il Magnifico: Mela Escherich, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 31 (1908): 1 ff., points to Dante's *Vita nuova* (ch. 24), where Primavera-Giovanna, the beloved of Guido Cavalcanti, heralds the coming of Beatrice. But Mela Escherich fails to draw the right conclusion: Primavera-Simonetta masks Lucrezia Donati-Venus. This corresponds to Lorenzo's *Amori (Selve)*, in which, as in Dante, Spring is the precursor and harbinger of the appearance of the beloved, who brings with her the Golden Age:

2.122 *Lasso a me! or nel loco alto e silvestre*

*Ove dolente e trista lei si truova,*

*D'oro è l'età, paradiso terrestre,*

*E quivi il primo secol si rinnuova.*

(Alas! High in the mountains and the woods

Where she now dwells in all her grief and sadness,

The age is golden, earthly paradise:

The earliest times restore themselves to view.)

An allusion, at the same time, to Lorenzo's *impresa* for the tournament of 1469, which was "*le temps revient*." (Luigi Pulci, *La giostra fatta in Fiorenza dal Magnifico Lorenzo* . . . , st. 64: "*Le tens revient; che puo interpretarsi, / Tornare il tempo, e'l secol rinnovarsi.*") This same *impresa* of Lorenzo's appears, with reference to spring and fulfillment, in Luigi Pulci's *canzone to Lorenzo*; the allusion is to his relationship with Lucrezia Donati (Luigi Pulci, *Lettere*, Lucca, 1886, 48 f.):

*La bella Flora torna et primavera,  
Tornano i canti, suoni, feste, armilustri.*

.....

*Ma poi ch'io dixi el secol rinnovarsi,  
Levò al ciel lieta l'una et l'altra palma,  
Poi si partì con la sua ben nata alma.*

(Fair Flora returns, and with her, Spring;  
Music returns, song, feasts, and tournaments.

.....

But when I said, "The golden age returns,"  
She raised up both her hands to joyful skies  
And then departed, with well-tempered soul.)

The whole cycle of Venus and Spring imagery is thus embodied in this literary allegory; it operates as a veiled mode of allusion to affairs of the heart, in a way entirely analogous to Warburg's "utensil art." See also Bellincioni's sonnet on "Florence in the laurel's [Lorenzo's] shade": "Che quella prima età sicura e santa / Ritornerà..." (see pp. 440 f.).

Warburg touches once more on the whole complex of Love, Rebirth, and Immortality by giving Botticelli's painting the title *Regno di Venere Celeste*, or *Venere nei Campi Elysei* (*Realm of the Celestial Venus*, or *Venus in the Elysian Fields*). This, too, is an idea derived from antiquity:

*Sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper Amori,  
Ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios...* (Tibullus 1.3.57 ff.)  
(But as for me, susceptible as I always am to tender Love,  
Venus herself will conduct me to the Elysian Fields.)

See the relief by Andrea Riccio on the Della Torre monument for San Fermo Maggiore, Verona (Leo Planiscig, *Andrea Riccio*, Vienna, 1927, 393 ff., fig. 492), where not only Fame but the three Graces appear in the Elysian abode of "uomini illustri" (illustrious men).

To aid his interpretation, Jacobsen enlisted Eros and Psyche in Apuleius's fable. Zephyrus and Psyche! Only trace the mythological names as they spring to mind, and the whole picture changes, without our doing anything other than listen to the voices of the past. For Usener on the use of the etymology of names as a heuristic aid, see Ernst Cassirer, *Sprache und Mythos*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 6 (Leipzig, 1925), 17. As Psyche is on the point of being forced over the edge of the fatal abyss, she is saved by Zephyrus and wafted into the Garden of Love. In the poems (*Hesperidos libri* 13) of Basinius Parmensis, Isotta appears as Psyche (who in this case, however, is Zephyrus's daughter), to lead Sigismondo Malatesta into the Elysian Fields; in the illuminated manuscripts in Oxford (Bodl. Can. lat. auct. cl. 81) and Paris (Arsenal 630) the hero's encounter with her is shown in the same way as Aeneas's with Venus the huntress; see Corrado Ricci, "Di un Codice Malatestiano..." in *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 1, no. 5/6 (Rome, 1928), 20 ff., illustration p. 35.

A whole new aspect of the imaginative ideas present in the *Primavera*, and necessary for any adequate iconological interpretation of the work, is suggested as follows: Both *Birth* and *Realm of Venus* can be more firmly drawn into the sphere of Platonic and magical practices. Marsilio Ficino's first translations from the Greek were the



Homeric and Orphic Hymns, which he sang in 1462 *all'antica*. (See Arnaldo della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, 1902, 537, 789.) And Pico della Mirandola, in his *Conclusiones*, on the Orphic Hymns, refers to Venus and the Graces in the *arcana* of Orphic theology:

*Conclusiones Numero XXXI secundum propriam opinionem de modo intelligendi hymnos Orphei secundum Magiam, id est secretam divinarum rerum naturaliumque sapientiam a me primum in eis repertam...*

8. *Qui profunde et intellectualiter divisionem unitatis Venereae in trinitatem Gratiarum... intellexerit, videbit modum debite procedendi in Orphica theologia...*

Nicolaus Hill, *Philosophia Epicurea* (Geneva, 1619), 367.

(Thirty-one Conclusions according to my own opinion as to the interpretation of the Hymns of Orpheus according to Magic, that is, the secret knowledge of matters divine and natural that was first discovered by me in them...)

8. He who has deeply and intellectually understood the division of Venus's oneness into the trinity of Graces, will see the due way to proceed in Orphic theology...)

—Not to speak of his {Pico's} commentary on Benivieni's *Canzone d'amore*, where Venus and the Graces also appear (bk. 2, ch. 15), and which is a more precise formulation of the ideas in the *Conclusiones*. Here the three Graces are allegorically interpreted as three qualities or aspects of Ideal Beauty. They appear on the reverse of the medal struck for Pico by Spinelli, with the inscription "*Pulchritudo, Amor, Voluptas*" (Beauty, Love, Delight).

In the Quattrocento, such a conception of Venus—in which, alongside Platonic and Lucretian influences, mythological, cosmological, and astrological elements worked harmoniously side by side—was a viable and indeed, by Botticelli's time, not even a new one: as is shown by the canzone "A laude di Venere," by Leonardo Bruni Aretino, printed in his *Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, ed. Baron (Leipzig, 1928), 154 ff. In this poem, Venus is praised as "*Dea Ciprigna*," i.e., as an Olympian goddess; as the cosmic Venus Genetrix of Lucretius (the earliest example of his influence on Italian poetry); as a planet and an astrological symbol, described in terms of its precise astronomical relationship to the adjacent constellations as standing in one of its astrological "Houses"; and finally as one of the sources of the "Divino Furore" described in its various manifestations in Plato's *Phaedrus* (which Bruni translated).

However, to classify Botticelli's paintings as "symbolic" in the most general sense of the word, as Strzygowski does ("Villa Lante," in *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig, 1900, 299–306), is something Warburg refuses to do, because he considers their essence to lie in their character as individual allegories and parables. He stresses that it is precisely the antique allegory that lends the figures a higher humanity. It is a cheap triumph to violate the "How" of the simile and to mix the whole thing into one watery gruel of metaphor.

144 The "Theses" were later reworked and amplified by Warburg. These amplifications will be published in a later volume of Warburg's writings, together with other "Fragments Concerning the Theory of Expression."

- 145 The destroyed Venus of Siena proves that the Medici Venus type was known in the Quattrocento: Julius von Schlosser, “Über einige Antiken Ghibertis, II,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 24 (1903): 141 ff.; commentary to his ed. of Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1912), 189 ff.
- 146 Warburg later concluded that this conjecture was certain.
- 146 Poliziano had personal knowledge of the work of Moschus, whose “Amor fugitivus” he had translated into Latin around 1470; there is an Italian version of the same poem by Benivieni. See Poliziano, *Prose*, ed. del Lungo, 525 ff., 406 (note on Poliziano’s *Nutricia*, l. 555).
- 147 Now: *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, from the Edition of 1499* (London: Methuen, 1904).
- 148 For “*d’andresse*,” conjectural reading: “*di medussa*.” The copyist of the inventory had been unable to read the unfamiliar word in his copy.
- 148 The 1513 woodcuts had already appeared in an edition published at the end of the fifteenth century; see Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts* (London, 1897), 131 f., no. 336a. The woodcut showing Giuliano and Pallas in this edition: fol. c 5<sup>r</sup>.
- 150 A copy of the woodcut by Master I. B. is in the Hofbibliothek (now Nationalbibliothek) in Vienna. F. Lippmann, “Die Holzschnitte des Meisters J. B. mit dem Vogel,” *International Chalcographical Society* (1894), cut 7. Galichon’s essay, page 272, contains no mention of a copy of this print in the Hamburger Kunsthalle. On the depiction of the Graces as a group in the Quattrocento, see W. Deonna, *Revue archéologique*, 5th ser., 31 (1930): 274–332.
- 151 As rewritten in the *Ovide moralisé*, ed. C. de Boer, 1 (Amsterdam, 1915): 123:
- 1.2878 *Phebus ne se puet saoler*  
*D’esgarder la bele. Elle avoit*  
*Crins blons despigniez. Quant la voit:*  
*“Dieus, dist il, quel cheveleüre,*  
*S’el fust pignie a sa droiture!”*  
 (Phoebus could not get his fill  
 of gazing at that lovely creature. She had  
 unkempt fair hair. When he saw her:  
 “Ye gods,” said he, what a head of hair,  
 if only it were combed to rights!”)
- Catalog of her charms follows.
- 152 Apollo and Daphne as the prototype of the pursuit scene, and as the symbol of love at arm’s length: Laura-Lauro as illustration to the *Rime* of Petrarch, pursuit and

metamorphosis; Florentine miniature (1470–80), formerly owned by Henry Yates Thompson, London, and since 1919 collection C. S. Gulbenkian (see *A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Mss. . . . in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, Cambridge, 1907, 142–44), illustrated in d’Essling and Müntz, *Pétrarque*, Paris, 1902, 84; fol. 2<sup>r</sup> of the manuscript. Here, Laura is equated with the fleeing Daphne before her metamorphosis; and the distance between lover and beloved, regarded by Petrarch as infinite, is transmuted into an antique pursuit-and-metamorphosis scene as interpreted by the Quattrocento.

Laura-Lauro-Daphne and the complex of related ideas in Petrarch have now been investigated by Konrad Burdach, *Rienzo und die geistige Wandlung seiner Zeit*, 2. Hälfte (1928), 526 f., and *Aus Petrarcas altestem deutschen Schülerkreise* (1929), 200 ff.

Again, in Leone Ebreo’s *Dialoghi d’Amore*, ed. Caramella (Bari, 1929), the “lovers” see their own relationship in terms of Apollo and Daphne: on page 167, Filone says to Sofia: “*Pur a resistermi ti veggo trasformata in lauro*” (I see that, just to resist me, you have changed into a laurel). An allegorical interpretation of the myth, *ibid.*, 141–44.

Other depictions of Apollo and Daphne noted by Warburg have now been studied in the book by Wolfgang Stechow (*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 23, 1932).

- 152 See M. D. Henkel, “Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert,” in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1926–27* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), 58 ff.

Song, “Apollo und Daphne”: see Erk and Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1894), 3:474, no. 1672; printed in Oeglin’s collection (1512), no. 8. On Daphne in music, and specifically in opera, see Stechow (as previous addendum), 53 ff.

- 153 The wind god who blows less hard than the other is identified by Nanna Reiche as Flora; see “Die ‘Windgötter’ Botticellis,” “Wissenschaft und Hochschule,” *Tägliche Rundschau*, 1 July 1926.

- 153 See Eugen Wolf, “Die allegorische Vergilerklärung des Cristoforo Landino,” *Neue Jahrbücher für die klassische Altertumskunde* 43 (1919): 453–79. See above, addendum, pp. 411 f.

- 153 The source referred to is Wickhoff. See also the addendum to the conclusion of this chapter, pp. 424 ff.

- 153 In a review, K. Frey, *Schweizerische Rundschau* 3, no. 2 (1893), 757–59, cites the line from Ovid, *Fasti* 5.215, on Zephyrus and Chloris: “*Roscida cum primum foliis excussa pruina est*” (As soon as the dewy frost is shaken from the leaves).

- 154 Maurice Hewlett’s eccentric fantasies on this subject in *Earthwork out of Tuscany* (London, 1895), 74–98.

- 155 The *ninfa* in festive performances and her influence on pictorial art: “Nympha” as early as 1444 in the *Isis* of Francesco Ariosto (Biblioteca Estense, I.X, 12); See W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, 2d ed., 1 (Halle, 1911): 576 f.

At the San Giovanni festival in Florence in 1475: see Giovanni Mancini, *Il bel S. Giovanni e le feste pastorali di Firenze descritte nel 1475 da Piero Cennini*, 224.

Sixtus IV’s welcoming ceremony for Eleonora, June 1473: see Corio, *L’historia de Milano* (Padua, 1646), part 6, ch. 2, 825:

...otto buomini, con otto altre vestite da Ninfe e sue inamorate. Tra i quali era Ercole, con Deianira, per mano, Giasone, con Medea: Teseo, con Fedra, e così degli altri, con le sue inamorate, tutti di convenienti abiti vestiti...

(...eight men, with eight companions dressed as the nymphs who were their lady-loves. Among them were Hercules, hand-in-hand with Deianeira; Jason with Medea; Theseus with Phaedra, and the others likewise, with their lady-loves, all attired in appropriate costumes...)

(See Pastor, 2:487, and the account that he quotes, by T. Calcagnini, in Padua University Library.)

Sixtus IV watches, but at a distance, a procession of Roman youths in the guise of nymphs: *Diario del Notaio di Nantiporto*, Muratori, vol. 3, part 3, col. 1081:

...et in questo medesimo dì [25 December 1482] il popolo di Roma volle mostrare letizia a Papa Sisto della Pace e mossesi il popolo, cioè tutti gli Officiali con molti cittadini, dal palazzo de’ Conservatori con le torcie in mano accese con molte trombette; et innanzi andavano molti garzonetti come ninfe vestiti, i quali dovevano dir certi versi e ciascheduno portava una frasca d’olivo in mano, tanto i cittadini come i garzonetti...

(...and on that same day [25 December 1482], the people of Rome sought to convey to Pope Sixtus their joy at the conclusion of peace; and the people—that is, all the officers with many citizens—marched from the Palazzo de’ Conservatori, with lighted torches in their hands and with many trumpets; and before them went many boys dressed as nymphs, who were to recite certain verses; and every one of them, citizens and boys alike, carried an olive branch...)

Thus clearly a familiar figure by that date; as evident in the nymph in the Sistine frescoes, who reappears throughout to set the antique stamp of authenticity: “*Colla Licenza dell’Antichità*.”

Wedding of Bentivoglio and Lucrezia d’Este in 1487: “Nymphs of Diana”; see d’Ancona, 1:296 n.3. P. Beroaldus, *Nuptiae Bentivolorum*, in *Opera* (Bologna, 1521), 49 f: Venus and Juno on one side, Diana with nymphs on the other. As a parallel to this, Warburg cites the painting *Combat between the Virtues and the Vices*, painted by Perugino in 1503 for Lucrezia’s sister, Isabella d’Este. For the program of this work, devised by Paride da Cesarea, see R. Förster, “Studien zu Mantegna und den Bildern im Studierzimmer der Isabella Gonzaga,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 22 (1901): 165 ff.

Also: Maddalena Gonzaga’s entry into Pesaro for her wedding in 1489 (see Luzio and Renier, *Mantova e Urbino*, 1893, 47 ff.):

...ornata la testa da Nimpha cum li capilli per spalla, et una zerlanda et penna

*zolielata in testa, cum vesta de brochato d'oro biancho, suso uno cavallo leardo pomelato copertato fin in terra de panno d'oro rizo.*

(... she wore the headdress of a nymph, with her hair loose on her shoulders, and a wreath and jeweled plume on her head; her dress was of white and gold brocade. She rode on a dappled gray horse, which was covered to the ground in cloth of gold.)

On the figure of the *ninfa*, see also “Sandro Botticelli,” p. 159, “*Imprese Amoroze*,” p. 174, and “Theatrical Costumes,” pp. 379 ff.

### Sandro Botticelli

157 Published as “Sandro Botticelli,” *Das Museum* 3 (1898): 37–40.

157 For “eye and hand are the equipment,” read: “function like ...”

157 For “cycle,” read: “span.”

161 Where the gods of antiquity appeared in person in masques and processions, they wore a fantastic version of contemporary dress. In Bacchus’s case, therefore, **this was just how he was not seen** in the Florence of Lorenzo il Magnifico. See fig. 88: *Silenus*, from miniatures in the description of the marriage of Constanzo Sforza to Camilla d’Aragona, Pesaro, 1476 (Cod. Vat. Urb. lat. 899, fol. 77<sup>v</sup>).

164 Paul Müller-Walde, “Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Leonardo da Vinci,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 18 (1897): 165.

### The Picture Chronicle of a Florentine Goldsmith

165 Published as “Die Bilderchronik eines florentinischen Goldschmiedes,” *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1899), no. 2.

166 “Share it between them” — Warburg adds — “at last.”

167 Added after “naive realism”: “in the French, Flemish style.”

168 The name of Oromasdes (Ormuzd) is added to that of Ostanes.

### On *Imprese Amoroze* in the Earliest Florentine Engravings

169 Published, in an Italian translation by Giovanni Poggi, as “Delle ‘imprese amoroze’ nelle più antiche incisioni fiorentine,” *Rivista d’arte* 3 (1905).

*Translator's note:* The present text follows Warburg's German original (as published in the "Anhang" to *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*, 331–39; hereafter, cited as *Erneuerung*), except that those passages in the German that were omitted or substantially altered in the published Italian version have been relegated to the addenda.

169 *Translator's addendum.* The German text has a note following "Baccio Baldini" (*Erneuerung*, 331): "On the putative identity of the artist, see the concluding section of this article."

169 Cassandra bella Buondelmonti is mentioned in 1451, as a member of the circle of Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici, in the *Lettere d'un matto*; see Rossi, *La biblioteca delle scuole italiane* 11 (1905): 113. Reprinted in Vittorio Rossi, *Studi sul Petrarca e sul Rinascimento*, Scritti di critica letteraria 2 (Florence, 1930), 404.

173 *Translator's addendum.* In the German text, the paragraph beginning "In the course of his researches" reads as follows (*Erneuerung*, 335):

I was thus left facing an apparently insoluble riddle, and my excavations in the dark tunnel of Medicean courtly love seemed hopelessly blocked, when I was relieved to hear a knocking from the far, Italian, side of the blockage. My friend Giovanni Poggi was there before me. He, too, deep in the Lucrezia riddle, was looking for a way out of the obscure depths of the *vita amorosa* of the Medici. One winter day in 1902, in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, he saw the light: not through any artistic vision, but as a result of methodical industry, it fell to him to reduce the mysterious two Lucrezias to one. Poggi discovered that the Lucrezia in Alessandra's letters was not a Gondi, as Guasti had unwarrantably supposed, but a Donati. As the records confirm, she was the wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, whom she married when she was about fifteen years old, on 26 April 1465.

173 *Translator's addendum.* Additional note in the German original text at "about fifteen years old" (*Erneuerung*, 335):

Archivio di Stato, Florence, Archivio di S. Trinita 89, No. 135: "*Lucrezia Donati, moglie di Niccolò Ardinghelli obligò...*" (Lucrezia Donati, wife of Niccolò Ardinghelli, imposed the obligation...). The ages of the couple emerge from the Catasto S. M. Novella, Unicornio. In 1470 (p. 253) Niccolò gives his own age as thirty-eight and Lucrezia's as twenty-one; accordingly, in 1480 (*ibid.*, p. 345), Niccolò is forty-eight, Lucrezia thirty, and their son Piero eight.

173 Lorenzo also wears a "*vesta bruna*" in the canzone written by Luigi Pulci in March 1466: *Lettere di Luigi Pulci*, ed. Bongi (Lucca, 1886), 42 ff.; see our pp. 425 f. On Lorenzo's relations with Lucrezia, see also Luca Pulci, *Epistole* (Florence, 1572), 93 ff.: "Epistola prima: Lucretia a Lauro."

174 Against the phrase "*vita più movimentata*" (life in motion) in the Italian text, Warburg has added: "and more rapt" (*und ergriffeneres*).

- 174 *Translator's addendum.* The translation “Flemish-influenced bourgeois painting” follows the Italian text, “*pittura borghese ‘fiandreggiante’*”; the German (*Erneuerung*, 337) has “*bürgerliche Bildniskunst*” (bourgeois portraiture).
- 174 Del Lungo (1923): “*speri.*” The letter from Braccio Martelli has been decoded and printed in part by Isidoro del Lungo, “Gli amori del magnifico Lorenzo,” *Nuova antologia*, 5th ser., 165 (1913); at greater length, under the same title, Bologna, [1923,] 38 f.:  
*Appresso a questo, venne pensiero a .2.0.5.* [ciphers for unidentified members of Florentine society] *di fare la moresca, et intanto .6.* [Braccio Martelli himself] *ballava con ÷* [Lucrezia Donati, just married to Niccolò Ardinghelli]; *e prima, della camera dove .8.* [Lorenzo] *sedè già in sul lettuccio etc., uscì .0. stranamente aconcio e .2. appresso .5. vestito della felice vesta di ÷, cilestra, ricamata in sulle maniche a lettere che dicono SPERI, tu sai bene quale io voglio dire, etc.; et .0. et .2.* [playing the parts of Lorenzo and Niccolò?] *la abbracciavano spesso, in modo che e’ vi si rise, e non poco, per tutti.*  
 (Just then .2.0.5. [ciphers for unidentified members of Florentine society] decided to dance a *moresca*. Meanwhile .6. [Braccio Martelli himself] was dancing with ÷ [Lucrezia Donati, just married to Niccolò Ardinghelli], and suddenly, from the room where .8. [Lorenzo] was already sitting on the bed, etc., out came .0., strangely attired, and .2., then came .5., dressed in ÷’s pretty blue dress with the word HOPE embroidered on the sleeves, you know perfectly well what I mean, etc.; and .0. and .2. [playing the parts of Lorenzo and Niccolò?] hugged and kissed him again and again, in a manner that made everyone laugh hugely.)
- 176 *Translator's addendum.* In the German text, the paragraph beginning “It is likely” begins as follows (*Erneuerung*, 337):  
 For a number of other reasons, which Giovanni Poggi, the specialist in Lorenzo’s *amori*, will expound in due course, it is likely...
- 176 *Translator's addendum.* In the German text, the “elegant youth” is identified as Daniel (*Erneuerung*, 337).
- 176 On the issue of the derivation of the Florentine engravings from Northern sources, see pp. 275 ff., 279. Also Fritz Saxl, “Probleme der Planetenkinderbilder,” *Kunstchronik*, n.s., 30 (1919): 1013 ff., and Panofsky and Saxl, *Dürers “Melencolia I,” Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 2 (Leipzig, 1923), 133. For an opposing view, see Jacques Mesnil, “Sur quelques gravures du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” first published in Mesnil, *L’art flamand et hollandais* (1906), 64 ff.; reprinted in Mesnil, *L’art au nord et au sud des Alpes à l’époque de la Renaissance* (Brussels and Paris, 1911), 72 ff. Against the supposition that Botticelli was the engraver: Mary Pittaluga, *L’incisione italiana nel Cinquecento* (Milan, 1929), 74, 126 n. 25.
- 176 *Translator's addendum.* The sentence beginning “It is entirely possible” is not present in the German text (*Erneuerung*, 338).

177 *Translator's addendum.* This section does not appear in the German text (*Erneuerung*, 339).

181 The same *impresa* was used in 1513, during the papacy of Leo X, in the decor of the theater erected on the Capitol for the conferment of Roman citizenship on Giuliano di Lorenzo and Lorenzo di Piero de' Medici: "*tutto è fatto de' leoni et anelli con diamanti ornate di penne di strutto*" (it is all lions and diamond rings and adorned with ostrich feathers). Cod. Vat. 5381; see Janitschek in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1882): 259 ff. On the use of Medicean *imprese* through several generations, see note 13 and pp. 411 f.

It is also found in association with the Rucellai Fortuna with sail (pp. 241 f.) on the facade of S. Maria Novella in Florence, and on the replica of the Holy Sepulcher constructed, also at Rucellai's expense, in the Cappella del S. Sepolcro at S. Pancrazio.

Berlinghieri's *Geographia* is fully discussed by Gustavo Uzielli, *La vita e i tempi di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli* (Rome, 1894), 398, 522 ff. Literature on Berlinghieri listed by Emil Jacobs in *Gutenberg-Festschrift* (Mainz, 1925), 248 ff.

181 *Impresa: "Chi puo non vuol chi vuole non puo"* (Whoever can, does not want to; whoever wants to, cannot). Caption to illustration for Tebaldeo (Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, cut 178).

182 *Translator's addendum.* In note 23, the German text adds at the end (*Erneuerung*, 337): Poggi discovered the letter in the archive and deciphered it; it is to him that I owe the fragments cited above [p. 433].

182 See the verdict of François Rabelais on *imprese*, also in Fischart's German translation, ch. 12: "On the Colors and Court Livery of Gargantua," ed. Alsleben (Halle, 1891): see Rabelais, *Gargantua*, ch. 9, in *Œuvres*, critical ed. by Lefranc (Paris, 1912), 1:98 f.:

*En pareilles tenebres sont comprins ces glorieux de court et transporteurs de noms, lesquelz, voulens en leurs devises signifier espoir, font protraire une sphere, des penne d'oiseaulx pour poines, de l'ancholie pour melancholie...*

(In the like darknesse and mist of ignorance, are wrapped up these vainglorious courtiers, and name-transporters, who going about in their *impresa*'s, to signifie *esperance* (that is, hope) have portrayed a sphere and birds penne for peines! *Ancholie* (which is the flower colombine) for melancholy... {*The Works of Mr. Francis Rabelais*, trans. Thomas Urquhart (London, 1931), 33.})

On the word "*sphere*," the French editors note:

*Le jeu de mots (recueilli par Tabourot) figure dans le Triomphe de l'abbaye des Cornards, 1587: "Ceste bende estoit suivie par un charriot...sur lequel estoit assis un personnage nommé Espoir, et tenoit en sa main une espoire ou spere d'or."*

(This pun (recorded in Tabourot's collection) appears in the *Triomphe de l'abbaye des Cornards* (1587): "This company was followed by a chariot...on which was seated a personage named *Esperance*, and he carried in his hand a sphere of gold.")



- 183 *Translator's addendum.* The German text (*Erneuerung*, 339) adds a note after the words “learning to set stones” (translating *sta a legare*):  
I see no difficulty in these words: this was the technical expression for the work of an apprentice goldsmith.

### The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie

- 185 Published as *Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1902).
- 186 For “with all the authority of genius,” read: “with the same genius throughout.”
- 188 For “attempt to work with inappropriate means,” read: “inappropriate tools.”
- 188 On Francesco Sassetti at S. Maria Novella: J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence* (Edinburgh, 1902), 128–32.
- 188 Ghirlandaio, drawing in Rome, Galleria Corsini, photo Anderson (Berenson 890), *Miracle of Saint Francis*, planned for S. Trinita? Children and flanking groups of youths look like donors. Style of drawing around 1490, however.
- 189 “Brother Bartolomeo.”  
In the *cassone* paintings [see P. Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), nos. 397–400] that depict the story of Nastagio degli Onesti (Botticelli workshop), one represents the scene in which Traversari and her pursuers burst in upon the wedding feast, and the women spring to their feet in alarm. The women are seated at the small, transverse table, and the men begin at its far corner. The oldest man present, left, is undoubtedly identical with “Bartolomeo” in the S. Trinita fresco; next to him is a youth; then follows an elderly man with four young sons (Bini?). Two possibilities: the armorial quarterings (according to H. Horne, *Botticelli*, London, 1908, 133) are such as to indicate not a woman but a man of the Pucci family; i.e., not “*Lucrezia di Francesco di Giovanni Pucci, maritata 1487 Pierfrancesco di Giovanni Bini*” (Milanesi on Botticelli, Vasari, 3:313, n. 1) but Gianozzo di Antonio Pucci (Litta, *Famiglie celebre italiane disparite*, ed. Passerini, (Milan, 1869), table 5, information correct?), who married Lucrezia di Piero di Giovanni Bini in 1483.  
Apropos of the *cassone* painting, B. Berenson, “Alunno di Domenico,” *The Burlington Magazine* 1 (1903): 12, “May not the fourth portrait, seeing it recurs in our panel, be a Pucci?” On “Bartolomeo,” see “Francesco Sassetti’s Last Injunctions to His Sons,” n. 22.
- 190 On Verrocchio and Orsino Benintendi, see Maud Cruttwell, *Verrocchio* (London, 1904), 99 ff.; Gino Masi, “La ceroplastica in Firenze nei secoli XV–XVI e la famiglia Benintendi,” *Rivista d’arte* 9 (1916): 124–42; Eugène Plon, *Benvenuto Cellini* (Paris, 1883), 343 ff.: “*Cires peintes*.”

190 Wax effigy of Lorenzo at S. Maria degli Angeli, near Assisi: Vasari, ed. Milanesi, 2:444.

190 On the magical use of effigies in the Renaissance: According to J. Foster Kirk, *History of Charles the Bold* 1 (London, 1863): 181, the duc de Nevers (Jean de Bourgogne) stood accused of having injured the comte de Charolais by the magical use of three wax figures. Cf. the magical effigies used for revenge purposes by Catherine de Médicis: Eugène Defrance, *Catherine de Médicis, ses astrologues et ses magiciens-envoûteurs* (Paris, 1911), 153 ff.

Dispatch of Don Francisco de Alava, 8 June 1569, to the King of Spain (Paris, Archives nationales, K.1514, no. 199, communicated by Léon Marlet; previously unknown): a man from Strasbourg makes bronze figures of the prince de Condé, Admiral Coligny, and Coligny's brother d'Andelot for the use of the Italian magician (Defrance, 155). "*Envoûtement d'airain*," hexing with bronze.

Effigies used for revenge: Defrance, 189. Discovery of two wax statuettes in the house of La Môle, assistant and pupil to Catherine's court astrologer and magician, Cosimo Ruggieri. One of the figures was half melted away; the other was pierced by a pin in the position of the heart. They were intended as effigies of Charles IX and to cause his death.

The spell cast upon the comte de Charolais is described in detail in *Mémoires de J. du Clercq sur le règne de Philippe le Bon*, ed. Baron de Reiffenberg, 2d ed., 3 (Brussels, 1836): 236 ff., and *Mémoires de messire Philippe de Comines*, ed. Lenglet du Fresnoy, 2 (London and Paris, 1747): 392, "Extrait des Plaintes du Comte de Charolois contre Jean de Bourgogne, Conte d'Estampes." The physician Jean de Bruyère confessed

... que du sceu et connoissance de Mr. d'Estampes, il avoit fait six images de cire blanche, longues d'un pied, Charles des Noyers, serviteur dudit Sieur d'Estampes, & un Moine noir dont il ne sçait pas le nom, avec Mr. d'Estampes; que ces vœux estoient pour trois hommes et trois femmes; que les trois hommes estoient le Roy, Mr. de Bourgogne & Mr. de Charolois; que sur la première part, le Roy estoit esçrit Loys; sur la deuxième, Philippe, & sur la troisième, Charles, avec le nom de Jean sur les trois et Belial sur le dos; que celle du Comte avoit esté piquée pour le faire tomber en langueur, et que les deux autres estoient pour se faire aimer desdits Seigneurs; pour les noms des femmes il ne les sçait, mais qu'une estoit pour Madame de Charolois; qu'elles avoient esté baptisées avec de l'eau bruyante du haut d'un moulin...

(...that with the knowledge of my Lord of Estampes, he had made six effigies in white wax, one foot long, {with?} Charles des Noyers, servant to the said lord of Estampes, and a Black Friar whose name he did not know, together with Monsieur d'Estampes; that these spells were for three men and three women; that the three men were the king, my lord of Burgundy, and my lord of Charolais; that on the first, the king was marked as Louis; on the second, Philippe; and on the third, Charles; with the name of Jean on all three and Belial on the back; that the effigy of the count {of Charolais} had been pierced to afflict him with debility, and that the two others were intended to attract the love of those two lords; as for the

names of the women, he does not know them, but that one was for my lady of Charolais; that they had been baptized with water splashing from the top of a mill...)

The same technique is described in Hector Boece, *Scotorum historia* (Paris, 1526), bk. 10, fol. ccxviii f.), where it is said to have been employed against King Duff (tenth century). Boece is followed by Jean Bodin, *De Magorum daemonomia* 2.8 (Frankfurt, 1590), 392, who is followed in turn by Ben Jonson in the antimasque to the *Masque of Queens*, in *Works*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, 2d ed. (London, 1897), 3:47.

A kindred form of magic, but with good intent, is alluded to in another note: In the trousseau of Nannina Rucellai dei Medici there is “*1 bambino colla vesta di damasco ricamata con perle*”; see Giuseppe Marcotti, *Un mercante fiorentino e la sua famiglia nel secolo XV*. (Nozze Nardi-Arnaldi, Florence, 1881), 90 (pregnancy charm?); see Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali in Italia*, 2d ed. (Milan, 1878), 175:

... i bambini che presso i Brettoni si mettevano nel letto nuziale degli sposi, ricordano l'uso vedico di mettere un bel bambino sopra il seno della sposa, per lo stesso augurio di fecondità.

(... the dolls that in Brittany are put in the bridal bed recall the Vedic custom of placing a doll on the bride's breast for the same reason, to ensure fertility.)

On the theme of wax effigies as love charms in Renaissance poetry, see, inter alia, the close of the second book of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*: the soul of Poliphilus is transported in a dream to the celestial realm of Venus. Cupid brings the effigy (*imagine*) of the beloved, Polia, and pierces it with an arrow (see the accompanying woodcuts, fol. E vii<sup>r</sup>-v). This is intended to inspire love in the real Polia. Also the magic ritual performed by Enareto in “Prosa X” of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, ed. E. Carrara (Turin, 1926), 97; in a note, Carrara refers to Theocritus 2.28 ff.:

*E fra queste cose [the love potion], sì come io ti insegnerò, legarai una imagine di cera in tre nodi, con tre lacci di tre colori, e tre volte con quella in mano attornando lo altare, altre tante le pungerai il core, con punta di omicida spada, tacitamente dicendo queste parole:*

*Colei pungo et astringo,*

*Che nel mio cor depingo.*

(And in these matters [the love potion], as I shall instruct you, you should tie three knots round a wax image, using ribbons of three different colors, and three times. With this in your hand, walk around the altar three times, piercing the heart with a deadly sword as you go, and murmuring the following words under your breath:

I stab and grip the one

I picture in my heart.)

191 See Oskar Fischel, “Bildnisse der Medici,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1907), no. 3, session of 8 February 1907.

191 Lorenzo's appearance is characterized in an anecdote told by Scipione Ammirato, *Il rota overo delle imprese* (Florence: Giunti, 1598), 107–08, by way of illustration of the *impresa* “*Vera latent*” (Truths are concealed):

*Et mi fate ricordare col conto di mascherate d'una cosa, che fu detta a Lorenzo de' Medici, facendo maschere per Firenze. Il quale essendo appiè, e andando saltellando per su certi murriciuoli a guisa di mattaccino davanti la casa di Piero Martelli: il qual si trovava a punto allora su l'uscio della sua casa, e havea molto ben riconosciuto Lorenzo; da lui: ma fatto però vista di non saper chi si fosse si sentì alquanto mordacemente dire, chi è costui, che porta il viso sopra la maschera. Percioche Lorenzo era brutto di faccia, e la maschera era bella; onde pareva, che si venisse a far contrario ufficio; la maschera per il viso, e il viso per la maschera.*

(Your story of the masquerade reminds me of something that happened to Lorenzo de' Medici, during a masked ball in Florence. Lorenzo was rushing around, leaping over obstacles like a fool, and came to the house of Pietro Martelli. Martelli was in his doorway, about to go out, and recognized Lorenzo at once. He pretended, however, not to recognize Lorenzo, and said, sarcastically, "Who is this man wearing his own face over his mask?" For Lorenzo was very ugly, and the mask was handsome; and so it looked as if he had reversed the natural order of things: the mask for the face and the face for the mask.)

- 191 See the Società Colombaria's death mask of Lorenzo, published as the frontispiece in Janet Ross, *Florentine Villas* (London, 1901). Now in the Museo Mediceo, Palazzo Riccardi.

- 191 Not Pollaiuolo but Bertoldo; see Wilhelm Bode, "Bertoldo di Giovanni und seine Bronzewerke," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 16 (1895): 143 ff. Also Bode, *Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici* (Freiburg, 1925), 26 ff.

- 193 The drawing by Ghirlandaio for this fresco, purchased in 1910 or 1911 by the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin, shows an ecclesiastical procession; who are the youthful clerics? Federigho? Leo?

Thus it was initially planned to include only the younger members of the party, not the older ones. On the left, seven persons, one in ecclesiastical vestments and tonsure (?), one young and female. On the right, four persons, one of them robed. Procession: a priest or Franciscan leads the way; there follow six very young figures, the last two of them with childish heads like Leo X and Giuliano; Piero might be the next figure in a little cap; beside him more clerics, two young ones in front. No townscape in the background; otherwise same number of monks and members of the consistory; one is already looking round to catch sight of the approaching procession. See fig. 89.

- 194 On Giuliano: Vittorio Cian, *Musa medicea: Di Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici e delle sue rime inedite* (Nozze Flamini-Fanelli, 1895). Review by E. Pèrcopo in *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana* (1896): 71 ff.

Portrait of Giuliano, probably by Salviati: Mary Logan Berenson, "Dipinti italiani in Cleveland," *Rassegna d'arte* 7 (1907): 3.

Oskar Fischel, "Porträts des Giuliano de' Medici, Herzogs von Nemours," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 28 (1907): 117 ff.

Hubert Janitschek, “Das Capitolinische Theater vom Jahre 1513,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1882): 259–70.

- 194 On Piero di Lorenzo: his delightful childhood letters are published in part in *Letterine d'un bambino fiorentino*, ed. del Lungo (Nozze Vita-Bemporad, 1887).

- 194 Vittorio Cian, “Su l'iconografia di Leone X,” in *Scritti vari... in onore di Rodolfo Renier* (Turin, 1912), 559–76.

Cornelius von Fabriczy, *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1904), 71. Illustration of medal of Leo X by Francesco da Sangallo (?).

Hand-colored copper engraving by an unknown Italian artist, Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, with contemporary manuscript inscription. This print was formerly inside the binding of a volume in the Oels library (now Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek). See H. W. Singer, *Unika und Seltenheiten im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Dresden* (Leipzig, 1911).

- 194 For “celebrated,” read: “world-famous.”

- 198 Pulci in the *Falconry* “with large nose.” Lorenzo de’ Medici, *La caccia col falcone*, st. 10, “*quel del gran naso*” (he of the big nose); st. 12, “*Luigi, quando il fiero naso piega, cani e cavalli adombra e fa restio...*” (Luigi, when his proud nose he holds aloft, startles the dogs and horses, makes them restive...)

See painting from the Giovio gallery (?), corridor of the Uffizi, no. 171.

- 199 Lorenzo was called “*bilancia di senno*” (the scales of wisdom): Antonio Cappelli, *Lettere di Lorenzo de’ Medici detto il Magnifico conservate nell’Archivio Palatino di Modena*, Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi 1 (1863): 234.

- 200 A similar ambivalence in the character of the Florentines in general, and of Lorenzo in particular, is remarked upon by Vincenzo Borghini, *Discorsi* (Florence, 1585), 2:163, apropos of Lorenzo’s *giostra* of 1469:

...onde talvolta ripensando meco le azioni di questi nostri padri, mi pare spesso riconoscere in una medesima persona due diversissimi huomini e di quasi contrarie nature, trovando or uno in casa sua e nella vita domestica tutto fatto all’ antica modestia e parsimonia, ed il medesimo fuor di casa ed in brigata in un batter d’occhio riuscire un di que’ Luculli o di quegli altri nati ed allevati nel mezo delle corruttele e morbidezze Romane, allora che ell’ erano ben bene in colmo...

(...when I contemplate the behavior of our forefathers, I often find in one individual two very different persons, with almost contrary natures. At home, and in his domestic life, all will be ordered on old-fashioned lines of simplicity and thrift; whereas the same man away from home, or in company, will straightaway fall to emulating Lucullus, or aping those who were born and bred amid the worst excesses and corruptions of ancient Rome...)

200 “Startlingly” deleted.

201 Franco himself gives us an interesting insight into the relationship between himself and Pulci, and between Lorenzo and both men: Matteo Franco, letter of 24 January 1475 (1476 N.S.), printed in Luigi Pulci, *Lettere* (Lucca, 1886), 181 f., on the “*quinto elemento Gigi*” (quintessential Gigi):

*Parmi quando giungo in casa vostra et vegho voi et poi riguardo questa asima afata, che sempre mi si rapresenti nella mente quello si dice degli antichi triunphanti, a'quali era posto in sul charro uno homo d'infima povertà et miseria per correggere la superbia et fasto di quello si exaltato. Voi intendete di rafrenare l'allegrezza di chi vi vede colla presenza di questa sciaghura...* (p. 182.)

(When I come to your house and see you, and then look at that puny midget, I always think of the way they used to describe the triumphs of antiquity. Some miserable pauper would be paraded on a chariot as a corrective to the pride and opulence of the man in whose name the celebration was taking place. You use the presence of that poor wretch to moderate your guests' enjoyment.)

For Franco's own lively account of his position in the household of Lorenzo's daughter, Maddalena Cybò, in Rome, see Gaetano Pieraccini, *La stirpe de' Medici di Caffaggiolo* (Florence, 1924), 1:236–40.

201 For “crude,” read: “banal,” “insipid,” or “idylized.”

201 “Dell'Avveduto” deleted. See Guglielmo Volpi, review in *Archivio storico della letteratura italiana*, 5th ser., 32 (1903): 214 ff.; Vittorio Rossi, review in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 42 (1903): 414 ff. See below, pp. 449 f., addendum to the documentary appendixes.

202 On Poliziano's *Orfeo* and its influence on the visual arts, see “Birth of Venus,” pp. 120 ff., and “Dürer,” p. 555.

202 For “which rest,” read: “roots embedded in the soil.”

202 Proof that Ghirlandaio was the son of a dealer in gold articles is to be found in the journal of Landucci, *Diario fiorentino*, ed. Jodoco del Badia (Florence 1883); after enumerating his wedding gifts, including articles of jewelry, he lists among items of expenditure (page 8): “*Per senseria a Tommaso di Currado L. 12. 14*” (To the dealer, Tommaso di Currado, L. 12. 14).

See note, *Miscellanea fiorentina* (del Badia), 1:47 on the fact that the sons of Tommaso Bigordi were apprenticed to a goldsmith.

203 To the characterization of Ghirlandaio's art (“undifferentiated scrutiny of body, clothes, and background”), Warburg has added the phrase “Flemish temperament.”

203 On *Lauri sub umbra*, see Bellincioni, Sonnet 197, Bernardo Bellincioni, *Le rime*, ed. Pietro Fanfani (Bologna, 1878), 224:

*All' oratore fiorentino, parlando Apollo a Fiorenza, che è lieta all' ombra del lauro [di Lorenzo] essendo il lauro l'albero amato da Apollo, però si rallegra e ne ringrazia quella Repubblica, che lo ama, laudando l'oratore:*

*Co' fiori in grembo un' altra donna bella  
Veggio, che nova Atene el mondo canta,  
Lieta posarsi a l'ombra della pianta,  
Che tanto amai in viva forma quella.  
Fra' rami alberga una divina stella,  
Unde piove splendore e virtù tanta,  
Che quella prima età sicura e santa  
Ritornerà: per questa el ciel favella.  
Ben sarei ingrato, e del veder poi lippo,  
Non commendar colei che ama il mio Lauro,  
E che si sforza sempre fargli onore.  
Ma la ringrazio ancor che Pier Filippo  
Abbia mandato or qui, suo ver tesauo,  
In testimon del dolce antico amore.*

(To the Florentine ambassador: spoken by Apollo to Florence, happy beneath the laurel's [Lorenzo's] shade; the laurel being the tree that Apollo loves, therefore this Republic rejoices and is grateful, loving him and praising the ambassador.

Another lovely maid, lap full of flowers,  
I see—known to the world as the New Athens—  
Reclining joyfully beneath the shade  
Of that tree I so loved in living form.  
Amid its boughs a godlike star is lodged,  
Dispensing virtue and such brilliant light  
That soon the world's first, safe, and sacred age  
Will come again: for her, Heaven augurs it.  
I would be thankless, even short of sight,  
Not to commend her, who so adores my Laurel,  
And always takes such pains to honor him.  
I thank her too, that Pier Filippo once  
Sent his own true treasure to this place,  
Remembrance of that sweet and ancient love.)

See "Birth of Venus," p. 139. "Imprese": "Le temps revient," p. 173.

- 204 The literature referred to in Warburg's handwritten addenda, on the topic of waxen votive images in pagan and Christian times, has since been listed and discussed by Julius von Schlosser: "Geschichte der Porträtbildnerie in Wachs," *Jahrbuch der kunst-historischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 29, no. 3 (1911), 171 ff. "Indiculus superstitionum et paganiarum, XXIX, de ligneis pedibus vel manibus pagano ritu" ([A list of superstitions and pagan customs, concerning feet or hands made of wood in pagan ritual] Cod. Vat. Pal. 577, fol. 7a ff.); on this, Heinrich Albin Saupe, *Programm des Städtischen Realgymnasiums zu Leipzig* (1891), 33.

- 204 On the custom of presenting ex-voto offerings in general, see Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, Giornata I nov. 1: Ser Ciappelletto as a saint, to whom the common people devote *immagini di cera* (wax effigies):

...il di seguente vi cominciarono le genti ad andare e ad accender lumi e ad adorarlo, e per conseguente a botarsi e ad appicarvi le immagini della cera, secondo la promession fatta.

(...on the following day the people began going there and lighting candles and venerating him. Soon they began to make offerings and to hang up images made of wax, according to the vows they had made.)

In 1452 Lorenzo Strozzi sent an *immagine* to S. Annunziata after breaking an arm while playing ball in Bruges: Guasti, *Lettere d'Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi*, 129 and 134; also Alessandra wrote to her son Filippo, apropos of her dead son, Matteo: "Di' che lo botasti qua all' Annunciata, di porlo di cera" (whom you vowed to the Annunziata here to set up in wax), *ibid.*, 197.

In the *Miscellanea fiorentina* of Jodoco del Badia (Florence, 1902), 2:141 f., Gherardi publishes a letter to Lucrezia de' Medici, probably written in 1477:

*Jermattina venne qui alla Nuntiatia uno mandatario del Duca dell' Oreno, vestito di bianco, con tutta la sua famiglia: per boto; e pose una baniera con la quale el suo Signore, dice che ruppe il Duca di Borgogna e vinselo. Decto la messa solenne e' offerì cento scudi e non so che anello in su l'altare.*

(Yesterday morning an emissary from the duke of Lorraine came to the Annunziata, all dressed in white, bringing his entire family, to make a votive offering. He set up a banner with which his lord says that he routed and vanquished the duke of Burgundy. He heard mass and made a donation of one hundred scudi, also placing some kind of ring on the altar.)

Archivio di Stato, Florence, med. av. il princ. fa. LXXXV, c. 736. Exactly the same story in Landucci, *Diario*, ed. del Badia, 15.

Filarete, *Tractat über die Baukunst*, ed. Wolfgang von Oettingen, *Quellenschriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, n.s., no. 3 (Vienna, 1890), 671 f.

*Sta. Maria de' Servi...exaudisce, qualunque gratia è a lei domandata, che lecita sia. E che questo sia vero, in questa chiesa si può vedere, le gratie da Dio per sua mezzanità essere fatte, et exauditi molti, e da piccolissimi casi liberati e di morte e d'altri infortunij, i quali impossibili paiono a' riguardanti. E pure è così; chè nessuno, non essendo exaudito, non avrebbe messo la immagine della gratia ricevuta. Et di questo vera testimonianza ne posso dare; perchè accadendo in Roma uno infortunio nel tempo di papa Niccholao Quarto <sic>, et inocente di tal cosa <sacrilegious theft from the Lateran>, ricorsi a quella, che per sua gratia m'exaudi. Per questo di cera el simulacro del boto per la ricevuta gratia posi, come in essa si vede. (1447)*

(Saint Maria de' Servi...grants whatever favor may be requested of her, providing it be lawful. To prove what I say, in this church can be seen many offerings made in gratitude for her intercession and for her many favors, for delivery from minor tribulations, from death and other misfortunes, some of which may strike



onlookers as beyond belief. And yet it is so: for no one would have made a votive offering, illustrating the grace received, unless his prayer had been heard. I cannot give first-hand evidence of this; however, in the time of Pope Nicholas IV <sic> there was a scandal in Rome, and, being innocent of the misdeed <sacreligious theft from the Lateran>, I had recourse to Saint Maria de' Servi, requesting that by her grace she deliver me. In gratitude for her favor, I set up a votive image made of wax in that church, as can still be seen.)

- 206 Inventories of *voti* in other churches: See F. de Mély and Edmond Bishop, *Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés* 2 (Paris, 1894), no. 7233: 1520, 27 November. “*Inventaire d'ex-voto... de l'autel du chef de saint Hugues, dans la cathédrale de Lincoln*” {{Inventory of votive offerings... on the altar of the head of Saint Hugh, in Lincoln cathedral} see also *Archaeologia*, vol. 53, part 1 [1892], 11–12). No. 7220: “1499–1500. *Inventaire d'ex-voto à l'image de la Sainte-Vierge, et d'ornements de sa confrérie, dans l'église de Pilton, comté de Somerset*” (1499–1500. Inventory of votive offerings to the image of the Blessed Virgin, and of insignia of her confraternity, in the church of Pilton in the county of Somerset). See also Hobhouse (Bishop), “Church-wardens' Accounts... Ranging from 1349 to 1560,” in *Somerset Record Society* 4 (London, 1890): 119.

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Silver votive offerings are documented even earlier: On 16 June 1358 Yolande de Flandres, comtesse de Bar, was given leave to present, in lieu of a statue representing the full weight in silver of her son the duc de Bar (i.e., instead of 190 marks), a statue containing 10 marks of silver and the remainder in gifts elsewhere. Dehaisnes, *Documents... concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre...* (Lille, 1886), 1:393.

- 206 Descriptions of SS. Annunziata in Florence, mentioning the wax figures: Marco Lastri, *L'osservatore fiorentino*, 2d ed. (Florence, 1797), 2:165 ff.: “Chiesa della Nonziata, e maniera antica di voti.”
- Guido Mazzoni, “I ‘bóti’ della SS. Annunziata,” *Rivista fiorentina* (1908), June (pilot issue), and Mazzoni, *I bóti della SS. Annunziata in Firenze* (Per le nozze di P. S. Rambaldi con Lucy Bertolini, Florence, 1923).

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Also contemporary sources: above all the *Theotocon* of Fra Domenico (Corella), written in the lifetime of Saint Antonino (died 1459)? Jo. Lamius, *Deliciae eruditorum seu veterum anekdoton opusculorum collectanea* 12 (Florence, 1742): 108–9, “S. Maria de Servis.” Page 109:

*Cuius <sc. S. Mariae> ope a variis sanantur corpora morbis,*  
*Et bene curatur vulneris omne genus.*  
*Ut figmenta probant sub multis cerea formis,*  
*Factus et incolumis sexus uterque docet.*  
*Per quam sanati Reges, Dominique potentes,*  
*Insignes statuas hic posuere suas.*

*Aspera saepe duces bello discrimina passi  
Servati valida Virginis huius ope,  
Sese cum propriis illi vovere caballis,  
Dantes militiae congrua dona sibi.  
Hi sunt belligeri ductores agminis omnes,  
Quos super immanes stare videmus equos.  
Grandaevi proceres etiam, natuque minores,  
Hic resident, imum plebe tenente gradum.  
Vrbis habet speciem fictis habitata colonis  
Haec aedes, hominum tot simulacra tenens.  
Et sicut in vero struitur certamine pugna  
Ordine si recto debeat illa geri;  
Sic pariter densis acies ornata manipulis  
Parte sub alterutra cernitur Ecclesiae.  
In cuius vacuo pendentes aere puppes  
Mater ab aequoreis diva redemit aquis.  
Nam mare componens celsa rutilantior Arcto  
Implorata vagas dirigit ipsa rates.  
Quas hic instructas adeo perpendimus, ac si  
Vera forent alto bella gerenda mari.  
Nam quaecumque solent terra pelagoque nocere  
Amovet auxilio sancta figura suo.  
Ut mala suspensi testantur vincula ferri,  
Quaeque simul pendent intus et arma foris.*

(By whose <the Virgin Mary's> aid their bodies are cured of divers diseases,

And every kind of wound is perfectly healed.

As the waxen images attest under many forms,

And both sexes teach that they were made whole.

Kings and powerful lords, who have been healed by her,

Have here placed statues of their notable selves.

Leaders who have often endured cruel dangers in war,

Saved by the powerful aid of this Virgin,

Have vowed themselves with their horses to her,

Giving her gifts befitting their military spirit.

Here are all valiant leaders of the ranks,

Whom we see mounted on huge horses.

Elders of great age, and younger ones too,

Reside here, while common folk keep the lowest level.

It has the look of a city, this temple inhabited by

Feigned tenants, containing so many likenesses of men.

And just as a real order of battle is drawn up,

If the fight is to be conducted in due order,

So is the battle line, with troops in their serried ranks,

Discerned on either side of the church.

The ships that hang there in midair are those

The divine Mother redeemed from the ocean's waters.  
 Calming the sea, shining more brightly than Arctos on high,  
 When called on for aid, she herself guides lost ships.  
 We have hung them here, drawn up in rows, as if  
 To fight real battles on the high seas.  
 Whatever commonly causes harm on land and sea,  
 A sacred image removes with her help;  
 As the evil chains of suspended iron bear witness,  
 And the arms that hang both inside and out.)

On Fra Domenico di Giovanni da Corella, see Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, 192.  
 Johannes Fichard, *Iter italicum* (1536), in J. C. von Fichard, *Frankfurtisches Archiv* 3 (Frankfurt, 1815): 106:

*Omnium autem Templorum devotione celeberrimum est Alla Nunciata, quod non ita quidem magnum est, sed tamen scatet miraculorum testimoniis. Nec in ullo loco vidi digniorum hominum votiva simulachra. Integri istic in solenni ornatu suo ex summo tabulato dependent Papa Leo X., Clemens VII., Papa item Alexander VI. in uno, iste Dux Alexander altero latere adorant altare Nunciatae, duo item reges, regina una, et reliqui infiniti. Altare Nunciatae ad levam est ingredientibus in ipso portae quasi contactu.*

(Most famous of all the churches for devotion is Alla Nunciata, which is not, to be sure, so large, but nonetheless it swarms with testimonies of miracles. Nowhere have I seen votive images of higher-ranking men. Complete figures in their solemn attire hang down from the highest story: Pope Leo X, Clement VII, likewise Pope Alexander VI on one side, and Duke Alexander on the other, worship the altar of the Nunciata, and likewise two kings, one queen, and countless others. The altar of the Nunciata is to the left as you enter, almost touching the door.)

Communication from A. F. Orbaan: A. Buchellius, "Iter italicum," ed. R. Lanciani, *Archivio della Reale società romana di storia patria* 25 (1902): 129 ff.:

*<Florentiae> est insuper templum D. Mariae Annuntiatae, celeberrimum per totam Italiam, et miraculis ut volunt clarum, ubi infinitae statuariae et votivae tabulae; adeo ut ad primum ingressum cadaverorum campum crederes. Sunt nam illae statuariae et simulachra (quibus templum est plenissimum) ad vivi hominisque veri magnitudinem, lignae, lapideae, cereae. Spectabantur illic Leonis, Clementisque pontificis habitu, regumque ac principum nonnullorum suspensa simulachra, circum aliae militares statuariae item togatae, equestres, pedestres armatae, etiam veris armis, hic gladii pendebant rubigine pene consumpti, illic galeae, lanceae, arcus, tela, omne denique genus armorum. Alio in loco cernebantur vulnerati, suspensi, tormentis debilitati, naufragi, incarcerati, aegrotantes, puerperae iacentes in lectis et simulachris expressi.*

(<At Florence> there is moreover the Church of the Blessed Mary Annunciate, very famous throughout Italy and celebrated for what people consider miracles, where there are countless statues and votive tablets—so much so that when you first enter you would think it a battlefield of corpses. For there are statues and effigies (with which the church is overflowing), as large as the real, living person, made of wood, stone, and wax. There were seen hanging figures in the garb of

Pope Leo, Pope Clement, and several kings and princes, and round about, other statues of soldiers similarly gowned, knights, footsoldiers in armor, even with real arms: here hung swords almost crumbling with rust, there helmets, spears, bows, swords, in short, every kind of weapon. In another area one could see the wounded, the hanged, those maimed by torture, the shipwrecked, imprisoned, sick, women in labor lying in their beds—all represented in effigy.)

*Cronaca di Benedetto Dei*, Pagnini, *Della decima* (Lisbon and Lucca, 1765), 2:276; also J. Mesnil, *L'art au nord et au sud des alpes* (1911), 124 ff.: “non si troverà, nè trovar puossi Maestri di immagine di ciera al pari di questi, che sono oggidì nelle Città di Firenze; e la Nuntiata lo dica a tutti” (waxworkers equal to those found today in the city of Florence are not to be found anywhere else; and the Annunziata proves it to all and sundry). See also *Angelo Polizianos Tagebuch*, ed. A. Wesselski (Jena, 1929), 183 f., and the letter from Franco Sacchetti mentioned therein; also Francesco Bocchi, *Opera... sopra l'immagine miracolosa della Santissima Nunziata di Fiorenza* (Florence, 1592), 107 f.

207 Introduction of wax votive images into Northern Italy from Florence:

A. Luzio: “I ritratti d’Isabella d’Este,” *Emporium* 11 (1900), nos. 23 and 28, 355: *La Marchesa di Cotrone visitando Firenze nel 1502 scriveva il 30 maggio al Gonzaga*:

“Mi son stata a la Nunciata et visto la cappella de V. S. con le arme in modo che agio adorato più quelle arme che li Santi che gli erano pinti. Dapo’ ho visto V. S. de argento tanto gentil, in modo che nocte et dì non penso ad altri che a la S. V.”

*Non men bella era l’immagine lasciatavi da sua moglie, e di cui un oscuro <?!> artista fiorentino con lettera del 25 dicembre 1507 reclamava il prezzo:*

“Fa ora circa anni due che la S. V. venne qui a Firenze alla Anunziata e che mi facesti fare una immagine a vostra similitudine che è delle <più> belle magine che vi sieno e fecila porre nel più bello luoco che sia in quella chiesa che ne feci quistione co’ frati che non ve la volevono porre in quello luoco, ora la ve si pose ed èvi et è più bella che mai, come caschuno vostro mantovano che sia venuto in questa terra può fare fede. La S. V. sa che quando me la fecesti fare che io ne volevo duc. 25 d’oro, che si fussi stato un altro n’arebe voluto duc. 50.”

(Ha ancora da avere 10 ducati e prega si gli mandino.) Si firma: “Filippo Benintendi di Benintendi fa le immagine.”

(The Marchesa di Cotrone, visiting Florence, wrote to Gonzaga on 30 May 1502:

“I have been to the Annunziata and seen your chapel with the arms; I felt more inclined to venerate the arms than the Saints painted beside them. Then I saw such a delightful image of you made of silver, that day and night I think of nothing but you.”

The image of his wife was no less fine: an obscure <sic> Florentine artist demanded payment for it in a letter of 25 December 1507:

“It is nearly two years now since you came to Florence, to the Annunziata, and requested me to make an image in your likeness. This is one of the most beautiful images there, and you had it placed in the best position in the church. There

was some talk of the friars not wanting it to be placed in that particular spot; however, it was put there, and today it looks better than ever, as all your Mantuans who have passed this way can testify. You know that, when I was commissioned by you to make it, I asked only 25 gold ducats; any other artist would have asked 50 ducats.”

(The outstanding balance of 10 ducats is now due.) He signs himself “Filippo Benintendi di Benintendi, image maker.”)

(See p. 190.)

A church of S. Maria de' Voti founded in Mantua in 1480 by Federico Gonzaga (connection with SS. Annunziata?). In the Oratorio della Confraternita del Sacramento (Cathedral) there are still fragments of late fourteenth-century frescoes that stem from the church of S. Maria dei Voti and have a votive character; see Carlo d'Arco, *Relazione intorno alla istituzione del Patrio Museo in Mantova ed ai monumenti sin qui raccolti* (Mantua, 1835–58) and *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova* (1857), 1:23 and pl. 14. See also Matteucci (as below), 94, 99 f.

Vittorio Matteucci, *Le chiese artistiche del Mantovano* (Mantua, 1902), 183: “*Il santuario di santa Maria delle Grazie*,” 186, “*le statue di cartapesta*” ((the papier-mâché statues} see ill., *ibid.*, 187); inveighs against the government because it refuses to permit the destruction and removal of the dummies (papier-mâché, not wax, erected in the niches in 1517): “*i fantocci rimasero a guardia... del monumento nazionale*” (the dolls remained in the custody of the National Monument). On the votive inscriptions, see *ibid.*, 188 ff.

By 1443 the Florentine Niccolò Baroncelli was working in Ferrara as a sculptor of votive waxworks: life-size statue of a *falconiere*, and as far back as 1436, in S. Annunziata, a wax effigy of Niccolò III d'Este, made for him after a visit to the church in 1435. See A. Venturi, “I Primordi del rinascimento artistico a Ferrara,” *Rivista storica italiana* 1 (1884): 617, 620.

Connection between Mantua and Florence quite clear: choir of SS. Annunziata, figures of *voti*, S. Maria dei Voti and Beata Vergine delle Grazie.

- 207 In Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *Pittori lombardi del Quattrocento* (Milan, 1902), 143: instruction from Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza to Filippo Sagramoro, 29 June 1474, to have repairs carried out to the “*imagine de la quond.<sup>m</sup> nostra Ill.<sup>ma</sup> Madre lij ala Nunciata*” (effigy of our late illustrious mother in the Annunziata). For safety's sake, the figure was now to be suspended from iron instead of wooden chains.
- 207 On the evolution of wax sculpture and its putative connection with antiquity: Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabulario toscano dell'arte di disegno* (Florence, 1681), s.v. “Cera,” “Cere colorate,” and “Statua.”
- 207 To this day, in the Islip Chapel, Westminster Abbey, there are wax figures of this kind (stemming from funeral ceremonies, beneath the “hearse” with which they were borne into the church). See *The Deanery Guide*, 13th ed. (1903), 69. See also Schloesser, *Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs*, 201 ff.

- 207 As early as 1484 instructions were given to remove from S. Giovanni all the *ceri* and *palii* that, in accordance with a time-honored custom, the subject municipalities dedicated every year to the patron saint of Florence,

...perchè si giudicava che coprissono e occupassino grande parte della bellezza di detta chiesa...e similmente...molte tavole, e dipinture e imagini che erano appiccate alle colonne o pilastri de detta chiesa acciò rimanesse netta ed espedita, e parve facesse grande dimostrazione di bellezza, che prima era occupata, benchè a molti anche dispiacesse.

(...because it was considered that they took up too much room in the church, and marred its beauty...and similarly...the many panels, paintings, and images which were fixed to the columns or piers of the said church were commanded to be removed therefrom, to make the church clear and free of incumbrance, and it seems that it looked much better for it, although many people were displeased.)

Account by Alamanno Rinuccini in *Ricordi storici*, ed. G. Ajazzi (Florence, 1840), cxxxviii.

- 210 “*Inter rara admodum paria*” cf. Cicero, *Laelius* 15.4; also “*alterum me*” (another myself), cf. *Ad familiares* 2.15.4; often “*me alterum*” in letters; similarly *Laelius* 21.80.

- 212 Warburg supposed that the expression “*parentis substantia liberi*”—in the sense of *substantia facultatum*, assets—derived from legal terminology. Dr. Raymond Klibansky has pointed out to us that this may well also be an allusion to Hebrews 1.3 [“*figura substantiae eius*” (the express image of his person)]. This supposition of a theological origin for the phrase is corroborated by an unpublished letter from Marsilio Ficino to his brothers and sisters in 1455, as paraphrased by A. della Torre, *Storia dell’Accademia Platonica* (1902), 96, n. 2, and 507 ff., under the heading “Dell’amore dei figli verso i genitori.” The original is in Cod. Magl. Cl. VIII, no. 1370, fol. (154 ff.):

[Fol. 156<sup>v</sup>]...la stretta similitudine che è tra loro perchè el figliuolo è molto simile al padre essendo di sua substantia prodocto et proxime allui in complexione, forma et costumi. La quale similitudine genera ineffabile benevolentia...[Fol. 158<sup>r</sup>] Oltre ad questo secondo le predecte ragioni l’omnipotente idio, per avere a chi comunicare tutta la sua bontà, genera il verbo simile ad se in substantia in perfectione amato da lui sopra ogni altra cosa. Non altrimenti el padre, per havere uno al quale attribuisca tutta sua forza et gloria et ricchezza et ogni altra cosa, genera il figliuolo simile ad se in substantia et complexione, figura et costumi, a quali diriza ineffabile benivolentia. Ancora ci dichiara apertamente el padre essere ad noi uno secondo idio et divino precepto nel quale prima si contiene come dobbiamo honorare idio come primo padre celestiale...

(The striking similarity between them, because the son resembles his father, having been produced from his substance and coming close to him in constitution, figure, and habits. This similarity gives rise to inexpressible love...In addition,

according to the above argument, Almighty God, in order to pass on all his goodness, made the Word in his image, loving its perfection above all else. Similarly a father, in order to have someone to whom he can pass on his might, his glory, his wealth, and all the rest, begets a son similar to himself in substance and constitution, figure, and habits, and bears this son inexpressible love. It is clearly said that a father is a second God to us; divine precept instructs us to honor God as our first and heavenly father...)

This letter surely supplies all the necessary explanation for Lorenzo's "*dicantur*" (are said to be) and corroborates Warburg's conjecture that the term has a double meaning.

- 212 "*Fortunae ictibus*" (to the blows of Fortune): cf. Lucan 5.729 ff.: "*sub ictu Fortunae*" (under the blow of Fortune).

"*Cui male si palpare, recalcitrat undique tutus*"; Horace, *Satires* 2.1.20.

"*Fere alter*": cf. Gellius, *Noctes atticae* 13.10.4.

For "*fac*" (at the end of Lorenzo's letter), conjecture: "*sic*."

- 215 The identification of the *compare* addressed by Pulci at the end of the *Giostra* with Bartolomeo dell' Avveduto, and the assumption of a connection with the hero of the *Morgante*, was contested by Rossi and by Volpi in their reviews, and abandoned by Warburg himself when he deleted the name "dell' Avveduto" (above, p. 440). However, he managed to find another identity for the mysterious *compare*.

In addition to the *compare* Bartolomeo who worked for the Ripoli printing house, and the Bartolomeo whom Lorenzo took with him in his retinue to entertain him on journeys, a *compare* is also mentioned in the letters of Luigi Pulci to Lorenzo, 12 (August 1473, *Lettere*, 127). In the effort to obtain the vacant church at Cintoia for a brother of the *compare*'s, Lorenzo was asked to lend his support by intervening with the Ubaldini family, in whose gift the church was, on behalf of this "*fratello del compare*." A document in the Archivio Arcivescovile in Florence (Campagna, Campione vecchio, no. 1, c. 125) reveals the brother's identity: his name was Mariotus Salvatoris (called Ser Mariotto by Pulci), and he was appointed to the church of S. Michael de Cintoris on 7 October 1473. The supposition that the *compare* in the Pulci letters, the *compare della viola*, the *compare* Bartolomeo of Ripoli, and Lorenzo's traveling companion were one and the same individual is rendered plausible by the passage in Luigi Pulci in which Lorenzo is promised, in gratitude for his intervention with the Ubaldini: "*Vagliano le muse e l'ancuola, e le rime sdruc-ciole del compare nostro tutto fedele; e troverremo* [i.e., Luigi and the *compare*] *poi rima più là che zucchero, et pregheremo poi Idio sempre per te*" ((Consider the muses and the maidservant [reading *ancuola* as Latin *ancilla*], and the trisyllabic rhymes of our faithful *compare*; and we [i.e., Luigi and the *compare*] will compose rhymes sweeter than sugar, and we shall always pray for you) *ibid.*, 126; cf. 127 f., 103).

This being so, the name of the *compare della viola* in the *Giostra* would be Bartolomeo di Salvatore, brother to the priest Ser Mariotto, friend to Luigi Pulci, a poet and performer himself, and a faithful retainer of Lorenzo's. Lorenzo himself

addresses him as such in the *Caccia col falcone*, again in the concluding strophe and in the very words used by Pulci:

*Così passò, compare, lieto il tempo,  
Con mille rime zucchero ed a tempo.*

(Thus, my friend, did time most sweetly pass

A thousand sugared rhymes, and all in tempo.)

That he is not identical with Bartolomeo dell' Avveduto emerges from the latter's letters to Piero and Giovanni de' Medici (M. a. P. fa. X, c. 588 [586], fa. XVI. c. 61, fa. 137. c. 924 [610], and c. 925 [567]), in which he signs himself Bartolomeo di Domenicho (i.e., not di Salvatore) dell' Avveduto.

- 218 On the erroneous date of 1486 in the inscription, see C. von Fabriczy, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, supplement to 23 (1902): 16 n. 10. In reference to the figure 5 in the date: 1485 seems to have been restored as early as 1870: Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Geschichte der italienischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1870), 3:231, n. 29.

The inscription was already restored in 1864: see the English ed. of Crowe and Cavalcaselle 2 (London, 1864): 472 n. 4; see also Warburg's essay "Francesco Sassetti," n. 68.

- 218 In connection with the definition of the appellation *magnifico*, and with the Renaissance use of the word in relation to the public display of magnificence in the public interest, Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance*, ch. 1 §9, *Gesamtausgabe* 6:15 f., refers to Pontano's treatise *De magnificentia*: Ioannis Joviani Pontani *Opera omnia soluta oratione composita* 1 (Venice, 1588), fol. 123 ff., especially fol. 124, after Aristotle, *Nicomachian Ethics* 4.2. On fol. 129 Pontano mentions Cosimo the Elder by name: not only had he emulated the ancients by building churches and libraries, but he was the first among the moderns to revive the *magnificentia* of antiquity. On the translation of the word as "high and mighty" (*grossmächtig*), it might perhaps be added that the word has also remained in formal use as a title, corresponding to the German title Seine Magnificenz.

- 219 The surmise was right: Biliotti's chronicle a. c. 12<sup>v</sup> (H) a. c. 13<sup>r</sup> (A–C); see "Sassetti," p. 231.

- 220 Cf. the Scythian as a votive offering on the Acropolis. Franz Winter, "Archaische Reiterbilder von der Akropolis," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 8 (1893): (135 ff.) 153.

- 220 See also Emilia Nesi, *Il diario della stamperia di Ripoli* (Florence, 1903).



Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons

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- 223 Published as “Francesco Sassettis letztwillige Verfügung,” in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Schmarsow gewidmet* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1907), 129–52.
- 223 Subtitle: An Essay in Character, as Related to the Stylistic History of the Florentine Early Renaissance.
- 223 Additional to the letters published by Marcucci: G. E. Saltini, “Una lettera di Filippo Sassetti scritta da Coccino nell’ Indostan al Cardinale Ferdinando de’ Medici,” *Badia, Miscellanea fiorentina* 2 (1902): 55 ff.
- 223 “*On n’est pas le maître de son œuvre.*” (One is never the master of one’s own work.) Edouard Rod, *Nouvelles études sur le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1899), 9; apropos of Daudet.
- 223 For “to cast light on the psychology,” read: “to elucidate the psychology.”
- 224 Not “Rampini,” as Sassetti writes, but *recte*: Zampini. The Zampini were Medici representatives in Avignon. See H. Sieveking, “Die Handlungsbücher der Medici,” *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 151, no. 5 (1905): 24.
- 239 For “his most notable possessionary provision” {*besitzrechtliche Hauptbestimmung*}, *recte*: “proprietary” {*vermögensrechtliche*}.
- 240 For “to depart this world contented,” as a better translation: “to be content.”
- 240 A popular and down-to-earth view of fate and chance: Vittorio Cian, “Giochi di sorte versificati del secolo XVI.,” in *Miscellanea nuziale Rossi-Teiss* (Trento, 1897), 79 ff., especially 86 ff.
- Compare Arturo Graf, “La fatalità nella credenza del medio evo,” *Nuova antologia*, 3d ser., 28 (1890): 201 ff., reprinted in *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo* 1 (Turin, 1892): 273 ff.
- Vittorio Cian, “Un episodio della storia della censura in Italia nel secolo XVI.,” *Archivio storico lombardo* 14 (1887): 661 ff. L’edizione spurgata del Cortegiano (the expurgated edition of *Il cortegiano*), *ibid.*, 711:
- Fin dapprincipio nella Dedicà che il Castiglione fa dell’ opera sua al De Silva, dove è detto: “Ma la fortuna già molt’ anni m’ha sempre tenuto oppresso,” leggiamo: “Ma io sono stato già molti anni oppresso da così continui travagli”; vediamo, cioè, girato quel terribile scoglio della fortuna.*
- (At the very beginning of the dedication of his book to de Silva, where Castiglione says that “Fortune has now for many years oppressed me,” we now read, “I have been for many years oppressed by such continual trials.” He thus contrives to skirt that treacherous reef, the word *Fortune*.)

On pages 718 ff. there is a detailed and highly illuminating footnote concerning the antique origin of the concept of Fortune, and attitudes to it around 1500. The major changes made in Ciccirelli's censored edition of 1584, which is the "*edizione spur-gata*" referred to here, are noted by Scherillo in his annotated edition, *Libro del corte-giano del conte Baldassare Castiglione* (Milan: Hoepli, 1928).

Carl Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im XII. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1888), 9–16, on the views of Procopius and Theodore Prodromus on chance.

241 For "to strip...conceptual wrapping from...Fortuna-Audax," read: "conceptual accretions."

242 Warburg's expression *Fortuna-Occasio* was objected to.

It is true that in antiquity Fortune and Occasio (Opportunity) were two separate deities. See the epigrams of Ausonius, "De varietate Fortunae" (with wheel), ed. Peiper, 424, *Italarum epigrammata* X, and "In simulacrum Occasionis et paenitentiae," *ibid.*, 323 ff., *De diversis rebus epigrammata* XXXIII. In the Middle Ages, however, the two images coalesced. See H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1927), 115 f.: "Fortune standing for Occasio." For the Renaissance, see the image of Fortuna-Occasio in Jean Cousin, *Livre de Fortune* (1568), ed. Lalanne (Paris and London, 1883), pl. 15.

242 See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, letter to Procopius of Rabstein, Vienna, 26 June 1444: "Somnium de fortuna," *Der Briefwechsel des Enea Sylvio Piccolomini*, ed. Wolkan (Vienna, 1909), 1:343 ff., esp. 350. Aeneas Silvius has Alfonso of Naples grasp Fortune by the forelock and bend her to his will:

...dum sic famur, video parva statura virum, nigro vultu, letis oculis, qui manus in capillos Fortune conjecerat arreptaque coma, sta tandem, domina, meque respice, dicebat. quo me fugis jam annis duodecim? capta es, sive velis sive nolis, ut me respicias oportet, satis mihi adversa fuisti. nunc alium vultum prebebis reor. aut mihi blanda eris, aut omnes tibi crines evellam. cur me fugis magnanimum pusillanimesque sectaris? Fortune quoque in eum vox erat: vicisti fateor, nec me amplius experieris adversam. tum ego, quis hic est, inquam, Vegi, qui Fortune vim facit? Alfonsus, refert ille, ex Aragonum, qui cum fratribus apud Ponzam [1435] captus, Philippoque duci Mediolanensium datus, dimissus denique novis se preliis immiscuit, adversamque dominam insecutus, tantum instando perseverandoque fecit, ut victam pudore Fortunam jam in suum favorem revocaverit.

(While we were talking thus, I saw a man of small stature, with a dark face and cheerful eyes, who had thrust his hand into Fortune's hair and, grasping it tightly, said, "Stand still, at last, Lady, and look at me. Where have you been running these twelve years past? You've been captured, and whether you like it or not, you must pay attention to me—you've been hostile to me for long enough. Now you'll show me a different face, I think. Either you be kind to me or I'll tear all of your hair out. Why do you run away from me—a man of great spirit—and pursue weaklings?"

Fortune also spoke to him: “You have won, I admit it, and you will no longer find me hostile.”

Then I said, “Who is this man, Vegio, who does violence to Fortune?”

“Alfonso,” he replied, “of Aragon, who with his brothers was captured at Ponza [1435] and given to Filippo, the duke of Milan; when he was finally let go, he embroiled himself in new battles; and having pursued a mistress who was hostile, by sheer steadfastness and perseverance has now succeeded in shaming Fortune into submission and recalling her to favor him.”)

In the German translation by Nikolaus von Wyle (vivid, amusing German): “*Item in der zwölften translatze wird funden wie Enee siluio trömet: daz er in das ryche der künigen frouw gelück komen wer*” (In the twelfth translation is found, how Aeneas Silvius dreams that he had come into the realm of which Lady Luck is queen), ed. Adalbert von Keller, *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart*, no. 57 (Stuttgart, 1861), 5. The text of the letter, *ibid.* (231 ff.), 243:

*Und do wir also redten So sich jch ainen man klaines lybes mit ainem schwartzen angesicht und frolichen ougen der mit sinen henden in das häre diser fröwen gefallen was und ainen locke erwüschende sprach. Gestand zû letscht fröwe und siche mich ouch an. Wa hin flüchest du mich yetz wol zwelf Järe? Du bist gefangen, du wöllest oder wöllest nit. Und müß sin daz du mich ouch ansechest...*

(And as we spoke, I saw a man, of slender body, with a black face and joyful eyes, who laid hands on the lady’s hair and grasped a lock of it, saying: Stand at last, lady, and look upon me. Whither do you run from me, these twelve years past?

You are caught, whether you will or no. And you must look upon me...)

The fact that Aeneas Silvius’s only mention of Fortune as having a forelock is connected with Alfonso of Aragon suggests that the inspiration might have come directly from Alfonso himself. Fortune in this guise played a prominent part in the king’s triumphal procession in Naples in 1443, in which she preceded the Virtues:

...*beatis*

*Sublata in bigis. Stant passi a fronte capilli  
Occipite est sed calva tamen. Fuit aurea et ingens  
Sub pedibus pila, quam parvi praetenta regebat  
Palma Dei liquidis firmatam Spiritus undis.*

(...splendidly borne

In a two-horse chariot. Her hair was loose in front,  
But the back of her head was bald. Beneath her feet  
Was a mighty, golden globe, held steady on the waves  
By the outstretched palm of a little god.)

Porcellius, *Triumphans Alphonsus* 2.140 ff., ed. V. Nociti (Rossano, 1895), xxv.

Caesar, who appeared in the procession not far behind Fortune (2.204 ff.), addressed Alfonso on the subject of the goddess (2.214 ff., esp. 218):

...*tu despice caecam,*

*Dive, Deam, rerumque vices contemne superbas,  
Virtuti te crede tuae; premit omnia virtus.*

(...Spurn the blind goddess,

Godlike as you are; disdain the insolent shifts of events;

Trust to your own valor; for valor overcomes all.)

For Alfonso's own oration, in which, once more, Fortune plays a large part, see Porcellius, 2.389 ff. Cf. Antonius Panormita, *De dictis et factis Alphonsi... libri IV* (ed. Wittenberg, 1585): description of the triumph, 94 ff.

On Aeneas Silvius's own view of Fortune: Wolkan, 1:589 ff., and the letter to Petrus Noxetanus, 1456: *Opera* (Basel, 1551), Epistola 188, which he wrote as Bishop of Siena to give an account of his own fortunate career: "*nam quem domum egredientem meliori flatu quam me fortuna prosecuta est?*" ({For who, on leaving home, has been granted a fairer wind by Fortune than I?} 759). Shortly after this, a description of Fortune with her wheel.

- 242 An antithetical instance from the Age of Discovery: Galiot du Pré's title-page emblem for *Le Nouveau Monde et navigacions faictes par Emeric de Vespuce florentin* (Paris, 1516): ship in sail, Oriental at the helm, trumpeter in the bow: *Vogue la guallée* (i.e., Trust in Fortune). Illustrated by Max Böhme, *Die grossen Reisesammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg, 1904), 39.

In court pageantry, too, the figure of Amerigo Vespucci can be used to trace the evolution of the image of Fortune. The fourth Intermedio at the wedding of Cosimo II to Maria Magdalena of Austria included a ship, on which Amerigo Vespucci sat in Florentine dress, astrolabe in hand:

*Il Timone era in figura di Delfino incatenato, e lo governava la Scienza Nautica, donna vestita di color ceruleo, con ancore, e bussola, e altri strumenti di marineria.* (The tiller was shaped like a dolphin in chains, and at the helm was Nautical Science, a woman dressed in blue with anchors and a compass, and other nautical equipment.)

In the fifth Intermedio, on the other hand, the retinue of Mars included the same "*Fortuna alata, con la chioma in fronte*" (Fortune, winged, with forelock) who had been supplanted, on the high seas, by Nautical Science. See *Descrizione delle feste fatte nelle reali nozze de' Serenissimi Principi di Toscana D. Cosimo de' Medici e Maria Maddalena Arciduchessa d'Austria* (2d ed., Florence: Giunti, 1608), 40, 44. The engraving for this is published by W. I. Lawrence, "A Primitive Italian Opera," *The Connoisseur* 15 (1906).

The changes undergone by the symbol of Fortune in the age of growing mastery of the seas can be traced through Filippo Sassetti; see pp. 456 ff.

- 242 Equally characteristic of the period of transition is the change in the illustrations to *Libro de sancto Justo paladino de franza e de la sua vita e come a elo li apparue la fortuna del mondo e como parlaua con esse...*, 1st and 2d eds. with differing illustrations of Fortune (Venice, 1487 and 1505). See Prince d'Essling, duc de Rivoli, *Les livres à figures vénitiens* (Florence and Paris, 1907), 1:321 f.

- 244 Sassetti's bookplate:

Sling gold with black  
urn below pink  
horse of centaur on left gray

with red harness and quiver  
stag of right-hand centaur brown  
foliage green, blue, carmine, orange-yellow  
bird above right black  
bird on left red and yellow  
lettering gold  
ornamental dots of gold with black.

- 244 Adolfo Venturi, “Le sculture dei sarcofagi di Francesco e di Nera Sassetti in Sta. Trinita a Firenze,” *Arte* 13 (1910): 385 ff., considers that the sculptor was Bertoldo. Quite possible. Sarcophagus motifs also incorporated in equestrian battle scene; see Wilhelm Bode, *Bertoldo* (1925), 54.
- 245 There can be no reconciling Saint Francis with the centaur, as Giotto uses the latter in Assisi (*Allegory of Obedience*) to symbolize recalcitrance. See Henry Thode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1904), 536 f. Thode explains the centaur as a personification of overweening pride, citing as his authority the sermons of Saint Anthony of Padua.
- 247 For an early pictorial representation of the Nativity cycle, as complete as that of Ghirlandaio, see Konrad Lange, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung im Königlichen Museum zu Stuttgart*, 2d ed., (Stuttgart, 1907), no. 465: Paolo da Venezia, 1358, with inscription (cataloged as *Triumph of Christianity over Paganism*). On this, see Lionello Venturi, “Una rappresentazione trecentesca della leggenda di Augusto e della Sibilla Tiburtina,” *Ausonia* 1 (1903): 93 and pl. 4, and *Le origini della pittura veneziana 1300–1500* (Venice, 1907), 21 f. Discusses the Stuttgart picture.
- 247 The sentence should now read: A second prodigy, credulously associated with this very prophecy, leads us back to the altarpiece.
- 247 The similarity of the architectural ornament of the piers in the painting to the column at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The church of Santa Maria Maggiore was also known after its most precious relic, the crib in which the child Jesus lay, as Santa Maria del Presepio: Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo* (Florence, 1927), 342. The column in question, which now stands in front of the church, was one of those that stood between the piers of the Basilica of Constantine (the “Templum Pacis”). It was moved to its present position by Paul V (Huelsen, *Das Forum Romanum*, 2d ed., 1905, 216): a sign that even in the early seventeenth century the legend of the night of the Nativity was still alive, and that there was a desire to transfer the fallen splendors of the pagan temple to the church in which Christ’s birth was commemorated.
- In his account of Rome, Rucellai describes both buildings: see Marcotti, *Il giubileo dell’anno 1450* (Florence, 1885), 19:
- Item in detta chiesa [S. Maria Maggiore] in una cappelletta il presepio del nostro signore yesu christo cioè la mangiatoia dove naque.*
- [Ibid., 38:] *Templum pacis che si dice era uno tempio di idoli et che i Romani*

*dicevano che egli aveva a durare insino che una vergine partorisce et che a punto cascò et rovinò la notte che nacque N. S. Giesucristo et ancora v'è in piè una colonna di marmo achanalata che gira braccia XII la grossezza.*

(Item, in a small chapel in this church [Santa Maria Maggiore], the crib of Our Lord Jesus Christ, i.e., the manger in which he was born.

Temple of Peace, said to have been dedicated to heathen gods; the Romans said that it would stand until a virgin gave birth, and indeed it fell in ruins on the very night of Our Lord Jesus Christ's birth. The spot is still marked by a fluted marble column, 12 braccia in circumference.)

The facade of S. Maria Novella in Florence, erected at Rucellai's expense, is adorned with similar columns.

- 249 Inception of the Baroque style through the appearance of disjunct superlatives (Hermann Osthoff, *Vom Suppletivwesen der indogermanischen Sprachen*, academic oration, Heidelberg, 1899).

Osthoff observed and closely analyzed the phenomenon whereby the Indo-European languages sometimes express a degree of intensification not by adding a comparative suffix but by introducing a completely different root, because this expresses the intensification better than the basic form: *agathon*, *ameinon*; *bonum*, *melius*; good, *better*. These comparatives and superlatives have survived as "disjunct" expressive forms alongside the regular forms created by inflection; but the intensifying impulse that prompted the initial change of root has remained unconscious.

- 249 On "organic polarity," Warburg remarks that he has related "organic" to consciousness: to steer clear of perfectly accurate expressions, simply on the grounds that they are well-worn or have been misused elsewhere, would be rank snobbery.

- 249 The attempts to achieve a reconciliation between submission to fate and mastery of fate, which find expression in Francesco Sassetti's formula "*Dio e la natura*" ([God and nature} see his injunctions to his sons) and in Giovanni Rucellai's image of Fortune with the sail, are traced by Warburg through the letters of the great-grandson, Filippo Sassetti, where he finds once more an emphasis on the practical ability of the "man of moderation" as against the braggadocio of Machiavelli. Machiavelli, *Il principe*, conclusion of ch. 25:

*Io iudico bene questo: che sia meglio essere impetuoso che rispettivo; perchè la fortuna è donna, ed è necessario, volendola tenere sotto, batterla e urtarla. E si vede che la si lascia più vincere da questi, che da quelli che freddamente procedano; e però sempre, come donna, è amica de' giovani, perchè sono meno rispettivi, più feroci e con più audacia la comandano.*

(My opinion is as follows: it is better to be impetuous than to be respectful, because Fortune is a woman, and it is necessary, if you want to keep her in check, to beat and jolt her. It can be seen that she submits more readily to such men than to others who act coolly. And, like most women, she always prefers the young, because they are less respectful, more aggressive, and command her more boldly.)

Filippo Sassetti clearly had this passage in mind—a fact that has escaped even the notice of Marcucci—when he wrote from Lisbon on 27 December 1582 (Letter 73, Marcucci, 227), to Baccio Valori, humanist adviser to Francesco I:

*Non so oggi se io mi posso attribuire alla necessità o alla inclinazione, o a che altra causa, la mia tornata in India. Trovai una volta scritto da uomo valente, che la fortuna, come femmina, avea bisogno talvolta d'essere strapazzata, e tenersi poco conto di lei; e così se le metteva il cervello a partito. Io mi acconcerei seco volentieri in quello che stesse bene, perchè ella si accomodasse a lasciarmi soddisfare; et ella, comechè io non desidero di ammassare gran tesoro, che sono quelli de' quali ella dee avere più mancamento per li molti bisognosi, dovrebbe o contentarmi o chiudere, come si dice, gli occhi. Il Signore Iddio disporrà di tutto, conforme al voler suo; e la fortuna, o sua ministra [Dante, *Inferno* 7.78] o no, niente non potrà, nè più qua nè più là.*

(I cannot at the moment say whether my return to India is the result of necessity, or inclination, or any other cause. I once read some words on the subject of Fortune by an admirable writer, who said that, as Fortune is a woman, she needs to be roughly handled from time to time, and to be ignored; and then she would turn over a new leaf. I would willingly reconcile myself to all that she decrees, if only she would agree to let me have what I want; and, since I have no wish to amass any great wealth (and she must lack the means to satisfy the many people who are needier than I), she should either satisfy me or, as they say, turn a blind eye. God will dispose of everything according to his will; and Fortune, whether or not she is his handmaid [Dante, *Inferno* 7.78], can do nothing about it, neither here nor there.)

Filippo Sassetti's *impresa* was a ship with the motto *Vis maxima* (greatest force). He wrote from Madrid to Francesco Valori on 26 June 1581 (Letter 52, Marcucci, 163 f.):

*Non so pertanto quello che si abbia ad essere de' fatti miei; e stando pure sopra quello umore nel quale io ho pochissima attitudine, dico del fare imprese [see note 60], ho pensato che allo stato, nel quale io mi trovo di presente, questa non si discida: una di quelle scafacce che vanno per mare in acqua dolce con la prua fitta nella mota e la poppa all' asciutto, con le vele in giunchi per partire col primo vento che spiri, forse con questo motto: vis maxima. [According to Marcucci (164), the scribe has added in the manuscript the translation “estrema forza” (full force).] Aggiungetevi poi voi quello che vi pare; e se per sorte ella si muove, cavo la mia spugna del vino, e la insalo col motto: non sazia. Ora voi vedete quanto io abbia badaluccato per dirvi e per non vi dire i miei disegni, de' quali mi avete domandato per giovarmi.*

(I do not know what will become of my affairs; and, being in the mood to try my hand at something for which I have very little aptitude, by which I mean the making of *imprese* [see note 60], I have thought of the following, which is suited to my present state: one of those skiffs that sail both at sea and in fresh water, with its stem stuck in the mud and its stern in the air, with all sails set to move at the slightest breath of wind; perhaps with this motto: *vis maxima*. [According to Marcucci (164), the scribe has added in the manuscript the translation “estrema

*forza*” (full force).] Add whatever you like to this; and if by any chance the boat shifts, I’ll pull my sponge out of the wine and spice it with the motto: “It does not satisfy.” Now you can see what an effort I’ve made to tell you about my plans, without really telling you, when, to do me good, you asked me all about them.)

In an age of growing mastery of the seas, the Fortune who needed to be grasped at the opportune moment became Fortune the Storm Wind, calculable and subject to laws, with whom it became possible to strike a bargain. This change can be observed in the use of the word “*fortuna*” to signify a storm wind: Rucellai’s observation of Fortune (his description of a cyclone; see note 50) contrasts with Filippo Sassetti’s discovery of the law of the rotation of the winds (Letter 63, to his old teacher in Pisa, the Aristotelian Francesco Bonamici, from Lisbon, 6 March 1582, Marcucci, 191 ff.). His remarks on the properties of the magnetic needle (Letter 66, to Baccio Valori, Lisbon, 1582, Marcucci, 212 ff.) deserve to be read in this context, that of coming to terms with “Fortune” by learning to steer clear of storm winds.

**The merchant venturer becomes a merchant explorer.** On the scientific importance of Filippo Sassetti, see the literature listed by M. Rossi, especially G. Costantini, *Filippo Sassetti geografo* (Trieste, 1897).

In total contrast, there is the “*velis nolisve*” (whether you will or no) of the military conqueror, in Aeneas Silvius (see pp. 452 ff.). The same inscription appears on a medal of Camillo Agrippa, on which Fortune with a sail, whom a touch of the helm might direct and control, is seized by the forelock—in a gesture redolent of the condottiere—and taken by force (Armand 1:282; fig. in A. Doren, “Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance,” *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1922–23* 1, pl. 6, fig. 16).

Failure to take account of such attempts at reconciliation reveals an inner psychic blindness to the problem of energy, the problem in between. Goethe, *Sprüche in Prosa*, 957:

*Man sagt, zwischen zwei entgegengesetzten Meinungen liege die Wahrheit mitten inne. Keineswegs! Das Problem liegt dazwischen, das Unschaubare, das ewig tätige Leben in Ruhe gedacht.*

(Where there are two contrary opinions, so they say, the truth lies in the middle. Not at all! The problem is in between; the thing you cannot see; eternally active Life, contemplated in tranquillity.)

[Ibid., 816:]

*Das unauflösliche Problem in der Mitte.*

(The irresoluble problem in between.)

Just so *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, bk. 2, ch. 9: see our pp. 727 f.

On Fortune in the Renaissance generally, see Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos*, *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, no. 10 (1927), 77 ff.

249 For “narrowly aesthetic view,” read: “hedonistic view.”

251 **The *Registres du Conseil* now published:** *Registres du Conseil de Genève, publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome II: du 10 février 1461 au 9 février 1477*, ed. Louis Dufour-Vernes et Victor van Berchem (Geneva, 1906).



On Sassetti's building activity in Geneva, see Vulliétty's review of the Warburg essay and article on "La Chapelle des Florentins," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* 3 (Geneva, 1908): 103 f., 117 ff.

- 251 On Sassetti's death in 1490, his library was deposited on loan with Lorenzo de' Medici. After the overthrow of Piero and the expulsion of the Medici, it was taken to the convent of S. Marco, along with the Medici library, in order to protect it from the fury of the mob, which had already destroyed a part of the Medici collections. Savonarola used it as a working library for the friars. In the critical days of February 1498 that preceded Savonarola's fall, the Sassetti heirs entrusted Francesco Sassetti's old friend and humanist adviser, Bartolommeo Fonzio, with the task of reclaiming his collection—i.e., those books that were not Medici property—from the friars. In the Archivio di Stato, Florence (fa. 84, fa. 104), there are two inventories listing the books acquired by the convent from Lorenzo's library. The Sassetti books are distinguished from the others; and a note in Fonzio's hand confirms receipt of them, on behalf of the heirs, from the librarian, Fra Zanobio Acciaiuoli (later librarian to Leo X; see Vincenzo Marchese, *Scritti vari*, Florence, 1855, 141). The books thus passed into the possession of Cosimo Sassetti and thence to the Biblioteca Laurenziana. On this see also Enea Piccolomini, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della Libreria medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508," *Archivio storico italiano*, 3d ser. (1873–75), 19:101–29, 19:254–81, 20:51–94, 21:102–12, 21:282–96.

- 251 A wild chase, with scenes of orgiastic cannibalism, here bursts in upon a sedate family celebration: daemonic undercurrents burst through the thin veneer of Christianity, Catholicism, and courtly decorum (just as Giuliano da Sangallo brings the Meleager Sarcophagus into his memorial for Francesco Sassetti; see note 65).

Something rather similar took place in real life: at the Colonna-Baglioni "Blood Wedding" of 1500, Filippo di Braccio tore Astorre Baglioni's heart from his breast and ripped it apart with his teeth. July 1500. Luigi Bonazzi, *Storia di Perugia* 2 (1879): 26. Francesco Matarazzo, "Cronaca della Città di Perugia dal 1492 al 1503," *Archivio storico italiano* 16, part 2 (1851): 118, recounts the death of Astorre:

... et poi, el traditore Filippo mise la mano dentro dal petto del magnifico signiore per una gran ferita quale aveva in petto, e cavolli el cuore per forza, commo si dice, e morsicovve sue, commo si prima li fusse stato capitale inimico...

(...and then the traitor Filippo put his hand into the breast of the noble lord, through a great chest wound that he had, and tore his heart out, as they say, and gnawed at it, as if he had been his worst enemy...)

On the connection between this "Blood Wedding" and Raphael's *Entombment* (Rome, Galleria Borghese), see Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance* (Gesamtausgabe 5:22 f.).

On the Pucci-Sassetti wedding, see Litta, *Famiglie celebre italiane disparite*, ed. Passerini (Milan, 1869), 58, table 6: Alessandro di Antonio (1454–1525), married in 1483 to Sibilla di Francesco di Tommaso Sassetti.

- 252 G. de Nicola, *Arte* 19 (1916): 13 ff., believes that the altarpiece by Ugolino da Siena, formerly at S. Maria Novella, is identical with the painting now in the Misericordia

at San Casciano, near Florence. Unfortunately, only the two saints have survived, and not the “*Madonna vestita alla greca*” (Madonna dressed in the Greek fashion).

- 252 The bust of Sassetti has the following inscription inside it:

FRNC. SAXETTUS  
FLORENT. CIVIS  
AETATIS ANN. XLIIII.

(Francesco Sassetti,  
citizen of Florence,  
at the age of forty-four.)

See the manuscript inventory, “Catalogo generale della R. Galleria di Firenze, Classe IIa, Tomo I (1825), marmi, Pietre e Gessi,” fol. 99 (unique copy, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence). The bust was carved in 1464, and Francesco’s age is thus given correctly.

- 254 In the Archivio di Stato, Florence (Carte Pucci, T. X, Busta X, no. 33), there is an early eighteenth-century family tree that traces the Sassetti family down to the end of the sixteenth century, ending with the sons of Filippo and of Francesco di Giovambattista. Of Francesco’s sons, both Ventura and Federigo are marked with a black clerical hat to show that they were priests, and their titles are written in: Federigo is described as “*Protonotaio Apostolico*” (protonotary apostolic) and Ventura as “*Commensale e Scalco di Clemente VII*” (table-companion and carver to Clement VII). The only other name singled out in the family tree is that of Cosimo di Francesco, who became *gonfaloniere* in 1523 and awarded Leo X the privilege of differencing the family arms by charging one *palla* with the fleur-de-lis, flanked by the letters L. X. See also Archivio di Stato, Florence, Priorista Fiorentina IV.

- 254 This deed of sale, which survives only in a later copy, contains echoes of the earnest emphasis laid by Francesco Sassetti on his last injunctions to his sons, and the distress caused by the dispute with the friars of S. Maria Novella is echoed even in the wording.

*Francesco di Tommaso Sassetti d'età d'anni 68 essendo l'anno 1488 per partire di Firenze per andare alla città di Lione sul Rodano per riparare a' disordini della ragione vecchia che disse in Lorenzo de' Medici e Francesco Sassetti ne' quali era incorsa per il malgoverno di Lionetto de' Rossi lascia più ricordi a' suoi figli, in particolare che la Villa di Montui se è possibile veggino conservarla in casa e la pigli in sua parte M. Federigo suo figliuolo Protonotaio Apostolico, e che l'Altare ovvero Sepoltura di marmo fatto per Tommaso suo padre, e loro Avolo, la quale aveva disegnato porre in S. M<sup>a</sup> Novella drieto alla sepoltura loro antica, che dipoi per l'asprezza e stranezza de' frati di d<sup>o</sup> luogo, che havevano fatto loro villania in levar via l'arme loro dell'Altare maggiore e la tavola, era restato sospeso d<sup>o</sup> suo pensiero onde li ricorda che se mai tornano in autorità e buono stato facciano correggere e riporre tuto al suo luogo, e non essendo d'accordo con i frati di S. M<sup>a</sup> Novella si contentava facessino porre d<sup>o</sup> edificio di Cappella et Altare e Sepoltura in Sta. Trinita dirinpetto all'uscio della Sagrestia, dove allora era un uscio rimurato con l'arme delli Scali nel cardinale et apiè della Cappella di d<sup>i</sup> Scali che crederra gliene darebbono licenza.*

1545	Teodoro di Francesco Sassetti	} convengono di vendere
	Gio: battista suo figliuolo	
	Filippo di Galeazzo Sassetti e	
	Federigo di Galeazzo Sassetti	
		la loro villa di Montui
		mentre trovino compratore
		per il giusto prezzo.

(Francesco di Tommaso Sassetti, at the age of 68, being in the year 1488 on the point of leaving Florence for the city of Lyons, on the Rhone, to set to rights the disorder that had affected the old firm that bore the names of Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti, and which it had incurred through the maladministration of Lionetto de' Rossi, left some reminders to his sons, and in particular that they should keep the Villa di Montui in the family, if possible, and include it in the share allotted to Messer Federigo, his son, the protonotary apostolic. And that the altar, or marble sepulcher, made for his father Tommaso, their grandfather, and designed to be placed in Santa Maria Novella, behind their old tomb, but which was delayed because of the rudeness and strange behavior of the friars there, who had insulted them by removing their arms and painting from the high altar, had remained on his mind, for which reason he reminds them that, if ever they return to authority and prosperity, they are to rectify all this and have everything restored to its place; failing an agreement with the friars of Santa Maria Novella, he was content that they should build the chapel, altar, and sepulcher in Santa Trinita, near the sacristy door, where there used to be a walled-in door bearing the arms of the Scali, at the foot of the said Scali Chapel. He believed that the Scali would grant permission.

1545	Teodoro di Francesco Sassetti	} agree to sell their Villa di
	Gio: Battista, his son	
	Filippo di Galeazzo Sassetti and	
	Federigo di Galeazzo Sassetti	
		Montui when they find
		a purchaser who will pay
		the right price.)

- 254 Thanks to the kind cooperation of Conte Bernardo Rucellai, for which we would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our sincere thanks to him, we have now been able to make a personal examination of the *Zibaldone* of Giovanni Rucellai. From this it emerged that the version of the Ficino letter available to Warburg was an abbreviated transcript from which almost half the text had been omitted, and which additionally contained a number of errors. It has thus been necessary to replace the text included in the "Sassetti" essay, as first printed, with a complete text (pp. 255 ff.)—especially as della Torre, too (*Storia dell' Accademia Platonica*, 550, n. 1), prints only a small section of it.

The text printed here is that of the *Zibaldone* (c. 64<sup>v</sup>–65<sup>r</sup>), i.e., the text that Rucellai himself had before him; in a few places, significant variants from the manuscripts cited by della Torre (*ibid.*), Cod. Ricc. 2544, Cod. Ricc. 1074, and Cod. Magl. VIII, 1370—which otherwise substantially agree with the *Zibaldone* text—have been inserted in square brackets.

For the rest, the *Zibaldone* confirms Warburg's analysis of the Rucellai *impresa*. As a merchant, Rucellai had acquired the ability to compromise with fate by adapting himself to changing circumstances; and in the *Zibaldone*, for his sons' benefit, he sought to provide this with a theoretical foundation, based on the views of ancient

and Christian writers on the nature and powers of Fortune (*Zibaldone*, c. 16<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>). A brief, partly verbatim extract is to be found in the manuscript cited by Warburg, Cod. Magl. XXV. 636, pages 36–55:

*Comprenderete che il buono ghoverno e il senno e la prudenza giova molto a ogni caso averso, et tengono stretti e legati i casi fortuiti per modo che pocho o niente possono nuocere, e il più delle volte il savio si difende da loro, e pertanto, figliuoli miei, vi dò questo per consilio e per ricordo che tutti e partiti, che avete a pigliare nella vita vostra, così de' mezzani come delle cose grandi d'importanza, voi dobi-ate molto bene e sottilmente esaminargli e pensarvi e per diritto e per rovescio... E si così farete e governerete rade volte v'arete a dolere della Fortuna.*

(Please understand that good management, sense, and discretion are of great benefit in adversity, and can help in keeping chance events under control, so that little or no harm is done. For the most part a wise man can protect himself from adversity. However, my sons, I ask you to remember this advice that, whatever decision you may make in life, however modest or momentous its importance, you should examine it closely and carefully and consider it from all sides... If you do this and manage well, you will rarely have cause to complain of Fortune.)

As authorities for the belief that man is powerless in the face of Fate, Rucellai cites Dante, Fazio degli Uberti, and among the ancients Sallust, Seneca, and Epictetus. Logically enough, Fate appears in this context in the image of Fortune spinning her wheel. In sharp contrast, he presents those other authorities—an overwhelming majority—for whom Fortune is no more than an empty name (Boethius) or, like darkness, death, and sin, the mere negation of reality (Aristotle); and those who credit human reason and virtue with some influence over Fate. On Aristotle's authority, he denies the influence of the stars; along with statements by Seneca, Epicurus, Sallust, Cicero, and Boethius, he quotes Cecco d'Ascoli's verses contradicting Dante on the subject of Fortune: *L'acerba*, ed. Achille Crespi (Ascoli Piceno, 1927), 2.1, 171 ff. Petrarch is cited as authority for the view that the wise man, given sound reckoning and moderation, can steer into the very teeth of Fortune's storm.

It was not the mercantile ethic alone, but also the cult of the heroic personality founded on classical examples, that led people to turn away from their belief in the power of Fortune. This is illustrated by an anecdote about the hero who was usually considered to have been the most favored by Fortune:

*Leggesi in Lucano che Cesare quando era per prendere battaglia con imici per inanimare i suoi cavalieri e le suo genti d'arme faceva loro una oratione nella quale si conteneva infra l'autre cose, che gli dii erano dal suo, e che la fortuna gli era prospera e che non dubitassono che gli avevano a vincere e che molto aveva in bocha che gli dii e la fortuna erano dal suo e eragli favorevoli, et per modo che una volta in fra l'autre parte de suoi cavalieri si ritronono dacanto ragionando tra loro di quelle parole che Cesare usava di dire, che gli dii e la fortuna gli eran prosperi, et che dubitando se gli acquisti e le vectorie che Cesare faceva, procedevano per virtù delle loro opere o se procedevano dagli dii e dalla fortuna. E in su questi ragionamenti terminarono andarsene dinanzi a Cesare dicendogli che gli avevano notate le parole che gl'usava dire di questa sua fortuna nel prendere*

*delle battaglie, e dissergli che nella prima battaglia che s'avessi a fare con imici, deliberavano tirarsi da parte senza operarsi in alcuna cosa, per vedere quello che sapessino fare suoi idii e questa sua fortuna; di che seguì che Cesare volle che i suoi savi che menava in campo seco intendessono questo caso e sentire di loro parere; e quali risposono che l'openione loro era che fortuna non fussi nulla e che gli era un nome vano e che la prosperità di Cesare procedeva dalle opere de' suoi cavalieri insieme col buon ghoverno della persona sua.*

(In Lucan we read how Caesar, whenever he was about to go into battle against the enemy, would deliver an oration, to inspire his captains and soldiers, in which he used to say, among other things, that the gods were on his side, and that Fortune was with him, and that they should be in no doubt of victory. He was always saying that the gods and Fortune were on his side and favored him. One day, some of his captains withdrew to one side and argued among themselves about Caesar's habitual assertions that the gods and Fortune were favorable to him, for they were unsure whether Caesar's victories and the conquests he made were the result of their own courageous actions, or attributable to the gods and to Fortune. The argument ended with their going to Caesar and telling him that they had taken note of the words he habitually used about the role of Fortune in successful battles; they told him that the next time they were facing the enemy they had decided to stand aside and to take no action, to find out how his gods and his Fortune would react. Caesar consequently asked the soothsayers who accompanied him on his campaigns to listen to what the captains had to say, and to give their opinion. The soothsayers replied that in their view Fortune meant nothing, and was no more than a name; and that Caesar's success should be ascribed to the deeds of his captains and to his wise government of his own person.)

This anecdote derives from Lucan only in a few particulars. We owe to Professor Eduard Fraenkel the reference to Caesar, *Bellum civile* 5.291 ff. and 7.250 ff. (For Caesar in the triumphal procession of Alfonso of Aragon, see pp. 453 f.)

Another who held the view that the individual, by showing himself adaptable, can gain some influence even over a contrary Fate, was Rucellai's friend Leon Battista Alberti, whose influence is detectable elsewhere in the *Zibaldone*; see L. B. Alberti, *I libri della famiglia*, ed. Girolamo Mancini (Florence, 1908), Proemium and 22, 71, 136 f. Cf. Giovanni Semprini, *L. B. Alberti* (Milan, 1927), 167.

- 258 The conduct of Petrarch, who shocked the French king by mentioning Fortune (*Epistolae familiares*, ed. Fracassetti, 22.13; cf. Attilio Hortis, *Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca*, Trieste, 1874, 213 ff.), demonstrates the ambivalence of his own attitude to Fortune.

As the emissary of Galeazzo Visconti to King John the Good, after the latter's release from captivity in England (1360), Petrarch delivered an address in which—presumably with some specific political end in view—he laid great stress on the topic of Fortune. The text has been published by A. Barbeau du Rocher: “Ambassade de Pétrarque auprès de Jean le Bon,” *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres de l'Institut de France*, 2d ser., 3:172 ff.; text on 3:214 ff.

On this, Petrarch wrote to Petrus Berchorius in 1362:

*...ex te didici regem ipsum primogenitumque eius illustrem Normannorum ducem ardentissimi spiritus adolescentem in verbis quae coram eis habueram, super eo maxime quod de Fortuna mihi mentio incidisset fuisse permotos, quod ego ipse dum loquerer ex vehementi illorum intentione notaveram: sic erectos in me oculis animisque defixos ad Fortunae nomen vidi. Mirantur enim, ut intelligo, et quasi quibusdam magnis monstis attoniti sunt pro hac tanta varietate Fortunae, quae cum saepe parva et magna, nunc maxima rerum sic affligerit, ut regno felicissimo et multa olim invidia laboranti, nunc miseratio deberetur.*

(...you tell me that the king himself and his eldest son, the illustrious duke of Normandy, a young man of the most vivacious spirit, were upset because, in my address to them, I happened to mention Fortune; I had noticed this myself while I was talking, from their powerful concentration: so intently did they fix their eyes and minds on me at the mention of Fortune's name. For they marvel, as I understand it, and are quite overawed, as if in response to great portents, by this sheer mutability of Fortune, which—often as it affects matters both great and small—has now so afflicted the greatest of human concerns that the happiest of kingdoms, which once labored under so much envy, has become a fit object of compassion.)

Petrarch's personal opinion, on the contrary (ibid.):

*...credere me scilicet et semper credidisse dicentibus, nil omnino aliud quam nudum et inane nomen esse Fortunam, tametsi in communi sermone populum sequi, et saepe Fortunam nominare solitus coloratius aliquid dicens, ne eos, qui illam Deam seu rerum humanarum dominam opinantur atque asserunt, nimis offenderem.*

(...which is to say that I believe, and always have believed, those who say that Fortune is nothing else at all but a bare and empty name—even though in common talk I am accustomed to follow the people and often name Fortune when I am speaking figuratively, lest I too much offend those who think and maintain that she is a goddess, or the mistress of human affairs.)

(Cf. Seneca 8.3; trans. Fracassetti, ibid., 1:468 ff.)

259 Still today: “*tenere la fortuna col ciuffetto*” (to grasp opportunity by the forelock). See *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, s.v. “Ciuffetto.”

259 Ausonius, *De diversis rebus epigrammata XXXIII*, ed. Peiper (Leipzig, 1886), 323 f.; see also above, p. 452.

260 Col. Salutati, “De fato et fortuna” (unpublished, Cod. Vat. Urb. 201 and Cod. Laur. Plut. LIII, 18): “Proemium,” printed in part by Mehus, *L. C. P. Salutati epistolarum pars prima* (Florence, 1741), lxxix f.; Johannes Dominici, *Lucula noctis* 30.3, ed. R. Coulon, in *Opera selecta scriptorum ordinis praedicatorum* 1 (Paris, 1908): 252 ff. On this controversy, see—besides Rösler—Coulon's introduction (ibid., lii ff.) and F. Novati in *Epistolario di Col. Salutati* 4 (Rome, 1905): 74, 205 ff.

- 260 A similar reason may account for the presence of the flower in the right foreground of Ghirlandaio's altarpiece, which seems to be a *saxifrage* (literally, rock-breaker).
- 260 The inscription on the plinth of the David figure, restored in 1896, now reads as follows:

SALUTI  
PATRIAE  
ET  
CHRISTIA  
NAE GLO  
RIAE  
E. S. S. P.

(For the salvation of our country and the glory of Christ.)

According to Cappelli, the last line stands for "*ex sententia senatus populi*" (the senate and people, by vote).

Warburg sought to reconcile Filippo Sassetti's wording with the present one by transcribing it thus:

TVTANTI  
PVERO  
PATRIAM  
DEV<sup>S</sup> ARMA  
MINI  
STRAT

(To the boy who defends his country, God supplies weapons.)

The letters underlined here are the same in both texts; so that it is quite possible that this badly damaged inscription has been wrongly restored. This conjecture is supported by the unlikelihood that Francesco Sassetti would ever have composed the text of the inscription as it now stands.

- 261 As well as the two codices mentioned by Warburg, both devices appear in the following:

Plut. XLVI, cod. VI ("*A mon p<sup>o</sup>voir*" and "*Mitia fata mihi*").

Plut. L, cod. XLII ("*A mon p<sup>o</sup>voir*" and "*Sors placida mihi*").

Plut. LXXIX, cod. XXIV ("*A mon p<sup>o</sup>voir*" and "*Mitia fata mihi*").

In addition to the Argyropoulos manuscript, the centaurs are also to be found—slingless, but armed with shield and club—in Plut. XLVII, cod. XXXV ("*Orationes variae*"); here the sling appears only in its usual place, encircling the Sassetti arms with their fess.

- 262 The manuscript quoted by d'Ancona, *Origini*, 2d ed., 1:270, n. 8 (Cod. Magl. conv. soppr. 488. F. 3), gives no date of performance, only the date on which the transcript itself was completed: "*finita addj XXVIII di luglio MCCCCLXV*" (fol. 86<sup>v</sup>). We can therefore assume that a performance took place before 29 July 1465.

The earliest firm date for the appearance of this theme in festival pageantry is 1454. For that year we possess Matteo Palmieri's description of the feast of San

Giovanni to which Warburg refers in connection with the appearance of the *nympha* image in pageantry (“*Birth of Venus*,” n. 163). Palmieri’s account is to be found in his *Annales*: appendix to *Liber de temporibus*, in Muratori, *Rerum italicorum scriptores*, new ed., 26(1) (Città del Castello, 1906): 173. It was first published by Gaetano Cambiagi, *Memorie istoriche riguardanti le feste solite farsi in Firenze per la natività di S. Giovanni Battista* (Florence, 1766), 65. The text in d’Ancona, 2d ed., 1:229, stems from Cambiagi, as does Warburg’s quotation: “*undecimo: Templum pacis*.” The preceding (tenth) group in the procession (*Annales*, 173) was:

*Optavianus imperadore con molta cavalleria e con la Sibilla, per fare rappresentazione, quando la Sibilla gli predisse dovea nascere Xristo e mostrògli la Vergine in aria con Xristo in braccio.*

(Emperor Octavian, with many horsemen and with the Sibyl, to represent the occasion when the Sibyl predicted the birth of Christ and showed him a vision of the Virgin aloft with Christ in her arms.)

For printed texts of the *Rappresentazione et Festa di Ottaviano Imperadore*, see Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia delle antiche rappresentazioni italiane... stampate nei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence, 1852), 37 f. An unpublished version of this *rappresentazione*, which normally formed part of the “Christmas cycle,” is mentioned by V. de Bartholomaeis, “Antiche rappresentazioni italiane,” *Studi di filologia romanza* 6 (1893): 161 ff.; especially section 7, 207 ff.

### Matteo degli Strozzi

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- 263 Published as “Matteo de’ Strozzi: Ein italienischer Kaufmannssohn vor 500 Jahren,” in *Hamburger Weihnachtsbuch* (Hamburg, 1892), 236.

*Die Briefe der Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi*, trans., ed., and with an introduction by Alfred Doren, *Das Zeitalter der Renaissance*, 1st ser., vol. 10 (Jena, 1927).

In 1466 Piero de’ Medici permitted Alessandra’s sons to return to Florence; see Cesare Guasti, *Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi: Lettere...* (Florence, 1877), 581 f.

### The Commencement of Building Work at the Palazzo Medici

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- 265 Published as “Der Baubeginn des Palazzo Medici,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, no. 2 (Berlin, 1909): 85–87.

- 267 Ptolemy manuscripts: Rome, Vat. lat. 5699, Vat. urb. 277; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds lat. 4802. All three manuscripts derive from “Ugo Comminelli e Francia” (named in the Paris codex); the Lat. dates from 1469, the Urb. from 1472, and the Paris codex is undated; according to a written communication from Joseph Fischer, S.J., it is the earliest of the three.

See also Kurt H. Busse, “Der Pitti-Palast: Seine Erbauung 1458–1466 und seine Darstellung in den ältesten Stadtansichten von Florenz (1469),” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 51 (1930): 110 ff.



- 267 On page 301 of his working copy of his own *Brunelleschi* (in the *Kunsthistorisches Institut* in Florence), C. von Fabriczy noted the following: “Building work is now known to have started in 1444, thanks to the note found by Warburg in the *Zibaldone* of Gianozzo di Bernardo Salviati. That note was copied from an earlier source around 1482–85.” Similarly, in Fabriczy, “Michelozzo di Bartolomeo,” *Beiheft zum Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 25 (1904) 50, abstract 16; see Wilhelm Bode, *Florentinische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1902), 52, n. 2.

Warburg initially communicated his opinion verbally; later, when it found its way into the literature, Karl Frey argued against it. The present essay was written in reply to Frey’s arguments.

### An Astronomical Map in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence

- 269 Published as “Eine astronomische Himmelsdarstellung in der alten Sakristei von S. Lorenzo in Florenz,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 2, no. 1 (Berlin, 1912): 34–36.
- 270 In the apse of the Pazzi Chapel (i.e., in the position corresponding to that of the star map in the Old Sacristy), there is a representation of the same section of sky, turned at an angle of 90°, in accordance with the different orientation of the chapel (see F. Saxl’s essay on the Farnesina ceiling in the papers of the R. Accademia d’Italia, Rome, to be published in 1933). It is therefore plausible to suppose that this enshrines a significant date in connection with both chapels or with their donors—particularly as Giamboni’s note appears in total isolation and is difficult to reconcile with the building history of S. Lorenzo (Fabriczy, *Brunelleschi*, Stuttgart, 1892, 160). On 6 July 1439 (one of the dates calculated by Graff and recently verified by Dr. Arthur Beer), there took place the concluding ceremony of the Council of Florence, in which the act of union between the Eastern and Roman Churches was signed. Cosimo de’ Medici, who at that time held the office of *gonfaloniere*, was proud to take much of the credit for the decision to move the Council to Florence (see “Istorie di Giovanni Cambi,” *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, Florence, 1785, 20:214, 218 ff.) The powerful impression left by that splendid gathering is reflected at many points in contemporary painting and philosophy; see “Marsilii Ficini Florentini in Plotini epitomae... ad Magnanimum Laurentium Medicem... proemium,” in Ficino, *Opera* 2 (Basel, 1576): 1537, in which the foundation of the Platonic Academy is made to coincide with the Council. Were these frescoes intended as a monumental record of the momentous day on which the act of union was signed?

The prior in 1439 was Andrea Pazzi, who was to entertain Eugenius IV in a room above the chapel in 1442 (Fabriczy, 217). On the concluding session of the Council of Florence, see Perrens, *Histoire de Florence* (Paris, 1890), 1:72, and della Torre, *Storia dell’ Accademia Platonica*, ch. 3, 426 ff.

- 270 Now in the Galleria Spada, Rome. F. Hermanin, *Pantheon* (July 1931), xlii, attributes it to Passerotti.

### The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal

- 271 Published as “Der Eintritt des antikisierenden Idealstils in die Malerei der Frührenaissance,” *Kunstchronik* (1913–14), no. 33. This is a reprint of the outline that Warburg himself sent to Walter H. Biehl as a basis for the printed report of the lecture given at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence on 20 April 1914.

Aside from the essays named in the text, see also “Piero della Francesca’s *Battle of Constantine*,” “Francesco Sassetti’s Last Injunctions to His Sons,” and “Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance.”

- 273 On this “excavation report,” see Gaye, *Carteggio degli artisti* 1:285, no. 123: Luigi di Andrea Lotti di Barberino to Lorenzo il Magnifico, Rome, 13 February 1488. See our p. 558. Also Peter Halm, “Das unvollendete Fresko des Filippino Lippi in Poggio a Cajano,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3, no. 7 (July 1931), 421 ff.

### Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century

- 275 Published as “Austausch künstlerischer Kultur zwischen Norden und Süden im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* (1905), as a report on the meeting of 17 February 1905. Reprinted unchanged in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, no. 18 (6 May 1905), col. 1145 f.

- 276 *Hosenkampf* engraving in Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* 4 (Vienna, 1921): 133 f. General discussion, *ibid.*, 1:36. Berlin Blockbook: see Lippmann, {“Ein italienischer und ein deutscher Kupferstich,”} series C.

- 276 The *Hosenkampf* may be traced in Northern European popular art right down to the nineteenth century. Examples include:

Engraving by Maerten de Vos the Younger, see *Oud Holland* 37 (1919): 32, fig. 6 (perhaps identical with the “anonymous engraving in the manner of Crispin de Passe,” mentioned by Lippmann, 81?).

Engraving with the monogram of Adrian van de Venne, drawn by Kittensteijn, engraved by Broer Jansen; see Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon* 1:279.

Adrian van de Venne in *Tafereel van de belacchende Werelt* (The Hague, 1635), 241.

Drawing by Jost Ammann (Erlangen no. 256). Illustrated by Elfried Bock, *Die Zeichnungen in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), plate volume, pl. 150.

Broadsheet, *Der Kampf um die Männerhose*, Munich, Graphische Sammlung, Ind. no. 130479.

Pictorial broadsheet, “Copenhagen, gedruckt und zu finden bey Joh. Rud. Thiele,

in der grossen Heiligengeiststrasse Nr. 150” (eighteenth century). See also E. T. Kristensen, *Danske Sagen* 2 (Aarhus, 1893): 339.

- 277 The monkey cup (fig. 49) found its way from the Thewalt collection to that of J. Pierpont Morgan, and on 5 September 1931, it was auctioned by Fischer of Lucerne as part of the Alfred Rütschi collection. It is described in the catalog (page 24, no. 89). (Introduction by Otto von Falke, page 9.) See G. Lehnert, *Illustrierte Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes* (Berlin), 1:385; Otto von Falke, in *Pantheon* (July 1931), 306; Heinrich Kohlhaussen, “Niederländisch Schmelzwerk,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52 (1931) 153 ff.
- 277 The farce, played at Charles the Bold’s wedding, in which a sleeping merchant is robbed by monkeys, is described by Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune and d’Arbaumont, 3 (Paris, 1885): 154. See also Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne* 2 (Paris, 1851): 327, no. 4428, and A. de Wittert, *Les gravures de 1468* (Liège, 1877), 56. As late as the *Recueil des plus excellens ballets de ce temps* (Paris, 1612), 43, there is a “Récit du ballet des singes, par une femme qui les conduisoit, et leur aidoyt à desrober un mercier qui estoit endormy” (Narration of the ballet of the monkey, by a woman who led them, and who helped them to rob a sleeping peddler).
- 277 Merchant and monkeys: Italian engraving, Pass., 5:190, no. 105; Gotha print, W. L. Schreiber, *Manuel de l’amateur*... 2 (Berlin, 1892): 316, no. 1985; in more detail in the German edition: *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts* 4 (Leipzig, 1927): 120, no. 1985.
- Later versions of the same scene: *Buch der Weisheit*, ch. 10 (Ulm: Lienhart Holle, 1483). See *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke* 7 (Leipzig, 1923), fig. 140.
- Engraving by Pieter Bruegel the Elder; see L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique dans la peinture flamande* (1903), fig. 182.
- Munich pictorial broadsheet, *Bilderbogen*, no. 802: *Die Affen und die Zipfel-mützen* (The monkeys and the pointed caps).
- 279 Schongauer’s *Saint Sebastian*, in Lehrs, *Katalog der Kupferstiche Martin Schongauers* (Vienna, 1925), 280 f., no. 65. Illustrated in Lehrs, *Martin Schongauer*, Graphische Gesellschaft, 5th extra issue (Berlin, 1914), pl. 45.
- 279 Quite independently of Warburg, Petrarch’s debt to Ausonius was noticed at the same time by Enrico Proto, “Il Petrarca ed Ausonio,” *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana* 10 (1905): 218 ff.
- 279 *Punishment of Cupid* in London, National Gallery. According to L. Dussler, Signorelli, *Klassiker der Kunst*, no. 34 (1927), 189, 213, this is by Girolamo Genga.

## Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance

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- 281 Published as “Flandrische Kunst und florentinische Renaissance” in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902): 247–66.

Daniel Stern, *Florence et Turin* (Paris, 1862), 60 f., 1 October 1857:

*Vous ne sauriez croire avec quel plaisir j’ai retrouvé, dans la galerie de Florence, les maîtres flamands et hollandais...*

(You cannot imagine how much pleasure it gave me, in the gallery in Florence, to come upon the Flemish and Dutch masters...)

Longing for the Dutch landscape:

*Je sens que rien ne se repousse, que rien ne s’exclut, pas plus dans les œuvres de la nature que dans les œuvres de l’art véritable; que la souple organisation de l’homme est faite pour tout comprendre, mais aussi pour ne se laisser posséder par rien ici-bas.*

(I feel that there are no mutual repulsions, and no incompatibilities, either in the works of nature or in the works of true art; the organization of man is so flexible as to comprehend everything, but not to submit to being possessed by anything in this world.)

- 281 Letter from “Lodovico orefice da Foligno” (goldsmith from Foligno), from Ferrara, undated, to Piero di Cosimo de’ Medici (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Med. av. Princ. fa. 2), in *Nuovi documenti per la storia dell’arte toscana dal XII al XV secolo, raccolti ed annotati da G. Milanese per servire d’aggiunta all’edizione del Vasari edita da Sansoni nel 1885* (Florence, 1901), 94 f.

The letter shows that medals, as well as tapestries, were copied from “cartoons”:  
...voio fare la vostra testa, si che mandateme lo contorno in carta, chella farò in cavo et in rilievo per modo che ad onne omo serà commendato et laudato.

(...I will do your head, if you send me the outline on paper; I will make it both in intaglio and in relief, in such a way that it will be commended and praised by all men.)

An allusion here, also, to the fashion for things *all’antica*: “Io avviso la vostra magnificenzia, che mo al presente fo una bellissima testa di iulju cesaro.” (I can tell Your Excellency that just at present I am making a very fine head of Julius Caesar.) Lodovico da Foligno (who may have been employed at the Este mint; see *Documenti per la storia dell’arte senese* 2:293) introduces himself as a portrait medalist in a letter from Ferrara to Lorenzo de’ Medici on 20 June 1471, published in *Il Buonarroti, scritti sopra le arti e le lettere*, 2d ser., 4 (Rome, 1869): 84 f. Lodovico commends to Lorenzo the medals of the duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and of his consort, Bona of Savoy, “che me fu mandata disegnata in carta” (of whom a drawing on paper was sent to me), made for her arrival from France to be married in 1468. He had then made the medals in wax and was now about to execute them in silver.

- 282 “Conversational tone,” corrected to: “bravura tone,” “voluble tone.”

- 282 Reverse cultural and psychological process: the donors of Grünewald's *Isenheim Altar*, the acme of uniquely German art, were two Antonite Preceptors, John of Orliac, from Savoy, and Guido Guersi, an Italian. See *Die Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Matthias Grünewald*, ed. H. A. Schmid (Strasbourg, 1911), 2:94.
- 285 Peter the Great and Memling's *Last Judgment*. James von Schmidt, "Ein russisches Dokument zur Geschichte von Memlings Jüngstem Gericht in Danzig," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (1908): 463 ff. In this, Schmidt published a document dating from 1717, in which the city of Danzig refused a demand from the Czar to hand over the *Last Judgment* to him.
- 285 Dehaisnes, *Recherches sur le retable de Saint-Bertin et sur Simon Marmion* (Lille and Valenciennes, 1892), 33, n. 1:  
*Guillaume Fillastre avait fait exécuter son propre mausolée en terre cuite colorée, en Italie, sous la surveillance du marchand florentin Angelo Tani, comme le prouve le compte de l'évêché de Tournai, pour l'année 1469–1470, qui se trouve aux archives du royaume à Bruxelles. Ce mausolée est conservé en notable partie à Saint-Omer.*  
 (Guillaume Fillastre had had a colored terra-cotta mausoleum made for himself in Italy, under the supervision of the Florentine merchant Angelo Tani, as is shown by the accounts of the abbey of Tournai for 1469–1470, now in the Archives du Royaume in Brussels. A considerable part of this mausoleum is now in Saint-Omer.)  
 On this see Joseph du Teil, "Notice sur les œuvres d'Andrea della Robbia en Flandre," in *Miscellanea di studi storici in onore di A. Manno* (Turin, 1912). The memorial was commissioned in Florence through the intermediary of the Medici branch in Bruges; Tani transported it to Pisa, and it was taken on to Bruges by Portinari.  
 Tapestries commissioned by Fillastre: see *Histoire générale de la tapisserie* 3: A. Pinchart, *Tapisseries flamandes*, 77.  
 Du Teil's contention that Tani was secretary to Fillastre both in Florence in 1463 and in Bruges in 1470 has been shown to be untenable by A. Grunzweig in his introduction to his edition of the *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Médicis*.  
 Arms and portrait of Fillastre on the wing panel of the altar by Simon Marmion from Wied (*Kunsthistorische Ausstellung*, Düsseldorf, 1904, catalog, 102 f., no. 242), formerly in The Hague, collection of King William II of the Netherlands, and from 1905 in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin. On the question of attribution, see Bernhard Klemm, *Der Berlin-Altar aus St. Omer* (Leipzig, 1914); the literature more recently listed by Thieme-Becker, s.v. "Marmion"; and the catalog of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin.
- 287 Birth date of this daughter of Angelo Tani's, 8 June 1471: "*Margherita et secondo Maria Romola di Agnolo di Jac<sup>o</sup> Tanj et Mon<sup>a</sup> Chaterina sua donna et figlia di Franc<sup>o</sup> di Messer Ghuglimino Tanagli nata adj 8 di giugn<sup>o</sup> 1471.*" Archivio di Stato, Florence, Doti Libro nero primo dal 1471 al 1477 (Monte) 1221, fol. 34<sup>v</sup>.

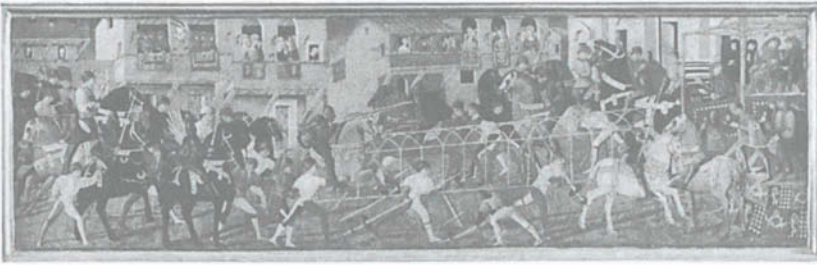
- 287 Might the date of 1467 have some connection with the Canigiani affair in London? It was in 1467 that Tani was sent from Florence to London to try to rescue the London branch, imperiled by Canigiani's mismanagement, on the strength of his personal reputation (see pp. 472 f. and Grunzweig, xxviii). It is therefore possible that the painting was an ex-voto, offered up for the success of this enterprise. As du Teil says, it is in any case probable that it was commissioned in that year, when Tani passed through Bruges.
- 287 The motto "*Pour non falir*" is to be found—combined, as in the sinister chief of the arms of Catarina Tanagli, with a pair of compasses—on the *cassone* in the collection of Sir Henry Samuelson, formerly London, now Beaulieu-sur-Mer. The *cassone* depicts a *Giostra*. On the hangings that adorn the judges' dais, rectangular fields charged with a lion rampant (?) and the motto "*Libertas*" alternate with others on which may be seen the beribboned compasses and "*Pour non falir*." The same combination reappears on the costumes of a number of the participants in the tourney, and on the harness and caparisons of some of the horses. With the kind permission of Sir Henry Samuelson, we have had the *cassone* photographed; see fig. 90.
- 287 Archivio di Stato, Florence, M. a. P. Fa. 82. c. 238, now fol. 500–501: a clear account by Tani of his career in the Medici firm (around 1475). While vividly describing events from his own viewpoint, he detailed the changes that had taken place in the commercial principles governing the firm up to its collapse. (As a direct result of Warburg's information, this will appear in Grunzweig's third volume.)

Tani's purpose in writing his account was to demonstrate the independence of the Bruges management from that in London, and thus to show that Bruges was not to be made liable for the deficit incurred in London. At the end of every paragraph, like a refrain, there recurs the argument: "*perchè la ragione di Londra era ragione da parte*" (because the London business was separate).

Tani mentions Cosimo's and Piero's strict insistence on receiving annual balance sheets from all the branches (contract of 1445, Sieveking, *Handlungsbücher*, 49), and then refers back to the basic indenture of 1465, whereby Portinari was entrusted with the management of the branch.

Tani himself had been living in Florence since 1464; he had declined the managership of the London branch, and Piero had decided that he was too old for Bruges. In recognition of his long and faithful service, he had been awarded a small share in the Bruges business. In 1467 Piero sent for him, explained the difficulties in which Gherardo Canigiani had involved the London branch by unwisely extending credit to the king of England, and asked Tani, with his English experience and his personal reputation ("*buon credito e buona conoscenza*"), to go to London and help.

Initially, Tani was to go there without powers of attorney (he called himself "*una mosca senza capo*" {a headless fly}) and simply report on the situation to Florence. Before setting out, he voiced his misgivings to Piero, and to Francesco Sassetti, over the slowness of this procedure. In answer to a question from Sassetti, who was clearly trying to make him personally liable, he stated that he was in no way involved with the London business: a statement that was confirmed by Piero in the words "*Agniolo dice il vero*" (Angelo is telling the truth).



**Figs. 90a–c. *Tournament***

Cassone, Beaulieu-sur-Mer

Sir Henry Samuelson Collection (see p. 472)

So it was decided that he would make his report to Portinari in Bruges and deal with the matter in conjunction with him. He found the situation in London worse than expected, and reported accordingly to Portinari, adding that if the firm in Florence intended to come to Canigiani's assistance, he himself, in view of the disorder prevailing in London, would not pledge his own personal credit unless the head office would underwrite all monies put into the business. Portinari gave him this undertaking, referring to sums shortly to fall due from the Roman branch, which were equal to the sum lent by Canigiani to the English king.

In 1469 Tani and Portinari returned to Florence, the latter carrying the Bruges balance sheet and profits, from which Tani received his share. This, he now argued, would not have been permitted if he had at that stage been regarded as sharing liability for the London deficit. After Piero's death in 1469, Lorenzo and Giuliano drew up a new indenture (p. 287), "*e della ragione di Londra non fu fatto menzione alcuna, chè non apparteneva*" (and no mention was made in it of the London firm, which had nothing to do with it).

In the same year, Lorenzo told him that he should pay a certain sum that Canigiani owed to the Rome branch out of the goods ("*lane e panni*" {wool and cloth}) that he, Tani, had caused to be sent from England to Florence. Tani objected that these belonged to the Bruges branch, and represented a security for monies that the Bruges branch, at the request of the "*maggiori*" in Florence, and of Portinari, had advanced to Canigiani. However, Lorenzo compelled him to hand them over to Giovanni Tornabuoni, the head of the Rome branch.

Tani described this transaction as the ruin of the Bruges branch; for not only had it lost the principal, but the loss was compounded by the interest on the deficit thus created: "*I detti Medici lasciarono morto quel debito e tennero la povera ragione di Brugia in su e' cambi, chè non aveva chi parlasse per lei.*" (The said Medici wrote off that debt and transferred the liability to the unfortunate Bruges branch, which had no one to speak up for it.)

This was done on the bad advice of Francesco Sassetti. Poor Tani could only suppose that the Florentines and Portinari had gone over his head and acted in secret collusion with Canigiani, or else had meant to drive the Bruges branch into bankruptcy.

There now began a hopeless struggle in which Tani complained of this course of action, and outlined the peril in which it placed the Bruges branch, to Lorenzo, then to Sassetti, and then to Portinari, and each in turn referred him to another. Lorenzo claimed to understand nothing of it; Sassetti, whom he told that the Florence firm, not the Bruges branch, should have borne Canigiani's debts, brushed him aside, telling him not to trouble him, Sassetti, with such "*brighe*" (intrigues). Finally, Portinari wrote him a brusque letter saying that the matter was none of Tani's business, as those in charge alone were responsible.

In 1471 the Bruges firm was dissolved and a new indenture signed (see p. 287). This procedure was repeated in 1473, behind Tani's back. Cristofano Spini became a partner, and at the same time ("*come se non fussi stato al mondo*" {as if I had not existed}) a special trading company was set up for the wool trade, in which Tani was no longer involved. This was soon doing a brisk trade, from which the "*povera ragione di Brugia*" (the poor Bruges firm) derived no profit—whereas under previous



arrangements the profit from this trade would not have gone to those directly involved but to the firm as a whole. If Tani had known of it, he wrote, he would never have agreed to such a proceeding, for, “*concludendo, la ragione di Brugia nè io non abbiamo a fare nulla con la ragione di Londra nè a causa di quella possano avere danno alcuno*” (to conclude, neither the Bruges concern nor I myself had anything to do with the London concern, nor can we have any liability in relation to it).

- 289 Vasari (ed. Milanese), 7:580: “*Di costui fu discepolo Hausse, del quale abbiàn, come si disse, in Fiorenza in un quadretto piccolo, che è in man del duca, la Passione di Cristo.*” (His pupil was Hans: by whom, in Florence, we have, as I said, a small painting of the Passion of Christ, belonging to the duke.) Subject and format are here specified, in contrast to Vasari’s introduction, 1:184 f., where we find only the fact that Memling painted a picture commissioned by the Portinari.

Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Antwerp, 1567), 98:

*A Ruggieri successe Hausse suo scolare, il quale fece un bel quadro a Portinari, che hoggi ha il Duca di Fiorenza, e a Medici medesimi fece la bella tavola di Careggi.*

(Rogier was succeeded by his pupil Hans, who painted a fine picture for Portinari, which the duke of Florence now has, and for the Medici the fine painting at Careggi.)

(Knows the donors.)

Given by Cosimo I, between 1570 and 1572, to Pius V, who presented it to the monastery of Bosco near Alessandria; see Baudi de Vesme, *Catalogo della Regia Pinacoteca di Torino* (Turin, 1899), 73, no. 202.

Friedländer, too, assumes that the *Passion* in Turin is identical with the picture painted by Memling for Portinari: Max J. Friedländer, *Memling und Gerard David*, vol. 6 of *Die altniederländische Malerei* (Berlin, 1928), 15, 21, 123. For the contrary view—that it was painted for Willem Vrelant, who is therefore the donor portrayed in it—see Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon* (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910), s.v. “Vrelant,” “Memling.”

- 289 Letter Archivio di Stato, Florence, M. a. P. (fa. 17. c. 487–88, now fol. 472–73) from Tommaso to Piero, in which, from Bruges on 7 December 1469, he wrote of his marriage (or at least his intended marriage?). The letter is characteristic of the relationship of trust that clearly existed between the agents of the Medici firm and their chief, Piero; it was a relationship that extended to private decisions as well as to financial matters, and they felt an obligation to give a true account of themselves in every respect. In it, Tommaso thanked Piero for helping him to bring his planned marriage to fruition, and defended himself against the reproach of having said nothing to anyone before his departure from Florence (see p. 287) by explaining that he had then still been undecided, making up his mind only on reaching Milan and talking the matter over with his elder brother Acerrito.

Tommaso went on to say that, if he had ever had even an inkling that this reticence was hurtful to Piero, he would have acted otherwise,

*...e se ho commesso errore, è stato per ignoranza e non per verun'altra cagione, di che vi domando perdono e vi priegho che ne vogliate restare contento.*

(...and if I have erred, it has been in ignorance and not for any other reason; for which I crave your forgiveness and ask you to rest content with that.)

What had prompted him to act quickly had been something that Piero himself had said to him at Careggi, when the conversation had turned to marriage. He had asked his brother Giovanni to have his future wife come to Bruges as quickly as possible,

*...per uscire interamente di questa fantasia e potere attendere all' altre cose con l'animo più riposato, e alsì per schifare spesa.*

(...in order to free myself entirely from this preoccupation and to attend calmly to other matters; and also to reduce the expense.)

For, if she had had to stay even longer in Florence, he would have had to provide her with many articles of dress and jewelry, for which she would then have had no use in Bruges.

In Bruges, wrote Tommaso, his marriage had been so eagerly awaited that he had been threatened with "*una di qua*" (a wife from here) if he did not return from Florence married. His friends were now so overjoyed that he felt able to say that he had never in his life done anything that had brought him so much honor and so much applause as the step he had just taken. And aside from the goodwill, his marriage would enhance the reputation of the firm, for it would be seen as an undertaking that he intended to stay in Bruges:

*E anche spero che, oltre al passare le cose di casa con più onestà, che alsì la spesa se n'abbi a diminuire più tosto che altrimenti, per l'ordine e regola che ci sarà a cagione delle donne.*

(And I also hope that, besides a more honorable conduct of my household, the expense will also rather be reduced than otherwise, through the order and regularity that will spring from the presence of ladies.)

But if Piero should nevertheless be of the opinion that the cost of the wife's maintenance should not be borne by the firm, he was quite prepared to maintain her out of his own pocket, and would leave the decision entirely to Piero.

Tommaso was addressing his letter of self-justification to a dead man: Piero had died in Florence on 2 December 1469. (For the concluding part of the letter, which gives commercial information on business dealings in London, see the forthcoming second volume of Grunzweig's *Correspondance*.)

Also Archivio di Stato, Florence, M. a. P. fa. 4, c. 233 (now fol. 521–23) on his wife's arrival, his honeymoon, and his reception in Bruges on 9 June 1470; to Lorenzo. The rest of this letter supplements Tani's account of events in London; see Grunzweig, vol. 2.

292 The Turin picture has a misleadingly haggard look, as a result of a patch of discoloration that has appeared on the left cheek, causing the original fairly full, round oval to appear sunken.

292 Information on Portinari's business methods, and on the Medici involvement in the alum trade, is furnished by G. Zippel, "L'allume di Tolfa e il suo commercio," *Archivio della Società romana di Storia patria* 30 (1907): 5 ff., 389 ff., especially 393

and Document 9, 454 f. (letter from Giovanni Tornabuoni to Lorenzo de' Medici, 1471). On Tolfa alum, see also Jules Finot, "Etude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et la république de Gênes," *Annales du Comité flamand de France* 28 (Lille, 1907): 233–73.

Tommaso Portinari's correspondence with Lorenzo constantly reveals his admiration for Charles the Bold; as Warburg describes him, Tommaso appears to have shared some of the duke's rash and impulsive nature. On his part in Charles the Bold's wedding (see pp. 277, 294) and in the meeting with Frederick III in Trier, see Grunzweig, xxiv.

- 293 In a letter, W. H. James Weale gives the information that records in the archives of the church of Saint-Jacques in Bruges supply the following dates:

1472 Tommaso Portinari's chapel in Saint-Jacques.

1475 Pew for his wife.

1502 Requiem Mass for Tommaso on his death in Florence.

The house was purchased in 1466 (Grunzweig, xxiv).

- 293 According to Grunzweig (xli), Guido di Tommaso Portinari lived in England as a purveyor to Henry VII and to Henry VIII. The military engineer, who lived in England in the service of Henry VIII, in France under Mary I, and again in England under Elizabeth, was Giovanni Portinari.

- 293 The same motto, also in French, in Poggio, *Facetiae*, no. 188: French whoremaster, former notary, from Avignon: "*in manica literis argenteis ascripsit verbis gallicis: de bene in melius*" (on his sleeve he had written in letters of silver, in the French tongue, "From good to better").

- 294 Frédéric Borel, *Les foires de Genève au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva, 1892), 137 f. In Geneva, in 1464, a tax declaration amounting to 35 écus was made by Pierre Baranselli and Bidache de Pausano, money changers.

Piero (di Giovanni) Baroncelli was presumably a first cousin to Pierantonio (di Guasparre); Scipione Ammirato (*Delizie degli eruditi toscani* 17:212) says that both are recorded together as merchants.

The name Bindaccio da Panzano occurs frequently in Passerini, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Ricasoli* (Florence, 1861), but none of the bearers of the name can be identified with the money changer of Geneva.

Present Uffizi catalog numbers of the Baroncelli paintings: 1036 and 8405, Unknown Master, fifteenth century. See Max J. Friedländer, *Memling und Gerard David*, vol. 6 of *Die altniederländische Malerei* (Berlin, 1928), 139, no. 137, pls. 57, 58, ascribed to "Baroncelli Master."

- 298 Not forgetting Courajod! See, principally, *Leçons professées à l'école du Louvre (1887–1896)*, ed. H. Lemonnier and A. Michel, 2 (Paris, 1902): 257, 291 ff.; 318 ff.; 333 ff. See also Jacques Mesnil, *L'art au nord et au sud des Alpes à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Brussels and Paris, 1911), 44 ff. and appendix 1 to ch. 2, 32 ff.

298 Or Fruoxino di Andrea da Panzano? Mentioned as mourner and recipient of cloth at Cosimo's death. Fabronius, *Magni Cosmi Medicei vita* (Pisa, 1789), 2:255: "*Ricordo di tutti gli uomini furono vestiti per lo detto ossequio,*" including "*Fruosino d'Andrea da Panzano panno br. 14.*" (Record of all the men who were dressed for the said funeral... Fruosino d'Andrea da Panzano 14 braccia of cloth.) The same individual is mentioned in the *Istorie* of Giovanni Cambi (*Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, 20:234, 21:13) as prior in 1442, and among the "Cittadini della Balía" of the Quartiere S. Giovanni in 1480. A Fruosino da Panzano is mentioned as being in Bruges, in a letter from Angelo Tani to Piero de' Medici in 1448 (Grunzweig, see below, p. 480, letter 7).

Fruoxino's letter is printed in full in del Badia, "Sulla parola 'arazzo,'" *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 25 (Florence: Viesseux, 1900): 89. Letter of 22 June 1448, Archivio di Stato, Florence, med. a. P. fa. VIII.41. He says:

*E perchè mi dicesti ti pareva riuscissono meglio le cose di qua, se n'accordono alsì costoro e dichono esser vero; et però mi puoi mandare solamente la misura ella storia vuoi e io farò fare e' personaggi e portamenti elle fazioni al modo di qua.*

(And since you have told me that you consider the things done here to be more successful—the others concur, and say that this is indeed so—you have only to send me the dimensions and the subject that you want, and I shall have the figures and the actions and the styles done as they are done here.)

This letter clearly shows one of the points at which Flemish influence entered Florentine art: the stories from antiquity, requested by Giovanni, were to be depicted "*al modo di qua*": i.e., in Burgundian costume.

The reverse process is exemplified, fourteen years later, by a letter from Portinari, of which Müntz prints only extracts (Archivio di Stato, Florence, M. a. P. fa. VI, c. 542, now c. 548):

*Spettabile maior mio honorando, post raccomandazioni... E' sono più giorni non v'ho scripto e questo per darvi avviso, come in questi giorni passati ho ricevuto dal maestro le 2 spalliere fatte fare per voi. Le quali sono riuscite tanto belle, e tanto bene n'ha servito il detto maestro quanto dire si possa, che tutta questa terra, si può dire, è bisognato l'abbi viste, e ciascuno s'accorda che mai vidde il più bello e migliore ovraggio, e non fo dubbio, quando le vedrete, ne sarete contentissimo. Le quali vi manderò ora d'Anversa per la via di Ginevra o per quella di Milano, donde che meglio mi parrà o che troverrò a manco spesa. Sono in tutto alle 41½, come vedrete per una nota infra in questa, a s. 8 d. 8 di grossi l'alla, che m'è suto fatica ridurle al pregio, nel quale sono certo il maestro non avanza nulla, e non è uomo che non le stimi molto più per averli. I'ho dato altro lavorio per lo conte Guasparre e per altri. V'è coscieso [sic] con patto li debba prestare uno de' padroni, perfino n'abbi fatta un'altra a quello esemplo per uno signore che molto la disidera. Simile sono stato da un' altro amico richiesto dell' altro padrone, chè tanto sono stati pregiati e tenuti belli che ciascuno se n'è innamorato, in modo che non me ne sono possuto discostare e, stimando non ne possiate essere male contento, chè quando questo fussi, mi dispiacerebbe troppo, e a ogni modo ve gli manderò quanto prima potrò. I quali, come dico, furono bene fatti, e quando*

*v'accade volere altro lavoro, lodo di far fare sempre i padroni di costà, perchè ne sarete servito più a vostra intentione, ma bisogna ricordare al dipintore che non vi metta su più i colori sì grossi come su questi, e massime su l'uno che è mezzo cascato. Volendoli adoperare di costà sarà bisogno farli racconciare.*

*Mai si potè rinvenire alcuna cosa delle spalliere cuscini e pancali perduti in Inghilterra, e oramai ne sto a piccola speranza. Tutta volta al continuo ricordo a quelli di là l'usarne quella diligenza s'appartiene.*

*In Bruggia adi XVI di maggio [1462].*

(Most honored sir, my compliments... It is some days since I last wrote to you; and this is to tell you that in the last few days I have received from the artist the two *spalliere* {panel paintings} ordered for you. These have turned out so fine, and the said artist has served you so well, that it seems as if the whole of this country has wanted to see them; all agree that they have never seen better or more beautiful workmanship, and I have no doubt, when you see it, that you will be entirely satisfied. I am dispatching them to you from Antwerp by way of Geneva or of Milan, whichever turns out to be the more convenient or the less costly. They measure 41½ in all, as you will see from the note appended below, at 8s 8d for the ell, and with great difficulty I managed to get them down to a price from which I am certain the artist is making no profit; and there is no one here who would not pay much more to have them. I have commissioned other work for Count Guasparre and for others. As you know, I have agreed to lend him one of the cartoons until he has had another made on the same subject for a gentleman who keenly desires it. I have likewise been asked, by a friend, for the other cartoon; both are so much praised and so highly thought of that everyone is in love with them, to such a degree that I have been unable to part with them. I am assuming that this will not be inconvenient to you; if it were to prove so, I should regret it extremely. In any case, I will send them to you as soon as I can. As I say, they are well done; if ever you want other work done, I am in favor of having the cartoons made there {in Florence}, because in that way you will be able to ensure that your intentions are carried out. However, the painter needs to be told not to lay on the paint so thickly as he has in these; one, in particular, has lost half of its color. If you want to use them again there, they will have to be repaired.

Nothing has been heard of the *spalliere*, and cushion and settle covers, lost in England, and I have very little hope left. However, I continue to remind them over there to use all necessary diligence.

Bruges, 16 May [1462].)

Added in Tommaso Portinari's own hand:

*Adi VIII di giugno. Disopra è copia di l'ultimo scriptovi non l'avendo avuto, per esso intenderete il bisogno sopra le vostre spalliere, le quali dipoi ho messe a cammino per la via di Milano insieme con altre robe, che Iddio per tutto le salvi. Ordinate alla avuta a Pigello, per qual modo volete ve le mandi, e avute direte, come ve ne terrete servizio. Altro non ho a dire, per questo a voi quanto posso mi raccomando, che l'altissimo Iddio lungo tempo in felice stato vi conservi.*

Vostro Tommaso Portinari  
in Bruggia vi si raccomanda.

(9 June. The above is a copy of the last letter written to you, which you did not receive; from it you will understand what has happened concerning your *spalliere*, which I have since dispatched by way of Milan, together with other goods, of which may God grant you safe receipt. On receiving this, give instructions to Pigello as to the manner in which he is to send them on to you; and, when you receive them, please let me know how well he has served you. That is all for the moment; and so I commend myself to you as I may, and may Almighty God long sustain you in a state of felicity.

Yours, Tommaso Portinari,  
in Bruges, who presents his compliments.)

Another letter from Tommaso Portinari to Giovanni de' Medici, dated 9 May 1459, in which he also mentions commissions for tapestries and "*tela per i padroni*" (canvases for the cartoons) these are presumably the "*panni*" (cloths), sent as before from Florence), is published by Armand Grunzweig as Letter 29 in his book, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Médicis*, Commission royale d'Histoire, part 1, 1439–1464 (Brussels, 1931). This work is to be published in two volumes, together with a supplementary volume, and will contain the entire correspondence between the Medici and their Bruges agents, insofar as this can be traced in the Archivio di Stato, Florence. We have Mr. Grunzweig's kindness to thank for allowing us a sight of the proof sheets of his work, and for the transcription of the letters, mentioned by Warburg, which are printed here on pp. 472 ff. and 475 f.

- 298 Published with Warburg's notes by Paul Schubring, "Bottega-Buch des Marco del Buono und des Apollonio di Giovanni," in *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), text volume, appendix 2, 430 ff.
- 299 The director of the Turin museum, Conte Baudi de Vesme, told me that he recalled reading, years ago, a substantiated statement that the large engraving of the Burgundian arms (W<sup>+</sup>) was commissioned by Arnolfini. On the use of this engraving at the wedding of Charles the Bold, see A. de Wittert, *Les gravures de 1468: Les armoiries de Charles le Téméraire gravées pour son mariage avec Marguerite d'York* (Liège, 1877). On this engraving, the *Grandes armoiries de Bourgogne*, see Max Lehrs, *Der Meister W<sup>+</sup>, ein Kupferstecher zur Zeit Karls des Kühnen* (Leipzig, 1895), 16 f., no. 44, pl. 15; Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon* 3 (1911): 229, no. 44; and Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* 4 (Vienna, 1921): 151.
- 299 In the Staatsarchiv, Lübeck, Varia no. 276c, is the deed whereby, in 1499, Folco and Benedetto Portinari ceded to the city of Bruges their claim to damages for the lost vessel.
- The purport of this deed, executed in Bruges on 27 November 1499, is as follows: Folco and Benedetto Portinari, Florentine merchants resident for the time being in Bruges, and having power of attorney from Tommaso Portinari to pursue on his behalf all claims arising from the judgment obtained on 5 August 1496, in the

matter of the galleon taken as prize, certify that they transfer these rights to Bruges in return for an agreed payment, and that they transfer all their rights in the matter to the city and renounce, for themselves and for their heirs, as also for Tommaso Portunari and for his heirs, all claims arising from the loss of the said galleon. They undertake, in case they find themselves unable to fulfill their obligations as specified herein, to repay in full all monies received, and to hold the Hansa and Bruges indemnified for all losses: to which they pledge their persons and goods, and nominate Masters Johannes Joly, Christophorus Boudins, and Petrus Duhem, procurators at the Great Council, to act for them in procuring ratification of this deed by the Chancellor and the Lords of the Great Council. Agreed and engrossed in the Chamber of Magistrates in Bruges, in presence of two witnesses, citizens of Bruges, Cornelius Waghe and Bernard van Scoonebeke, by Johannes Dyonisii, notary, in association with Bernardinus de Salviatis, notary.

Quoted from Dietrich Schäfer, *Hanserecesse* 3.4, no. 159, who quotes the original from a corrupted copy in Bruges. Neither Schäfer nor Gilliodts-van Severen (*Inventaire des archives de la Ville de Bruges* 6:446, no. 1290, n. 1) seems to be acquainted with the original in Lübeck.

The court verdict of 5 August 1496, cited in the Lübeck deed, is the judgment handed down by the Great Council in Malines, awarding Portinari damages of 6,000 Andreas guilders and 40,000 crowns, each equivalent to 4 Flemish groats.

As for the background to the document: Tommaso had renewed his application for compensation to the Hansa in 1492, and in 1496 he had made his rights over to his nephews, Benedetto and Folco di Pigello Portinari. See *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Médicis*, ed. A. Grunzweig, part 1, xxxviii f., and Otto Meltzing, “Tommaso Portinari und sein Konflikt mit der Hanse,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 1 (1906): 101–23. In 1498 Portinari made his final settlement of accounts with the Medici (p. 293).

- 300 Tanagli's daughter also named as Catarina in:

*Chaterina pel primo nome et secundo Inocenza figliuola di Franc° di messer Ghuiglielmino Tanaglia e di m<sup>a</sup> Vaggia sua donna e figl<sup>a</sup> di Jacopo di Ghuidetto Ghuidetti nacque adj 28 di dicembre 1446.*

(Catarina Innocenza, daughter to Franco, son of Messer Guglielmino Tanaglia, and to Madonna Vaggia his wife, daughter to Jacopo di Guidetto Guidetti, born 28 December 1446.)

*Secondo libro delle fanciulle cominciato adj 12 di marzo 1443 et finito adj 30 di giugno 1451.* Archivio di Stato, Florence, *Doti Libro verde secondo* (formerly known as *Libro doro primo*) (Monte) dal 143 al 1451. No. 1212, fol. 306<sup>v</sup>.

- 301 *Margherita et secondo Chaterina di Tomaso di Folcho Portinari e di m<sup>a</sup> Maria suo donna e figlia fu di Franc° di Jac° Baroncelli nata adi 15 di settembre 1471.* (Margherita Catarina, daughter to Tommaso, son of Folco Portinari, and to Maria his wife, daughter of the late Franc°, son of Giacomo Baroncelli, born 15 September 1471.)

Archivio di Stato, Florence, *Libro nero primo dal 1471 al 1477* (Monte) 1221, pa. 40. Doti delle fanciulle.

So Margherita was the eldest after all. (Independently established by Grunzweig, xxxviii.)

On Saint Margaret as a helper to women in labor, see also Künstle, *Ikonographie der Heiligen* (Freiburg, 1926), 421 ff., after Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, ch. 93, ed. Graesse, 402.

302 L. Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien grand tonlieu de Bruges* (Bruges, 1908), 1:341–44 (Portinari and Gravelingen).

302 On Guillaume de Bische, the comte de Charolais's friend, who was in secret correspondence with Louis XI, see Grunzweig (xxiv, 140, n. 2). After the death of Charles the Bold, this treachery came to light, and Maximilian confiscated the money that de Bische had on deposit with Portinari. Thereupon de Bische sued both the Medici branch in Lyons and Tommaso Portinari (1484–1494). After Charles VIII's entry into Florence, the Signoria paid de Bische his money, but Portinari continued to be held liable for it, and at his final settling of accounts with the Medici in 1498 the Signoria held the sum back.

302 According to Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei* 6 (Berlin, 1928): 132, nos. 88–90, all three paintings listed in this note are by Memling. The Uffizi catalog of 1926 still lists no. 1123 as "*Scuola di Memling*."

303 In 1465 "Pier Bini e uno de' Nasi" died in Bruges. *Ibid.*, the loss of the Flemish galleys. Letter from Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi, *Lettere*, ed. Guasti (Florence, 1877), 526, 19 December 1465:

*A questi di ci fu novelle, ch'è morto a Bruggia Pier Bini e uno de' Nasi. Credo che queste galee di Fiandra sieno scomunicate, tante traverse hanno da parecchi anni in qua. Senti' a questi di, che ancora s'aspettava una galea o vero nave, che mandava Niccolò Ardinghelli, e che si maravigliano che non era giunta. Non ho sentito poi altro: e questi qua di casa si guardano di dirmene. Quando ne domando, dicono non hanno lettere da lui.*

(Today we had news that Pier Bini and one of the Nasi had died in Bruges. I think those galleys from Flanders must have been excommunicated, they have had such ill luck these past few years. I heard the same day that a galley, or ship, sent by Niccolò Ardinghelli, was overdue, and they were surprised that it had not arrived. I have heard no more of the matter; and the people here are careful to tell me nothing. When I ask, they just say that they have not heard from him.)

See also letter of 7 April 1464 (Guasti, 282).

Grunzweig's list of members of the Bruges branch of the Medici bank in 1466 includes (along with those mentioned here) the names of Carlo Cavalcanti, Adoardo Canigiani, Antonio de' Medici, Folco di Pigello Portinari, and Antonio Tornabuoni.



### Flemish and Florentine Art in Lorenzo de' Medici's Circle around 1480

- 305 Published as “Flandrische und Florentinische Kunst im Kreise des Lorenzo Medici,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* 8 (Berlin, 9 November 1901). See the more detailed information in the preceding essay, “Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance.”
- On the Flemish paintings mentioned, see Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei* 4 (*Hugo van der Goes*): 191 ff., pls. 11–18; *Memling und Gerard David*, *ibid.*, 6 (Berlin, 1928): 120, 139, pls. 57, 58.
- Botticelli's *Saint Augustine* illustrated in *Klassiker der Kunst* 30 (1927): 45; Ghirlandaio's *Saint Jerome* in G. S. Davies, *Ghirlandaio*, 2d ed. (London, 1909), pl. 9.
- 305 On the sequence of Portinari's children, see the correction in the addendum to “Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance” (pp. 481 f.).
- 306 The 1492 inventory of the Villa Careggi is published by E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris and London, 1888), 58 ff. The 1482 inventory, as edited but not published by Warburg, is to appear in a later volume of this edition. Alessandra Macinghi negli Strozzi's remarks on “*panni dipinti*,” which Warburg cites in this context, are to be found in her *Lettere*, ed. Guasti (1877), 224, 304 f.
- 307 The *Quaresima* (Lent) scene: see *Catalogus der schilderijen etc. in het Rijks-Museum te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1903), 30, no. 345: *Vastenavondfeest*. This correct title was attached to the work only after Warburg had published his interpretation: likewise in the 1921 edition. A source for this picture, attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, is in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection: see Gustav Glück, “Die Darstellungen des Karnevals und der Fasten von Bosch und Brueghel,” in *Gedenckboek A. Vermeyden* (1932), 263 ff. The *Quaresima* engraving is discussed by Antonio de Witt, *Rivista d'arte* 13 (1931): 225–29.

### Rogier van der Weyden's *Entombment* in the Uffizi

- 309 Published as “Die Grablegung Rogers in den Uffizien,” *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft* 8 (Berlin, 11 December 1903).
- Ciriaco d'Ancona's report from Ferrara in Colucci, *Antichità picene* 15 (Fermo, 1792): cxliii f.; reprinted by F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden* (Strasbourg, 1913), 181 f., 189. Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, 1567), 97 f., mentions the “tavola” at Careggi.
- On the identification of Rogier's Uffizi painting, see Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei* 2 (Berlin, 1924): 19 f., 99, pl. 19. Friedländer considers the *Entombment* in the Uffizi to be the work mentioned by Ciriaco.
- The tapestry with a *Deposition* after a cartoon by Cosimo Tura is now in the Villa Lenbach in Munich. On Tura as a designer of tapestry cartoons, see G. Campori,

*L'arazzeria estense* (Modena, 1876), 23 f., and E. Müntz in Müntz, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie* 2:54 f.

On this *Pietà* see Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* 2 (Vienna, 1910): 84, no. 33.

### On a Florentine Painting

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- 311 Published as “Per un quadro fiorentino che manca all’esposizione dei primitivi francesi,” *Rivista d’arte* 2, no. 5 (Florence, 1904): 85 f.

See Louis Courajod, *Leçons professées à l’école du Louvre (1887–1896)*, ed. H. Lemonnier and A. Michel, 2 (Paris, 1902): 536 f., and Guiffrey, “La Nativité de Benedetto Ghirlandajo conservée dans l’église d’Aigueperse,” *Musées et monuments de France, revue mensuelle*, ed. Paul Vitry (Paris, 1907), no. 10; Venturi, *Storia dell’arte italiana* 7.1 (1911): 768. Mantegna’s *Saint Sebastian* is now in the Louvre.

On the Maître de Moulins, see H. Bouchot, *Les primitifs français, 1292–1500: Complément documentaire au catalogue officiel de l’exposition* (Paris, 1904), 284 ff.; Paul Vitry, “Zur Ausstellung französischer Primitiver,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s., 15 (1904): 295 f.; Charles Terrasse, *Musée du Louvre: Les primitifs français* (Paris, [1929]), 24 f., pl. 35 f.; and, most recently, a survey by P. A. Lemoisne, *Die gotische Malerei Frankreichs* (Florence and Berlin: Pantheon-Edition, 1931), 105–10, with bibliography.

### Peasants at Work in Burgundian Tapestries

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- 315 Published as “Arbeitende Bauern auf burgundischen Teppichen,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n.s., 18 (1907): 41–47.

On Pasquier Grenier, see also the essay “Airship and Submarine . . .,” our pp. 336 and 488.

See J. von Schlosser, “‘Armeleutekunst’ alter Zeit,” *Jahrbuch für Kunstsammler* 1 (1921): 47 ff.; reprinted in *Präludien* (Berlin, 1927), 304 ff.

- 319 A tapestry with figures of *vignerons* is published by Paul Vitry to accompany his article, “Exposition d’objets d’art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, organisée par M<sup>me</sup> la marquise de Ganay,” *Les arts*, no. 141 (1913): 27. Another tapestry showing peasant winegrowers among courtly ladies and gentlemen (fifteenth century) is in the Musée de Cluny, illustrated in *Beaux-arts* 9 (December 1931).

- 321 Tapestry weavers from Tournai especially in Ferrara: see Campori, *L’arazzeria estense* (Modena, 1876), 22; Document 4, 94 ff.; E. Soil, *Les tapisseries de Tournai* (Tournai and Lille, 1892), 217.

- 321 Woodcutters as “boors” in popular literature: “Canto di tagliatori di boschi: Rozzi pastor noi siam, ma d’alti ingegni” (Woodmen’s song: Rough shepherds we are, but with noble minds), *Canti carnascialeschi, trionfi, carri e mascherate* . . . , with preface by Olindo Guerrini (Milan, 1883), 45 f.

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Village scenes were still common in tapestries made for court use in the eighteenth century: Goya, cartoons for *búcherons* (Teniers?). D. G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Los tapices de Goya* (Madrid, 1870), 134: no. 27, *Los leñadores*; tapestry now in the Escorial, Primera Habitación. See also Charles Yriarte, *Goya* (Paris, 1867), 97 ff.; Valerian von Loga, *Francisco de Goya* (Berlin, 1903), 20 ff.

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Woodcutters as a foil, to contrast with court life, in Goethe, *Faust*, part 2, act 2, the mummers’ scene:

*Zu unserm Lobe / Bringt dies ins Reine; / Denn wirkten Grobe / Nicht auch im Lande, / Wie kämen Feine / Für sich zu Stande, / So sehr sie witzten? / Des seid belehret; / Denn ihr erfröret, / Wenn wir nicht schwitzen.*

(To our credit, be clear about this: for if rough hands were not at work in the country, too, how would fine folks get along, for all their cleverness? Mark our words, you would freeze, if we did not sweat.)

- 321 So: the tapestry, in its role and significance as a conveyance for imagery, clearly emerges as a vast Ship of Fools.

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### Two Scenes from King Maximilian’s Captivity in Bruges

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- 325 Published as “Zwei Szenen aus König Maximilians Brügger Gefangenschaft auf einem Skizzenblatt des sogenannten ‘Hausbuchmeisters,’” in *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 32 (1911): 180 ff.

Translated into French by Laloire in *Les arts anciens de Flandre* (1912): 114 ff.: “Deux épisodes de la captivité du roi Maximilien à Bruges.”

On the Master of the Housebook: Johannes Dürkop, “Der Meister des Hausbuches,” *Oberrheinische Kunst: Jahrbuch der Oberrheinischen Museen* 5 (Freiburg, 1932): 83 ff.

- 326 This description is contested in a letter from Johann Friedrich:

The artist does not seem to have intended to depict “a solemn High Mass,” but only a simple Mass, or a Mass to celebrate the conclusion of a peace, as the inscription indicates. If the suffragan bishop of Tournai were celebrating “a solemn High Mass,” this would presumably have to be a Pontifical Mass. But (unless I am much mistaken) there is no sign of this. It is my impression that the artist’s prime concern is to emphasize that Maximilian was obliged to swear an oath on the Host consecrated in the Mass (the Sacrament).

According to Meder, the scene represents the act previous to the Mass; Gospel Book on the left side?

- 326 Kretzschmar prefers to see this as the “*siège royal*”; Molinet (see note 7), 3:313: “*ung triumphant siège pour le roy*” (a triumphal throne for the king).
- 326 His secretary, Hauweel (?), who signed the *Payse*? According to Molinet, 3:334, this is “*le secrétaire Hasvel*.” The form “Hauweel” appears in the Paris copy of Arnold de Keyser’s printed text.
- 327 Previous uproar when Maximilian failed to mount the dais at once.
- 329 Similar festive scenes depicted in Entry Ghent 1582, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, formerly 78 D. 14, now 78 D. 6. See Paul Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen-Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* (Leipzig, 1931), 185 f.  
Entry, 1496 (78 D. 5), *ibid.*, 179 ff.
- 330 The fish dish, and most notably the crossed knives on the side of the table away from the diner, are also to be found in the Tournai tapestry of the last third of the fifteenth century, depicting the *Histoire de Thèbes*, which is preserved in Zamora Cathedral; illustrated in *Oud Holland* 47 (1930): 53, fig. 2B. Thus arranged, the knives surely form part of Burgundian banqueting ceremonial; see Olivier de la Marche, “Estat de la maison,” in *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune and d’Arbaumont, 4 (Paris, 1888): 27:  
*... et doibt asseoir les deux grans coutteaux, en baisant les manches, devant le lieu où le prince doibt estre assis, et doibt mettre les pointes devers le prince...; et puis doibt mettre le petit coutteau au milieu des deux grans, et mettre le manche devers le prince.*  
 (...and is to place the two large knives, first kissing the handles, in front of the place where the prince is to sit, and is to place the points toward the prince...; and then is to place the small knife between the two large ones, and place the handle toward the prince.)  
 See also Otto Cartellieri, *Am Hofe der Herzöge von Burgund* (Basel, 1926), 69, 73.
- 330 The suffragan wears no insignia of episcopal rank during the Mass. Letter from Johann Friedrich: “If the suffragan bishop of Tournai were saying Mass, there would be no question of a pallium: the pallium is granted only to archbishops, and only in rare and exceptional cases to a bishop.”
- 331 The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Res. 233), described to me as “proven” to be printed by Brito, turned out to be the text printed by Arnold Keyser of Ghent (Copinger 4657, Campbell 1372, 1680). The copy bears no printer’s name; in content it appears to be identical with Brito’s *Payse* (Copinger 4658, Campbell 1373) but differs from the copy no. 3088 in the Gervais sale; however, see Campbell 1373.

Airship and Submarine in the Medieval Imagination

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- 333 Published as “Luftschiff und Tauchboot in der mittelalterlichen Vorstellungswelt,” *Illustrierte Rundschau*, supplement to *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* 83, no. 52 (2 March 1913).
- 333 Measurements supplied by Federigo Hermanin, Rome.
- 333 Namely: *The Breaking of Bucephalus and the Slaying of Pausanias*.
- 333 Friedrich Panzer, “Der romanische Bilderfries am südlichen Choreingang des Freiburger Münsters und seine Deutung,” *Freiburger Münsterblätter* 1, no. 1 (1906): 1 ff., especially 2 ff., and “Das Flugproblem in Mythos, Sage und Dichtung,” in *Denkschrift der Ersten Internationalen Luftschiffahrt-Ausstellung zu Frankfurt a.M.* (Berlin, 1909), 1:118 ff.
- The relationship between the various redactions of the *Romance of Alexander* is examined by Gabriel Millet, “L’ascension d’Alexandre,” *Syria* 4 (1923): 85–133, where he also lists the literature.
- On the iconography, see also Campbell Dodgson, “Alexander’s Journey to the Sky: A Woodcut by Schäufelein,” *Burlington Magazine* 6 (1905): 395 ff.; R. S. Loomis, “Alexander the Great’s Celestial Journey,” *Burlington Magazine* 32 (1918): 136 ff., 177 ff.
- 333 On Wauquelin see Paul Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française* (Paris, 1886), 2:313 ff., also Georges Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, Bibliothèque du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, no. 8 (Paris, 1909), 143 ff. The manuscript in Gotha (I.107, fol. 198<sup>v</sup>–200<sup>r</sup>) seems on heraldic evidence to have belonged to Elisabeth, daughter of Jean d’Etampes (for whom Wauquelin wrote). She married Jean de Clèves in 1456. Her arms on marriage described thus by E. Laloire, *Le livre d’heures de Philippe de Clèves* (Brussels, 1906), 7.
- Doutrepoint, 144, n. 2: manuscript of Philippe de Clèves.
- Manuscript after 1456 in any case.
- The French text of Wauquelin’s narrative of Alexander’s celestial journey is printed by Millet, *Syria* 4 (1923): 126.
- 335 On Greek costume see “Piero della Francesca’s *Battle of Constantine*,” pp. 339 ff., and the account by Vespasiano da Bisticci, pp. 490 f.
- 336 Alexander’s journey in relation to solar myths: see E. Herzfeld, “Der Thron des Khosrô,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 41 (Berlin, 1920): 123 ff., and the literature cited therein; also Franz Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage* (Freiburg, 1901), 92, 125 ff., and Richard Holland, “Zur Typik der Himmelfahrt,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1925): 213, 215.

The connection with the themes of Oriental romance is finely elucidated by Erwin

Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1900), 192 ff., 197 ff. On the Oriental origins of the myth and the connection with Etana, see Bruno Meissner, *Alexander und Gilgames* (Leipzig, 1894), 17 f.

- 336 On the Malachbel cult: altar from Palmyra, in the Museo Capitolino; see Helbig, *Führer durch die Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer Roms* (1912), 1:419 f., no. 767. Franz Cumont, “L’autel palmyrénien du musée du Capitole,” *Syria* 9 (Paris, 1928): 101ff, with illustration.

On the griffins: Roscher, *Mythologisches Lexikon*, vol. 2, part 2, col. 2300 f. (Drexler).

The solar head above the eagle reappears in one of the woodcuts of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499), fol. f VII<sup>r</sup>; see Christian Huelsen, *Le illustrazioni della “Hypnerotomachia Polifili” e le antichità di Roma* (Florence, 1910), 4 f.

An interesting resurgence of interest in Alexander as a supernatural being, in the reign of the sun-worshiper Helagabalus (A.D. 221), is mentioned by Jacob Burckhardt (after Dio Cassius 79.18): *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, in *Gesamtausgabe* 2:192, n. 87.

- 336 The commission for the Alexander tapestries in E. Soil, *Les tapisseries de Tournai* (Tournai and Lille, 1892), 236, no. 56: “Chambre de tapisseries de l’histoire d’Alexandre,” sold by Pasquier Grenier to Duke Philip the Good. See also Betty Kurth, “Die Blütezeit der Bildwirkerkunst zu Tournai und der burgundische Hof,” *Jahrbuch der Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 34 (1917): 71 ff.

Identified as Tournai workmanship from the Grenier workshop: *bûcherons* (woodmen), *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* (1907), see our p. 319; cf. *vignerons* (winegrowers), *Les arts*, no. 141 (1913): 27, our p. 484. On this see Marian Morelowski, “Der Krakauer Schwanritter-Wandteppich und sein Verhältnis zu den französischen Wandteppichen des XV. Jahrhunderts,” *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der K.K. Zentralkommission für Denkmalpflege* 6 (1912), supplement, 117 ff. This refers to the *Knight of the Swan* tapestry in Cracow, commissioned by Philip the Good, presumably in connection with his plans for a Crusade. In it, the hero and heroine of the romance bear portrait likenesses of their alleged descendants, Philip himself and his wife, Isabeau of Portugal.

Esther tapestries from the workshop of Pasquier Grenier: Paul Leprieux, “Le don Albert Bossy,” *Fondation Piot, monuments et mémoires* 10 (April 1903): 245 ff.

- 337 On the significance of antiquity for Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, see Doutrepont, 134 ff., 177 ff., 181 ff.

On Vasco de Lucena’s *Romance of Alexander* (a paraphrased translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus) and its prologue, see Doutrepont, 182 f. On the miniatures that illustrate it, see A. Pinchart, “Miniaturistes, enlumineurs et calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire,” *Bulletin des Commissions royales d’art et d’archéologie* (Brussels, 1865), 496 ff.

- 337 Alexander tapestries in Trier, at the meeting between Charles the Bold and Frederick III: see A. Pinchart, *Tapisseries flamandes*, vol. 3 of *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, 30.
- 337 Mehmed II's interest in Alexander: see Friedrich Pfister, "Zur Geschichte der Alexandertradition und des Alexanderromans," *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie*, no. 42 (1911): 3 ff.; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 2, to 1538 (Gotha, 1909), 40, 49.

Mehmed knew the classical redaction of the *Romance of Alexander*, by Quintus Curtius Rufus, which was read aloud to him by Ciriaco d'Ancona. Charles the Bold also possessed it in French translation; see the Venetian Chronicle of Zorzo Dolfin in Thomas, "Die Eroberung Constantinopels im Jahre 1453," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 2 (1868): 5 f.:

*El signor Maumetho gran Turco, e zouene d anni 26, ben complexionato, et de corpo piu presto grande, che mediocre de statura, nobile in le arme, de aspetto piu presto horrendo, che verendo, de poco riso, solerte de prudentia, et predito de magnanima liberalita, obstinato nel proposito, audacissimo in ogni cosa, aspirante a gloria quanto Alexandro Macedonico, ogni di se fa lezer historie romane, et de altri da uno compagno d.º Chiriaco d'Ancona, et da un altro Italo, da questi se fa lezer Laertio, Herodoto, Liuio, Quinto Curtio, Cronice de i papi, de imperatori, de re di Franza, de Longobardi; usa tre lingue turcho, greco, et schiauo. Diligentemente se informa del sito de Itallia, et de i luoghi doue capitono Anchise cum Enea et Anthenor, doue e la sede dil papa, del Imperator, quanti regni sono in Europa, la quale ha depenta cum li reami et prouincie. Niuna cosa cum magior aplauso, et uolupta che el sito del mundo aprende et la scientia di cose militar, arde di uolunta de signorizar, cauto explorator de le cose. cum tale, et cosi fato homo habiamo a far nui Christiani.*

(The Lord Mehmet, the Grand Turk, twenty-six years old, of robust constitution, rather tall than of medium height, courageous in battle; his appearance is such as to inspire terror rather than reverence. He smiles little, is painstaking and prudent, blessed with noble munificence, resolute of purpose, bold in all respects, and as ambitious of glory as Alexander of Macedon. Every day he causes histories of Rome and other tales to be read to him by a companion called Ciriaco d'Ancona; another companion, an Italian, reads Laertius, Herodotus, Livy, Quintus Curtius, and chronicles of the popes and emperors, of the kings of France, and of the Lombards. He speaks three languages: Turkish, Greek, and Slavonic. He inquires minutely into the geography of Italy; the places where Anchises, Aeneas, and Antenor lived; where the pope and emperor have their seats; how many kingdoms there are in Europe. He has a map of Europe, with the countries and provinces marked upon it. He enjoys nothing better than to study the geography of the world and the science of military matters; he burns with the desire to rule, and he is a careful inquirer into the facts. This is the kind of man with whom we Christians have to deal.)

This passage is from Giacomo Langusto; see E. Jacobs, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Mehemed II," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929–30): 199.

Bajazer's alleged descent from Alexander is mentioned by Froissart, *Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 15 (Brussels, 1871): 322; Alexander tapestries as ransom for John the Fearless, *ibid.*, 337, 339; Pinchart, 15, based on this.

### Piero della Francesca's *Battle of Constantine*

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- 339 Published as "Piero della Francescas Constantinschlacht in der Aquarellkopie von Johann Anton Ramboux," in *L'Italia e l'arte straniera: Atti del X. Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte a Roma* [1912] (Rome, 1922), 326–27.
- 342 At approximately the same time as Warburg, Venturi made the same remark in his *Storia dell'arte italiana* 7.1 (1911): 451.
- 342 In his frivolous prolixity, Gozzoli—who in the Palazzo Medici chapel shows the Greek emperor as a member of the retinue of the Three Magi—fails to appreciate the seriousness of the mission on which these Greeks had come.

I recognize the character heads of the Greek emperors (red-brown hair, wonderfully delicate features) in the men wearing Byzantine headdresses who appear in the illustrated Plutarch manuscript in the Malatesta library, Cesena (Plut. 15.1, 2; Plut. 17.3). These codices are described by R. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (Cesena, 1887), 374 ff., 396 f.; see also Domenico Fava, *Emilia e Romagna*, Tesori delle Biblioteche d'Italia, no. 1 (Milan, 1932), 94.

The powerful impression made in Florence by the appearance of the dignitaries of the Byzantine Church is a matter of record: see the literature cited by A. della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica* (Florence, 1902), 427 f. Bartolomeo di Michele del Corazza, in his *Diario fiorentino* (*Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 14:297) makes special mention of the emperor's hat, with its brim rising into a point at the front.

There was much more to this interest in Greek dress than the mere curiosity inspired by the odd, the fantastic, and the exotic; for contemporary Byzantine costume was actually believed to be identical with that of the ancient Greeks [see p. 335], as seen in much-admired antique marble fragments. In his "Vita di Eugenio IV Papa," Vespasiano da Bisticci describes the splendor of the dignitaries at the Council of Florence and goes on:

*Non passerò che io non dica qui una singolare loda de' Greci. I Greci, in anni mille cinquecento o più, non hanno mai mutato abito: quello medesimo abito avevano in quello tempo, ch'eglino avevano avuto nel tempo detto; come si vede ancora in Grecia nel luogo che si chiama i campi Filippi, dove sono molte storie di marmo, drentovi uomini vestiti alla greca, nel modo che erano allora.*

*Vite di uomini illustri* 1 (Bologna, 1892): 18.

(I will not pass over one extraordinary circumstance that is greatly to the credit of the Greeks: in fifteen hundred years or more, they have never changed their mode of dress. The garments that they wore on that occasion were the same as they wore so long ago. In Greece today, at the place known as the Fields of Philippi,



where there are many marble sculptures, you may see men dressed in the Greek fashion, just as they were in days of old.)

It is possible that Vespasiano knew of the marble fragments at Philippi from Ciriaco d'Ancona, who was in Florence in 1439, and who, on an earlier journey, had visited Philippi itself (on this see Franciscus Scalamentius, "Vita Kiriaci Anconitani," in Colucci, *Antichità picene* 15 (Fermo, 1792): lxxxiii).

The Quattrocento painters were thus justified, by their own lights, in accepting the antiquarian correctness of Byzantine costume (as seen, e.g., in the miniatures in the Riccardiana Virgil; see p. 415); and we may assume that they believed themselves to be depicting authentic costumes *alla greca*.

- 342 This fresco is an indescribably weighty summons to the Christians of Europe to rise against the Turkish terror: a call that could not be more powerfully expressed than through the analogy (which was one drawn by the refugees themselves) with the first decisive battle between infidels and Christians. "Peoples of Europe, save your holiest possessions." The exiled Christian emperor of the Greeks (John Palaeologus) speaks in the words of the first (Constantine): "*in hoc signo vinces*" (under this sign you will vanquish). In vain. Italy was not to be roused from its mercantile self-seeking (alum, scarlet cloth for the Orient).

The (panic) terror of Medusa emanates from the hand of Constantine: a Christian Perseus, he scatters the Turkish hordes.—Above (in the fresco of the *Battle of Chosroes*, fig. 65), the *velis nolisve* approach is tried, in the style of the Arch of Trajan: a warrior grasps the kneeling figure by the forelock—no good. Fortuna refuses to be roused to a Crusade by Pope Pius; she would rather stick to commerce. Fortuna Cornucopia. Pope Pius dies in the attempt.

Even without the snaky locks, the little cross holds all the terror of Perseus's Medusa head—with none of the muscular rhetoric of the flying Grecian god. This spiritual effect (paralleled only in Masaccio's scene of the Shadow Healing) transforms the battle scene into a mystery play of the soul.

Out of the *mêlée* (*plexus*), by way of distinction [*die Diastase*], to the expressive dynamic glyph [*zum pathetischen Dynamogramm*].

The execution of the frescoes in Arezzo may be dated (Longhi, *Piero della Francesca*, Rome, 1927, 45, 77) to the period 1452–1462, covering the exact period from Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople to Pius II's most urgent campaign for a Crusade, which ended with the fiasco of 1464 and the Pope's death.

This episode, in which a unified European religious project was thwarted by the pressure of economic interests, has several times been described: see, for instance, Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance, Gesamtausgabe* 5 (1930): 68 ff.; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* 1:571 ff., 2:39 ff., 22 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age* (Leipzig, 1885), 313 ff.

The main product of the Levant, in return for which—papal interdictions notwithstanding—the Sultan received large annual sums from the Italian market, was alum (see the literature given on p. 299, n. 15, and pp. 476 f.: Goswin von der Ropp and G. Zippel). Pius II's attempt to counter this, by employing the revenues from the papal monopoly of the Tolfa alum mines to finance his Crusade, did not succeed.

It was the Levant, furthermore, that imported the scarlet cloth manufactured in Florence. This is specifically mentioned as an export article in the defense brief drawn up by the Florentine *Comune* in reply to complaints from Venice: “*sericum et purpuram et pretiosiores quosdam ex lana pannos vendebant Turchis*” (they sold silk and scarlet and certain precious woolen stuffs to the Turks): Giuseppe Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll’Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Florence, 1879), 208, document 162; and Alfred Doren, *Studien aus der florentinischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (Stuttgart, 1901): 122 ff. For this reason, even while preparations for a Crusade were under way, Florence maintained cordial relations with the Sublime Porte: Alamanno Rinuccini, in *Ricordi storici di Filippo di Cino Rinuccini*, ed. Ajazzi (Florence, 1840), xci, and Benedetto Dei, *Cronaca*, extract in Pagnini, *Della decima* 2 (Lisbon and Lucca, 1765): 257.

Relations were at their most cordial in 1479, when the Sultan turned over the Pazzi conspirator Bernardo Bandini to Lorenzo and received in return his portrait on a medal by Bertoldo: E. Jacobs, “Die Mehemed-Medaille des Bertoldo,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 48 (1927): 1 ff. The reverse of that medal shows a pagan triumph: a compliment from Lorenzo that overrides religious scruples and treats the victorious Turk as a political and economic power—in total antithesis to the magical use of the cross in the religious triumph of Constantine (see Warburg’s analysis of Fortune as “a symbol of energy,” in the Sassetti essay, pp. 240 f.).

Aeneas Silvius, who in his youth had celebrated the victory of Alfonso of Aragon as a successful act of grasping Fortuna by the forelock—*velis nolisve* (pp. 453 ff.)—was later, as Pope Pius II, to cite Constantine’s victory under the sign of the cross as an example of divine intervention. Victory, he said, was not a goddess sent by Jupiter but an angel sent by God to the divinely chosen victor (speech at the Congress of Mantua, 1459, *Opera*, Basel, 1551, 909 f.).

Jacobus Volaterranus, in his *Diarium romanum* (in Muratori, *Scriptores rerum italicarum*, Milan, 1733, col. 194; see d’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* 1:289), writes of a *Historia Constantini*, performed in Rome in 1484 before Sixtus IV, whose crusading fleet had retaken Otranto from the Turks in 1481. In this, the role of Constantine was taken by a Genoese citizen who had been born and bred in Constantinople.

In a *Rappresentazione di Constantino Imperatore*, published by d’Ancona (*Sacre rappresentazioni*, 1872, 2:187 ff.), a distinction is made between a Christian and an infidel expectation of victory. Maxentius says: “*Alla Fortuna mi convien commettere*” (I must commit myself to Fortune); whereas the captain, to whom Constantine tells his dream of an angel bringing him the sign of the cross and the promise of certain victory, replies: “*tal segno ne’ vessilli porteremo, / E vittoria dal ciel, spero, n’aremo*” (We will bear that sign on our standards, / And heaven, I hope, will send us victory). None of which prevents the author from specifying that after the battle Constantine “*sale in suo carro trionfale*” (mounts his triumphal car).

For a pictorial representation of the legend of the true cross, in connection with the Crusades planned in the fifteenth century, see Camille Benoît, “Le tableau de l’invention de la vraie Croix,” *Fondation Piot, Monuments et mémoires* 10 (Paris, 1903): 263 ff.

The action of grasping the defeated foe by the forelock, as a emotive, rhetorical formula (*Pathosformel*) in the art of antiquity, was known to the Renaissance from Trajan's Column (Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, 98 f., pl. 71, fig. 151) and also—even more similar to the group in the fresco—from the sarcophagus that stood in front of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome in the fifteenth century; its composition is recorded in contemporary drawings, including one in the Codex Escorialensis: H. Egger, *Codex Escorialensis: Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios* (Vienna, 1905), 133 f., fol. 55, and Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs* 2:96 f., pl. 33, no. 79.

### Medicean Pageantry at the Valois Court

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- 343 Published as "Medicäische Feste am Hofe der Valois auf flandrischen Teppichen in der Galleria degli Uffizi," *Kunstchronik und Kunstliteratur*, supplement no. 9 (December 1927) to *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 61 (1927–28): 97–98.

- 343 Abel Jouan, *Recueil et discours du voyage du roy Charles IX de ce nom, a présent regnant...ès années 1564 et 1565* (Paris: Jean Bonfons, 1566); reprinted with notes by Marquis d'Aubais, *Pièces fugitives pour servir à l'histoire de France*, 1.1 (Paris, 1759): 1–74.

Abel Jouan, *Ample discours de l'arrivée de la royne catholique, sœur du roy, a Saint Jehan de Lus, de son entrée à Bayonne, et du magnifique recueil...; avec déclarations des jeux, combats, tournoys, courses de bagues, mascarades, comédies et autres démonstrations d'allégresse...* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1565); reprinted in Aubais, *ibid.*, vol. 1.2, *Mélanges*, 13–23.

*Recueil des choses notables faites à Bayonne à l'entrevue de Charles IX avec la royne catholique sa sœur* (Paris: Vascosan, 1566), with vignettes; extracts reprinted in Paul Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique* (Paris, 1909), 743–54.

*Li grandissimi apparati e reali trionfi fatti per il re e la regina di Franza nella Città di Baiona nell'abboccamento della regina catholica di Spagna* (Padua and Milan, 1565).

Brantôme, *Vie de Catherine de Médicis*, in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Lalanne, 7 (Paris, 1873): 369–73.

[Dorat], "Magnificentissimi spectacula a Regina, regum matre in hortis suburbanis editi descriptio," in *Henrici Regis Poloniae invictissimi nuper renunciati gratulationem descriptio* (Paris: Morel, 1573), with 20 engravings ascribed to Jean Cousin.

These texts are discussed, and the tapestries that pertain to them are illustrated, by Henri Prunières, "Ronsard et les fêtes de cour," in *Ronsard et la musique*, special issue of *Revue musicale*, 1924:27 ff. See also Prunières, *Le ballet de cour en France* (Paris, 1914), 43 ff., 69 ff.; and Lanson, "Études sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1903:177–231, 413–36. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, 223 ff.

- 343 Erich Marcks, *Die Zusammenkunft von Bayonne* (Strasbourg, 1889), 178 ff., and in particular 192 f.

Benno Hilliger, “Katharina von Medici und die Zusammenkunft in Bayonne (1565),” *Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch*, 6th ser., 11 (Leipzig, 1892): 241–317.

Paul van Dyke, *Catherine de Médicis* (London, 1923), 1:317 ff.

Jean-H. Mariéjol, *Catherine de Médicis*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1922), 150 ff.

- 343 Jean-Antoine de Baïf, “Les Mascarades de Monseigneur le duc de Longueville à Bayonne,” in *Œuvres en rime*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, 2 (Paris, 1883): 331–42.

In Pierre de Ronsard, “Les Mascarades, combats et cartels, faits à Paris et au carnaval de Fontainebleau,” in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Laumonier, 3 (Paris, 1914–19): 465 ff., the following items are particularly close in content to the festive performances in Bayonne: “Trophée de l’Amour,” 3:465 ff., “Trophée de la Chasteté,” 3:467 ff., “Les Sereines,” 3:475 ff. Notes on these, 7:400; discussed by Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique* (Paris, 1909), 218 ff.

Ronsard’s contribution to the welcoming festivities for the Polish ambassadors (1573), in Pierre Champion, *Ronsard et son temps* (Paris, 1925), 252 ff., and Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, 244, 755 ff.

See Jacques Madeleine, “Ronsard à Fontainebleau,” *La Province* (Le Havre, 1901), 222 ff., 257 ff., 341 ff.

- 348 In connection with what follows, see the essay “Theatrical Costumes” and the addendum on pp. 540 f. Also Paul-Marie Masson, “L’humanisme musical en France au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Essai sur la musique ‘mesurée à l’antique,’” *Mercure musical* 3 (1907): 333 ff., 677 ff., and especially 715 ff.

- 348 The festivities of 1572, in honor of the king of Navarre, in which Charles IX himself appeared as Neptune in a chariot drawn by sea horses, mark a transitional stage between the aquatic pageantry at Bayonne and the Great Seal of Charles II of England, mentioned later. Where once the god was introduced to pay homage to the prince, here the prince himself becomes the god. See the sources cited by Prunières, *Le ballet de cour*, 71 f.

- 348 The inscription on the Great Seal of Charles II of England, which has also found its way onto the Barbados postage stamp, reads as follows: “*Et penitus toto regnantes orbe Britannos*” (And the Britons, rulers of almost the whole world): a courtly adaptation of line 66 of Virgil’s first Eclogue, in which the shepherd Meliboeus laments the cruel fate that will drive him from his home, as far afield as the Scythians “*et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*” (and the Britons, almost the whole world away).

John Ogilby (1600–1676), “The King’s Cosmographer and Geographical Printer,” was praised by Dryden for his part in the decor for the festivities at Charles II’s coronation, and himself published an account of them (1661). He was also the author of a translation of Virgil (editions in 1649, 1654, and 1665, with engravings by Wenzel Hollar); see *Dictionary of National Biography* 14:908 ff.

### The Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589

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- 349 Published in an Italian translation by A. Giorgetti as “I costumi teatrali per gli intermezzi del 1589: I disegni di Bernardo Buontalenti e il libro di conti di Emilio de’ Cavalieri,” in *Atti dell’Accademia del R. Istituto Musicale di Firenze* (Anno 1895): *Commemorazione della Riforma Melodrammatica*, 133–46.

*Translator’s note.* The present translation is based on Warburg’s original German text, published in *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike* (hereafter, *Erneuerung*), 422–38, but reflects the cuts and material revisions made in the Italian publication. Passages of the German text omitted from the Italian version have been translated below.

- 349 In addition to the accounts cited (see p. 387): [Vittorio Benacci], *Le ultime feste et apparati superbissimi fatti in Fiorenza nelle nozze del Serenissimo Gran Duca di Toscana* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1589). (Bigazzi 3379.) Copies in Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Misc. 2496 and 2636. Benacci principally describes the “*Caccia degli animali*” (wild beast hunt) and the “*Festa navale*” (naval pageant) in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti.

A general survey is afforded by the engravings of Orazio Scarabelli, after etchings by Gualterotti: ten of these are in the British Museum. According to a kind communication from K. T. Parker, from whom the following information also comes, their approximate dimensions are 24 × 34 cm. The architectural forms correspond to those in the etchings in Raffaello Gualterotti, *Della descrizione del regale apparato fatto nella nobile città di Firenze per la venuta e per le nozze della Serenissima Madama Cristina di Lorena moglie del Serenissimo Don Ferdinando Medici*... (Florence: Antonio Padovani, 1589), except that there are figures in the niches, and the rectangular blank areas are filled in with figures. No. 8 shows the mock sea-fight staged in the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti; no. 10, a procession of knights arriving at the tourney on the Piazza S. Croce.

On Orazio Scarabelli, see Nagler, *Künstlerlexikon* 17:22 f.

- 350 On the revival of the game of *calcio* on the Piazza della Signoria, see Alfredo Lensi, *Il giuoco del calcio fiorentino* (Florence, 1931), with bibliography by Fumagalli. Giovanni de’ Bardi has left us detailed and technically precise descriptions: *Discorso sopra il giuoco del calcio fiorentino* (Florence, 1580) (Bigazzi 2605), reprinted in *Memorie del calcio fiorentino* (Florence, 1688) (Bigazzi 3655).

- 350 Angelo Solerti, *Gli albori del melodramma* (1904–5), 44, pointed out that the notes of Girolamo Serjacopi, *Provveditore delle fortezze de Firenze*, had escaped Warburg’s attention. Warburg therefore intended to work this document, which is an extremely informative one for the history of the Renaissance theater, into a German version of “Theatrical Costumes.”

Girolamo Serjacopi is known from letters published by Gaye, *Carteggio degli artisti* 3 (Florence, 1840): 469 n., 513, 518 n., 520, and by Gualandi, *Nuova raccolta*

*di lettere*, ed. Bottari and Ticozzi (Bologna, 1847), nos. 100, 103; and from the frequent mentions of his name in Tanfani Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti pisani* (Pisa, 1897). His duties as engineer commanding the fortifications included, apart from purely military responsibilities, a number of more general ones: he had to oversee the transportation of such things as blocks of marble and statues; he was in charge of certain building works; foundry work also came within his ambit; and he was therefore deputed by the grand ducal court as technical supervisor of the execution of artistic commissions. On Serjacopi, see also F. Kriegbaum, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 48 (1927): 43, 52 n. 1.

The audited accounts of the Ufficiali del Monte for the nuptial festivities of 1589, which exist in a copy in the *Libro dei conti* of Emilio de' Cavalieri (Taglio, p. 91; see our p. 355), show Serjacopi as technical supervisor, equal in status to those in artistic charge of the *Commedia*:

*Copia d'una informatione levata dalla filza settima di speditione de' SS. Ufficiali di Monte et sopra-sindaci sotto di 3 di giugno 1593 presente S. A. Ser<sup>ma</sup> Gran Duca,*

*Conforme a quanto V. A. S. ne comandò si è rivisto il conto della spesa fattasi per l'apparato della commedia, come della sbarra, nelle felicissime nozze di V. A. dalla quale furono deputati il S. Gio: de Bardi, il Sig<sup>r</sup> Emilio de' Cavalieri et Gio: Serjacopi quale esercitò sino che visse, et di poi seguì Girolamo Serjacopi suo successore, et Bernardo Buontalenti come architetto di detto apparato et feste e tutti, e pagamenti sono stati fatti per mandati e listre di Francesco Gorini ministro in detto servizio, et sotto scritti dalli sopradetti deputati.*

(Copy of a note taken from the seventh file to be forwarded by the Ufficiali di Monte and the auditors on 3 June 1593, to His Serene Highness the Grand Duke.

As requested by Your Most Serene Highness, the revised account for expenses incurred for the stage decorations of the play, and the curtains, in celebration of Your Highness's most happy nuptials. In charge were Messrs. Giovanni de' Bardi, Emilio de' Cavalieri, and Giovanni Serjacopi (the last-named held office until his death and was succeeded by Girolamo Serjacopi, his heir). Bernardo Buontalenti was the architect of the aforementioned stage decorations and of the festivities in general. All the payments have been made by orders and lists drawn up by Francesco Gorini, also in the service of Your Highness, and signed by the above-named persons in charge.)

Girolamo Serjacopi's *Memorie e ricordi* form a manuscript of 68 leaves, closely written on both sides. They constitute a memorandum book, in which Serjacopi himself made a note of all work to be done, and his collaborators, whose different functions are thus revealed, expressed their individual wishes and complaints. This is shown by the diversity of the handwriting and the question-and-answer form of numerous entries.

Emilio de' Cavalieri acted as intermediary between the court and the theater in matters concerning the outer form and sequence of the performance, and was responsible for the performances of the actors and musicians (see, for instance, our p. 502). Giovanni de' Bardi involved himself with the detail of stage design, because he needed to make sure that his own erudite intentions were being carried out (pp. 500, 504,

507 ff.). The task of making Bardi's subtle *concetti* scenically effective, of translating them into a theatrical language that would be visually striking and lifelike in movement, fell to Buontalenti. His "machines" — which, according to Vasari (ed. Milanese, 2:375 ff., 3:198 f.), had originally been devised by Brunelleschi — now took on a new importance as part of a fixed stage set.

The new forms of musical expression devised by the Camerata, the *stile recitativo e rappresentativo*, were intended to support the logical coherence of the words by means of an "imitation" of the natural melody of speech, and thus to make the expression both forceful and coherent (see, e.g., Caccini in his Prologue to *Nuove musiche*, quoted by Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig, 1881, 4:156 n. 2, 4:164 f.). Similarly, the "machines" afforded the figures of fantasy on the stage the possibility of moving within the stage space in accordance with apparently natural laws. Though stylistically disparate, the means employed — homophony in music and Baroque elaboration and excess on stage — served a single end.

This revival of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (synthesis of all the arts) as practiced in antiquity, was designed to exert an emotional effect derived from "*la verosimiglianza . . . congiunta col ragionevole*" (verisimilitude conjoined with the rational) Doni, *Della musica scenica*, ch. 2, in *Trattati* 2:16). Emphasis must accordingly be laid on illusionistic accuracy in the design of every single stage property; for only a close musical and scenic approximation to natural events could make this unreal world of pagan deities, heroes, and fabulous beasts credible and palpable to the spectator's feelings.

The frisson of the supernatural and the sublime, which attaches to the theatrical presentation of myth, was thus complemented, in this "natural ordering" of things, by an affective response to the actions and the sufferings of characters whose mobility, physical and emotional, made them convincingly human. It was just this principle of approximation to nature that endowed the musical style of the *Riforma Melodrammatica* with that emotionally "moving" quality (mentioned in almost every contemporary account) that was believed to come close to the *effetti meravigliosi* (marvelous effects) of antiquity.

The fame that accrued to Buontalenti's machines proves that their importance in this connection was recognized; and consequently the *Memorie* of Serjacopi, apart from the vivid glimpse they afford of the course of preparations for the performance, serve to document the very evolution outlined by Warburg at the end of his essay — the evolution that led to the emergence of opera.

Supplementing the colorful and mysteriously mobile world whose effect Rossi describes from the viewpoint of the audience, and whose realism he constantly stresses, the *Memorie* afford a backstage view of the work of the craftsmen and the workings of the machines. Thus, the helm of a ship must be clearly visible, if it is to convey the impression of realistic movement (p. 511). Painted figures are combined with others that are shown in relief and with costumes, and with others again that are cut out of cardboard and slide to and fro across the stage on rails, in order to enhance the scenic characterization (as in the distant vista of the nautical scene, p. 503). The instruments of those supernumerary musicians who enrich the sound by playing as a band on stage must be disguised in such a way that they enhance the overall effect

(pp. 504 f., 507, 509). And the importance attached to the effectiveness of the monsters, whose lack of verisimilitude must be countered by an enhanced impact on the senses, is revealed by the frequency with which they are mentioned, by the attention paid to such touches as the fire-spitting eyes of Pluto (pp. 503, 508, 511), and especially by the fact that the making of the dragon's claws and head from papier-mâché was entrusted to no less a person than Valerio Cioli, who was equally famous for his restorations of antique works of art and for his own grotesque inventions (Baldinucci, 3:504 ff., Borghini, *Riposo*, 1584, 599 ff., our p. 502).

The greatest care was applied to the complex apparatus that was required to produce this consummate illusion; Buontalenti was called upon for devices and designs for all purposes, from smoke extraction or water tanks to the beams supporting the clouds for Signora Vittoria and the *Paradiso* (because otherwise the ladies in the cast would refuse to board them): pp. 502, 506, etc.

The responsibility that attached to Serjacopi in all this emerges from two letters that he wrote to the grand duke in connection with the preparations for the wedding; they are now in the Archivio di Stato in Florence, together with others in his hand. In one (Carteggio mediceo, Principato, fa. 802, c. 489) he told the grand duke on 25 December 1588, that he had just prevented an outbreak of fire in the Sala della Commedia; this had been caused by the gross negligence of two workmen in standing a half-burnt candle on a piece of wood. Mindful of his responsibilities, he had committed both men to the Bargello, not only to punish their dangerous neglect but to make others take better care in the future. If he had been wrong to imprison the men,

*... li chiedo remissione ricordandoli l'importantia delle cose sue e l'interesse del offitio mio, e se quando si antivede i pericoli non si punisce, e rimedia non servono dopo sono seguite le disgratie.*

(...I crave forgiveness, and would ask Your Highness to bear in mind the importance of your affairs and the concerns of my position; when dangers are foreseen, they require no redress. Remedies are of little use, when disasters have already happened.)

The second letter (Carteggio Med. Prin. fa. 805, c. 21), dated 2 March 1588 (O.S.), shows the conscientious official struggling unavailingly to cope with an unreliable artistic colleague (cf. Buontalenti's lists, pp. 503, 505 f., and Cavalieri's remarks, p. 513):

*Molto Illustre P. mio oss<sup>mo</sup>,*

*Questo dì 2 di Marzo ho ricevuto da Bernardo Buontalenti la listra di più occorrentie per la commedia, ma non per la sbarra, dicendo di non havere alcune resolutioni dal S. Emilio con il quale sarò domattina, di sorte si dia resolutione alli negotij, quali caminano al quanto meglio. Bernardo si è fatto fare fedi come più fa fece, e a me dette la listra, e che subito la resi. il che sta in questo modo, che ricordandoli io con instantia la listra, mi disse haverla cominciata e me ne mostrò alcuni capi, e in quello stante la resi per non essere la quarta parte e per non stare a modo, e la datami al presente non è intera, sicome si verificherà in breve, che si ordinerà di più molte altre cose che non sono in listra. e se quella parte di listra mostrami tre settimane fa fussi stata a modo l'harei accettata, e non resola subito come cosa non approposito. e perchè potrebbe essere che Bernardo*



*ne facessi trattare a S. A. S. da qualche suo confidente, desidero V. S. li dica che se mai si trova cosa da me detta diversa al vero, mi faccia a doppio e rigorosamente punire e per certificarsene faccia vedere questo e ogni altra cosa per giustizia per la quale troverà il fondamento dell'attioni mia, e delle altrui. e io non potrò ricevere maggiore benefitia, e favore... Mi perdoni de' fastidij e comandi come a servitore obblighatissimo con il qual fine li baccio la mano e pregho da dio ogni contento. Di Firenze, 2 marzo 1588. Di V. S. M. Ill<sup>e</sup> S<sup>re</sup> obblighatissimo. Girolamo Serjacopi.*

(Most Illustrious and Respected Prince,

Today, 2 March, I received from Bernardo Buontalenti the list of requisites for the play, but not for the *sbarra*; he said he had had no decision from Signor Emilio, with whom I shall meet tomorrow morning in order to settle these matters, which are progressing after a fashion. Bernardo made promises, as he has done before, and gave me the list, but I gave it back to him at once, for the following reason. I had been reminding him constantly of the list, and he told me he had started it, showing me a few headings. I gave it back to him there and then because it did not contain a quarter of what was required, and he had not done it properly. The list he has just given me is not complete either, as will shortly become apparent, when many things absent from the list are called for. If the partial list that was shown me three weeks ago had been in order, I would have accepted it and not handed it back instantly as inadequate. Because it is possible that Bernardo will attempt to treat directly with His Most Serene Highness through some friend of his, I desire Your Lordship to tell him that if ever anything I have said proves to be an untruth, I am to be doubly and severely punished, and for Your Lordship's own satisfaction let this or any other matter be brought before the courts, so that Your Lordship may discern the underlying causes of what I and others have done. I could receive no greater boon or favor than this... Please pardon any trouble I may cause, and command me as your most obliged, humble servant. To which end I kiss your hand and pray that God may grant you felicity. Florence, 2 March 1588. Your Lordship's most obliged servant, Girolamo Serjacopi.)

Extracts from the *Memorie e ricordi* of Girolamo Serjacopi,

*Provveditore del castello di Firenze*

Archivio di Stato, Florence,

Arch. Magistrato delle Nove, fa. 3679

[The manuscript is not printed here in its entirety. The passages selected are those that are either particularly relevant to Warburg's essay or well suited to elucidate or complement Rossi's account of the spectacle as seen on stage. ]

Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: *Addì 5 di Ottobre 1588* {Dates are Old Style.}

*Il Sigr Gio: de' Bardi ordina che si dia mano al fare li abiti per li intermedi et si proteste ch'essendovi difficoltà nessuna si dica adesso et che se non si sarà, poi a tempo non ne vuole essere tenuto a mente.*

Addì 12<sup>do</sup>

*Il Sig<sup>r</sup> Gio: de Bardi ordina che si faccino le appiè cose, cioè l'acconciature di tutte le maschere delli intermedi quali prima le maschere —*

*Le cose che hanno in mano et sotto che sono animali figure o strumenti*

*Altre carte peste per quoprire strumenti da sonare*

*Penne d'oca la seconda per il primo intermedio grandissime pulite per n<sup>i</sup> 22 figure che 17 per il primo intermedio et 5 per il secondo che vorrà essere.*

Fol. 9<sup>v</sup>: Addì 6 di Xmbre 1588

*Sono andato a Pitti... per pregiare le statue che sono atorno la salone se ne pigli informatione da M: Gio: Bologna, dall' Ammanato e da Valerio Cioli. Nota di quello che M: Bernardo Buontalenti e M: Anfolso Parigi danno in nota bisognare per il ponte che partirà del salone della commedia per andare al salone dipinto di palazzo [i.e., the Palazzo Vecchio; no note follows].*

*Canne 120 di asse di albero... [etc.]*

Fol. 11<sup>r</sup>: Addì 10 Xmbre 1588

*Il s<sup>r</sup> Gio: ordina che non si provi mai intermedi se non ci è Sua Signoria et se non l'ordina lui perchè vuole le cose passino per suo segno et si faccino huomini pratici nella quantità che bisogna per tante cose.*

Addì 11. d<sup>ro</sup>

*Franc<sup>o</sup> di Dom<sup>co</sup> Rosselli ha ordinato se li faccino e'ponti per sul palcho della sci-ena dove e'possa dipigniere il giardino.*

*Nota di un ordine lasciato di M: Benedetto Tornaquinci di quante maschere s'a far fare per il primo intermedio e di che sorte e prima:*

N <sup>o</sup> 1	Maschera per donna belliss <sup>ma</sup> di anni 25	[Armonia]
N <sup>o</sup> 8	Maschere per 8 donne belle di anni 25 in su l'una	} [Sirens, see Warburg's list]
N <sup>o</sup> 6	Maschere per donne belle di simil sorte che la disopra	
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	Maschera per donna di anni 25 inc <sup>a</sup> belliss <sup>ma</sup> e inargentata	[Luna]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	Maschera simile per donna ordinaria ma belliss <sup>ma</sup>	[Venus]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	simile	[Mars?]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	Maschera da huomo di anni 60 con barba rabufata	[Saturn]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	per huomo giovane che habia il principio della barba	[Mercury]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	per huomo senza barb, adrata	[Sol]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	Maschera con bella faccia d'huomo di anni 35 con bella barba pettinata	[Jupiter]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	per donna bella	[Astraea]
N <sup>o</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup>	simile per donna	[Necessity]
N <sup>o</sup> 3	Maschere per donne belle	[Fates]

Nº 1ª	Maschera per huomo con barba principiata	}	[The 12 heroes in the heavens]
Nº 1ª	Maschera per donna bella		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da huomo con bella barba		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna con bella faccia		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da huomo che mostri denti ma pocho		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna bella		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da huomo di anni 30		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna con viso onesto		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da huomo di anni 30		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna di anni 30		
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna simile	}	[supernumerary musicians]
Nº 1ª	Maschera da donna onestissima		
Nº 4	Maschere da huomo con barbe lunghe e diferente [sic]		
Nº 43	in tutto		

[The six other Harmonies who accompanied Armonia Doria are not listed here because they were simply painted figures: see Rossi, 18 f., “*con tal rilievo dipinte che parean vive.*”]

Fol. 16<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>; Addi 23 di Dicembre 1588

*Nota di huomini che si deputano a diversi servittj per l'intermedj della commedia tutto d'ordine del Sr Gio<sup>ni</sup> de Bardi e M: Bernardo Buontalenti, alla presentia de quali si descrivono e se li assegnano li offitj da fare:*

*Caporali Principali soprastanti a tutte le cose M<sup>o</sup> Nigi legnaiuolo, M<sup>o</sup> Santi Maiani muratore, Domenico dell' Atticiato legnaiuolo, M<sup>o</sup> Piero Fici legnaiuolo, M<sup>o</sup> Anfolso Parigi, Oratio Gratiadio legnaiuolo.*

*Alla prima nugola verso le stanze delli zanni e comedianti.* [Names follow.]

*Alla seconda nugola verso il corridore riscontro alla detta.* [Names follow.]

*Al arghano delle dua nugole sudette e da Fabritio e M<sup>o</sup> Francesco diranno loro quello che debbono fare volta per volta.*

*La seconda nugola dalla banda di dentro e verso le stanze di zanni.*

*Al altra nugola riscontro alla sudetta dalla banda del corridore.*

*A tenere la nugola che si ripieghi quando entra dentro e aiutare scendere.*

*A tirare le dette dua nugole.*

*Alle tre aperture del cielo che sono fatte.*

*Per le dua sportelli delle dua prime nugole, quali sportelli sono nel cielo.*

*Per le dua nugole che escono del cielo ma non calano.*

*La nugola dinanzi della trave che cala.*

*Mandare in terra la tenda; e a fare salire l'altra.*

[Every task in the list is followed by the names of the workmen appointed to carry it out, each classified as a Palazzo or Castello worker, or as a “novice.” The whole list struck out, with the following note:]

*questa lista non serve più havendo Bernardo fattone altra descrizione* [see pp. 505 f.].

Fol. 20<sup>r</sup>: Addì 23 di Dicembre 1588

M: Bernardo Buontalenti ha risoluto quanto appresso sopra i luminarij, lucerne, e altro: Per la sbarra nel cortile de Pitti, e per la commedia nel salone, cioè

Lucerne lunghe quadre, Lucerne tonde grande, Lucerne tonde piccole

[e.g.]                      con 4 lumi

commedia                N° 100

sbarra                    N° 200

                              N° 300

ce ne troviamo        198

mancha                N° 102

Salvadore di Piero lanternaio offerisce a fare le infrascritte e sudette cose a sua robe per li appiè prezzi e fra 15 giorno prossimi al più 20.

Fol. 21<sup>v</sup>: Addì 26 di Dicembre 1588

Questa mattina il S<sup>r</sup> Emilio de' Cavalieri m'ha detto havere lettere per parte di S. A. S. sopra il sollecitare tutte le cose concernenti alle feste Reali nella venuta della S<sup>ma</sup> sposa e per ciò si dia quanto prima principio al viale di legno che si parte dal salone della commedia, passa sopra i tetti e lungo la chiesa di S. Pietro Scheraggi e arriva al salone dipinto dove si ha fare il banchetto...

Perchè commodamente possa il Sig. Emilio fare esercitare li musichi e li comici li bisogna havere il palco libero, bisogna che i pittori e i legnaiuoli lavorino alla commedia fino a vespro. E poi vadino a lavorare nel salone fino a notte. E la sera a veglia tornino a lavorare alla commedia...

Soprattutto ricorda il S. Emilio espressamente che si lavori di pittura quanto più si può con colori e stagniuolo, ma non si tochi d'oro in luogo alguno senza sua saputa.

...Dice che quanto prima si mette mano al Carro trionfale della sbarra per S. A. S. e al carro del negromante.

Fol. 24<sup>r</sup>: Addì 7 di Febbraio 1588

Havendo il S. Gio<sup>ni</sup> da Vernio detto si dia principio al serpente del terzo intermedio [Apollo's dragon] la testa del quale e le zampe vanno fatte di carta pesta essendo il corpo e tutto il resto compreso nel cottimo de legnaiuoli si è chiamato li appiè che dichino per quanto fare la voglino la detta testa e zampe. Dichiarando che la testa è lunga br.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  e alta  $1\frac{1}{8}$  [1 braccio = 58 cm] disegnata in una tela da M: Bernardo. E le zampe alte br.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in circa come apparisce nel libro del terzo intermedio.

Piero Pagholini dice che farà

la testa di terra fior. 30. –

le zampe di terra 10. –

40. –

Michele di Ant<sup>o</sup> scultore la testa fior. 56. –

le zampe di terra 14. –

70. –

Perchè le sudette domande paiono troppo alte s'è commesso a M<sup>o</sup> Valerio Cioli che faccia detti lavori a' quali metterà mano addì 8 di febbraio.

Fol. 25<sup>r-v</sup>: Addì 13 de Febbraio 1588

*(Copia di una lista data a M: Girolamo Proveditore da M: Bernardo questo di 2 di marzo 1588) [see pp. 498 f., 501]. Nota de' lavori che restono a far del cottimo per la comedia a legnaiuoli.*

[The sentences in parentheses have been jotted down by Serjacopi between the lines of the list and show how he gave instructions point by point for the execution of the individual tasks. On the various properties required for the separate Intermedi, see the list on p. 353 and Rossi's description, which exactly tallies with it.]

*In prima le stelle del Cielo del Primo intermedio (ordinate a Orazio addì 10 di marzo 1588).*

*Nel terzo intermedio l'ossatura del serpente e la sua testa et zampe che anno da essere di carta pesta (ordinata a Orazio addì 10 di marzo e M: Bernardo ne farà il disegno [fig. 83]).*

*Un filo di ferro per la figura che a da venire dal cielo per dar al serpente [fig. 83] (b<sup>a</sup> 24 incirca di filo come corda da muratore).*

*Nel quarto intermedio s'a a dintornare le figure dell' inferno e far fornire all'oci-fero con la sua testa et ale e braccia. (Se ne tratti con il S. Gio<sup>ni</sup>. Dice il S. Gio<sup>ni</sup> che quel le si possono vestire, e di rilievo staranno meglio, e l'altre si faccino dintornate il che si e ordinato a Franc<sup>o</sup> Rosselli pittore.)*

*Nel quinto intermedio fare un delfino di quattro br. fatto di carta pesta et l'albero della nave con sua appartenenti. La nuvola della Donna Lucia [sorceress in the fourth Intermedio]. Il suo carro con serpenti et accomodare i fornoli alle case della prospettiva per alluminarla (ordinata la nugola a Orazio legnaiuolo e la dintornatura de' serpenti a Franc<sup>o</sup> Rosselli; ordinato a Orazio che accomodi i fornoli.)*

*Accomodate e Campanili et Camini alla prospettiva (ordinato Orazio legnaiuolo che li faccia).*

*Far le porte alle doi Case prima per poter uscire et entrare l'istrioni (ordinato a Orazio legnaiuolo).*

*Questo di sopra è quanto tocca a fare alli legnaiuoli de Cottimanti.*

*I prima e balaustri e pilastrelli al ribalto del Palco per metter vi dentro i lumi (ordinato a Orazio legnaiuolo che faccia detti lavori).*

*Crescere la nuvola del primo intermedio che vada più alta della Sig<sup>ra</sup> Vittoria [Archilei, as Armonia Doria], si come si a ordinato il S. Emilio (ordinato Orazio legnaiuolo che faccia quanto prima).*

*Fare i canali in sul palco dove anno da passare le figure dintornate et nave et altre cose (ordinati a Orazio legnaiuolo).*

*Accomodate le dua prime nuvole con tele et feltri per coprir canapi e travi (ordinato a Piero Pagolini con ordine che pigli feltri leggeri).*

*Accomodate le tele atorno alla sala incarnate cioè quelle che anno da cadere et nasconderà tetto e gradi (ordinato a Piero Pagolini che l'assetti quanto prima e dice sapere come vanno accomodate).*

*Accomodate le lumiere che si possino accendere senza averla da calare di sul palco.*

*Accomodate le torcie che anno a mettere in mezzo alle finestre della sala (ordinato a Piero Pagolini che trovi muratori et legnaiuoli che le accomodi come hanno a stare).*

Fol. 25<sup>v</sup>:

*Far il Palco della residentia di loro Altezze nel mezzo della sala con balaustri d'intorno.*

*Tutto questo soprascritto è quello s'a da fare fuora del cottimo.*

*Hassi da provvedere tante panche con la spalliera che empino mezza la sala dal palco di lor Altezza alla porta et dinanzi in verso la scena et il restante della sala.*

[Description in Rossi, 7–17.]

*Provvedere panche da predica cioè telai che così si fece l'altra volta.*

*Et fare i rosoni del Palco sfondati per cavar il fumo come arrare nella mostra.*

*Fare le nuvole nel cielo per mettere i frognoli e cavar il fumo (ordinato a Orazio legnaiuolo che le faccia e Piero Pagolini habbia cura di accomodare bene i fornucoli).*

*Bernardo Buontalenti Architetto di S. A. S.*

*Adi doi di Marzo 1588 data a M: Girolamo Seriacopi Proveditore delle Fortezze.*

Fol. 26<sup>r</sup>: Addì 9 di Marzo 1588

*M: Bernardo Architetto ha ordinato che si faccia gran quantità di fiori di carta di tutte sorte. E più N° 100 fornucoli da olio per varij luoghi della prospettiva e sala secondo il modello che ne farà fare un per mostra Piero Pagolini.*

*Si faccia fare delle figurine, e animali di più grandezze andare inanzi e indietro e tutte di cartone. E più delle nave, galere, e altro per rappresentare lontananze e il mare.*

*Il Sigr' Giovanni Bardi da Vernio questi dì 11 di Marzo a dato il sotto scritto ricordo.*

*Nel primo intermedio*

- 1. Il fuso [for Necessity] che sembri di diamante.*
- 2. Acconciare e sederi della nuvola perchè la dea [Necessity, see fig. 95] stia di sopra sola et le tre parche sotto d'un pari che tocchino il fuso (dice M: Bernardo essere acconcio).*
- 3. Far le mandole coi raggi ove siano le otto figure delle due aperture del cielo da i lati [Planets, Astraea].*
- 4. Far adornare Arpe, liuti e altri strumenti che pari sieno fra i raggi celesti far dipingere le figure che vanno sovr'i segni celesti cioè e 7 pianeti at Astrea.*

*Nel secondo intermedio*

- 1. Fare le treccie fare le piche.*
- 2. Adornare li strumenti con qualche cosa boscareccia.*

*Nel terzo intermedio*

- 1. Far il serpente.*
- 2. Apollo finto.*
- 3. Riadornare le Maschere che anno da ballare che son povere [the coppie delfici].*
- 4. Li adornamenti delli strumenti del secondo potranno servire a questi.*

Fol. 26<sup>v</sup>

*Nel quarto intermedio*

1. *Far le ale alle venti della nuvola.*
2. *Far che le quattro viole parino serpenti...*
3. *A'tromboni qualche inventione che parino serpi.*
4. *Li strumenti della nuvola si potranno ornare con quelli raggi del primo intermedio.*

*Quinto intermedio*

*Addornare gli strumenti della dea et delle ninfe che parino nicchie marine e si ricorda il delfino. (Dice M: Bernardo essere fatto.)*

*Sesto intermedio*

1. *Pensar alli splendori.*
2. *Adornare le nuvole che anno da calare di fiori.*

Fol. 27<sup>v</sup>: Addì 14 di Marzo 1588

*Il S. Emilio ordina...*

*Che si facciano i rosoni al palco sfondati rispetto al fumo come a ordinato M: Bernardo.*

*Che si finisca il delfino di carta come a da essere.*

*Che si debbia ordinare di mettere le case della prospettiva poi che dice non stanno bene in quel modo che togliono la vista alle nuvole et in somma trovar modo che ogni cosa si finisca e presto.*

Fol. 28<sup>v</sup>: Addì 14 di Marzo 1588

*Si e trattato sopra li appiè lavori da farsi per varij servidori della commedia a tutte spese del pittore: Benedetto Petroni da Bagno dipintore. [Snails and bears.]*

Fol. 29<sup>v</sup>

[Similar agreement with "Orazio legnaiuolo."]

Fol. 30<sup>r</sup>: Addì 16 di Marzo 1588

*Cialle Fabbri trovate Agnolo di Francesco delle legne di S. A. S. che vengha a consegnarvi la casa che di ordine di M: Gio<sup>ni</sup>: del maestro [see pp. 387 ff.] ci viene prestata per habitatione de' comici sanesi e musici forestieri.*

Fol. 30<sup>v</sup>-34: Addì 16 di Marzo 1588

*Littere delle offitii che ciascuno ha d'havere in varij servitij della commedia di S. A. S. [See p. 501.] Per accendere le lumiere del salone havere cura diligentissima mentre stanno accese secondo che in voce è stato loro detto e sara ricordato da M: Bernardo Buontalenti.*

[The description of each task is followed by the names of the parties of workmen concerned, one of whom in each case is described as "*Caporale sopra tutti gli infra-scritti.*"]

*A varij servitii del Primo intermedio eletti e approvati tutti da M: Bernardo Buontalenti. Alla prima nugola verso le stanze delli zanni e commedianti.*

*Al arghano delle dua nugole.*

*Alla seconda nugola verso il corridore.*

*Alla seconda nugola della banda di dentro verso le stanze di zanni.*

*Al altra nugola riscontro alla sud<sup>ta</sup> dalla banda del corridore.*

*Le guide della bucha del mezzo nelle aperture del cielo.*

*Alla nugola della S. Vittoria et di poi ritornino alle 3 nugole che erano di paradiso.*

*A tirare col verricello in cielo la med<sup>ma</sup> nugola per la nuova aggiunta.*

*Alle lucerne d'accendersi e haver diligestissima cura al fuoco, smocholare e riempiere.*

*Al secondo intermedio del monte e giardino con le case che voltano. [See p. 388 f. and Epifanio d'Alfiano's second engraving.]*

*A mandare su il principio del monte con il verricellino.*

*Addi 17 di Marzo 1588*

*Alle case verso le stanze di zanni dove è su la musicha.*

*A scoprire il palco perchè i monte vada su.*

*A puntelli del monte per quando è salito il monte per sicurtà.*

*Al terzo intermedio che sono selve che interviene il serpente [fig. 82].*

*Allo sportello per il quale ha uscire il serpente.*

*Per fare volare l'Apollo.*

*Quarto intermedio che rappresenta l'inferno. La nugola di Mad<sup>ma</sup> Lucia tirata da dua serpenti.*

*Al verricello che tira su il diavolo.*

*A scoprire il palco del diavolo.*

*Aprire la nugola grande quando è nel mezzo.*

*Per aprire la bocha del Inferno.*

*Segue la bocha del Inferno.*

*Fol. 36<sup>r</sup>: Addi 18 di Marzo 1588*

*M: Bernardo Buontalenti Architetto dice che vuole cento rami di fiori di diverse sorte per cinque nuvole del ultimo intermedio et per il monte del secondo, che siano variati fiori come sopra.*

*Si faccia confichare sotto la scala che va in paradiso delle asse riflesse per la satisfactione delle donne che vi hanno a praticare...*

*Fol. 36<sup>v</sup>*

*[The actors' house must be set in order. Precise instructions to Cialle Fabbro on his daily responsibilities: fire, light, water, the painters' and musicians' rooms:]... si spazzi bene una volta la settimana... che quando si spazzi, sempre si bagna e annaqui acciò la polvere non offenda le pitture e altre cose si guastano.*

*Fol. 39<sup>r</sup>: Addi 28 di Marzo 1589*

*I muratori anno a fornir di far i ponti del cielo. Assi da tirare su la nuvola dove va la Vittoria avvi andare su uno per vedere s'ella scuote.*

*Assi da levare del muro dove passa la nave.*



*Assi a far delle buche sotto il palco per mettere certi puntelli.  
Assi a far passare la nuvola che passa attraverso per vedere si certi crescimenti che  
si sono fatti danno noia.  
e fare calare la nuvola che è nel mezzo per vedere se gli sportelli tornano bene.  
e de molti altre cose che non avendo omeni [uomini] non si puo fornire.*

*Addi 29 di Marzo*

*Dice il S. Gio: de Bardi che occorre provvedere quanto appresso.*

*Alchune cose alli istrumenti da sonare cioè:*

*Al primo intermedio*

*Agiungere a liuti et l'arpe et altri istrumenti delle bande e cose di cartapesta o d'altro  
che paino razzi di stelle (Fatene fare un disegno da M: Bernardo).*

*Al secondo intermedio*

*Che paino boschereccie di fiori o fronde o simili cose (sono ordinate).*

*Quelle del 2° possono anco servire per il 3° e quelle del 1° serviranno per il 4° e  
per il 6°. Avertendo che nel 4° più nel inferno bisogna fare 4 violoni che rassembrino  
serpenti, come si fece alla commedia (di quello ne dica Bernardo quale si ha fare).*

*Fol. 39<sup>v</sup>*

*Quinto*

*Bisognerà far apparire li strumenti conchiglie di mare et simili cose marine.*

*Addi 30 di Marzo 1589*

*E necessario far votar tutte le tinelle d'aqua perche puzzano e subito farle riempire  
d'aqua bona con avertir che ve si rimetti dentro i loro bigoncioli e quanto prima. Le  
ne dica a M: Bernardo perchè insegni qualche modo facile e bene per non havere a  
portare via l'aqua e per recharla si adoperi barili o ½ barili per fare più presto.*

*Fol. 40<sup>r</sup>: Addi 5 di Aprile 1589*

*Se Franc° Rosselli non da fine alle stelle e altro nel cielo, mi si avisi, e parimente al  
diavolo. ma se li ricordi amorevolmente (se li è detto et ha messo mano a dipignerlo).*

*Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: Addi 6 di Aprile 1589*

*Debbesi fare come sapete tre mostri marini quali per scritta sono restati a Piero  
Pagolino al quale commettete si serva dell' ossatura che ha servito al delfino (se li è  
detto et dice che tutto farà questo quanto prima potrà).*

*Fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: Addi 7 di Aprile 1589*

*Dice il S. Gio<sup>ni</sup> si faccia un arpe di Cartone per il zazzerino [Jacopo Peri as Arion; see  
fig. 92] che si ha gettare sul delfino. Si dice a Piero Pagolini che per tutto sabato sieno  
consegnate tutte le branche di coralli anzi paternostri al più tutto domenica. [The  
corals have already arrived, in Francesco Gorini's absence.]*

*Si dice a Piero Pagolini che pertutto sabato sieno finite tutte le serpe...  
che faccia venire dua sarti subito subito...*

Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>

[Copy of a letter from Emilio de Cavalieri, to the effect that the grand duke wishes to attend the dress rehearsal.]

Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>: Addì 7 di Aprile 1589

*Avertimento del Sig. Giovanni*

*Si è domandato a M: Bernardo che ricordi quello li resta a ordinare e ricordare per dare fine alle cose acciò S. A. S. resti contenta e servita a tempo.*

*Dipignere lucifero cioè la testa, le corna, e l'ali e che s'è ricordato a Franc<sup>o</sup> Rosselli.*

*Dipignere l'inferno di dentro cioè sotto il palco. Serpenti del carro di Mad. Lucia e il suo carro che tutto si aspetta a Orazio legnaiuolo.*

*Accomodare le dua prime nugole con tele e feltri per coprire canapi e travi secundo dimostrerà M: Bernardo Buontalenti a Piero Pagolini al quale se ne dà commissione tutto di cartone.*

*Figurine, animali di più grandezze per andare innanzi e indietro, galere, nave e altro.*

*Un fuso per in mano alle parche che filano.*

*Fare dipignere le figure [zodiacal signs] che vanno sotto i pianeti e Astrea il che si aspetta a Franc<sup>o</sup> Rosselli pittore.*

*Fare li abiti dipinti per le 9 piche cioè cornachie ovvero gazzie.*

*Fare le alie per i venti secundo la mostra fatta da Gio: Mettid'oro.*

Fol. 42<sup>v</sup>:

*Lucifero gigante dal petto in su suolazza ha tre faccia e tre boche e tre anime che le macullj e le alie sieno grandissime*

*Gerione ha viso da huomo giusto e branche di serpente dipinte a rotelle e coda di scorpione*

*Pluton e satano dua diavoli adirati*

*Minos è Re e giudice e siede giudicando l'anime ha la coda lunghissima e rigna, ha corona in capo e a sedere*

*Centauri e arpie*

*Minotauro mezzo huomo e mezzo toro*

*Cerbero gran cane con tre faccie che squarcia e squoia l'anime che li sono sotto adiacere [see note 11].*

Fol. 43<sup>v</sup>: Addì 9 di Aprile 1589

*Franc<sup>o</sup> Gorini fate la rassegna di tutti quelli che servono al primo intermedio e quelli che mancono si mandino a chiamare subito subito.*

*Michele Caccini è stato chiamato da me e venendo dite ch'aspetti fin che torni.*

*Nota di roba che erano restate indietro rispetto al guastarsi e però è bene non ci mettere prima mano che la Ser<sup>ma</sup> sia in Livorno atteso che quello sarà tempo competente a finirle, e aloro saranno recenti e belle, e così dice M: Bernardo Buontalenti alla presentia del quale si faranno più ricordi.*

*Stagnuolare col argento il delfino e ombrarlo, si confichi le carte peste alla nave, si riconfichi tutte le tele e si riveda se messo sia tutti li feltri altrimenti si finisca di metterli si dia allora di gesso e terretta come ha stare interamente.*

*Il resto de' furniuoli che vanno alle nugole fatte di nuovo, e al altre nugole e alle case.*

*Mettere in opera i Camini delle case e sonno fatti.*

*I canali sul palco dove hanno a passeggiare le figure d'intornate, nave finte e altro.*

*Buchare le tele per accendere le lumiere secondo dimostrerà M: Bernardo.*

*Il palco per loro Alt. Ser<sup>me</sup> in mezzo alla sala con balaustri attorno.*

*Provedere le panche con la spalliera e altra sorte.*

*Tre mandole con i razzi dove sieno le 8 figure delle dua aperture del cielo.*

*Fare adornare con taffeta e veli l'istrumenti de musici. Il che si dica al guardaroba.*

*Li splendori che hanno a essere mesi a oro di metà.*

Fol. 44<sup>r-v</sup>: Addì 9 di Aprile 1589

*Nota di quanti hanno a havere scarpe d'oro o d'argento, quali se li ha a pigliare la misura [the names agree with those in Warburg's lists, pp. 364 f., 389 f., and with those on the drawings and in the Libro dei conti]:*

<i>Fra Lazaro di Santa (?)</i>	<i>Bono Porcelloni</i>
<i>Domenico Rossini</i>	<i>M/Cristofano...</i>
<i>Jacopo Peri</i>	<i>Gio: del Franciosino</i>
<i>Ant<sup>o</sup> d[etto] il Bardella [Naldi]</i>	<i>Gio: Batt. del Franciosino</i>
<i>Gio: Lapi</i>	<i>Pagolo del Franciosino</i>
<i>Baccio Malespini [Palibotria]</i>	<i>Ant. Franc. del Bottigliere</i>
<i>Nicolo Castrato</i>	<i>Orazio del Franciosino</i>
<i>Ceserone</i>	<i>Prete Riccio</i>
<i>Gio: Battista del Violino</i>	<i>Tonino del Franciosino</i>
<i>Raffaello Ghucci</i>	<i>Pagolo Stiattesi</i>
<i>Giulio Romano [Caccini]</i>	<i>Piero Malespini</i>
<i>Thomaso contralto di Roma</i>	<i>Orazio Ben'venuti</i>
<i>Gio: Battista Ser Jacopi</i>	<i>Il biondino del Franciosino</i>
<i>Durizzio</i>	<i>Alessandro del Franciosino</i>
<i>Zanobi Ciliani</i>	<i>Feduccio Feducci</i>
<i>Onofrio Castrato</i>	<i>Alfonso Benvenuti (?)</i>
<i>Mario Luchini</i>	<i>Cosimo Benvenuto</i>
<i>Alberigo Malvezzi</i>	<i>Lorenzino Tedesco</i>
<i>Giovanni del Minugiao</i>	<i>Gio: Franc. di Roma</i>
<i>Gio: Franc<sup>o</sup> di Roma</i>	<i>Luca Marenzio</i>
<i>Basso Sanese</i>	<i>Celio Basso Sanese</i>
<i>Lodovico ben levanti</i>	<i>Gio: Franc. del Triboro (?)</i>
<i>Orazio del S<sup>r</sup> Emilio</i>	<i>Cinaglia Cinaglia</i>
<i>Piero Masselli</i>	<i>Jacopo Peri</i>
<i>Pierino Castrato</i>	<i>Thomaso di Roma</i>
<i>Mongalbo</i>	<i>Antonio Naldi marito della S<sup>ra</sup> Vittoria</i>
<i>Fra Lorenzo Frapedi (?)</i>	<i>Fra Bart<sup>o</sup> dall Loreto</i>
<i>Orazzino</i>	<i>Basso da Lucca</i>
<i>Ceserone Napoletano</i>	<i>Vergilio Putto</i>

<i>Fra Gir<sup>mo</sup> della Annunziata</i>	<i>Fra Bart<sup>o</sup> di S. +</i>
<i>Placido</i>	<i>Uno detto cetera di Siena</i>
<i>Agostino Ballezzano</i>	<i>Gio: Arminuolo (?)</i>
<i>Alexandro Strigio</i>	<i>Cecchino Ballerino</i>
<i>+ Ant<sup>o</sup> Archilei</i>	<i>Fra Polidoro dell' Anunziata</i>
<i>Pierino di Chappella</i>	<i>Cosimo Giorgi</i>
<i>Ant. di Cesena (?) di Siena</i>	<i>Alfonso Benvenuti</i>
<i>Monichivo (?)</i>	<i>Frate Adriano dell' Anunziata</i>
<i>Pierino di M/Cristofano</i>	<i>Agostino di chappella</i>
<i>Franc<sup>o</sup> Spagninuolo (?) Paggio</i>	<i>Piero (?) del Cartolaio</i>
<i>Adriano Romano</i>	<i>Luca Bruni</i>
<i>Un Prete di Ven<sup>o</sup> (?)</i>	

Fol. 44<sup>v</sup>:

*Poichè resta a finire la scala finta di nanzi alla prospettiva si dice a Lessandro Pieroni come si metterà a sua opere altri pittori che la finischino. Replicha e prometta darla finita interamente e bene per tutto martedì prossimo.*

*Jo Alessandro Pieroni prometto dare la scala finita per tutto martedì sera prossima.*

Fol. 45<sup>r</sup>:

*Le 4 viole che paiono serpenti dice M: Bernardo ne darà i disegni al guardaroba Avoltare del taffetta a'tromboni perchè paiono serpe, cosa del guardaroba*

*Ornare di fiori*

*Venti otto paia di alie di cartone per i venti secondo la mostra*

*4 violoni hano a essere coperti di taffetta verde dipinti a scaglie e lumeggiati di oro che paiono serpenti.*

*Il guardaroba debbe dare il taffetta.*

*Franc<sup>o</sup> Gorini fate levare tutte le tele che sono al teatro e sono super i gradi...*

*Fate portare via tutti i sassi smurati di diversi luoghi che ingomberano e danno noia — sone caschati e sconfitti molti e molti fornuoli di banda stagnata però fatelli ritornare al luogo loro overo riporti in munitione.*

Fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: Addì 13 di Aprile

*Dovendosi dipigner le alie che vanno a'venti della nugola secondo la mostra fatta da M: Gio: Mettidoro e approvate da M: Bernardo Buontalenti si è interrogato detto M: Giovanni che dica per quanto le voglia fare risolutamente e per li ultimo e minore suo pregio.*

*Poichè Piero Pagholino non spedisce li molti lavori che ha presso a fare levateli la commissione de coralli. ch'alla fine si troverà modo di fare senza li sua onde meglio potrà finire l'altre molte cose che lui va abbracciando. Diteli caldamente che finisca le mani del diavolo acciò in tutti li modi resti finito interamente sabato sera altrimenti mi lamenterò di lui.*

Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: Addì 14 di Aprile 1589

*Dovendosi domenica provare la commedia con tutte le circonstantie si debbe fare questo appresso per vitto delli accademici, musici, lavoranti e altri, cioè*

[Table for 10 for Buontalenti; the same for the ladies. As many tables as can be accommodated in the hall.

1 loaf, 1 piece of cheese, 1 flask of wine for each workman.

Bread, wine, cold meat, cheese, for the performers and musicians.

Wine to be *chambré* in a dark room.

10 pounds almonds for the ladies.

Cups and napkins.

Bread and wine for the stagehands after the third Intermedio.]

Fol. 48<sup>v</sup>: Addì 18 di Aprile 1589

1. *Avertire che quelli che operano nel cielo quando s'apre e sta aperto si lassano vedere che he una brutissima e bisogna ripararci.*
2. *La testata del foro principale vicino al piano della terra si vede per lungo spatio andar tremando e sventolando come se di dentro la tela fusse scossa.*
3. *Gli huomini son troppo lenti doppo che sono usciti l'istrioimi del palco a far quello che gli anno a fare.*
4. *La nugoletta del quarto intermedio ove va la Lucia bisogna dintornarla di qualche collore ove le spicchi più e chè differente da quel cielo perchè la nugola spicchi più.*
5. *Se nel Plutone si vedessino gli occhi più sfavillanti e di fuoco apparirebbe meglio assai.*
6. *Se quella scena dorata si potesse un poco rasettare farebbe meglio.*
7. *Il cielo vuole essere alluminatissimo ma avertiscali che non se veggano i lumi ma il riflesso che vada quanto si puo negli iddei.*
8. *Alla nave bisogna il timone e quando la si gira che paia che la vadi per forza d'esso timone.*
9. *Nel mezzo di lumi quanto si può.*

Fol. 49<sup>v</sup>: Addì 20 di Aprile 1589

*Franc<sup>o</sup> Gorini fate dare di terretta a'telai del salone del banchetto acciò Bronzino li faccia dipignere. e non sendo cucita la tela si cucia questa notte in tutti i modi.*

Fol. 50<sup>r</sup>: Addì 22 di Aprile 1589

*Fate levare la sbarra di legname fra la Loggia de' Lanzi e S<sup>to</sup> Pietro Scheraggio e le trave che sono atraverso acciò il passo resta libero.*

*Le sbarre di legname atraverso la loggia de magistrati e di nanzi alla porta non si tochino perchè stanno bene e non danno alcuna noia e così dice S. A. S.*

Fol. 50<sup>v</sup>: Addì 25 di Aprile

*M: Bernardo et Orazio legnaiuolo dicano che havendosi a fare la commedia oggi a 8 giorni hanno di bisogno quanto appresso cioè.*

*Pittori n<sup>o</sup> X overo XII et tutti buona gente per riattar tutta la prospettiva et le mute delli intermedi che tutto si è stazzonato nel provarla tante volte...*

Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>: Addì 27 di Aprile 1589

*Poichè si debbe havere in ordine la commedia per tutto lunedì accio martedì seguente si possa recitare. e Bernardo Buontalenti haveva distolto i pittori cioè Benedetto Petroni quale sebbene era restato di lavorare con più pittori, haveva mutato proposito, et Gio: Sani legnaiuolo venuto per fare il palco di S. A. S. era stato licenziato con sua lavoranti dal Buontalenti, il S. Emilio ha risoluto che Bernardo trovi legnaiuoli e pittori lui, avertendo di fare cose necessarie, e con risparmio, altrimenti la farà patire al Buontalenti.*

*Si è detto a Bernardo che trovi pittori e legnaiuoli caso non ce ne sia tanti, risponde che de' legnaiuoli ce ne ha bastanza, e non sapere donde si possa havere de' pittori.*

*Disse ancora il S. Emilio che non si trovando pittori si pigli di quelli de' Pitti pur che si seguitino le quatre storie a olio. atteso che quelle debbono andare inanzi a tutte l'altre cose, e la commedia debbe essere prima, e poi la Sbarra.*

Fol. 52<sup>r</sup>: Addì 29 di Aprile

*Vi si replica che facciate a sapere a tutti i lavoranti che tornino a lavorare domenica fino a mezzo giorno. acciò si avanzi più tempo che si può.*

*Essendoci chi ha fatto assegnamento su le alie del drago cioè quelle di taffeta e su' vestiti del mazzuolo che porta il drago, e parimente de' vestiti delle cornachie, vi si dice che volta per volta che li darete li scriviate, e nel riceverli vediate se li havete rihavuti tutti e manchando nulla contrassegnate perchè a qualch'un tocherà a pagarli.*

Fol. 52<sup>v</sup>: Addì 3 di Maggio

*Venerdi certissimo vuole S. A. S. rifare la commedia et noi altri potremo mettervi li amici.*

*Lunedì vuole si rifaccia più politissimamente et vi ritornerà S. A. S. la Gran Duchessa e tutti i signori et si farà una commedia corta corta...*

Fol. 53<sup>r</sup>: Addì 3 di Maggio 1589

*Vedete se manca nulla delle robe di hieri...*

*Hora che è fatto la commedia non credo occorra tanti operanti...*

Addì 4 di Maggio 1589

*Havendosi domani fare la comedia domandate M: Bernardo Buontalenti quello bisogni...*

Fol. 53<sup>v</sup>:

*...Domani che si farà la commedia.*

Fol. 54<sup>r</sup>: Addì 5 di Maggio 1589

*Ritenghasi al Zanaiuolo tutta la pagha di questa settimana per che si lassò rubare un pezzo di cacio e portò fuori di casa roba.*

Fol. 55<sup>v</sup>: Addì 10 di Maggio

*Secundo il disegno di M: Bernardo Buontalenti si debbe fare 30 abiti alla Greca [see p. 379] e N<sup>o</sup> 8 per quelli che hanno a governare il Carro di S. A. S. [for the sbarra].*

Fol. 66<sup>r</sup>: Addì 13 di Maggio

*Si è detto a M: Bernardo per parte di S. A. S. che sia lunedì a ordine per fare la commedia.*

Fol. 67<sup>v</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>: Addì 10 di Giugno

*Debbesi fare quanto appreso per conto della commedia e del salone secundo la voluntà et resolutione del Emilio de' Cavalieri cioè*

[Remove seating.

Strike grand-ducal dais.

Paintings on steps to be restored by Francesco Rosselli free of charge.

Red canopy to be packed in crates.

Backcloth and scenery to be struck, likewise the clouds and other machinery, and well lashed to prevent dangerous collapse.

All other items to be crated, but all marked with letters or numbers to enable them to be easily identified and restored to their numbered places on stage.

Serpent to the wardrobe.

To be dusted every month.

Make good any damage to Salone.]

*Il Gorino faccia rimettere insieme tutti i sgabelli, riporli sotto la chiave acciò non se ne habbia a paghare per la poco cura e diligentia.*

(Fol. 3<sup>r</sup>: 5 October 1588

Signor Giovanni de' Bardi requests that the costumes for the Intermedi be put in hand, and insists that, if there are any impediments to this, he must be told now, and that if none are expected he has no desire to hear about them later.

12 October

Signor Giovanni de' Bardi requests the following to be done: that is to say, the properties for all the masks in the Intermedi:

First, the masks.

The things that they hold in their hands, or on the ground, i.e., animals, figures or instruments.

More papier-mâché to cover the musical instruments.

Second, for the first Intermedio, goose quills, very large and clean, will be needed for 22 figures, 17 in the first Intermedio and 5 in the second.

Fol. 9<sup>v</sup>: 6 December 1588

I went to the Pitti . . . to assess the statues around the Salone and to glean information from M: Giovanni Bologna, from Ammanato, and from Valerio Cioli. Please remember that M: Bernardo Buontalenti and M: Anfolso Parigi have written a note that the

following will be needed for the walkway from the Salone, where the play is to be given, to the painted Salone of the palazzo [i.e., the Palazzo Vecchio; no note follows].

120 rods of timber board ... [etc.]

Fol. 11<sup>r</sup>: 10 December 1588

Signor Giovanni commands that no rehearsals of the Intermedi be held in the absence of His Lordship, and without his instructions, because he wishes everything to be under his supervision; he would like an adequate number of skilled men to be in attendance.

11 December

Francesco di Domenico Rosselli has requested that scaffolding be erected over the stage, so that he can paint the garden.

Note of an order from M: Benedetto Tornaquinci showing how many masks are needed for the first Intermedio, and what they should be like:

1 Mask for a beautiful woman of about 25	[Armonia]
8 Masks for 8 beautiful women, also of about 25	} [Sirens, see Warburg's list]
6 Masks for beautiful women, similar to those above	
1 Mask for woman of about 25, very beautiful, silvered	[Luna]
1 Mask similar to the above, very beautiful, plain	[Venus]
1 As above	[Mars?]
1 Mask for man of about 60, with tousled beard	[Saturn]
1 for young man with the beginnings of a beard	[Mercury]
1 for man without a beard, angry	[Sol]
1 Mask for handsome man of about 35 with a well-kempt beard	[Jupiter]
1 for a beautiful woman	[Astraea]
1 also for a beautiful woman	[Necessity]
3 Masks for beautiful women	[Fates]
1 Mask for a man with the beginnings of a beard	} [The 12 heroes in the heavens]
1 Mask for a beautiful woman	
1 Male mask with a good beard	
1 Mask for a woman with a beautiful face	
1 Mask for a man showing his teeth but only slightly	
1 Mask for a beautiful woman	
1 Mask for a man of about 30	
1 Mask for a woman with a virtuous face	
1 Mask for a man of about 30	
1 Mask for a man of about 30	
1 Mask for a woman, ditto	} [supernumerary musicians]
1 Mask for an exceptionally virtuous woman	
4 Masks for men with long beards, different	
43 in all	

[The six other Harmonies who accompanied Armonia Doria are not listed here because they were simply painted figures: see Rossi, 18 f., "*con tal rilievo dipinte che parean vive*" (painted so ... realistically that they seemed alive).]



Fol. 16<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>: 23 December 1588

A note of the men appointed to perform various services connected with the theatrical Intermedi organized by Signor Giovanni de' Bardi and M: Bernardo Buontalenti. In their presence the functions to be fulfilled are described and designated.

Principal Supervisors are M: Nigi, carpenter; M: Santi Maiani, mason; Domenico dell'Atticiato, carpenter; M: Piero Fici, carpenter; M: Anfolso Parigi; Oratio Gratia-dio, carpenter.

To the first cloud on the side of the clowns' and actors' rooms. [Names follow.]

To the second cloud, matching the first, on the corridor side. [Names follow.]

To the winch attached to the two clouds (Fabritio and M: Francesco will tell them exactly what needs to be done, stage by stage):

To the second cloud on the inside, towards the clowns' rooms:

To the other cloud, matching the previous one, on the corridor side:

To hold the cloud folded back [for the performer] to get inside, and to help with dismounting:

To pull the aforementioned two clouds:

At the three apertures already made in the ceiling:

For the openings in the two first clouds; these openings are in the sky:

For the two clouds that come out of the sky but do not descend:

The cloud in front of the beam which does descend:

To lower the curtain to the ground, and to raise the other one:

[Every task in the list is followed by the names of the workmen appointed to carry it out, each classified as a Palazzo or Castello worker, or as a "novice." The whole list struck out, with the following note:]

This list no longer applies, because Bernardo has written another description [see pp. 519 ff.].

Fol. 20<sup>r</sup>: 23 December 1588

M: Bernardo Buontalenti has decided as follows about the lights, lamps, etc. For the *sbarra* in the courtyard of the Pitti, or for the theater in the Salone:

Long, square lamps; large, round lamps; small, round lamps

[e.g.]	with 4 lights
theater	100
<i>sbarra</i>	200
	300
already to hand	198
required	102

Signor Salvatore di Piero, lantern maker, offers to make the above and following items, from his own materials, at the prices listed below, within the next 15 days, or 20 at the outside.

Fol. 21<sup>v</sup>: 26 December 1588

This morning, Signor Emilio de' Cavalieri told me that he had received a letter from His Most Serene Highness on the subject of the arrangements for the royal festivities

to celebrate the arrival of Her Most Serene Highness, his bride; first he wanted to discuss the wooden walkway which is to go from the Salone containing the theater, over the rooftops and along the church of S. Pietro Scheraggi, as far as the painted Salone where the banquet is to be held...

To enable Signor Emilio to rehearse the musicians and actors conveniently, the stage must be kept free. The painters and carpenters will have to work in the theater until evening, then go and work in the Salone until nightfall. They can then return to the theater and work through the night...

Signor Emilio wishes to make it clear above all that the painting must be done with paint and metal foil. No gilding is to be done without his approval... He requests that His Most Serene Highness's triumphal car for the *sbarra* be started first, and also the chariot for the sorcerer.

Fol. 24<sup>r</sup>: 7 February 1588

Signor Giovanni da Vernio has asked for work to begin on the serpent for the third Intermedio [Apollo's dragon]. Its head and feet are to be made of papier-mâché; the body and all the rest are included in the carpenters' contract. Below is the estimate for the head and feet. The head is to be br.  $1\frac{3}{4}$  long and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  high [1 braccio = 58 cm]. A design has been prepared on canvas by M: Bernardo. The feet about br.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  high, as shown in the book for the third Intermedio.

Piero Pagolini says he will construct

the head (clay) for fl.	30.-
the feet (clay)	10.-
	<hr/>
	40.-

Michele di Antonio, sculptor,

the head fl.	56.-
the feet (clay)	14.-
	<hr/>
	70.-

The above quotations being rather high, M: Valerio Cioli has been commissioned to do the work, which he will begin on 8 February.

Fol. 25<sup>r-v</sup>: 13 February 1588

(Copy of a list given to M: Girolamo the Superintendent by M: Bernardo on 2 March 1588 [see pp. 499, 515].) Note of the piecework remaining to be done for the theater carpenters' contract.

[The sentences in parentheses have been jotted down by Serjacopi between the lines of the list and show how he gave instructions point by point for the execution of the individual tasks. On the various properties required for the separate Intermedi, see the list on p. 353 and Rossi's description, which exactly tallies with it.]

First, the stars for the sky in the first Intermedio. (Order placed with Orazio, 10 March 1588.)

In the third Intermedio the skeleton of the serpent, and its head and feet, to be constructed from papier-mâché. (Order placed with Orazio, March 10; M: Bernardo will see to the design [fig. 83].)

A steel wire for the figure who has to appear from the sky to attack the dragon [fig. 83]. (About br. 24 of wire, like mason's cord.)

In the fourth Intermedio, the figures from hell need to be decorated. Lucifer to be provided with a head, wings, and arms. (I have talked to Signor Giovanni about this. He thinks that the head, wings, and arms should be attached separately; it will look better. The other figures can be painted; Francesco Rosselli, the painter, has been asked to do this.)

For the fifth Intermedio, a dolphin br. 4 long, made of papier-mâché; plus the mast of a ship, fully rigged. Cloud for Donna Lucia [sorceress in the fourth Intermedio]. Her chariot with serpents; the lighting for Donna Lucia to be incorporated into the houses in the backdrop (the cloud ordered from Orazio the carpenter and the decoration of the serpents from Francesco Rosselli; Orazio has been asked to fix the lighting).

The construction of bell towers and chimneys in the backdrop. (Orazio the carpenter has been asked to see to this.)

Make doors in the first two houses to permit the actors to make entrances and exits (ordered from Orazio the carpenter).

The above is to be completed by the carpenters as contracted.

Balustrades and pilasters downstage to contain the lighting (ordered from Orazio the carpenter, who is doing the said work).

Increase the size of the cloud in the first Intermedio so that it is taller than Signora Vittoria [Archilei, as *Armonia Doria*], as requested by Signor Emilio (and ordered from Orazio the carpenter, as above).

To fashion tracks on the stage along which the decorated figures and ships and other items can move (ordered from Orazio the carpenter).

Cover the first two clouds with cloth and felt to conceal ropes and timbers (ordered from Piero Pagolini; he has been told to use light felt).

Fix the pink curtains around the hall, i.e., curtains that can come down to hide roofs and steps (ordered from Piero Pagolini, who will arrange as before; he says he ' knows how to do it).

Arrange the lamps so that they can be lit without having to be lowered onto the stage.

Fix the torches that have to be placed between the windows in the hall (ordered from Piero Pagolini; he will find masons and carpenters to fix them in the appropriate places).

Fol. 25<sup>v</sup>

Construct a dais with a balustrade around it, in the center of the auditorium, for Their Highnesses.

All the above is to be carried out in addition to the work that is in the estimate.

Benches with backrests to be provided for the auditorium—enough to fill half the room from the dais to the door, and forward to the stage, and the rest of the hall. [Description in Rossi, 7–17.]

Provide stools or benches, as was done on the other occasion.

Make circular openings above the stage to extract the smoke produced during the performance.

Construct the clouds in such a way that the lights are accommodated within, and the smoke extracted (ordered from Orazio the carpenter; Piero Pagolini to take care of the fixing of the lamps).

Bernardo Buontalenti, Architect to His Serene Highness.

Conveyed this 2 March 1588, to M: Girolamo Serjacopi, Superintendent of Fortifications.

Fol. 26<sup>r</sup>: 9 March 1588

M: Bernardo, the architect, has requested the making of a large quantity of paper flowers, of all kinds. In addition, one hundred lamps to be placed in various locations on the scenery and around the auditorium, to match the specimen to be made on the instructions of Piero Pagolini.

Also required will be small figures and animals of various sizes to move forward and backward, all made of card. Also, ships, galleys, etc., for a distant prospect of the sea.

Signor Giovanni Bardi da Vernio has this day, 11 March, drawn up the following memorandum.

For the first Intermedio

1. The spindle [for Necessity], looking as if made of diamond.
2. The seats in the cloud to be arranged so that the Goddess [Necessity, fig. 95] is at the top, on her own, and the three Fates below, touching her spindle (M: Bernardo says this is in hand).
3. Construct the aureoles with rays where the eight figures appear in the two openings in the sky on either side [Planets, Astraea].
4. Have the harps, lutes, and other instruments decorated to match the celestial rays. Paint the figures over the celestial signs, i.e., the 7 Planets and Astraea.

For the second Intermedio

1. Make the braids. Make the magpies.
2. Decorate the instruments with something sylvan.

For the third Intermedio

1. Make the dragon.
2. Semblance of Apollo.
3. Change the decorations on the masks for the dance, which are poor [the "*coppie delfici*" (Delphic couples)].
4. The decorations used on the instruments for the second Intermedio could be used again for this.

Fol. 26<sup>v</sup>

For the fourth Intermedio

1. Make the wings for the winds in the cloud.
2. Make the four bass viols look like serpents...
3. Alter the sackbuts in some way to look like serpents.
4. The instruments in the cloud could be decorated with the rays from the first Intermedio.

Fifth Intermedio

Decorate the instruments belonging to the goddess and nymphs to look like sea shells.  
Remember the dolphin. (M: Bernardo says this has been done.)

Sixth Intermedio

1. Remember the sunbeams.
2. Decorate the clouds, which must drop flowers on to the stage.

Fol. 27<sup>v</sup>: 14 March 1588

Signor Emilio requests...

That hollow, circular openings be constructed in the stage, to extract smoke, as ordered by M: Bernardo.

That the cardboard dolphin be finished as it is meant to be.

The houses in the set need rearranging, because he says they are badly placed; they interrupt the view of the clouds. In short, find a way to get everything finished, and soon.

Fol. 28<sup>v</sup>: 14 March 1588

An agreement has been reached for the following work to be done for various workers in the theater, at the sole expense of the painter: Benedetto Petroni da Bagno, painter. [Snails and bears.]

Fol. 29<sup>v</sup>:

[Similar agreement with Orazio the carpenter.]

Fol. 30<sup>r</sup>: 16 March 1588

Cialle Fabbri, find Agnolo di Francesco, woodman to His Highness, and have him hand over to you the house, which, by order of M: Giovanni del Maestro [see pp. 387 ff.], is to be lent to house the Sienese actors and the out-of-town musicians.

Fol. 30<sup>v</sup>–34. 16 March 1588

A note of the tasks allotted to each person concerned with His Highness's theater. [See p. 515.]

To light the lamps in the grand Salone and to watch them closely whilst they are alight; they have been told this already, and will be reminded by M. Bernardo Buontalenti.

[The description of each task is followed by the names of the parties of workmen concerned, one of whom in each case is described as "*Caporale sopra tutti gli infra-scritti*" (Foreman of all the undermentioned).]

The various tasks to be done during the First Intermedio, allotted and approved by M. Bernardo Buontalenti. First cloud on the side of the clowns' and actors' rooms.

Winch attached to the two clouds.

Second cloud, on the corridor side.

Second cloud on the inner side, on the same side as the clowns' rooms.

Cloud to match the foregoing, on the corridor side.

Guides for central hole in opening in the sky.

Cloud holding Signora Vittoria; then transfer back to 3 clouds from paradise.

This same cloud to be winched up to the sky for the new addition.

Lighting the lamps, watching them closely in case of fire, snuffing, and refilling them.

Second Intermedio with the mountain and the garden and the houses that rotate.

[See p. 388 and Epifanio d'Alfiano's second engraving.]

To raise the mountain peak with the winch.

17 March 1588

Houses on the side of the clowns' quarters, with the music above.

Clearing the stage, so that the mountain can be brought up.

Propping the mountain when it is up, for safety's sake.

For the third Intermedio, the woods and the dragon [fig. 82].

Hatchway through which the dragon has to appear.

To make Apollo fly.

The fourth Intermedio represents hell. Madonna Lucia's cloud drawn by two serpents.

Winch that pulls up the devil.

To uncover the scenery for the devil's realm.

To open up the big cloud when it reaches the middle.

To open the mouth of hell.

The mouth of hell follows.

Fol.36<sup>r</sup>: 18 March 1588

M: Bernardo Buontalenti, Architect, says that he needs one hundred sprays of flowers of various kinds for the five clouds in the final Intermedio. For the mountain in the second Intermedio he also needs a variety of flowers, as above.

Some new planks need to be fixed underneath the treads of the stairway leading to heaven, as required by the ladies who have to use the stairs...

Fol. 36<sup>v</sup>:

[The actors' house must be set in order. Precise instructions to Cialle Fabbro on his daily responsibilities: fire, light, water, the painters' and musicians' rooms:]...it is to be swept thoroughly once a week...When it is swept, it must first be damped down, so that the dust does not harm the paintings and other contents.

Fol. 39<sup>r</sup>: 28 March 1589

The masons are required to provide the wherewithal for building the gantries for the sky. Also raise the cloud in which Vittoria will be sitting; someone to go up in it to see if it wobbles.

Also raise the wall where the sea appears.

Also sink holes underneath the stage to take certain supports.

Also move the cloud across, to see if the additions that have been made obstruct its travel.

And lower the central cloud to see if the hatchways work.

And many other things that cannot be managed for want of manpower.

29 March

Signor Giovanni de' Bardi requests the following:

Various items for the musical instruments, viz.:

For the first Intermedio

Decorate the lutes and harps and other instruments with bands and items in papier-mâché or other materials to look like the rays of a star (ask M. Bernardo to do a design).

For the second Intermedio

They need to look like sylvan things, with plant forms, flowers, fronds, or the like (these have been ordered).

The items from the second can also be used for the third; the items from the first can also be used for the fourth and sixth. Remember that in the fourth (hell), four bass viols must be made to look like serpents, as used previously in the comedy (Bernardo to say what is to be done).

Fol. 39<sup>v</sup>

Fifth

The instruments to be decorated to look like shells and other similar marine objects.

30 March 1589

All the water butts must be emptied, because they stink. They must be refilled at once with fresh water, so that, when people dip their buckets, it is as before. M: Bernardo to be told, so that he may give instructions as to the best way to avoid fetching and carrying water. Perhaps barrels or half barrels should be used for the sake of speed.

Fol. 40<sup>r</sup>: 5 April 1589

If Francesco Rosselli cannot finish the stars and other items for the sky, I want to be told. Likewise the devil. But remind him gently. (He has been told and has started painting the devil.)

Fol. 41<sup>r</sup>: 6 April 1589

As you know, three sea-monsters need to be made, which have been ordered in writing from Piero Pagolini. Tell him that he can use the framework that was used for the dolphin. (He has been informed and says he will do it all as soon as he can.)

Fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: 7 April 1589

Tell Signor Giovanni to make a cardboard harp for Longhair [Jacopo Peri as Arion; see fig. 92] who has to take a ride on the dolphin. Tell Piero Pagolini that by Saturday at the latest all the branches of coral or rather beads must be delivered by Sunday. [The corals have already arrived, in Francesco Gorini's absence.]

Tell Piero Pagolini that all the serpents must be finished by Saturday...also to send two tailors at once...

Fol. 42<sup>r</sup>

[Copy of a letter from Emilio de' Cavalieri, to the effect that the grand duke wishes to attend the dress rehearsal.]

Fol. 42r: 7 April 1589

Note from Signor Giovanni

M: Bernardo has been reminded of the remaining items to be ordered, and urged to see that everything is finished in time and to the satisfaction of His Highness.

Paint Lucifer, i.e., the head, horns, and wings. Rosselli has been reminded.

Paint the inside of hell, i.e., beneath the stage. Snakes for Madonna Lucia's chariot awaiting delivery by Orazio the carpenter.

Cover the first two clouds with cloth and felt to conceal cables and beams; M: Bernardo Buontalenti will demonstrate this to Piero Pagolini, from whom all the work in cardboard has been commissioned.

Figures and animals of all sizes to move forward and backward; galleys, ships, etc.

A spindle for the Fates, who are spinning.

Paint the figures [zodiacal signs] to go under the planets and Astraea—ordered from Francesco Rosselli, painter.

Make painted costumes for the 9 magpies or crows.

Make the wings for the winds, as per the specimen made by Giovanni Mettidoro.

Fol. 42v:

Lucifer is a giant, seen from the chest upward, standing on the ground. He has three faces and three mouths, with which he is swallowing and mangling three souls. His spots and wings should be enormous.

Geryon has the face of a just man, dragon talons painted with roundels, and a scorpion's tail.

Pluto and Satan, two angry devils.

Minos is king and judge, and sits in judgment upon mens' souls. His tail is long and stiff. He wears a crown and is seated.

Centaurs and harpies.

Minotaur, half man half bull.

Cerberus is a great hound with three heads. He rends and flays the spirits beneath him [cf. note 11].

Fol. 43v: 9 April 1589

Francesco Gorini is mustering everyone involved in the first Intermedio; those missing are to be summoned at once.

Michele Caccini has been called by me. When he comes, tell him to wait until I come back.

A list of the items that have been left to one side because they are perishable, and therefore it is best not to put them in hand until His Highness reaches Livorno. That will give us time enough to finish them, and they will be fresh and look well. This is as requested by M: Bernardo Buontalenti, in whose presence the following notes are written.

Coat the dolphin with tinfoil and shade it over. Fix the papier-mâché to the ship.

Fix the canvas again and check if the felt has been fixed differently. Then cover all over with plaster and clay.

The remainder of the lanterns for the clouds to be remade, also those for the other clouds and houses.



Put in hand the chimneys of the houses; now done.

The tracks on the stage on which the decorations, ships, and other things travel.

Make holes in the fabric to light the lamps (M: Bernardo will demonstrate how to do this).

The dais for their Serene Highnesses in the center of the room, with a balustrade around it.

Provide benches with and without backrests.

Three aureoles with sunbeams, where the eight figures in the two apertures in the sky will be.

Decorate the musicians' instruments with taffeta and draperies. Tell wardrobe to do this.

The sunbeams to be half-gilded.

Fol. 44<sup>r-v</sup>: 9 April 1589

Note of those needing gold and silver shoes; they need to have their measurements taken [the names agree with those in Warburg's lists, pp. 364 f., 389 f., and with those on the drawings and in the *Libro dei conti*]:

Fra Lazaro di Santa [?]	Bono Porcelloni
Domenico Rossini	M/Cristofano...
Jacopo Peri	Giovanni (Franciosino's)
Antonio, known as Il Bardella [Naldi]	Giovanni Batt. (Franciosino's)
Giovanni Lapi	Pagolo (Franciosino's)
Baccio Malespini [Palibotria]	Antonio Francesco (Bottigliere's)
Nicolo the eunuch	Orazio (Franciosino's)
Ceserone	Prete Riccio
Giovanni Battista, violinist	Tonino (Franciosino's)
Raffaello Ghucci	Pagolo Stiattesi
Giulio Romano [Caccini]	Piero Malespini
Thomaso, the alto from Rome	Orazio Ben'venuti
Giovanni Battista Ser Jacopi	The blond boy (Franciosino's)
Durizzio	Alessandro (Franciosino's)
Zanobi Ciliani	Feduccio Feducci
Onofrio, castrato	Alfonso Benvenuti [?]
Mario Luchini	Cosimo Benvenuto
Alberigo Malvezzi	Lorenzino the German
Giovanni del Minugiao	Giovanni Francesco from Rome
Giovanni Francesco from Rome	Luca Marenzio
Bass from Siena	Celio Basso from Siena
Lodovico Ben Levanti	Giovanni Francesco del Triboro
Orazio (Signor Emilio's)	Cinaglia Cinaglia
Piero Masselli	Jacopo Peri
Pierino, castrato	Thomaso di Roma
Mongalbo	Antonio Naldi, husband of Signora Vittoria
Fra Lorenzo Frapedi [?]	Fra Bartolomeo from Loreto
Orazzino	Bass from Lucca

Ceserone from Naples	Vergilio Putto
Fra Girolamo from the Annunziata	Fra Bartolomeo di S.+
Placido	Someone known as Cetera, from Siena
Agostino Ballezzano	Giovanni Arminuolo [?]
Alexandro Strigio	Cecchino, dancer
+ Antonio Archilei	Fra Polidoro from the Annunziata
Pierino di Chappella	Cosimo Giorgi
Antonio di Cesena [?] from Siena	Alfonso Benvenuti
Monichino [?]	Frate Adriano from the Annunziata
Pierino di M/Cristofano	Agostino from the Chapel
Francesco Spagninuolo [?], page	Piero [?] del Cartolaio
Adriano Romano	Luca Bruni
A priest from the Veneto [?]	

Fol. 44<sup>v</sup>:

The false staircase in front of the backcloth remains to be finished. Ask Lessandro Pieroni to hire more painters to get it done. Please guarantee to finish it completely (and well) by next Tuesday.

I, Alessandro Pieroni, promise to deliver the completed staircase by next Tuesday evening.

Fol. 45<sup>r</sup>:

M: Bernardo says he will give to the wardrobe the designs for the 4 viols to look like serpents. Twist silk around the trumpets so that they look like serpents (something from the wardrobe).

Decorate them with flowers.

Twenty-eight pairs of cardboard wings for winds as shown.

4 bass viols to be covered with green taffeta, painted with scales, and highlighted with gold to look like serpents.

Wardrobe to provide the taffeta.

Francesco Gorelli to see to the removal of all superfluous curtains around the theater.

See to it that all the loose building stones from various places are removed, as they get in the way and cause accidents. A great many tinplate lanterns have fallen and broken. Have them put back, or returned to the store.

Fol. 46<sup>r</sup>: 13 April

The wings for the winds surrounding the cloud need painting, after the designs provided by M: Giovanni Mettidoro, and approved by M: Bernardo Buontalenti. M: Giovanni has been requested to do the work as cheaply as possible.

As Piero Pagolini has not delivered the many pieces of work he has undertaken to produce, relieve him of the commission to make coral. We shall find some way of producing coral without his help, and he will consequently be better able to finish the many other things he has taken on. Urge him to finish the devil's hands, so that these at least will be completely finished by Saturday evening; otherwise, I shall have serious cause for complaint.

Fol. 46<sup>v</sup>: 14 April 1589

We must have a full rehearsal of the play, with everything in place, on Sunday. We shall need the following to feed the performers, musicians, workmen, and others:

[Table for 10 for Buontalenti; the same for the ladies. As many tables as can be accommodated in the hall.

1 loaf, 1 piece of cheese, 1 flask of wine for each workman.

Bread, wine, cold meat, cheese, for the performers and musicians.

Wine to be *chambré* in a dark room.

10 pounds almonds for the ladies.

Cups and napkins.

Bread and wine for the stagehands after the third Intermedio.]

Fol. 48<sup>v</sup>: 18 April 1589

1. Tell the stagehands working in the sky that when it opens and remains open they can be seen—this looks appalling and must be remedied.
2. The front of the largest hole at ground level can be seen trembling and fluttering for a long time. It looks as if the fabric is being shaken from inside.
3. The stagehands are too slow in doing what has to be done, once the actors have left the stage.
4. The small cloud containing Lucia in the fourth Intermedio needs to be outlined in a color to make it stand out more clearly against the sky.
5. It would be much more effective if Pluto's eyes could glitter and emit flames more than they do.
6. The gilded scene needs some repair.
7. The sky should be brilliantly lit, but I remind you that the lights themselves are not to be visible, only the reflection, which must extend upward as high as possible.
8. The ship needs a helm; when it moves, it must seem that the helm is guiding it.
9. As many lights in the center as possible.

Fol. 49<sup>v</sup>: 20 April 1589

Francesco Gorini to prime the frames in the Salone where the banquet is to be, so that Bronzino can paint them. The curtain has not yet been stitched. It must be stitched tonight at all costs.

Fol. 50<sup>r</sup>: 22 April 1589

Have the wooden partition between the Loggia de' Lanzi and San Pietro Scheraggio removed, together with the beams, to provide free access between the two.

Do not touch the wooden partition dividing the Loggia de' Magistrati, in front of the door; it obstructs no one, and such are His Highness's orders.

Fol. 50<sup>v</sup>: 25 April

M: Bernardo and Orazio the carpenter request that as the play is in eight days' time, they need the following:

Ten or twelve painters, all skilled, to make good the backcloth and the flats for the Intermedi. All have been crumpled in the course of so many rehearsals...

Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>: 27 April 1589

Whereas the comedy must be completely ready by Monday, so that it can be performed on the following Tuesday, and whereas Bernardo Buontalenti had laid off the painters, i.e., Benedetto Petroni, although there remained plenty of work for even more painters; and whereas Giovanni Sani, the carpenter, who had come to make the dais for His Highness, and his workmen, were dismissed by Buontalenti: Signor Emilio has decided that Bernardo is to find carpenters and painters himself to do the necessary work, and at a reduced cost; or take the consequences.

Bernardo has been told to find painters and carpenters in case there are not enough of them, and he answers that there are plenty of carpenters, but that he does not know where to find any painters.

Signor Emilio said that if there are no painters he is to borrow those from the Pitti to carry on with the four figure paintings in oils, because these have to be done first, and the play comes first and then the *sbarra*.

Fol. 52<sup>r</sup>: 29 April

May I remind you once more to tell all the workmen to return to work on Sunday, until midday, so that things move forward as quickly as possible.

Being the person responsible for the wings of the dragon—the taffeta ones, that is—and for the costume of the stonemason who brings on the dragon, and also for the costumes of the crows, your instructions are to make a note every time you give them out, and to look at them on their return to make sure that you have received everything back. Sign for them only if nothing is missing, because someone is going to have to pay for them.

Fol. 52<sup>v</sup>: 3 May

His Highness definitely wants the play repeated on Friday, and we can invite our friends.

The repeat performance on Monday to be highly polished. Her Highness the grand duchess and all the gentlefolk will return. The comedy will be very short...

Fol. 53<sup>r</sup>: 3 May 1589

Check that nothing from yesterday is missing...

Now that the play has been performed, I do not think we need so many workmen.

4 May 1589

As we have to do the play tomorrow, ask M: Bernardo Buontalenti what is required...

Fol. 53<sup>v</sup>:

...The play to be performed tomorrow.

Fol. 54<sup>r</sup>: 5 May 1589

Stop all Zanaiuolo's pay this week, because he has allowed a piece of cheese to be stolen, and has also removed other items from the house.

Fol. 55<sup>v</sup>: 10 May

According to M: Bernardo Buontalenti's designs, thirty costumes in the Grecian style are needed [see p. 379] and eight for those escorting His Highness's chariot [for the *sbarra*].

Fol. 66<sup>r</sup>: 13 May

His Highness has let M: Bernardo know that the play is to be ready for performance on Monday.

Fol. 67<sup>v</sup>–68<sup>r</sup>: June 10

The following items need attention on the stage and in the Salone, as requested by Emilio de' Cavalieri:

[Remove seating.

Strike grand-ducal dais.

Paintings on steps to be restored by Francesco Rosselli free of charge.

Red canopy to be packed in crates.

Backcloth and scenery to be struck, likewise the clouds and other machinery, and well lashed to prevent dangerous collapse.

All other items to be crated, but all marked with letters or numbers to enable them to be easily identified and restored to their numbered places on stage.

Serpent to the wardrobe.

To be dusted every month.

Make good any damage to Salone.]

Gorino is to pile up all the stools and store them under lock and key, so that no costly damage may be caused by neglect.)

- 351 The length and gradualness of the evolutionary process that led from the Intermedio to the *melodramma* is reflected in the fact that as early as 1565 Vasari was already aspiring to unify Intermedi with comedy (*Opere*, ed. Milanesi, 8:572, "Descrizione dell'apparato..."), while simultaneously staging, in the *Mascherata della genealogia degli dei*, a mute procession of symbolic chariots (ibid., 8:587 ff.). Again: Giovanni de' Bardi, who in his Apollo and Python scene of 1589 seemed to be on the way toward psychological and dramatic unity, can be found as late as 1608, writing verses for one of the totally incoherent Intermedi that were performed for the wedding of Cosimo II (fourth Intermedio: Triumph of Amerigo Vespucci, *Descrizione*, 40; cf. our p. 454 and Solerti, *Albori*... 1:109 n. 2).
- 353 Solerti (*Albori*... 1:43 f.) adopts this division from Warburg. Unfortunately, however, the typographical errors in the original edition of the present text (in which *musica mondana* was listed as 1, 4, 5 instead of 1, 4, 6; and *musica humana* as 2, 3, 6 instead of 2, 3, 5) seem to have escaped his notice. On this classification see H. Abert, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Halle, 1905), 164 ff., and G. Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* (Halle, 1929).

- 353 *Translator's addendum.* Following “and the form in which they were performed,” the German text includes the following additional sentence (*Erneuerung*, 426):

**But first some remarks on the works of art and documents mentioned above, which serve to support us in this connection.**

- 354 Further pictorial records of the 1589 festivities:

The painting by Pellegrino Tibaldi in Bologna, Pinacoteca (No. 575): on the left, Pierides transformed into magpies, in the foreground three goddesses, on the right Muses. Might not this work, by the artist who was the teacher of the Carracci, be a reminiscence of the theatrical performances of 1589?

A pendant (and mythologically speaking a continuation) of this painting is supplied by Pellegrino Tibaldi's *Apollo and the Muses*, in Parma, Reale Galleria, no. 191. Corrado Ricci, *La R. Galleria di Parma* (Parma, 1896), 90, considers both works to be the lids of harpsichords.

In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a reproduction by C. M. Metz of a drawing by Annibale Carracci (fig. 91) of Apollo slaying Python that is clearly influenced by Buontalenti's drawing. According to a kind communication from Mr. Campbell Dodgson, it forms part of a series of engravings after old masters, evidently intended for publication in a book of unknown title that is not identical with C. M. Metz, *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings* (London, 1789).

The pen drawing with light-toned washes, now Casa Horne, Florence (No. 5812, 281 × 232 mm, cataloged as Parigi, *Balletto del 1586*, fig. 93), is undoubtedly a depiction of the Arion of 1589; by comparison, the drawing in the Biblioteca Nazionale album (fig. 92) looks like a copy by the same hand.

Also undoubtedly by Buontalenti is a drawing from the Henry Oppenheimer collection, brought to our attention by Professor Fischel and kindly made available to us for reproduction by K. T. Parker in his capacity as Oppenheimer Collection trustee (fig. 94). The figure is that of the “*Fortuna giovevole ad Amore*” of the sixth Intermedio, and is described by Rossi as follows:

*Fortuna Giovevole ad Amore. Una giovane donna d'aspetto grave, e con semplice acconciatura; la vesta di ricco velluto pagonazzo con fregi d'oro dappiè, e dinanzi, e pieno tutto 'l busto di borchie d'oro, e 'l cinto di gioie: nella destra, come vogliono alcuni, che la sua statua, quando ciò significa, si dipignesse: teneva in mano il corno della Dovizia, e un' Amarin sotto 'l braccio.*

(Fortune Propitious to Love. A young lady of grave demeanor, her hair simply dressed: the gown of rich purple velvet with golden fringes at the hem, the corsage studded with gold, and the girdle with gems; in her right hand she held, as some say her statue should do when it bears this significance, the Horn of Plenty; beneath her arm, a Cupid.)

Here, too, the description precisely tallies with the drawing (see p. 379).

Four drawings, representing the stage sets for the first, second, third, and sixth Intermedi, and probably by Buontalenti himself, have been published by James Laver, “Stage Designs for the Florentine Intermezzi of 1589,” *Burlington Magazine* 60, no. 351 (June, 1932): 294–300. The first drawing corresponds exactly to Carracci's engraving; in the third, Apollo is missing; and the second diverges somewhat from the



**Fig. 91. C. M. Metz**  
Apollo and Python. Engraving after Annibale Carracci  
London, British Museum (see p. 528)



**Fig. 93. Arion**  
Drawing with watercolor. Florence, Casa Horne  
(see p. 528)

**Fig. 92. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
Arion. Drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 528)

engraving by Epifanio d'Alfiano. This may be explained by the lapse of time between the drawing and the engraving.

The engravings by Carracci and Epifanio d'Alfiano have now been illustrated by Carl Niessen, *Das Bühnenbild* (Bonn, 1927), pl. 26.

354 On Oreste Vannocci Biringucci, see H. Heydenreich's essay in *Mitteilungen des Kunst-historischen Institutes in Florenz* 3, no. 7 (1931), 434 ff.

355 Rossi, *Descrizione*, 71, describing the sixth Intermedio, mentions a "Vesta," but with a timbrel. Buontalenti's drawing, fol. 74, probably depicts the Vestal who appears in the first Intermedio (Rossi, 29), among the heroes in the heavens (see note 53)—which is why Warburg himself struck out the question mark which appears at this point in his published text.

357 *Translator's addendum.* The German text has an additional passage here, before the paragraph beginning "Preparations for the comedies" (*Erneuerung*, 428):

On 18 September 1588, at the Accademia della Crusca, its *arciconsolo*, Giovanni de' Bardi, had presided over "*uno stravizzo e allegrissima gozzoviglia*" (a banquet and most joyous feast). {*Warburg's note.* See the holograph record of the meeting, by Bastiano de' Rossi, in the Accademia della Crusca, pp. 12–13, and Zannoni, *Storia della Accademia della Crusca* (1848), 7.) After the meal, the Academicians who had been deputed to greet Don Verginio Orsini reported on their kind reception and on that exalted person's desire to make Abbate del Monte a member of the Academy; "*e per compiacere a quel Signor che lo proponeva, e per li meriti d'esso Mons.<sup>re</sup> subitamente proposto a viva voce fu vinto*" (and in order to oblige the said lord who proposed him, and in view of the merits of the said monsignore, he was immediately proposed and elected by acclamation). The same record goes on to say: "*Si diede vacanza agli Accademici infino agli undici di novembre regnante e a chi non avea preso nome, tempo tutta detta vacanza, e pregossi ognuno che dovessi per le feste che debbon farsi a quel tempo avere in ordine qualche inventione e per bufolate, e per mascherata, e per giostre e per altre feste.*" (The Academicians were granted a recess until 11 November next, and anyone who had not assumed a name was given the whole of the said recess in which to do so, and everyone was asked to have ready, for the festivities that are to take place at that time, some *invenzione* for fooleries, masquerades, jousting, and other merrymaking.)

As Verginio Orsini was an enthusiastic participant in the wedding celebrations of 1589, and Abbate del Monte was the bosom friend and sole table-companion of Grand Duke Ferdinand {*Warburg's note.* See Reumont, *Geschichte von Toscana* 1:322 for the account given by Tommaso Contarini in 1588}, and also his successor in the College of Cardinals, it is probably safe to assume that Giovanni de' Bardi was asking the members of the Academy for *invenzioni* that he would be able to use for the wedding celebrations. But the services of the Academicians do not seem to have been required: the next record of a meeting does not date from November 1588 but from 1 February 1588/9, and it contains no mention of festivities.





**Fig. 94. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Fortune*  
Drawing. London, Henry Oppenheimer Collection  
(see p. 528)



**Fig. 95. Bernardo Buontalenti**  
*Necessity*  
Drawing. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale (see p. 357 f.)

By that time, in any case, the help of the Crusca was no longer necessary: for preparations for the comedies...

- 358 The *Tarocchi* (of Ferrarese origin) have been published by P. Kristeller (Berlin: Graphische Gesellschaft, 1910). For their position in art history see Mary Pittaluga, *L'incisione italiana nel Cinquecento* (Milan, 1928), 126 n. 27; on their relationship to other encyclopedic imagery see Julius von Schlosser, "Giusto's Fresken in Padua und die Vorläufer der Stanza della Segnatura," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 17 (1896): 13–100, and especially 80–83.

The depiction of Thalia, seated on the ground without a disk to represent a sphere, reveals the tradition to which they belong: according to Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis* 1.27 f., the ninth Muse, who is left out when the eight spheres are allotted to the eight others, is Thalia, who belongs to the earth and sits in a flower-strewn meadow; see also Plutarch's assignment of the earthly plane to one Muse (*Symposium* 9.14, ch. 6) and his characterization of Thalia as the Muse of farmers and the patroness of plants and seeds (ch. 4).

The *Tarocchi* follow medieval academic tradition in assigning the ninth sphere to the *Primum Mobile*; but the design of the corresponding image once more reveals an antique origin. This dancing angel, with the sphere in one hand like a ball, is derived from a maenad who strikes her timbrel in Dionysiac ecstasy: Hauser, *Neu-Attische Reliefs* (Stuttgart, 1889), Type 24. This same figure appears among the drawings after the antique in the Louvre sketchbook of Jacopo Bellini, ed. C. Ricci (Florence, 1908), 1, pl. 50.

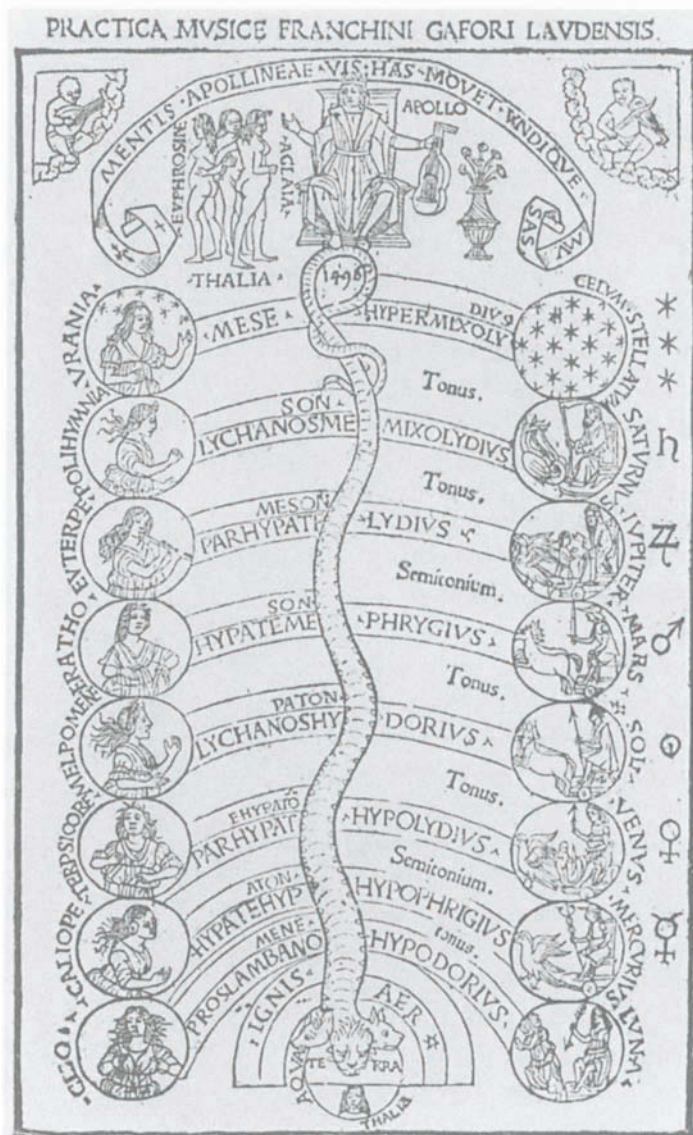
The Gafurius woodcut (fig. 96) first appeared without commentary in *Practica musice* (Milan, 1496). It was repeated in *De harmonia musicorum* (Milan, 1518), this time accompanied by a commentary and by distichs in which the whole order of Muses, Spheres, Planets, musical Modes, and musical Notes is explained (4.12, fol. 93<sup>v</sup> ff.). Of the assignment of Thalia to the earth, Gafurius has this to say:

*Thaliam enim primo subterraneam veluti silentium ponunt. Constat quidem apud Marcum Tullium [Somnium Scipionis 5; cf. Boethius, De institutione musicae 1.27] terram (quod sit immobilis) silentio comparatam, quam Tricipiti Cerbaro Apollineis pedibus substrato comparant.*

(First, they put Thalia underground, as silence. Indeed, we find in Cicero [*Somnium Scipionis* 5; cf. Boethius, *De institutione musicae* 1.27] that the earth (because it does not move) is like silence; they compare it to triple-headed Cerberus crushed beneath the feet of Apollo.)

As representative of the "silent" earth, Thalia thus acquires a curious companion; the *signum triceps*, symbol of the three faces of Time. In the humanistic Petrarchan tradition—see Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18 (Leipzig, 1930), 12 ff.—this is assigned to Apollo, as a symbol of the underworld, the silent part of the cosmos, which does not vibrate in harmony with the music of the spheres. From this, it is a short step to identifying the three-headed hound of hell with the *signum triceps*, as in some illustrations to the *Ovide moralisé* (Panofsky, 19 and fig. 13).

The distichs printed in the 1518 edition of Gafurius's work are as follows:



**Fig. 96. Woodcut from Gafurius**  
*Practica musice*  
 (Milan, 1496) (see p. 532)

*Germinat in primo nocturna silentia cantu,  
 Quae terrae in gremio surda Thalia iacet.  
 Persephone et Clio spirant, Hypodorius ergo  
 Nascitur, huic ortum prosmelodos generat.  
 Dat Hypochorda sequens Phrygium, quem parturit ipsa  
 Calliope, interpretres parturit atque deum.  
 Tertius ostendit Hypolydi exordia nervus,  
 Terpsicore occurrit, ordinat alma paphos.  
 Melpomene et Titan statuunt (mihi crede) modum, qui  
 Dicitur in quarto Dorius esse loco.  
 Vult Eratho quintum Phrygio perscribere nervum,  
 Mars quoque non pacem, praelia semper amans.  
 Lydius Euterpes Jovis et modulamen habebit,  
 Dulce tonans, iussit sexta quod esse fides.  
 Septeno Saturnus agit Polyhymnia nec non,  
 Principium Mixolydius unde capit.  
 Uraniae octavum dum perscrutatur amicum,  
 Versat Hypermixolydius arte polum.*

(In the first cantus, night's silences spring from  
 Thalia, who lies mute in the bosom of the earth.  
 Persephone and Clio give breath, and so the Hypodorian mode  
 Is born: Prosmelodos engenders this one's birth.  
 The next Hypochord gives the Phrygian, born of none other  
 Than Calliope and the gods' interpreter {Mercury}.  
 The third string shows the source of the Hypolydian mode:  
 Terpsichore stands present, kind Paphos {Venus} rules.  
 Melpomene and Titan {Sun} set the mode (believe me) that  
 Is called the Dorian, in the fourth position.  
 Erato wants to assign the fifth string to the Phrygian mode,  
 Mars, too, who always loves battles, not peace.  
 The Lydian will have the melody of Euterpe and Jupiter,  
 The sweet thunder summoned forth by the sixth string.  
 Saturn works in the seventh mode, and Polyhymnia, too,  
 And thence the Mixolydian takes its origin.  
 Intent on the eighth, Urania's string, by his art  
 The Hypermixolydian turns the friendly pole.)

They are also to be found in the *Occulta philosophia* of Agrippa of Nettesheim (2.26; 1533 ed., clix), first printed in 1531 but extant in a manuscript copy of 1510 in Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg, Cod. Ch. Q. 50 (information from a forthcoming study of Agrippa of Nettesheim by Hans Meier). In this early version of 1510, Agrippa did not include the distichs; presumably, therefore, he derived them from Gafurius. Their author may have been Gafurius himself or someone close to him (see the poem on the spheres by the Milan humanist Lancinus Curtius, which Gafurius quotes in extenso, 4.10, fol. 89<sup>r</sup>).

The line "*Mentis Apollineae vis has movet undique Musas*" (The power of

Apollo's mind sets these Muses in motion on all sides), above Apollo's head in the woodcut, is from Pseudo-Ausonius: Ausonius, ed. Peiper (1886), 412, "Incertorum, olim cum Ausonianis edita," no. 3; also *Anthologia latina*, ed. Riese, 2 (1906): 134, no. 664. The attendant pentameter, "*In medio residens complectitur omnia Phoebus*" (Seated in the middle, Phoebus Apollo embraces all things), is adduced by Gafurius in his commentary (4.9, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>) as evidence for the assignment of Sol to the Dorian mode: which brings us back to Bardi's musical cosmos and the reformist theoretical tracts of the Camerata. The position of Apollo-Sol, as the central figure among the planets, corresponds to the central position of the Dorian among the modes. In Bardi, the Dorian has a place of honor as the epitome and embodiment of the entire harmony of the spheres, and at the same time becomes the vehicle of the new, "speaking" style that expresses man and his emotions. See Bardi, "Discorso sopra la musica antica," in Doni, *Trattati*, 2 (1763): 244: "...e che il tuono Dorio per esser nel mezzo delle corde appropriato al parlar dell' uomo, è più degli altri pregiato e reverito" (...and that the Dorian tone, being in the middle of the strings and appropriate to human speech, is prized and revered above the others).

What made it possible to equate Sol with the Dorian mode was the set of equivalences established in the tenth century between the medieval ecclesiastical modes and those of the ancient Greeks—in which, as a result of a misreading of Boethius 4.15, the ancient system was almost exactly reversed; see Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1920), 10 ff. This is the system that we find in Gafurius; who also derives from Boethius, *De institutione musica*, ed. Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867) 1.27 and 4.15, his assignment of tones to the planets.

Apollo-Sol appears twice in Gafurius's woodcut: once as the ruler of a sphere, in the sequence of roundels depicting the planets, in which the woodcutter has used Baldini's planetary engravings as a model, and once at the top as the leader of the Muses and Graces, as described by Macrobius (*Saturn.* 1.17.13): "*Apollinis simulacra manu dextera Gratias gestant, arcum cum sagittis sinistra*" (Likenesses of Apollo hold the Graces in his right hand, a bow with arrows in his left).

This is how Apollo appears in a Munich codex of Remigius's commentary on Martianus Capella (Clm. 14271, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>): in his chariot with frisky horses *all'antica*, he holds his bow and arrows in one hand and the Graces, in a curious shallow dish with a handle, in the other. On Athenian coins, illustrated by J. Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, {vol. 3, bk. 5,} *Apollon* (Leipzig, 1889), 21, he similarly carries the Graces on a flat disk with a handle. It may be that other manuscripts formed the channel through which some such depiction of Apollo—for which the text of Remigius's commentary affords no authority—had reached the artist responsible for the Munich codex. (On Clm. 14271, see p. 591, n. 22.)

The tradition that stems from Macrobius (see note 40), according to which the supernumerary Muse is born of the harmony of the other eight, is followed by Mythographus III (see pp. 732 f.); by Boccaccio; by Coluccio Salutati (*Epistolarium* 7.22, ed. F. Novati, 2:346 ff.); by the French romance *Les échecs amoureux* of 1370–80, see Abert, *Romanische Forschungen* 15 (1904): 899; and by the commentary to the latter, written in the second half of the fifteenth century (unpublished, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Fr. 143, fol. 41<sup>v</sup>).

Ficino, in his epistle to Agli, *De divino furore*, in *Opera* (1576), 1:612 ff., quotes the passage from Macrobius; and in his commentary on Plato's *Ion*, addressed to Lorenzo il Magnifico (*Opera* 2:1281 ff.), he follows Macrobius's classification through in detail. Elsewhere, however, Ficino abandons this rigid parallelism and describes the Cosmos in terms of a process governed by law:

*Necessitatem esse mundi animam... Deinde quod dicit Parcas ad Sirenum motus harmonicos canere, accipe fatales vires ad effectum per coelestes motiones influxusque procedere. Sedes Necessitatis filiarumque eius ostendunt fatalis ordinis firmitatem... Cantare est per temporum intervalla ea congruitate digerere singula, qua divina mens momento quidem intuens temporibus digerenda praescribit. Hinc fit ut Parcae omnes temporanea cantent.*

(That Necessity is the soul of the universe... Next, because he says that the Fates sing to the harmonious movements of the Sirens, accept that the forces ordained by Fate proceed to their purpose through the movements and influences of the heavens. The thrones of Necessity and her daughters proclaim the durability of Fate's regular order... To sing is to arrange things one by one in the intervals of time with that same consonance with which the divine mind, in an instant's contemplation, sets them in order for the ages. Hence it happens that all the Fates sing things that happen at the right time.)

(*Epitome in decem dialogis de Justo*, in Ficino, *Opera* 2:1434 ff.) The passage in Plato (*Republic* 10) that Ficino paraphrases here is the very same one that Bardi has turned into a stage spectacle.

- 359 The interaction between court pageantry and visual art, as based on literary transmission: Rossi (*Descrizione*, 66) describes Harmonia as she appears in the sixth Intermedio together with Apollo, Bacchus, and Rhythmus.

*... l'Armonia, con una lira di quindici corde in mano... le mise similmente in capo una corona con sette gioie, ma tutte eguali, e la vestì di sette colori, cioè di quegli, che furon vestite tutte l'Armonie del primo intermedio, e la veste adornò di ricami, e di bei fregi di gioie, e l'acconciatura, anch'ella fu di gran pregio, e di nobile adornamento.*

(... Harmony, with a fifteen-stringed lyre in her hand... On her head was a crown of seven gems, but all alike, and she was clad in seven colors, namely, those in which all the Harmonies of the first Intermedio were dressed, and her robe was adorned with embroideries, and fine jeweled fringes, and her headdress too was precious, noble, and elaborate.)

The seven *gioie* also refer to the seven Harmonies: see Rossi (*Descrizione*, 22), on the first Intermedio.

This description was taken over by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia*, the collection of allegorical imagery that continued to serve as a source for artists until the eighteenth century; see Emile Mâle, "La clef des allégories peintes et sculptées au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue des deux-mondes* 97 (1927), reprinted in his *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (1932). See the text and figure in the first illustrated edition of Ripa, *Iconologia* (1603), 26:

*Armonia. Come dipinta in Firenze dal gran Duca Ferdinando. Una vaga, e bella*

*donna con una Lira doppia di quindici corde in mano, in capo haverà una Corona con sette gioie tutte uguali, il vestimento è di sette colori, guarnito d'oro, e di diverse gioie.*

(Harmony. As portrayed in Florence by Grand Duke Ferdinand. A lovely and graceful lady with a double fifteen-stringed lyre in her hand; on her head she will have a crown of seven gems, all alike, and her costume is in seven colors, adorned with gold and with various gems.)

Following Ripa, Ben Jonson introduced Harmonia into his *Masque of Beauty* (1608–9; in his *Works*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, 3:13):

Harmonia, a personage whose dressing had something of all the others, and had her robe painted full of figures. Her head was compassed with a crown of gold, having in it seven jewels equally set. [*Jonson's note.* She is so described in Iconolog. di Cesare Ripa; his reason of seven jewels in the crown alludes to Pythagoras's comment, with Macr. lib. 2, Som. Scip. of the seven planets and their spheres.] In her hand a lyra, whereon she rested.

Ripa (1603 ed., 240) also derived his figure of *Inventione* from Rossi's *Descrizione* (1589), 7 ("Apparato").

- 361 The list of the masks for the first Intermedio, contained in the *Memorie* of Serjacopi (pp. 500–501), exactly follows the order of appearance of the characters, so that the characterization of the mythological figures can be read off from the descriptions of the masks—with one exception: the six other Harmonies who accompany Harmonia Doria are missing, because they were "*tanto naturalmente e con tal rilievo dipinte che parean vive*" ({painted with such naturalness and in such relief that they appeared to be alive} Rossi, 18 f.).

This list affords a classic example of the "labored...symbolism" (our pp. 365, 368) by the aid of which the spectator was expected to identify the figures on the stage: the "*huomo che mostri denti ma pocho*" (a man showing his teeth but only slightly) is intended to suggest the agnomen or last name of Lucius Siccus Dentatus, whose story is told by Valerius Maximus in his *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 3.2.24, ed. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888), 24; he figures among the heroes as an example of Fortitude.

The list of performers for whom silver and golden shoes were to be made (our pp. 509 f.) tallies with the inscriptions on the Buontalenti drawings and with the list drawn up by Warburg from the *Libro dei conti*, so that a comparison of the three lists enables an actor's name to be attached to almost every part.

Aside from Giambologna (Giovanni da Bologna), Bartolommeo Ammanati, and Valerio Cioli, the following visual artists are mentioned:

Alfonso Parigi: Baldinucci, 3:19; Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters* (London, [1928]), 201.

Francesco di Domenico Rosselli: Colnaghi, 234. One painting, *Mary in Childbed*, in the reserves of the Uffizi: Angels breaking through clouds from above, a domesticated Florentine *ninfa* visible through a door in the background.

Benedetto Tornaquinci

Nigi (or Dionisio) di Matteo (Tanfani Centofani, *Notizie di artisti...pisani* [Pisa, 1897], 136 f.)

Santi Maiani

Domenico dell'Atticciato (Tanfani, 137 ff.)

Piero Fici

Orazio Graziadio

Fabritio

M. Francesco

Salvadore di Piero

Francesco di Matteo

Piero Pagolino

Michele di Antonio Scultore

Cialle Fabbro

Agnolo di Francesco

Gio: Mettidoro

Michele Caccini (Proof exists that Giovanni Battista Caccini took part in the work in 1589: Thieme-Becker, s.v. “Caccini.”)

Alessandro Pieroni (Tanfani, 11–20; Colnaghi, 214)

Benedetto Pieroni (Tanfani, 81 ff.; Colnaghi, 208)

364 Buontalenti's sketchbook shows *Apollo* as no. 26 and *Giove* as no. 27.

365 *Translator's addendum.* From “choral dance of the stars” the remainder of this paragraph in the German text is as follows (*Erneuerung*, 430–31):

...mentioned by Lucian as the principal subject of the ancient choruses; this is corroborated by the fact that Bardi originally intended the planets to appear not on clouds but in their chariots. Rossi, 26:

*Avrebbe voluto, che ciascun di questi pianeti fosse comparito in sul carro, che dagli scrittori è assegnato loro, ma non avendo, per più cagioni, l'artefice potuto eseguire il suo intendimento, volle, che gli dipignesse ne' seggi.*

(He would have preferred to have each of these planets appear on the chariot assigned to them by the authors; but as for a number of reasons the artisan had not been able to carry out his intention he decided to have him paint them on the thrones.)

Here, too, it seems that an initially simple *concetto* was rendered more obscure by a two-fifths increase in the complement of performers, and by accessories.

{The next passage, from “As Sirens, they were” through the Rossi citation ending “*affisare gli occhi*” (eye could not rest on it), is not present in the German text.}

365 This starry round has its precedents in Quattrocento festivals, in which a triumphal procession sometimes moved in a circle: Lorenzo il Magnifico's carnival song, “Canzone de' sette pianeti,” *Opere* 3 (Bari, 1914): 251, and Naldo Naldi's poem on the subject, “Elegia in septem stellas errantes sub humana specie per urbem Florentinam curribus a Laurentio Medico Patriae Patre duce iussas more triumphantium,” in *Carmina illustrium poetarum italicorum* 6 (Florence, 1720): 436 ff.

In Pesaro, at the wedding of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla d'Aragona in 1475, the Planets traversed the hall in solemn procession: *Descrizione*..., ed. Tabarrini (Florence, 1870), 43 f. (For the Silenus from that masque, see fig. 88.)



In Leonardo's Milanese masque of 1489, the revolution of the firmament as a whole was reproduced by a machine. Despite the implicit continuity of the circular motion, however, the action in a sense overrode the basic premise of the procession: for, as each planet came around to the bride and groom, the machinery stopped, and the god stepped forward to sing his lines of homage—exactly as in later stage masques. The same kind of machinery survived, along with other visual techniques, in the presentation of the spheres in later masques: Ben Jonson, in his *Masque of Beauty* (*Works*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, 3:14), used two sets of machinery, one for the motion of the fixed stars and one for that of the planets.

An epigram by Konrad Celtis, 5.14, ed. Karl Hartfelder (Berlin, 1881), 103, which likens the dance of the constellations around the stationary earth to a morris or *moresca*, danced “around a beautiful woman,” is significant because it associates the round dance of the stars with a literal, popular dance form. However, it was not until the sixteenth century that—in conjunction with humanist efforts to reconstruct the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (synthesis of all the arts), as known to the ancient Greeks—the dance of the stars, *chorea astrorum*, finally transformed itself into a ballet.

The unnamed author of the *Trattato sulla musica degli antichi*, cited by Warburg (p. 365), had been anticipated by Rinaldo Corso in his *Dialogo del ballo* (1554), constructed on the model of Lucian. Both Corso and the anonymous author supposed the ancient choral dance, as danced on Delos, to have consisted of three parts: the strophe imitates the motion of the firmament in one direction; the antistrophe imitates that of the planets in the opposite direction; and the epode stands for the repose of the stationary earth.

Late antique and Christian speculations on celestial motion as a dance, and on the correspondences between this motion and those of terrestrial (sacred) dances and melodies, were already well known in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth, these generalized philosophical images were rendered specific, by reference to grammatical and metrical authorities, so that they could be applied in practice to actual dance forms.

This specific interest in dance as an art form, not shared by the humanists and philosophers of the Quattrocento, was reflected in a growth of interest in Lucian's *De saltatione*, a work previously known but little noticed. Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Boke Named the Governour* (1531), bk. 1, ch. 19–25, ed. Croft (London, 1883), 1:203 ff., follows Lucian in assigning an important role in education to the dance. In the mid-sixteenth century came Corso; and at the end of the century there was Sir John Davies's *Orchestra* (1594), also constructed on the model of Lucian: ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1876), 1:159 ff. Compare the emergence of ballet in France as a result of a reform of metrics based on antique sources (pp. 343 f. and below).

Aside from Lucian, Rinaldo Corso's metrical sources included the *Etymologicum magnum* (first printed Venice, 1499; standard ed. Venice, 1549), fol. 148<sup>v</sup>, s.v. “προσῳδίων”; see R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologica* (Leipzig, 1897), 220 f. The anonymous author of the *Trattato* probably used Marius Victorinus, *De orthographia*... (n.p., 1584), 77.

According to O. Crusius, “Stesichoros und die epodische Komposition in der griechischen Lyrik,” in *Commentationes Ribbeck*. (Leipzig, 1888), 12, the late antique

interpretation of the tripartite structure of the ode, in terms of chorus movement and celestial motions, stemmed from a lost work by Ptolemy. Corso interpolated this interpretation into Lucian's description of the Delian dance (*De saltatione* 16), partly on the strength of Lucian's own account of the primeval dance (*ibid.* 7). The interpretation of the strophe as the motion of the firmament, and of the antistrophe as planetary motion, also appears in Macrobius (*Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis* 2.3.5) in a harmonic interpretation of the zodiac attributed, once more, to Ptolemy: see Franz Boll, *Studien zu Claudius Ptolemaeus* (Leipzig, 1894), 165. The relevant passage from Macrobius is cited in the very same context—that of the symbolic significance of the dances of antiquity—by Patrizzi in his *Deca istoriale*, bk. 4, 220 f.

The theoretical significance of the stellar round dance was matched by its practical popularity in late sixteenth-century ballet. In 1596 a *Mascherata delle stelle* by Rinuccini was performed in Florence (Solerti, *Albori*... 2:57; 1:27). In 1608 there was Francesco Cini's *Notte d'amore*, in which Luna appears and dances as a huntress and the stars as nymphs: Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica* (1905), 261 ff.

Here, too, the dependence of the English masque on its Italian equivalents is clear. In 1613 Thomas Campion wrote his *Lords Maske*, for which Inigo Jones staged a "choral dance" of stars: Campion, *Works*, ed. Vivian (Oxford, 1909), 89 ff. Four drawings for this by Jones, not including the star dance, are in the duke of Devonshire's collection (see *The Walpole Society* 12:48 f.). In John Milton's *A Maske* (i.e., *Comus*, 1634), ed. Beeching (London, 1928), 52, Comus and his train dance a "moris": "We that are of purer fire / Imitate the Starry Quire..." (l. 111).

Bardi did not have the starry round danced as a ballet. The original plan, according to which the planets were to have appeared on their chariots, rather suggests that what was intended was a triumphal procession. The only actual dancing in the six Intermedi took place in the third (see p. 371), which was also, in Warburg's terms, the furthest "advanced" toward a revival of antiquity. Here an interpretation of antique poetic meters as dance movements, on the lines outlined above, turned the *battaglia pitica* into a dance performed by Apollo and the people of Delphi. The importance attached to this dance is reflected in the fact that a dancer was cast in the role of Apollo (see above, note 133, and p. 524: Agostino Ballezzano).

Patrizzi supplies proof that Pollux's description of the *nomos pythikos* was generally taken as referring to a dance:

...sia dunque a bastanza provato, che anche nell'*Orchesi*, e nello speciale ritmo, si adoperarono i medesimi piedi poetici ed armonici; e s'aggiunga, che gli antichi, queste tre cose insieme accompagnarono: poesia, armonia, e orchesi...

(...this is surely sufficient proof that in the *orchesis* {dance}, and in the specific rhythm, the very same poetic and harmonic feet were used; I would add that the ancients combined these three things together: poetry, harmony, and *orchesis*...) (*Deca istoriale*, 353 f.; cf. pp. 226 ff.) Zarlino's similar passage, cited above (p. 371), is already present in the Venice edition of 1558. Julius Caesar Scaliger (*Poetices libri* 7, published posthumously in 1561) described both the dance of the spheres—as strophe, antistrophe, and epode—and the danced *nomos pythikos*, after Pollux.

The use of antique meters for the dance was one of the main points of the program of the Académie de Musique et de Poésie, founded by Jean-Antoine de Baïf in

1571; on this, see principally M. Augé-Chiquet, *La vie, les idées et l'œuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baif* (Paris, 1909), 451 ff., and H. Prunières, *Le ballet de cour en France* (Paris, 1914), 63 ff. The same scholarly endeavors that led to the emergence of the opera in Florence, where the humanist impulse was lyrical, were at work in France, where—the emphasis being metrical—they produced the ballet (see the essay “Medicean Pageantry at the Valois Court,” pp. 343 ff., 494).

- 368 Late antique notions of the dance of the spheres also survived in cultic forms. R. Hartmann, “Zur Frage nach der Herkunft und den Anfängen des Sûfitums,” *Der Islam* 6 (1916): 53, rejected the interpretation of the original whirling dance of the Dervishes as an astral dance, as put forward by Adalbert Merx, *Idee und Grundlagen einer allgemeinen Geschichte der Mystik* (Heidelberg, 1893), and by Carl Fries, *Das Zagnukfest auf Scheria* (1910), 101 ff. However, there exists testimony from the innermost circles of the Mawlawīyah Order that shows an undoubted connection with Platonic ideas of cosmic rhythm and harmony. The Persian poet and founder of the Mawlawīyah Order, Jalāl ad-Dīn ar-Rūmī, sings:

Our round dance, dear soul, is purely spiritual in nature;  
 Avoid in the dance the faintest hint of pride.  
 Our dance is exalted far above the highest firmament;  
 This mystery is unplumbed, and you inquire in vain.  
 Our dance is danced on the base ground of earth,  
 And yet it makes the suns circle, and the bright company of the stars.  
 Our dance is not bounded by the lofty fields of the heavens:  
 For it knows no upper confines or limits.

After *Auswahl aus den Diwanen des grössten Dichters Persiens*, trans. Vincenz von Rosenzweig (Vienna, 1838), 171. Ibid., 165: “Swing yourself in the swing of the spheres above all sects and their delusions.”

If we bear in mind the information supplied by his Persian biographer, that Jalāl customarily danced his mystic dance while singing to flute accompaniment, and that, when the ecstasy of love came over him, he embraced and circled around a pillar that stood in his house (from the biography by Devletshah, printed in *Mesnevi*, trans. Georg Rosen, Munich, 1916, 45), then what I see before me is a choreographic scholium to Plato.

It now becomes clear why those Dervishes who have attained the highest level of initiation are known as “Poles,” according to Lucy Garnett, *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey* (London, 1912), 32. Here, too, a mystical concentration on the idea of concentric spheres and of their axis. The fact that the classic *tekke* in Konya, where Jalāl worked and died, was known as the “Hall of Celestial Sounds” (ibid., 64), looks to me like a deliberate allusion to Plato’s cosmos with its harmony of the spheres. The dance of the Dervishes is intended to express the harmony of creation, in which they circle like the stars of the Empyrean (ibid., 126).

On the influence of Neoplatonic speculation on the dance of the Dervishes, see Nicholson in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* 12:11.

It is clear, in any case, that Jalāl ad-Dīn ar-Rūmī himself attached an astral interpretation to the dance of the Mawlawīyah Order, which he founded: see E. H.

Whinfield, *Masnavi i Ma'navi* (London, 1887), 181 f. He even included the Platonic anamnesis of the soul, its recollection of the harmony of the spheres.

An analogous phenomenon appears in the adoption of the cultic dances of antiquity by the early Christian Church: here, too, the dances were taken over complete with their traditional philosophical interpretation as an imitation of the motions of the stars. See the studies by G. P. Wetter, *Das christliche Mysterium* (Göttingen, 1921), 115, and “La danse rituelle dans l’église ancienne,” *Revue d’histoire et de littérature religieuses* 8 (1922): 254 ff.; also G. R. S. Mead, “The Sacred Dance in Christendom,” in *The Quest 1910–1913*, new ed., The Quest Reprint Series (1921), 115. The Jesus Hymn in the Acts of Saint John in German translation in E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2d ed. (Tübingen, 1924), 186 f.

- 368 *Translator’s addendum.* The German text has an additional passage at the end of this paragraph (*Erneuerung*, 432):

For example, the planetary gods are combined with the corresponding signs of the zodiac by the device of using them as seats or footstools. Venus, for instance, rides on the back of the zodiacal Bull, and Jupiter’s eagle seems about to swoop on the Fishes.

- 369 *Translator’s addendum.* The German text has an additional sentence at the end of this paragraph (*Erneuerung*, 432):

They saw only a resplendent *Paradiso*, with clouds full of musicians and “*vestiti superbissimi*” (magnificent costumes).

- 370 *Translator’s addendum.* The German text has an additional phrase after “*allegorical mascherata*” (*Erneuerung*, 433):

...*mascherata*, which was designed for a hypererudite audience...

- 379 The Greek turban worn by the male inhabitants is also Oriental; see above, p. 335.

- 381 An early appearance of the *ninfa* in Dante: the dancers in the starry round. *Purgatorio* 31.106: Matelda leads the poet to the “*danza delle quattro belle*,” the dance of the four lovely Virtues, who sing: “*Noi siamo qui ninfe e nel ciel stiamo stelle*.” (Here we are nymphs, and in heaven we are stars.)

- 381 The nymph carrying a basket is also to be found in the painting attributed to Fra Carnevale in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome.

- 385 *Translator’s addendum.* The German text from “But by Intermedio 3” through “*danza bellica* of Apollo” on page 386 reads as follows (*Erneuerung*, 436–37):

In the third Intermedio, on the other hand, the *melodramma* is already beginning to be visible through the erudite conceits and nymphal trappings of the *pantomima archeologica*. If we have pursued the scenic apparatus, the costume designs, the tailors’ bills, and the oddities of the learned *inventione* down to their most arid details, this is done simply in order to reveal the intensity with which a habit that stemmed from the flowering of the artistic Renaissance in Italy—that of responding to antique

influences by striving above all for antiquarian authenticity in the forms of the figures of antiquity—was still alive in 1589.

The degree of confidence that Giovanni de' Bardi had—and perhaps never lost—in the effectiveness of the Intermedio in this form is revealed in the fact that he employed it in the attempt to embody the most profound ideas and myths of the ancients concerning the power of music: the very ideas from whose influence the Camerata expected the reawakening of music to emerge.

It was certainly one of the principal tasks of the deliberately classicizing *Riforma Melodrammatica* to dispense with the Baroque fustian of the Intermedi, not only in the madrigalesque music but also in the external apparatus, which—as we have seen—led devisers, artists, and tailors alike to squander so much nervous energy on trifles. This did not, of course, lead to the abandonment of the antique writers: on the contrary—and this is a tribute to the piety of the Florentines as well as a remarkable fact of the history of the influence of antiquity—people faithfully continued to comb the works of the ancients in search of something that they truly owed only to their own genius: the *tragedia in musica* and the *stile recitativo*.

Giovanni de' Bardi left Florence in 1592; and the place of his Camerata was taken by the house of Jacopo Corsi, from which there emerged the fruit of the collaboration between Jacopo Peri, Giulio Caccini, and Ottavio Rinuccini: the end product of the artistic and musical *Riforma Melodrammatica*, in the form of the first modern opera, *Dafne*, by Rinuccini and Peri. Nothing can better mark the change in the taste of the devisers and of the public than a comparison between the *Dafne* of 1594 and the third Intermedio of 1589: the fight with the dragon has shrunk to a brief prologue, in which—as can be seen from the preface by Marco da Gagliano [to the 1608 performance]—traces of the spectacle of 1589 remain, both in the grouping and action of the chorus and in the *danza bellica* of Apollo.

386 *Translator's addendum.* In the German text, the paper continues after the sentence ending “coy shepherdess” as follows (*Erneuerung*, 437–38):

In Tasso's *Aminta* and in Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, court societies outside Florence had long since discovered the embodiment—admired and poetic, however much criticized as unclassical—of the bucolic mood for which a jaded, unlearned, and sentimental society longed. In Florence, the same mood gradually took root, with one important difference: Florentines still felt an artistic commitment to the ancient authorities revived by the Renaissance.

In the Intermedi of 1589, those authorities were exploited with relentless thoroughness, in relation to the significance of music both in the theory and in the myths of antiquity. It is a remarkable fact that in Florence, an unshakable faith in the absolute exemplary value of ancient civilization formed, as it were, the immutable background, the raw material on which the Italian imagination then went to work. The progress represented by the *Riforma Melodrammatica* resides not so much in the fact of addressing and studying the Greek and Roman authorities as in the nature of the approach to them. This marks the turning point that divides the culture and society of the Quattrocento from that of the Seicento.

It was certainly among the most immediate tasks of the *Riforma Melodramma-*

*tica* to dispense with the antiquated, erudite fustian of the Intermedi. And yet it almost seems that the deep-seated early Renaissance tendency to treat antiquity as a direct impetus to artistic creation was still potent enough to prevent a total rejection of the antique in favor of the sentimental pastoral. As a result, the new opera came into being with the explicit purpose of restoring to life the ancient Greek and Roman tragedy, which was believed to have been performed entirely to music (“*in musica*”). The material stimulus had lost all its potency; and so a new form must be found.

It was here, in Florence, that this impulse to instill new life into the figures of Olympus acquired a remarkable infusion of psychological effectiveness through the sentimental, mythological opera of the so-called *Riforma Melodrammatica*, with its recitatives in which speech and music join forces. And what was the part played in this evolution by the Intermedi of 1589?

They were an attempt to cause the taste of the old, erudite society to prevail over the coming sentimental tendencies; and what was new about that attempt was the intention of using the classical examples of the effects of music in the ancient world to create a psychological effect. The Intermedi of 1589 show this new impulse, with its wholesale reference to antique authority, relying for its means of giving palpable form to those same antique ideas not only on madrigalesque music but on an antiquarian style of decoration such as the erudite society of sixteenth-century Florence was accustomed to see in festive processions. It seems almost as if Bardi, the inspirer of the Intermedi, believed that he could apply the old, dogmatic, and antiquarian interpretative resources and still gain access to the spectators’ emotions.

However, the evolution of the third Intermedio into *Dafne* shows us what the members of the Camerata, Bardi’s successors, now regarded as capable of survival: not the antiquarian shell but the sentimental kernel. It became evident in 1589 that meticulous and superficially antiquarian craftsmanship, combined with madrigalesque music, led to nothing but Baroque splendor, without any detectable effect on the emotions of the spectators. Now that everything possible had been done in quantitative terms, those who took the psychological effects of music seriously were compelled to turn away from the old and find something new. A new approach to antiquity must appear and must prevail: perhaps one that would operate by more subtle but more penetrating means. This was opera, in which the spoken word is transformed into a new artistic resource through music.

But here I am entering a field that belongs to those more qualified than I. The purpose of this brief sketch could only be to give an idea of the two traditions that meet in the Intermedi of 1589: the older, erudite tradition, fighting its last battle with the newer, sentimental tradition. And the discovery of a new, musical expressive form for that new tradition is the imperishable achievement of the Florentine *Riforma Melodrammatica*.

386 Only now (8 September 1905) do I find that Nietzsche, in his *Birth of Tragedy*, deals at length with the origins of the opera. But how fundamentally wrong in relation to the historical process!! (Ch. 19):

The artistically inept person produces art of a kind for himself, precisely by being inartistic. Because he has no inkling of the Dionysian depths of music, he

transforms the enjoyment of music into a rational, verbal, and tonal rhetoric of passion, in the *stilo rappresentativo*, and into the sensual pleasure of vocalism. Because he is incapable of seeing visions, he presses machinists and stage decorators into his service.

(In other words, precisely the wrong way round!)

- 389 C. Lozzi, “La musica e specialmente il melodramma alla corte medicea,” *Rivista musicale* 9 (1902): 297 ff., especially 312 ff., publishes documents on Peri, Caccini, Giovanni Battista del Violino, Antonio and Vittoria Archilei, and the Franciosini family (letter of 1603).

On Isabella Andreini, Vittoria Pisima, and their theater companies, see the recent book by Allardyce Nicoll, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles* (London, [1931]), 237–40, 307, 310–14, 316 f., and 305 ff., 311 f., 315 f.

- 390 On this now see: Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma, Testimonianze dei contemporanei* (Turin, 1903) (Texts).

Idem, *Gli albori del melodramma*, 3 vols. (Milan, Palermo, and Naples, 1904–5). In this: 1:42 ff., the festivities of 1589; 2:19 ff., extract from Rossi’s *Descrizione del apparato*.

Idem, “Laura Guidiccioni Lucchesini e Emilio de’ Cavalieri,” *Rivista musicale italiana* 9 (1902): 797 ff.

R. Haas, “Die Musik des Barock” (1928), in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* 17 ff.; bibliography 94 ff.

- 391 The name Bylifelt is also mentioned in the *Ruolo della Casa* of Grand Duke Ferdinand (see p. 388), page 11: “*Diversi huomini d’Architettura, Pittura et altrj magisterij*” (Divers men of architecture, painting, and other disciplines), including “*M. Jacopo Bellifelt orafo ducati 20*” (Master Jacob Bylifelt, goldsmith, 20 ducats).

- 393 Both description and engraving appear in the expanded edition prepared by Cartari himself (Venice, 1571), 304, 302. This could therefore have served Bardi as a source.

- 393 On the relation between Bardi’s and Patrizzi’s ideas, see above, p. 540. However, there is no proof that Bardi was influenced by Patrizzi’s *Nova de universis philosophia* (Ferrara, 1591).

- 393 Bardi’s source for the Astraea figure is cited in Rossi’s *Descrizione*, 28: “Agellio,” i.e., Aulus Gellius, in the description of Justice in his *Noctes atticae* 14.4.

In Frezzi’s *Quadriregio* (Florence: Pacini, 1508), a woodcut (fol. P 3<sup>r</sup>) represents Astraea as a *ninfa* (nymph).

In the late sixteenth century, Astraea began to make frequent appearances in courtly poetry: Queen Elizabeth of England is extolled as Astraea, i.e., both as “Virgo” and as “Justitia”: George Peele, *Descensus Astraeae* (1591), and *Anglorum feriae* (1595), in his *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1888), 1:361 ff., 2:343 ff.; and Sir John Davies’s “acrosticke verse” on the words ELISABETHA REGINA,

“Hymnes of Astraea” (1599), in his *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1876), 1:129 ff.

Rinuccini, in his prologue to the performance of *Dafne* in the house of Don Giovanni de’ Medici in 1611, praised his own patroness, Maria de’ Medici, as “*di virtù, di valor novella Astrea*” (new Astraea of virtue and valor): see A. Solerti, *Albori* ...2:104.

Astraea also made appearances in court pageantry elsewhere: in Ben Jonson’s masque *The Golden Age Restored* (1615), in *Works*, ed. Gifford and Cunningham (London, 1897), 3:102, she banishes the Brazen Age and ushers in the Golden Age. Again, the second Intermedio in Florence in 1608 (see p. 454) has the subject of “*Il ritorno della Vergine Astrea*” (The return of the virgin Astraea).

- 398 Bardi’s confusion of Delos with Delphi, the mythological scene of Apollo’s victory over the serpent Python, may well stem from the fact that all the theoreticians of the dance follow Lucian in giving pride of place to Delos and to its dance rituals (see above, pp. 539 ff.).

Delphos, the founder of Delphi, is identified as a son of Neptune by Tzetzes, in his scholia to the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, line 208, ed. Scheer, 2 (Berlin, 1908): 89. This passage is cited in the commentary to Ovid published in Venice in 1586 (114 n. 2), and might thus have been known to Bardi.

- 398 On this, see “Sandro Botticelli,” pp. 158 ff.

The woodcuts for Luca Pulci’s *Driadeo d’amore*, in the Lorenzo Peri edition of 1546 (see P. Kristeller, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*, no. 341b): fol. C.A 9<sup>r</sup>, nymph with flying hair and dress; fol. C.B 6<sup>r</sup>, with bodice and long spear. The same woodcuts appear in a fifteenth-century edition (n.p., n.d., Kristeller no. 341a).

The Quattrocento edition (n.p., n.d.) of Lorenzo’s *Canti carnescaleschi*, Biblioteca Riccardiana 518, ediz. rare 276, said by Bandini to have been printed in Florence by Morgiani in Lorenzo’s lifetime, has, on fol. 2<sup>r</sup>: “La canzona delle Nimphe e delle Cicale.” According to Solerti, *Gli albori* 1:19 n. 2, this collection was reprinted by S. Ferrari in the Biblioteca di Letteratura Popolare (Florence, 1882). All later editions—from *Tutti i trionfi* . . . , ed. Lasca, Florence, 1559, by way of the Lucca and Cosmopoli editions of 1750, to Lorenzo’s *Opere*, ed. Simioni, 2 (Bari, 1914): 252 f.—read “*fanciulle*” for “*nimphe*.”

- 400 Marco da Gagliano’s preface printed by Solerti, *Gli origini del melodramma* (Turin, 1903), 78–89.
- 400 The *Carro del Sole* appears in the illustrated edition of Raffaello Gualterotti (1579). This chariot also discussed in [Cosimo Gaci,] *Poetica descrizione d’intorno all’invenzioni della Sbarra combattuta in Firenze nel cortile del Palagio de’ Pitti in honore della Sereniss. Signora Bianca Capello, Gran Duchessa di Toscana* (Florence: Giunti, 1579). (Bigazzi 3456.)
- 400 The *Rappresentazione di Febo e Pitone o di Dafne* published by Angelo Solerti (*Nozze Cavalieri-Tedeschi*, Florence, 1902).



On the role of pastoral in the evolution of opera and ballet, see Prunières, *Ballet de cour*, 79 n. 1.

Emphasized more strongly in the German text of the present essay than in the Italian.

- 400 Warburg's reference to *La disperazione di Fileno* was taken up, and the drawings were discussed, by Angelo Solerti, Laura Guidiccioni Lucchesini, and Emilio de' Cavalieri, *Rivista musicale italiana* 9, no. 4 (1902), 811 f. Reprinted in Solerti, *Albori...* 1:53 f. The piece was performed in 1590.

- 400 The copy of Pavoni's work in the collection of Tito Cappugi, which Warburg used, can no longer be traced; it was consequently unavailable to Solerti (*Albori...* 1:46 n. 1). Now, however, the Biblioteca Nazionale has acquired a copy through the antiquarian book trade; traces of an old, erased mark reveal that this is the library's own former copy.

Additions to the bibliography:

*Descrizione / del regale / Apparato / per le nozze della Serenissima / Madama Christiana / di Loreno / moglie del serenissimo Don / Ferdinando Medici / III. Granduca / di Toscana. / Descritte da Raffael Gualterotti Gentil'- / huomo Fiorentino. / In Firenze, / appresso Antonio Padovani. 1589. In-4° (Bigazzi 3469).*

*Li sontuosissimi Apparecchi, Trionfi, e Feste, fatti nelli Nozze della Gran Duchessa di Fiorenza... Et la Descriptione de gl' Intermedij rappresentati in una Comedia nobilissima... Stampata in Fiorenza et in Ferrara per Vittoria Baldini. Et ristampata in Venetia per Ludovico Larduccio 1589.*

### Contributions to the Cultural History of the Florentine Quattrocento

- 403 Published as "Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Quattrocento in Florenz," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3, no. 4 (Augsburg, 1930): 195 f.
- 403 Theriac (or treacle) and its preparation are discussed by Thomas Cantimpratensis in his work *De natura rerum* (unpublished, quoted here from Cod. Rehdig. 174 in the Stadtbibliothek, Breslau); free German translation by Konrad von Megenberg (died 1374), *Buch der Natur*, ed. Franz Pfeiffer (Stuttgart, 1861, 284); modernized German version with notes by Hugo Schulz (Greifswald, 1897).

Cod. Rehdig. 174, fol. 144r:

*Tirus, ut dicit Jacobus et liber rerum, serpens est in partibus Jericho circa solitudines Jordanis. Est autem serpens infestus avibus et animalibus et maxime ovis avium que utique cum ipsis avibus comedit et transglutit. Cuius carnes confectae quasi electuarium cum quibusdam que admiscentur omne toxicum venenum expellunt et eradicant. Hec confectio tiriaca dicitur. Ferunt nonnulli hunc ante passionem Christi nullum habuisse remedium et infestum hominibus fuisse*

*maxime; contigisse autem ipso die qua Christus in cruce suspensus est unum ex hiis serpentibus infestatissimum circa partes Jerusalem comprehensum et ad latus Christi in cruce suspensum et ex illa die omne genus ipsius serpentis suscepisse virtutem in effusione sanguinis Christi remedium efficacissimum contra omne venenum. Aristoteles. Draconis genus in terra illa est ubi tyri serpentes sunt in terra Ethiopie et de ipso accipit tythicon genus veneni quod est irremediabile malum. Cum autem contra omne venenum tyriaca valet, contra ipsius tyri venenum quod dicitur tythicon nichil valet.*

(The Tyrus, according to Jacob and the Book of Things, is a snake in the vicinity of Jericho, around the desert places of the Jordan. It is dangerous to birds and animals, and especially to the eggs of birds, which together with the birds themselves it gulps down and devours. Its flesh, confectioned into an electuary with certain things that are mixed in, drives out and destroys every toxic poison. This concoction is called *theriac*. Some say that before the Passion of Christ {the venom of} this snake had no antidote and was extremely dangerous to human beings; but that, on the very day of Christ's crucifixion, one of these snakes that had done great harm around Jerusalem was caught and suspended next to Christ on the cross, and that from that day the whole race of these snakes received the miraculous power of the flow of Christ's blood, as a very effective remedy against any poison. Aristotle says: "In Ethiopia, the land where the Tyrus lives, there is a kind of serpent from which the Tyrus gets the Tythicon, a kind of venom against which there is no antidote." Although *theriac* has power against every poison, against the poison of the Tyrus itself, which is called Tythicon, nothing has any power.)

It is worth considering how the idea of "*unum ex hiis serpentibus...ad latus Christi in cruce suspensum*" (one of these snakes...suspended next to Christ on the cross), which represents an attempt to give a Christian sanction to the ancient belief in the healing power of snakes, might relate to the typological complex of imagery in which the erection of a brazen serpent is taken as the Old Testament type of the Crucifixion of Christ. The textual basis for this connection is found in Numbers 21.8, where Moses is told to set a serpent upon a pole, whereupon "everyone that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live"; and in John 3.14, where Jesus, referring to this same passage in the Old Testament, promises Nicodemus spiritual rebirth through the lifting up of the Son of Man.

The image of the brazen serpent alongside the cross is found in the earliest accounts of typological imagery. It is mentioned by Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in his narrative of his journey to Rome: Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte*, Quellenschriften, ed. Eitelberger and Ilg, n.s., 7 (Vienna, 1896): 48 f. In a poem describing the cycle of paintings on the life of Saint Gall, at Saint Gall, the monk Ekkehard IV (died around 1060) records the inscription:

*Si tibi serpentis noceant ictus ferientis,  
Aspice serpentem, cito te facit ille valentem*

(If a snake strikes and injures you,

Look at the snake, and it will quickly make you well.)

(Schlosser, 179.) In the *Biblia pauperum*, the *titulus* for the Crucifixion scene and for its Old Testament types reads as follows: "*Lesi curantur Serpentem dum speculantur*"

(Those who have been wounded are cured when they look upon the serpent). On precedents for this imagery, see Henrik Cornell, *Biblia pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925), 120 ff.

The snake and its healing magic are brought into a curious juxtaposition with the Crucifixion in a popular New Testament story book, probably compiled around 1400, and called *Die neue Ee*, in Vollmer, *Materialien zur Bibelgeschichte und religiösen Volkskunde des Mittelalters* 4 (Berlin, 1929): 124. After recounting Jesus' cry of "I thirst" on the cross, the text continues:

*Sie namen auch ein plindsleich und teten sie in ein ror und hueben ims zu dem mund, das in der wurm vergiftt het. Jesus tet den segen umb sich, den man zu dem trank tuet, darzu muess man des wurms pluets haben.*

(They also took a blindworm and put it into a reed and lifted it to his mouth, that the worm might poison him. Jesus bestowed the blessing that is pronounced to accompany the potion; for this {remedy}, one must have the blood of that worm.) Thomas Cantimpratensis (followed by Konrad von Megenberg) cites the authority of Pliny (*Historia naturalis* 29.4.22) for the use of snake's flesh as a remedy for snakebite, and recounts the legend of Saint Paul on Malta from Acts 28.3–6; Cod. Rehdig. 174, fol. 144<sup>v</sup>:

*Morsus eius irremediabilis perhibetur. Tumorem quoque et inflacionem inducit. Quod utique sciebant illi qui cum Paulo mare evaserunt. et vipera invadente manum Pauli eum credebant in tumorem convertendum et subito casurum et mori...*

(Its bite is said to be without remedy. It also produces swelling and inflammation. Those who escaped from the sea with Paul knew about this: when the viper attacked Paul's hand, they thought that his whole body would swell up and he would immediately fall down and die...)

It was in consequence of such religious notions as these that for many centuries the snake, the creature sacred to Asclepius, lent its authority to two medicinal substances in particular: one was theriac, or treacle, an antidote made from snake's flesh (the recipe for which, transmitted by Galen, was said to have devised by Nero's personal physician, Andromachus); and the other was a certain earth known as *terra sigillata* (sealed earth) or, from the connection with the miracle of Saint Paul, *terra Melitensis* (Maltese earth) or *terra Sancti Pauli*: Peters, *Aus pharmazeutischer Vorzeit*, n.s., 2d ed. (Berlin, 1899), 159. Both of these antidotes were hawked from one festival or fair to the next, or so Garzoni tells us, by mountebanks who promoted sales by demonstrating their own alleged immunity to snakebite.

Garzoni's source, Mattioli, the author of a commentary on Dioscurides, was himself the author of a complicated recipe for theriac. This remedy was an important article of commerce; demand in Italy was greatest in Florence and in Venice. There was so much fraud that the city governments arranged for it to be prepared at public ceremonies (one Bolognese engraving shows theriac being made in the courtyard of the Archiginnasio) and had the tablets stamped as a guarantee of their genuineness. Peters, 159, illustrates stamps used in this way: one, for *terra melitensis*, carries the letters S.P. and a snake.

The *cassone* that depicts a theriac-monger has been ascribed by Berenson, *Dedalo*

12 (1932): 192, to Rosello di Jacopo Franchi. Stradanus depicted the catching of vipers for medicinal purposes (engraving by Galle: Peters, 31) and painted a fresco in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence showing a theriac-monger at the San Giovanni fair. A mountebank festooned with snakes—as on the *cassone*, and also in the Palazzo del Tè—is depicted by Pinturicchio in the Sala del Credo of the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.

The cultic significance of the snake, particularly in the religion of the American Indians, was discussed by Warburg in a lecture that will appear in a later volume of his writings.

- 403 An almost exactly contemporary literary record appears in Scaliger's *Poetices libri 7* (1561), 1.18 ("Saltatio"): in the course of a description of the Pyrrhic dance of the Spartans, he relates that he has himself taken part in a performance of such a dance before Emperor Maximilian.

On sword dances in antiquity: Eugen Fehrle, "Waffentänze," *Badische Heimat* 1, no. 2 (1914), 161 ff. As a Germanic custom: Kurt Meschke, *Schwerttanz und Schwerttanzspiel im germanischen Kulturkreis* (Leipzig, 1931). The sword and morris dances of England have been collected, described, and published, with their tunes, in two series: Cecil J. Sharp, *The Sword Dances of Northern England*, 3 vols. (London, 1911–13); Cecil J. Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine, *The Morris Book*, 5 vols. (London, 1907–13). See also Violet Alford, *Peeps at English Folk-Dances* (London, 1923).

For some years, Franz Pospisil of the Moravian Museum in Brno has been assembling a cinematographic record of all the European sword dances; he has already collected a large number of mainly Slav and Basque dances on film.

On moresques (*moresche*) in pictorial art, see pp. 174, 307.

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**Fig. 97. Albrecht Dürer, *Death of Orpheus***  
 Drawing. Hamburg, Kunsthalle (see p. 553)



**Fig. 98. *Death of Orpheus***  
 Northern Italian engraving. Hamburg, Kunsthalle  
 (see p. 553)

# Dürer and Italian Antiquity

## (1905)

In its treasury of old drawings and prints, the Kunsthalle in Hamburg holds two famous representations of the *Death of Orpheus*: a drawing by Albrecht Dürer, dating from 1494 (fig. 97), and the only known copy of the anonymous engraving, from Mantegna's circle, that was Dürer's source (fig. 98). In itself, this accident of ownership would not have been cause enough for me to base this talk on these two images (of which, at the request of the local committee, I have supplied reproductions).<sup>1</sup> My choice of subject springs from the conviction that these two works have yet to be adequately interpreted as documents of the reentry of the ancient world into modern civilization, for they reveal an unnoticed, twofold influence of antiquity on the stylistic evolution of early Renaissance art.

The narrow Neoclassical doctrine of the "tranquil grandeur" of antiquity has long tended to frustrate any adequate scrutiny of this material; it remains to be pointed out that by the latter half of the fifteenth century—as the engraving and the drawing both reveal—Italian artists had seized on the rediscovered antique treasury of forms just as much for its emotive force of gesture as for any tranquil, classic ideal. For the sake of this wider view, it seems to me worth offering an art-historical commentary on the *Death of Orpheus* to a gathering of philologists and educators: those to whom "the influence of antiquity" remains as momentous a question as ever it was in the Renaissance.

In a number of ways, the *Death of Orpheus* serves to clarify this emotive, rhetorical current within the reawakening of antiquity. First, it can be shown—though never remarked on before—that the present engraving depicts the death of Orpheus in an entirely authentic, antique spirit. A comparison with Greek vase paintings (see figs. 99, 100; Roscher, *Mythologisches Lexikon*, "Orpheus," figs. 10, 11) shows beyond doubt that its composition stems from some lost, antique image of the death of Orpheus or Pentheus. Its style is directly informed by the emotive gestural language defined by Greece for this same tragic scene.

This same process can be seen in a drawing in Turin, by an artist close to the Pollaiuoli (fig. 102), to which Professor Robert has drawn my attention. The man with his foot on his prostrate enemy's shoulder, tugging at his arm, clearly stems from the figure of Agave, as she appears on a sarcophagus now in Pisa, rending her own son Pentheus limb from limb in Dionysiac frenzy. A wide variety of other depictions of the death of Orpheus—such as the

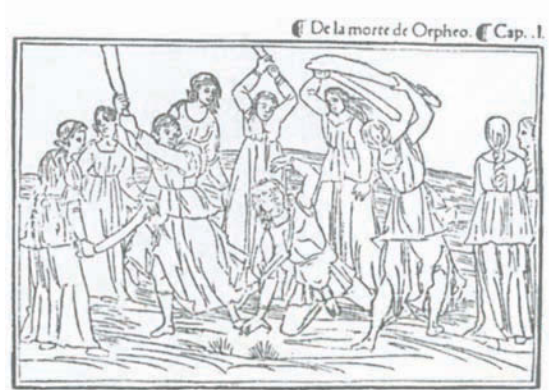


**Fig. 99. Death of Orpheus**

Detail of vase from Nola. Paris, Louvre (see p. 553)

**Fig. 100. Death of Orpheus**

After vase from Chiusi, from *Annali*, 1871 (see p. 553)



**Fig. 101. Death of Orpheus**

Woodcut from Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Venice, 1497)  
(see p. 555)



**Fig. 102. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Scene of Combat**

Drawing. Turin, Palazzo Reale (see p. 553)



Northern Italian sketchbook in Lord Rosebery's collection, the Orpheus plate in the Correr collection, a plaque in the Berlin Museum, and a drawing (by Giulio Romano?) in the Louvre—supply almost identical proofs of the vigor with which this archaeologically authentic emotive formula {*Pathosformel*}, based on an antique Orpheus or Pentheus, had taken root in Renaissance artistic circles.

Most telling of all is a woodcut in the 1497 Venetian edition of Ovid, where † it accompanies the poet's vivid account of Orpheus's tragic end (fig. 101). This cut may be directly related to the Northern Italian engraving mentioned above; in any case, it stems from the same antique original—which seems to have been available in a more complete version: see the maenad in frontal view.

The true voice of antiquity, which the Renaissance knew well, chimes with the image. For the death of Orpheus was more than a studio motif of purely formal interest: it stood for the dark mystery play of Dionysian legend, passionately and knowingly experienced in the spirit and through the words of the ancients. Proof of this can be heard in the Ovidian strains of the first Italian drama, Poliziano's *Orfeo*, written in Italian and first performed in Mantua in 1471. The *Death of Orpheus* engraving drew added emphasis from that tragic dance-play, the earliest work of the famous Florentine humanist: for it set Orpheus's sufferings, acted out and vigorously expressed in melodious, native Italian, before the very same Mantuan Renaissance society to which the unnamed engraver showed his image of Orpheus's death. Mantua and Florence here coincide, bringing true, antique formulas of intensified physical or psychic expression into the Renaissance style of depicting life in motion.

The works of Botticelli—and also, in particular, certain bridal *cassoni* by Jacopo del Sellaio (fig. 103), depicting the Orpheus legend after Poliziano— † demonstrate how Poliziano influenced the Florentines to adopt a style that was an unresolved composite, joining a realistic observation of nature with an idealizing reliance on familiar antique sources, both artistic and literary. Antonio Pollaiuolo, for his part, continued in the spirit of Donatello, forging his antique sources into a more consistent style through the sheer, exuberant rhetoric of muscle, as manifested by the nude in action. Between the graceful flutterings of Poliziano and the dynamic Mannerism of Pollaiuolo stands the heroic, theatrical, emotive intensity of the antique figures of Mantegna.

For Dürer, the discovery of Mantegna and Pollaiuolo as sources coincided with that of the *Death of Orpheus* engraving. In 1494 he copied both Mantegna's *Bacchanal with Silenus* and his so-called *Battle of Tritons*; and in 1495 he drew two nude figures, of men abducting women, that are undoubtedly copied from a lost original by Pollaiuolo. The emotive rhetoric of these four subjects of 1494–1495 is fundamental to Dürer's understanding of pagan antiquity; from them he derived every detail of the figures in one of his earliest engravings on mythological themes, wrongly identified as a *Hercules* (B. 73). †

This was probably based on some humanistic retelling of the legend of Zeus and Antiope; but its most apposite title is the old one coined by Bartsch: *Jealousy*. In it, Dürer set out above all to create an animated image in the

antique manner, and thus to follow the Italians in acknowledging the supremacy of the antique in all gestural rendering of emotion. Hence the rather contrived animation of one of Dürer's earliest mythological woodcuts, the one that shows the wrath of *Hercules* (B. 127). In a series of large mural canvases, installed in the Palazzo Medici in 1460, the Pollaiuoli had given currency to the figure of Hercules as an idealized symbol of the unfettered superman; and so, in Nuremberg in 1500, a Pollaiuolo *Hercules* found his way into Dürer's own canvas of *Hercules and the Harpies*.

None of the figures in the engraving *Jealousy* is Dürer's own invention, and yet in an overriding sense the work remains his property. Dürer had no time for the modern aesthete's qualms about artistic individuality; no artistic vanity deterred him from taking the heritage of the past and making it his own. Even so, Nuremberger as he was, he instinctively countered the pagan vigor of Southern art with a native coolness that touches his gesticulating antique figures with an overtone, as it were, of robust composure.

Antiquity came to Dürer by way of Italian art, not merely as a Dionysian stimulant but as a source of Apollonian clarity. The Apollo Belvedere was in † his mind's eye when he sought for the ideal measure of the male body, and he related the truth of nature to the proportions of Vitruvius. This Faustian tendency to brood on questions of measure and proportion never left him, and indeed intensified; but he soon lost interest in the antique as a source of agitated mobility in any Baroque or Manneristic sense.

In Venice in 1506, the Italians told him that his work was not "*antikisch Art, und darum sei es nit gut*" (not antique in manner, and therefore not good). To the younger Venetians—in the very year in which Leonardo and Michelangelo, in their equestrian battle pieces, canonized the emotive rhetoric of conflict—a figure like Dürer's so-called *Large Fortune* must have looked like an arid experiment, entirely foreign to the antique spirit as they knew it. Their reaction seems more natural to us now than it must have done to Dürer, who had not only constructed this very figure of *Nemesis* according to the Vitruvian canon of proportion but—an astonishing fact, discovered by Giehlow<sup>2</sup>—had designed it in every last detail as an illustration of a Latin poem by Poliziano.

What the Italians looked for and failed to find in his work—decorative and emotive rhetoric—was the thing that Dürer himself had by then entirely † ceased to want. This no doubt explains the passage in the letter just quoted, in which he wrote: "*Und das Ding, das mir vor elf Jahren so wol hat gefallen, das gefällt mir itz nüt mehr. Und wenn ichs nich selbs säch, so hätte ichs keim Anderen geglaubt.*" (And the thing that pleased me so well eleven years ago pleases me no longer. And if I had not seen it with my own eyes, I would never have taken another's word for it.) The thing he had liked eleven years before—in my opinion, which I intend to substantiate later—was the group of Italian engravings, in a high-flown, rhetorical, emotive mode, that he had chosen to copy in 1494–1495 in the belief that this was the true grand manner of pagan antiquity.

Dürer thus assumed his rightful place among the opponents of the Baroque



**Fig. 103. Jacopo del Sellaio, *Orpheus***  
Cassone. Vienna, Lanckoronsky Collection (see p. 555)

**Figs. 104a,b. Andrea del Castagno, *David***  
Leather shield. Philadelphia, Widener Collection  
(see p. 558)

language of gesture, toward which Italian art had been moving since the mid-fifteenth century. For it is quite wrong to date the Roman grand style from † the unearthing of the *Laocoön* in 1506. That event was an outward symptom of an inward, historical process; it marked the climax, not the birth, of the “Baroque aberration.” It was a revelation of something that Italians had long sought—and therefore found—in the art of the ancient world: extremes of gestural and physiognomic expression, stylized in tragic sublimity.

To take just one unknown and surprising example: Antonio Pollaiuolo derived his animated figure of *David* (on the painted leather shield at Locko † Park [fig. 104]) from an authentic antique image, that of the pedagogue to the children of Niobe, right down to the detail of its accessory forms in motion. And in 1488, when a small replica of the *Laocoön* group was found during nocturnal excavation work in Rome,<sup>3</sup> the discoverers, even before they recognized the mythological subject, were fired with spontaneous artistic enthusiasm by the striking expressiveness of the suffering figures and by “*certi gesti mirabili*” (certain wonderful gestures). This was the Vulgar Latin of emotive gesture: an international, indeed a universal language that went straight to the hearts of all those who chafed at medieval expressive constraints.

These “Plates to Illustrate the *Death of Orpheus*” are thus a record of some initial excavations along the route of the long migration that brought antique superlatives of gesture from Athens, by way of Rome, Mantua, and Florence, to Nuremberg and into the mind of Albrecht Dürer. Dürer’s response to this migrant rhetoric varied at different times. For the psychology of style is not the kind of issue that can be forcibly brought to a head by imposing the categories of military and political history, “winners” and “losers.” Some such rough conclusion may suit hero-worshipping dilettantism, may spare it the minute labor of pursuing the work of great individuals to its sources, but this obscures a question of style that is far wider, though hitherto barely formulated: the interchange of artistic culture, in the fifteenth century, between past and present, and between North and South. Not only does this process afford a clearer understanding of the early Renaissance as a universal category of European civilization: it lays bare certain phenomena, hitherto unnoticed, that cast a more general light on the circulation and exchange of expressive forms in art.

## Notes

1. *Der “Tod des Orpheus”*: Bilder zu dem Vortrag über Dürer und die italienische Antike. Den Mitgliedern der archäologischen Sektion...überreicht von A. Warburg. 3 plates, large folio. (The *Death of Orpheus*: Plates to Illustrate the Lecture on Dürer and Italian Antiquity. Presented by A. Warburg...to the members of the Archaeological Section). In expanded form, this lecture will form part of a forthcoming book on the beginnings of autonomous secular painting in the Quattrocento.

2. [“Politian und Dürer,”] *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* (1902), 25 ff.

3. See Jacob Burckhardt, *Beiträge*, 351 [in *Gesamtausgabe* 12:349 f.].

# The Gods of Antiquity and the Early Renaissance in Southern and Northern Europe

(1908)

The speaker explained his decision to take North and South together, in discussing the absorption of antique influences, by stressing the need to take a stand against the prevailing aestheticism of attitudes to the Renaissance. Its formal innovations did not spring from any revolutionary upheaval, in which the artistic genius was set free by a sudden new awareness of personal identity; nor should they be seen, narrowly, as products of the contemporary evolution of Italian art. Consciously and painfully, the Renaissance faced and grappled with the inheritance of late antique and medieval tradition. What is more, the forces that had to be confronted were the same in the North as they were in the South.

This approach being new to scholarship, the speaker was in no position to offer any general conspectus; but he used slides to illustrate a number of stages in the process that he himself had been able to reveal. To this end, he had chosen the types of the gods of antiquity, and would illustrate the stylistic shift through the specific cases of Saturn and Venus.

Evidence of the survival of the ancient gods was of two kinds. Firstly, they survived in the austere guise of moral allegories, in medieval descriptions culled from late antique sources and prefixed to allegorical interpretations of Ovid. A second, consistent iconographic tradition existed in astrology. All images of the gods in the Italian early Renaissance derive to some extent from these lists of gods compiled in late antique times and after. Even Botticelli, in his *Birth of Venus*, is recasting medieval illustrative conventions in the light of rediscovered antiquity. Thus, the heraldically rigid astral symbols of tradition borrowed new life from antique sculpture. This is proved, for instance, by the planetary figures in the Chapel of the Sacrament in Rimini, enlivened by the emotive eloquence of late antique sarcophagi. Similar emotive formulas underlie the Northern Italian engraving of the *Death of Orpheus*, of which the Kunsthalle in Hamburg possesses the only extant copy.

Finally, that period of transition yielded some forms intermediate between medieval literalism and the antique idealism of the Renaissance. One of these is a deck of Northern Italian tarot cards—the Kunsthalle possesses a particularly good copy—in which, for example, Venus is still shown in the medieval way, while Mercury [fig. 116] has already taken on the lineaments of antique sculpture.

The *Death of Orpheus* engraving, just mentioned, is known to have been one of Dürer's sources for his celebrated drawing *Jealousy*, also owned by the Kunsthalle. And, most remarkably, as Giehlow has discovered, the very engraving that is extolled as the supreme monument of Dürer's German style, with its freedom from Italian muscular rhetoric—the *Melencolia I* itself—bears an intimate connection with late antique astrological practice.

An indirect derivation from antiquity, and a direct one from the tarot mentioned above, is to be seen in the planetary figures of a Low German almanac printed in Lübeck in 1519 by a native of Hamburg, Stephan Arndes. The evidence of the Italian books that bear Arndes's imprint shows that he was in Perugia in 1482; which of course explains his familiarity with Italian art. What is more, a Theodor Arndes, perhaps a relation of Stephan's, was living in Perugia and in Rome in the late fifteenth century; he later became dean of Brunswick, and in 1492 bishop of Lübeck. The trail of the Arndes family thus leads us to Lower Saxony; and this is important, as figures from the 1519 almanac reappear on the Demmertsches Haus in Brunswick and on the celebrated "Brusttuch" in Goslar; the same woodcuts were even copied in mural paintings on a house as far afield as Eggenburg in Lower Austria. The 1519 almanac and its Hamburg-born printer thus have more than a merely local relevance to the circulation of forms that defined the artistic interaction between North and South in that age of migrant images.

## Church and Court Art at Landshut (1909)

During a tour of the Residenz, Professor Warburg of Hamburg gave some interesting information on the chimneypiece in the Italian Chamber. The relief (dating from 1542 [fig. 105]) represents the seven planets in a form entirely in keeping with medieval tradition. The images are literal illustrations of a thirteenth-century treatise on painting, ascribed to a certain Albricus, whose directions for the depiction of twenty-three deities powerfully influenced their visual treatment throughout the later Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. The illustrations to the *Ovide moralisé*, for example, follow those directions very closely, as do a number of figures in the Northern Italian deck of tarot cards that was copied by Dürer. This was the source of the *Mercury* in a suite of woodcuts by Burgkmair [B. 41–47], widely current in the sixteenth century and copied in a Lübeck almanac of 1519 and on the facades of houses all over Germany. Alongside all these *indirect* derivatives of the Albricus descriptions, the chimneypiece at Landshut is an example of a *direct* reversion to medieval conceptions in the Renaissance.



**Fig. 105. *Planets* on a chimneypiece**  
Landshut, Residenz (see p. 561)



# Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (1912)

The lecture that follows represents only a provisional sketch for a forthcoming, detailed publication that will contain an iconological study of the sources of the fresco cycle in the Palazzo Schifanoia.

To us, as art historians, the Roman world of Italian High Renaissance art represents the successful conclusion of a long process in which artistic genius emancipated itself from its medieval illustrative servitude. And so some justification is required if I appear here, in Rome, and before an audience so expert in artistic matters, to speak of astrology—that dangerous enemy to all creative invention—and of its significance in the stylistic evolution of Italian painting.

Such a justification will emerge, I hope, in the course of this paper, from the very nature of the problem whose curious ramifications have compelled me—very much against my own initial inclination, which aspired to lovelier things—to enter the shadowy nether regions of astral superstition.

This problem is the following: What does the influence of the ancient world signify for the artistic culture of the early Renaissance?

In Florence, some twenty-four years ago, I realized that the influence of antiquity manifested itself in Quattrocento secular painting—and specifically in that of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi through a change in the depiction of human figures—an increased mobility of the body and of its draperies, inspired by antique visual art and poetry. Later, I saw that authentic antique extremes of gesture were present as a stylizing influence in the muscle-rhetoric of Pollaiuolo; and, above all, that even the mythological world of the young Dürer (from the *Death of Orpheus* to the *Large Jealousy*) owed its dramatic force of expression to the surviving—and inherently Greek—“emotive formulas” that had reached him by way of Northern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

The intrusion of this Italian and antique style of mobility into Northern European art does not mean that the North entirely lacked first-hand knowledge of pagan and antique subject matter. On the contrary, as I studied mid-fifteenth-century inventories of secular art, it became clear to me that Flemish tapestries and “painted cloths” (*panni dipinti*) had brought characters from pagan antiquity in realistic contemporary costume—*alla franzese*—even onto the walls of Italian palaces.

A closer look at pagan iconography in Northern European book illustration, taking text and pictures together, convinced me that these unclassical trappings—so distracting to us—did not in the least divert a contemporary eye from its primary concern: the earnest, all-too-literal-minded pursuit of an authentic visualization of antiquity.

So deep was this idiosyncratic Northern interest in classical learning that, even in the early Middle Ages, illustrated mythological manuals of a sort were compiled for the two groups of readers who needed them most: painters and astrologers. One of these Northern products was that standard Latin treatise on the depiction of the gods, *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, ascribed to an English monk by the name of Albericus<sup>2</sup> who cannot have lived any later than the twelfth century. His illustrated mythology, with its iconographic descriptions of twenty-three renowned pagan deities, exerted a hitherto unremarked influence on later mythological literature—notably in France, where, from the turn of the fourteenth century, those same pagan fugitives found refuge in versified † French paraphrases and moralistic Latin commentaries on the works of Ovid.

In Southern Germany an assembly of the Olympians in the style of Albericus made its appearance as early as the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> And, as I showed in front of the chimneypiece at Landshut in 1909, his mythological teaching can still be traced in the representation of seven pagan deities as late as 1541. These survivors at Landshut are, of course, the seven planets: those Greek gods who, under Oriental influence, assumed the rulership of the heavenly bodies named after them. Of all the Olympians, these seven retained the greatest vitality: for they did not depend on learned recollection alone but on the attraction of their own intact astral-religious identities.

It was believed that the seven planets governed the solar year in all its subdivisions—the months, days, and hours of human destiny—in accordance with pseudomathematical laws. The most accessible of these doctrines, that of their rule of the months, guaranteed the exiled gods a safe haven in the medieval illuminated almanacs, as painted by Southern German artists at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Typically, these almanacs follow Hellenistic and Arab tradition in showing seven planetary images, which—although they present the life of the pagan gods in the innocuous guise of a set of contemporary genre scenes—seemed to the astrological believers of the day like the fateful hieroglyphs of an oracular book.

Such a tradition, whereby figures from Greek myth assumed the mystic powers of astral daemons, naturally formed one of the main channels through which, in the fifteenth century, pagan gods in Northern costume gained international currency—which they did all the more readily by availing themselves of the rapid conveyances supplied by that Northern invention, the art of printing. Among the very earliest examples of pictorial printing, the blockbooks, there are descriptions and images of the seven planets and of their respective human “children.” In their adherence to tradition and their physical immediacy, such images made a contribution of their own to the Renaissance of the ancient world in Italy.

For some time now, I have been convinced that a close iconological analysis of the Palazzo Schifanoia frescoes would bring to light this same twofold medieval tradition of the imagery of the ancient gods. This is source material whereby we may trace the influence both of a systematic Olympian theology—as transmitted by the learned mythographers of medieval Western Europe—and of an astral theology, preserved intact in the words and images of practical astrology.

The mural cycle in the Palazzo Schifanoia, in Ferrara, consisted of representations of the twelve months of the year, seven of which have been restored since they were discovered beneath a coat of whitewash in 1840. Each month is represented by three parallel registers, one above the other, each with its own independent pictorial space and approximately half-life-size figures. In the highest zone, the Olympian deities ride past in triumphal chariots; the lowest shows the worldly activities of the court of Duke Borso, who can be seen attending to official business or cheerfully riding out to hunt. The intervening zone belongs to the astral world, as would in any case be apparent from the zodiacal sign that appears in the center of each field, attended by three mysterious figures.

The complicated and fantastic symbolism of these figures has hitherto resisted all attempts at interpretation; by extending the purview of the investigation to the East, I shall show them to be survivals of astral images of the Greek pantheon. They are, in fact, symbols for the fixed stars—although over the centuries, in their wanderings through Asia Minor, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Spain, they have lost their Grecian clarity of outline.

On this occasion, as it is impossible to supply an interpretation of the whole cycle in the time allotted to me, I shall confine myself to three of the months, and, within those, to the two upper registers of the walls, which are set aside for the gods.

I shall begin with the first month, March (which opens the year in traditional Italian chronology). This is ruled by Pallas among the Olympian deities, and by the zodiacal sign of Aries. I shall then turn to the second month, April, ruled by Venus and by Taurus; finally, I shall take the month of July, because in that section a less-powerful artistic personality reveals the scholarly program most clearly. Finally, with a passing reference to Botticelli, I shall attempt a stylistic interpretation of the Ferrara pantheon as a transitional type between international Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance.

However, before proceeding to analyze the degree of recall of the ancient gods that is manifested in the Palazzo Schifanoia, I must attempt to outline, however summarily, the tools and techniques of astrology in the ancient world.

The principal tool of astrological interpretation consists in the nomenclature of the heavenly bodies, which are distinguished, according to the nature of their apparent motion, into two classes: the planets, with their irregular courses, and the fixed stars, which hold their relative positions, and which form constellations that become visible at sunrise or sunset according to the position of the sun in relation to them.

From these states of visibility, and from the relative positions of the heavenly bodies, true observational astrology deduced the nature of celestial influences on human life. By the later Middle Ages, however, direct observation tended to give way to a primitive cult of star names. Ultimately, astrology is

- \* no more than a form of onomastic fetishism, projected onto the future. A person born in April, under Venus, will tend, in accordance with Venus's mythical qualities, to devote his life to love and the easy pleasures of life; and a person born under the zodiacal sign of Aries is highly likely—as witness the
- \* well-known fact that the Ram has a woolly fleece—to become a weaver. By the same token, the Ram's allotted month would also be an auspicious one for the conclusion of deals in the wool trade. This kind of fallacious, pseudo-mathematical thinking has held sway over people's minds for centuries on end, and still does so to this day.

As predictive astrology became ever more mechanical, there evolved—to meet practical requirements—an illustrated manual of astrology to cover every day in the year. The planets failed to supply enough variety for 360 days—which was how the year was reckoned—and in the end they were supplanted by an expanded form of the astrology of fixed stars.

The map of the fixed stars devised by Aratus (around 300 B.C.) remains the primary aid to astronomy. In it, a rigorous Greek science has intellectualized the animate creations of the religious imagination and reduced them to functioning mathematical points. However, not even this teeming throng of human figures, animals, and fabulous monsters could supply enough hieroglyphs of fate for the daily predictive needs of Hellenistic astrology; and there arose a retrogressive tendency to produce new, polytheistic creations. By the early centuries of our era, these had led to the system of fixed stars known as the *Sphaera barbarica*, devised, probably in Asia Minor, by a certain Teucer. This is simply a description of the fixed stars of the heavens, incorporating the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Anatolian nomenclature of the constellations and runs to almost three times the length of Aratus's catalog. In his book *Sphaera* (1912), Franz Boll has reconstructed this work with great ingenuity; and—an achievement of the greatest significance for modern art history—he has traced the principal stages in its seemingly fabulous migration to the Orient and back to Europe: for example, to a little printed book adorned with woodcuts, which enshrines just such an astrological almanac from Asia Minor. First published in an edition by a German scholar, Engel (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1488), the *Astrolabium magnum*<sup>4</sup> was compiled by a celebrated Italian, Pietro d'Abano, the Faust of fourteenth-century Padua, who was a contemporary of Dante and Giotto.

Teucer's *Sphaera barbarica* also survived in an alternative system, whereby, in keeping with the extant portions of his Greek text, the annual cycle was divided into decans, each representing one-third of a month, or ten degrees of the zodiac. This type passed into medieval Europe through the star catalogs and lapidaries of the Arabs. Thus, the "Great Introduction" (*Introductorium majus*) of Abū Ma'shar (died 886), who was the principal authority in medieval

astrology, contains a triple synoptic table of apparently arbitrary fixed constellations, of differing ethnic origins; it is clear, on close analysis, that all of these derive from the Greek *Sphaera*, as augmented by the barbarian Teucer.

It is this very work by Abū Ma'shar that enables us to trace their migration through to Pietro d'Abano. Having traveled from Asia Minor by way of Egypt to India, the *Sphaera* found its way, probably via Persia, into Abū Ma'shar's *Introductorium majus*. This, in turn, was translated into Hebrew, in Spain, by a Spanish Jew, Ibn Ezra (died 1167). His translation was retranslated into French by one Hagins, a Jewish scholar, at the behest of an Englishman, Henry Bates, at Malines in 1273. This French text, in its turn, formed the basis of the Latin version made in 1293 by none other than Pietro d'Abano. This was printed several times, notably in Venice in 1507 [first printed Venice: Erhard Ratdolt, 1485].

The books known as *lapidaries*, which describe the magical influence of the decan star groups on particular gemstones, reached Spain by a similar route, via India and Arabia. In Toledo, at the court of King Alfonso the Wise, the Hellenistic natural philosophy underwent a curious rebirth: Spanish illuminated manuscripts, translated from the Arabic, resurrected those Greek authors who were to make the Hermetic, therapeutic, or oracular astrology of Alexandria into a shared and baneful European heritage.

Boll has yet to extend his study to embrace the most monumental version of Pietro d'Abano's *Astrolabium*. The walls of the Salone in Padua are like immense folio pages from an almanac of day-to-day astrological predictions, inspired by Pietro d'Abano in the spirit of the *Sphaera barbarica*. Reserving an art-historical commentary on this unique monument<sup>5</sup> for a later publication, I shall refer only to one page of the *Astrolabium* (fig. 106); and this, at last, will lead us on to the frescoes in Ferrara.

In the lower part of the page we see two small figures, each enclosed in an astrological chart. The man with a sickle and a crossbow, who is said to appear at the first degree of Aries, is none other than Perseus, whose constellation does indeed rise with Aries, and whose falchion has here transformed itself into a sickle. Above, in Latin, is the following legend: "In the first degree of Aries a man arises holding a sickle in his right hand and a crossbow in his left." And below, as a prophecy for one born under this sign: "Sometimes he labors; sometimes he goes to war." Nothing, in fact, but the stalest onomastic fetishism, applied to the future.

Above are three figures, known in the language of astrology as *decans*.<sup>6</sup> Three of these decans are assigned to each zodiacal sign, making thirty-six in all. As a system, this originated in ancient Egypt, although the forms of the decan figures themselves clearly reveal, for instance, that the man with the cap and falchion is once more Perseus. Here, however, as the *prima facies* of the sign, he rules not merely the first degree but the first ten degrees of Aries. A glance at the authentic antique Perseus in the Germanicus manuscript in Leiden (fig. 108) conclusively proves that the curved sword and turban of Pietro d'Abano's first decan figure represent Perseus's falchion and Phrygian cap.<sup>7</sup>

Prima facies arietis ē mar-  
tis ⁊ ē facies audacie: forti-  
tudinis: altitudinis: ⁊ inue-  
recundie.

Secunda facies est solis ⁊  
est nobilitas: altitudinis:  
regni ⁊ magni dominiij.

Tercia facies est veneris et  
est subtilitatis in ope: ⁊ man-  
suetudinis: ludoy: gaudiy  
⁊ limpidationum.



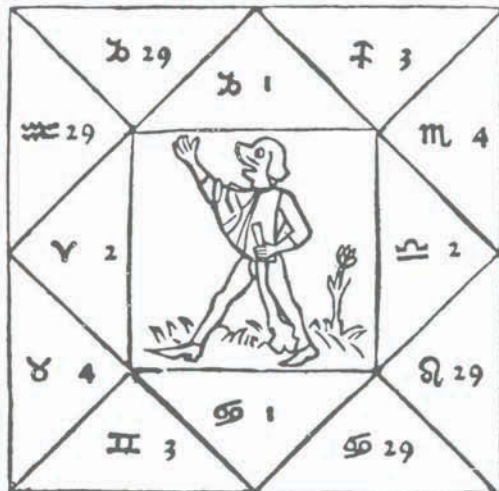
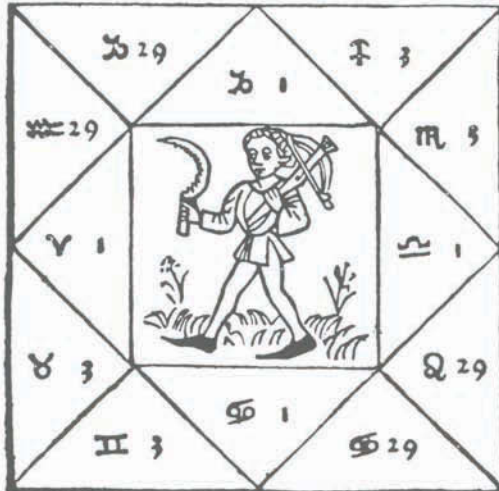
In primo gradu arietis  
Ascendit vir dextera tenēs falcē:  
⁊ sinistra manu balistam.

¶ Homo aliquādo laborat: ali-  
quando vero bella exercet.



Homo cum capite canino dex-  
tera sua extensa: ⁊ in sinistra ba-  
culum habentem.

¶ Homo lingiosus erit et inui-  
dus vt canis.



Aries

1-2

f

Fig. 106. *Decans of Aries*  
from *Astrolabium magnum*, ed. Engel (Augsburg, 1488)  
(see p. 567)

A marble astrological tablet of imperial Roman times, the famous *Planisphaerium Bianchini*, was found on the Aventine in Rome in 1705 by Francesco Bianchini (1662–1729), who presented it to the French Academy (now in the Louvre, it is 58 cm square, exactly 2 Roman feet). This shows the Egyptian decans in authentically Egyptian, stylized form; and the first decan of Aries carries a double ax (fig. 109). Medieval fidelity to tradition even preserved this double-ax version of the first decan of Aries: in the lapidary of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, he is shown as a dark-skinned man who wears an apron girt for sacrifice and wields a double ax.<sup>8</sup>

But it is a third version of the decan series, that of the Arab Abū Maʿṣar, that brings us at last to the mysterious figures in the intermediate zone in the Palazzo Schifanoia. In the relevant chapter of his *Introductorium majus*, Abū Maʿṣar gives a synopsis of three different codifications of the fixed stars: the current, Arabian system; the Ptolemaic system; and finally the Indian system.

One's initial response, on being confronted with this latter series of Indian decans, is to suppose that these are genuine products of the Oriental imagination (for, in all this work of critical iconology, we can unveil the Greek archetype only by stripping away layer upon layer of unintelligible accretions). By the time we have subjected the "Indian" decans to close scrutiny, it comes as no surprise to find that Indian trappings have obscured what were originally authentic Greek astral symbols.

The sixth-century Indian author Varāhamihira—whose *Bṛīhat jātaka* was Abū Maʿṣar's unacknowledged source—quite correctly lists, under the first decan of Aries, a man with a double ax:

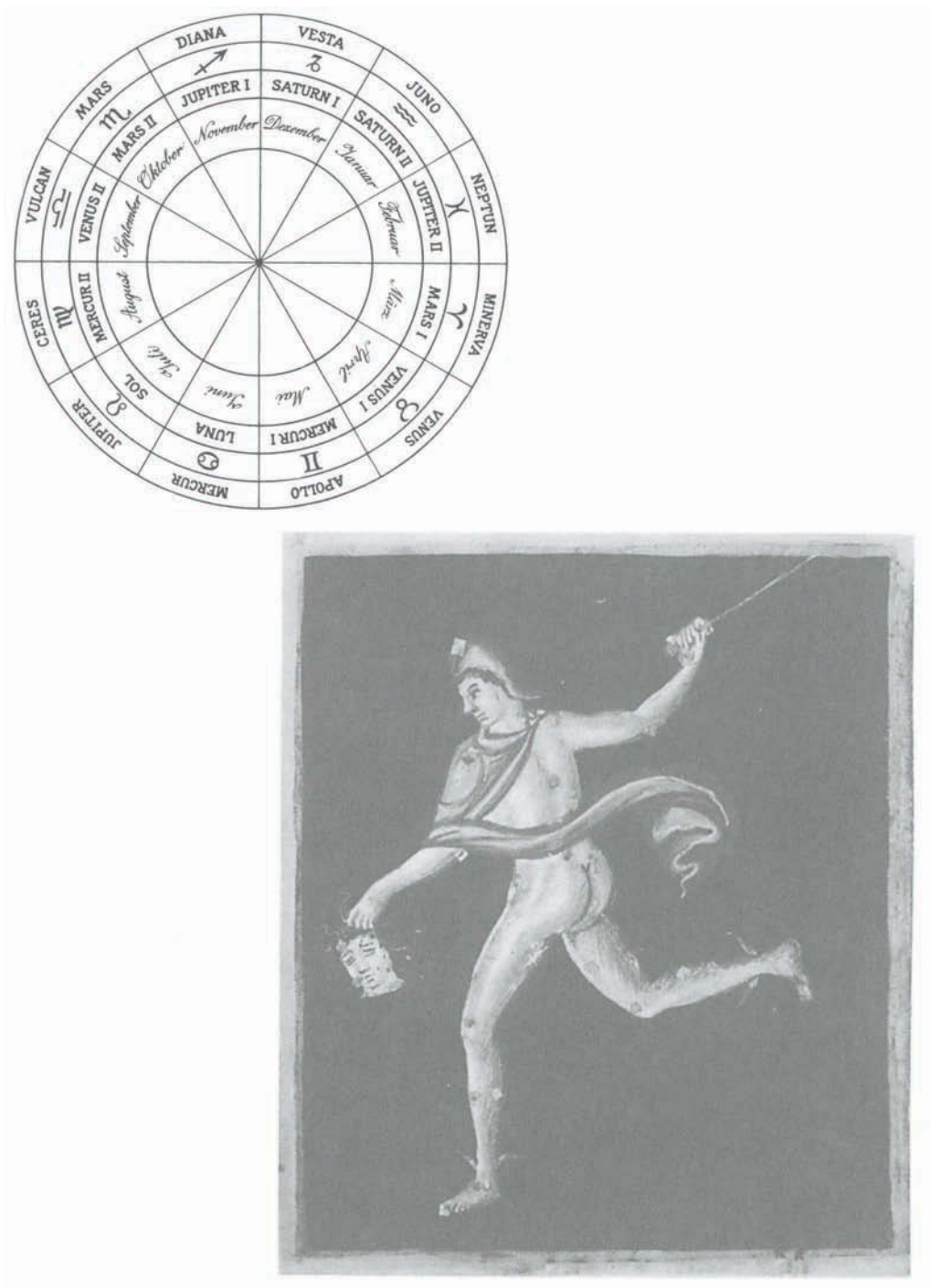
The first Drekkana of sign Aries is a man with a white cloth tied round his loins, black, facing a person as if able to protect him, of fearful appearance and of red eyes and holding an ax in his hand. This Drekkana is of the shape of a man and is armed. Mars [Bhauma] is its lord.<sup>9</sup>

Abū Maʿṣar (Boll, *Sphaera*, 497) writes:

The Indians say that in this decan a black man arises with red eyes, a man of powerful stature, courage, and greatness of mind; he wears a voluminous white garment, tied around his midriff with a cord; he is wrathful, stands erect, guards, and observes.

The figures thus agree with tradition, except that for the Arab writer this decan has lost his ax and retains only the garment tied with a cord.

Four years ago, when I read Abū Maʿṣar's text in the German translation that Dyroff, most commendably, has appended to Boll's book,<sup>10</sup> I was suddenly put in mind of those mysterious figures in Ferrara, so often and so vainly scrutinized for so many years; and, lo and behold, they revealed themselves, one after the other,<sup>11</sup> as the Indian decans of Abū Maʿṣar. The first figure in the middle register of the March fresco now stands unmasked: this



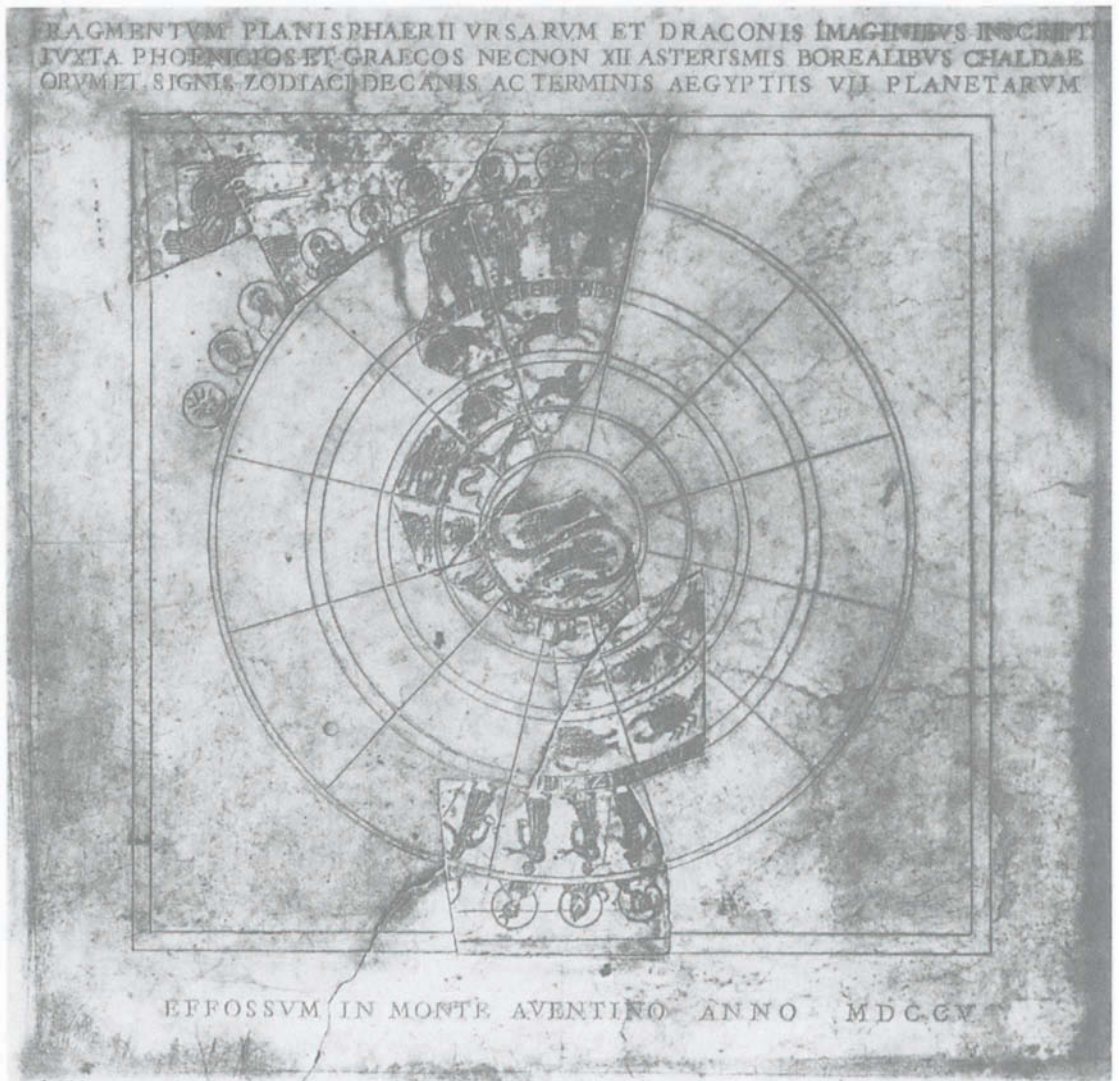
**Fig. 107. Synoptic Sphaera**

Showing the rulers of the months according to Manilius and the Greek astrologers (see pp. 573, 582 f.)

**Fig. 108. Perseus**

From the Germanicus Ms. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ms. Voss. lat. 4°. 79, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (see p. 567)





**Fig. 109. *Planisphaerium Bianchini***  
Paris, Louvre (see p. 569)

is the erect, watchful, wrathful black man, gripping the cord that ties his garment (figs. 110, 111).

The entire astral system of the middle register can now be analyzed with certainty. The firmament as described by the Greeks was the base stratum on which the Egyptian cult system of decans was established; this, in turn, was overlaid by a layer of Indian mythological adaptation before finding its way, probably by way of Persia, into Arab culture. Clouded still further by translation into Hebrew and thence into French, the Grecian firmament found its way into Pietro d'Abano's Latin version of Abū Ma'shar and, ultimately, into the monumental cosmology of the Italian early Renaissance, in the form of those thirty-six mysterious figures in the middle register of the frescoes in Ferrara.

We now turn to the upper register, with its procession of deities.

A number of artists of widely varying abilities worked on the fresco series as a whole. Fritz Harck<sup>12</sup> and Adolfo Venturi<sup>13</sup> have done the hard groundwork of stylistic analysis; and Venturi has also given us the one and only document that proves Francesco Cossa to have been the artist of the first three monthly divisions (March, April, and May). This document is an informative and absorbing autograph letter from Cossa himself, dated 25 March 1470.

Above (fig. 110), on a triumphal car drawn by unicorns, its hangings fluttering in the breeze, we see the damaged—but clearly identifiable—figure of Pallas Athena, spear in hand, wearing the gorgoneion on her breast. To the left we see Athena's votaries: physicians, poets, lawyers (who might possibly be identified, on closer study, as contemporary figures from the university of Padua). To the right, by contrast, we find ourselves looking in on a kind of Ferrarese needlework bee. In the foreground are three women knitting; behind them are three weavers at their loom, watched by a cluster of elegant ladies. To believers in astrology, this apparently unremarkable group was a sign of the prediction anciently associated with the subjects of Aries: that anyone born in March, under the sign of the Ram, would show a talent for artistry with wool.

Thus, Manilius, in his verse treatise on astrology—the only coherent monument of gnostic astrology in the Latin poetry of imperial Rome—described the mental and vocational aptitudes of those born under Aries as follows:

... et mille per artes

uellerā diuersos ex se parientia quaestus:

nunc glomerare rudis, nunc rursus soluere lanas,

nunc tenuare leui filo, nunc ducere telas,

nunc emere et uarias in quaestum uendere uestes.<sup>14</sup>

... and by a thousand crafts

The fleece produces from itself different kinds of profit:

Now they heap up the raw wool, now card,

Now draw it out in a fine thread, now weave the threads on the loom,

Now buy and sell for gain various kinds of garments.

This agreement with Manilius—a point that has eluded previous investigators—is no coincidence. Since 1417 the *Astronomica* of Manilius had been numbered among those classics that were rediscovered and revived with loving enthusiasm by the learned Italian humanists.<sup>15</sup> In a celebrated passage, Manilius lists the rulers of the months as follows:

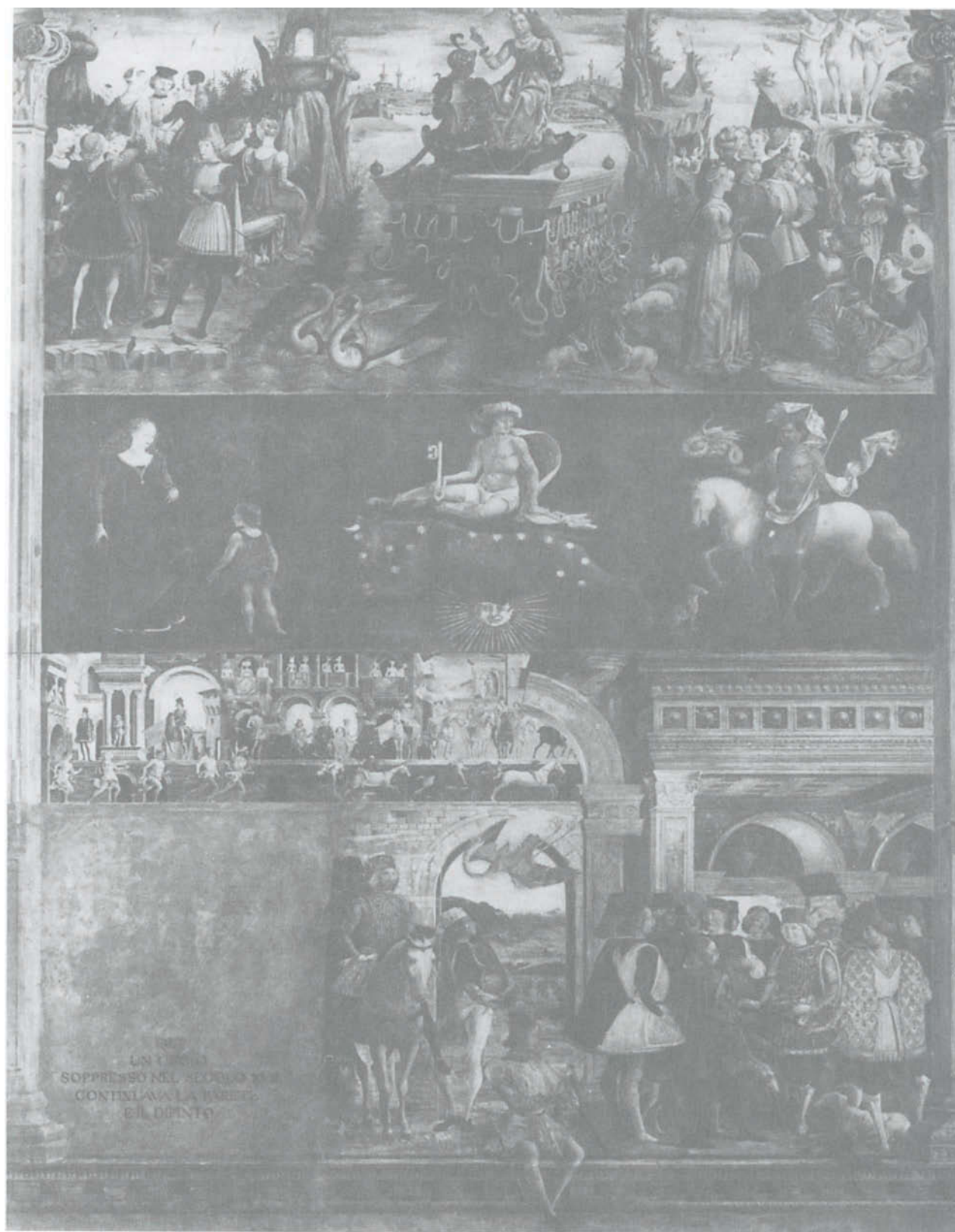
*lanigerum Pallas, taurum Cytherea tuetur,  
formosos Phoebus geminos; Cyllenie, cancrum,  
Iupiter et cum matre deum regis ipse leonem,  
spicifera est uirgo Cereris, fabricataque libra  
Vulcani, pugnax Mauorti scorpios haeret;  
uenantem Diana uirum, sed partis equinae,  
atque angusta fouet capricorni sidera Uesta,  
et Iouis aduerso Iunonis aquarius astrum est,  
agnoscitque suos Neptunus in aequore pisces.*<sup>16</sup>

Pallas Athena protects the Ram, Venus the Bull,  
Apollo the handsome Twins; you, Mercury, rule the Crab;  
And you, Jupiter, the Lion, with the Mother of the Gods;  
The Maid with her sheaf of corn belongs to Ceres; the Balance  
Is Vulcan's; the warlike Scorpion clings to Mars;  
Diana cherishes the Hunter—a man, but partly a horse—  
And Vesta the cramped stars of the Goat;  
Opposite Jupiter is Juno's sign, the Water Bearer,  
And Neptune in the deep acknowledges his Fishes.

The seven deities in the still-extant triumphal cars exactly correspond—as we shall see in more detail from a second example—to this sequence, which is not found in any other writer. Pallas is the patroness of March, the month of Aries; Venus, of Taurus and April; Apollo, of Gemini and May; Mercury, of Cancer and its month of June. Jupiter and Cybele together—a distinctive combination not found elsewhere—have the sign of Leo and the month of July; Ceres, Virgo and August; and Vulcan, the September sign of Libra. There can thus be no doubt as to the literary sources of the conceptual outline of the cycle. In the twilight regions below, Hellenistic astral daemons hold sway in an international medieval disguise; above, the gods enlist the Latin poet's aid in returning to their time-honored home in the loftier atmosphere of the Greek Olympus. \*

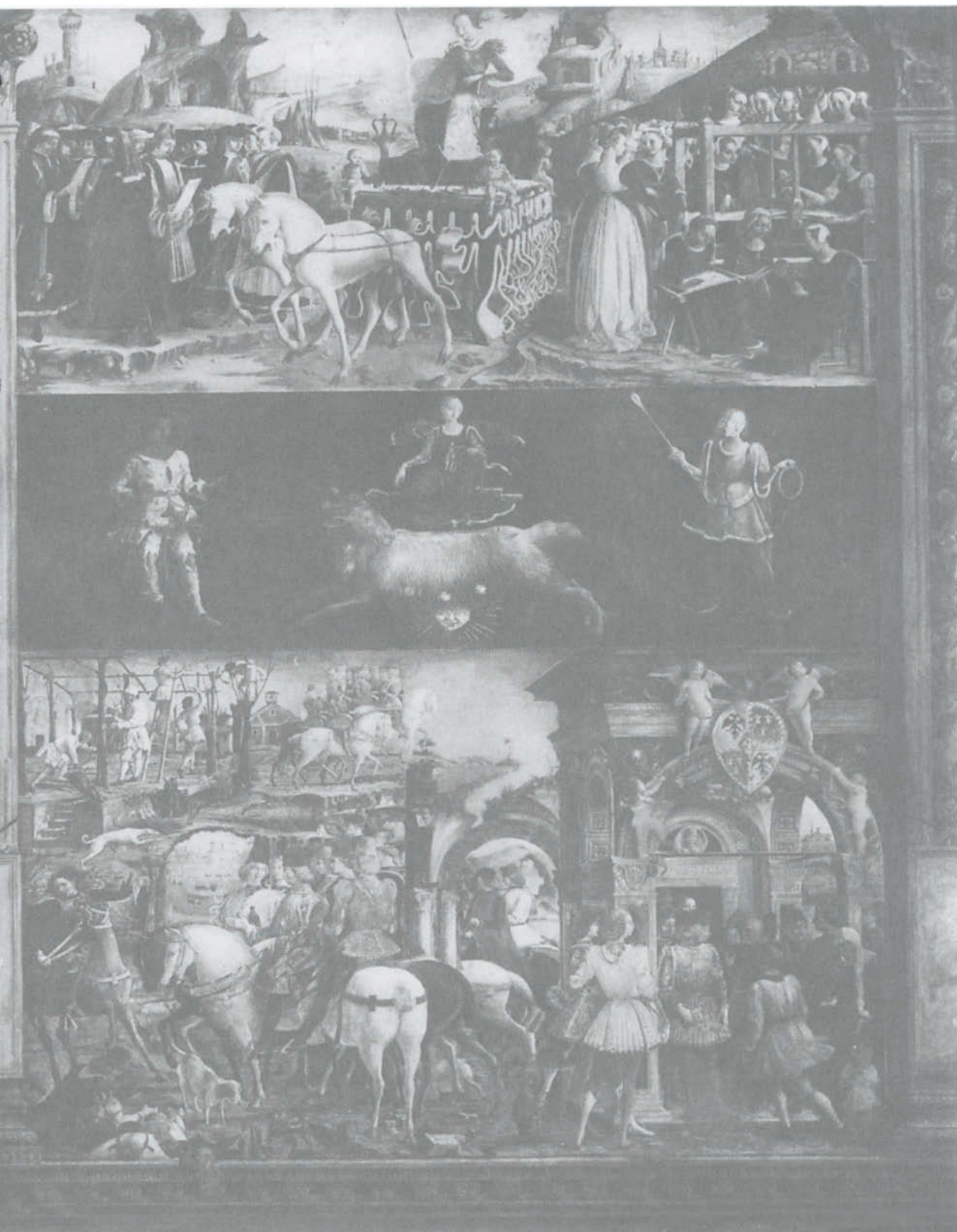
Let us now turn to April, ruled by Taurus and Venus (fig. 110). Skimming the waves in her swan-drawn barge, its draperies flying so bravely in the breeze, this goddess betrays no superficial trace of a Grecian style. At first sight, only her costume, her loose hair, and her garland of roses distinguish her from the inmates of the two Gardens of Love, who pursue their concerns in so worldly a fashion to her left and right.

If we now look at the group of Mars and Venus on her car, we see a troubadour, swan-borne and festooned with chains, languishing on his knees



**Fig. 110. April (Venus) and March (Pallas)**  
 Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 572, 573f.)







**Fig. 111. *First Decan of Aries***  
Detail of *March*  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see p. 569 f.)

before his lady. All this evokes a very Northern, Lohengrinesque mood—not unlike that of, say, a Netherlandish miniature painted to illustrate the family legend of the House of Clèves (see the “Chevalier au Cygne” [Knight of the Swan] in Ms. Gall. 19, Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich). The court of Ferrara took a great interest in the gallicized culture of chivalry, and is likely to have appreciated Northern fashions in sentiment. †

Nonetheless, Francesco Cossa has depicted his Venus in strict accordance with the dictates of Latin mythography. In his iconographic manual of the gods, Albericus, already mentioned, gives the following characterization of Venus, which I can show you in an Italian illustrated manuscript (fig. 112).<sup>17</sup> Translated from the Latin, it reads roughly as follows:

Venus holds the fifth place among the planets. She was accordingly represented fifth. Venus was painted as a beautiful maiden, naked and swimming in on the sea; [in her right hand she held a seashell,] her head was adorned with a garland of white and red roses, and doves fluttered around her. Vulcan, the god of fire, rugged and hideous, was her husband and stood on her right. Before her stood three little naked maidens, known as the three Graces; two of them faced toward us, and the third showed her back view. Her son Cupid, winged and blind, also stood by, shooting an arrow from his bow at Apollo, whereupon [fearing the wrath of the gods] he fled to the bosom of his mother, who stretched out her left hand to him. †

Let us now look back at Cossa's Aphrodite. The garland of red and white roses; the doves that flutter around the goddess as she floats along; Cupid, depicted on his mother's girdle as he aims his bow and arrows at a loving couple; and above all the three Graces, who are certainly copied from an antique original, prove the artist's intention of supplying an authentic reconstruction of antiquity.

It takes only a little capacity for abstraction to identify this late fourteenth-century French miniature (fig. 113) as the Anadyomene of Albericus, en route through medieval France. She is shown here as the *Ovide moralisé* describes her, rising from the sea.<sup>18</sup> The situation and the attributes are clear: true, Cupid has transformed himself into a winged king on a throne, and the foam-born goddess appears to have picked up a duck from her pond instead of a seashell; but for the rest the mythic rudiments are obvious. White and red roses float on the water; three doves flutter; and one of the three Graces is even trying to follow instructions by facing the other way. †

This Alberican Olympus held its own in French book illustration as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as it did in the so-called Mantegna *Tarocchi*, engraved in Northern Italy around 1465.

Let us now turn to the Olympians as planetary daemons, as they survive in picture almanacs. Look, for example, at the Children of Venus as depicted in a Burgundian blockbook, probably derived from German sources and printed around 1460.<sup>19</sup> Nothing alarmingly daemonic is going on here: the foam-born

Cyprian Goddess has been converted into the proprietress of a very agreeable pleasure garden. Music plays, as loving couples bathe and disport themselves in a flowery meadow. Were it not for the naked female figure who floats on the clouds, flanked by her two zodiacal signs, with a mirror in her right hand and flowers in her left, the figures below would never be taken for what they are: astrologically sound pictorial scholia on the mythical attributes of that cosmic Venus who annually reawakens the joy of life in nature and in humankind.

In Ferrara, planetary astrology recedes into the background, and the twelve Olympians of Manilius usurp the places of the planets. There is no ignoring the fact that the Garden of Love—musicians and all—in Cossa's fresco is inspired by the traditional imagery of the Children of Venus; but Cossa's striking sense of reality (of which the Vatican Gallery holds so incomparable an example, in his predella with scenes from the life of Saint Vincent Ferrer) has prevailed over the inartistic, literary influence that is all too evident in the depictions of the months in the Palazzo Schifanoia frescoes, where a weaker artistic personality fails to breathe life into the dry program.

One such weaker personality is the painter of the July fresco. According to \* Manilius, this month stands under the dual patronage of Jupiter and Cybele. According to the planetary theory of late antiquity, on the other hand, the ruler of July and of the zodiacal sign of Leo is Sol or Apollo.

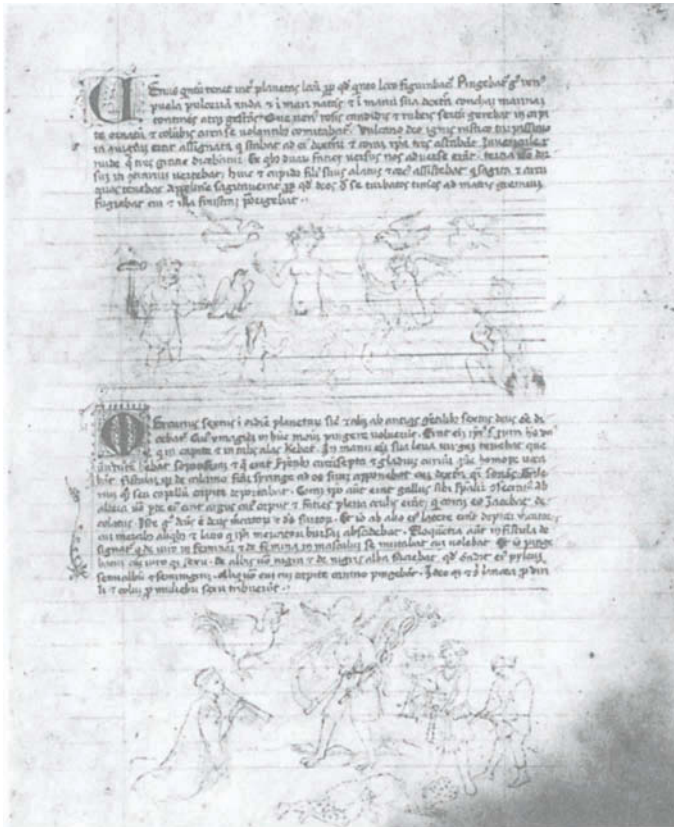
In the upper right-hand corner of the fresco (fig. 114), we see monks kneeling in prayer before an altarpiece. This is an image that has found its way into the scheme (otherwise based on Manilius's system of twelve gods) from the cycle of planetary Children of Sol. As such, these pious personages are recorded in Southern Germany as early as 1445.<sup>20</sup> A German blockbook account of the planets has the line: "*Vor mitten tag sie dynen gote vil, dornoch sy leben wie man wil.*" (Before noon they serve God; afterwards they live as they please.)

Apart from this incursion from the planetary realm of Sol, however, the Leo month of July is ruled by the two deities specified by Manilius: Jupiter and Cybele with her mural crown, who peaceably share the throne of their triumphal car. The artist's keen pursuit of mythological authenticity becomes more apparent in the figures on the right. In the background—as required by the barbarian myth of Cybele—is the recumbent figure of Attis. What is more, the priests in Christian vestments, who play on cymbals, timbrels, and drums, are intended to be seen as the Galli, and the armored youths in the background as sword-swinging Corybants. All this is proved by the three vacant seats in the foreground: a chair with arms on the left, two three-legged stools on the right. There can be no doubt that these items of contemporary furniture are so prominently shown because they are the symbols of an authentic ancient mystery: for these are the empty thrones of Cybele, which

† Augustine mentions with explicit reference to Varro.<sup>21</sup>

The Cybele myth figures in Albericus in all its barbaric detail—though without the recondite pictorial scholium on the thrones—and appears, together





**Fig. 112. Venus**

From *Libellus de deorum imaginibus*  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Reg. lat.  
1290, fol. 2r (see p. 577)



**Fig. 113. Venus**

From *Ovide moralisé*  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. franç. 373, fol. 207v  
(see p. 577)



**Fig. 114. *July (Jupiter-Cybele)***  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see p. 578)

with other highly curious pagan figures, on a detached leaf from a twelfth-century Regensburg manuscript: here, Cybele rides in her chariot behind her team of lions, and behind her are two Corybants with drawn swords.<sup>22</sup> In matters of substance, at least, the so-called medieval mind was quite capable of pursuing archaeological accuracy.

The painter of this July fresco, whose power of design—unlike Cossa's lively figuration—is not such as to make us forget the illustrative basis of the whole, was a late representative of a medieval artistic mentality that was ripe for extinction. The nuptial scene on the left is said to represent the wedding of one of Borso's daughters, Bianca d'Este, to Galeotto della Mirandola; and a brother of that same Galeotto was Pico della Mirandola, an early and intrepid enemy of astrological superstition, who devoted a whole chapter to the denunciation of the absurd Arabian doctrine of the decans. It is understandable that a Renaissance man, on finding these astrological specters walking abroad in his own family circle, should have taken up arms against so barbaric a combination of idolatry and fatalism (another sworn foe of astrology, Savonarola, also came from Ferrara). But it is all the more symptomatic of the continuing strength of late antique and medieval ideas and practices at the Este court that, as late as 1470, the process of restoring the true artistic face of the Olympian gods had not progressed beyond the first step: namely, the replacement of the planetary gods by the twelve-god scheme of Manilius.

Who can have been the scholarly deviser of the program? Astrology was highly important at the Este court. It is said of Leonello d'Este that on the seven days of every week, like the Sabian Magi of old, he dressed in the seven appropriate planetary colors.<sup>23</sup> Pietro Bono Avogaro, one of the court astrologers, wrote prognostications for every year; while a certain Carlo da Sangiorgio was a practitioner of geomancy, that last degenerate survival of the astrological divination of antiquity.<sup>24</sup> However, the frescoes of the months in the Palazzo Schifanoia were not devised by Avogaro but by his fellow professor of mathematics at the University of Ferrara, Pellegrino Prisciani, librarian and historiographer to the Este court.

We know this from circumstantial evidence. Both Avogaro and Prisciani repeatedly cited Abū Ma'shar in their prognostications; but only Prisciani<sup>25</sup> (whose portrait we possess on the title page of his *Orthopasca*, in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena) answered an astrological inquiry by citing the very same curious triad of authorities named above as prime sources for the frescoes: Manilius, Abū Ma'shar, and Pietro d'Abano. For a transcription of this previously unknown and, in my view, highly important document, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Archivist of Modena, Mr. Dallari.<sup>26</sup>

Leonora of Aragon, consort to Duke Ercole d'Este, had consulted Prisciani, the family's astrological adviser, as to the best planetary configuration to ensure the certain fulfillment of a wish. He was delighted to report that this very configuration was currently present: Jupiter conjunct the Dragon's Head, with the moon well aspected, in the sign of Aquarius. In his expert opinion, which I publish in an appendix [p. 586], he referred back to Abū Ma'shar's

aphorisms, and to the *Conciliator* of Pietro d'Abano, before giving the last word to Manilius (4.570–71):

*Quod si quem sanctumque velis castumque probumque,  
Hic tibi nascetur, cum primus aquarius exit.*

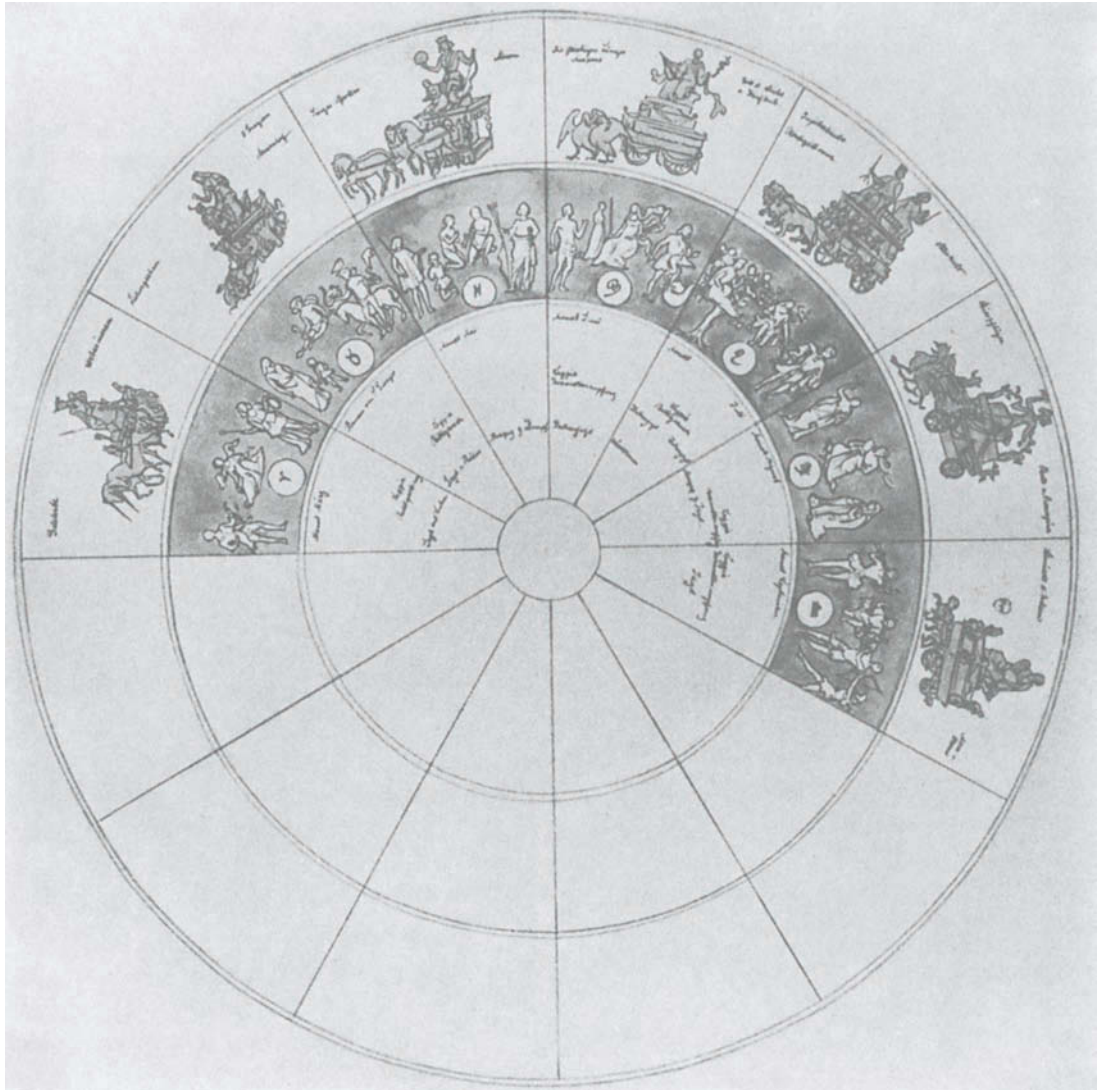
But if you should want a man who is pious, pure, and good,  
He will be born, you will find, with Aquarius rising.

This piece of circumstantial evidence is resoundingly confirmed, in my view, by a second document. The letter from Francesco Cossa, mentioned above,<sup>27</sup> is a complaint about his treatment by the duke's artistic superintendent, directed over the latter's head to Duke Borso in person; and it transpires that the artistic superintendent in the Palazzo Schifanoia was none other than Pellegrino Prisciani. Francesco claimed to be writing directly to the duke only in order to avoid making things difficult for Prisciani—*“non voglio esser quello il quale et a pellegrino de prisciano et a altri vegna a fastidio”* (I do not want to be a nuisance to Pellegrino de Prisciano or to any other person)—but it is clear from the context that he was going over his learned superior's head for no other reason than that Prisciani was trying to pay him, Francesco Cossa, at the same rate as the other painters of the Months cycle—to whom, with understandable although ineffectual indignation, he refers as *“i piu tristi garzoni di Ferrara”* (the most miserable journeymen in Ferrara).

I believe I do no injustice to Pellegrino's memory if I surmise that the reason why he valued the other painters at least as highly as Cossa was that they had so clearly set forth all the learned subtleties of his program. We must not forget, however, that—despite the inartistic fragmentation created by its overwhelming mass of detail—the basic structure of Prisciani's program reveals the hand of a conceptual architect well able to appreciate the profoundest harmonies of the Greek cosmology. If we use a rough diagram to retranslate the whole Ferrara cycle into terms of a spherical cosmology, the three registers in the Palazzo Schifanoia clearly emerge as a two-dimensional transposition of a spherical system that conjoins the spheres as defined by Manilius with those of the Bianchini tablet (fig. 115).

The innermost sphere, that of the earth, is symbolized by Duke Borso's pictorial court calendar. In the uppermost zone, the twelve Olympian Gods hold sway as patrons of the months, as described by Manilius: those still extant in Ferrara are Pallas, Venus, Apollo, Mercury, Jupiter/Cybele, Ceres, and Vulcan. It was Manilius who installed and revered the twelve Olympians as rulers of the months in place of the planets; and in Ferrara this basic cosmological theory is retained. Only at a few isolated points do fragments of the old medieval planetary astrology obtrude themselves. The minute overelaboration of the backgrounds stems from the learned tradition of descriptive mythography, and notably from Albericus.

The zodiacal level is common ground between Manilius, the Bianchini



**Fig. 115. Diagram of the arrangement of the frescoes at the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara**  
(see p. 582)

planisphere, and the Palazzo Schifanoia cycle. The added elaboration of the decan system—inserted by the Bianchini tablet as a distinct region between fixed stars and planets—reveals a close kinship between the Bianchini cosmos and that of Prisciani. Beneath the manifold traces of their wanderings from age to age and from nation to nation, the Indian decans of Abū Maʿšār, rulers of the middle register in the Palazzo Schifanoia, reveal on careful auscultation that a Grecian heart still beats within them.

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Regrettably, Cosimo Tura's paintings for the library of Pico della Mirandola are known to us only through descriptions. They might well have revealed the first stirrings, within contemporaneous Ferrarese painting, of the principal stylistic event that separates the early from the High Renaissance: the recovery of a more elevated, idealized, quasi-antique style in the depiction of the great figures of ancient myth and history.

And yet an unbridgeable gulf seems to separate this humanistic ideal from the Palazzo Schifanoia. There, in 1470, as we have seen, the Cybele myth performed its illustrative function in the prosaic medieval guise of a street procession—for Mantegna had yet to show how the Mother of the Gods should be borne aloft at the solemn pace of the procession on a Roman triumphal arch. Nor, indeed, does Cossa's Venus show any sign of preparedness to soar from the prosaic depths of realistic costume *alla francese* into the ethereal regions inhabited by the *Venere aviatica* of the Villa Farnesina.

There does, however, exist an intermediate sphere between Cossa and Raphael: that of Sandro Botticelli. For Botticelli, too, had to begin by freeing his goddess from the medieval literalism of prosaic genre art (*alla francese*), illustrative servitude, and astrological practice.

Some years ago,<sup>28</sup> I sought to show that the engravings in the so-called Baldini almanac are a youthful work of Botticelli's; be that as it may, they certainly reflect his visual conception of antiquity. That almanac is of interest in the present context for two reasons: its text and its manner of representation. The text is a practical manual for believers in planetary astrology; but on closer examination it reveals itself as a veritable compendium of Hellenistic applied cosmology—mediated, once more, by Abū Maʿšār. The manner of representation is revealing, for the apparently trivial reason that the almanac also exists in a later edition; for there a single formal nuance enables us to observe the birth of a new stylistic principle, that of the idealized, quasi-antique rendering of motion.

The first edition of the almanac, published around 1465 (fig. 22), exactly follows the types used in the Northern European planetary series. Among the Children of Venus, one little female dancer stands rather stiffly: a woman in Burgundian costume, with the unmistakable French hennin and wimple on her head. Her whole appearance proves that Baldini or Botticelli must have been following a Burgundian version of the Northern European source.

The direction and nature of the stylistic transformation that took place

in the Florentine early Renaissance is revealed by the second edition of the same engraving, produced a few years later (fig. 23). From the tight Burgundian cocoon springs the Florentine butterfly, the “nymph,” decked in the winged headdress and fluttering skirts of the Greek maenad or of the Roman Victoria. \*

In the present context it becomes clear that both of Botticelli’s paintings of Venus, the *Birth of Venus* and the so-called *Spring*, were attempts to emancipate the goddess from her twofold medieval bondage—mythographic and astrological—and to restore her to her Olympian freedom. In a cloud of roses, an unhusked Venus Anadyomene skims the waters on her shell. Her companions, the three Graces, still attend her in that other Venus painting, to which, years ago, I gave the title of the *Realm of Venus*; today I would like to propose a slightly different nuance of the same interpretation, one that would have conveyed to a Quattrocento viewer versed in astrology the essence of the goddess of beauty, mistress of the reawakening of nature: *Venere Pianeta* (planetary Venus), appearing in the month of April, of which she is the ruler.

Simonetta Vespucci—to whose memorial cult, in my opinion, both paintings belong—died on 26 April 1476. \*

Botticelli thus took his material from existing tradition, but he used it in an entirely ideal and individual human creation. He owed his new style to the revival of Greek and Latin antiquity—to the *Homeric Hymn*, to Lucretius, and to Ovid (as interpreted for him, not by some monkish moralist, but by Poliziano)—and above all to the sculpture of antiquity itself, which had shown him how the gods of Greece dance to Plato’s tune in higher spheres.

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My fellow students: I need hardly say that this lecture has not been about solving a pictorial riddle for its own sake—especially since it cannot here be illuminated at leisure, but only caught in a cinematographic spotlight.

The isolated and highly provisional experiment that I have undertaken here is intended as a plea for an extension of the methodological borders of our study of art, in both material and spatial terms.

Until now, a lack of adequate general evolutionary categories has impeded art history in placing its materials at the disposal of the—still unwritten—“historical psychology of human expression.” By adopting either an unduly materialistic or an unduly mystical stance, our young discipline blocks its own panoramic view of history. It gropes toward an evolutionary theory of its own, somewhere between the schematisms of political history and the dogmatic faith in genius. In attempting to elucidate the frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, I hope to have shown how an iconological analysis that can range freely, with no fear of border guards, and can treat the ancient, medieval, and modern worlds as a coherent historical unity—an analysis that can scrutinize the purest and the most utilitarian of arts as equivalent documents of expression—how such a method, by taking pains to illuminate one single obscurity, can cast light on great and universal evolutionary



processes in all their interconnectedness. I have not tried to find a neat solution so much as to present a new problem, which I would formulate as follows: “To what extent can the stylistic shift in the presentation of human beings in Italian art be regarded as part of an international process of dialectical engagement with the surviving imagery of Eastern Mediterranean pagan culture?”

Our sense of wonder at the inexplicable fact of supreme artistic achievement can only be enhanced by the awareness that genius is both a gift of grace and a conscious dialectical energy. The grandeur of the new art, as given to us by the genius of Italy, had its roots in a shared determination to strip the humanist heritage of Greece of all its accretions of traditional “practice,” whether medieval, Oriental, or Latin. It was with this desire to restore the ancient world that “the good European” began his battle for enlightenment, in that age of internationally migrating images that we—a shade too mystically—call the Age of the Renaissance.

### Appendix

Letter from Pellegrino de' Prisciani, in Mantua, to the duchess [Leonora] of Ferrara, 26 October 1487<sup>29</sup>

*Illustrissima Madama Mia! Racordandomi spesse fiate del ragionamento hebbi adi passati cum vostra Excellentia per quello debbo fare ala mia ritornata a casa: etc. Et mettendossi hora a puncto: cossa molto notabile e maravelgiosa: et grandemente al proposito de V. S<sup>ia</sup> se bene mi renda certo da qualche altro lato: sij stato porta a quella non dimeno per ogni mia debita demonstratione: non ho dubitato hora per mio messo a posta scriverli: et aprirli il tuto: non tacendo che forsi la oltra ancora: poteria per qualch uno esser preso qualche poco di errore come anche si faceva in questa terra da le brigate.*

*Nel tempo qua di sopto annotato: corre quella constellatione de cui non tanto li doctori moderni: ma li antiqui ancora: fano festa: et la qual da mi da molti anni in qua: come credo ancora da molti altri: è stato cum grandissimo desiderio expectata. Et è quella de la qual scrive uno notabilissimo doctore chiamato Almansore<sup>30</sup> neli soi aphorismi al 110: et dice.*

*Si quis postulaverit aliquid a Deo: Capite existente in medio celi cum Jove: et luna eunte ad eum non praeteribit qum adipiscatur breviter quęsitum: Et quella ancora di cui parla il Conciliatore<sup>31</sup> et prima a la dif.<sup>a</sup> 113 dove scrive queste parole.*

*Quo etiam modo quis potest fortunari aut infortunari ad bona fortunę: honores: Scientiam: etc. unde invocationem ad Deum per me factam: percepi ad Scientiam conferre: capite cum Jove in medio celi existente: et luna eunte ad ipsum: Quod et Reges grecorum cum volebant suis petitionibus exaudiri observabant: albu. in Sadan. Et ancora ala dif.<sup>a</sup> 154 dicendo in questo modo.*

*Praeterea similiter et astronomię oratione placantur: et in subsidium concitantur nostrum ut orationum epilogus insinuat planetarum: unde albumasar*



in Sadam: *Reges graecorum cum volebant obsecrare deum propter aliquod negotium: ponebant caput Draconis in medio celi cum Jove aut aspectum ab eo figura amicabile, et lunam conjunctam Jovi: aut recedentem ab ipso et conjunctionem cum domino ascendentis petentem: adhuc autem et cum capite amicabile figura: Tunc qui dicebant ipsorum petitionem audiri unde almansor in aphorismis: Si quid <sic> postulaverit aliquod a deo etc. Et ego quidem in huius Orbis revolutione quandoque configuratione scientiam petens apprime visus sum in illa proficere.*<sup>32</sup>

*Et perche Jll<sup>ma</sup> Madama mia alcuni qualche volte soleno in questo tempo fare sculpire in argento on alcuno metallo la situatione del cielo in quello tempo: per non mi parere necessario: piu presto ho ordinato certe parole molto al proposito previe ala Oratione: le quale pari modo mando ad V. Excel<sup>ia</sup> la qual se dignara narrare il tuto allo mio Ill<sup>mo</sup> Sig<sup>te</sup> suo consorte: et monstrarli ogni cossa dicendoli: che non mi ha parso scrivere a Sua Celsitudine: a cio le lettere non vadano per li banchi dela Cancellaria: et la Cossa transcora per bocha de molti quali come homini grossi de tal mirabile facto lo biasemariano piu presto:*

*Vostra Jll<sup>ma</sup> Sig<sup>ia</sup> adonche: a dui di de novembre proximo futuro che sera de Venere di: la sira sonate le vintiquattro hore et tri quarti posta in su bona devotione et loco apto: ingenochiata incomenciara la Oratione sua dicendo:*

*Omnipotens et Eterne Deus qui de nihilo cuncta visibilia et invisibilia creasti: et celos ipsos tam miro ordine collocatis: errantibus et fixis stellis sic mirabiliter decorasti: radios insuper: lumina: motus: potestatem: et vim eam illis tribuens: quam tibi libuit: et quos intelligentijs separatis et angelis sanctis tuis animasti: Quique nos homines ad imaginem tuam (licet de limo terrae) plasmasti: ut et ex celis ipsis plurimos etiam fructus: commoditates et beneficia (pietate tua intercedente) consequeremur: Te supplex adeo: devoteque sempiternam maiestatem tuam deprecor: et si non ea qua debeo: saltem qua possum animi contritione ad immensam misericordiam et miram benignitatem tuam humiliter confugiens: Ut postpositis delictis insipientiæ et pravitatis meæ: pietate tua exaudire me digneris: Et sicut mirabili stella illa praevia et ductrice: Guaspar: Melchior: et Baldasar: ab oriente discedentes ad optatum praesepe Domini nostri Jhesu christi filij tui pervenerunt: Ita nunc Stella Jovis cum capite draconis in medio celi existente et luna ad eum accedente: ministris quidem tuis cum sanctis angelis suis mihi auxiliantibus et ducibus. Oratio haec mea ad te pervenire possit: Et mihi concedere: et largiri digneris etc. et quivi dica la V. S. la gratia che la desidera da ipso aeterno Dio: Et stagi cusi reiterando la Oratione insino chel sonera una hora di nocte: Et tenga per fermo che non passaran troppo giorni vederla per effecto haver conseguito la adimandata gratia. Et habbi certo che questa Constellatione non venira in tanta bontate ad grandissimo tempo: perche si fa in lo signo de aquario; El quale è proprio signo de tal sanctitate: et in tanto che quando uno homo nasce et vene in questo mondo ascendendo ipso signo de aquario quellui è homo sancto et tuto da bene: Dove Marco Manilio non dubito scrivere in*

*questo modo: Quod si quem sanctum esse velis: castumque probumque. Hic tibi nascetur: cum primus Aquarius exit. Et sic valeat et exaudiat Jll<sup>ma</sup> D. tua ali pedi di la quale per mille volte me racomando— Mantue die 26 octobris 1487.*

*Eiusdem Ducalis Dominationis Vestrae*

*Fidelis et devotus Servitor: Peregrinus Priscianus.*

*Ala Mia Illustrissima Madama*

*Madama la Ducessa de Ferrara*

*Ferrarie*

*Subito*

My most honored Lady, I often recall to mind the conversations I had of late with Your Excellency concerning what I should do on my return, etc. And as there now impends an event both remarkable and wonderful in itself and entirely favorable to Your Highness's intentions—and, while it convinces me from all other viewpoints whatever, my every due method of verification leads to the same conclusion—I am now in no doubt that it is my duty to write to you and to tell you all, without concealing that someone might still detect some minor error, as happened in this country as a result of previous intrigues.

At the time described below, the configuration of the stars is one that in our own day, as in ancient times, is highly esteemed by the learned. It has been awaited for many years past by myself and, I believe, by many others, with the keenest anticipation. This is the conjunction of which a celebrated astrologer named Almansor wrote in his 110th aphorism:

If someone has asked God for something: When the {Dragon's} Head is at Midheaven with Jupiter, and the Moon is moving toward him, it will not pass unnoticed when in a little while he attains what he sought.

It is also the conjunction of which the Conciliator speaks, first of all under Difference 113, where he writes:

Also, how someone can be fortunate or unfortunate with regard to the goods of fortune, marks of esteem, knowledge, etc. From this I understood that my appeal to God pertained to Knowledge: when the {Dragon's} Head was with Jupiter at Midheaven and the Moon moving toward him. The kings of the Greeks also observed this when they wanted their petitions to be heard with favor. Albumasar *in Sadan*.

And again under Difference 154, as follows:

Furthermore, the {?} of astrology are similarly placated by prayer, and they are influenced to aid us as the peroration of our prayers makes its way into the {?} of the planets. Whence Albumasar *in Sadam*: When the kings of the Greeks wanted to supplicate God about some concern, they would posit the Dragon's Head at Midheaven

with Jupiter or in a favorable aspect to him, and the Moon conjunct Jupiter, or separating from him and applying to conjunction with the Lord of the Ascendant, but still remaining in a favorable aspect with the Head: some said that then their petitions were heard with favor. Whence Almansor *in aphorismis*: If someone has asked God for something, etc. Indeed, in the revolutions of this Earth I, too, have sometimes seemed to do especially well with that configuration when seeking knowledge.

Sometimes, my Lady, persons cause the configuration of the heavens at the time concerned to be engraved on silver or on another metal; but as I do not consider this to be necessary, I have laid down certain highly appropriate words to be spoken before the Orison; and I now forward these words to Your Excellency, with the request that you do me the honor of communicating them to my Lord your husband. Please show him everything, and tell him that I did not think it wise to write to His Highness; I had no wish for my letters to pass through the chancery. The news would have spread like wildfire; and men full of such extraordinary news would have been quick to lay blame upon him.

Therefore, most honored Lady, on November 2 next, which will be a Friday, at three-quarters of an hour past midnight, kneel in a suitable place for your devotions and begin your prayers with these words:

Almighty and Eternal God, you who from nothing have created all things visible and invisible and so marvelously decorated the heavens themselves with wandering and fixed stars arranged in such splendid order—giving them in addition rays of light, brilliance, movement, dominion, and whatever power it pleased you to bestow—and which you have animated by means of distinct intelligences and your holy angels; and you who have formed us human beings in your own image (although from the clay of the earth), so that from the heavens themselves we might obtain the most fruits in advantages and benefits (if your mercy intercedes): I humbly and faithfully implore your eternal majesty (even if not as I ought to, at least with what contrition of mind I can, humbly taking refuge in your boundless compassion and awesome benevolence) to put aside my offenses of folly and wickedness and hear my prayer out of your own mercy. And, just as when, with yonder wondrous star going before and leading the way, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar left the East and came to the manger that they sought, that of our Lord Jesus Christ your son, so now, when the planet Jupiter is with the Dragon's Head at Midheaven and the Moon is approaching Jupiter—your servants indeed with their holy angels helping and leading me—may this prayer of mine have the power to reach you, and may you deign to grant my prayer and bestow upon me: . . .

And here Your Highness will name the boon that you desire to request from Eternal God. And remain there, kneeling, repeating the prayer, until one o'clock strikes. Then rest assured that not too many days will pass before you receive the boon that you have requested. And rest assured that it will be a long time before this configuration returns in so favorable a guise: it here falls in Aquarius, which is the sign proper to such sacred acts—so much so, indeed,

that if a man is born and comes into this world when the sign of Aquarius is in the ascendant, that man will be a holy and righteous person. For which reason Marcus Manilius did not hesitate to write as follows: "But if you should want a man who is pious, pure, and good, He will be born, you will find, with Aquarius rising."

And so may your Highness prosper, and may your prayer be heard: I lay my humble duty at your feet.

Mantua, 26 October 1487.

Your Ducal Highness's

faithful and devoted servant, Pellegrino de' Prisciani.

To My Most Honored Lady,  
the Duchess of Ferrara.

Urgent.

#### Notes

1. See "Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*" (1893) [our pp. 104 ff., 120 ff.] and "Dürer and Italian Antiquity," *Verhandlungen der 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Hamburg* (1905) [our pp. 553 ff.]; also *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1902) [our p. 281].

2. See now R. Raschke, *De Alberico mythologo* (Breslau, 1913).

3. See pp. 578 ff.

4. Other editions, 1494 and 1502 (Venice).

5. It is impossible to understand, given the admirable zeal and energy of the Italian photographers, why so few of the frescoes in the Salone have been photographed: an insurmountable barrier to the comparative study that still remains to be attempted! [See now Barzon, *I cieli e la loro influenza negli affreschi del Salone in Padova* (Padua, 1924).]

6. In addition to Boll, *Sphaera* (1912), see the fundamental work by Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (1899).

\* 7. I intend to supply equivalent evidence for the other decans: thus, the seated woman playing a lute is Cassiopeia. See illustration in Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (1898), 104.

8. See illustration in *Lapidario del Rey Alfonso* (1879) and Boll [note 6], 433.

9. Thibaut, *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie* 3.9:66, led me to the English translation by Chidambaram Iyer (Madras, 1885), a copy of which is in the Oppert collection, bequeathed to the Stadtbibliothek, Hamburg. A German version was kindly supplied by Dr. Wilhelm Printz. {*Translator's note*. English text from Madras, 1926, edition; see addenda.}

10. Boll [see note 6], 482–539. A complete edition of Abū Ma'sār's works, with translation, is one of the most pressing requirements of cultural history.

11. Of this more in the forthcoming publication. [See addenda, pp. 734 ff.]

12. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 5 (1884): 99 ff.

13. *Atti e memorie di storia patria della Romagna* (1885): 381 ff.

14. Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.128–36, ed. Breiter (1908).
15. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (1905), 80; and B. Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento* (1906).
16. Manilius 2.439–47.
17. Rome, Vat. reg. lat. 1290, written in Northern Italy around 1420.
18. This poem was written by an unknown French cleric before 1307; see Gaston Paris, *La littérature française au moyen-âge*, 4th ed. (1909), 84. The illustration comes from Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. 373 (anc. 6986), fol. 207<sup>v</sup>.
19. See Lippmann, *Die sieben Planeten* (1895), pl. 105.
20. Kautzsch, “Planetendarstellungen aus dem Jahre 1445,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 1897: 32 [ff., esp. 37].
21. *De civitate dei* 7.24: “quod sedes fingantur circa eam, cum omnia moveantur, ipsam non movere” (she is shown seated {see addendum, pp. 753 f.} to signify that she herself remains unmoved, though all things move around her).
22. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (1901), 172, has described the highly interesting leaf of Ms. Mon. Lat. 14271 (fol. 11<sup>v</sup>; see our p. 535), to which my attention was drawn by Dr. Fritz Saxl; I intend to illustrate and discuss this in my forthcoming publication.
23. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara* (1904), 46, gives a reference to Decembrio, *Politiae litterariae* (1540), fol. 1: “Nam in veste non decorem et opulentiam solum, qua caeteri principes honestari solent, sed mirum dixeris pro ratione planetarum, et dierum ordine, colorum quoque coaptationem excogitavit.” (For in his attire he did not think only of propriety and opulence, by which other princes are accustomed to be distinguished, but also—as you would be amazed to hear—devised a scheme of colors according to the planets and the order of days.)
24. See the report written by him in 1469 in A. Cappelli, “Congiura contro il duca Borso d’Este,” *Atti e memorie dei reali departamenti di storia patria per le provincie modenese e parmense* 2 (1864): 377 ff.
25. On him see Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense* (1903) [esp. 194 ff.] and Massèra, *Archivio Muratoriano* (1911).
26. [See appendix.] Reale Archivio di Stato, Modena—Cancellaria Ducale—Archivi per materie: Letterati—Prisciani Pellegrino.
27. Adolfo Venturi (see note 13), 384–85.
28. “Imprese amorose nelle più antiche incisioni fiorentine . . .,” *Rivista d’arte* (July, 1905). [See “*Imprese amorose . . .*,” our pp. 169 ff.]
29. Reale Archivio di Stato, Modena—Cancellaria Ducale—Archivi per materie: Letterati. I was set on the track of this letter by Bertoni [see note 25], 172.
- Pellegrino Prisciani gave a very similar prophecy to Isabella d’Este-Gonzaga in 1509; see Luzio and Renier, *Coltura e relazioni letterarie d’Isabella d’Este*, 222 ff.
30. Almansor, *Propositio* 108 (ed. Basel, 1533), 98.
31. *Conciliator Petri Aponensis medici ac philosophi celeberrimi Liber Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum precipueque medicorum appellatus . . .* In the 1509 ed. the *differentiae* referred to here are nos. 113 and 156, fol. 158<sup>v</sup>, 201<sup>v</sup>.
32. On Sadan, see Boll [note 6], 421; the passage is based on the *Conciliator* [see note 31].



**Fig. 116. Mercury**  
From *Tarocchi*, Series E. Northern Italian engraving  
(see pp. 559, 593)



**Fig. 117. Mercury**  
From *Nyge Kalender* (Lübeck, 1519) (see p. 593)

**Fig. 118. Hans Burgkmair**  
*Mercury*  
Woodcut (see p. 596)

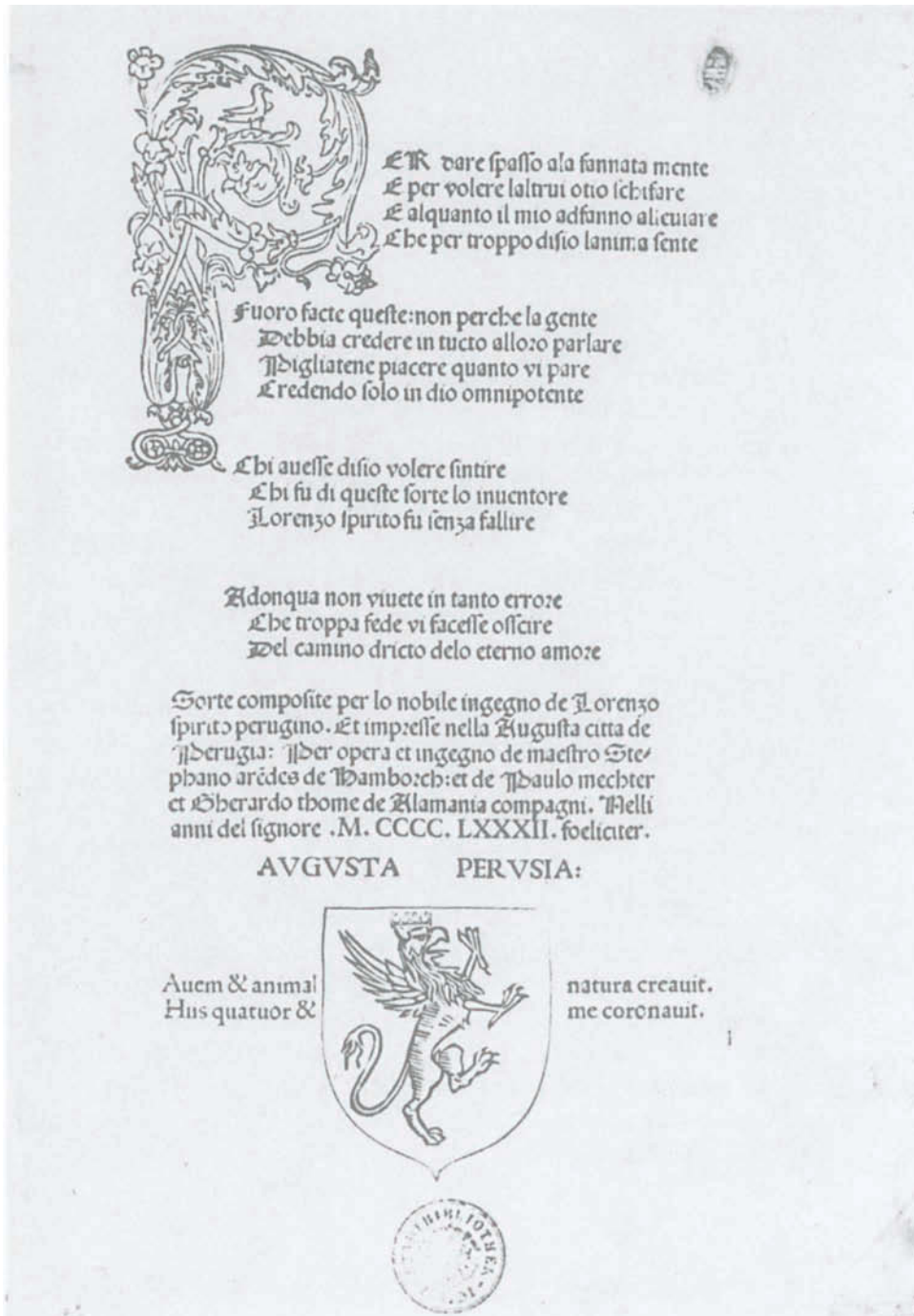
# On Images of Planetary Deities in the Low German Almanac of 1519 (1908)

The woodcuts depicting planetary deities in the Low German *Nyge Kalender*, printed by Steffen Arndes in Lübeck in 1519, reveal a close study of Italian models. Two planets—Mercury and Saturn—can even be traced to specific sources in the celebrated tarot pack engraved in Northern Italy around 1465 (see figs. 116, 117, 127, 128). These same versions of the planetary deities had been used in Nuremberg woodcuts as early as 1490 or thereabouts; Dürer also copied them.<sup>1</sup> They no doubt reached Nuremberg by way of the humanist circle of such men as Hartmann Schedel and Konrad Celtes, whose source and collecting point for classical learning was Padua. † \*

For the Hamburg-born printer Steffen Arndes, on the other hand, the first humanist center that comes to mind is Perugia. There—if we accept Lange’s entirely plausible supposition<sup>2</sup> that Arndes is identical with Stefano Aquila—he lived and plied his trade, which he had learned from Gutenberg himself, for some years from 1476 onward. A previously unnoticed masterpiece from his press, adorned with magnificent woodcuts, is Lorenzo Spirito’s *Libro delle sorti*, a happy conjunction of the graphic arts of Italy and Northern Europe, printed in Perugia in 1482 by Arndes, Paul Mechter, and Gerhard von Büren.<sup>3</sup>

Also living in Perugia at much the same time, in the capacity of a professor of law, was Jacob Langenbeck—a brother of our celebrated Hamburg burgo-master, Heinrich Langenbeck. There, Jacob Langenbeck edited and published the *editio princeps* of the *Digests*, printed by Arndes’s partner Wydenast in 1476. At that time, to those students from Hamburg who journeyed South by way of Erfurt, Perugia was the major source of the new humanistic learning. Arndes’s own family included a number of legal scholars resident in Italy: Theodor Arndes appeared for Hamburg in a court case in Rome in 1475 and then, after holding the deanships of Hildesheim and Brunswick, became bishop of Lübeck (1492)—the same city in which Steffen Arndes, too, was later to work. †

The supposition of close contacts between these two Arndes would seem to account for the curious and hitherto unnoticed fact that planetary deities in the exact style of the almanac appear on the facades of a number of houses in Lower Saxony: as in Brunswick (1536) and on the “Brusttuch” in Goslar (1526). It can also be shown that the Mars, Venus, Saturn, and Luna who appear life-size on the walls of the Rathauslaube in Lüneburg (around 1529) derive from the same planetary types. \*



**Fig. 119. Lorenzo Spirito**  
*Libro delle sorti* (Perugia, 1482)  
 (see p. 593)





**Fig. 120. Saturn**

From Lorenzo Spirito, *Libro delle sorti* (Perugia, 1482)  
(see p. 593)

There is, however, another intermediary to be considered: Hans Burgkmair of Augsburg,<sup>4</sup> whose planetary series of woodcuts (fig. 118) not only formed the common source for all these Northern German images but also served, by virtue of Augsburg's geographical position, to disseminate the ancient gods, as revived in Italy, right across the Eastern parts of Germany—as is proved by the facade of the Bunte Haus at Eggenburg in Lower Austria (1547). It is likely, in fact, that Burgkmair personally painted similar planetary figures on the facade of a house on the marketplace of Augsburg itself. This would explain the influence of these particular figures, and also their presence on housefronts. Burgkmair's planetary deities, in turn, might well have derived from a lost monumental decorative scheme in Italy—of which the two planetary figures in the Northern Italian tarot would thus be mere offshoots.<sup>5</sup>

Although modifications of detail may become necessary on closer study, the clear conclusion, from the viewpoint of bibliophilic scholarship, is this: the 1519 almanac, which looks like a merely naive piece of popular literature, is in fact an artistic production of great evolutionary significance, with a cultural importance that far transcends any mere local interest. It enables us to trace the lost route traveled by certain images, which, liberated and made mobile by the art of printing, inaugurated and fostered a whole new epoch of artistic and cultural interchange between North and South.

#### Notes

- † 1. See Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1895): 236 ff.
2. See H. O. Lange, "Les plus anciens imprimeurs à Pérouse," *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Forhandl.* (1907). Lange's conjecture is supported by the information, kindly supplied by the Staatsarchiv, Hamburg, that the Arndes family bore an eagle in its coat of arms. So far, however, no direct kinship has been proven between Steffen and Theodor Arndes.
3. The speaker gave a detailed account of this print at a meeting in 1910. See figs. 119, 120; copy in Ulm, page size approximately 27 × 19 cm.
4. In this connection, the speaker's attention was drawn to Burgkmair by Mr. Hübner, a doctoral student.
5. The speaker discussed these relations in some detail at the International Art Historical Congress of 1909 in Munich.

# Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther (1920)

## *Preface*

The author, who fell gravely ill at the end of October 1918, has consented to the publication of this fragment at the instance of his friend Franz Boll, although he has been unable to carry out necessary emendations, not to speak of the important additions that he had intended to make from a wealth of hitherto unknown material already worked through and prepared. He has nevertheless allowed this fragment to appear, partly in the expectation that this initial attempt will be of use to a later researcher, and partly because, however good or bad the present weaver, the opportunity of threading in new strands from abroad will long be denied to German scholarship. He therefore asks those friends and colleagues who have so tirelessly aided him in the past—Franz Boll foremost among them—to take his consent to this far-from-adequate publication as a mark of his gratitude to them.

Without the extensive help of libraries and archives over many years—and the author is not now in a position to name them all: let us mention only Berlin, Dresden, Göttingen, Hamburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Munich, Wolfenbüttel, Zwickau; and also Oxford, Madrid, Paris, and Rome—his studies could never have been carried out. The following individuals have assisted him far beyond the immediate call of duty: his late friend Robert Münzel; Professor Paul Flemming, of Pforta; Professor Ernst Kroker, of Leipzig; Dr. Georg Leidinger, of Munich; Father Franz Ehrle, formerly of Rome; Professor Richard Salomon, of Hamburg; and the late Professor Gustav Milchsack, of Wolfenbüttel. Wilhelm Printz and Fritz Saxl, who have remained at his side over the years, deserve his heartfelt thanks. He was unfortunately unable to deliver the paper in person, and in the promised form, to the members of the Religionswissenschaftliche Vereinigung (Association for the study of religion) in Berlin. He hopes that they will nevertheless accept the present publication as a token of his sincere and lasting gratitude for the meeting of 23 April 1918.

I dedicate this study to my dear wife, in memory of the winter of 1888 in Florence.

Hamburg, 26 January 1920

## I. Reformation, Magic, and Astrology

*Es ist ein altes Buch zu blättern:*

*Vom Harz bis Hellas immer Vettern.*

—Goethe, *Faust*, Part 2

There's an old book for browsing in:

From Harz to Hellas all are kin.

The standard work on “The Bondage of Superstitious Modern Man” remains to be written. It would have to be preceded by a study—also as yet unwritten—of “The Renaissance of the Spirit World of Antiquity in the Age of the German Reformation.” A lecture delivered by the present writer at the Religionswissenschaftliche Vereinigung in Berlin, on “Pagan-Antique Prophecy in the Age of Luther in Words and Images,”<sup>1</sup> was intended as a highly provisional contribution to this question. That lecture forms the basis of the present essay.

The images that it examines fall within the scope of the history of art in the widest sense (insofar as that term covers image-making in all its forms). However, with the single exception of the portrait of Johann Carion (fig. 121),<sup>2</sup> they stem from prints or printed books; they lack aesthetic appeal; and without the texts that relate to them (whether printed with them or not), they are unpromising material for the purely formal concerns of present-day art history, in that their strange illustrative quality stems from their content. The idea of examining a mere “curiosity” for its relevance to the history of human thought is one that comes more naturally to historians of religion than to historians of art. And yet it is one of the prime duties of art history to bring such forms out of the twilight of ideological polemic and to subject them to close historical scrutiny. For there is one crucial issue in the history of style and civilization—the influence of antiquity on the culture of Renaissance Europe as a whole—that cannot otherwise be fully understood and resolved.

Only when we bring ourselves to consider the figures of the pagan gods—as resurrected in early Renaissance Europe, North and South—not merely as artistic phenomena but as religious entities, do we begin to sense the power of the determinism of the Hellenistic cosmology, even in Germany, even in the age of the Reformation. The pagan augur who assumed the mantle of scientific learning was a hard adversary to contend with, let alone to defeat.

A classically rarefied version of the ancient gods has been so successfully imposed on us, ever since Winckelmann, as the central symbol of antiquity, that we are apt to forget that it was entirely the creation of humanist scholars: this “Olympian” aspect of antiquity had first to be wrested from its entrenched, traditional, “daemonic” aspect. Ever since the passing of antiquity, the ancient gods had lived on in Christian Europe as cosmic spirits, religious forces with a strong influence in practical affairs: indeed, the cosmology of the ancient world—notably in the form of astrology—undeniably survived as a parallel system, tacitly tolerated by the Christian Church.

The astral deities were faithfully transmitted through a long migration from the Hellenistic world by way of Arabia, Spain, and Italy to Germany (where after 1470 they enjoyed a peripatetic Renaissance, in words and pictures, thanks to the new printing houses of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Leipzig). They lived on as time gods, mathematically defining and mythically ruling every chronological unit in the annual round: the year, the month, the week, the day, the hour, the minute, and the second. These were beings of sinister, ambivalent, and indeed contradictory powers: as star signs they expanded space, marking the way for the soul's flight through the universe; as constellations they were also idols, with whom, as befitted the childlike nature of man, the mere creature might aspire to mystic union through devotional practices.

The astrologer in the age of the Reformation accepted these opposite poles of mathematical abstraction and devout self-association—irreconcilable though they seem to a modern scientist—as the pivots of one vibrant, primordial psychic state. Logic sets a mental space between man and object by applying a conceptual label; magic destroys that space by creating a superstitious—theoretical or practical—association between man and object. In the divinatory workings of the astrologer's mind, these two processes act as a single, primitive tool that he can use both to make measurements and to work magic. That age when logic and magic blossomed, like trope and metaphor, in Jean Paul's words, "grafted to a single stem,"<sup>3</sup> is inherently timeless: by showing such a polarity in action, the historian of civilization furnishes new grounds for a more profoundly positive critique of a historiography that rests on a purely chronological theory of development.

Medieval astrologers brought the Hellenistic inheritance to Northern Europe from Baghdad by way of Toledo and Padua. And so the writings of the Arab and Italian astrologers were among the very first illustrated books to be printed in Augsburg.

In Germany at the turn of the fifteenth century, as in Italy, two attitudes to antiquity confronted each other: one ancient, practical, and religious; the other modern, artistic, and aesthetic. In Italy the latter seemed at first to have gained the upper hand; it also had its adherents in Germany. But it was in Germany that the astrology of antiquity underwent a distinctive (and hitherto insufficiently noticed) Renaissance of its own. Those astral symbols that had survived in the literature of divination—the seven personified planets, above all—gained a new lease on life from the social and political upheavals of the day and became, as it were, the presiding deities of contemporary politics.

Alongside these anthropomorphic rulers of destiny—the astral symbols that are the basis for the systematic, interpretative method of "artificial" (or scientific) divination—we must also consider those terrestrial monstrosities and other portents that formed the subject of "miraculous" divination. We must keep this distinction between "artificial" and "miraculous" divination clearly before us:<sup>4</sup> as will be shown, it marked the parting of minds between

Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon. We shall take as our point of departure a hitherto unnoticed letter from Melanchthon to the astrologer and historian Johann Carion of Bietigheim, who held an influential position at the court of the elector of Brandenburg.

## *II. Elements of Pagan Antiquity in the Cosmological and Political Worldview of the Reformation Period: Astrology and Teratology in Luther's Circle*

### **II.1. Melanchthon's Letter to Carion on the Comet of 1531**

In my search for the letters of Carion, the volume of correspondence published by Johannes Voigt<sup>5</sup> directed me to the Staatsarchiv in Königsberg, and I am grateful to that institution for making it possible for me to work in the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg on a batch of his letters. Inserted into the sequence I found a letter in Latin, sent to him by Melanchthon on 17 August 1531. Thanks to the kindness of Professor Flemming, of Pforta, I was able to profit from the textual emendations made by the late Nikolaus Müller and thus to establish the correct reading of the Latin text (see appendix A.1). I shall give a free translation of the entire contents of this document, because every detail is a vivid revelation of Melanchthon's character and of the conflict to which he bears witness—a fateful one for Germany—between humanistic intellectualism and the theological and political desire for Reformation.

Addressed to the most learned Master Johann Carion, philosopher, his friend and dear countryman, “to be placed in his own hands.”

... I have tried to adorn <the text> with the most authoritative quotations. It is for others to judge what I have achieved.

The Dictum of Elijah is not to be found in the Bible but in the rabbinical literature, and it is extremely famous. Burgensis<sup>6</sup> quotes it, and bases himself upon it in arguing against the Jews that the Messiah has already appeared. It is a saying that is widely current among the Hebrews, and I have placed it at the beginning of your history <Carion's *Chronica*>, both to make it better known and to lend commendation to your work. I shall add many more such quotations later. But you see how the prophetic voice points to the future: so aptly <*concinna*: harmoniously?> does the division of the ages fall.

I hope that we shall finish the History this winter; for hitherto I have been prevented by the revision of my *Apologia*, some parts of which I have improved. You will hardly believe how delicate my health is, for I am consumed with cares and toil.

My wife, by God's grace, has been delivered of a daughter, whose nativity <*Thema*> I send you, but not in order to put you to any trouble. I can see that she will be a nun.<sup>7</sup>

We have had sight of a comet for more than a week now. What do you make of it? It seems to be stationary above Cancer, as it sets directly after the sun and rises shortly before dawn. If it were red, it would cause me greater alarm. Without a

doubt, it signifies the death of princes; yet it seems to turn its tail toward Poland. But I shall await your verdict. I shall be most grateful if you will tell me what you make of it.

Now I come to today's tidings. If I knew anything of our adversaries' doings, I would write it all to you, whatever it might be. For we have no need to conceal the plans of our adversaries; rather, it is in our interest to expose them.

So I have long had no certain news of any preparations—apart, that is, from the misgivings harbored by our own people concerning the <not?> inconsiderable force of infantry now in Frisia. It may be that on the pretext of war with Denmark they intend to attack us, too. But the electors of the Palatinate and of Mainz are already treating for an end to hostilities; though I hold out no hope of peace, in view of the astrological predictions and the prophecies alike. Hassfurt predicted that King Christian would enjoy an honorable return. Schepperus says he will not return at all. But Schepperus does not trouble me. He is often wrong. Hassfurt also predicted great victories to the landgrave.

A certain citizen of Schmalkalden, known to me, had a wonderful vision concerning all these upheavals, in which I place great credence. It predicts a fairly uneventful outcome, but it does intimate that our terrified adversaries will yield to that Lion <the landgrave of Hesse>. A woman of Kitzingen has foretold terrible things of Ferdinand, how he will wage war against us, but that it will go against him. In Belgium a maiden has even given a prophecy to the emperor, but I have yet to inform myself in detail. All in all, I think there will be some commotion, and I pray to God that he may direct it to a good end, useful to church and state alike.

I was laboring a year ago, to the end that they might make peace with us. If they had done so, there would now be less unrest in Swabia, which has now largely embraced the Swiss theology and effrontery <licentia>. Campeggio wants to involve and ensnare the emperor in a German war, to drain away his strength, and there are some who approve Campeggio's counsels out of personal hatred for us. But God's eye is just. We have certainly taught nothing that was evil, and have freed many good minds from many pernicious errors. Sabinus is sending you my preface in praise of astronomy and astrology, on which I await your verdict. Farewell. On the Thursday following the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1531. I return the letters to you... Φίλιππος.

This letter allows us to look over Melanchthon's shoulder at a critical moment in his life. We find him engaged in literary work in three capacities: as a humanist, as a theologian, and as an astropolitical journalist. First, by introducing the so-called Tradition of the House of Elijah, according to which the course of universal history is divided into three periods, each of approximately two thousand years, he defined the structure of the earliest German history of the world, Carion's *Chronica*, which owed its great influence on German historiography entirely to Melanchthon's involvement with it.<sup>8</sup>

Melanchthon was required to do this at a time when he also bore the massive responsibility of revising the Confession of Augsburg; for the emperor's ultimatum to the Protestants had expired on 30 April, and there was

an imminent threat of armed conflict between the emperor and the Schmalkaldic League—the very eventuality that Melanchthon was striving with all his might to avert. Clearly, Carion, who was a diplomatic agent in the service of Brandenburg, had asked for more precise information on this, and Melanchthon treated him—it is worth noting—entirely as a partisan of the Schmalkaldic cause.

However, Melanchthon here is no dry political chronicler; for in his desperate desire to keep the peace he has suffered an acute attack of cosmic susceptibility to omens and portents. In this connection he no longer addressed his correspondent from a position of superiority, as a learned dispenser of good advice: he approached the artless Carion<sup>9</sup> in the guise of a patient in need of comfort, and consulted him as a magus skilled in all matters prophetic and astrological. He sent Carion the natal chart of his own newborn daughter, surely not without hoping for an interpretation of it, and expressly solicited a verdict on his (Melanchthon's) own astronomical and astrological views—as lately published, for example, in his preface to Johannes de Sacro Bosco.<sup>10</sup> Above all, however, he wanted Carion to set his mind at rest concerning the comet—it was Halley's—that had appeared in August and had frightened all Germany, not least Melanchthon himself: it was the first he had ever seen.

In return, he retailed to Carion the current prophecies of other noted astrologers of the day. The warnings of Johann Virdung of Hassfurt had pursued Melanchthon ever since birth: for Virdung, at his father's request, had cast Melanchthon's own natal horoscope. This included a warning against travel to the North and to the Baltic, which—as Melanchthon himself was to admit in 1560—deterred him from ever visiting Denmark.<sup>11</sup>

As he was at pains to stress, however, it was not these “scientific” predictions that troubled him most, but the *vaticinia*, the directly inspired, “unscientific” prophecies, of the man from Schmalkalden and the woman from Kitzingen. He had first mentioned these considerably earlier, at the end of March, writing to tell both Cordatus and Baumgärtner that the Kitzingen woman was prophesying a great war against the Protestant party, launched with French support, within six months.<sup>12</sup> Her tidings were less bad for the emperor than for King Ferdinand. Again, as early as 11 April, Melanchthon had mentioned the Schmalkalden man's horrendous vision in a letter to Camerarius.<sup>13</sup>

And so, at a moment when his sole salvation lay in an unshakable inner detachment from the age and from its agonies of conscience, the spiritual leader of Protestant Germany stood bereft of all his zest and his resolution—like some pagan augur—by celestial signs and human voices. At least his prophetic voices left him some room for hopes of victory, which he pinned on “Leo,” the Lion of Hesse.

Nevertheless, if Melanchthon's own keen critical and philological sense of fact ever gave him pause, he had an answer ready: astrological method, for him, represented a practical survival of the harmonizing worldview of the



ancients, which was the very foundation of his own cosmologically oriented humanism.<sup>14</sup>

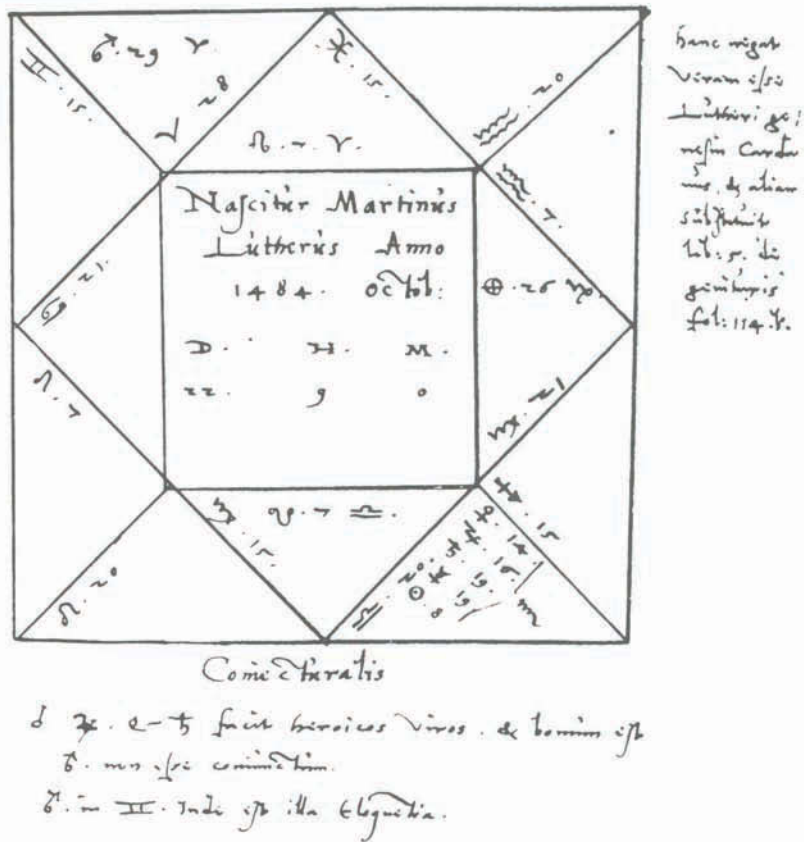
## II.2. Astral Divination: Luther's and Melanchthon's Opposing Views of Ancient Astrology

In North and South alike, the Italian civilization of the Renaissance had preserved and revived types of ancient pagan divination composed of so potent and heterogeneous a mixture of elements—rationalism and myth, the mathematician and the augur—that they engaged the attention even of the Wittenberg community, the main bastion of a Christian Germany that was fighting against Rome for its spiritual freedom. Even here, where feelings ran so high against the Christian paganism of Rome, both the Babylonian-Hellenistic astrologer and the Roman augur gained a hearing and—with certain curious reservations—assent. The reasons for this involvement with the arcane survivals of paganism—a paradox in terms of any rectilinear view of history—emerge from the very different responses of Luther and Melanchthon to the superstitious belief in signs and prophecies.

Luther accepted only the mystic and transcendent nucleus of the idea: the miraculous cosmic event, sent by the Christian God in all his inscrutable omnipotence as a prophetic intimation of the future. Melanchthon, for his part, adopted the astrology of the ancient world as an intellectual defense against a cosmically predetermined earthly fate. So strong, indeed, was his faith in the stars that in this matter he constantly risked—as elsewhere he avoided—a confrontation with his more powerful friend. For even when an Italian astrologer, Lucas Gauricus, challenged the great Reformer on the most intimate level by arbitrarily “rectifying” his horoscope to show an entirely false date and time of birth, Melanchthon—together with Carion and other Wittenberg astrological experts—sided with Gauricus, despite the latter's undoubted hostile intent, and despite Luther's own vehement refusal to accept the entirely mythical, astrological birthdate of 22 October 1484. \*

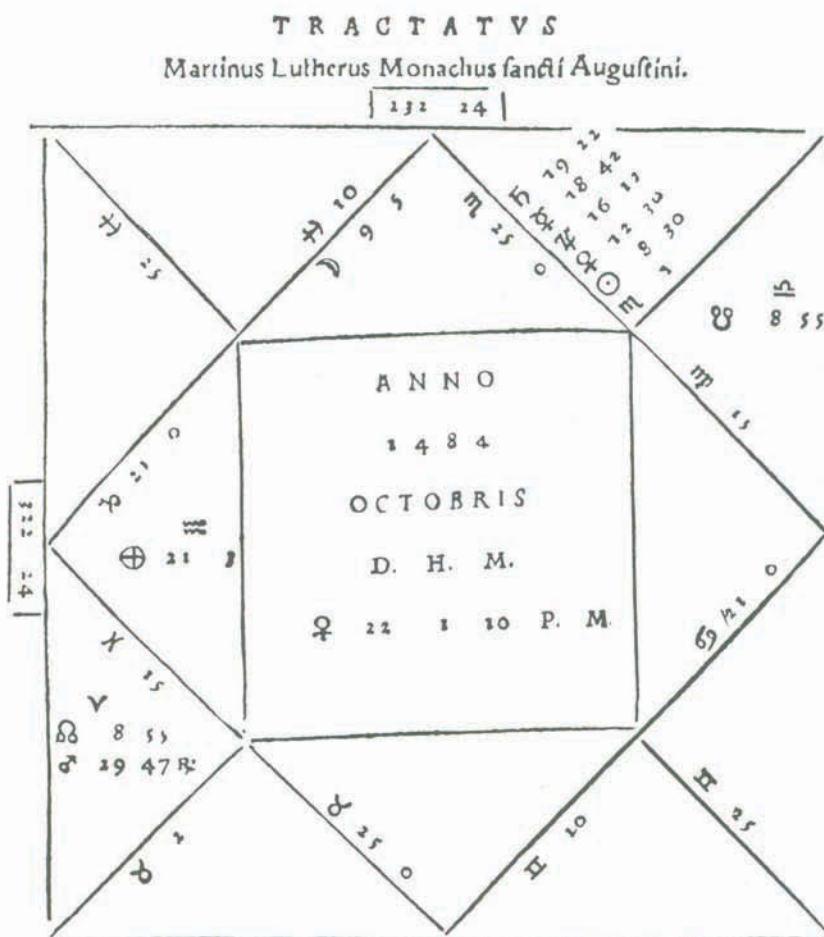
### *Luther versus the Astropoliticians, Italian and German—Melanchthon's Attitude to Lucas Gauricus*

From Italy, and from Padua in particular—where, to this day, the immensities of the Salone are sacred ground for astrologers—the theory and practice of astrology flowed ever northward into the learned world of Germany; and from time to time Italian practitioners crossed the Alps in person. In 1531, the very year of Melanchthon's letter to Carion, the celebrated Southern Italian astrologer Lucas Gauricus was invited to Berlin by Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg;<sup>15</sup> from Berlin, Gauricus went on to Wittenberg, where he stayed four days and was cordially and respectfully received by Melanchthon, as we know from the latter's letters to Camerarius. This will have been in April 1532. In May of that year, after Gauricus's departure, Melanchthon composed a letter of introduction for him to his friend Camerarius in Nuremberg.<sup>16</sup>



**Fig. 121. School of Lucas Cranach**  
Johann Carion  
Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek  
(see pp. 598, 648)

**Fig. 122. Horoscope of Luther by Erasmus Reinhold**  
Leipzig, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. 935, fol. 158  
(see pp. 606, 610)



Martinus fuit imprimis Monachus per multos annos, demum expoliauit habitum monialem, duxitq; in vxorem Abbariffam altræ stature Virmbergensem, & ab illa suscepit duos liberos. Hæc mira fatifq; horrenda. s. Planetarū coitio sub Scorpij asterismo in nona cœli statione quâ Arabes religioni deputabant, effecit ipsum sacrilegum hereticum, Christianæ religionis hostem acerrimum, atq; prophanum. Ex horoscopi directione ad Martis coitum irreligiosissimus obiit. Eius Anima scelestissima ad Inferos nauigauit; ab Allecto, Telsiphone, & Megera flagellis igneis cruciata perenniter.

**Fig. 123. Horoscope of Luther by Lucas Gauricus**  
From Gauricus, *Tractatus astrologicus* (Venice, 1552), fol. 69v  
(see pp. 606, 627)

At the beginning of March 1532, Melanchthon sent the *Norica* of Camerarius (a treatise on the significance of portents)<sup>17</sup> to Gauricus, with a fulsome dedicatory epistle in which he hailed him as the “Prince of All Philosophy” and thanked him, in particular, for letters enclosing horoscopes that had been of vital importance to him, Melanchthon, in the furtherance of his own studies.<sup>18</sup> The true political significance of those horoscopes emerges in a letter that Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius later in the same year, on 29 June 1532, sending him at his request the nativities of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand.<sup>19</sup> This makes it clear that Melanchthon had made a comparative study of Gauricus’s collection of horoscopes and of those of Carion and de Schepper.

Surviving collections of this kind include one in Munich and another in Leipzig;<sup>20</sup> and, on close scrutiny, both turn out to be based on horoscopes by Gauricus, only some of which were printed in the 1552 Venice edition of his work. This is significant, since the Leipzig manuscript, compiled—as Ernst Kroker has convincingly shown—in the 1540s by Erasmus Reinhold, professor of mathematics at the university of Wittenberg,<sup>21</sup> leads us straight to the Reformers and specifically to Luther himself. The horoscope of Luther given by Reinhold<sup>22</sup> (see fig. 122) is based not on his true birthdate of 10 November 1483 but on Gauricus’s date of 22 October 1484. The pagan and astrological birthday is thus allowed, in the full knowledge of its conjectural nature—as \* Reinhold’s note, “*Coniecturalis*,” makes quite clear—to usurp the place of the true, calendric date.

In the 1552 edition of Gauricus (fig. 123), Luther’s horoscope is captioned with a stream of vicious Counter-Reformation abuse.<sup>23</sup> Of course, we can assume that when Gauricus visited Wittenberg in 1532 he did not adopt any such tone of sectarian fanaticism, let alone the spiteful reference to Luther’s death; but there can hardly be any doubt that even then he interpreted Luther, astrologically, as a malignant force. In 1525—as has not hitherto been sufficiently noticed—Gauricus had sent Pope Clement VII a prediction of Luther’s downfall as a heretic;<sup>24</sup> and, as early as 23 March 1524, Luther had surely had him in mind in sending the facts of his own nativity to Georg Spalatin:

*Genesin istam meam jam ante videram ex Italia huc missam, sed cum sic sint hoc anno hallucinati astrologi <a reference to fears of a deluge; see below>, nihil mirum, si sit, qui et hoc nugari ausus sit.*<sup>25</sup>

I had already seen that horoscope of mine—it had been sent here from Italy. But since the astrologers have been having such bizarre visions this year <a reference to fears of a deluge; see below>, it is no wonder that there is someone who has dared to produce this nonsense.

Hence, also, no doubt, the mention of him in Luther’s letter to Veit Dietrich on 27 February 1532:

*Sed...astr...quam ominoso Mathem<atico> quem toties falsum convici, convinctam adhuc saepius falsum.*<sup>26</sup> †

But...astr...than that portentous mathematician, to whom I have often given the lie in the past and shall often give the lie in the future.

Luther's attitude to Gauricus springs from the aversion to all astrology that was deeply rooted in his religious faith—an aversion that inevitably led him into forthright disagreement with his friend Melanchthon. In August 1540, Luther said:

*Nemo mihi persuadebit nec Paulus nec Angelus de coelo nedum Philippus, ut credam astrologiae divinationibus, quae toties fallunt, ut nihil sit incertius. Nam si etiam bis aut ter recte divinant, ea notant; si fallunt, ea dissimulant.*<sup>27</sup>

No one will ever persuade me—neither Paul, nor an angel from heaven, nor even Philipp—to believe in the predictions of astrology, which are so often mistaken that nothing is more uncertain. For if they forecast correctly even two or three times, they mark it; if they are wrong, they conceal it.

In the same year he claimed that Melanchthon had admitted to him that there was no certain art of astrological divination; for which reason, said Luther, he left him to trifle with it as he pleased: “*Es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst.*” (That art of theirs is so much manure.)<sup>28</sup> And when Master Philipp again ventured—as he did in 1537, when traveling at New Moon seemed too dangerous—to give Doctor Martinus the benefit of his astrological advice, Luther recalled the incident with some annoyance, as an uncalled-for intrusion on the part of “*der heilosen und schebichten astrologia*” (the unholy drivel of astrology).<sup>29</sup>

In these circumstances, how was it possible for Luther's friends to tolerate, let alone to advocate, Gauricus's entirely arbitrary displacement of his date of birth? We have it from Luther's own lips, as reported by Heydenreich, that Melanchthon himself subscribed to the mythical birthdate; the same source reveals how the astrological believers were enabled to do so with a clear conscience. Heydenreich records the following exchange:

*“Domine Doctor, multi astrologi in vestra genitura consentiunt, constellationes vestrae nativitatis ostendere, vos mutationem magnam allaturum.”*

*Tum Doctor: “Nullus est certus de nativitatis tempore, denn Philippus et ego sein der sachen umb ein jar nicht eins. Pro secundo, putatis hanc causam et meum negotium positum esse sub vestra arte incerta? O nein, es ist ein ander ding! Das ist allein gottes werck. Dazu solt ir mich niemer mer bereden!”*<sup>30</sup>

“Doctor, many astrologers agree concerning your birth that the constellations of your horoscope show that you will bring about a great change.”

The Doctor: “Nobody is certain of the time of my birth, for Philipp and I differ

by a year on the matter. What is more, do you believe that our cause and my whole enterprise are subject to your uncertain art? No, this is something quite else! This is God's work alone. You will never persuade me of that!"

The astrologers were thus seeking to make Luther's reforming mission contingent on a date on which Luther and Melanchthon could not agree even within a year; and this Luther emphatically refused to accept. The disagreement "by a year" clearly refers to Melanchthon's preference—following Gauricus—for 1484 as against 1483. For 1484 was the year of a great conjunction of planets, calculated generations in advance, and expected to herald a new epoch in Occidental religion.<sup>31</sup>

The natal chart given by Reinhold relates closely—a fact that has escaped previous researchers—to an attempt at astrological compromise, made by Melanchthon at the precise period when, according to Heydenreich, he was still arguing with Luther about the latter's year of birth. Melanchthon was later to acknowledge 1483 as the official year of Luther's birth, both in his biography and in the *Dekanatsbuch* of the University of Wittenberg;<sup>32</sup> but even as late as 1539 we find him still uncertain. As he wrote to Osiander:

*Über Luthers Geburtszeit sind wir in Zweifel. Der Tag ist zwar sicher, auch beinahe die Stunde, Mitternacht, wie ich selbst aus dem Munde seiner Mutter gehört habe. 1484 meine ich, war das Jahr. Aber wir haben mehrere Horoskope gestellt. Gauricus billigte das Thema von 1484.*<sup>33</sup>

On Luther's nativity we remain in doubt. The day is certain, and almost so the hour: midnight, as I myself have heard from his mother's lips. I believe 1484 was the year. But we have cast a number of horoscopes. Gauricus supported the 1484 nativity.

So Melanchthon had consulted Luther's mother in person. He now knew the day, and the hour—midnight, albeit with the qualification "almost"—but he was still in favor of the year 1484, and thus still under the influence of Gauricus.

In the Munich manuscript horoscope collection (Cod. lat. 27003; see fig. 124), there is a copy of a fragment of a previously unknown letter from Melanchthon to Schoner, probably written around the time of Gauricus's visit to Wittenberg. This shows Melanchthon even more inclined toward drastic astrological intervention in the birthdate controversy, influenced in this case by Carion. The fragment reads as follows:<sup>34</sup>

*Philippus ad Schonerum Genesim Lutheri quam Philo<sup>35</sup> inquisiuit transtulit Carion in horam 9. Mater enim dicit Lutherum natum esse ante dimidium noctis (sed puto eam fefelli <sic>). Ego alteram figuram praefero et praefert ipse Carion. Etsi quoque haec est mirrifica <sic> est propter locum ♂ <Martis> et ♂ <coniunctionem> in domos <sic> 5° quae habet coniunctionem magnam cum ascendente*

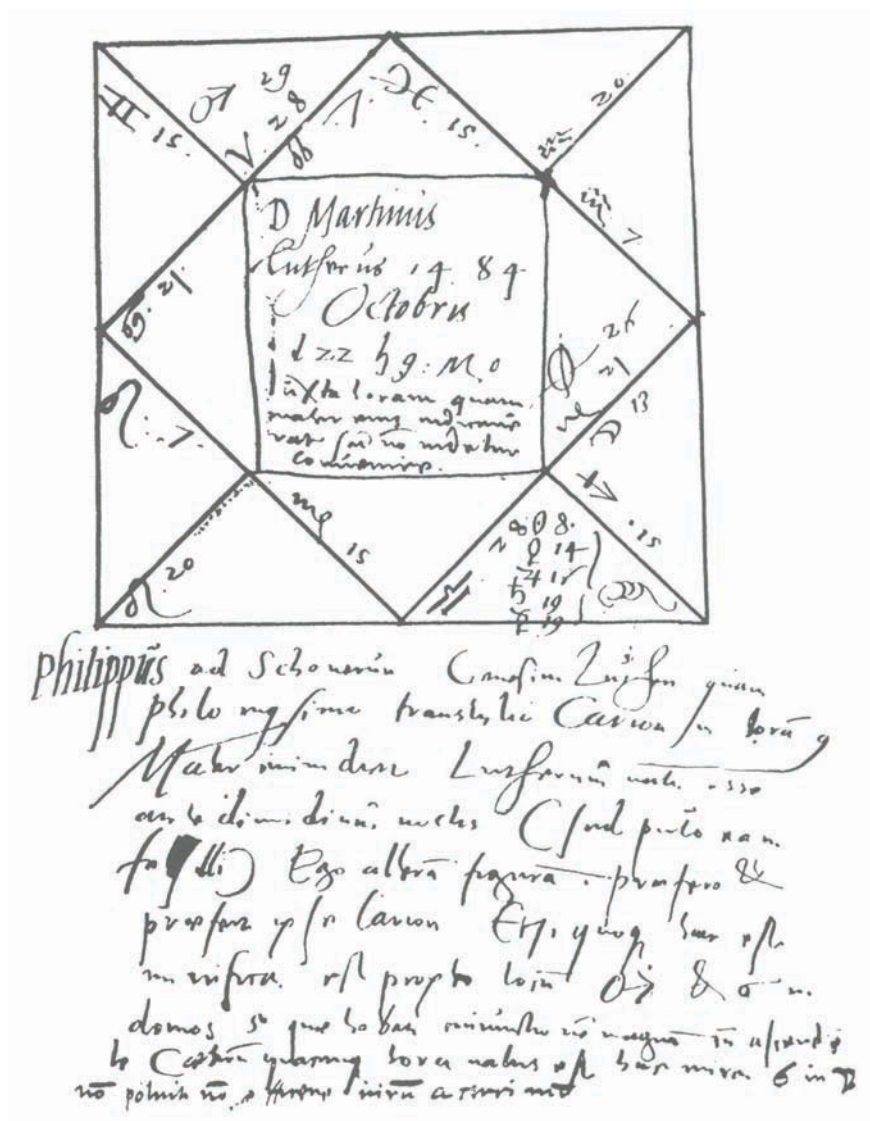


Fig. 124. Horoscope of Luther

Munich, Cod. lat. Monac. 27003, fol. 16 (see p. 608)

*Caeterum quacunq̃ue hora natus est hac <sic> mira ☿ <coniunctio> in ♏ <scorpi-one> non potuit non efficere uirum acerrimum.*

Philipp to Schoner. Luther's nativity, which Philo was inquiring about, Carion has changed to the ninth hour. For Luther's mother says that he was born before midnight (but I think that she was mistaken). I prefer the other chart, and so does Carion himself. Although this one also is extraordinary, it is because of the position of Mars and the conjunction in the fifth house, which has a great conjunction (*sic*) with the ascendant. But, whatever the hour of his birth, this unusual conjunction in Scorpio could not fail to produce a man of great mental vigor.

Carion's leading part in elaborating this compromise formula, still Italian and pagan in origin, is entirely in keeping with the fact that his initial attitude to Luther had been highly skeptical. We have it on Luther's own authority that, in the days when Carion was his enemy, the astrologer had actually predicted to him the day and hour of his burning as a heretic.<sup>36</sup> At one stage in his life, then, Carion had largely shared Gauricus's opinion of Luther.

As the letter shows, Carion was Melanchthon's principal authority for the alteration of the birthdate; and Carion in turn relied on the authority of the physician Philo, Johann Pfeyl,<sup>37</sup> who had long resided in Italy: there are thus two clear connections with Lucas Gauricus. The variations proposed by Carion and Pfeyl concern the hour of birth only: Carion favors 9 a.m., and Pfeyl favors 3:22 a.m., whereas Gauricus proposes 1:10 a.m. But the date of 22 October 1484 remains untouched. Pfeyl essentially retains Gauricus's great conjunction (in the ninth house). Carion, on the other hand, by moving to the ninth hour of the day, creates a decisive change. The fateful conjunction shifts from the ninth house to the fifth; and Mars is no longer in the first house but in the tenth. Luther is thus freed from the odium of a diabolical mission without losing any of his role as a bringer of religious change.

Melanchthon thus accepted Carion's horoscope; so we must assume that at one time he was inclined to take this alternative, hypothetical, astrological birthdate seriously. He ultimately came to reject it, presumably as a result of Luther's own opposition to it; but the view adopted by Reinhold, the official Wittenberg mathematician, reveals to us the stubborn persistence of the false Gauricus dating in Carion's horoscope, which—as a close comparison with the Munich manuscript shows, although this can be no more than indicated here—Reinhold took in every detail from the revision by Carion and Pfeyl (fig. 122).<sup>38</sup> As the inscription "*Coniecturalis*" proves, Reinhold was well aware that the horoscope was based on a mere conjecture, but he included it because it placed the great conjunction, in which he believed, in a more favorable light than Gauricus did. Here, Jupiter and Saturn are so conjoined in Scorpio as to produce "heroic men"; and the unsuspected Mars in Gemini, in the auspicious eleventh house, has no malefic effect but gives rise to eloquence.<sup>39</sup>

The most striking proof of the decided stamina of this Italian-devised horoscope is that even Garcaeus,<sup>40</sup> who at long last gives the true date of



Luther's birth, 10 November 1483, persists in exactly reproducing the planetary positions of the Gauricus horoscope, as redrawn by Reinhold and Carion.<sup>41</sup>

At the time of Gauricus's visit to Wittenberg and thereafter, a milder version of the Gauricus horoscope was in circulation, whether cast by Gauricus himself or, more likely, in the reformed Carion-Reinhold version given here. This is corroborated by the commentary written to accompany the horoscope of Luther cast by the Italian astrologer Hieronymus Cardanus (Girrolamo Cardano), who changed the natal year to 1483 instead of Gauricus's 1484, while going out of his way to complain of the lack of due Counter-Reformation asperity in the 1484 horoscope then in circulation:<sup>42</sup> Cardano disperses the planetary conjunction from Scorpio into other signs, including that of Virgo, which presides over religion. At all events, we can take it that, in the 1552 edition of Gauricus, the vituperative commentary, at least, was a late addition inserted under Counter-Reformation pressure. \*

In all its sectarian hostility, the Cardano horoscope was well known to Luther, who of course dismissed it out of hand. In 1543 one of his table companions showed him a version of his natal chart printed in Nuremberg, together with those of Cicero and others (see appendix III.3; this must have been the Cardano horoscope):<sup>43</sup>

*Ich halte nichts davon, eigene ihnen gar nichts zu, aber gerne wollt ich, dass sie mir diess Argument solvireten: Esau und Jacob sind von einem Vater und einer Mutter, auf eine Zeit, und unter gleichem Gestirn geboren, und doch gar widerwärtiger Natur, Art und Sinn. Summa, was von Gott geschicht, und sein Werk ist, das soll man dem Gestirn nicht zuschreiben. Ah, der Himmel fraget nach dem nicht, wie auch unser Herr Gott nach dem Himmel nicht fraget. Die rechte christliche Religion confutirt und widerlegt solche Mährlin und Fabelwerk allzumal.*

I think nothing of them, and set no store by them; but I would be glad if they would solve this problem for me: Esau and Jacob were born of one father and one mother, at the same time, and under the same stars, and yet they were completely contrary in nature, demeanor, and mind. In short, what comes from God and is his handiwork is not to be ascribed to the stars. The sky pays no heed to this, just as Our Lord pays no heed to the sky. The true Christian religion altogether confutes and repudiates such tales and fables.

The fact is, therefore, that the Italian astrologers Gauricus and Cardano arbitrarily altered Luther's date of birth in order to make more or less hostile political capital out of it; and that two distinct birthdates were therefore current in Luther's own lifetime. His biographers had, as it were, two calendrical "truths" to deal with—one historical and one mythical—and at the same time two very different kinds of natal patron: on the one hand a German Christian saint, Saint Martin, and on the other a pair of pagan planetary spirits, Saturn and Jupiter.<sup>44</sup> \*

Almost more remarkable still is the fact that—for a time—even Melancthon and his friends argued in favor of reassigning Luther's birth to 1484, the year of the great conjunction: the date so firmly rejected by Luther himself.

The stubborn survival of pagan astrology among those closest to the astrology-hating Reformer himself begins to seem somewhat less baffling in the light of the evidence, supplied above, that the Carion-Reinhold horoscope was an attempt at astrological compromise on behalf of the Reforming party. It was a serious effort, on the part of Luther's friends, to disable the hostile planetary configuration—as manipulated by the Italians and introduced by them into Wittenberg itself—by means of a further arbitrary alteration of the hour of birth, and thus to lessen the force of the cosmic decree that German astrologers, too, believed to reside in a great conjunction. The continued potency of a pagan culture is demonstrated by the arbitrary manner in which these Wittenberg astrologers—entirely rooted as they were in Gauricus's world of late medieval belief—were prepared to commit a falsification of their own by variously altering the hour of birth, thus disabling the objectivity of history and subordinating it to a mythic pattern of causation.

So cosmically defined, and thus so authentically Hellenistic, was the late medieval theory of historical epochs that it crucially depended on the appearance of certain planetary conjunctions at specific intervals.<sup>45</sup> A new prophet required the cosmic sanction of a conjunction of superior planets, and of Saturn and Jupiter in particular. How vivid and immediate such a native affinity with Saturn was felt to be, and how vigorously Luther resisted attempts to foist Saturn on him even as a single patron deity, is shown by a remark he made between 26 and 31 May 1532: that is, a few days after Gauricus's visit to Wittenberg. Luther said:

*Ego Martinus Luther sum infelicissimis astris natus, fortassis sub Saturno. Was man mir thun vnd machen soll, kan nimmermehr fertig werden; schneider, schuster, buchpinder, mein weib verzihen mich auff's lengste.*<sup>46</sup>

I, Martin Luther, was born with the most inauspicious stars, perhaps under Saturn. The things I need done and made for me will never be completed; the tailor, the shoemaker, the bookbinder, and my wife keep me waiting forever.

This mockery of the supposed Saturnian influences in his natal planetary configuration illustrates how stubbornly—if often good-humoredly—Luther had to defend his own passionately held principles against constant efforts to define him as a “child” of his planet. To understand what it meant to reject the prevalent belief in planetary influences, and the fear of Saturn in particular, it will be necessary to attempt with the aid of pictorial examples to understand the commanding position occupied by the planetary deities in the late medieval cosmos. It was a position that made it possible—even in the age of the Reformation—to maintain two parallel chronologies, with historical

scruple and the pursuit of truth on one side and the “as if” of an astrological fiction on the other.

*The Theory of Planetary Conjunctions, Prime Factor in Astrological Divination, as Reflected in German Illustrative Art—Fear of Saturn in Words and Images—Parallel with Italy*

It is an incontrovertible fact that in astrology two entirely antithetical mental forces, which might logically have been expected to be in conflict, combine to form a single “method” (see fig. 129). On one side is mathematics, the subtlest operation of the abstract intellect; on the other is the fear of daemons, the most primitive causative force in religion. The astrologer, who comprehends the universe through a clear and harmonious system of linear coordinates, and can precisely compute and predict the relationships of the fixed stars and planets to the earth and to each other, is gripped, as he pores over his mathematical tables, by an atavistic and superstitious awe of those very star names that he wields like algebraic formulas: to him, they are daemons, of which he lives in fear.

Illustrations will be necessary if we are to gain a clear idea of these linear-mathematical and mythical-imaginative entities as they appear to the mind of a medieval astrologer. By what system do they rule the world; and what do they look like? Planets can exercise their rule either singly or jointly. As single rulers, in accordance with an ingenious system worked out by the astrologers of antiquity, they are patrons of the individual months in turn, together with the zodiacal signs that appear therein. All the planets, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, hold sway over two months each. Saturn, for example, rules December with the sign of Capricorn, and January with that of Aquarius; we shall take Saturn as our guiding star through this astral labyrinth, because in the age of the Reformation the fear and awe of Saturn stood at the very center of astrological belief.

In accordance with a further set of tables, every planet also rules over particular days and hours. The days of the week still wear the badges of this ancient servitude; thus, as the name indicates, Saturday stands under the influence of Saturn. This nonmathematical, mythic, iconic identity of the planets, which so perturbed the astrologers, is clearly exemplified in the illustrated planetary almanacs of medieval times.

In his book on the “children” of the planets, our lamented friend Hauber excellently described the survival and evolution of antique calendrical imagery, both verbal and pictorial, through the Middle Ages.<sup>47</sup> One page from a German manuscript in Tübingen (fig. 125) shows Saturn as the ruler of his month. The Greek god of time, and the Roman seedtime spirit, have here amalgamated into a rustic oaf wielding a mattock, a shovel, and a sickle; in keeping with his earthy nature, his mortal subjects labor on the land, plowing, hoeing, digging, and working grain into bread.

At first sight, this rough-looking Swabian peasant family seems to have nothing to do with classical antiquity or with its spirit world. However,



**Fig. 125. *Children of Saturn***  
Tübingen, Cod. M. d 2, fol. 266<sup>v</sup> (see p. 613 f.)

Saturn is revealed as a planetary ruler, in authentic antique style, by the presence of his two zodiacal signs, Capricorn and Aquarius. The Goat is clearly visible on the right; the Water Bearer partly conceals his allegorical nature by doing the baker the practical service of pouring the necessary water into his tub. In his left hand, however, he holds three dice: a surprising detail. For this figure, in however corrupt and derivative a form, is none other than the dicer who was part of the ancient Roman festival of Saturnalia.

Proof of this is supplied by the real Saturnalian dicer who happens to survive as the symbol of December on an antique almanac, the Calendar of 354 (fig. 126); he stands before a table with the dice on it. This detail affords a vivid instance of the persistence of antique traditions even in so iconographically “naive” a work as a medieval popular almanac. \*

In another almanac, produced by the Hamburg-born printer Steffen Arndes in Lübeck in 1519—which is to say during the early part of Luther’s active career—the outward aspect of the figure of Saturn (fig. 127) has already begun to look more authentic. On one arm he holds the dragon-serpent of Time, in remembrance of his identity as the Greek Chronos; furthermore, as the mythical ancestor of the pagan gods, he is engaged in swallowing his own offspring. The Low German verse below summarizes the joyless life and horrid disposition that are to be expected of those born in December and January.

This Saturn owes his more antique air to Italy: for one set of Northern Italian engravings (fig. 128) was the source that greatly influenced (by way of Burgkmair in Augsburg) not only this Low German almanac but also the monumental art of the German Renaissance. Thus we find the same Italian planetary deities, life-size, on the walls of the Rathaus in Lüneburg (1529), on the Brusttuch-Haus in Goslar (1526), in Hildesheim, in Brunswick, and on the Junkerhaus in Göttingen.<sup>48</sup>

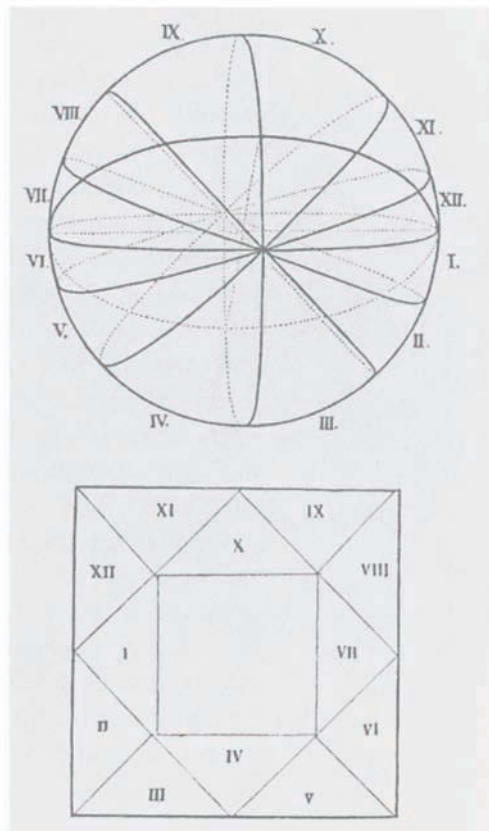
Nor must we allow the German or Italian bias in the appearance of the figure to obscure the truth that it retains all the essential attributes of this weird and ancient spirit, reinforced by the transference of his name to the remotest, the dimmest, the slowest-moving, and hence apparently the most mysterious of the planets. From that heavenly body, Saturn received an added measure of ponderous inertia; and so the Christian mortal sin of *acedia* (sloth) became associated with him. Hamlet, too, is a Child of Saturn.<sup>49</sup> Such is the background of “popularized” Hellenistic antiquity that lies behind one sarcastic remark made by Luther in 1532. \*

Strong as was the influence of the planets in the course of their shared rule of the annual cycle—their rotation of the chairmanship, as it were—they became gods of the moment, world rulers in an entirely “topical” sense, whenever they could be observed or calculated to be operating jointly and simultaneously: that is, when they were in conjunction. Only at long intervals, known as revolutions, were such conjunctions to be expected. Great and greatest conjunctions were systematically distinguished: the latter, stellia of all three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, were the most perilous of all, but were very infrequent.



**Fig. 126. Chronographer of A.D. 354**  
December: Saturnalian Dicer (see p. 615)

**Fig. 128. Saturn**  
From *Tarocchi*, Series E. Northern Italian engraving  
(see pp. 593, 615)



**Fig. 127. Saturn**  
From *Nyge Kalender* (Lübeck, 1519)  
(see pp. 593, 615)

**Fig. 129. Astrological cosmos and horoscope chart**  
After A. Drechsler, *Astrologische Vorträge* (Dresden, 1855)  
(see pp. 613, 617)

The more planets there were in the conjunction, the more alarming it was, although those known as benefics might exert a moderating influence on the malefics. Such an influence might, for example, be exerted by Jupiter—who tended to be pictured as a benign and studious elderly cleric—on Saturn.

The other decisive factor governing the effect of the conjunction was its location in the sky. The entire celestial globe was divided mathematically into twelve segments, known as houses, each of which was represented on the conventional horoscope “map” by a triangle.<sup>50</sup> (See fig. 129.) Leonhard Reymann’s almanac of natal astrology (1515; fig. 130)<sup>51</sup> clearly shows how these houses are assigned to the various departments of human life: thus, the first house pertains to Life, the second to Business, the third to Brothers, the others, respectively, to Parents, Children, Health, Marriage, Death, Religion, Government, Beneficence, and Imprisonment.<sup>52</sup> The division of the cosmos among the members of the astral hierarchy is thus made plain.

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In an essay on the astrological interpretation of history in the Middle Ages,<sup>53</sup> Friedrich von Bezold has shown us, with exemplary scholarship, how seriously—and with what encouragement from the Christian Church—the belief in the power of such planetary configurations influenced historical thinking all over medieval Europe. A generation earlier, Johann Friedrich, in his work on astrology and Reformation,<sup>54</sup> was the first to make the arduous but meritorious attempt to work through the vast, scattered, and obscure corpus of prophetic literature, both in Latin and in German, in which he believed that he had found the causes of the social and ecclesiastical unrest that led to the Reformation and the Peasants’ War. A welcome complement to these studies is supplied by G. Hellmann, who in his essay “Aus der Blütezeit der Astro-meteorologie”<sup>55</sup> affords a penetrating and accurate view of the mass literature that evoked the flood panic of 1524.

That panic was itself rooted in the fear of planetary influences. For many years past, it had been believed that in the month of February 1524 twenty planetary conjunctions—sixteen of them in the watery sign of Pisces—would inevitably bring in their train a catastrophic, universal deluge. All of the most learned astrological scientists of the day either eloquently confirmed this idea or found themselves enlisted by the spiritual and temporal authorities to deny it with equal emphasis, publishing semiofficial messages of reassurance to still the panic.

The same Reymann who composed the 1515 natal almanac was one of those who foretold the worst for 1524.<sup>56</sup> The illustration for his *Practica* for that year (fig. 131) shows a gigantic fish; from its star-studded belly (the planets in conjunction) a devastating flood descends on a city represented by a few buildings. Under the impact of this cataclysm, the emperor and the pope confer on the right; from the left come the peasants, including *Hans mit der Karst* (Jack with the mattock); their one-legged standard-bearer wields a scythe, for the ancient god of seedtime was the natural emblem of his rebellious children.



The contrasting literature of official reassurance is typified by the refutation published by the imperial astrologer, Georg Tannstetter, with a dedication to Archduke Ferdinand.<sup>57</sup> Here the seven planets look down from a raincloud on the peasants beneath, rather like spectators in a box at the theater; they are held in check by the hand of God, which emerges from the clouds above (fig. 133).

Also in 1521 Johann Carion, whom we have already encountered as the mathematician to the court of Brandenburg, brought out his own message of reassurance, *Prognosticatio vnd erklerung der grossen wesserung*—in which, however, he simultaneously prophesied all manner of other calamities.<sup>58</sup> On the title page of the first edition of this work,<sup>59</sup> now among the treasures of the Berlin library, there is a woodcut showing three separate scenes (fig. 132). On the left we see the threatened storm; on the right a comet, shining on a city, with the date 1521; and below five figures in contemporary costume, engaged in what looks like armed conflict. A pope, down on his knees, is threatened by a knight with drawn sword whose companion, a bare-headed man, also raises his sword. A cardinal throws up his arms in lamentation; the emperor, with crown and scepter, covers his face in horror.

Were it not for the text of the book itself, this might be taken for a premonition of the Sack of Rome by the German lansquenets. On closer scrutiny, however, the emperor turns out to be accompanied by the planetary symbol for the Sun; the pope's mantle bears the sign of Jupiter; and behind the knight is the symbol of Mars. These figures, as emerges from the allegorical verses printed within ("Reymen der Planeten"), illustrate the planetary configuration that accompanied the comet of 1521. For purposes of political prophecy, the planetary figures are identified with conflicting forces within contemporary politics. Sol is the emperor, Jupiter the pope, Mars the nobility; and the man with the sword is an ill-characterized Saturn, the peasant.

Carion's book casts significant light on the history of the press in the period. He denounces a number of sensational illustrated publications as attempts to manipulate the Diet of Worms through the deluge scare propaganda of Seytz<sup>60</sup> and his like. We sense the impact of woodcut illustration as a powerful new means of working on an uneducated public.

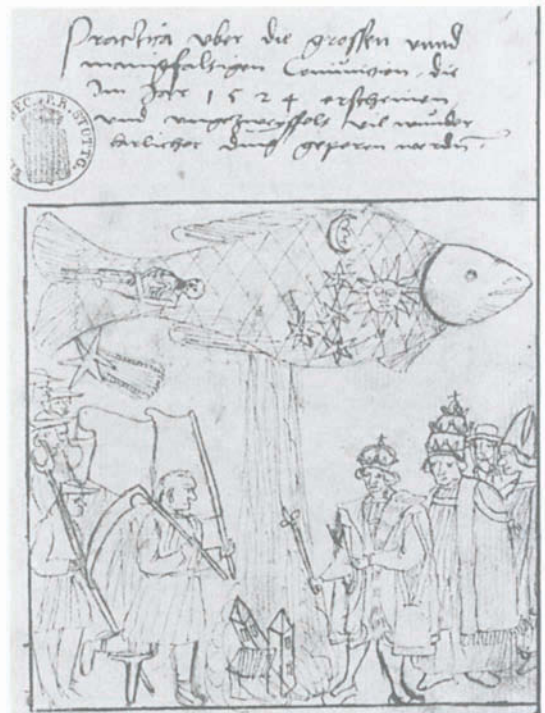
Did not irrefutable evidence compel the historian to take such banal costume groups seriously as part of the history of religion, he would very soon lay such an illustration aside with a superior smile—and thus, as so often, block the deep wellspring of insight into collective psychology that such mere "curiosities" have to offer. The planetary spirits were perceived as real forces: which was why they took on a human shape.

It seems—but is not—paradoxical to say that this group of gods possessed greater immediate numinous power than did the Olympians whom Raphael depicted at much the same time on the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina. So serene and straightforward is the beauty in which the Italian Renaissance clothes the gods of its ancient world that any art historian would reject—as mere antiquarian and philological wrongheadedness—the attempt to discern a trace of





**Fig. 130. Erhard Schön**  
Frontispiece to Leonhard Reymann, *Nativität-Kalender*  
(Nuremberg, 1515)  
(see p. 617)



**Fig. 131. Title leaf of Leonhard Reymann, *Practica* for 1524**  
Stuttgart, L.B., Hs. Math. Q. 3 (see p. 617)

# Prognosticatio und er-

klärung der grossen weßerung / Auch anderer erschrockenlichen  
würckungen. So sich begeben nach Christi vnfers lieben hern  
geburrt / Sunfftzchen hundert vñ xxiij. Jar. Durch mich  
Magistrū Johānem Carion vō Buerikaym / Chur  
fürstlicher gnaden zu Brandenburg Astrono-  
mū / mit fleysiger arbeit zusamē gebracht.  
Ganz erbermlich zulesen / in nuz vñ  
warnung aller Christglaub-  
gen menschen zc.

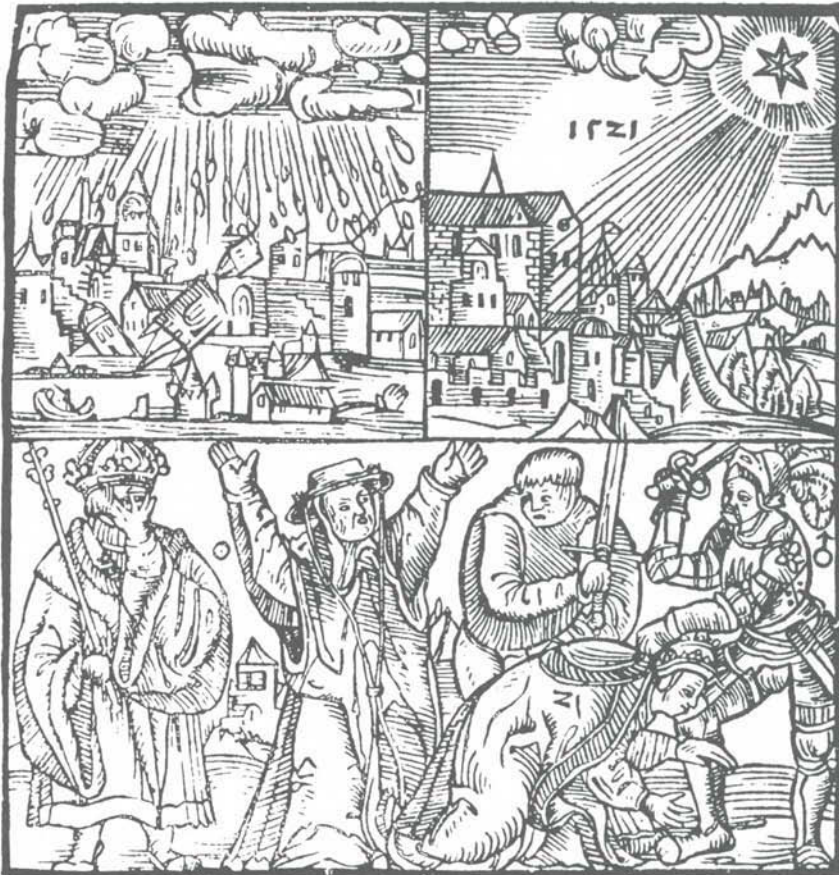


Fig. 132. Title page of Johann Carion, *Prognosticatio*  
(Leipzig, 1521)  
(see p. 618)

true pagan divinity in Raphael's figures. Even so, he should remember that only a step away, in an adjoining room of the Farnesina, Agostino Chigi simultaneously commissioned Peruzzi to fill the ceiling with pagan astral deities—  
 planets and fixed stars alike—in a set of relationships that are not artistically  
 defined but represent the positions of the stars on the day of Chigi's own  
 birth. For Chigi chose to spend his hours of rural leisure beneath the protec-  
 tion of his own auspicious horoscope, which—deceptively—promised him a  
 long life. †

Even in death, Agostino Chigi remained a patron of astrological art. His tomb in S. Maria del Popolo is surmounted by an openwork dome, designed by Raphael, from which the seven planetary deities of antiquity look down, their pagan temperament held in check by an escort of Christian angels commanded by God the Father. The formal beauty of these figures of the gods,  
 and the exquisite taste with which the artist reconciles pagan and Christian  
 belief, must not be allowed to obscure the truth that even in Italy, around  
 1520, at the time of greatest artistic freedom and creativity, the antique was—  
 as it were—revered in the form of a Janus-faced herm. One face wore a dae-  
 monic scowl, exacting superstitious awe; the other face was Olympian and  
 serene, inviting aesthetic veneration. \*

*Luther and the Theory of Planetary Conjunctions: The Deluge Panic of 1524—Luther's View of Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecy That a "Minor Prophet" Would Be Born of the 1484 Conjunction*

This panic terror of a deluge was part of Luther's own psychic experience. His response to it, as to all manifestations of systematic astrology, was unequivocally hostile. We possess a humorous and highly dismissive comment that he made some years later:

*D. M. L. sagte von der Narrheit der Mathematicorum und Astrologorum, der Sternkücker, die von einer Sündfluth oder grossem Gewässer hätten gesagt, so Anno 1524 kommen sollte, das doch nicht geschach; sondern das folgende 25. Jahr stunden die Bauren auf, und wurden aufrührerisch. Davon sagte kein Astrologus nicht ein Wort. Er redete aber vom Bürgermeister Hohndorf: derselbe liess ihm ein viertel Bier in sein Haus hinauf ziehen, wollte da warten auf die Sindfluth, gleich als würde er nicht zu trinken haben, wenn sie käme. Aber zur Zeit des Zorns war ein Conjunctio, die hiess Sünde und Gottes Zorn, das war ein ander Conjunction, denn die im 24. Jahre.<sup>61</sup>*

D. M. L. spoke of the folly of the mathematicians and astrologers, the stargazers, who had talked of a deluge or great flood, which was to come in the year 1524, but which did not come to pass; however, in the following year, '25, the peasants rose up in arms. Of which not one astrologer had a single word to say. He went on to speak of Burgomaster Hohndorf, who had a quarter of beer hauled up inside his house to wait there for the Deluge, as if he would not have had plenty to drink when it came. But at the hour of wrath there was a conjunction, which was

that of sin and God's wrath; and that was a very different conjunction from that of the year '24.

At the time of the panic itself, Luther was thus not at all disposed to believe in a deluge occasioned by astrological influences; he did, however, express the view that the conjunction of so many heavenly bodies might well signal the approach of the Last Judgment. For although Luther never accepted that astrology was an exact science, his objections of principle were directed  
\* against its intellectual and not against its mystical aspect:

*Denn die Heiden waren nicht so närrisch, dass sie sich vor Sonn und Monden gefürcht hätten, sondern für den Wunderzeichen und ungeheuren Gesichten, Portenten und Monstris, dafür fürchten sie sich, und ehreten sie. Zudem, so ist Astrologia keine Kunst,<sup>62</sup> denn sie hat keine principia und demonstrationes, darauf man gewiss, unwankend fussen und gründen könnte...<sup>63</sup>*

For the heathen were not such fools as to live in fear of the Sun and the Moon, but of signs and wonders, monstrous sights, portents and omens: those they feared and worshiped. Furthermore, astrology is not an art, for it has no *principia* and *demonstrationes* on which to take a sure and certain footing.

The fear of natural signs and wonders, in the heavens and on the earth, was shared by all Europe; and the press of the day exploited it for ends of its own. The invention of printing from movable type had lent wings to learned thought; and now the art of pictorial printing enabled images—their language an international one—to fly far and wide. These stormy petrels darted from North to South and back again, and every party sought to enlist in its own cause the “pictorial slogans” (as they might now be called) of cosmic sensationalism.

On the Protestant side, it seems that Spalatin, a trusted ally both of Luther and of Elector Frederick the Wise, employed astrological and teratological images of impending disaster as part of a press campaign based on both “artificial” and “miraculous” prophecy. As early as 1519, he commissioned an expert opinion on the great conjunction of 1484,<sup>64</sup> and it was he who asked Luther for clarification of his Italian horoscope.<sup>65</sup> These two facts alone show that Spalatin was at home in the intellectual context of the prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger, which Luther issued as a pamphlet with a foreword of his own. Translated from the Latin by Stephan Roth, and with woodcuts by Lemberger, this was published in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in 1527.<sup>66</sup>

In his foreword,<sup>67</sup> Luther played down the strongly astrological character of the text, presenting the forty-three images in isolation as warnings for delinquent Christians, with the express intention of shaking up the clergy, who, having emerged unscathed from the Peasants' War of 1525, were no longer intimidated by threats of chastisement. The clergy and the princes—all the “bigwigs”—had every reason to fear this book, which presented the ideas

of the Reformation of church and state through a strange blend of obscure pictorial riddles and plainspoken threats and demands. Originally published in Latin, the text was reissued countless times in a variety of languages from around 1490 onward, and was seriously consulted as an oracle in difficult times. It was still being consulted after the battle of Jena in 1806.<sup>68</sup>

Lichtenberger's prophecy had its roots deep in astrological soil. In a spirit of superstitious fanaticism, it connected a specific conjunction of planets, foretold for 23 November 1484, with the expected emergence of a cleric who would bring about a revolution in the Church. In fifteenth-century Italy, as we know from Pico della Mirandola,<sup>69</sup> this same prophecy had caused distress and agitation for decades on end, very much as the deluge prophecy of 1524 was later to do.

In 1484, when the expected spiritual prophet—like the later deluge—failed to materialize, the first response, Pico tells us, was one of relief. But astrologers are incorrigible. There emerged in Padua a professor of astrology, one Paulus van Middelburg (fig. 134), a Dutch-born cleric, who simply "stretched" the influence of the 1484 conjunction over a period of twenty years and extended its application from the anticipated advent of a monk to embrace every department of human life.<sup>70</sup> Middelburg firmly predicted the coming of this revolutionary "minor prophet" while making, at times, slavish use of the writings of the Arab astrologer Abū Ma'shar (died 886).<sup>71</sup> The prophet would be born nineteen years after 1484, i.e., in 1503; he would remain active for nineteen years; and he would be forced to leave his native land—because the Bible says that a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.

For the historian of prophetic literature, it is both philologically and psychologically instructive that—as no one has yet remarked—Lichtenberger's prophecy is lifted, word for word, from Paulus van Middelburg. His mystic edifice thus rests upon a stolen foundation. In 1492 Middelburg himself indignantly drew attention to this in his *Invectiva*,<sup>72</sup> which must be one of the earliest printed denunciations of plagiarism. Lichtenberger, of whose personality very little is known,<sup>73</sup> does not seem to have replied.

The terror of the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter (fig. 135), and the figure of the "minor prophet," were thus old-established images, dating from the pre-Reformation period. For various reasons, even so, they inevitably took a new lease on life in Luther's day. At a time of conflict between rulers and peasants, any scene showing Saturn and Jupiter together was bound to look like a topical episode from the Peasants' War; and the astrological text itself acquired curious overtones of humanity when it spoke of the motions of heavenly bodies as if they had been human beings in conflict. Uncannily and spontaneously, the spirit world of antiquity derived new life from the passionate and vibrant age of the Reformation—and so, at a time of true ecclesiastical revolution, did Lichtenberger's image of the prophet monk (fig. 136).

Despite discrepancies in the account of the prophet's birth and exile from



**In gratia serenissimi ac potētissimi Principis & dñi, dñi FERDINANDI Principis Hispaniarū, Archiducis Austrīe, ducis Burgūdię, &c. &c. & catholice Ma. locū tenētis gñalis &c. & ad cōsolatōnē populorū suarū. S. ac po.do. ditioni subiectorū. Georgij TANNSTETTER Collimatorij Lycoripēsis Medici & Mathematici libellus cōsolatorius, quo, optinēt iā dudū anis hominū ex quorundā Astrologorū diuinatiōe infidētiā, de futuro diluuiō & multis alijs horrēdis periculis. XXIII. anni a fundamētis extirpare cōatur.**

Præcipit Soli & nō oritur, & stellas claudit quasi sub signaculo. Qui facit Arcturum & Oriona & hyadas. &c. Ioh. 9.



**Magistri pauli de middelburgo pronostica ad viginti annos duratura ..**



ruarū periculum amplecti vellem: scio, p̄fec. o q̄ incertū tēue deficeret ingeniu. cū tot tanteq̄ sint q̄ angelicam potens q̄ hu mānā oratiōē requirant p̄nterba ergo & silentio pon̄ p̄men da arbitror. cū ampliusq̄ tūe parē oratiōē prestare nō possi mus. dubio enī nec tantā audentib⁹ illas videri faciā: quantā ipse verba referre queā. cū in veritate longe sit maior. ocula: mmo ergo & silentio p̄mam. Et te ergo rebeo dux uiuicil sine dūe & dux uniane cū in te virtutū omniū reluceat exin plar: perge vt cepisti era bono p̄posito defilire noli. doctia faue. studiosa aduua. debiles sollicita astrologos oblerua. soli enī sunt inter mortales: qui te statūq̄ tui incolumē prefer uare pri. voluit nanq̄ benignissim⁹ et iocū optim⁹ ac sapien tissim⁹ deos: bonitatis et sapientie sue dispositionē in reb⁹: p̄ secundoq̄ causarū motus atq̄ influx⁹ ita ostendere: vt solū ip sis astrologis deos delictis innotesceret. Q. ue cū ita sint dux clarissime quia in tuo pectore ipse liberales artes: ipsa vera fa pientia: ipsa demū caritas inhabitant: a te p̄ncipe iunificen tissimo: dñs & hominib⁹ gratissimo: manus hoc peto sita iussi mū: vt me quāq̄ in Italia resioēte: in tuo: numero sibi lib simo: feruitorū collocare & igneris. & me excellēti tue debiti ssimū: meaq̄ sc̄ptā Cū quāq̄ rēdia & uicula p̄hibenti animo fa scipias. Q. uo si a te mun⁹ hoc gratissimū impetrasse me feru fero: tuam incredibilē humanitatē: inauo itaq̄ clemētiā: p̄dicare non desinam: Vale.

Exiit per Paulum de Middelburgo Zelandie bonarū artium & medicinē docto rem illustrissimū dacia Vrbini physicū In mar curiali oppido autwerpiensi impressum. Per me Eberardum leeu Anno salutis. M. cccc. lxxxiii. quarto kalendas Octobris.

Fig. 133. Title page of Georg Tannstetter, *Libellus consolatorius* (Vienna, 1523) (see p. 618)

Fig. 134. Title page and last page of Paulus van Middelburg, *Pronostica* (Antwerp, 1484) (see p. 623)

his native land—and in that of the birthmarks and signs on various parts of his body that had already been listed by Abū Ma‘šar—the gist of the prophecy fitted the emergence of Luther: for a monk had indeed arisen and assailed the clergy. Luther himself was fully aware of the danger that the illustrations in this book of prophecies might be taken to apply to him; and he took steps to avert it, in one place at least, by supplying Lichtenberger’s image of a false prophet with a caption saying “*Dieser Prophet sihet dem Thomas Müntzer gleich.*”<sup>74</sup> (This prophet looks like Thomas Müntzer.) This did nothing to dissuade either friends or foes from applying Lichtenberger’s image of two monks to Luther and Melanchthon.<sup>75</sup>

In the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg there is a copy of the early Latin edition of 1492, published in Mainz (fig. 137). Above the two figures—a tall monk with a hood that reaches to the ground and a devil on his shoulder,<sup>76</sup> and a smaller monk in a frontal pose—an early hand, probably in the sixteenth century, has written in Low German: “*Dyth is Martinus Luther*” (This is Martin Luther) and “*Philippus Melanton.*” Given that this is an image that appears to show a monk in a state of diabolical possession, such an inscription might—in the absence of a contextual science of culture—seem to reveal nothing but the malice of a declared enemy of Luther. This is not necessarily so: friends as well as foes were able to apply the image to Luther, using a favorable interpretation based on his own words.<sup>77</sup>

As is well known, however, Luther’s papist adversaries strove ad nauseam to associate Luther as closely as possible with the devil, who was even said to have begotten him in the guise of an incubus. The fiercest anti-Lutheran of all, Cochlaeus, has left us a vicious attempt to identify Luther with Lichtenberger’s prophet monk. In his book *Von neuen Schwermereyen*, of 1534, Cochlaeus cursed Luther as follows:

*Hoff auch / er sols auf XX. Jahr nicht bringen / Sonder im XIX. jar (wie Liechtenberger von jm schreybt) sol er zu boden gehen / der unselig Münch / der den Teuffel auff der achseln tregt / in Liechtenbergers Practica.*<sup>78</sup>

I hope, too, that he never reaches the twentieth year. But (as Lichtenberger writes of him) may he meet his downfall in the nineteenth: the unholy monk who bears the devil on his shoulders, in Lichtenberger’s *Practica*.

Cochlaeus thus applies both the image and its content to Luther as if it were an entirely familiar allusion; it sounds, in fact, as if he were trying to counter some other interpretation more favorable to Luther.

One year later Cardinal Vergerio visited the feared and excommunicated monk in Wittenberg and described his impressions as follows, in a letter to Ambrogio Ricalcati dated 13 November 1535:

*... et veramente che quanto più penso a quel che ho veduto et sentito in quel monstro et alla gran forza delle sue maladette operationi, et coniungendo quello che io*



**Fig. 135. Jupiter and Saturn**  
From Johann Lichtenberger, *Weissagungen*  
(Wittenberg, 1527)  
(see p. 623)



**Fig. 136. The Two Monks**  
Ibid. (see p. 623)

**Fig. 137. The Two Monks**  
From the Mainz, 1492, edition of Lichtenberger. Copy in  
Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek  
(see p. 625)



*so della sua natività et di tutta la passata vita da persone che li erano intimi amici sino a quel tempo che se fece frate, tanto più mi lascio vincere a credere che egli habbia qualche demonio adosso!*<sup>79</sup>

...and, truly, the more I reflect on what I have seen and heard both of that monster, and of the great power of its accursed operations, and adding what I myself know of his nativity and past life, from persons who were his close friends before he became a monk, the more I am inclined to suppose he has a devil on his back.

Even the wording of Vergerio's description reads like a startlingly apt caption to Lichtenberger's image of the prophet monk; and Vergerio proves that he also has Lichtenberger's actual text in mind by claiming to have heard all manner of suspicious things about Luther's "*natività*." I do not think that this word should here be translated by "birth"; in this context, Luther's "nativity" is his natal horoscope.

When Vergerio wrote his letter, an Italian astrologer in Wittenberg had recently traced a link between Luther's nativity and Lichtenberger's prophecies: for these may very well have suggested to Lucas Gauricus, on his visit to Wittenberg in 1532, the choice of 22 October 1484 as the birthdate (see pp. 606 ff., fig. 123). Vergerio is all the more likely to have heard of this, on inquiry, because the use of that date had all along been motivated by political animus against the Reformers—the same animus that eventually inspired Gauricus, in publishing his horoscope of Luther in 1552, to supplement it with a vicious denunciation.

The connection between Lichtenberger and Gauricus can be traced through matters of detail. Closely scrutinized, in ways that can only be touched on here, the Gauricus horoscope reveals an indubitable affinity with Lichtenberger's predictions. This agreement may possibly be explained by supposing a common source, itself Northern in origin. For Paulus van Middelburg, who was Lichtenberger's unavowed source, lived in Italy and was in close personal contact with Gauricus: both men were among those commissioned by Pope Leo X to undertake the reform of the Julian calendar.<sup>80</sup> We know that Gauricus knew and esteemed Middelburg's work, because he cited him in his *Encomion astrologiae* as one of the leading lights of astral science.<sup>81</sup>

Gauricus has simply twisted around the basic idea of the prophecy in order to use it against Luther, so that not merely two planets—as in Lichtenberger—but all the planets, with the single exception of Mars, meet in the sign of Scorpio. Other features of Lichtenberger's prophet-making conjunction are retained by Gauricus: Jupiter and Saturn conjoin in the ninth house—that of religion—and the malefic, Mars, stands in his own sign of Aries, as Lichtenberger explicitly requires. Gauricus adds to this the grouping of the remaining planets in the ninth house. Whether the need to coincide with this event, or some other specific astronomical calculation, underlies his rejection of Lichtenberger's date of 25 (or 20) November, which he replaces by 22 October, is a matter for further examination.<sup>82</sup>



**Fig. 138. Scorpio**  
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,  
Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 1283, fol. 7<sup>v</sup> (see p. 625)

*Luther on Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecies of the "Foul Fiend"*

In his foreword, Luther goes to some lengths to stress the shortcomings of astrology; and he would certainly have given short shrift to any attempt to identify him with Lichtenberger's prophet monk on astrological grounds—if for nothing else, because of the imp of hell on the monk's neck (figs. 136, 140). Even so, however, a story first recorded by Herberger in the early seventeenth century, but attributed to reliable sources, goes some way to suggest the contrary:

*Von S. Martini vnd D. Martini Feinden*

*S. Martino haben die bösen Geister viel schalckheit angeleget / wenn sie jhm in, mancherley form vnd gestalt sind erschienen. Vornemlich hat er geklaget / dass Mercurius vnter dem hauffen der schlimmste sey. Jedermann hat seine plage / wie es Christus selbst muss erfahren / Matth. 4. Zur zeit kam S. Martino der Teuffel entgegen / da er wolte sein Ampt verrichten / vnd sprach: Alle Welt wird dir gram werden: Da antwortet Martinus eben wie Ritter Gordius: Dominus mecum, non timebo mala, ist Gott mit vns, wer wil wider vns: Also hat der Teuffel auch D. Martino viel schalckheit durch seine Werckzeug angeleget / Vornemlich die Mercurialischen geschwinden Köpffe vnd Sophisten haben jhn greulich geplatet.*

*Hier muss ich etwas denckwürdiges erzehlen. Herr Johan Lichtenberger hat geweissagt / es würde ein Münch kommen / der würde die religion scheuren vnd pantzerfegen / demselben Münch hat er einen teuffel auff den nacken gemalt / nu macht sich Lutherus ein mal vber Lichtenbergers Buch / vnd wil es verdeutschen / D. Iustus Ionas kömpt dazu vnd fragt was er vorhabe: D. Luther sagets. Da spricht D. Ionas: Warumb wolt jhr jhn deutschen / ist er doch wider euch. Lutherus fraget vrsach. D. Ionas sagt: Lichtenberger sagt / jhr habt den Teuffel / nu habt jhr ja keinen Teuffel. Da lüchelt der Herr Lutherus, vnnd spricht: Ey Herr Doctor / sehet nur das Bild ein wenig besser an / wo sitzt der Teuffel? / Er sitzt nicht dem Münche im hertzen / sondern auff dem nacken / ey wie fein hat ers getroffen / Jm hertzen da wohnet mein HErr JESVS / da sol mir der Teuffel nu vnnd nimmermehr hinein kommen / aber ich meyne er sitzt mir auff dem nacken / durch Bapst / Keyser vnd grosse Potentaten / vnd alles was in der Welt wil klug seyn. Kan er nicht mehr / so macht er mir im Kopff ein abscheulichs sausen. Wie Got wil / er mag mich eusserlich plagen / es ist / Gott lob vnnd danck / nur ein aussgestossener aussgeworfener Teuffel / wie Christus redet / der Fürst dieser Welt werde jetzt aussgestossen / Ioh. 12.*

*Diese wort hat D. Iusti Ionaë Diener / welcher hernach ein berühmter Prediger worden / ad notam genommen vnd oft erzehlet. Es ist war / der Teuffel gehet herum von aussen / 1 Pet. 5. Lass jhn prüllen wie er will / im hertzen gleubiger Christen hat er nichts zu schaffen / vnser Hertz ist Christi Königlicher eigner Sitz / da wil er Regent vnd Platzmeister bleiben.<sup>83</sup>*

On the Foes of Saint Martin and of Dr. Martin

Saint Martin was much plagued with the mischief of evil spirits, which appeared to him in many forms and guises. He complained that Mercury was the worst of them all. Everyone is tormented in his own way, as Christ himself had to learn: Matthew 4. On one occasion, the devil came to Saint Martin as he was about to say his Office

and said: "The whole world will be wroth with thee." Martin gave the same answer as Sir Gordius: *Dominus mecum, non timebo mala*; if God be with us, who shall stand against us. Likewise, through his henchmen, the devil made much mischief for Dr. Martin; and it was the mercurial quick-brains and sophists who tormented him worst of all.

Here I must recount a memorable fact. Master Johann Lichtenberger prophesied that a monk would come who would cleanse religion and sweep it clean; and he portrayed that monk with a devil on his back. One day, Luther was studying Lichtenberger's book and making ready to translate it into German. Dr. Justus Jonas came along and asked what he was intending to do; Dr. Luther told him.

Dr. Jonas said: "Why translate him? He is against you." Luther asked him why. Jonas said: "Lichtenberger says you have the devil; and you have no devil."

Then Master Luther smiled and said: "Now, Doctor, look more closely at the picture. Where does the devil sit? Not in the monk's heart but on his back. That is quite right! In my heart dwells my Lord Jesus, and there the devil shall never enter, now or hereafter. And yet I think he does sit on my back, through the agency of the pope, the emperor, and the great potentates, and all those in the world who claim to be wise. If he can do no more, he makes a fearful roaring in my ears. As God will: he may torment me outwardly, but God be praised and thanked, this is no more than an outcast devil; as Christ says, now shall the prince of this world be cast out, John 12."

These words were noted down and often recounted by Dr. Justus Jonas's servitor, who later became a celebrated preacher. It is true: the devil walketh about, 1 Peter 5. Let him roar as he will, he has no power over the hearts of faithful Christians. Our hearts are the royal throne of Christ himself, and there he is sure to remain as ruler and governor.

This tradition rings true. We possess very similar remarks from Luther about his battle with the headache demon, which for him was a highly personal being.<sup>84</sup> Herberger's humorous telling of the tale cannot conceal this; for however firmly Luther may have rejected the anthropomorphic planetary spirits, the foul fiend himself remained a vivid and indubitable presence. He went so far as to concede, in his foreword to Lichtenberger,<sup>85</sup> that on occasion the fiend might speak true prophecy, if only concerning the affairs of this world. We are fortunate enough to have another remark of Luther's, on Lichtenberger's own relationship to the devil. On being asked whether Lichtenberger communed with a good or an evil spirit, Luther replied:

*Fuit spiritus fanaticus et tamen multa praedixit; denn das kan der Teufel woll thun, quod novit corda eorum quos possidet. Praeterea novit conditionem mundi, er siehet wie es gehe.*<sup>86</sup>

It was a fanatical spirit, and yet he foretold many things; for this the devil can certainly do, because he knows the hearts of those whom he possesses. He also knows the condition of the world; he sees how it goes.

Vir scorpionē tenēs cū collo.

¶ Homo inuidus erit.



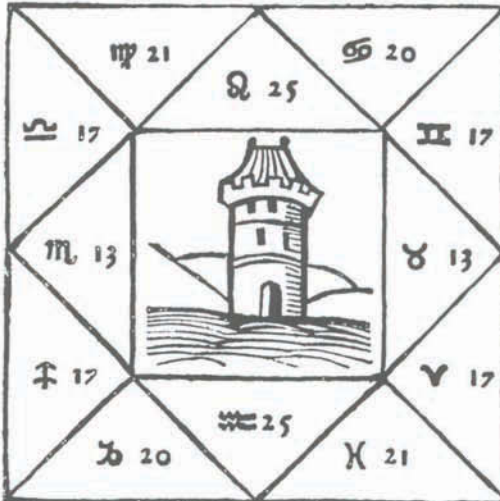
Serpentē magnū mulce puentes.

¶ Homo prudēs erit sed malus.



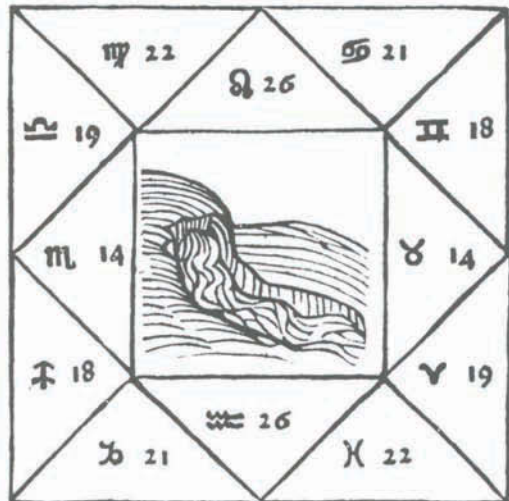
Turris pulchra ac fortis.

¶ Fortis laborator erit.



Puteus ex quo manat aqua.

¶ Homo instabilis erit seuu.



Scorpio  
11-14

Fig. 139. Degrees 11-14 of Scorpio  
From *Astrolabium Magnum*, ed. Engel (Augsburg, 1488)  
(see p. 625)

Luther thus considered demoniacal possession to be entirely compatible with a gift of accurate prophecy in earthly matters. And he accordingly wrote in his foreword:

*Denn Gotts zeichen vnd der Engel warnunge / sind gemenet mit des Satans eingeben vnd zeichen / wie die welt denn werd ist / das es wust vnternander gehe vnd nichts unterschiedlich erkennen kan.*

For God's signs and the angels' warnings mingle with the inspirations and signs of Satan; for the world deserves no better than to sink into blind confusion.

And so Luther's own friends were able to use the image of the devil-ridden monk in their woodcut press campaign; for, in that age of pictorial polemics, Luther himself gave credence to Lichtenberger—if only as the harbinger of natural signs and wonders.

### II.3. The Prophetic Interpretation of Portents: Antiquity and the Use of Prodigies in Luther's Press Campaign

*Luther's Portrait in the "Wunderliche Weissagung" of Joachim, by Hans Sachs, and the Leonine Oracle—Luther's and Melanchthon's Political Monsters: Pope Donkey and Monk Calf*

In this area, Luther and his friends were working with quite different images, and employing a partisan virulence in controversy that can be excused only by the need for a literary counteroffensive.

Once more, it is possible to detect the influence of Spalatin behind the scenes. In 1521 he took a particular interest in the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, published in that year with illustrations by Lucas Cranach, which dared to attack the pope as Antichrist.<sup>87</sup> By the following year,<sup>88</sup> he had knowledge of the Italian original of the *Wunderliche Weissagung*, which Osiander and Hans Sachs were to publish in Nuremberg only in 1527: this † Italian publication was based on a pseudo-Joachimite catalog of popes invented for divinatory purposes. Luther was delighted to find himself represented, in Sachs's publication, as a figure with a sickle in his right hand and a rose in his left (fig. 141). He wrote to Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg on 19 May 1527:

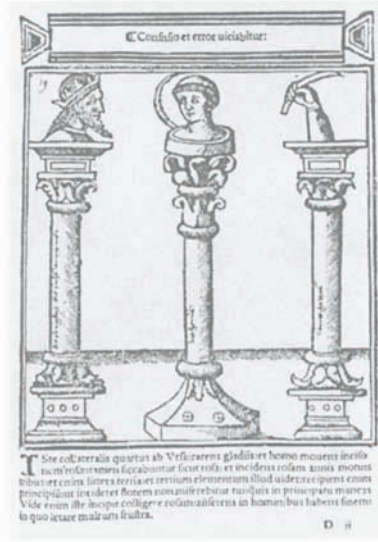
*...libellus vester imaginarius de Papatu, in quo imaginem meam cum falce valde probo, ut qui mordax et acerbus tot annis ante praedictus sum futurus, sed rosam pro meo signo interpretari dubito, magis ad officium etiam pertinere putarim.*<sup>89</sup>

... your little book of emblems concerning the papacy, in which I very much like the image of myself with a sickle—as one who, for so many years previously called cutting and pitiless, am about to be so—but I hesitate to interpret the rose as my own sign: I should rather have thought that it, too, pertains to the office.



**Fig. 140. The Two Monks**  
 From *Propheceien und Weissagen... Doctoris Paracelsi*,  
 Joh. Lichtenbergers, M. Joseph Grünpeck, Joan. Carionis,  
*Der Sibyllen und anderer* (Augsburg, 1549) (see p. 629)

**Fig. 141. Luther with Sickle and Rose**  
 From *Osiander und Hans Sachs, Wunderliche Weissagung*  
 (Nuremberg, 1527) (see p. 632)



**Fig. 142. Corresponding image from Vaticinia Joachimi (Bologna, 1515)**  
 Copy in Wolfenbüttel, Bibliothek (see p. 635)

**Fig. 143. Jupiter, Saturn, Sol (?)**  
 Ibid. (see p. 635)





**Fig. 144. *Oraculum V***  
From *Leonis oracula*, ed. Lambecius (Paris, 1655)  
(see p. 635)



**Figs. 145a,b. *Pope Donkey and Monk Calf***  
From Johann Wolf, *Lectiones memorabiles* (Lauingen, 1608)  
(see p. 635)



The Italian book, illustrated with woodcuts (Bologna, 1515), that served as Sachs's source (fig. 142) is still to be found, with his verses copied in Osiander's hand, in the library at Wolfenbüttel.<sup>90</sup> It is unfortunately impossible to go into detail. The severed human leg demands mention, however, as it also appears in connection with Luther. It survives in the historical list of popes as the canting arms of Pope John XXIII (*Coscia*: thigh).

As has not previously been noticed, the figure itself derives from an effigy of a Byzantine emperor in the celebrated twelfth-century Leonine Oracles (fig. 144).<sup>91</sup> Given the astrological character of those predictions, it is conceivable that somewhere behind all this there lurks an image of Saturn.<sup>92</sup> \*

In 1523 Luther's and Melanchthon's political use of prophecy found joint expression, as is well known, in two celebrated broadsheets: Melanchthon's *Papstesel* (pope donkey) and Luther's *Mönchskalb* (monk calf). In these, the report of the discovery of a hideous freak said to have been cast up on the banks of the Tiber in 1495 (fig. 145a), and of the monstrous progeny born to a German cow in Saxony in 1523 (fig. 145b), were given a political interpretation that made them into weapons of raw aggression.<sup>93</sup> \*

### ***III. Prophecy Based on Applied Hellenistic Cosmology in the Age of Luther, in the Context of the Revival of Antiquity in German Humanism: Oriental Intermediaries and Sources***

#### *Luther and the Teratological and Astrological Ideas of Scholars and Artists in the Circle of Maximilian I: Signs and Wonders, from Sebastian Brant to Albrecht Dürer—Babylonian Practices*

Such broadsheets or flysheets on prodigies of various kinds are like detached leaves from the vast—and in spirit entirely antique—annalistic compilation of prodigies<sup>94</sup> made in the sixteenth century by Conrad Lycosthenes,<sup>95</sup> who was also the editor of the illustrated *Julius Obsequens*.<sup>96</sup> Here, both the pope donkey and the monk calf<sup>97</sup> reappear; but alongside the pope donkey—and this casts considerable light on the question of sources—there are other monstrosities of Maximilian's reign, as recorded in contemporary depictions and descriptions by such members of the emperor's own immediate circle as Sebastian Brant, Jakob Mennel,<sup>98</sup> Joseph Grünpeck, and Albrecht Dürer.

Luther saw these monstrosities with the eyes of a classical augur, in keeping with the German early Renaissance revival of the ancient spirit world; but at the same time, he reinterpreted them in Christian and eschatological terms by reference to the Tradition of the House of Elijah, mentioned above. This is made startlingly clear by a passage from his *Chronica deudsch*, in which he says, of the period 1500–1510 (i.e., the years 5460–5470 “*von anfang der welt*,” from the beginning of the world):

*Eine neue kranckheit / die Frantzosen / von etlichen aber / die Hispanische seuche  
genant / komet auff / Vnd wie man sagt / sie ist aus den newgefundenen Insulen in  
Occidente / in Europam gebracht. Ist eins von den grossen Zeichen vor dem*

*Jüngsten tage. Vnd unter diesem Maximiliano sind im himel wunderbarliche zeichen / vnd derselben viel / geschehen / dazu auch auff erden / vnd in wassern / von welchen Christus sagt / Es werden grosse zeichen sein etc. Also / das von keiner zeit gelesen wird / darin mehr vnd grössere zugleich geschehen weren / Die vns gewisse hoffnung geben / das der selige tag hart fur der thur sey.*<sup>99</sup>

A new sickness now arises, the French, or—as some call it—the Spanish plague. And it is said that it came to Europe from the newfound islands in the West. This is one of the great signs of the Last Day. And under the reign of this Maximilian there were wondrous signs in the heavens, and many of them; also on earth and in the waters; of which Christ speaks: “There shall be great signs,” etc. So much so, that we read of no age in which there have been more or greater signs. And these give us a certain hope that the blessed day is close upon us.

An image like that in which Grünpeck shows a collection of freaks from the reign of Maximilian I (who, in a portrait likeness, stands by as a spectator),<sup>100</sup> might well have lain before Luther as he wrote these words.

The divinatory arts of men, directed as they are toward the things of this world, remained for Luther no more than a subordinate instrument by comparison with the highest form of divination, the inner vocation and religious gift of prophecy, which he himself assumed when confronting his enemies at moments of greatest danger:

*... weil ich der Deutschen Prophet bin (Denn solchen hoffertigen namen mus ich mir hinfurt selbs zu messen, meinen Papisten und Eseln zur lust und gefallen).*

... for I am the Prophet of the Germans (for such is the high-flown title that I must henceforth assume, to divert and please my papists and donkeys).

These were his words in 1531, in his *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, when it fell to him to inspire the waverers in his ranks with courage to resist the bullying excesses of the Imperial camp. So steeped in a pagan reverence for portents was the later Protestant historiography of Johannes Wolf's *Lectioes memorabiles*<sup>101</sup> that its cosmic history runs, as it were, on railroad tracks, with cosmic portents for block stations.

In the Germany of the humanistic age, this prophetic vein of imagery—habitually dismissed as, at best, a relic for the religious historian or folklorist, toying with images but unconnected with art—found its way, against all the odds, into the work of a great artist: Albrecht Dürer. So deeply rooted is one part of his work in archetypal, pagan cosmological belief that without some knowledge of this we have no access, for example, to the engraving *Melencolia I*, that ripest and most mysterious fruit of the cosmological culture of the age of Maximilian I.

The prodigies of Maximilian's reign, later used historically by Luther, thus also lead us to Dürer's early works, which testify to his knowledge of the

“modern”—or rather the revived ancient—practice of divination. Dürer’s woodcut of a man suffering from the “French sickness,” drawn to illustrate a medical prophecy made by Ulsenius in 1496, at once transports us to the world of teratology and of terrifying astrological prophecy: the world of Lichtenberger’s great conjunction of 1484 (fig. 146). The upper third of the image is occupied by a celestial globe, in which we see the number 1484. A closer look at the zodiacal sign of Scorpio reveals the menacing planets, all assembled. This is the awesome great conjunction of 1484, as astrologically interpreted by Paulus van Middelburg in his *Prognostica*; for the book is identical in content—and here I refer to Sudhoff,<sup>102</sup> who was the first to establish this—with the chapter of the *Prognostica* that describes the medical consequences of the great conjunction.

In the same year Dürer’s engraving of a monstrous sow—at first sight hardly very ominous, politically or otherwise (fig. 147)—shows how much at home he was in the world of prophetic freaks. The engraving shows the prodigious sow of Landser, littered in the Sundgau district in 1496,<sup>103</sup> with only one head but two bodies and eight trotters. It has been shown that Dürer’s source was a broadsheet of 1496 (fig. 148), published in Latin and German by the learned early humanist Sebastian Brant.<sup>104</sup> Like other, similar sheets, this bears a dedication to Emperor Maximilian I, and its prophecies support his policies. In the text—significantly for the present argument—Brant is at pains to present himself in the guise of an antique augur: he relates his own political predictions to the omen of a sow that appeared to Virgil’s Aeneas:

*Was wil diss suw vns bringen doch  
Gdacht in mir eygentlich das noch  
Das man durch Suw in der geschicht  
Lisst / kunfftiger ding syn bericht  
Als die Su die Eneas fandt  
Mit jungen an des Tybers sandt...*

What does this sow betide for us?  
It puts me in mind of what we read  
In history of prophetic news  
Given by sows of things to come;  
As with the sow Aeneas found,  
With young, upon the Tiber’s sand...

This is really a “Natural Horror Sensation Late Extra,” written to serve immediate political ends. Brant had every right to point to even more ancient and venerable antecedents: for this up-to-the-minute sensation of his was already there, in cuneiform script, on the clay tablets of Assyria. We know that in the mid-seventh century B.C. the augur Nergal-eṭir informed Prince Asarhaddon of the birth of a pig with eight legs and two tails; on the strength

[illegible]

Piger capto et beloni: *5* *1* *2* *3* *4* *5* *6* *7* *8* *9* *10* *11* *12* *13* *14* *15* *16* *17* *18* *19* *20* *21* *22* *23* *24* *25* *26* *27* *28* *29* *30* *31* *32* *33* *34* *35* *36* *37* *38* *39* *40* *41* *42* *43* *44* *45* *46* *47* *48* *49* *50* *51* *52* *53* *54* *55* *56* *57* *58* *59* *60* *61* *62* *63* *64* *65* *66* *67* *68* *69* *70* *71* *72* *73* *74* *75* *76* *77* *78* *79* *80* *81* *82* *83* *84* *85* *86* *87* *88* *89* *90* *91* *92* *93* *94* *95* *96* *97* *98* *99* *100* *101* *102* *103* *104* *105* *106* *107* *108* *109* *110* *111* *112* *113* *114* *115* *116* *117* *118* *119* *120* *121* *122* *123* *124* *125* *126* *127* *128* *129* *130* *131* *132* *133* *134* *135* *136* *137* *138* *139* *140* *141* *142* *143* *144* *145* *146* *147* *148* *149* *150* *151* *152* *153* *154* *155* *156* *157* *158* *159* *160* *161* *162* *163* *164* *165* *166* *167* *168* *169* *170* *171* *172* *173* *174* *175* *176* *177* *178* *179* *180* *181* *182* *183* *184* *185* *186* *187* *188* *189* *190* *191* *192* *193* *194* *195* *196* *197* *198* *199* *200* *201* *202* *203* *204* *205* *206* *207* *208* *209* *210* *211* *212* *213* *214* *215* *216* *217* *218* *219* *220* *221* *222* *223* *224* *225* *226* *227* *228* *229* *230* *231* *232* *233* *234* *235* *236* *237* *238* *239* *240* *241* *242* *243* *244* *245* *246* *247* *248* *249* *250* *251* *252* *253* *254* *255* *256* *257* *258* *259* *260* *261* *262* *263* *264* *265* *266* *267* *268* *269* *270* *271* *272* *273* *274* *275* *276* *277* *278* *279* *280* *281* *282* *283* *284* *285* *286* *287* *288* *289* *290* *291* *292* *293* *294* *295* *296* *297* *298* *299* *300* *301* *302* *303* *304* *305* *306* *307* *308* *309* *310* *311* *312* *313* *314* *315* *316* *317* *318* *319* *320* *321* *322* *323* *324* *325* *326* *327* *328* *329* *330* *331* *332* *333* *334* *335* *336* *337* *338* *339* *340* *341* *342* *343* *344* *345* *346* *347* *348* *349* *350* *351* *352* *353* *354* *355* *356* *357* *358* *359* *360* *361* *362* *363* *364* *365* *366* *367* *368* *369* *370* *371* *372* *373* *374* *375* *376* *377* *378* *379* *380* *381* *382* *383* *384* *385* *386* *387* *388* *389* *390* *391* *392* *393* *394* *395* *396* *397* *398* *399* *400* *401* *402* *403* *404* *405* *406* *407* *408* *409* *410* *411* *412* *413* *414* *415* *416* *417* *418* *419* *420* *421* *422* *423* *424* *425* *426* *427* *428* *429* *430* *431* *432* *433* *434* *435* *436* *437* *438* *439* *440* *441* *442* *443* *444* *445* *446* *447* *448* *449* *450* *451* *452* *453* *454* *455* *456* *457* *458* *459* *460* *461* *462* *463* *464* *465*

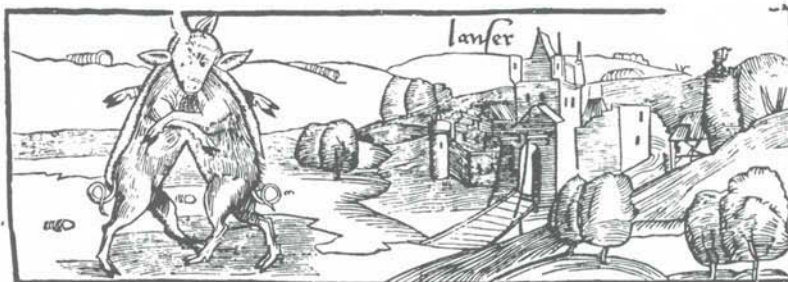
Gaudisibi vult sedam membris depellere morbum  
 Richem castisofia volera lumbibus  
 Echerem sapientia primum componere mentem  
 Fortior infurgat fides fides pians  
 Furciat puer frugi fupudis in bella cohorata  
 Templag munibibus accumulanda nois  
 Men recidet fatum. non fit feta moris unago  
 Vult animos facile. vult pia corda beato  
 Tugent non mutat plagas fide efpere tunc  
 Tongentem beatis cao piro fanit. erit

638



**Fig. 147. Albrecht Dürer**  
*The Sow of Landser*  
Engraving, B. 95 (see p. 637)





## An den grosmechtigsten aller durchlichtigsten herren

Maximilian Römischen künig Von der widerbaren Su zu Lander im Sunnewar des jares 1546.  
1546. Vff den ersten tag des metzen geboten Lin verhehllich vheigung Sebastian Brant.

**O** Römischen rich du heilige kron  
Was wilst du erst noch nach der got  
So man täglich empfindet vnd siehet  
So wil wunder so stiles geschick  
So mit vns die natur zeigt an  
By wunder/ wunderwerck verstan  
Vnd das got etwas wurdet wil  
Das die natur vor jegen silt  
Als so hant künigliche gesellen wie  
Das zwischend kind mit beiden vier  
Zweyn koppel vnd zwon füs allen  
Das zu Notwil im selb wagt silt  
Zu Rom hat man des selben geschick  
In künigen gesellen wilentlich  
Die wissen von dem künig zu sagen  
Das by Wurm ist in kuren tagen  
Mit eym houde/ stien zweyn geboten  
Dan was noch das jnn in dinsten joren  
Der wundersteyn by Lennhagen schick  
Der über gemeynen lufft was groß  
Sie wunderfalten nach der by  
Geschick/ meyn ich das es sy  
Nicht vilen wissend künigliche gar  
Oro gleich die mung der vogel silt  
Der man nach by der selben stat  
Im Schwertal gesellen hat  
Von schmöden vogel groß vnd klein  
Als vns vns nach zu dinsten  
Hatt man dinst in eyn schickten blatt  
Der mit for/ an schmöden gest gebacht  
Was sol ich von dem tier nün sagen  
So man auch hatt in kuren tagen  
Gün Ländungen gesungen nach  
Wie ich vor hat in gliche gemacht  
Es gleich auch vil gesellen hant  
Oen Cometen im oberland  
Der wie eyn halber wissbaum scheyn  
Die haßen gschick in der gemeyn  
Im Sünnewar nach eyn sturm vnd stin  
Wie blüsch/ schiffen lange zit  
Als ob eyn heerzug so beschick  
Dan dinst gschick als ob es ist  
Dan seit das in Italien sy  
Des gschick gschick in Lombard  
Wie hant entp/ur/ den auch das mit  
Oen erwidern zu nachdes zit  
Im freud nach Tiuocaut  
Hant vns basel die erd erschick  
Ist wilsch on dinsten mit  
Ich wil geworzen anders vil  
Sart vns in nimen möcht by wyl  
Anjers zu for/ vordert angestalt  
So dinsten jenz all erwidert  
Berachtet solt gang inwendich  
Vnd gegen got erwidert silt

Der vffrucht so vff aller erd  
Ist nicht for/ das er grösser werd  
Das gschick by Su anjeren mit  
Das wilsch ist eyn wunder thier  
So mit vns Lander gschick hat  
Oen her/ Ctschick von hant  
Im metzen vff den ersten tag  
Sart als ich sinderlich erschick  
Es was zu sehen grusam gnüg  
Der oren vnd acht silt sie trüg  
Lyn koppel dar jnn zwon rachen stont  
Vn eymen hals zwon jungen gont  
Dich Su verreynt was obnan so  
Als eyn allern/ vnd vndan zwon  
Nann noch dein herzen deilt sie sich  
Das hyndertrug zwon Suwen gleich  
Ich gschick dich got von hant  
Wie sint din gschick so wunderlich  
Was wil dich su vns künigen vnd  
Gschick in mir eymenich das noch  
Das man durch Suw in der geschick  
Licht/ künigliche ding silt berick  
Als die Su die Lencas sandt  
Mit jungen an des Tybers sandt  
Der durch der künig zal bediut  
Die Lencas regierten zu yre  
Durch suw man etwa blüsch macht  
Wann man eyn gemeynen frid betrack  
Dan oppfert Ceren eyn Swyn  
Die des korns schymmerin ist gsin  
Dich was dinst Su bediut  
Was ich nit gang/ es gschick mir nüt  
Das sie so zwischend jungen hat  
Vff gschick der vil eyn suw koppel stat  
Dich vnd dich lichte vber eyn  
Das kint by wurma mit liden zweyn  
Die wol es wilsch geboten wart  
Hatt es vnd mensichlich gschick vnd art  
Die gschick der vnder eym houde silt  
Gschick mir/ wann dich nit wer eyn schick  
Die jungen vnder eym houde stant  
Licht/ das nit wer Suw schick geant  
Sart vns vnd dich ich dich Su bediut  
Lyn obertrug der Suw schick lue  
Als Lencas/ die man halt blüsch  
Sart wesen der Su silt gleich  
Lyn Su ist eyn wilsch vnter thier  
Die in vns lichte all er yre  
Als die der Lencas vnter schick  
In altem vns lichte gar  
Die Su der Lencas kint ist  
Wol ward vergschick sie dem endenst  
Wann uff dich ist silt künig wer  
Das vnd dich allern/ wer got der her/

Der all vnd noch dem besten schick  
So mit das schick vff lichte dinst  
Vnd das Su nit eyn koppel gewyn  
Dan wird lunt lanters liden jnn/  
Wann aber vnterung gmeyn  
Durch dinst summen sich verreynt  
Vnd irem houde dinst widerstand  
So ist die wunder Su im land/  
Das ist das eymenich vnd  
Das vnd vnd dich/ das nit was wie  
Es silt halt oder stien müst  
Das wird eymenich vnter vnter  
Dich fre wilsch das vns wunder schick  
Die lene ist in liden gsin  
Dann sie nit mer vnter eyn nach  
Gschick hat so man mit sie lichte  
Als gschick das/ ob lichte gschick wol/  
(So vns was got beschickten sol)  
Lyn Suw schick lunt vnter entp/ur/  
Das es vns gleich auch bald ab gung  
Solich wilsch wir empfelen got  
Ob der jenz dinst vil wunder hat  
Vnd anders nüt regiert an  
So mögen wir vnd lichte verstan  
So jenz dem herzen Römischen rich  
Vnter thier nation des gschick  
Geschick ist zu dinst hat  
Durch abgang herzog Lencas  
Von wittenberg des fusten mit  
Der des richs sturman in silt  
Mit grossen eren hat gschick  
Durch des vernunft blüsch regiert  
Werren all vnd vnd künig rich  
Got geb dem fusten tugentrich  
By um freud in des hant  
Wilsch ist er der lichte kron  
Vnd silt all er tugent gsin  
Got geb im wnter ist vnter  
Ich wil wol er künig her  
Das die nit wol möcht lende mit  
Geschick silt/ an dinsten man  
Lencas dich lichte gschick  
Vnd ist din oug vnd herz gsin  
Din gnad hat solich gemacht wol schick  
Dich silt mit eren/ jenz mit lichte  
Wie mit lichte jenz vnter jenz  
Got geb dich er künig her  
So vil gleich lichte lende vnd er  
Das mit freud ward er gsin  
Als vnter lende lichte schick vnd schick  
So dinsten gnaden widerst  
Got geb dich was der lichte gert  
Vnd vns silt lichte jenz vnter  
So mit eyn trostich Su dar vnter  
Silt er vnter

Fig. 148. *The Monstrous Sow of Lander*

Broadsheet by Sebastian Brant, 1466 (see pp. 637 ff.)

of this, he prophesied that the prince would accede to the throne, and added that the butcher Uddanu had salted the creature away, evidently to preserve it for the dynastic archive.<sup>105</sup>

It has long been established that the Roman arts of divination bore a direct connection, by way of Etruria, with the divinatory techniques of Babylon. That this connection remained so much alive as to span the interval between Asarhaddon and Emperor Maximilian, over two thousand years, was due partly to the efforts of scholarly antiquaries but overwhelmingly to the inner, primeval, compulsive human need to establish a mythical causation. \*

To some extent, even so, Dürer had already put this Babylonian mentality behind him. His engraving bears no inscription: Nergal-eṭir, alias Brant, is given no space for prophetic interpretation. The impulse that guided Dürer's burin was his scientific interest in a phenomenon of nature.

*The Arab Astrological Handbook "Picatrix" and Dürer's Belief in Planetary Influences: Saturn and Jupiter in "Melencolia I," in Lichtenberger's Prophecy, and in Luther*

Before his untimely death, my friend Carl Giehlow<sup>106</sup> earned our gratitude for the selfless scholarship that has made it possible for us to identify a single Hellenistic astrological notion, transmitted by way of the Arabs, as the common foundation of Dürer's *Melencolia I* (fig. 149) and of Lichtenberger's *Practica*. The connection lies in the countervailing influences of Saturn and Jupiter.

First, a superficial point of contact: Maximilian I was familiar with Lichtenberger's ideas, to the extent that the latter's literary source, the *Prognostica* of Paulus van Middelburg, had actually been dedicated to him. He had had occasion to form a view of his own on the remedy for saturnine melancholy, apropos of his own mythical ancestor, the Egyptian Hercules, on whom Konrad Peutinger had written him a memorandum with reference to the *Problemata* of Aristotle. In later years<sup>107</sup> Maximilian was much troubled by a menacing, ill-aspected Saturn,<sup>108</sup> which—in the opinion of the doctor who treated him, Georg Tannstetter—actually led to his death.<sup>109</sup>

Aside from these direct, personal connections, however, Giehlow has demonstrated the basis of the medical treatment of saturnine melancholy in Maximilian's day. The physicians of antiquity distinguished two forms of melancholy, heavy and light. The heavy melancholy was derived from black bile and led to maniacal states—as in the case of the madness of Hercules. Against this, the Florentine philosopher and physician Marsilio Ficino advocated a combination of therapies: psychological, scientific or medical, and magical.<sup>110</sup> On the one hand, his remedies included mental concentration to enable the melancholic to transmute his sterile gloom into human genius; on the other—aside from purely medicinal treatment to counter excessive mucus formation ("sniffles") and thus facilitate the transmutation of the bile—the benefic planet Jupiter must be enlisted to counter the dangerous influence of Saturn. If the influence of Jupiter was lacking in the patient's true horoscope,



**Fig. 149. Albrecht Dürer**  
*Melencolia I*  
Engraving, B. 74 (see pp. 641, 644, 645 f.)



the favorable aspect could be borrowed by using a magical image of Jupiter; and this, in turn, might be replaced, according to the doctrines of Cornelius Agrippa, by the magic square of the planetary god. And so the magic square of Jupiter (of which more shortly) can be seen built into the wall in Dürer's engraving.

Giehlow, who so acutely and clearly expounded the use of planetary aspects in the treatment of melancholy by the Western occultists of the Renaissance, nevertheless shrank from taking his discovery to its conclusion. He sought to interpret Dürer's magic square of Jupiter, in defiance of Ficino and Agrippa, not "primarily" as an amulet against Saturn but as a symbol of the inventive genius of the saturnine individual. Giehlow failed to carry his discovery through to its ultimate, and most enlightening, conclusion because he was unaware of one crucial factor in the prehistory of the ideas involved: the vast importance for the occult sciences—as practiced by Ficino, Agrippa, and others throughout Europe—of the book known as *Picatrix*, a typical representative of the Arab transmission of late antique astrological and magical practices.

With the assistance of Wilhelm Printz, of the late Erich Gräfe, and of Fritz Saxl,<sup>111</sup> the present writer has been able to supplement Giehlow's researches and can demonstrate that this Latin work, a prime text of late medieval cosmological occultism, is a translation of a text written by an Arab in Spain in the tenth century and known only by a pseudepigraphic title (itself a misinterpretation of Hippocrates): it is the *Ghāyat al-ḥakīm* of Abū al-Qāsim Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī.<sup>112</sup> The library of Maximilian I contained two manuscripts of the *Picatrix*, one of them a magnificent illuminated copy, of which we can gain some idea from a manuscript now in Cracow.<sup>113</sup> Ficino himself, in his chapter on magical images, wrote of the Arab intermediaries, whose lapidaries had preserved through the Middle Ages, as an essential component of iatro-astrology, the Hellenistic and Hermetic therapeutic magic of astrological amulets. The *Picatrix*, the most important of these intermediaries,<sup>114</sup> furnished Ficino himself with his descriptions of the health-bringing icons of planetary deities. In a manuscript in Rome, supplemented by others in Vienna, Wolfenbüttel, and Cracow,<sup>115</sup> all of which derive from the *Picatrix*, these degenerate but fundamentally authentic antique figurative icons are accompanied by magic numerical tables, complete with precise instructions as to their use. Ficino's own magical use of images, and the magic squares of Agrippa, thus essentially belong together as offshoots of very ancient, pagan practices; for both have their roots in Hermetic therapeutic magic, as transmitted by the Arabs.

Giehlow's interpretative caution lays him open to a further objection: if the Saturnine individual was meant to display this magic square, with its unique mathematical rhythms, simply as a symbol of his own inventive genius, then surely he ought to have adopted the square of Saturn and not that of Jupiter. Only the tradition of iatro-astrology gives the square of Jupiter its true meaning here.

The truly creative act—that which gives Dürer's *Melencolia I* its consoling, humanistic message of liberation from the fear of Saturn—can be understood only if we recognize that the artist has taken a magical and mythical logic and made it spiritual and intellectual. The malignant, child-devouring planetary god, whose cosmic contest with another planetary ruler seals the subject's fate, is humanized and metamorphosed by Dürer into the image of the thinking, working human being.

That such an analysis of *Melencolia I* is entirely in the spirit of Dürer's age has since been confirmed for the present writer by the discovery of a passage in Melanchthon, who regarded Dürer's own genius as the highest type of true melancholy, spiritualized by a favorable planetary configuration. Melanchthon wrote:

*De Melancholicis ante dictum est, horum est mirifica uarietas. Primum illa heroica Scipionis, uel Augusti, uel Pomponij Attici, aut Dureri generosissima est, et uirtutibus excellit omnis generis, regitur enim crasi temperata, et oritur a fausto positu syderum.*<sup>116</sup>

Of melancholy types, as aforesaid, there is a wonderful variety. First, the heroic {melancholy} of Scipio, of Augustus, of Pomponius Atticus, or of Dürer is the noblest type, and excels in virtues of every kind; for it is governed by a tempered mixture and arises from a favorable position of the planets.

This assessment of Dürer's artistic genius is caption enough in itself for *Melencolia I*, for elsewhere we learn the nature of the astral influences to which Melanchthon attributed this transforming power. He derived the loftier melancholy of Augustus from the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Libra:

*Multo generosior est melancholia, si coniunctione Saturni et Iouis in libra temperetur, qualis uidetur Augusti melancholia fuisse.*<sup>117</sup>

Melancholy is far nobler if it is tempered by the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Libra, as would seem to have been the case with the melancholy of Augustus.

We are now looking into the very heart of the process of renewal that we call the Renaissance. The classical version of antiquity had emerged to compete with the Hellenistic-Arabic version. Access to the ancient writers had breathed new life into the mummified *acedia* of the Middle Ages. For, to Ficino and Melanchthon alike, the train of thought had its source in Aristotle and his *Problemata*.

---

The history of the influence of antiquity, as observed through the transmission, disappearance, and rediscovery of its gods, has some unexplored insights to

contribute to a history of the meaning of anthropomorphic thought. In the transitional age of the early Renaissance, pagan-cosmological causality was defined in classicizing terms through the symbols of the gods; and these were approached in due proportion to their degree of saturation with human quality: from a religious daemon-worship at one extreme to a purely artistic and intellectual reinterpretation at the other.

Lichtenberger, Dürer, and Luther show us the German soul in three phases of its struggle to cast off pagan cosmological fatalism. Lichtenberger (fig. 150) shows us a pair of debased, repellent planetary spirits contending for the control of human destiny; the object of their struggle, man himself, is absent. Dürer reshapes them; they are reborn into a classical language of form;<sup>118</sup> and yet their Hellenistic-Arabic travels have left them bearing the marks of subjection to fate.

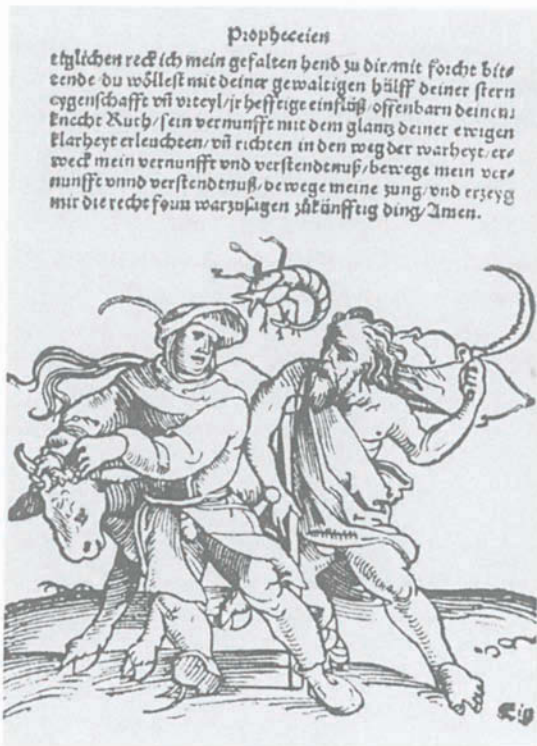
Here, the cosmic conflict is echoed in a process that takes place within man himself. The daemonic grotesques have disappeared; and saturnine gloom has been spiritualized into human, humanistic contemplation. Deep in thought, the winged figure of Melancholy props her head on her left hand and holds a pair of compasses in her right; she is surrounded by technical and mathematical instruments and symbols, and before her lies a sphere. According to Ficino, in the old German version, the compasses and circle (and thus also the sphere) are emblems of melancholy:

*Aber die natürlich ursach ist, das zu erfolgung und erlangung der weissheit und der lere, besunder der schweren Kunst, ist not das das gemüt gezogen werd von den äussern dingen zu dem innern zu gleicher weiss als von dem umblauff des zirkels hinzu zu dem mittelpuncten, centrum genannt, und sich selbs dar zu fügen und schicken.*<sup>119</sup>

But the natural cause is that to attain and achieve wisdom and learning, especially of the difficult Art, the soul must be drawn inward, away from outward things, as it might be from the circumference of the circle to the center, and adapt itself accordingly.

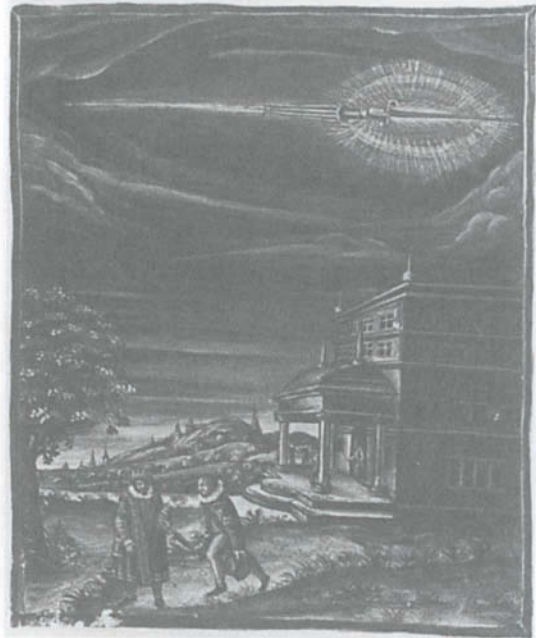
Is Melancholy pondering how to avert the disaster threatened by the comet that looms over the waters in the background?<sup>120</sup> Or is the fear of the impending deluge already making itself felt?

Dürer shows the spirit of Saturn neutralized by the individual mental efforts of the thinking creature against whom its rays are directed. Menaced by the “most ignoble complex,”<sup>121</sup> the Child of Saturn seeks to elude the baneful planetary influence through contemplative activity. Melancholy holds in her hand, not a base shovel (see the Children of Saturn, fig. 125), but the compasses of genius. Magically invoked, Jupiter comes to her aid through his benign and moderating influence on Saturn. In a sense, the salvation of the human being through the countervailing influence of Jupiter has already taken place; the duel between the planets, as visualized by Lichtenberger, is



**Fig. 150. Jupiter and Saturn**

From the same edition of Lichtenberger as fig. 140  
(see p. 645)



**Fig. 151. Ensiform Comet**

From a French manuscript of ca. 1587  
Hamburg, Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg  
(see p. 650)

over; and the magic square hangs on the wall like a votive offering of thanks to the benign and victorious planetary spirit.

By contrast, Luther was as much a liberator in his rejection of all this mythological fatalism as he was in his vigorous onslaught on the hostile casters of horoscopes. Any attempt to ascribe daemonic, superhuman identities to the planets was dismissed by him as sinful, heathen idolatry.

Luther and Dürer thus coincided to some extent in their resistance to the myth of the great conjunction. With them, we find ourselves embarked on the struggle for the mental and religious liberation of modern humanity—though as yet only at an early stage. Just as Luther still went in fear of cosmic portents and omens (not to speak of the antique *lamiae*), Dürer's Melancholy has yet to break quite free of the superstitious terrors of antiquity. Her head is garlanded not with bay but with *teukrion*, the classic herbal remedy for melancholy;<sup>122</sup> and she follows Ficino's instructions by protecting herself against Saturn's malefic influence with her numerological magic square.

This authentically antique astrological conception has the air of a latter-day pictorial scholium on Horace's ode to Maecenas:

... *te Jovis impio*  
*tutela Saturno refulgens*  
*eripuit volucrisque Fati*  
*tardavit alas...*<sup>123</sup>

... The glorious protection of Jupiter  
 Snatched you from malign Saturn  
 And stayed the wings  
 Of swift Fate...

#### *Carion and Zebel—Melanchthon and Alkindi*

In attempting to retrace the forgotten migratory path of the ancient planetary gods, we have turned up a further chapter from those manuals of applied cosmology whose encyclopedic source is to be found in Hellenistic culture. Just as the *Picatrix* leads us to Maximilian I and to Dürer, the divinatory manual of Zebel the Arab leads us to Carion and to Elector Joachim I. A German translation has been preserved in a magnificent illuminated manuscript. In 1914, in true appreciation of its rare and precious nature, the Society of Friends of the Berlin Library published a page from it in color reproduction.<sup>124</sup>

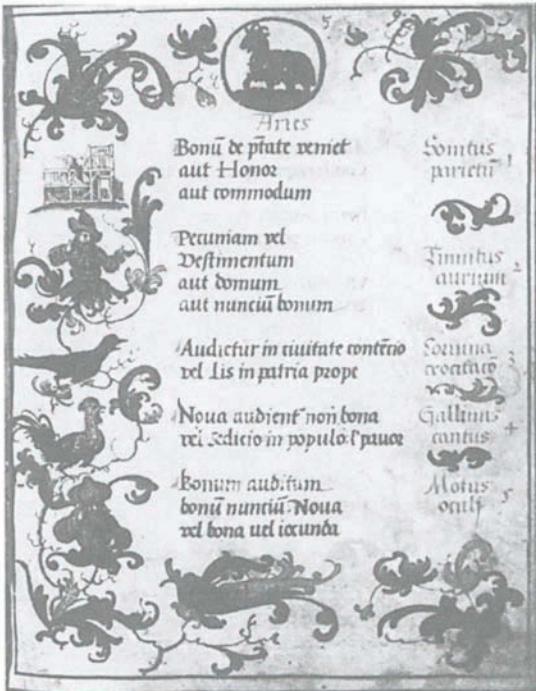
This is a book of portents composed by Abū 'Uthmān Sahl ibn Bišr ibn Habīb ibn Hānī,<sup>125</sup> who lived in Baghdad about the middle of the ninth century; Zebel the Arab is his Latinized name. The pictures (fig. 152) are illustrations to forty-two omens, each of which is interpreted differently for each month of the year. Thus: "When a cock crows, this signifies no good news, revolt among the people, and fear"; or, "When the eye twitches and flickers, then expect good and pleasing news."

Heraldic evidence reveals that the manuscript was copied and illuminated on the orders of Joachim I, elector of Brandenburg, who seems to be depicted on one page. Though robed as an elector, the figure has no portrait likeness (fig. 153). The book was printed, with engravings, several times at the end of the sixteenth century. One edition (Prague, 1592) contains an explicit statement that Carion made one copy for the elector in his own hand, and that this was later given away as a present. This is entirely likely, given that from 1521 at the latest—as can be seen from his *Prognosticatio*—Carion was Joachim's court magician and astrologer.

Johann Carion has yet to receive the attention that is his due. Even his portrait by a painter of the school of Cranach long remained unrecorded, although it is in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (fig. 121).<sup>126</sup> It was brought to the present writer's attention long ago by Professor Emil Jacobs (now of Freiburg im Breisgau), who also told him of the Zebel manuscript. This, then, was that sober Swabian whose corpulent person Luther humorously described in a letter as "an overload for Charon's bark." Professor Otto Tschirch speculated in 1906 that the name Carion was a grecized version of that of one Johann Nägelin,<sup>127</sup> who matriculated at the university of Tübingen in 1514; and this conjecture is confirmed beyond doubt by Carion's canting arms, which show three carnations (German *Nelken*: *Nägelein*, nails, *Caryophyllon*). There is a shrewd gift of observation in Carion's masculine features, and especially in his eye; and it is easy to understand why both the Hohenzollerns and the Reformers valued him as a diplomatic intermediary.

After Carion's death, Luther described him as a magician;<sup>128</sup> and Reinhold,<sup>129</sup> too, expressly called him "*insignis necromanticus*" (a well-known necromancer). But this suspicion of magic never deterred Melanchthon—as we know from his letter to Camerarius,<sup>130</sup> already mentioned—from consulting him on astrological matters; any more than Camerarius hesitated to ask the historical Dr. Faustus for an assessment of the political situation in 1536, although both Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg had denounced Faustus as a necromancer and a charlatan. Camerarius even found himself casting a horoscope in competition with Faustus for the Welser family, on the occasion of their expedition to Venezuela—a contest that Faustus appears to have won.<sup>131</sup> In the present context a remark made by Faustus in 1528, and recorded by Kilian Leib,<sup>132</sup> takes on a particular importance: he said that a particular planetary conjunction (that of the Sun and Jupiter) was closely connected with the emergence of prophets.

Melanchthon, Carion, Camerarius, Gauricus, Faustus, and Brant would all have been eligible for membership of a clandestine "Nergal-eṭir Society" of augurs. For in the theory of comets, as elsewhere, there was much in the Arab-mediated inheritance of Hellenism that stemmed ultimately from Babylon. Anxiously, Melanchthon inquired of his friend Camerarius whether the comet of 1531 was not perhaps one of the sword-shaped or ensiform variety, as defined by Pliny.<sup>133</sup> It is characteristic of the Arabs' position as intermediaries between the ancient world and the later West that, as late



**Fig. 152. Aries**  
From *Zebelis liber de interpretatione diversorum eventuum secundum lunam in 12 signis zodiaci*. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4° 322 (see p. 647)



**Fig. 153. Elector**  
Ibid. (see p. 648)

as 1587, the caption to a French illustration of an ensiform comet after Pliny (fig. 151) expressly cites an Arab writer, Alkindi, as the source.

Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius on 18 August 1531, one day after the letter to Carion; and on the same day Luther wrote to inform Wenceslaus Link of the appearance of the comet. He gave details of the direction of the tail, and was in no doubt that it was an evil omen.<sup>134</sup>

Melanchthon sought to humanize this celestial prodigy in two ways. The sheer size of it suggested a human artifact with menacing associations, a sword; and he described it as aimed at the earthly heartland of his own party. And so it came to pass that Melanchthon, in his mythopoeic anxiety, lived in fear of the sword in the sky, just when his trust ought to have been placed in the Sword of the Reformation, the landgrave.

It was at around the same time that the astronomer Apian robbed the comet's tail of its terrors by relating it to the Sun. But it was Edmund Halley who, by establishing the laws governing the recurrence of this same comet, was to free it forever from the narrow confines of anthropocentric thought.

### Conclusion

This exegetical grand tour thus leads us back to its starting point, in Melanchthon's letter on the comet, and thereby to a curiosity of ancient pagan superstition, and what it can teach us of the history of the age of the Reformation. Celestial bodies were visualized in human form in order to limit their daemonic power by analogy; conversely, so daemonic a man as Luther was set among the stars in his own lifetime (through a near-totemistic connection between his birth and a pair of planets), in order to ascribe his otherwise unaccountable, even superhuman powers to a higher, cosmic cause, dignified by the name of a god.

And so, as we have seen, the spirit world of antiquity was brought back to life by a kind of polar functioning of the empathetic pictorial memory. This was the age of Faust, in which the modern scientist—caught between magic practice and cosmic mathematics—was trying to insert the *conceptual space* of rationality between himself and the object. Athens has constantly to be won back again from Alexandria.

Thus understood, the images and words here discussed—a mere fraction of all that might have been brought to light—are to be regarded as hitherto unread records of the tragic history of freedom of thought in modern Europe. At the same time the intention has been to show, by the example of a positive investigation, how the method of the study of civilization can be strengthened by an alliance between the history of art and the study of religion.

The shortcomings of this tentative experiment have been all too evident to the writer himself. But he has come to the conclusion that the memory of Hermann Usener and Hermann Dieterich is best honored by taking our orders from the problem in hand (in the present writer's case, that of the influence of antiquity), even when it sends us forth into virgin territory. May the history of art and the study of religion—between which lies nothing at present



but wasteland overgrown with verbiage—meet together one day in learned and lucid minds (minds destined, let us hope, to achieve more than the present writer); and may they share a workbench in the laboratory of the *iconological science of civilization*.

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*Ein grosser Teil dessen, was man gewöhnlich Aberglauben nennt, ist aus einer falschen Anwendung der Mathematik entstanden; deswegen ja auch der Name des Mathematikers mit dem eines Wahnkünstlers und Astrologen gleich gilt. Man erinnere sich der Signatur der Dinge, der Chiromantie, der Punktierkunst, selbst des Höllenzwangs; alle dieses Unwesen nimmt seinen wüsten Schein von der klarsten aller Wissenschaften, seine Verworrenheit von der exaktesten. Man hat daher nichts für verderblicher zu halten, als dass man, wie in der neuern Zeit abermals geschieht, die Mathematik aus der Vernunft- und Verstandesregion, wo ihr Sitz ist, in die Region der Phantasie und Sinnlichkeit freventlich herüberzieht.*

*Dunklen Zeiten sind solche Missgriffe nachzusehen; sie gehören mit zum Charakter. Denn eigentlich ergreift der Aberglaube nur falsche Mittel, um ein wahres Bedürfnis zu befriedigen, und ist deswegen weder so scheltenswert, als er gehalten wird, noch so selten in den sogenannten aufgeklärten Jahrhunderten und bei aufgeklärten Menschen.*

*Denn wer kann sagen, dass er seine unerlässlichen Bedürfnisse immer auf eine reine, richtige, wahre, untadelhafte und vollständige Weise befriedige; dass er sich nicht neben dem ernstesten Tun und Leisten, wie mit Glauben und Hoffnung, so auch mit Aberglauben und Wahn, Leichtsinn und Vorurteil hinhalte.*

—J. W. von Goethe, “Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre:  
Roger Bacon,” in *Werke*, Cotta’sche Jubiläums-Ausgabe, 40:165

A great part of what is commonly known as superstition springs from a misapplication of mathematics; for which reason the name of a mathematician was formerly equated with that of a charlatan or an astrologer. Think of the doctrine of signatures, chiromancy, geomancy, even conjuration; all these aberrations derive their pale and delusive light from the clearest of all sciences, their confusion from the most exact. Nothing, therefore, is more pernicious than to transport mathematics—as is once more being done in our day—from its natural home in the realm of reason and intelligence into that of fantasy and the senses.

Such abuses are forgivable in dark ages, when they are entirely in character. Superstition is simply the use of false means to a true end, and is therefore neither so reprehensible as it is believed to be, nor so rare in so-called enlightened centuries and among enlightened people.

For who can claim that his manner of satisfying his own inescapable needs is invariably pure, correct, true, irreproachable, and complete—or deny that, even at times of the most earnest work and achievement, his mind is occupied not only with faith and hope but also with superstition and delusion, frivolity and prejudice?

## Appendix A: Melanchthon and Astrology

### A.1. Melanchthon's Letter to Carion on the Comet of 1531

[Address on the outside, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>:]

*Viro doctissimo D. / Johanni Carioni / philosopho, amico / et conterraneo  
suo / Carissimo. / Zu eigen handen /*

... <sup>a</sup> *ornare honestissimis laudibus conatus sum. Quid / assecutus sim aliorum sit iudicium. /* fol. 1<sup>r</sup>

*Dictum Heliae extat non in Biblijs. sed apud / Rabinos, et est celeberrimum. Burgensis<sup>135</sup> allegat, et disputat ex eo contra Judeos / quod Messias apparuerit. Receptissima apud / Ebreos sententia est, et a me posita / in principio tuae historiae, ut<sup>b</sup> omnibus / fieret notissima et afferret commendationem / tuo operi. Tales locos multos<sup>c</sup> dein / ceps admiscebo. vides autem prorsus esse / prophetica vocem. Tam concinna temporum / distributio est. /*

*Historiam, ut spero, hac hyeme absoluemus / Nam hactenus fui impeditus recognitione / meae Apologiae,<sup>136</sup> quam in certis locis / feci meliorem. Sed vix credas quam / tenui valetudine utar, consumor enim / curis, et laboribus. /*

*Mea vxor, dei beneficio filiam enixa est, / cuius Thema tibi mitto, non vt faciam / tibi negocium, video enim monacham fore |*

... <sup>a</sup> *Cometen vidimus diebus plus octo.<sup>d</sup> Tu / quid iudicas. videtur supra cancrum / constitisse occidit enim statim post solem, / et paulo ante solem exoritur.<sup>e</sup> / Quod si ruberet, magis / me terreret. Haud dubie principum / mortem significat. Sed videtur / caudam vertere versus<sup>g</sup> poloniam. / Sed expecto tuum iudicium. Amabo te / significa mihi quid sentias. /* fol. 1<sup>v</sup>

*Nunc venio ad hodiernas literas. Si / scirem aliquid de nostrorum aduersariorum / conatibus,<sup>h</sup> totum tibi scriberem, / quidquid illud esset. Nihil enim opus / est nos<sup>i</sup> celare aduersariorum<sup>137</sup> consilia, / magis prodest nobis ea traducere. /*

*Nihil itaque certi audiui diu iam de / ullo apparatu, preter suspensiones quas / concipiunt nostri propter illum exiguum numerum / peditum qui sunt in Frisia. Fortasse / pretextu belli Danici, nos quoque adoriri<sup>k</sup> cogitant. At Palatinus et Moguntinus / iam agunt de pacificatione cum<sup>l</sup> nostris, etsi / ego spem pacis nullam habeo, moueor enim non / solum astrologicis predictionibus sed etiam vaticiniis.<sup>m</sup> / Hasfurd predixit Regi christierno<sup>138</sup> reditum hunc / stum, Schepperus negat rediturum esse. Sed me non mouet Schepperus. Sepe enim fallitur. / predixit item Hasfurd Landgrauio maximas vi / ctorias. Et quidam ciuis Smalcaldensis / mihi notus habuit mirabile visum, de<sup>n</sup> / his motibus quod vaticinium plurimi / facio. Catastrophen satis mollem habet. / Sed tamen significat perculosos terrores / aduersarios nostros illi Leoni cedere. Quaedam / mulier in Kizingen de Ferdinando / horribilia predixit,<sup>o</sup> quomodo<sup>p</sup> bellum / contra nos moturus sit, sed ipsi infoelix / In Belgico quaedam<sup>q</sup> virgo Caesari / etiam vaticinata est, quae tamen non satis / habeo explorata. Omnino puto motum / aliquem fore. Et deum oro, vt ipse guber / net, et det bonum exitum vtilem Ecclesiae / et reipublicae. Ego ante annum* fol. 2<sup>r</sup>

*laborabam / diligenter vt nobiscum pacem facerent. Quod. / si fecissent, minus esset turbarum in Sue / uia, quae magna ex parte iam amplectitur / Helueticam theologiam et licentiam. Ses Campegius / cupit inuoluere et implicare Caesarem germanico / bello, vt vires eius labefactent, et Campegij / consilium probant nonnulli odio nostri priuato. / Sed deus habet iustum oculum. Nos enim certe / nihil mali docuimus. et\* libera / uimus multas bonas mentes a multis / perniciosis erroribus. Sabinus mittit tibi prefaci / onem<sup>139</sup> meam de laudibus astronomiae et Astro / logiae. de qua expecto quid sencias. Bene vale / donerstag post Assumptionem b. Marię 1531 / Remitto tibi literas <two or three deleted words>. Φίλιππος. /*

#### Textual Notes

*The superior letters in the text above refer to the following notes. Words and letters marked with an asterisk are those deleted from the text by Melanchthon's own hand.*

<sup>a</sup>Upper margin cropped, hence some text lost. <sup>b</sup>ai\* <sup>c</sup>su\* <sup>d</sup>plus octo caught by trim, so reading not quite certain. <sup>e</sup>Initially: Hoc / mihi\*, then Na\* <sup>f</sup>inte\* <sup>g</sup>orien\* <sup>h</sup>plan <sup>i</sup>ces\* <sup>k</sup>no\* <sup>l</sup>nostri\* <sup>m</sup>Added by another hand: tuis <sup>n</sup>victoria\* <sup>o</sup>sed\* <sup>p</sup>nos <sup>q</sup>mulier\* <sup>r</sup>multos per\* <sup>s</sup>These words may have been intended to refer to Sabinus, as another hand has added, almost directly beneath: Sabini tuas.

Original: two folio sheets with trace of seal.<sup>140</sup> The upper part of the first sheet is missing, with four or five lines of text on either side.

Königsberg, Herzogliches Briefarchiv, A.Z. 3. 35. 125 (II).

{This letter is translated in full in the text, pages 600–601.}

#### A.2. Melanchthon to Camerarius, on Gauricus and Carion

Melanchthon, *Opera* 2, col. 600–602

No. 1064. Ioach. Camerario. Epist. ad Camerar. 190. 29. Iun. 1532

*Viro optimo Ioachimo Camerario Bambergensi, amico suo summo, S. D. Tuas literas accepi hodie, in quibus Genesin Regiam petis. Quod autem de Gaurico significas, quale sit, non plane potui intelligere. Aberat enim epistola illa, nescio cuius amici tui, quam te mittere ais de illius sermonibus.<sup>141</sup> Id eo scribo, ut scias eam periisse, nisi consulto retinuisti. Quicquid autem est, non valde moror, novimus enim totius illius gentis ingenia et voluntates erga nos...*

*Mitto tibi geneses eorum, quorum petiisti, ac alterius quidem<sup>142</sup> et altera circumfertur, sed Gauricus affirmabat hanc veram esse, si recte memini. Mars erat in fovea, in eo catalogo, quem Cornelius Scepperus habebat. Neque hic multo aliter se habet.*

*Carion habet τοῦ χρονώου,<sup>143</sup> quae paululum ab hac differt, in qua Saturnus et Mars sunt in Quinta, sed exemplum non habeo; misissem enim alioqui. Postremo, ut etiam laeti aliquid scribam, vidi carmen cuiusdam Itali, quem Gauricus dicebat fuisse Pontani praeceptorem,<sup>144</sup> in quo planetarum † motus mirifice describuntur. In fine addit vaticinium de coniunctione quadam*

*magna, in qua de his ecclesiasticis discordiis satis clementer vaticinatur, caetera quo pertineant, μαντιχῆς ἔργον . . .*

*Pontani praeceptor Laurentius Miniatus.*

*Ast quoque quae nostris iam iam ventura sub annis*

*Est melior, nostrae legis vix pauca refringet.*

*Aspera quae nimium sacris et dura ferendis,*

*Et genus omne mali tollet, pompasque sacrorum,*

*Ac regem dabit innocuum, qui terminet orbem.*

*Hic reget Imperio populos, gentemque rebellem*

*Imperio subdet, toti et dominabitur orbi.*

*Philippus.*

To the excellent Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg, best of friends: greetings. I received your letter today, in which you request the royal horoscope. I could not, however, fully understand what it is that you intimate about Gauricus. For the letter which you said you were sending, from some friend of yours, about his conversations, was missing. I write this so you will know that it has been lost, unless you deliberately kept it. Whatever it is, I am not seriously set back, for we know the ways of thinking of that whole tribe and their inclinations toward us . . .

I am sending you the horoscopes you requested, and also another's: a second one is being circulated, but Gauricus asserts that this is the true one, if I remember correctly. Mars was in a pit in the list that Cornelius Scepperus had. And he is not much differently placed here.

Carion has that of the "Son of Saturn," which is slightly different from this one, in which Saturn and Mars are in the fifth house; but I have no copy, otherwise I would have sent it. Finally (so that I may also write some happy news), I have seen a poem by a certain Italian, who Gauricus said was the tutor of Pontanus, in which the movements of the planets are admirably described. At the end he adds a prediction about a certain great conjunction, in which he sees a fairly mild prophecy concerning these discords in the Church; but what the rest pertains to is work for the diviner's art . . .

*Lorenzo Miniato, tutor of Pontanus.*

*But also that which soon, soon to come in our time*

*Is better, will take away scarcely anything of our law.*

*It will remove all that is too harsh and severe from the rites to be conducted,*

*And will remove every kind of evil, and pomp from the sacred rites,*

*And will produce a blameless king to mark the boundaries of the world.*

*This man will rule the peoples for the Empire, and will subjugate*

*The rebellious people to the Empire, and will have dominion over the entire world.*

*Philippus.*

## **Appendix B: Luther and Artificial and Natural Divination**

### **B.1. Luther Rejects the Notion of Astrology as a “Science”**

\*

*Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen ed., 62:322

*Da einer D. M. L. eine Nativität (wie mans nennet), zeigte, sprach er: “Es ist eine feine lustige Phantasei, und gefällt der Vernunft wohl, denn man geht immer fein ordentlich von einer Linien zu andern. Darumb ist die Art und Weise, Nativitäten zu machen und auszurechnen und dergleichen, dem Papstthum gleich, da die äusserlichen Ceremonien, Gepränge und Ordnung, der Vernunft wohl gefällt, als, das geweihte Wasser, Kerzen, Orgeln, Zimbeln, Singen, Läuten und Deuten. Es ist aber gar keine rechte Wissenschaft und gewisse Erkenntniss, und diejenigen irren gar sehr, dis aus diesem Dinge eine gewisse Kunst<sup>145</sup> und Erkenntnis machen wollen, da doch keine nicht ist; denn es gehet nicht aus der Natur der Astronomie, die eine Kunst ist; diess ist Menschensatzung.*

When someone showed Dr. M. L. a nativity (as they are called), he said: “This is a fine and amusing fancy, and highly gratifying to the reason; for always there is an orderly progression from one line to the next. In this, the practice of casting nativities and the like resembles popecraft; for the external ceremonies, the splendor and the order of the service, entirely gratify the reason: namely, the holy water, candles, organs, cymbals, singing, bell ringing, and gesturing. But this is no true science or sure knowledge, and those who seek to make these things into a certain art and knowledge are much mistaken; for it is nothing of the kind; it does not follow from the nature of astronomy, which is an art; for this is a human device.

*Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 164, no. 259

2–7 August 1540

*Ut sint in signa.*

*“Deus intelligit certa signa, ut sunt eclipses solis et lunae, non illa incerta. Praeterea, signa heist nicht, ut ex iis divinemus. Hoc est humanum inventum.”*

Let them be for signs.

“God recognizes certain signs, such as the eclipses of the sun and the moon; and there is nothing uncertain about them. At the same time, ‘signs’ does not mean that we are to divine from them. This is a human invention.”

## B.2. Luther Opposes Melanchthon's Belief in Astrology

*Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 164, no. 258

2–7 August 1540

*De astrologia*

"Nemo mihi persuadebit nec Paulus nec Angelus de caelo nedum Philippus, ut credam astrologiae divinationibus quae toties fallunt, ut nihil sit incertius. Nam si etiam bis aut ter recte divinant, ea notant; si fallunt, ea dissimulant." Tum quidam: "Domine Doctor, quo modo est solvendum hoc argumentum: Divinatio est in medicina, ergo etiam est in astrologia?" "Medici," inquit, "habent certa signa ex elementis et experientia et saepe tangunt rem, etiamsi aliquando fallunt; sed astrologi saepissime fallunt, raro veri sunt."

On Astrology

"No one will ever persuade me—neither Paul, nor an angel from heaven, nor even Philipp—to believe in the predictions of astrology, which are so often mistaken that nothing is more uncertain. For if they forecast correctly even two or three times, they mark it; if they are wrong, they conceal it."

Then someone said: "Doctor, how is this argument to be resolved: There is divination in medicine, therefore it also exists in astrology?"

"Physicians," he said, "have certain signs, from the elements and from experience, and they often hit the target, even if they are sometimes wrong; but astrologers most often err, and rarely are they correct."

Ibid., 124, no. 156

21 May–11 June 1540

*Ego dixi: "Foris nihil habent argumenti pro astrologia nisi auctoritatem Philippi." —Tum Doctor: "Ego saepe confutavi Philippum ita evidenter, ut diceret: 'Haec quidem vis est!' Et confessit, esse scientiam, sed quam ipsi non teneant. Quare ego sum contentus, si non tenent eam artem; so lass ich in damit spilen. Mihi nemo persuadebit, nam ego facile possum evertere ipsorum experientiam incertissimam. Saltem observant, quae consentiunt; quae fallunt, praetereunt. Es mag einer so lang werffen, er wirfft auch ein Venerem,<sup>146</sup> sed casu fit. Es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst. Seine<sup>147</sup> kinder habent alle lunam combustam!"<sup>148</sup>*

I said: "They have no argument in favor of astrology beyond the authority of Philipp." —The doctor answered: "I have often confuted Philipp so manifestly as to make him admit: 'That is a strong argument!' And he has confessed that it is a science, but one that they themselves do not possess. I am content with that, so long as they do not consider it an art; and so I leave him to play with it. Nobody will ever persuade me, for I can easily overturn their flimsy evidence. They take note of everything that supports their case; whatever does

not, they pass over in silence. If a man throws dice for long enough, he will throw a Venus, but that happens by chance. That art of theirs is so much manure. His children all have the Moon combust!”

Ibid., 177, no. 292

7–24 August 1540

*Astrologia*

“*Dominus Philippus,*” inquit Doctor, “*der hielt mich zu Schmalkalden*<sup>149</sup> *ein tag auf mit seiner heilosen und schebichten astrologia, quia erat novilunium.*<sup>150</sup> *Sic etiam wolt er ein mahl nicht uber die Elb faren in novilunio. Et tamen nos sumus domini stellarum.*”

Astrology

“Master Philipp,” said the doctor, “once detained me at Schmalkalden for a whole day with his unholy drivel of astrology, because it was New Moon. And what is more, once he even refused to cross the Elbe at New Moon. And yet we are the masters of the stars.”

### B.3. Luther’s Horoscope

#### B.3.1. His Natal Planets

Sol

*Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 303, Mathesius no. 599

Winter 1542–1543

*Magna molestia regere*

“*Im haus ist nur ein knecht der herr ... So hats das ansehen mit den regenten auch. Es scheint, als wer es was köstlichs; wenn man aber ansehet, so sihet man, was es ist. Ich regire nicht gern. Es giebtz meine natur nicht.*”

*Tum Dominus Philippus:* “*Ir habt <solem in nativitate>.*”<sup>151</sup> *Doctor:* “*Ei, ich frag nicht nach euer astrologia! Ich kenne mein natur und erfar es. Staupitzius solebat hanc sententiam cant. 8 ‘Vinea mea coram me est,’ sic interpretari: ‘Gott hats regiment zu sich genumen, das nicht iderman stolzirn möcht.’*”

To Rule Is a Great Hardship

“The master of the house is but a servant... And it appears to be the same with rulers. It seems like something of great price; but look more closely and you will see what it truly is. I do not like to rule. It does not suit my nature.”

Then Master Philipp said: “You have [the Sun in your horoscope]. The doctor: “I care not for your astrology! I know my nature and learn it. Staupitz used to interpret the saying in the Song of Solomon, chapter 8: ‘My vineyard, which is mine, is before me,’ as follows: ‘God has taken the rule unto himself, lest everyone become overproud.’”

Saturn

*D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Weimar ed., *Tischreden* 3:193

No. 3148

26–31 May 1532

*Ego Martinus Luther sum infelicissimis astris natus, fortassis sub Saturno. Was man mir thun vnd machen soll, kan nimermehr fertig werden; schneider, schuster, buchpinder, mein weib verzihen mich auffs lengste.*

I, Martin Luther, was born with the most inauspicious stars, perhaps under Saturn. The things I need done and made for me will never be completed; the tailor, the shoemaker, the bookbinder, and my wife keep me waiting forever.

*B.3.2. Luther and the Astrological Politics of Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecy*

*Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 320, no. 625

Heydenreich, Spring 1543

*Tum quidam: "Domine Doctor, multi astrologi in vestra genitura consentiunt, constellationes vestrae nativitatis ostendere, vos mutationem magnam allaturum." Tum Doctor: "Nullus est certus de nativitatis tempore, denn Philippus et ego sein der sachen umb ein jar nicht eins. Pro secundo, putatis hanc causam et meum negotium positum esse sub vestra arte incerta? O nein, es ist ein ander ding! Das ist allein Gottes werck. Dazu solt ir mich niemer bereden!"*

Then someone said: "Doctor, many astrologers agree concerning your birth that the constellations of your horoscope show that you will bring about a great change." The doctor: "Nobody is certain of the time of my birth, for Philipp and I differ by a year on the matter. What is more, do you believe that our cause, and my whole enterprise, are subject to your uncertain art? No, this is something else! This is God's work alone. You will never talk me into that!"

Valerius Herberger, *Gloria Lutheri* (Leipzig, 1612), 94.

*Vmbs Jahr Christi 1483. hat Johan Hilden zu seinen München gesaget: Mercket das Jahr 1516. da wird einer kommen / der mich vnd alle die / welchen jhr habt vnrecht gethan / wird rechnen. Eben umb dieselbe zeit hat auch gelebet Johan Lichtenberger / welcher den Herrn Lutherum, vnnd ein klein Männlein hinter jhm / welchs jhm zu seinem vorhaben sehr dienstlich seyn solte (das ist Philippus Melanchthon gewesen) gemahlet hat / wie droben concione prima gedacht worden.*

In the Year of Our Lord 1483, Johann Hilten said to his monks: "Mark well the year 1516. For then a man will come who will avenge me and all those you



have wronged.” At the same time lived Johann Lichtenberger, who depicted Master Luther with a little man behind him who was to be of great service to him in his undertaking (this was Philipp Melanchthon), as mentioned above in the first discourse.

### B.3.3. *Luther and Cardano*

*Cardano's Commentary on His Horoscope of Luther*

Hieronymus Cardanus, *Libelli dvo . . . item geniturae LXVII* (Nuremberg, 1543), fol. N IV<sup>v</sup>.

*HAnc ueram genituram Lutheri, non eam quae sub anno 1484 publicè circumfertur,<sup>152</sup> esse scito. Nec tanto negotio minor genitura debetur, aut tali geniturae minor euentus. Existimo autem non intelligentes huius artis fundamenta, eam corrupisse: nam nec illa robore huic aequalis est, nec si damnare uelis, deest hic quod possis accusare. Nam Mars, Venus, Iupiterque, iuxta uirginis spicam coeunt ad coeli imum ad unguem, ut ex horum conspiratione regia quaedam potestas decernatur, sine sceptro: sunt enim erraticae sub terra. Porrò quòd ad religionem pertineat, iam saepius adeò dictum est, propter spicam uirginis,<sup>153</sup> ut repetere pigeat. Incredibile igitur quantum aug-* \*  
*menti breui tempore habuerit hoc dogma: nam Germaniae maximam partem adegit, Angliam totam, multasque alias regiones, cum adhuc uiuat, nec ulla est prouincia ab huius sectatoribus immunis, praeter Hispanias. Feruet mundus huius schismate, quod, quia Martem admixtum habet & caudam, soluitur in seipso, infinitaque reddit capita, ut si nihil aliud errorem conuincat, multitudo ipsa opinionum ostendere tum possit, cum ueritas una tantum sit, plurimos necessariò aberrare. Porrò firmitatem dogmatis Sol & Saturnus cum lance meridionali,<sup>154</sup> in loco futurae coniunctionis magnae ostendunt, cum diu trigonus ille iam dominaretur. At Luna iuxta ascendens, longitudinem decernit uitae: uerum cum Soli Saturnus adiungatur, pro tanto rerum motu, nullam dignitatem decernit.*

Know that this is the true nativity of Luther, not the one that is generally circulated under the year 1484. So great a matter deserves no lesser horoscope, nor such a horoscope a lesser outcome; I think, however, that those who do not understand the principles of this art have corrupted it: for it is not equal in strength to this present one—nor, should you wish to condemn, is matter for reproach lacking.

Mars, Venus, and Jupiter are conjunct Spica Virginis at the Imum Coeli in Libra, so that from their concord a certain royal power may be discerned, but without a scepter: for they are erratics below Earth. Further, as regards religion, this has already been said so often, on account of Spica Virginis, that it would be tedious to repeat. It is therefore incredible how much that belief has grown in a short time: for it has bound most of Germany, all of England, and many other regions, while he still lives, and no province is free of his followers except Spain. The world is in ferment with this man's schism, which, because he has Mars and the Dragon's Tail mixed in, fragments itself of its own accord

and grows countless heads; even if there were nothing else to refute the error, the very multitude of opinions suffices to show that (since there is only one truth) a great many are inevitably going astray. Further, firmness of dogma is shown by the Sun and Saturn with *Lanx Meridionalis* in the position of the future great conjunction, since for a long time that triplicity was dominant. The Moon on the Ascendant confers length of life: but when Saturn is conjunct the Sun, in view of so great an upheaval, it confers no great dignity.

*Luther against Cardano*

*Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke* (1543), Erlangen ed., 62:321

*D. M. L. ward seine Nativität, Ciceronis und vieler Anderen zu Nürnberg gedruckt bracht;*<sup>155</sup> *da sagt er: "Ich halte nichts davon, eigene ihnen gar nichts zu, aber gerne wollt ich, dass sie mir diess Argument solvireten: Esau und Jacob sind von einem Vater und einer Mutter, auf eine Zeit, und unter gleichem Gestirn geboren, und doch gar widerwärtiger Natur, Art und Sinn. Summa, was von Gott geschicht, und sein Werk ist, das soll man dem Gestirn nicht zuschreiben. Ah, der Himmel fraget nach dem nicht, wie auch unser Herr Gott nach dem Himmel nicht fraget. Die rechte christliche Religion confutirt und widerlegt solche Mährlin und Fabelwerk allzumal."*

Dr. M. L. was shown his horoscope, that of Cicero, and many others, printed at Nuremberg. He said: "I think nothing of them, and set no store by them; but I would be glad if they would solve this problem for me: Esau and Jacob were born of one father and one mother, at one time, and under the same stars, and yet completely contrary in nature, demeanor, and mind. In short, what comes from God, and is his handiwork, is not to be ascribed to the stars. The sky pays no heed to this, just as Our Lord pays no heed to the sky. The true Christian religion altogether confutes and repudiates such tales and fables."

*B.4. The Deluge Panic of 1524*

*Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen ed., 62:327 f.

*D. M. L. sagte von der Narrheit der Mathematicorum und Astrologorum, der Sternkücker, "die von einer Sündfluth oder grossem Gewässer hätten gesagt, so Anno 1524 kommen sollte, das doch nicht geschach; sondern das folgende 25. Jahr stunden die Bauren auf, und wurden aufrührerisch. Davon sagte kein Astrologus nicht ein Wort." Er redete aber vom Bürgermeister Hohndorf: "derselbe liess ihm ein viertel Bier in sein Haus hinauf ziehen, wollte da warten auf die Sindfluth, gleich als würde er nicht zu trinken haben, wenn sie käme. Aber zur Zeit des Zorns war ein Coniunctio, die hiess Sünde und Gottes Zorn, das war ein ander Coniunctio, denn die im 24. Jahre."*

Dr. M. L. spoke of the folly of the mathematicians and astrologers, the stargazers, "who had talked of a deluge or great flood, which was to come in the year 1524, but which did not come to pass. In the following year, however, '25, the peasants rose up in arms—of which not one astrologer had a single

word to say.” He went on to speak of Burgomaster Hohndorf, “who had a quarter of beer hauled up inside his house to wait there for the Deluge, as if he would not have had plenty to drink when it came. But at the hour of wrath there was a conjunction, which was that of sin and God’s wrath; and that was a very different conjunction from that of the year of ’24.”

*B.5. Luther on Divination from Natural Portents*

*Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen ed., 62:327

*... denn Gott hat sie geschaffen und an das Firmament gesetzt und geheftet, dass sie das Erdreich erleuchten, das ist, fröhlich sollen machen, und gute Zeichen sein der Jahre und Zeiten... Sie aber, die Sternkücken, und die aus dem Gestirn wollen vorhersagen und verkündigen, wie es einem gehen soll, erdichten, dass sie die Erde verfinstern und betrüben und schädlich sein. Denn alle Creaturen Gottes sind gut, und von Gott geschaffen, nur zum guten Brauch. Aber der Mensch machet sie böse mit seinem Missbrauchen. Und es sind Zeichen, nicht Monstra, Ungeheuer. Die Finsternisse sind Ungeheuer und Monstra, gleichwie Missgeburten.*

... For God created them and set them and fixed them in the firmament to give light upon the earth; that is, to make it joyful, and to be fair signs for the years and for the seasons... They, on the other hand, the stargazers, and those who seek to prophesy and foretell from the stars what the future holds, imagine that these things darken the earth, and trouble it, and are harmful. For all God’s creations are good, and created by God only to be put to good use; but man makes them evil by his ill use of them. These are signs, but not portents or evil omens. Eclipses are evil omens and portents, as are monstrous births.

*Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen ed., 62:319 f.

*Am 8. Decembris 1542 hatte einer von Minkwitz eine Deklaration öffentlich in der Schule, darinnen er lobete die Astronomiam und Sternkunst. Da nun Doctor Martin Luthern solches angezeigt ward, wie er diesen Spruch Jeremiä am zehnten widerlegt hätte: Ihr sollt euch nicht fürchten für den Zeichen des Himmels usw., gleich als wäre dieser Spruch nicht wider die Astrologiam, sondern redte nur von den Bildern der Heiden; sprach der D.: “Sprüche kann man wohl confutiren, widerlegen, aber nicht erlegen und niederlegen. Dieser Spruch redet von allen Zeichen am Himmel, auf Erden und im Meer, wie auch Moses thut. Denn die Heiden waren nicht so närrisch, dass sie sich vor Sonn und Monden gefurcht hätten, sondern für den Wunderzeichen und ungeheuren Gesichtern, Portenten und Monstris, dafür fürchten sie sich, und ehreten sie. Zudem, so ist Astrologia keine Kunst, denn sie hat keine principia und demonstrationes, darauf man gewiss unwankend fussen und gründen könnte...”*

On 8 December 1542 a man from Minkwitz gave a public address at the School in which he praised astronomy and the art of the stars. When

Dr. Martin Luther was apprised of this, and how the man had denied the saying of Jeremiah in the tenth chapter: "Be not dismayed at the signs of heaven . . .," saying that this was not directed against astrology but only against the images of the heathen, the Doctor said: "Sayings can be contradicted and refuted, but not confuted and denied. This saying concerns all signs in the heavens, on earth, and in the sea; as Moses also does. For the heathen were not such fools as to live in fear of the Sun and the Moon, but of signs and wonders, monstrous sights, portents and omens: those they feared and worshiped. Furthermore, astrology is not an art, for it has no *principia* and *demonstrationes* on which to take a sure and certain footing."

**Appendix C: Prefaces and Extracts from the Prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger**

*Die Weissagunge Johannis Lichtenbergers / deudsch / zugericht mit vleys. Sampt einer nutzlichen vorrede vnd vnterricht D. Martini Luthers / Wie man die selbige vnd der gleichen weissagunge vernemen sol. Wittemberg. M.D.xxvij.*

Colophon: *Verdeutscht durch Stephanum Rodt. Getruckt zu Wittemberg durch Hans Lufft. M.D.xxvij.—*

**Vorrhede Martini Luthers. Auff die Weissagung des Johannis Lichtenbergers**  
*Weil dis buch des Johannis Lichtenbergers mit seinen weissagungen / nicht alleine ist weit auskomen / beyde ynn latinischer vnd deudscher sprache / sondern auch bey vielen gros gehalten / bey etlichen auch veracht ist / Sonderlich aber die geistlichen sich itzt des hoch trosten vnd frewen. Nach dem aus diesem buch ein fast gemeine rede ist entstanden gewest / Es wurde ein mal vber die pfaffen gehen / vnd darnach widder gut werden / Vnd meinen / es sey nu geschehen / sie seyen hindurch / das yhr verfolgung durch der bauren auffrur vnd des Luthers lere sey von diesem Lichtenberger gemeinet. Vmb des alles willen bin ich bewogen / mit dieser vorrhede den selbigen Lichtenberger noch eins aus zu lassen / mein vrteil druber zu geben / zu vnterricht aller / die des begeren / Ausgenomen die geistlichen / wilchen sey verboten / sampt yhrem anhang / das sie mir ia nichts gleuben / Denn die mir gleuben sollen / werden sich doch on sie wol finden.*

*Erstlich sind etliche Propheten / wilche alleine aus dem heiligen geiste weissagen / wie Zacharia. 7. spricht. die wort die der HERR Zebaoth durch seinen geist sandte ynn den Propheten / Wie auch Petrus zeuget. 2. Pet. 1. Die weissagung der schrift / kumpt nicht aus eigener auslegung / denn es ist noch nie keine weissagung aus menschen willen erfurbracht / Sondern / die heiligen menschen Gottes haben geredt / getrieben vom heiligen geist. Diese weissagung ist gericht vnd gehet darauff / das die gottlosen gestrafft / die frumen erloset werden / vnd <A ii> treibt ymer dar / auff den glauben an Gott vnd die gewissen zu sichern vnd auffzurichten / Vnd wenn not vnd trubsal da ist odder komen sol / trostet sie die frumen / Vnd gehet auch die frumen alleine an / mit den gottlosen hat sie nichts zu thun / denn das sie yhn drewet*

*und sie straffet / Nicht aber trostet noch verheist. Widder diese weissagung hat der Satan auch seine weissagunge / das sind die falschen Propheten / rotten / secten vnd ketzer / durch wilche er den glauben an Gott verderbet / die gewissen zustöret vnd verfuret mit lügen trostet / mit falscheit drewet / Vnd ficht also on unterlas widder die reyne weissagung vnd lere Gottes.*

*Dieser art is der Lichtenberger keiner / denn er berümbt noch berufft sich nicht auff den heiligen geist / wie die rechten vnd falschen Propheten thun / sondern grundet seine weissagung ynn des hymels lauff vnd naturliche kunst der gestirne mit yhren einflussen vnd wirckunge. Auch so nympt er sich widder des glaubens noch der gewissen an / widder leret noch verfuret / widder trostet noch straffet / Redet aber schlecht daher von zukunfftigen dingen / es treffe gottlosen odder frumen / wie es yhm seine kunst ym gestirne gibt. Er redet wol auch von der Christlichen kirchen / aber nicht anders / denn wie sie eusserlich stehet ynn leiblichen geberden vnd gütern vnd hirschaften / Gar nichts / wie sie ym glauben vnd trost des heiligen geistes stehet / Das ist / er redet nichts von der rechten Christlichen kirchen / Sondern gleich wie die selbige Sternkunst von allen andern heidnischen hirschaften vnd königreichen pflegt zu reden. Darumb er auch der Hussiten / als feinde der kirchen gedencckt / Vnd des geschlechts Dan / daraus der Endechrist komen solle. Vnd stehet seine reformation darynn / das man die langen har verschneyte / die schnebel an den schuchen abthut vnd bretspiel verbrennet / das sind seine Christen / Also das gar eine leibliche weissagung ist / von eitel leiblichen dingen.*

*Summa / seine weissagung ist nicht eine geistliche offinba- <A ii> runge denn die selbige geschicht on die sternkunst / vnd ist auch der sternkunst nicht unterworffen / Sondern es ist eine heidnische alte kunst / die bey den Römern vnd auch zuuor bey den Chaldeen fast herlich vnd gemein war / Aber sie kundten dem könige zu Babilon seine trewme nicht sagen noch deuten / Daniel muste es thun durch den geist / So feileten die Römer auch gar offte. Darumb ist zu sehen / ob die selbige kunst auch etwas vermüge vnd könne zutreffen / denn ich selbs diesen Lichtenberger nicht weis an allen orten zuuerachten / Hat auch etliche ding eben troffen / sonderlich mit den bilden vnd figuren nahe hin zu geschossen / schier mehr denn mit den worten.*

*Hie ist zu mercken / das Gott der alleine alles gemacht hat / auch selbs alles regiret / auch alleine zukunfftiges weis vnd sagen kan / Hat er doch zu sich genomen / beyde seine Engel vnd vns menschen / durch wilche er wil regiren / das wir mit yhm / vnd er mit vns wircke / Denn wie wol er kundte / weib vnd kind / haus vnd hof / on vns regiren / neeren vnd beschirmen / so wil ers doch durch vns thun / vnd setzet ein den vater odder hausherrn vnd spricht / Sey vater vnd mutter gehorsam. Vnd zum vater / Zeuch vnd lere deine kinder. Jtem also kundert er auch wol on konige / fursten / herrn vnd richter / weltlich regiren / fride halten vnd die bösen straffen / Er wil aber nicht / sondern teilet das schwerd aus vnd spricht / straffe die bösen / schutze die frumen vnd handthabe den friden. Wie wol ers doch selbs durch vns thut / vnd wir nur seine laruen sind / vnter wilcher er sich verbirget vnd alles ynn*

allen wirckt / wie wir Christen das wol wissen. Gleich wie er auch ym geistlichen regiment seiner Christen / selbs alles thut / leret / trostet / straffet / und doch den Aposteln das wort / ampt vnd dienst eusserlich befilhet das sie es thun sollen. Also braucht er vns menschen / beyde ynn leiblichem vnd geistlichem regiment / die wellt vnd alles was drynnen ist / zu regiren.

Eben so braucht er auch der Engel / wie wol wir nicht wissen <A iii> wie dasselbige zugehet / denn er befilhet yhn nicht das schwert / wie der weltlichen öbirkeit / noch das eusserliche wort / wie den predigern / noch das brod vnd kleid / vihe vnd haus / wie den haushaltern vnd eltern. Denn wir sehen noch hören der keines von den Engeln / wie wirs von den menschen sehen vnd hören. Dennoch sagt die schrift an viel orten / das er die wellt durch die Engel regire / Eym yglichen keyser / könige / fursten / herrn / ia eym yglichen menschen seinen Engel zuuerordent / der sein bestes bey yhm thu / vnd fodder yhn ynn sein regiment vnd hirschafft / Wie Danielis .x. der Juden Engel klagt / das der Persen engel yhm widderstanden habe / Aber der Kriechen Engel kome yhm zu hülffe. Wie aber die lieben Engel hieruber eyns bleyben fur Gott / vnd doch widdernander sind fur den menschen / gleich wie die konige yhn befolhen / widdernander sind / las ich hie dis mal anstehen vmb der satsamen geister willen / wilche ynn einem augenblick können lernen / alles was Christus vnd alle nötige artikel des glaubens foddern / vnd darnach auff fragen fallen / sich bekümmern / was Gott fur der wellt gemacht habe / vnd der gleichen / auff das sie hie auch yhren furwitz zu bussen haben mit den lieben Engeln / Sondern wollen das fur nemen / das aller leichteste / wilchs sie auch so bald sie es hören / kostlich wol verstehen.

Nemlich das / Weil Gott die gottlosen ynn weltlicher öbirkeit durch sich vnd seine Engel regirt (wie gesagt ist) allermeist vmb seines worts willen / das es muge gepredigt werden / wilchs nicht kondte geschehen / wo nicht fride ynn landen were / So nympt er sich auch desselbigen mit ernst an / Vnd lest sie zu weylen durch seine Engele furen vnd gluck haben / zu weylen auch wunderbarlich dem vngluck entgehen / wie denn alle Heiden selbs bekennen / das streit vnd sieg stehe schlechts nicht ynn menschen krafft noch witze / sondern ym gluck / Wilchs also zu gehet / das die lieben Engel da sind vnd durch ynnwendige anregen plotzlich einen rad odder synn eingeben / odder eusser- <A iii> lich ein zeichen vnd anstos ynn weg legen / damit der mensch gewar- net odder gewendet wird dieses zu thun / das zu lassen / diesen weg zu zihen / diesen zu meyden / auch oft widder den ersten fursatz. Denn / weil sie mit Worten nicht reden zu vns / thun sie das mit synn eingeben / odder eusserliche ursache plotzlichen furlegen / gleich wie wir pferde vnd oxsen anschreyen / odder holtz vnd steyn ynn weg legen / das sie nicht ynn graben fallen. Soche eusserliche zeichen odder ursache / nennen die Heiden Omina / das ist / böse anzeigung odder warnunge / Dawon yhr bucher vol sind / denn sie sehen wol / das es geschicht / sie wissen aber nicht / wer es thut / Dawon were wol viel zu schreiben vnd exempel anzuzeigen.

Solchs thun die Engel auff erden / Vber das thut Gott ym hymel auch seine zeichen / wenn sie ein vngluck treffen sol / vnd lest schwantzsterne entstehen /

odder Sonn vnd Mond schein verlieren / odder sonst ein vngewöhnliche gestalt erscheinen. Jtem auff erden gewulche wunder geboren werden / beyde an menschen vnd thieren / Wilchs alles die Engel nicht machen / sondern Gott selbs alleine / Mit solchen zeichen drewet er den gottlosen / vnd zeigt an zukunfftig vnfall vber herrn vnd lande / sie zu warnen. Vmb der fromen willen geschicht solchs nichts / denn sie durffens nicht / drum wird yhn auch gesagt. Sie sollen sich fur des hymels zeichen nicht furchten / als Jeremias spricht / denn es gilt yhn nicht / sondern den gottlosen.

Hiraus ist nu komen die sternenkunst / vnd warsager kunst / denn weil es war ist / das solchs geschicht / vnd die erfahrung beweiset / das vngluck odder gluck bedeut / Sind sie zu gefahren / vnd habens wollen fassen vnd ein gewisse kunst draus machen / da sind sie gen hymel gefahren vnd habens ynn die sterne geschrieben / Vnd weil sie feine gedanken gehabt / das sichs mit der sternen art reymet / mussens nu die sterne vnd natur thun / das Gott vnd die Engel thun / Gleich wie die ketzer zu <A iv> erst yhre gedanken finden / darnach die selbigen ynn die schrift tragen / vnd mus denn schrift heissen / was yhn trewmet. Da ist denn der teuffel zu geschlagen / hat sich drein gemenget / vnd wie er ein herr der wellt ist widder Gotts herrschafft / hat er auch des gleichen zeichen viel angericht auff erden / die sie Omina heissen / Vnd hat an manchen orten warsager erweckt / als zu Delphis vnd Hammon / die solche zeichen gedeutet / vnd kunfftige ding haben gesagt. Nu er denn der wellt furst ist vnd aller gottlosen konig vnd herrn sampt yhren lenden / synn vnd wesen fur yhm hat / dazu alle erfahrung von anfang der wellt gesehen / hat er leichtlich können sehen / wo er mit yhn hinaus wolle. Aber weil er nicht gewis ist (denn Gott bricht yhm oft die schantz vnd lest yhn nicht ymer treffen) gibt er seine weissagunge mit solchen wanckenden Worten eraus das / so es geschehe odder nicht / er dennoch war habe / Als da der konig Pyrrhus fragt / ob er die Römer schlagen wurde / Antwort er / Dico Pyrrhum Romanos vincere posse / als wenn ich auf deudsch spreche / Ich sage Hansen Petern schlagen muge / Es schlahe nu Hans odder Peter / so ists beydes durch die wort verstanden / Vnd der gleichen hat er viel gethan durch Gotts verhengnis vnd thuts auch noch / Vnd trifft oft / das geschicht / aber Gott lessts nicht allewege treffen / darumb ist die kunst vngewis / vnd behelfen sich damit / feylets an einem ort / so trifft doch am andern / Widderferets nicht disem / so widderferets doch yhenem.

Was sagen wir denn zum Lichtenberger vnd des gleichen? das sage ich. Erstlich / Den grund seiner sternenkunst halt ich fur recht / aber die kunst vngewis / das ist / Die zeichen am hymel vnd auff erden feylen gewislich nicht / Es sind Gotts vnd der Engel werck / warnen vnd drewen den gottlosen herren vnd lenden / bedeuten auch etwas / Aber kunst darauff zu machen ist nichts / vnd ynn die sterne solchs zu fassen. Zum andern / es mag dennoch wol daneben sein / das yhn Gott odder sein En- <A iv> gel bewegt habe / viel stücke / wilche gleich zutreffen / zu schreiben / wie wol yhn dunckt / die sterne gebens yhm / Aber nichts deste weniger / auff das Gott sehen liesse / das die Kunst vngewisse sey / hatt er yhn lassen feylen etliche mal.

Vnd ist das summa summarum davon / Christen sollen nichts nach solcher

weissagunge fragen / denn sie haben sich Gott ergeben / durffen solchs drewens und warnens nicht. Weil aber der Lichtenberger die zeichen des hymels anzeucht / so sollen auch die gottlosen herren vnd lender fur allen solchen weissagungen furchten / vnd nicht anders dencken / denn es gelte yhn / Nicht vmb yhrer kunst willen / die oft feylen kan vnd mus / sondern vmb der zeichen und warnunge willen / so von Gott vnd Engeln geschicht / darauff sie yhre kunst wöllen grunden / denn die selbigen feylen nicht / des sollen sie gewis sein / Als zu vnsern zeiten haben wir viel sonnen / regenbogen vnd der gleichen am hymel gesehn. Hie ist kein sternkundiger / der gewis hette können odder noch können sagen / es gellte diesem odder jenem konige / den noch sehen wir / was dem konige zu Franckreich / Denemarck / Hungern gewislich widderfahren ist / Vnd wird noch andern konigen vnd fursten auch gehen gewislich.

Derhalben schencke ich den Lichtenberger vnd des gleichen / den grossen hansen vnd lendern / das sie wissen sollen / es gellte yhn / vnd wo er trifft / das solchs geschicht aus den zeichen und warnunge Gotts / darauff er sich grundet / als die da gewislich den grossen hansen gelten / odder durch verhengnis Gottes aus des Satans eingeben. Wo er aber feylet / das solchs aus seiner kunst vnd anfechtung des Satans geschicht / Denn Gotts zeichen vnd der Engel warnunge / sind gemenget mit des Satans eingeben vnd zeichen / wie die wellt denn werd ist / das es wust vnternander gehe vnd nichts unterschiedlich erkennen kan. Das sey mein vrteil vnd vnterricht / die Christen verstehen wol / das <B> so recht ist / Was die ander gleuben / da liegt mir nichts an / Denn sie mussens erfaren / wie man den narren die kolben lauset.

Das nu meine vngnedige herrn die geistlichen sich frewen / als seyen sie hinüber / vnd solle yhn nu hinfurt wol gehen / da wündsch ich yhn glück zu / sie dürffens wol / Aber weil sie yhr gottlose lere vnd leben nicht bessern / sondern auch stercken vnd mehren / wil ich auch geweissagt haben / das / wo es kumpt vber eine kleine zeit / das solch yhr freude zu schanden wird / wil ich gar freundlich bitten / sie wolten mein gedencken / vnd bekennen / das der Luther hab es besser troffen / denn beide der Lichtenberger vnd yhre selbs gedanken: Wo nicht / so wil ich yhn hie mit ernstlich gepotten haben / das sie es bekennen müssen on yhren danck / vnd all vnglück dazu haben / da für sie doch Gott behuete / so ferne sie sich bekeren / Da gebe Got seine gnade zu / AMEN.

<Lichtenberger:> Vorrede vber das folgend Buchlin

WJe wol Gott der Herr zeit vnd stunde yhm allein ynn seiner gewalt furbehalten hat / Wie Christus die ewige warheit selbs bezeuget / Er auch alleine zukunfftige ding weis / Vnd niemand ist ynn dieser welt / der den morgenden tag / odder was daran geschehen sol / wüste vorhin zu verkündigen / Nichts deste weniger / hat der selbige gütige Gott / aus seiner milden vberflüssigen güete vnd barmhertzigkeit / mancherley gaben yn seine Creaturen gegossen / damit er yhnen etliche ding / die noch ferne vnd zukünfftig sind / zuuerstehen vnd zu wissen vergünnet hat / doch nicht gantz klar / <Bv> sondern aus



etlichen gleichnissen / umbstenden / zeichen vnd abnemung der geschehen ding / gegen die / so noch zukunfftig ergehen sollen. Also verkündigen die Vögel ym gesange vnd mit yhrem fliegen / des gleichen auch andere thiere / ynn mancherley weise / die zeit vnd verenderung odder geschicklichkeit der zeit / auch der gleichen mehr dings / wie es damit zukunfftig sol ergehen. Also bedeut abendröte / das der zukunfftige morgen werde schön werden / vnd morgenröte bedeut / das es auff den abend regenen werde. Solche ding sehen wir alle so natürlich geschehen / durch schickung vnd ordenung der natur / yhr von Gott eingegeben / Wie solchs die natürlichen meister die man Philosophos / Mathematicos vnd Astrologos nennet / volkömlich beschrieben haben.

Es lasse sich hierynne niemand yrrer / diesen spruch Aristotelis da er also sagt / Von den zukunfftigen / zufelligen dingen / hat man keine gewisse warheit. Denn der selbige Aristoteles spricht auch / Alles was da zukunfftig ergehen sol / das mus von not wegen komen / Kompt es nu not halben odder sonst anderswo her / so mus es yhe eine vorgehende ursache haben / wie Plato gesagt hat / Solche vorgehende sache / eigentlich vnd volkömlich / weis alleine Gott / der schepffer aller dinge. Er hat aber dem menschen gegeben / vernunft / verstentnis vnd krafft allerley hyn vnd widder zu betrachten / damit er aus den vorgangnen dingen zukunfftige abnemen vnd ermessen künde / Der selbige Gott hat dem menschen auch verliehen kunst vnd erkenntnis der sterne am hymel / daraus man mancherley geschicht / dazu einen das gestirn zeucht / zukünfftig vorhyn sagen mag.

Auff das man aber den grund dieser dinge eigentlich abnemen möge / ist zu mercken / das Gott ynn dreyerley weise dem menschen geben hat zukünfftige ding zu wissen / die ein iglicher der vleis ankeren wil / alle / odder yhe etliche erforschen vnd begreifen mag. Zum ersten (wilchs auch vnter allen die <B ii> gemeinste weise ist) So der mensch lange zeit lebet / mag er durch lange erfahrung sehen vnd hören / vnd also viel dinge durch gleichnis vnd vernünfftliche prüfung zukunfftig sagen / wie denn alte leute das zeugen vnd beweisen.

Die ander weise ist aus den sternnen vnd aus der kunst der Astronmey / wie Ptolemeus spricht / Wer die ursachen der yrdischen dinge erfahren wil / der mus erstlich vnd vor allen dingen acht haben auff die hymelischen körper / Denn / als Aristoteles sagt / so rüret vnd henget diese unterste welt an der obersten / so genaw vnd eben / das auch alle yhre krafft von den hymelischen vnd obersten corporen regirt werde. Auch spricht Ptolomeus / das die menschen yn sitten vnd tugenden durch die sterne unterweiset vnd geendert werden / Denn die sterne geben etlich neygunge den menschlichen körpern / aber sie nötigen doch gantz vnd gar niemand.

Zum dritten / wird dem menschen gegeben / zukunfftige ding zu wissen / durch offenbarung / Denn / wie wol der Vater ynn ewigkeit yhm alleine ynn seine gewalt gesetzt hat / zukunfftige ding zu wissen / hat er doch etlichen sonderlichen menschen solche ding offenbaret / entweder ym geiste / odder ynn einem gesichte / vnd als in einem tunceln vnd verborgenem retzlein / odder auch durch offentliche gesandte Engel / vnd vormittelst mehr andern

heimlichen weisen / das sie künnen zukunfftige ding warhafftiglich sagen / vnd zuuor / ehe sie geschehen / verkündigen / Wie wir das eigentlich vnd klerlich bey den Heiden von der Sibylla lesen / wilche den Römern viel zukunfftiges dinges / on lügen vnd betrug / warhafftig geweissaget vnd verkündiget hat. Vnd gleich die selbige Sibylla / hat auch den Römern / langest zuuor ehe es geschach / gesagt / Das der Tempel der ewigkeit / nicht ehe zerfallen solt / bis das eine iungfraw einen son gepüre. Vnd viel ander ding mehr / hat sie yhnen gesagt / das sich mit der zeit alles hat begeben / Wilchs sie doch nicht hette thun können / wenn sie nicht ein geist / yhr von Got <B ii> gegeben / gehabt hette. Also haben auch die Propheten ym alten Testament zukunfftig ding geweissaget / Des sind nu viel exempel. Vnd zu letzt auch zu unsern zeiten / ym newen Testament sind dem heiligen Johanne / da er dem Herrn auff der brust lag / die heimlichkeiten Gottes / so am ende der welt erfur kummen solten / offenbart worden. Der andern wil ich schweigen / alleine der einigen Brigiden wil ich gedencken / wilcher offinbarung hie ynn diesem büchlein werden unterweilen zum marckte komen. Zu der selbigen wollen wir auch einen rechnen / der heist Reinhard Lolhard / wie es sich alles hernach finden wird an seinen orten.

Die itzt ertzelten drey wege vnd weise / zukunfftige dinge zu wissen / wird der Meister dis büchleins / der sich wil vngenant haben / fur sich nemen / vnd wird viel dinges / das da ynn kunfftigen iaren geschehen sol / mit glaubwirdigen ursachen vnd bewegnissen anzeigen / warlich nicht freuelich vnd unbesunnen / auch nicht mit einem stoltzen vnd auffgeblasenem mut / sondern als eine trewliche warnung vnd vermanung / damit er warnet vnd ermanet höchlich vnd mit ernst alle menschen / vnd sonderlich Fursten vnd Oberkeit / das sie hülffe vnd rad suchen wolten / damit man dem zukunfftigen vnglück begegnen / vnd viel arges verhüten künde. Denn versehen geschütz thut wenigern schaden. Derhalben mügen sie sich huten vnd fursehen / so viel sie mügen / vnd wolten yhe nicht einem iglichen geiste glewben / Denn glaub vnd trew ist nu zur zeit ein seltzamer vogel ynn der welt. Wo aber nu kein glaub noch trew ist / da kan kein guter rad sein / vnd wir keinen rad auff erden finden können / so ist keine andere zuflucht / denn das wir bey / Gott dem aller höchsten / rad hülff vnd beystand suchen.

Derwegen so last vns alle anruffen vnd andechtiglich bitten / den selbigen gütigen vnd barmhertzigen Gott / vnd unsern Herrn Jhesum Christum / das er vns durch seine gnade <B iii> wolle verzeihen unsere missethat / wolle vns bekeren zum guten / vns ynn einem rugigem fride erhalten / vnd seinen zorn von vns abwenden / Er wolle fur vns stehen / so wird vns niemand künnen schaden. Jtzt wollen wir nu zu diesem büchlein greiffen / vnd höret mit vleis zu.

### <Das erste Capitel>

<D> Hie steht ein alter gebuckter bertichter / hinckender man / der helt sich an einen stab mit der lincken hand / vnd hat eine sichel in der rechten / vnd ligt auff einem manne der hat einen ochsen bey den hörnern ynn der rechten

hand / gleich als er yhn erwürgen wolt / Vnd zwischen den zweyen stehet das zeichen Scorpion.

<D<sup>v</sup>: woodcut, see our fig. 135.<sup>156</sup>>

DAs ist eine namhafftige Constellation fast wol zu mercken vnd zu betrachten / der schwerwichtigen grossen Planeten des Saturni vnd Jupiters / wilcher Coniunction vnd zusammen lauffung / erschrecklich ding drewet / vnd verkündiget vns viel zukunfftigs vnglücke / Vnd ist volkomen gewesen / nach Christi gepurt ym iare / M.cccc.lxxxiiij. am funff und zwentzigsten tage Nouembris / des Weinmondes / umb die sechste stunde / vier Minut nach mitage / wie wol der krebs eins grads hoch auffsteyge vber den Horizontem.

Der selbige zweyen planeten Coniunction vnd zusammen lauffung geschicht seer selten / vnd nicht ehe / denn nach verlauffung einer langen zeit / vnd wenn viel gestirn herumb komen sind / vnd derhalben bringet sie auch einen sterckern ein- <D ii> flus. Zu wilcher erschrecklichen Coniunction / ist das gressliche vnd scheussliche haus des aller vnglückhafftigen zeichens des Scorpion / geeigent vnd verordnet / ynn dem .23. grad vnd .43. minut / darynne sich frewet der stern des falschen Martis / Vnd das am aller ergsten ist / vnd ein vrsach werden wird alles vnglücks / der störrige vnd boshafftiger Saturnus hat mit seiner erhöhung gegen mitternacht den gutigen vnd freuntlichen Jupiter untergedruckt / Auch ist Mars ein herr dieser Coniunction / vnd der mitten vom hymel gresslich vnd vol drewens herunter sihet / yn seinem eigen königlichem haus auch königlichem zeichen sitzend vnd erhaben / Derhalben er yhm auch alle ordenung vnd regierung dieser Coniunction zuschreibet vnd zueignet. Vnd darumb die viel der freuntliche Jupiter also von Saturno vnd Marte gefasset / vnd von yhrem bösen glentzen untergedruckt ist / kan er yhrer macht vnd gewalt nicht widderstehen / mag auch derhalben seine heilsame vnd gewöhnliche hülffe durch seine freuntlichkeit den menschen nicht mit teilen.

Dieweil aber solcher grausamer / wie wol langsamer Coniunction bedeutung sich auff viel iare erstrecket / düncket mich nicht vnnütze sein / etliche andere Constellation so zwischen dieser zeit mit einfallen / allhie auch mit anzuzeigen / auff das man von den selbigen / so sie allenthalben wol bewogen vnd billiche vrsachen yhrer vereinigung furgebracht wurden / aus allen / wie wol vngleichen vrsachen / doch eine gleiche form vnd werck herausser ziehe.

Es hat sich auch begeben ym iare / M.cccc.lxxxv. ein erschreckliche vnd fast ein gresslich Eclipsis vnd finsternis der Sonne / wilchs wird der grossen Coniunction obgemelt / yhre bedeutung / yhre krafft vnd böse wercke / die sie pflegt zu bringen / noch viel böser machen / des gleichen auch die Coniunction der zweyer bösen stern Saturni vnd Martis / die da gewesen ist / am letzten tage Nouembris / ym neunenden grad des Scorpions / zu der vuuolkommenen <sic> stunde / der verbrennung des <D ii> Mondes.<sup>157</sup> / In wilcher coniunction / der boshafftige Saturnus / mit seiner erhebung den Martem yn seinem eigen hause unterdrucket / vnd viel zeugnis zukunfftiges vnglücks bringet /

*auch mechtiglich seer die grausamkeit obverzelten Constellation mehret vnd bestetiget. Aber die andere freuntliche Coniunction des gütigen Jupiters vnd des grausamen odder zornigen Martis / wilche newlich ym .18. grad des Scorpions / zusammen gelauffen sind / mit Jupiters glück / ynn dem das er sich vber den Martem erhaben hat / wird ein wenig messigen das vnglück / obenangezeigter böser Constellationen. Drumb duncket michs auch gut sein / alhie zu erzelen / etliche grosse Coniunctiones / vnd zusammen lauffung der Planeten / so sich ynn vergangener zeit begeben haben / wilcher bedeutung nach etlicher meinung / bis auff diese zeit sol wehren.*

*Der grosse umblauff des hymels / der den namen hat von der Coniunction die fur der sindflut war / ist von grad zu grad / vnd fuss fur fuss zu dem .15. grad des leuens des .12. minuts / langsam vnd fewlichen komen / Des selbigen umblauffts Regiment vnd gubernation ist von recht zuerteilt dem Mond vnd hat seine macht angenommen / vnd der grad der direction ist gefurt vnd komen zu dem funfften teil der Wage / vnd besitzt die selbige / vnd der selbigen teil zeucht yhm der Monde zu. Aber umb die grossen Coniunctiones / die da bedeut haben / als man sagt / die zukunfft vnseres heilandes vnd seligmachers Christi / ist es also gethan gewesen / das der fortgang odder folgung des auffsteigenden zeichens des selbigen iares gekomen sey / bis zu dem .13. grad der Wage / Aber die folgung des orts / da die Coniunction ynne gewesen ist / ist gebracht ynn den .19. grad des Widders / vnd wird alda aufgenommen / Vnd der grad der direction ist von dem Ascendente bis zu dem .12. grad / des Scorpions gekomen / wilchen Venus zurteilet.*

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*<O iii> Bald hernach odder schier umb die selbige zeit / wird ein ander Prophet erstehen / nemlich / als ein geistlich man / der grosse wunderliche heilickeit wird furgeben. <Followed by a woodcut: prophet with rosary.>*

### Das ein und dreissigste Capitel

*DJese wunderliche Constellation vnd zusammenlauffung der sterne zeigt an / das da sol geporn werden noch ein ander kleiner Prophet / der sol trefflich sein mit wunderlicher auslegung der schrift / vnd sol auch antwort von sich geben mit einem grossen ansehen der gotheit / der da wird die seelen der menschen / so zur erden gefallen sind / seinem gepiet vnd herrschaft unterwerffen. Denn die Sternseher pflegen kleine Propheten die zu nennen / die da yrgend eine verenderung yn den gesetzen machen / oder bringen neue Ceremonien auff / die auch die Götlichen künste vnd [O iii<sup>v</sup>] sprüche / mit vleissiger deutung auslegen / wilcher meinung vnd wörter / die leute als fur Götliche vrteil vnd lere / annemen / Aber es geschicht / das vnter den selbigen etliche falsch sind / als der Mahumet / Etliche reden auch war / als da sind gewesen der heilige Franciscus vnd der heilige Dominicus. Was aber das wird fur einer sein / wird hiernach kund vnd offenbar werden. Vnd wiewol ich diesen beschlus halte fur warhafftig zu bekennen von allen Sternsehern / vnd die dieser kunst erfahren sind / Doch das es müge deste klerer angesehen werden /*

so wil ich zu einer erhaltung vnd warmachung des selbigen ein wenig ein auslauff machen / vnd ertzelen etliche namhafftige Coniunctiones vnd zusammenlauffunge der verwandelten triplicitet / so ynn langen vnd viel iaren daher sind geschehen. Vnter wilchen eine ynn der wesserichten triplicitet / ym iare M.ccc.lxv. ym achten grad des Scorpions / ist vollenkomen worden / Aber die zwo so vor der sind geschehen / vnd aber zwo die der selbigen nachfolgen ynn der lufftigen triplicitet / sind ynn den Zwillingen vnd ym Wasserman geschehen. Die dritte aber nach der selbigen / wilche ist gewesen ym iare M.cccc.xxv. ist widderumb komen zu der wesserichten triplicitet ym. xiiij. grad des Scorpions / vnd ist bis auff den heutigen tag ynn der selbigen triplicitet geblieben. Also halt ichs nu da fur / das es offenbar genug sey / das man warten sol / auff eine gepurt eines neuen Propheten.

<Fol. O iv> Die gepurt eines neuen Propheten. <Followed by a woodcut showing the birth.>

#### Das zwey vnd dreissigst Capitel

Ich sage / das ym lande dem Scorpion unterworfen / ein Prophet wird geporn werden / so das man zuuor etliche wunderzeichen vnd seltzame ding wird am hymel sehen / Aber an wilchem ende der welt / ob es gegen Mitternacht odder Mittag geschehen sol / sind so viel vnd mancherley meinung der gelarten leute / vnd so widdersynnische vrteil vnd anzeigungen / das sie gerad widdereinander stimmen. Albumazar helts dafur / das die wasserichten zeichen / die landart gegen Mittag bedeuten. Doch der gemeine hauff der Sternseher wil / das sie die landart gen Mitternacht anzeigen. Es sej gleichwol was es wolle / so sagt Messahala / das er sol geporn werden ynn eim lande / das da mittelmessig ist / der hitze vnd feuchtickeit halben / Jnn wilchem lande die <O iv> subtile mittelmas der lufft / mit vermischter temperierung der hitz vnd kelde / alle einwoner mit heilsamer zunemung enthelt. Der selbige Prophet wird aus seinem eigen vaterlande gehen / vnd wird zeichen thun yn den landen / so dem Lewen vnd Wasserman sind unterworfen. Denn wie Albumazar sagt / so wird er seine wunderzeichen offenbaren ynn den landen / die durch den vierden Aspect bedeutet sind / Wilchs auch mit aller Stern seher bewilligung ist bestetiget. Das bezeuget auch diser spruch unsers Seligmachers / Kein Prophet is angensem ynn seinem vaterlande. Aber die weil diese Coniunction ym ascendent des iares / vnd ynn eim stetten festen zeichen erst wird volkomen sein / so wird man auff diese namhafftige gepurt nicht ehe warten durffen / denn nach erfüllung der reuolution der einigen proiection. Darumb so sage ich / das umb das neunzehende iar von der Coniunction / dieser Prophet erstlich wird auff diese welt komen. Aber die zeit seines predigens wird wehren neunzehen iar / nach den kleinen iaren der Sonne. Wollen wir aber seiner kleidung vnd tracht halben dem Albumazar folgen / so werden sie rötlich sein vnd glintzern / so das man des eine anzeigung neme von dem Marte ym zehenden / vnd von der Sonne seines herrns. Aber denen nach zu folgen / die da wollen haben / man sol die gestalt vnd figur der Coniunction

*ansehen / so das man die anzeigung herneme von dem Jupiter / Mond / vnd vom heubte des Draches / so werden seine kleder weisferbicht sein / wie der Münche kleidung / vnd er wird eine neue geistlikeit anrichten.*

*Da stehet ein Munch ynn einer weissen kappen / vnd der Teuffel sitzt yhm auff sein achseln / hat ein langer zepplier bis auff die erden / mit weitten ermeln / vnd hat ein iungen München bey yhm stehend.*

<Followed by fol. P with the woodcut just described, see our fig. 136.>

### Das XXXIII Capitel

*DJs sind vnd werden die zeichen sein / da bey man yhn wird erkennen / Er wird schwartze fleckichen haben am leibe / vnd wird einen heslichen leib haben von braunfleckichten manchferbichten mackeln ynn der rechten seyten / beym schos vnd an der huffe / Er stehet am teil des glücks / zur rechten hand des hymels / vnd ym zehenden vom Horoscopo doch / das der ascendent der beider destе weibischer sey / vnd werden sich auff das hinderste teil des leibes am meisten neygen. Er wird auch noch ein ander zeichen an der brust haben / aus dem teil des zeichens / wilchs ym sechsten grade des Lewens erfunden ist. Dieser Prophet (wie das selbige Firmicus<sup>158</sup> bezeuget) wird erschrecklich sein den Götten vnd den Teuffeln / er wird viel zeichen vnd wunderwerck thun / Seine zukunfft werden auch die bösen geiste fliehen / vnd <P> die menschen / so mit dem Teuffel besessen sind / wird er nicht aus krafft der worter / sondern allein das er sich sehen lesst erretten. Aber aus dem teil des reichs yn dem eilfften dieser Coniunction / wie da sagt Antonius de monte Vlmo<sup>159</sup> / wird er nicht allzeit thun was er andern zu thun wird radten. Denn er wird ein trefflichen verstand haben / vnd vieler dinge kunst / vnd eine seer grosse weisheit / doch wird er ynn heucheley oft lügen reden / vnd er wird ein gebrand gewissen haben / Vnd wie ein Scorpion / der des Martis haus ist ynn dieser Coniunction vnd finsternis / wird er die giff / so er ym schwantz hat / oft ausgiessen. Vnd er wird auch ein vrsach sein grosses blutuergiessens. Vnd die weil Mars sein anzeiger ist / so lest sichs ansehen / das wolle der Chaldeer glauben bestetigen / wie es Messahala bezeuget.*

*Wiewol nu dieser Prophet viel zeichen vnd wunderwerck geben wird / doch nach der heilsamen lere Christi / sol man yhm mit nichte anhangen / Ja er wird fur der einer angesehen werden / von wilchen Christus verkundiget / das sie zukunfftig sein wurden / wie man das findet yn der heiligen schrift von Christo vnserm seligmacher selbs angezeigt Matthei .xxiiij. da er also saget / So denn yemand zu euch wird sagen / Sihe / hie ist Christus / odder da / so solt yhrs nicht gleuben / Denn es werden falsche Christi vnd falsche Propheten auffstehen / vnd grosse zeichen vnd wunder thun / das verfuret werden yn der yrthum / wo es muglich were / auch die auserwelten / Sihe ich habs euch zuuor gesagt. Darumb wenn sie euch sagen werden / Sihe / er ist ynn der wusten / so gehet nicht hynaus / Sihe / er ist ynn der kamer / so gleubet nicht. Das ist vnser Herr Jhesus Christus.*

The prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger, diligently translated into German. With a valuable preface and instruction by Master Martin Luther, as to how these and similar prophecies are to be interpreted. Wittenberg, 1527.

<Final colophon:> Done into German by Stephanus Rodt. Printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft, 1527.

### **Preface by Martin Luther to the Prophecy of Johann Lichtenberger**

Because this book by Johann Lichtenberger, with his prophecies, has not only traveled far, in both the Latin and German tongues, but is highly esteemed by many—though by some also despised—the clergy in particular now derive great comfort and joy from it. For this book gave rise to an almost universal opinion that the priests would suffer, but that their sufferings would come to an end. And they suppose that this has now come to pass, and that the worst is over; and that this Lichtenberger prophesied the sufferings that came upon them through the peasant uprising and the teaching of Luther. For which reason I am moved to set the same Lichtenberger loose once more, together with this foreword, in which I give my own view of the matter for the instruction of all those who may wish to hear—with the exception of the clergy and their followers, whom I forbid ever to believe a thing that I say. Even without them, I shall find such as will believe me.

First, there are some prophets whose words spring solely from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Zechariah, 7{.12}, speaks of “the words which the LORD of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets”; and Peter, 2 Peter 1{.20–21}, also says: “No prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” Such prophecy is just, and its outcome is always that the reprobate are punished and the godly delivered; it always tends to reaffirm and to establish conscience and faith in God. And when hardship and affliction come, such prophecy comforts the godly. It is addressed to none but the godly; with the reprobates it has nothing to do, except insofar as it admonishes and chastens them. It neither consoles them nor promises them anything. In opposition to such prophecy, Satan has prophecies of his own; such are the false prophets, gangs, sects, and heretics through whom he corrupts faith in God, destroys and depraves consciences, gives lying comfort, utters false threats, and wages unceasing war against the pure prophecy and teaching of God.

Lichtenberger is not one of these, for he makes no claim to speak from the Holy Ghost, as both true and false prophets do; he founds his prophecy on the movements of the heavens and the natural art of the stars, their influences, and their workings. And so he addresses neither faith nor conscience; he neither instructs nor seduces, neither comforts nor chastens; but speaks straightforwardly of things to come, both for the ungodly and for the godly, as his art of astrology instructs him. He speaks, it is true, of the Christian Church; but only of its outer condition, in its bodily presence and goods and dominions, and not of its standing in the faith and comfort of the Holy Ghost. That is to

say, he says nothing of the true Christian Church, but only speaks as the art of astrology is wont to speak of all other, heathen, dominions and realms. And so he looks upon the Hussites as enemies of the Church, and as the Tribe of Dan from which, he says, the Antichrist is to come. His idea of Reformation is cropping long hair short, removing the long points from shoes, and consigning board games to the fire: such are his Christians. And so this is a purely material prophecy of vain, material things.

In short, his prophecy is not a spiritual revelation: for that is accomplished without need of astrology, and is not subject to astrology. For astrology is an ancient, heathen art that prevailed among the Romans, as it did among the Chaldeans before them. But they could not tell or interpret the king of Babylon's dreams; only Daniel could do so, through the agency of the Spirit. The Romans very often failed in the same way. And so it remains to be seen whether any skill still resides in that art, and whether it can strike true. For I cannot bring myself to despise this Lichtenberger in every respect. He hit upon some truths, and in his pictures and figures, in particular, he came very close to the mark; far more so than in words.

It must be observed in this connection that God, who is the sole maker of all things, who governs all things, and who alone knows all things to come, has nevertheless appointed the angels and our own humankind, through whom he means to govern, so that we may act with him and he through us. For, although he has no need of any help from us in governing, feeding, and protecting our wives and children, our houses and lands, he still chooses to do so through us; and he sets up the father or the head of the family and says, "Honor thy father and thy mother." And, to the father, he says: "Beget and instruct thy children." Likewise, he might govern the world, maintain the peace, and chastise evildoers without the aid of kings, princes, lords, and judges. He will not do so; he passes on the sword and says, "Punish the evildoers, protect the godly, and keep the peace." And yet it is he who acts through us, and we are only his masks, behind which he conceals himself and does all that is done: as we Christians well know. Likewise, in the spiritual governance of his Christians, it is he who acts in everything, whether teaching, comforting, or chastening; and yet he seems to vest the word, the office, and the duty in the apostles, whom he commands to act for him. And so, both in temporal and in spiritual governance, he uses us men to govern the world and all that is in it.

He employs the angels in a similar way, we know not how; for he entrusts them with no sword, such as he gives to the temporal power; nor with any word, in a bodily sense, such as he gives to the preachers; nor with bread and clothing, livestock and dwelling, such as he gives to householders and parents. For we never see and hear the angels, as we do human beings. However, in many places the scriptures say that he governs the world through the angels, and that he sends to every emperor, king, prince, and lord, as indeed to every single human being, an angel who acts in his interest and stands by his side in all the rule and authority that he bears. In Daniel 10{.13, 20-21}, the angel of



the Jews says that the angel of the Persians has withstood him, but that the angel of Greece will come to his aid. How the blessed angels can unite for God and yet disagree for man; this I set aside for the present, leaving it for those self-conceited spirits who can tell in an instant all that Christ and the necessary articles of faith demand, and who then light upon such questions as what God made before he made the world, and the like, until they must satisfy their curiosity as to the angels. Instead, let us address the easiest question of all, which they, of course, understand so wonderfully well as soon as they hear it.

Namely, this: as has been said, God governs the ungodly in their temporal rule through himself and his angels; this is principally for the sake of his Word, that it may be preached—which it never could be, if the lands were not at peace. He makes this a serious concern; sometimes he has his angels lead them into good fortune, and sometimes he allows them to escape misfortune by miraculous means; for the heathens themselves all confess that war and victory depend on no human strength or wit but on fortune. This befalls as follows: the angels attend, and impart counsel or understanding through some sudden inner motion; or they send some outer sign and impulse, to warn or deter the person, telling him to do this and not to do that, to travel this way and to shun that way—often even against his initial intention. For because the angels never speak to us in words, they do so by planting thoughts in our minds, or by facing us with causes external to ourselves; just as we call out to our horses and oxen, or else lay sticks and stones in their path to keep them from falling into the ditch. Such external signs or causes are what the heathen call omens, that is, premonitions or warnings of evil, of which their books are full. For they can very well see that this occurs, but not who does it. Of this much might be written, and many instances produced.

So much for what the angels do on earth; above the earth, God gives his signs in the heavens, when some disaster impends: he sends comets, or causes the Sun and Moon to lose their light, or some other uncommon figure to appear. Likewise, on earth, monstrous prodigies are born, both human and animal; and this is not done by the angels but by God himself. Through such signs, he threatens the ungodly and displays the future ills that will smite the rulers and the land, as a warning to them. Such things are not sent for the godly; they have no need of them. For which reason, as Jeremiah says, let them not be dismayed at the signs of heaven: these are not meant for them but for the ungodly.

From this has arisen the art of astrology and divination; for, because it is true that such things occur, and because experience proves that this means good or evil fortune, they come along and lay hold of all this and seek to make it into a certain art. And so they have ascended into the heavens and written it in the stars. And because they have subtly reasoned that all this tallies with the motions of the stars, the stars and nature must now needs do the work of God and his angels: just as heretics first have thoughts of their own and then insert them into the scriptures, so that their dreams are to be taken

for scripture. Then the devil took a hand; and, as he is a lord of this world in opposition to God's rule, he has likewise sent many earthly signs of his own, which they call omens; and in many places, such as Delphi and Ammon, he has raised up soothsayers who have interpreted such signs and foretold the future. And being the prince of this world, and knowing as he does the minds and the characters of all ungodly kings and lords, and of their domains, and having seen everything from the beginning of the world, he knows full well what his intentions are for them. But because he never can be certain (for God often crosses him and thwarts his purposes), he gives his predictions in such weasel words that he will always be in the right, whatever the event may be. And so, when King Pyrrhus asked whether he would defeat the Romans, he answered *Dico Pyrrhum Romanos vincere posse*; which is as much as if I were to say: "Jack, say I, Peter may vanquish." Whether Jack or Peter wins, both answers are implicit in my words. And by God's permission he has done the like on many occasions, and still does so. And often he hits upon a thing that truly comes to pass; but God does not always suffer it to be so; and so this art is an uncertain one, and they make shift to say that, if it fails at one place, it will come to pass elsewhere; if it does not befall one person, it will befall another.

What are we to say to Lichtenberger and his like? I say this. Firstly, I consider the foundation of his astrological art to be sound, but the art itself to be uncertain. That is to say, signs in the heavens and on the earth surely never err; for they are the work of God and of his angels; they warn and threaten the ungodly lords and lands; they signify something. But there is no building an art upon them, or putting such a thing into the stars. And yet it may well be that God or his angel has moved him to write many things that prove to be true, although he believes that the stars give it to him. Nonetheless, to show that this is an uncertain art, God has often permitted him to err.

And the gist of it all is that Christians should never trouble themselves with such prophecies; for they have dedicated themselves to God, and have no need of such threats and warnings. But, since Lichtenberger marks the signs that appear in the heavens, all godless rulers and their lands should surely stand in fear of such prophecies, and be sure that they are meant for *them*—not in any deference to their art, which can and must often prove a delusion, but in deference to the signs and warnings sent by God and his angels, on which they seek to base their art; for these do not fail: of that they may be sure. In our own times, we have seen many suns, rainbows, and the like in the sky. No astrologer could have said, or can say, with any certainty that these signs were meant for this or that king; but we see what has become of the kings of France, Denmark, and Hungary, and what will yet become of other kings and princes.

For this reason I make a gift of Lichtenberger and his like to great men and to their lands; they should know that this is addressed to them. Where Lichtenberger is right, this springs either from the signs and warnings of God, on which he takes his stand, and which certainly are meant for those same

great men; or, by God's permission, from the inspiration of Satan. Wherever he is wrong, this springs from his own unaided art and from Satanic temptation. For God's signs and the angels' warnings are commingled with Satan's inspirations and signs; for the world deserves no better than to sink into blind confusion. Such is my judgment and my teaching. Christians know full well that this is so; what others believe is no concern of mine. They will see how they get their just deserts.

If their dishonorable lordships of the clergy now rejoice, supposing that for them the worst is past and all will now be well, I wish them all good fortune; they will need it. But so long as they fail to amend their godless teaching and manner of life, but rather go from bad to worse, I have a prophecy of my own to make. If their joy shortly turns to shame, I beg them to think of me, and to confess that Luther told the truth better than either Lichtenberger or their own minds; and if not, I earnestly admonish them that they will be made to confess it, willy-nilly, and then suffer all the concomitant ills; from which may God preserve them, insofar as they repent. For which I implore the grace of God. AMEN.

**[Lichtenberger:] Preface to This Little Book**

Although the Lord God has kept the time and the hour in his own hands alone, and Christ himself bears witness to the eternal truth that he alone knows all future things; and no one in this world can foretell the day that is to come, or what will occur; nonetheless God himself, in his infinite goodness and mercy, has given sundry gifts to his creatures, whereby he grants that they may understand and know certain things that are still far off in the future; and this he does not clearly, but through analogies, circumstances, and signs, and through inference from things past to things yet to come. And so, in their song and flight, the birds foretell times and their changes, and moments of opportunity, and more beside; as other creatures also do. And so a red sky at night means that the morning will be fine; and a red sky in the morning means rain by nightfall. We witness such things naturally, through the decree and order of nature, as established by God. Such things have been fully described by those masters of natural lore who are called philosophers, mathematicians, and astrologers.

Let no one be misled by what Aristotle says, that there is no certain knowledge of future things. For the same Aristotle also says: "All that will occur in the future must occur of necessity." Whether by necessity or otherwise, everything must have an antecedent cause, as Plato says; and such antecedent causes are truly and wholly known only to God, the creator of all things. But he has given man reason, understanding, and the power of reflection, to extract and deduce future events from the past. The same God has also endowed man with the art and knowledge of the stars in the heavens, on the testimony of which many future events may be predicted.

To find the ground on which these things rest, it is to be observed that God has endowed man with three ways of knowing the future, which anyone who

will apply himself with some diligence may examine and understand, either in conjunction or in part. As for the first (which is also the most common way of all), a person who lives a long life may see and hear, through long experience, and foretell many future things by analogy and rational scrutiny: as old persons will bear witness.

The second way is from the stars and from the art of astronomy, as Ptolemy maintains: he who seeks to know the causes of earthly things must first of all take note of the heavenly bodies. For this nether world, says Aristotle, so moves and depends upon the higher world that all its powers are governed by celestial and supernal bodies. Ptolemy also says that the stars instruct men and convert them to morality and virtue. For the stars lend inclinations to the human body, but they compel no one.

Thirdly, man is enabled to know the future through revelation. The Father has reserved to himself, for all eternity, the power of knowing the future; but he has nevertheless revealed such things to certain exceptional persons, either in the spirit or in a vision, in the guise of a dark and mystic riddle; or through angels, openly sent; or in other mysterious ways: so that they can truly foretell future things and announce them before they happen. Among the heathen, we find the clear example of the Sibyl, who gave the Romans a true prophecy of many future events, without any lie or deception. And the same Sibyl also told the Romans, long beforehand, that the Temple of Eternity would never fall until a virgin should bear a son. She told them much else beside, all of which came true in due time; which she never could have done, had she not had a spirit given to her from God. The prophets of the Old Testament likewise foretold the future; and of this there are many examples. Finally, in our own age of the world, in the New Testament, the mysteries of God, which will appear at the end of the world, were revealed to Saint John as he lay in the bosom of the Lord. I will not speak of the rest, except to remember Brigid, whose revelation will be made public in various parts of this book. To her we will add one more, whose name is Reinhard Lolhard, as will become apparent in due course.

The three ways and means of knowing the future, just described, are adopted by the Master of this book, who chooses to remain nameless, and who will tell of many things that must befall in years to come, with authentic causes and motives; not effeminately and thoughtlessly, nor with a proud and puffed-up spirit, but as an earnest warning and admonition, whereby in all seriousness he gives due notice and warning to all men, and to princes and rulers in particular, to seek help and counsel to meet the coming affliction and to avert much evil. Fewer are hurt by a bolt that is foreseen. For which reason, let them beware and look to the future as best they may, and not believe every spirit that comes along. For faith and truth are rare in this present world. And without faith and truth there can be no good counsel; we can find no counsel on earth. Nothing remains but to seek help and succor from God, the all-highest.

Let us all therefore turn and devoutly pray to God in his goodness and

mercy, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, that in his mercy he may pardon us our misdeeds, maintain us in peace and tranquillity, and turn away his wrath from us. If he be with us, none can stand against us. Now let us take up this book; mark well what it contains.

<Chapter 1>

Here stands an old, bent, bearded, lame man, who holds a staff in his left hand and a sickle in the right, and looks upon a man who has taken an ox by the horns with his right hand, as if to slay him. And between the two stands the sign of Scorpio.

<Woodcut, see our fig. 135.>

This is a most noteworthy conjunction of the great and ponderable planets, Saturn and Jupiter, an encounter that carries a fearful threat and forebodes many future afflictions. It occurred in the year of Christ 1484, on the 25th day of November, the Wine Month, at the sixth hour, at four minutes after noon, when Cancer was ascending one degree above the horizon.

Conjunctions and encounters between these two planets are infrequent; a long period elapses between one and the next; and, when many heavenly bodies assemble around them, their influence is reinforced. To which fearful conjunction the horrid and abominable house of the most baneful of all signs, Scorpio, is assigned and preordained. In its 23d degree and 43d minute the star of the treacherous Mars is in his joy. Worst of all, and a cause of future calamities, the stubborn and malicious Saturn, in his elevation toward the North, has afflicted the kind and benefic Jupiter. Mars is also a lord of this conjunction, and at Midheaven he looks down fiercely and full of menace, seated and culminating in his own royal house and sign. For which reason he ascribes and assigns all the ordering and governance of this conjunction to him. And because kind Jupiter is thus besieged by Saturn and Mars, and afflicted by their evil beams, he is unable to resist their force by showing his customary kindness to men.

The import of so cruel, but slow, a conjunction endures for many years; and it seems not inapposite to refer to a number of other conjunctions that fall within this same period; so that with these, once well considered, and appropriate causes for their union once produced, the same form and operation may be deduced from many dissimilar causes.

In the year 1485 there was a most fearful and tremendous eclipse of the Sun, which will greatly exacerbate the significance, the power, and the evil influence of the great conjunction described above; as will the conjunction of the two malefic stars, Saturn and Mars, which then took place, on the last day of November, in the ninth degree of Scorpio, at the exact hour of the combustion of the Moon. In which conjunction the malefic Saturn, in his culmination, afflicts Mars in his own house and testifies to much future misfortune, also mightily increasing the dread effect of the conjunction described above.

But the other, favorable conjunction of the benefic Jupiter and the cruel or wrathful Mars, who recently came together in the 18th degree of Scorpio, to the advantage of Jupiter, in that he elevated himself above Mars, will mitigate the ill consequences of the conjunction indicated above. For which reason I think it right to tell, in this place, of certain past great conjunctions and planetary encounters, whose significance some believe to endure to the present day.

The great cycle of the heavens, named for the conjunction that came before the Deluge, has advanced, slowly and sluggishly, degree by degree and step by step, to the 12th minute of the 15th degree of Leo. The rule and governance of this cycle is rightly assigned to the Moon, and has assumed its power, and the degree of the direction has moved to the fifth degree of Libra and possesses that sign, and part of that sign is assigned to it by the Moon. But with the great conjunctions that heralded, so we are told, the advent of our Savior and Redeemer, Christ, it happened that the advance of the rising sign of that year came to the 13th degree of Libra. But the point occupied by the conjunction has progressed to the 19th degree of Aries, and is in reception there, and the degree of the direction has moved from the ascendant to the 12th degree of Scorpio, as bestowed by Venus.

<Fol. Oiii.> Soon after this, or at much the same time, another prophet will arise, and he will be a cleric, who will profess great and miraculous powers of sanctity.

<Followed by a woodcut: prophet with rosary.>

### Chapter 31

This wondrous conjunction of the stars signifies that another, minor Prophet will be born at that time, who will excel in interpreting scripture, and will give answers with a great appearance of divinity. He will wield authority and master the souls of fallen men. The astrologers are accustomed to give the name of minor prophets to those who make some change in the laws, or who introduce new ceremonies, or who labor to interpret the arts and maxims of the Divine; men whose opinions and words the people accept as God's judgment and teaching. But it so happens that some of these are false: one such was Mohammed. Some speak the truth: such as Saint Francis and Saint Dominic. It will soon be apparent what manner of prophet this will be. And although I believe that all astrologers, and those who are learned in this art, must readily confess the truth of this, nevertheless, to make it more clearly apparent, I will undertake a brief digression to substantiate and confirm it, and tell of a number of celebrated conjunctions in changing triplicities that have taken place these many long years past. One of which occurred in the watery triplicity in the year 1365, in the 8th degree of Scorpio. But the two that preceded this, and another two that followed it, were in the airy triplicity, in Gemini and Aquarius. On the third, subsequent occasion, which was in the year 1425, the

conjunction once more fell within the watery triplicity, in the 13th degree of Scorpio; and in that triplicity it has since remained. And so I maintain that it is manifest enough that we are to expect the birth of a new prophet.

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The birth of a new prophet.

<Woodcut showing the birth, then commentary as follows.>

### Chapter 32

I say that in the country subject to Scorpio a prophet will be born; before which, sundry omens and strange sights will be seen in the heavens. But at which extremity of the world this will be, whether to the North or to the South, the opinions of the learned are so many and so various, and there are so many conflicting opinions and testimonies, that they flatly contradict each other. Albumasar considers that the watery signs signify Southern lands. But the common body of astrologers believe that they signify lands to the North. Be this as it may, Messahala says that he will be born in a temperate country, both in heat and in moisture. In which country the subtle moderation of the air, with a temperate mixture of heat and cold, supports all the inhabitants and gives them healthy increase. This same prophet will go forth from his own country and perform signs and wonders in the countries that are subject to Leo and Aquarius. For, as Albumasar says, he will display his wondrous signs in those countries that are signified by the fourth aspect. Which is confirmed by the concurrence of all astrologers. This is confirmed also by the saying of our Redeemer: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country." But as this conjunction will be complete only in an ascendant and fixed sign, this notable birth is not to be expected until one projected revolution has elapsed. For this reason, I say that in the nineteenth year from the conjunction this prophet will first come into the world. The time of his preaching will last nineteen years, according to the little years of the Sun. If we follow Albumasar, his costume will be reddish and glittering, to give an indication of Mars in the tenth house, and of his ruler the Sun. But those who consider that the form and figure should be taken from the conjunction, as indicated by Jupiter, the Moon, and the Dragon's Head, say that his garments will be white, like the habit of the monks, and that he will institute a new clergy.

Here stands a monk in a white hood, and the devil sits on his shoulders; he has a long point hanging down to the ground, and a young monk standing next to him.

<The woodcut just described, see our fig. 136.>

## Chapter 33

These are, and will be, the signs by which he will be known. He will have black marks on his body, and he will have an ugly body, with brown and many-colored specks on his right side, in his groin, and on his hip. He stands in the Part of Fortune, on the right-hand side of the heavens, and in the tenth house of the horoscope; the ascendant of both is more effeminate, and will incline more to the hinder part of the body. He will also have another sign on his breast, from the part of the sign that is found in the sixth degree of Leo. This prophet, as Firmicus himself testifies, will be a terror to gods and devils; he will perform many signs and wonders. Evil spirits will take flight at his approach, and he will deliver those who are possessed by the devil, not by the power of words but merely by letting himself be seen. But from the Part of Inheritance in the eleventh house of this conjunction (as Antonius de Monte Ulmo says), he will not always do as he counsels others to do. For he will have a fine intellect and skill with many things, and very great wisdom, but in his hypocrisy he will often tell lies, and he will suffer the pangs of conscience. And like a scorpion, which is the house of Mars in this conjunction and eclipse, he will often pour out the venom that he has in his tail. And he will be the cause of great bloodshed. As Mars is his ruler, this clearly tends to confirm the belief of the Chaldeans, as stated by Messahala.

This prophet will perform many signs and wonders; nevertheless, in obedience to Christ's teaching, he is not to be followed. He will be regarded as one of those whose coming Christ foretells, as we find in holy scripture in the very words of our Redeemer, Matthew 24{.23–26}: "Then if any man shall say unto you, lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not." That is our Lord Jesus Christ.

## Notes

1. See Professor Paul Hildebrandt in *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 306 (18 June 1918).
2. See below, note 126.
3. "The Bifurcation of Figurative Wit":

Figurative wit can either spiritualize the body or corporealize the spirit.

Originally, when man and the world still bloomed grafted to a single stem, this double trope was not a trope at all; man did not compare dissimilar things but proclaimed their identity. As with children, metaphors were simply forced synonyms of body and mind. In writing, pictographs came before letters; and so in speech, metaphor—insofar as it refers to relationships and not to objects—came first, and only gradually faded into the mere expression itself. Ensoulment and embodiment in the trope remained one and the same, because Self and World still coalesced. For this



reason, every language, in its terms for things of the mind, is still a dictionary of withered metaphors.

—*Vorschule der Ästhetik*, section 50

4. The crucial question of the extent to which the humanist Reformers knew or consciously adapted the ancient Stoic theory of two varieties of divination—*artificialis* and *naturalis*, τεχνική and ἄτεχος—cannot be addressed in any detail here. On this, see Melancthon's son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, *Commentarium de praecipuis generibus divinationum* (Wittenberg, 1580), fol. 6.

5. *Briefwechsel der berühmtesten Gelehrten des Zeitalters der Reformation mit Herzog Albrecht von Preussen* (Königsberg, 1841).

6. *Scrutinium scripturarum*; see appendix A.1, n. 135.

7. Melancthon to Camerarius, 26 July 1531, *Corpus reformationum* (hereafter CR), 2:516. Caspar Peucer was to make nonsense of this prophecy by marrying the daughter in question, whose name was Margarethe.

8. See appendix A.1, n. 135.

9. CR 2:505, 24(?) June 1531: “*candidus et Suevicae simplicitatis plurimum referens*” (sincere and conveying a great deal of Swabian openness).

10. CR 2:530 ff., written August 1531.

11. To Johann Matthesius, 30 July 1557, CR 9:189; see also “Brevis narratio,” ed. Nikolaus Müller, in *Philipp Melancthon's letzte Lebenstage*... (Leipzig, 1910), 2.

12. CR 2:490, 2:491.

13. CR 2:495.

14. See, e.g., CR 11:263, and Karl Hartfelder, “Der Aberglaube Ph. Melancthon's,” *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 6th ser., 8 (1889): 237 f.

15. On this see Georg Schuster and Friedrich Wagner, *Die Jugend und Erziehung der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und Könige von Preussen*, Monumenta Germanica Paedagogica, no. 34 (Berlin, 1906), 1:496. His autograph horoscopes of members of the ruling family of Brandenburg are still preserved in the Preussisches Staatsarchiv. After Gauricus's visit to Luther, Joachim I sent for him to consult him as an exorcist. See Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 3:515 and note.

16. CR 2:585 (2 May) and 2:587 f. (18 May).

17. Regrettably, no monograph has yet appeared on this leading figure among early German philologists.

18. CR 2:570 (early March 1532): “*Extat enim carmen quoddam tuum, in quo insunt vaticinia de futuris Europae motibus, quae ita comprobavit eventus, ut non solum προγνωστικόν, sed etiam historiam harum rerum multo ante scripsisse videaris... quodque literis addidisti themata, quorum mihi cognitio pernecessaria est...*” (There is a certain poem of yours that contains predictions about future disturbances in Europe, which the outcome has so confirmed that you seem to have written not only the prognostication but also the history of these events long before they happened... and because you appended horoscopes to your letter, the knowledge of which I very much need...)

19. See appendix A.2.

20. C/m. 27003 and Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. DCCCCXXXV.

21. Ernst Kroker, "Nativitäten und Konstellationen aus der Reformzeit," in *Schriften des Vereins für die Geschichte Leipzigs* 6 (Leipzig, 1900).

22. Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. DCCCCXXXV, fol. 158. See Kroker (note 21), 31.

23. Gauricus, *Tractatus astrologicus* (Venice, 1552), fol. B. 69<sup>v</sup>:

*Martinus fuit imprimis Monachus per multos annos, demum expoliavit habitum monialem, duxitque in uxorem Abbatissam altae staturae Vittimbergensem, et ab illa suscepit duos liberos. Haec mira satisque horrenda. 5. Planetarum coitio sub Scorpij asterismo in nona coeli statione quam Arabes religioni deputabant, effecit ipsum sacrilegum hereticum, Christianae religionis hostem acerrimum, atque prophanum. Ex horoscopi directione ad Martis coitum irreligiosissimus obiit. Eius Anima scelestissima ad Inferos nauigauit, ab Allecto, Tesiphone, et Megera flagellis igneis cruciata perenniter.*

(Martin was initially a monk for many years; then he shed the monastic habit and married a Wittenberg abbess, a tall woman, and by her had two children. That in itself is strange and appalling enough. The conjunction of five planets in the sign of Scorpio in the ninth house of heaven, which the Arabs assigned to religion, made him a sacrilegious heretic, a profane and bitter enemy to the Christian religion. From the direction of the ascendent to coition with Mars, he died an utterly irreligious death. His villainous soul set sail for hell, harried for all eternity with whips of fire by Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera.)

24. See Carlo Piancastelli, *Pronostici ed almanacchi* (Rome, 1913), 43. Gauricus to Pope Clement VII: "*Lutheri perfidiam pessumdabis.*" (You will annihilate Luther's treason.)

25. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 4:309.

26. *Ibid.*, 9:155. The lacuna in the Latin represents something like the following: "*sed <non admodum mihi terrorem mouet ista coniunctio> astr<orum>.*"

27. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 4:668.

28. *Ibid.*, 4:613.

29. *Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 177, no. 292.

30. *Ibid.*, 320; Heydenreich 1543, no. 625.

31. More on this in the following section.

32. On this see J. K. F. Knaake, "Stoffsichtung zur kritischen Behandlung des Lebens Luthers. 1. Luthers Geburtsjahr," *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* 33 (1872): 96 ff.

33. CR 4:1053.

34. Fol. 16.

35. Philo was the physician Johann Pfeyl (1496–1541); for confirmation of this I am indebted to the unfailing generosity of Professor Flemming.

36. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 2:445, early January 1532.

37. Pfeyl's horoscope for Luther (C/m. 27003, fol. 17) is identical with Gauricus's except for the time, 3:22 a.m. instead of 1:10 a.m.

38. Fol. 158 of the Leipzig manuscript.

39. “ $\text{J et } \text{h facit heroicos Viros. et bonum est } \text{O. non esse coniunctum. O. in II. Inde est illa Eloquentia.}$ ” (Jupiter and Saturn makes heroic men, and it is good that Mars is not conjunct. Mars in Gemini: hence his eloquence.)

40. Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae methodus* (Basel, 1574).

41. On the occasion of the first centennial celebrations in 1617, the matter was finally settled, from the Protestant side, in an academic paper by a Strasbourg professor, Isaac Malleolus. Deploying the whole apparatus of astrological erudition, Malleolus disposed of the false Italian date once and for all. His work was reprinted by E. S. Cyprian in the bicentennial commemorative volume, *Hilaria Evangelica* (Gotha, 1719), 932–36. (The controversy was thus very much alive and topical, even then; see \* also Bayle, *Dictionnaire critique*, s.v. “Luther.”) A highly informative account of the whole matter is given by J. K. F. Knaake (see note 32). The author had prepared a synoptic table of Luther horoscopes.

42. Hieronymus Cardanus, *Liber de exemplis geniturarum*, in *Hieronymi Cardani medici Mediolanensis libelli dvo. Vnus, de supplemento almanach. Alter, de restitutione temporum & motuum coelestium. Item geniturae LXVII. insignes casibus & fortuna, cum expositione* (Nuremberg, 1543). Cardano’s commentary on his horoscope of Luther is reprinted in appendix B.3.3.

43. The nativity that Luther was shown must have been from Cardano’s collection of 67 *geniturae* {see note 42}, as this was published in Nuremberg in the very year, 1543, in which the conversation took place, and actually shows Cicero’s chart on the page (fol. N III<sup>v</sup>) facing that of Luther (fol. N IV<sup>r</sup>).

44. Illness has prevented the author from enlarging on the Janus-faced historic \* sense, the strain of tragic dualism, that runs—and is strangely taken for granted—throughout the evolution of modern *Homo non-sapiens*. The “rectification” of Luther’s birthdate is only one unassailable instance of this; it marks the triumph of the primitive, totemistic obsession with correspondences (as embodied in the pagan nativity cult) among the very leaders of the struggle for historical objectivity—and this at the very place and time that saw the outbreak and the fierce continuance of the decisive battle for German freedom of thought and conscience.

45. See below, pp. 615 ff.

46. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 3:193.

47. A. Hauber (died 9 June 1917), *Planetenkinder und Sternbilder: Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Glaubens und Irrsins*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, no. 194 (Strasbourg, 1916). On this see Fritz Saxl, “Probleme der Planetenkinderbilder,” *Kunstchronik* 54 (n.s., 30) (1919): 1013–21.

48. See *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde zu Hamburg 1908–1909* (Hamburg, 1910), 48 [our p. 593].

49. See Rochus von Liliencron, *Die siebente Todsünde* (1903), 158.

50. For an accurate account of the basic theory and nature of astrology, the reader cannot do better than turn to the little book by Franz Boll, *Sternglaube und Stern-deutung*, Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, no. 638, 2d ed. (1919) [3d and 4th eds. by Gundel, Leipzig, 1926 and 1930].

51. Leonhard Reymann, *Natiuitet-Kalender* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1515).

52. “*Vita lucrum fratres genitor nati valetudo / Uxor mors pietas regnum benefactaque carcer.*” (Life, wealth, brothers, father, children, health, / Wife, death, piety, government, benefactions, prison.)

53. {Friedrich von Bezold, “Astrologische Geschichtskonstruktion im Mittelalter,” *Zeitschrift für Geisteswissenschaft* 8 (1892).} Now reprinted in Bezold, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich, 1918), 165 ff.

54. Johann Friedrich, *Astrologie und Reformation; oder, Die Astrologen als Pre diger der Reformation und Urheber des Bauernkrieges* (Munich, 1864).

55. G. Hellmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie*, nos. 1–5, Veröffentlichungen des Königlich Preussischen Meteorologischen Instituts, no. 273 (Berlin, 1914). After a brief but excellent survey of the Greek and Arabic origins of the planetary philosophy of history, he gives a list of the numerous illustrated printed works known to him (133 titles by 56 authors) that followed Stoeffler’s almanac, from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward, and carried the terror of a deluge throughout Europe.

56. See Georg Stuhlfauth, “Neues zum Werke des Pseudo-Beham (Erhard Schön?),” *Amtliche Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 40, no. 11 (August, 1919), col. 251–60, fig. 131.

57. *Libellus consolatorius* (Vienna, 1523). See Hellmann {note 55}, 55 f.

58. Rain and water “*wirt... doch langsam sich begeben*” (will slowly pass). How this is to be reconciled with the note in Haftiz and Gronau (see Hellmann {note 55}, \* 20), to the effect that in 1525 he persuaded Elector Joachim I to take refuge on Tempelhof Hill, is still not clear to me.

59. Leipzig: Wolfgang Stoeckl (?). This first edition was rediscovered by Professor Hoecker among the duplicates in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek.

60. “Alexander Seytz von Marpach der löblichen Fürsten von Beyrn Physic.” In the more recent biographies of this versatile physician—Pagel and Bolte, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33:653–55, and G. Linder, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Geschichte*, 1886: 224–32—there is a hiatus between 1516 and 1525 that is bridged to some extent by Carion’s hitherto overlooked reference to him.

61. {Luther, *Tischreden*, in *Werke*,} Erlangen ed., 62:327.

62. Or, as we would say nowadays, “not a reliable technique.” On this see Georg Rudolff Widmann, *Warhafftige Historien... So D. Johannes Faustus... hat getrieben* (Hamburg, 1599), in which there is a dispute between Henricus Moller and Johannes Gartz (Garcaeus) as to whether astrology is *ars* or *scientia*: a certain art, or a mere science. Melancthon’s comment: “*Sive sit ars, sive scientia, est certe pulchra Phantasia.*” ((Whether it is an art or a science, it certainly is a beautiful Fancy.) 1.28, 222 f.)

63. Luther, *Tischreden* (see note 61), 62:320. See appendixes B.1 and B.5. This remark must be borne in mind if we are to understand Luther’s attitude to cosmic portents.

64. Johann Erhard Kapp, *Kleine Nachlese einiger... zur Erläuterung der Reformations-Geschichte nützlicher Urkunden* (Leipzig, 1727), 2:511.

65. See p. 606 and note 67.

66. *Die weissagunge Johannis Lichtenbergers deutsch / zugericht mit vleys. Sampt einer nutzlichen vorrede vnd vnterricht D. Martini Luthers / wie man die selbige vnd der gleichen weissagunge vernemen sol* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1527).

67. Full text in appendix C; Weimar ed., 23:1–12.
68. Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* 1, note to no. 11972 (a Dutch edition of Lichtenberger published in 1810).
69. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De astrologia disputationum liber* 5.1, in *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1572), 1:551.
70. Paulus van Middelburg, *Prognostica ad viginti annos duratura* (Hain 11141 f.).
71. On the significance of Abū Maʿšar, see Franz Boll, *Sphaera* (1903) and *Stern-glaube* (1919), and my own demonstration of his connection with the frescoes in Ferrara, *ibid.*, 77 [our pp. 569 ff.]. See Albumasar [Abū Maʿšar], *De magnis coniunctionibus* (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1489), Tractatus 1, and this in particular: “*Differentia tertia in scientia coniunctionum significantium natiuitates prophetarum . . . et signa prophetie eorum et quando apparebunt et ubi et quantitates annorum eorum . . .*” (Third *differentia* in the science of significant conjunctions: the nativities of prophets . . . and the signs of their prophecy, and when and where they will appear, and their length of life . . .) and *Differentia* IV.
72. *Invectiva in superstitiosum quendam astrologum* (Antwerp and Lübeck, 1492).
73. J. Franck, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 18:538–42.
74. Woodcut to ch. 29.
75. Woodcut to ch. 33.
76. I have no doubt that the monk with the devil on his shoulders and the snake-like, floor-length hood is a reminiscence of two constellation images, Asclepius-Ophiuchus bearing a snake and Scorpius, both of which, in the system of *paranatellonta*, belong to September–October. Luther’s fictitious date of birth thus falls within the period in which the fixed stars are perfectly aligned for a planetary configuration connected with a savior or redeemer. The extent of the influence of Hellenistic and Arabic tradition remains to be investigated; *Picatrix* (see Saxl, “Beiträge . . .,” *Islam* 3 (1912): 172, n. 1), for instance, instructs the votary of Jupiter to wear a white monastic habit with a hood. To illustrate the direct, authentic, ancient tradition concerning the fixed stars, suffice it to recall what Lichtenberger says of the coming Prophet: “*Vnd wie ein Scorpion / der des Martis haus ist ynn dieser Coniunction vnd finsternis / wird er die giff / so er ym schwantz hat / oft ausgiessen*” (And like a scorpion, which is the house of Mars in this conjunction and eclipse, he will often pour out the venom that he has in his tail). *Weissagunge* (Wittenberg, 1527), fol. P<sup>v</sup> (see appendix C). In the Modena edition (Modena: Maufer, 1492; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), the hood has a noticeably sharp, pointed end.

An illuminated astrological manuscript from the circle of King Alfonso the Wise, which—thanks to the constant and generous assistance of Father Ehrle and of Bartolomeo Nogara—the present writer discovered in the Vaticana in Rome in 1911 (Ms. Reg. lat. 1283), bridges the gap between late medieval Germany and the scholars of the Toledo court, with their strong leaning towards matters antique and Arabian. Among other things, it contains a divinatory almanac in which each month is shown as a radial arrangement of thirty figures accompanied by divinatory texts (see fig. 138). Though well-nigh unrecognizable beneath layers of medieval realist accretions, these figures derive from the *Sphaera* of Teucer, and thus from authentic, antique astrological or religious polytheism.

To take one example directly relevant to the Asclepius-Luther figure: fol. 7 shows the thirty degrees of Scorpio. Its individual compartments contain unconscious but readily identifiable survivals of the Asclepius cult: the Snake, the Cakes, the Spring, Incubation, and the head of Asclepius himself. These hieroglyphs of fate for every day in the month lead back by way of Pietro d'Abano, who supplied the inspiration for the Salone in Padua, to Johann Engel's *Astrolabium planum*, published first in Augsburg in 1488 and later in Venice (Johannes Angelus, *Astrolabium planum in tabulis ascendens*, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1488; Venice: Johann Emerich de Spira, 1494; cf. the illuminated manuscript made by Leovitius for Ottheinrich, in the Heidelberg library, Palat. germ. 833, fol. 65<sup>v</sup>). For example, the man with the scorpion in his hand (cf. fig. 139) is to be found at the 11th degree, and the man with the snake at the 13th, just as they are in the *Astrolabium planum* at the 11th and 12th, respectively.

The migratory route followed by these pagan, cosmological, oracular images can thus be regarded as firmly established for the future inquirer, who will one day elucidate "the migration of daemonic imagery, from East to West and from South to North" — a topic of which the present writer can here offer no more than a cursory sketch.

77. See below, pp. 629 ff.

78. Johann Cocleus [Cochlaeus], *Von neuen Schwermereyen sechs Capitel* (Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1534), fol. dii<sup>v</sup>.

79. *Nuntiaturen des Vergerio 1533–1536*, ed. Walter Friedensburg, in *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland...herausgegeben durch das Königlich Preussische Kulturinstitut in Rom*, part 1, 1 (Gotha, 1892): 541.

80. B. Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento*, Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento 3 (Florence, 1906), 115.

81. E. Pèrcopo, *Pomponio Gaurico*, Atti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli (Naples, 1894), 136.

82. In the German edition of 1527, with a preface by Luther, Lichtenberger assigns the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Scorpio to the 25th day "*Novembris, des Weinmondes*" (of November, the Wine Month), in the year 1484; this, however, points to two months at once, as the Wine Month is October. Another discrepancy arises in the 1549 edition, fol. 28, where 25 November is replaced by 20 November. If Gauricus was basing himself on Lichtenberger and not on Paulus van Middelburg, he surely did not use a German text—unless perhaps with the assistance of his German friends—but one in Italian or Latin. And in all of these, or in such of them as I have been able to examine, the date given is 25 November. It is unlikely, therefore, that the revised date of 22 October, furnished by Gauricus, can be explained by reference to Lichtenberger—unless there exists an edition unknown to me in which this date is given.

83. Valerius Herberger, *Gloria Lutheri* (Leipzig, 1612), 41–45.

84. Goethe, in his history of color theory, gives us a curious explanation of Luther's fear of the devil in terms of psychological polarities:

*Wie viel falsche Formeln zur Erklärung wahrer und unleugbarer Phänomene finden sich nicht durch alle Jahrhunderte bis zu uns herauf. Die Schriften Luthers enthalten, wenn man will, viel mehr Aberglauben als die unser's englischen Mönchs <Bacon>. Wie bequem macht sich's nicht Luther durch seinen Teufel, den er über*

*all bei der Hand hat, die wichtigsten Phänomene der allgemeinen und besonders der menschlichen Natur auf eine oberflächliche und barbarische Weise zu erklären und zu beseitigen; und doch ist und bleibt er, der er war, ausserordentlich für seine und für künftige Zeiten. Bei ihm kam es auf Tat an; er fühlte den Konflikt, in dem er sich befand, nur allzu lästig, und indem er sich das ihm Widerstrebende recht hässlich, mit Hörnern, Schwanz und Klauen dachte, so wurde sein heroisches Gemüt nur desto lebhafter aufgeregt, dem Feindseligen zu begegnen und das Gebasste zu vertilgen.*

(How many false formulas, by way of explanations of true and indubitable phenomena, may we not find in every century and down to the present. The writings of Luther, if you will, contain far more superstition than those of our English friar <Bacon>. How convenient it is for Luther to have his devil always at hand, to explain away the salient phenomena of nature in general, and of human nature in particular, in shallow and barbarous fashion. Even so, just as he was, Luther remains an extraordinary man, for his own age and for ages yet to come. He was a man of action, all too painfully aware of the conflict in which he was engaged; and because he pictured his adversary in the most hideous light, with horns, tail, and talons, his heroic temperament was all the more vehemently aroused to face and destroy the hated foe.

{—Goethe, “Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre: Roger Bacon,” in} *Werke*, Cotta’sche Jubiläums-Ausgabe, 40:165–66

85. See below, p. 666.

86. Georg Loesche, *Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana* (Gotha, 1892), 301, no. 493.

87. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 3:107, letter from Luther to Spalatin, 7 March 1521.

88. See Melanchthon to Spalatin, 4 March 1522, and to Michael Hummelberger, 12 March 1522, CR 1:565.

89. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 6:52.

90. Sign. 127—19 Th. 4. See Rudolf Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1894), 485.

91. Ed. Lambecius in *Georgii Codini... excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantino-politanis* (Paris, 1655), 251; see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed., 628. The Bologna edition also uses the other oracular images.

92. Might not the idol with a sickle blade, which someone has inscribed with the name “Lutherus” (fig. 143), be Saturn (between Jupiter and Sol)?

93. See Julius Köstlin, *Martin Luther*, 5th ed., ed. Gustav Kawerau (Berlin, 1903), 1:646.

94. This was also Luther’s interpretation of the discovery of a beached whale at Haarlem, in his letter to Speratus of 13 June 1522 (Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 3:397); “*Hoc monstrum habent ex antiquis exemplis pro certo irae signo*” (they take this monster, from ancient instances, as a certain sign of wrath). Note the direct appeal to the authority of antiquity (see Grisar, *Luther* 2:120). See also the letter of 23 May 1525 to Johann Rühel (*Werke*, Erlangen ed., 53:304; *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 5:178),

where he says of Elector Frederick the Wise: “*Das Zeichen seines Todes war ein Regenbogen, den wir, Philips und ich, sahen . . . und ein Kind allhie zu Wittemberg ohne Häupt geboren, und noch eins mit umbgekehrten Füßen.*” (The sign of his death was a rainbow, which Philipp and I both saw . . . , and a child born here in Wittenberg without a head, and another with its feet reversed.)

95. Conrad Lycosthenes (i.e., Conrad Wolffhardt of Ruffach, Upper Alsace, 1518–61), *Prodigiorum ac ostensorum chronicon* (Basel, 1557).

96. Julius Obsequens, *Prodigiorum liber, nunc demum per Conradum Lycosthenem restitutus* (Basel, 1552).

97. Ibid., pages cccclx and cccclxxiii, respectively.

98. As early as 1503, the emperor’s court historian Jakob Mennel (see Cod. Vind. Palat. 4417\*) was compiling for his master a collection of such prodigies, viewed in relation to universal history. This ultimately led to Wolf’s *Lectiones memorabiles* (see note 101).

99. Quoted from the edition printed in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft in 1559.

100. In a codex of 1502, in the Universitätsbibliothek in Innsbruck: Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Tirol*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illustrierten Handschriften in Österreich, ed. F. Wickhoff, 1 (Leipzig, 1905), no. 314. Illus. *ibid.*, 194.

101. *Lectiones memorabiles* (Lauingen, 1600), vol. 1, 1012 pp., vol. 2 (covering the sixteenth century), 1074 pp. This is the most extensive and, from the standpoint of ecclesiastical history, the most valuable universal chronicle of its kind.

102. *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin*, no. 9 (Leipzig, 1912), and *Graphische und typographische Erstlinge: Alte Meister der Medizin und Naturkunde*, no. 4 (Munich, 1912).

103. E. Major, “Dürers Kupferstich ‘Die wunderbare Sau von Landser’ im Elsass,” *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1913): 327–30, pl. 81. It is also to be seen in Grünpeck’s collective illustration. See above, p. 636.

104. *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant*, ed. Paul Heitz, Jahresgaben der Gesellschaft für elsässische Literatur, no. 3 (Strasbourg, 1915), pls. 10, 11.

105. Bruno Meissner, “Babylonische Prodigienbücher,” in *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität zu Breslau*, ed. T. Siebs, Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 13/14 (Breslau, 1911): 256. Morris Jastrow Jr., *Babylonian-Assyrian Birth-Omens and Their Cultural Significance*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 14.5 (Giessen, 1914): 10; *ibid.*, 73 ff., on Lycosthenes.

106. “Dürers Stich ‘Melencolia. I’ und der maximilianische Humanistenkreis,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* (1903): 29–41, (1904): 6–18, 57–58. A reprint of this study is promised shortly. [Instead of which, see Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Dürers Melencolia I* (Leipzig, 1923).]

107. From 1518 at the latest. See Edmund Weiss, “Albrecht Dürer’s geographische, astronomische und astrologische Tafeln,” *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888): 220. Also on this, Giehlow [see note 106], 5:59.

108. On the malefic operation of Saturn in Maximilian I’s horoscope, see Melanchthon’s letter to Camerarius, 13 January 1532 (CR 2:563): “*Meus frater amisit suum filium, puerum elegantissimum . . . Habet pater in quinto loco Saturnum, quem*



*eodem loco habuit Maximilianus, cuius quae fuerit domestica fortuna, non ignoras.*" (My brother has lost his son, a very fine boy... The father has Saturn in the fifth locus —just like Maximilian, and you know what his domestic fate was.)

109. See Giehlow (see note 106), 5:59, n. 5.

110. Summarized by Ficino in *De vita triplici* (Florence, 1489) and elsewhere.

111. See Fritz Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident," *Der Islam* 3 (1912): 151–77, and idem, "Verzeichnis astrologischer Handschriften [Rom]," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1915, nos. 6–7 (Heidelberg, 1915): xiii f.

112. Of Córdoba; died A.H. 398 (A.D. 1007–8). See Heinrich Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften, no. 10 (Leipzig, 1900), 76.

113. Cod. 793 DD III. 36. An illustration from this in Saxl, "Verzeichnis" (note 111), xii [edition in preparation; see pp. 734 ff., 753, 775; figs. 160, 161].

114. In the *Libro de los ymagenes* (Ms. Reg. lat. 1283), mentioned above (note 76), and in the *Lapidario*, Alfonso expressly cites as his authorities *Picatrix* and the so-called *Uṭārid*. See Ruska, *Griechische Planetendarstellungen in arabischen Steinbüchern*, 24 f.; Steinschneider, "Arabische Lapidarien," *Zeitschrift der DMG* 49:267 f.; idem, *Zur pseudepigraphischen Literatur*, Wissenschaftliche Blätter aus der Veitel Heine Ephraimschen Lehranstalt 1, no. 3 (Berlin, 1862): 31, 47, 83.

115. Ms. Reg. lat. 1283; Codex Vind. 5239; Codex Guelferbit. 17. 8. Aug. 4<sup>o</sup>. On the magic square of Jupiter, the text of Vind. 5239 (fol. 147<sup>v</sup>) reads as follows: "*Et si quis portauerit eam qui sit infortunatus fortunabitur de bono in melius Eficiet.*" (Whoever wears it, even if he is unlucky, he will have good fortune; it will make good [luck] better.)

116. *De anima* (Wittenberg, 1548), fol. 82<sup>r</sup>. This passage is to be found only in editions prior to 1553; in later editions—or in such of them as the writer has been able to examine—it is omitted.

117. *Ibid.*, fol. 76<sup>v</sup>.

118. It is worth emphasizing that *Melencolia I* also contains a number of purely "formal" echoes of the traditions of antiquity. This is exemplified by one of the decan figures in the lapidary of Alfonso the Wise (*Lapidario del rey Alfonso X*, Madrid, 1883, fol. 99<sup>v</sup>). In form and content, this is a transposition of a reclining river god, with head supported on the one hand; he is identified as Eridanos, described as a star rising in company with the watery Pisces, ruled by Saturn; see Abū Ma'shar in Franz Boll, *Sphaera* (1903), 537. A similar posture is adopted by the antique male spandrel figure whom Dürer depicts, with a female counterpart, on the arch of a gateway in an early woodcut (*The Holy Family*, B. 100, illustrated by V. Scherer, *Dürer, Klassiker der Kunst* 4:189 [4th ed., 1928, 238]).

It is thus possible to regard *Melencolia I*, both in form and in substance, as a symbol of the humanistic Renaissance. It reanimates the pose of a river god of antiquity in the Hellenistic spirit, but behind it all is the new ideal of the liberating, conscious energy of the modern individual: man the worker.

119. The old German translation of Ficino by Müllich is reprinted by Giehlow ([see note 106,] 1903), 36.

\*

120. A comet seen at the birth of Maximilian I, and otherwise unrecorded, is here—exceptionally—interpreted as propitious. See Giehlow [see note 106], 5:60.

121. Thus described in the *Regimen sanitatis*, Cod. Vind. 5486. See Giehlow [see note 106], 1:33.

122. Woody nightshade or bittersweet (*Solanum dulcamara*). See Paul Weber, *Beiträge zu Dürers Weltanschauung*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, no. 23 (Strasbourg, 1900), 83; and Ferdinand Cohn, “Die Pflanzen in der bildenden Kunst,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 25, no. 1 [1898]: 64.

123. *Carmina* 2.17.22 ff. Most recently discussed by Franz Boll, “Sternenfreundschaft: Ein Horatianum,” *Sokrates* 5 (1917): 1–10, 458.

124. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4<sup>o</sup>. 322; *Jahresgabe für den Verein der Freunde der Königlichen Bibliothek* (1914). The foliage and figures that border the text are probably the work of Hans Schäufler.

125. Suter [see note 112], 15 [see our p. 737].

126. For another portrait of Carion, see now Max Friedberg, “Das Bildnis des Philosophen Johannes Carion von Crispin Herranth, Hofmaler des Herzogs Albrecht von Preussen,” *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 54, no. 12 (September, 1919): 309–16.

127. “Johannes Carion, Kurbrandenburgischer Hofastrolog,” *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins zu Brandenburg a. d. Havel* 36/37 (1906): 54–62.

128. Letter to Jonas and others, 26 February 1540, in Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 13:4.

129. On fol. 109 of the Leipzig manuscript cited in note 20.

130. See appendix A.2.

131. Friedrich Kluge, *Bunte Blätter* (Freiburg, 1908), 7–10.

132. See Karl Schottenloher, in *Riezler-Festschrift* (Gotha, 1913), 92 f., and Kilian Leyb, *Gründliche Anzeigung* (1557), fol. 140, which contains significant information on Lichtenberger’s personality and on his astrological worldview.

133. Melanchthon to Camerarius, 18 August 1531 (CR 2:518 f.):

*Vidimus cometen, qui per dies amplius decem iam se ostendit in occasu Solstitiali... Mibi quidem videtur minari his nostris regionibus... Quidam affirmant esse ex illo genere, quos vocat Plinius ξιφίας... Quaeso te ut mibi scribas, an apud vos etiam conspectus sit... si tamen conspectus est, describe diligenter, et quid iudicet Schonerus, significato.*

We have seen a comet, which for more than ten days now has appeared at the point where the sun sets at the summer solstice... It seems to me to threaten our own territories... Some say that it is of the type that Pliny calls sword-shaped... I pray you, write to me whether it is also visible in your parts... If it is, describe it carefully, and let me know what Schoner thinks of it.

134. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 9:61: “*Apud nos cometa ad occidentem in angulo apparet (ut mea fert astronomia) tropici cancro et coluri aequinoctiorum, cuius cauda pertingit ad medium usque inter tropicum et ursae caudam. Nihil boni significat.*” (Here, the comet is visible toward the West, in the angle—as my astronomy has it—between the tropic of Cancer and the equinoctial colure; its tail stretches as far as the midpoint between the tropic and the Pole Star. It portends no good.)

Even more explicitly, in a letter to Spalatin on 10 October 1531 (ibid., 9:108): “Cometa mihi cogitationes facit, tam Caesari, quam Ferdinando impendere mala, eo quod primo caudam torsit ad aquilonem, deinde ad meridiem mutavit, quasi utrinque fratrem <?> significans.” (The comet sets me thinking that troubles are in store, both for the emperor and for Ferdinand, because it first turned its tail toward the North and then changed toward the South, as if signifying one brother <?> in each direction.)

135. The passage is to be found in Paulus de Sancta Maria, alias Burgensis, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, completed in 1434 (Hain 10762 ff.), *Distinctio 3*, ch. 4. The part heading reads as follows: “*Distinctio tertia de scrutinio scripturarum circa tempus aduentus christi an sit praeteritum vel futurum et continet quatuor capitula*” (Third distinction, concerning scrutiny of the Scriptures regarding the time of Christ’s advent, whether it has passed or is yet to come; and it contains four chapters); and the chapter heading: “*Capitulum . iiii. in quo ostenditur quod secundum omnes magistros seu doctores et expositores famosiores iudeorum qui de tempore primi aduentus Christi determinando locuti sunt idem aduentus iam transijt in praeteritum*” (Chapter 4, in which it is shown that, according to all those teachers or doctors, and the better-known commentators of the Jews, who have spoken of determining the time of the first coming of Christ, that coming already lies in the past).

The passage itself:

*Fuit alius vt ibidem habetur qui dicitur de domo helie prophete qui posuit ibidem expresse scilicet in libro de ordine mundi quod per sex milia annorum debebat mundus durare. quiquidem anni erant per tres partes diuidendi isto modo . quia per duo milia annorum prima mundus erat quasi sub vacuo . per hoc designans tempus ante legisdationem quod vocat vacuum. quia non erat aliquis populus sub lege diuina . duo milia vero annorum sequencia vocat tempus legis . asserens quod hoc tempus debebat fluere a datione legis usque ad messiam . duo vero milia tertia seu vltima asserit esse sub messia. quia secundum eum ab aduentu messie vsque ad finem mundi debebant fluere duo milia annorum . Constat autem quod iuxta computationem hebreorum que in hijs regionibus hispanie et vbique terrarum communiter tenetur a creatione mundi vsque ad presentem annum domini . M.cccc.xxxij . fluxerunt quinque milia et centum et nonaginta et duo anni. Vnde secundum predictum doctorem tempus aduentus Christi a mille .c.xcij. annis transijt in praeteritum. Et sic habes tres principales de numero eorum qui dicuntur thanayn.*

(There was another, as maintained in the text known as “Concerning the House of the Prophet Elijah,” who expressly declared in the same place, that is in the book “Concerning the System of the World,” that the world was to last for six thousand years. Which years were to be divided into three parts in the following way. That for the first two thousand years the world was almost a void, by which is meant the time before the giving of the law, which they call a void, because no nation was under divine law. The following two thousand years he calls the time of the Law, asserting that this period was to run from the giving of the law to the coming of the Messiah. The third and last period of two thousand years he asserts is under the Messiah; because, according to him, from the coming of the Messiah to the end of the world two thousand years must elapse. But it is clear that, according to the

computation of the Hebrews, which is commonly accepted here in Spain and all over the world, from the creation of the world to the present year of our Lord 1432, five thousand one hundred and ninety-two years have passed. Therefore, according to the aforesaid authority, the coming of Christ took place 1,192 years ago. And there you have three of the most important of those who are called *tana'im* {masters}.)

Carion accordingly writes in his *Chronica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw), fol. B<sup>v</sup> f.:

*Der spruch des hauses Elia. Sechs tausent jar ist die welt / vnd darnach wird sie  
zubrechen. Zwey tausent oed. Zwey tausent / das gesetz. Zwey tausent / die zeit  
Christi. Vnd so die zeit nicht ganz erfüllet wird / wird es feilen vmb vnser sunden  
willen / wilche gros sind.*

*Das ist / zwey tausent jar sol die welt stehen oed / das ist one ein gefasset regi-  
ment durch Gottes wort / Dar nach sol die beschneidung vnd das gesetz komen /  
vnd ein regiment vnd Gottes dienst / durch Gottes wort von new geordnet werden  
/ das sol auch zwey tausent jar weren / Darnach sol Christus komen / vnd die zeit  
des Euangelij sol auch bey zwey tausent jaren haben / doch werden etliche jar daran  
abgehen / Denn Gott wird eilen zum ende / wie Christus spricht / Matthei .xxiiiij.,  
Wo diese zeit nicht verkürtzet würde / würde niemand selig.*

(The Dictum of the House of Elijah. The world is to subsist for six thousand years, and then it will collapse. Two thousand void. Two thousand the law. Two thousand the time of Christ. And if the time is not fulfilled, it will be on account of our sins, which are great.

That is: the world is to remain void for two thousand years; that is, without any settled rule by God's word. Then come circumcision and the law, and a rule and worship determined afresh by God's word: this, again, is to endure for two thousand years. Then Christ is to come, and the time of the Gospel shall also be some two thousand years; but some years will be lacking to make up this total. For God will hasten to the end, as Christ says, Matthew 24.{22}: "except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved.")

In the Latin edition of the *Chronica*, prepared by Melanchthon (see below), the matter is discussed at greater length:

*TRADITIO DOMVS ELIAE. SEx millia annorum mundus, et deinde conflagratio.  
Duo millia inane. Duo millia Lex. Duo millia dies Messie. Et propter peccata no-  
stra, quae multa et magna sunt, deerunt anni, qui deerunt.*

*Hoc modo Elias de duratione generis humani vaticinatus est, et praecipuas  
mutationes distinxit. Duos primos millenarios nominat Inane, quod simplicissime  
sic interpretor: nondum homines procul dissitas regiones occupasse ante conditam  
Babylonem. Alij dicunt, nominari Inane, quia nondum certa politia Ecclesie consti-  
tuta fuit, et nondum segregata fuit Ecclesia a caeteris gentibus. Nondum etiam  
erant Imperia, qualia postea in Monarchiis fuerunt. Sed quaecunque causa est,  
quare sic dixerat Elias, hoc non dubium est, primam aetatem fuisse florentissimam,  
quia natura hominum minus languida fuit, quod ostendit longaeuitas. Et fuit  
excellens decus, quod sapientissimi Senes, pleni diuinae lucis, simul vixerunt, et de*

*Deo, de creatione, de edita promissione testes fuerunt, et multi artes inuenerunt et illustrarunt. Secundum tempus a Circumcisione numeratur, usque ad natum Messiam ex virgine, quod non multo minus duobus millenariis continet. De tertio tempore significat fore, ut non compleantur duo millenarii, quia nimium crescet impietas, propter quam citius delebitur totum genus humanum: et Christus se palam ostendet in iudicio, ut inquit: Propter electos dies illi breuiores erunt.*

*Distribuemus igitur Historiam in tres libros, iuxta dictum Eliae.*

*—Chronicon absolutissimum... In quo non Carionis solum opus continetur, verum etiam alia multa... Philippo Melanthon Auctore (n.p., 1560), 24 f.*

(TRADITION OF THE HOUSE OF ELIJAH. The world: six thousand years, and then a conflagration. Two thousand a void. Two thousand the Law. Two thousand the days of the Messiah. And because of our sins, which are many and great, the years that will be lacking, will be lacking.

Thus Elijah prophesied concerning the duration of the human race, and he distinguished the chief changes. The first two thousand years he called the void, which I interpret most simply thus: that before the founding of Babylon men had not yet occupied remote and distant regions. Others say that it is called a void because there was as yet no definite institution of the Church, and the Church had not yet been separated from the other peoples. Neither did empires yet exist, of the sort that later existed in monarchies. But whatever the reason why Elijah spoke thus, there is no doubt of this: that the first age was the most flourishing, because men's nature was less sluggish, as their longevity proved. And its grace was exceptional, because very wise elders, full of divine light, lived at the same time, and were witnesses concerning God, concerning creation, concerning the promise given; and many men discovered and explained the arts. The second period is counted from {the institution of} circumcision to the birth of the Messiah from a virgin; it contains not much less than two thousand years. Concerning the third period, he indicates that the two thousand years will not be completed, because impiety will increase excessively. On this account the entire human race will be swiftly destroyed: and Christ will reveal himself openly in judgment, as he says: for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened.

Therefore we shall divide this History into three books, according to the dictum of Elijah.)

On the Talmudic source for Elijah's pronouncement, and its crucial influence on eschatological doctrines, including those of Luther himself (in the *Supputatio annorum mundi*, where he expressly cites Burgensis), see Köstlin and Kawerau, *Martin Luther* 2:589, 2:690; also J. Köstlin, "Ein Beitrag zur Eschatologie der Reformationen," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 51 (1878): 125–35.

O. Albrecht, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 80 (1907): 567 ff., discovered that Melancthon personally copied out his Hebrew source for this text. The same author, *ibid.*, 70 (1897): 797 f., showed how, by linking the dictum of Elijah with the prophecy of the monk Johannes Hilten, Melancthon directly associated the latter with the attempt to present the new age of the Reformation as a prophesied epoch.

On the general and significant issue of Melanchthon's contribution to Carion's *Chronica*, which he republished in Latin as *Chronica Carionis* (see above), see H. Bretschneider, *Melanchthon als Historiker* (Progr. Insterburg, 1880), 12 ff., and also E. Menke-Glückert, *Die Geschichtschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1912), 23 ff.

136. CR 28:39.

137. Carion is here included in the Reforming party.

138. According to Günther (in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 40:9), Virdung of Hassfurt was sent for by King Christian.

139. To Johannes de Sacrobosco? See CR 2:530; written in August 1531.

140. The seal itself has not survived.

141. Conversations in Nuremberg, where Gauricus then was?

142. Ferdinandi C. W. Thanks to a kind communication from Professor Flemming, I learn that the passage in the original letter (as collated by Nikolaus Müller) reads as follows: "*Mitto tibi geneses Caroli et Fernandi ac Fernandi quidem et altera circumfertur, sed...*" (I am sending you the horoscopes of Charles and Ferdinand; of Ferdinand, indeed, a second one is also in circulation, but...).

143. "τῆν Caroli" (Flemming).

144. Bonincontri, *De rebus coelestibus*, ed. Lucas Gauricus (Venice, 1526).

145. See above, p. 622, and appendix B.5.

146. Venus, the luckiest throw, in which all the dice show different numbers.

147. Melanchthon's children.

148. "*Combustus dicitur planeta, cum a sole plus minutis 16. distat, minus vero medietate sui orbis.*" (A planet is called combust when it is more than 16 minutes, but less than half of its own orb, from the sun.) Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae methodus* (Basel, 1574), 399.

149. In 1537, when Luther wanted to leave because he was seriously ill.

150. Is Luther mistaken here? It was probably a different astrological configuration that aroused Melanchthon's misgivings. Luther left Schmalkalden on 26 February 1537; New Moon was on 14 February. However, both Bugenhagen and Myconius seem to have spoken of 25 February as the date of New Moon. See Keil, *Luthers merkwürdige Lebens-Umstände* (Leipzig, 1764), 3:101.

151. Here the text has "*solemnitatem*" (Mathesius, Nuremberg; "*solennitatem*"). Loesche [see note 86] emends this to "*solennium*," which I do not understand; F. B. gives "*solem inne*." Kroker: "The text as transmitted seems to me to suggest that the original reading was '*solem in nativitate*.'" This conjectural reading of Kroker's is amply confirmed by the theory of planetary subjects or "children," according to which the Sun presides over those in authority: Hauber [see note 47], 131 ff.

152. Gauricus's horoscope of Luther, then circulating in manuscript; his *Tractatus astrologicus* was not printed until 1552.

153. According to Abū Ma'shar.

154. The constellation Lanx Meridionalis, or Corona Austrina (called by the Arabs the Begging Bowl), adjacent to Scorpius.

155. See note 43.

156. See the illustration given by Paulus van Middelburg (fig. 134).

157. See note 148.

158. The Latin editions have “Formico.” This is unlikely to be a reference to Firmicus Maternus (the index references in the new edition s.v. “*propheta*” yield nothing): perhaps it is Firminus Bellovallisensis. See Cod. Amplon. fol. 386, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>: \*  
“Pronosticatio Firmini super magna coniunctione Saturni et Jovis (et Martis, a. 1345 facta)” (The prognostication of Firminus concerning the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter [and Mars, in 1345]). According to Houzeau and Lancaster, *Bibliographie générale de l’astronomie* (Brussels, 1887), no. 4180, there is a manuscript of the same work in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

159. He was a professor at Bologna in 1384–90, according to Serafino Mazzetti, *Repertorio di tutti i professori...{dell’} università di Bologna* (Bologna, 1847), 185. One of Antonius’s works, *Libellus de astrologia iudiciaria*, was printed as an appendix to Lucas Gauricus, *Tractatus astrologiae iudiciariae de nativitatibus virorum et mulierum* (Nuremberg, 1540).

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# Astrology under Oriental Influence (1926)

The Warburg Library took particular pleasure in accepting the invitation to participate in the Fourth Congress of German Orientalists, because the Congress coincided with the publication of Wilhelm Gundel's new third edition of *Stern Glaube und Sterne Deutung*, by Franz Boll (who died in 1924), and this offered an opportunity to draw the attention of Orientalists to Boll's importance in involving Oriental studies in the attempt to establish solid philological and historical foundations for a history of the European mind. Years before, Boll's *Sphaera* (1903), a masterpiece still largely unappreciated by the learned world, had made it possible to understand an array of cosmological symbols, seemingly separated from each other by many centuries, as functions of a universal human desire for cosmic orientation that spanned vast tracts of time and space.

It later proved possible to expand the scope of Boll's study as a result of the labors of Karl Dyroff, who appended to the *Sphaera* the *Great Introduction* of Abū Ma'shar (died 886), not only in Arabic but in German translation. This supplied the evidence that led to the conclusion that the hybrid star symbols listed by Abū Ma'shar as the "Indian decans" were the direct iconographic sources of the hitherto mysterious triple figures in the middle register of the cosmological frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (see Warburg, "Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara," *Atti del X. Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte in Roma*, Rome, 1922 [our p. 563]).

Again, it was the availability of a translation, this time of an Indian text, that made it possible to trace the *Sphaera barbarica* (compiled, as Boll showed, by Teucer, a Babylonian who was born on Cyzicus) on its first migration from Asia Minor to India, where it appeared — long before it ever reached Baghdad — as the authentic work of a specific Indian writer, Varāhamihira; and also to show that Varāhamihira's images of the decans derive from a more authentic form of the Teucer tradition than those of Abū Ma'shar. The Oppert library, now in the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg, contains a translation by Chidambaram Iyer of the *Bṛihat jātaka* of Varāhamihira (published in 1884), in which the first decan is described as follows: "The first Drekkana of sign Aries is a man with a white cloth tied round his loins, black, facing a person as if able to protect him, of fearful appearance and of red eyes and holding an ax in his hand. This Drekkana is of the shape of a man and is armed. Mars is its lord."

In Abū Ma‘šār’s account, the first decan holds the end of a cord; in that of Varāhamihira, he bears a double ax. This is the implement that was expressly described as the attribute of the first decan in the lost lapidary, or work on magical stones, composed (according to Psellus) by Teucer (*Sphaera*, 7).

Now, since the *Planisphaerium Bianchini*, an ancient Roman marble tablet (probably a dice board for astrological divination), shows the same first decan with a double ax, we are entitled to regard this figure as an index fossil for the stratigraphy of traditional astrological symbolism. The antique star maps, and the traditional Greek nomenclature of the constellations (the Germanicus manuscript in Leiden), reveal that this decan with the double ax is none other than Perseus in disguise. Eventually, in the early sixteenth century, he reverted to his authentic, ancient form as one of the constellations on the ceiling of the Sala Peruzzi in the Farnesina.

With reproductions of the Ferrara frescoes at their center, six screens in the lecture hall of the Warburg Library showed further pictorial materials on the history and psychology of the *Sphaera barbarica*, which supplied the hitherto largely unknown or uncomprehended link between two alternative attitudes to antiquity: the Oriental and daemonic on the one hand, the Italian and Olympian on the other.

Along with previously unknown pictorial sequences contained in Arabic and Spanish illuminated manuscripts of the age of Alfonso the Wise, reference was made to the gigantic Salone in Padua, where the corpus of traditional astral imagery is broken down into a network of separate illustrations that combine planetary and stellar astrology according to a (still unelucidated) system, thus furnishing oracular hieroglyphics to meet the practical needs of divination.

In Germany, through the work of Johann Engel, illustrated and printed by Ratdolt at Augsburg in 1488, the Teucer calendar underwent its most influential transformation, into a portable divinatory apparatus (*Astrolabium planum*) for superstitious souls. This is a book that retains an influence to this day, among those in Europe who delight in a petty and facile pseudo-mysticism.

In more than one sense, Padua was the entrepot for the dissemination of the antique legacy in its Oriental, daemonic form. From there, the *sphaera* of the fixed stars flooded Europe with its astral symbolism; from there, too, the seven planets or wandering stars embarked on their migration from South to North. The planetary symbols, defined in the so-called Mantegna *Tarocchi* (tarot cards), can be traced with surprising clarity through their successive German imitations—in Augsburg, Nuremberg, Göttingen, Erfurt, Goslar, Hildesheim, Brunswick, and Lüneburg, to name only a few of the staging posts in their migration—down to a Low German almanac printed in Lübeck in 1519 by Arndes of Hamburg.

Two very dissimilar sequences of images served to illustrate how decisively the planets—the supposedly daemonic rulers of the calendar—still intervened in the personal lives of both Italians and Germans in the age of the European

Renaissance. In the Farnesina—and this has never previously been remarked upon—Agostino Chigi placed his own horoscope on symbolic display in the room painted by Peruzzi: the gods of antiquity, so casually facing each other, signify conjunctions, and the combination—as the director of the Hamburg observatory, Professor Graff, has kindly demonstrated—even makes it possible to specify 1465 as the year of Chigi's birth. In the continuing absence of documentary evidence, this was the birthdate that had already gained currency (a fact not known to Professor Graff). However, in the cupola of the funerary chapel of the same Agostino Chigi, at Santa Maria del Popolo, the antique astral symbols are, as it were, archaeologically and aesthetically Christianized: the arms of the planets are manipulated by angels obedient to the commands of God the Father, who appears at the zenith of the dome.

In Northern Europe, meanwhile, no effort had yet been made to draw the venom of these images by aesthetic means. The Northern almanacs show planetary conjunctions as encounters among figures who look like contemporary social types. So un-Olympian are they, both in appearance and in grouping, that in many cases they would appear to be enacting scenes from the Peasants' War, were it not for the badges of astrological identity that they wear.

This passionate concern with astral events attained its height in response to the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of Scorpio, on which Johann Lichtenberger based the prophetic book that inspired so much terror. According to Abū Ma'shar's doctrine of epochs, which was based on an ancient pagan tradition, this conjunction was destined to accompany the birth in 1484 of a minor prophet who would institute a new order in the religious world. There could be no more convincing sign of the vitality of this daemonic cult than the fact that in Wittenberg in 1527 Luther himself published Lichtenberger's prophecies that centered on that fateful planetary conjunction. True, he accompanied them with a firm denial of any scientific basis for this astrological belief; but this belief had already gone so far—in the teeth of Luther's strenuous objections—as to shift his own date of birth from 10 November 1483 to the prophesied date of 22 October 1484, in order to present his coming as a preordained cosmic event, whether for good or ill (see A. Warburg, "Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1920*, no. 26 [our p. 597]).

The same complex of ideas—derived from Teucer the "Babylonian," who was both the deviser of the *Sphaera barbarica* and the author of a lost handbook on the Hellenistic art of lithomancy—lived on in a hitherto unidentified Arabic work that concealed itself beneath the Latin name of *Picatrix*. Attention was first drawn to this by a quotation in one of the recently discovered illuminated manuscripts from the circle of Alfonso the Wise (Vatican Library, Ms. Reg. lat. 1283); and lengthy researches culminated in the identification of the Arabic author behind the Latin text. Thanks to the contribution of Ritter, Bergsträsser, Plessner, and Printz, his work was now available in an Arabic

text almost ready for the press. It is expected to be published, together with its Latin version and a German translation, by Easter 1927.

Historians of civilization will then have before them a “missing link” that reveals how the wisdom of the Greeks first degenerated into the arid practical routine of Hellenistic times, before emerging as the true substratum of the “modern, Faustian worldview.” To understand the inner psychological cohesion of the cultural impulses that emanated from the rim of the Mediterranean basin will demand a union of classical philology and modern art history with Oriental studies: and this, in turn, requires that ancient and medieval Oriental texts be made available in translation to non-Orientalists.

The sequence of images on display was intended to show, from the standpoint of intellectual history, the defining role of Oriental astrology in the selective assimilation of the heritage of antiquity; thus showing how the inability of Europeans to conceive pagan civilization as a whole—that is, in terms of its tension between polar opposites—exemplifies the biased workings of “social memory” in matters of cosmological orientation.

It is the hope of the Warburg Library that many further milestones on the still incompletely defined migration route, Cyzicus—Alexandria—Oxene—Baghdad—Toledo—Rome—Ferrara—Padua—Augsburg—Erfurt—Wittenberg—Goslar—Lüneburg—Hamburg, may yet be unearthed, so that European civilization will emerge, with ever-growing clarity, as the product of a dialectic. This is a process in which we, at least as students of human attempts to gain orientation through astrology, have no need to take sides: rather, we must look for the symptoms of a unified psychic process within the constant oscillation between far-flung poles: from cultic practice to mathematical contemplation—and back again.

# American Chapbooks

(1897)

In the larger cities of North America, the past three years or so have seen the emergence of a number of inexpensive semimonthly periodicals, small in format, in which young writers and artists are striving to set a new tone. It is well worth taking note of this tendency—if for no other reason than that the American variant of modernity has its own contribution to make to the universal natural history of the “newest” and the “latest.”

As far as their intended policy goes, these pocket magazines might be described as “periodicals of protest”; and indeed one of them calls itself *The Philistine*. For the best of them pursue an earnest aspiration to oppose the mindless, the vulgar, and the sensational with the weapons of criticism and original thought.

Of these “gadfly publications,” the first in the field was *The Chap-Book*, founded in May 1894. Its publishers were two young Harvard graduates, Herbert S. Stone and H. J. Kimball; the editor—until Stone and Kimball moved from Boston to Chicago in August 1894—was Bliss Carman, a latter-day American Romantic poet. In sole charge since April 1896, Mr. Stone has taken the magazine in a somewhat different direction, doubling both its extent and its price (10 cents per issue or \$2 for a year).

Outwardly, *The Chap-Book* has assumed the guise of one of those original chapbooks that in the olden days itinerant peddlers used to sell for a few pence, as the latest in reading matter, to simple English country folk.<sup>1</sup> This outward naïveté bears little relation to the contents of the Chicago *Chap-Book*. Not much plain home cooking here; on the contrary, this is for gourmets accustomed to the finest cuisine that London and Paris have to offer. So long as caviar is not an everyday item of the American popular diet, there will not be much that is popular about the content of *The Chap-Book*. Nor does *The Chap-Book* even set out to be American, except in a very limited sense: its principal object is to place its readers in touch with all that is most modern in the cosmopolitan world.

A succession of famous English and American writers—for *The Chap-Book* still knows little of recent German work—supply subtle analyses or original literary creations. Thus, Anatole France writes on Paul Verlaine; and alongside the poetic contributions of the younger generation of American writers, Kenneth Grahame, Gilbert Parker, and Bliss Carman, we find work by R. L. Stevenson, Henry James, and W. Sharp, who also discusses the

writers of the “Belgian Renaissance.” The critical spotlight plays upon the whole fin de siècle pantheon: *Trilby*, the iridescent mayfly Beardsley, and Wilde, along with Maeterlinck, Stevenson, and Ibsen.

The typography is in the best of taste; but the artistic contributions—or at least those by Americans, with the exception of Bradley’s advertising posters—are the weakest part. Among foreign artists, Vallotton has contributed portraits of Zola and Mallarmé.

*The Chap-Book* avoids the danger of becoming a sentimental pocket journal of literary fashion by occasionally affording the moderns a platform for trenchant self-criticism. Unsparingly and incisively, Hamilton W. Mable (“One Word More”) and Norman Hapgood (“The Intellectual Parvenu”) castigate the mannerisms of decadence.

Another powerful antidote to all modernist affectations lies in the characteristically American art form of the short story, which here includes a series by woman writers. This last would seem to show that the American woman—her fine sensibility shielded from the risk of sentimental effusion by the hectic tempo of her life—has a special gift for grasping and expressing the psychology of the fleeting moment.

Thus, Katherine Bates, Alice Brown, and Maria Louise Pool give us vignettes of the minutiae of ordinary town and country life, with an artful balance between grave and gay, and an acute eye for all that is unique and real, that introduce the European reader to a peculiarly attractive form of literary storytelling.

*The Chap-Book* now bears the subtitle *A Miscellany and Review of Belles-Lettres*; it has laid aside the frivolous mannerisms of Bohemia. What it has lost in unpretentious grace it has gained in high seriousness, as a finely wrought organ of criticism that responds with sensitivity to the sensations of the moment while demanding of itself, and of its readers, the ability to analyze and criticize them.

Once *The Chap-Book* had become fashionable, other little reviews sprouted like mushrooms, mostly of the colorful but inedible kind. With isolated exceptions (one of which is *The Philistine*), these are no more than pretentious imitations of *The Chap-Book*.<sup>2</sup>

Of these magazines, only one has any claim to independent significance: *The Lark*, published in San Francisco since May 1895 (one year later than *The Chap-Book*) by W. Doxey. Its founders and editors are two young Californian artists, Gelett Burgess and Bruce Porter. As true humorists, these two agreed from the outset that—even in California, land of the Gold Rush—the petty concerns of the moment must not hold sway over the human soul.

Beneath the mask of the witty mocker and caricaturist, Gelett Burgess conceals the spontaneous sensibility of a student on vacation, who sometimes trolls out “Songs of Obtuseness”; or plots artistic exploits in amusing dialogues with “Vivette,” his fetching Muse from the Latin Quarter; or—when the sky clouds over—finds tender poetic expression for the little joys and sorrows of the human heart. A typical example of Gelett Burgess’s original—

although at first sight disconcertingly odd—caricatures is *Elliptical Wheels* [fig. 155]. He is also responsible for the cover of the first issue and for the tiny vignette in which an express train, telegraph poles, and clouds of smoke combine to form a whimsical ornament [fig. 157].

He shows his more serious side in the poems “Why Not, My Soul?” and “Christmas in Town.”

**Why Not, My Soul?**

Why not, my soul?—why not fare forth and fly  
Free as thy dreams were free!—with them to vie:  
    There thou wert bold—thou knew'st not doubt nor fear,  
    Thy will was there thy deed—ah, why not here?  
Thou need'st but faith to carry thee on high!

A thousand things that others dare not try,  
A thousand hopes thy heart doth prophesy,  
    Thou knowest the Master Word, Oh, speak it clear!  
                                    Why not, my soul?

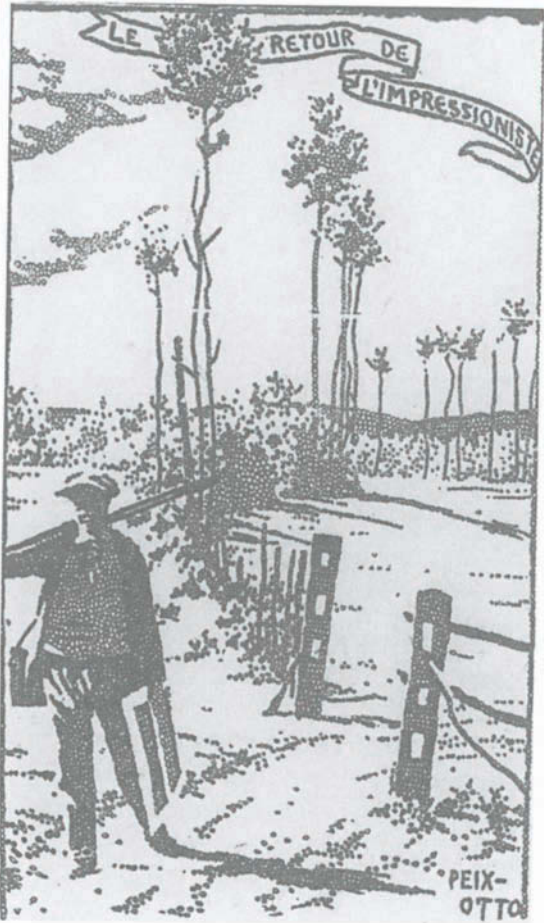
Let not this world of little things deny;  
Break thy frail bonds and in those dreams rely.  
    Trust to the counsels of that other sphere;  
    Let that night's vision in the day appear.  
Walk forth upon the water,—wing the sky!  
                                    Why not, my soul?

**Christmas in Town**

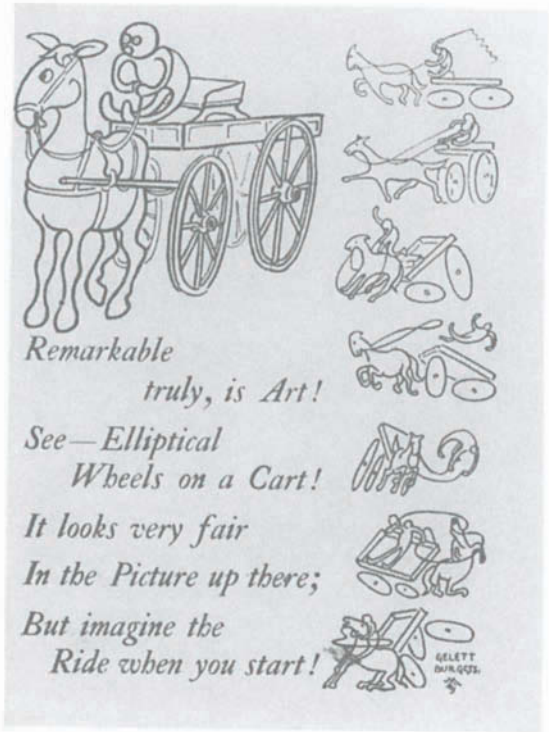
This is the magic month of all the year,  
Holding the children's golden precious Day;  
Of which, with eager eyes, we hear them say  
“In three weeks,—two weeks,—one week 't will be here!

The sparkling windows of the shops appear  
In fascinating wonder-bright array;  
With holly and with greens the streets are gay;  
The bustling town begins its Christmas cheer.  
Now secret plots are whispered in the hall,  
Mysterious parcels to the door are brought,  
And busy hands are half-done gifts concealing.  
The Eve is here; with lighted tree and all!  
And Santa Claus, with merry marvels fraught,  
Before the dawn, across the roofs comes stealing.

A splendid example of Burgess's genuine and very American sense of humor is the railroad humoresque in No. 17 (1 September 1896):



**Fig. 154. Ernest Peixotto**  
*Le Retour de l'Impressioniste*, from *The Lark* (San Francisco, 1896), no. 6 (see p. 709)

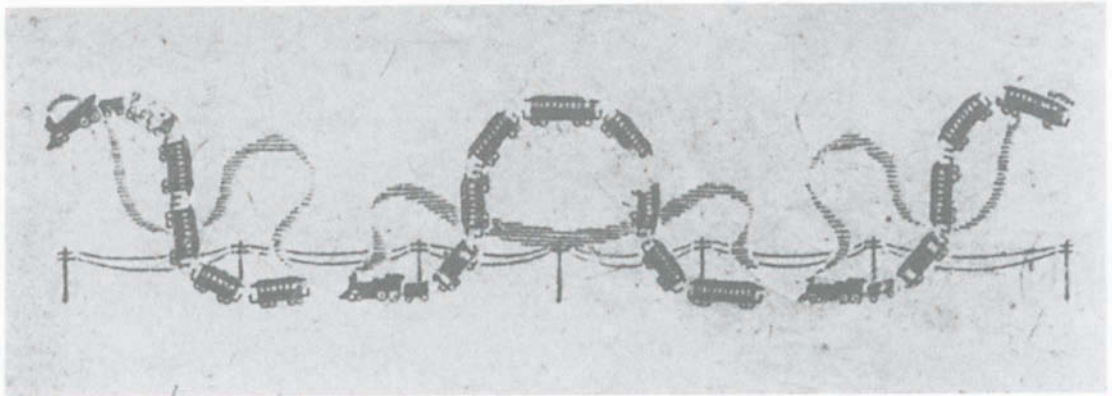


**Fig. 155. Gelett Burgess**  
*Remarkable Is Art*, *ibid.*, no. 8 (see p. 705)





**Fig. 156. Bruce Porter**  
*The Piping Faun*, *ibid.*, no. 11 (see p. 709)



**Fig. 157. Gelett Burgess**  
Tailpiece, *ibid.*, supplement to vol. 1 (see p. 704)

### The Pitfalls of Mysticism

Monotony, C.P.R.R.,—a station and two small wooden buildings; a blank waste of prairie, a line of track, straight to the level horizon, a cloudless sky. The Ogden Express, (East-bound) is waiting upon a siding. A distant whistle, a faint hum, a vibrant roar,—a pounding, rattling rush of noises, and the West-bound Chicago Limited throws itself alongside the station, panting and throbbing. The air-brakes settle back with a long hiss, the escape-valve roars hoarsely, a cloud of vapor rising like the Genie emerging from the Bottle, while the locomotive drinks eagerly from the tank. Dusty travelers crawl from the coaches, and pace stiffly up and down the board walk, in the sunshine.

A young man with golf cap and cigarette, walks leisurely down the alley between the trains, and seats himself upon the steps of a vestibule of the Ogden Express. Directly opposite him is the platform of the last Pullman of the Chicago Limited. Through the door of this coach, enters to him, a young woman,—a lady, by every proof of face, dress and bearing. She holds in one hand a note-book of the Lectures of Vivekananda and stands by the iron rail of the platform after glancing frankly at the young man. After a minute she speaks,—always in a low, dreamy, almost impersonal tone and manner. He is keenly sensitive, yet obviously restrained, as if uncertain of the niceties of his replies.

*She:* Are you,—what is called conventional?

*He:* I beg your pardon,—are you speaking to me?

*She:* To you—yes, in a way. To the individual You, not to the personal You, though. Do you know what I mean?

*He:* Why, yes, I think so;—yet if I do know what you mean, there is no need of asking such a question, is there?

*She:* That's very true. Still, it was such an effort to speak at all. You might so easily have misunderstood me.

*He:* You can trust me,—we are of the same caste, I assure you,—and there are some things that even a man knows by intuition.

*She:* You think so? Then you think we can say what we really think, without disguise, in these three minutes? The porter said we were to stay here only three minutes.

*He:* But why for only three minutes?

*She:* Ah, that's the mystery of it all! Why is it? Yet if it were for longer, I would never dare speak to you at all. But it has seemed so strange to me,—these flying glimpses of people;—like images seen in a flash-light picture, and then fading away into nothing. I couldn't stand it. It seemed as if I must speak to someone, and say something *real*, and then be swept apart. What does it all mean? Do you think we have ever met before?

*He:* Why, yes,—I know it.

*She:* You feel it too? Oh, I wonder when! Perhaps thousands of years ago;—who knows?

*He:* But we shall meet again, shan't we?

*She:* Ah, yes,—perhaps;—thousands of years hence, maybe. I wish I could feel sure of it!

*He:* I feel sure of it.

*She:* Do you? I wonder how we shall know each other? If I could only give you some word to know me by! Some message for you to keep! I feel as if you were on some passing star, and I trying to speak to you, before you were swept away into space again. It's all like a dream! I wonder if you understand why I am talking to you like this!

*He:* I think I understand you better than you understand me.

*She:* Why? But there is the bell, and I shall never know—till the next time. Good-bye! See, your train is moving, you must hurry! Good-bye! Oh, oh! get on your train, please! Oh, you will be left! Why don't you go? You *must* go!—There, the train has gone! What do you mean? You mustn't follow me, you will spoil everything. Oh, why did I begin this! What are you going to do?

*He:* I am going to Ogden. I hope you will forgive me!

*She:* But you were on the other train!

*He:* For three minutes only. I have been in this car, four seats behind you, ever since we left Chicago!

Bruce Porter has a reputation as a fine, European-trained painter in the grand decorative style; his ethical and literary views, too, reveal a large-minded and idealistic nature, with a deep sense of irony and an equally deep aversion to all that is commonplace, false, and philistine. Better than any description, let his own work be his portrait: as, for example, the following prologue to *The Lark*:

“Hark! hark! The Lark at heaven's gate sings!”

A new note—some of the joy of the morning—set here for the refreshment of our souls in the heat of mid-day.

With no more serious intention than to be gay—to sing a song, to tell a story;—and when this is no longer to our liking,—when the spring calls, or the road invites,—then this little house of pleasure will close its doors; and if you have cared for our singing, and would have more of it, then you must follow us a-field.

For, after all, there's your place and ours—there you may hear the birds calling, and see trees blowing, and know the great content of the earth. Meanwhile, shut in the town, we shall blow our nickel pipe, to make you believe it is a reed, and that you dance, garlanded, to its piping.

Of his drawings, we reproduce (considerably reduced) his *Faun Piping* [fig. 156].

Other illustrators who contribute to *The Lark* in a subordinate capacity are Willis Polk, Ernest Peixotto, and Florence Lundborg. Peixotto has produced some ingenious variations on the theme of the lark, presented on the cover of the magazine together with quotations from a number of famous poets; his, too, was the witty inspiration of *Le retour de l'impressioniste* [fig. 154].

The outward appearance of *The Lark* is studiously simple. The paper is

yellow, and so thin that it can be printed only on one side. But despite this seemingly studied naïveté—and the considerable literary education that *The Lark* expects of its readers—there is a genuinely artistic, unforced quality about it all. Burgess's jokes may sometimes seem odd and labored to us; but his is a strong sense of humor, truly capable of rising above whatever life may bring, and engaged in joyous strife with the self-indulgent, world-weary pose of the fin de siècle. We owe these bold campaigners in the Far West a friendly salute for their old-fashioned idealism.

If it be the true purpose—almost the moral mission—of an American chapbook to counter the humorless haste and bustle of everyday existence with the spontaneity of the artist's approach to life, then, of all existing journals of this kind, *The Lark* is perhaps the best.

#### Notes

1. See John Ashton's essay on chapbooks in *The Chap-Book* 3 (no. 1: 3–13).
2. Not wishing to neglect the descriptive part of the flora, I include several titles here:

Boston: *Miss Blue Stocking*; *Paragraphs*; *The Truth in Boston*; *The Black Cat*; *The Shadow*.

Cincinnati: *The New Bohemian*; *The Blue Book*.

New York: *Chips*; *The Philistine*; *Whims*.

Kansas: *The Lotus*.

Almost all of these are in octavo format.

# The Mural Paintings in Hamburg City Hall (1910)

The series of mural paintings in the great hall of the Hamburg city hall was painted by Professor Hugo Vogel at a critical moment of transition in the evolution of monumental history painting.

History painting had become caught up in the stylistic transformation that was overtaking the writing of history itself: in both, the tendency now is to move away from the confines of a single antiquarian and political narrative and toward a typological approach, spanning whole cultural epochs on a “grand scale.” Over the years, both artist and client had become aware of this problem, and they were at pains to find a stylistic compromise between the old and the new. The meaning of the consequent struggle to attain a style will emerge more clearly if all the traces of thematic and formal conflict, the anomalies of technique and content, are seen as coherent, organic symptoms of one single crisis in taste. Historical individuals must be delineated with a fine point, as in the old, expressionistic art of close narrative; but the landscape background now demanded the implement proper to the impressionistic art of distant effects: the broad brush that lays on color values in the flat and evokes an atmospheric mood.

Through skillful handling of both techniques, the painter has here achieved a stylistic compromise that conveys the affecting impression of a symphonic interaction between man and landscape. It was hardly to be expected that the official utterances that accompanied the work’s unveiling in June would draw attention to the inadequacies of that compromise. The rites of public congratulation were performed as usual, and the award of the State Prize Medal and the “turning of a new page in history” took place to the accompaniment of a well-organized salvo of journalistic plaudits. At Christmas, the atmosphere of celebration was still so overheated as to discharge a less ephemeral form of precipitation, as it were, in the shape of some serious, scholarly comment. In his sumptuous volume,<sup>1</sup> Richard Graul adroitly enlists evolutionary historical theory in praise of the work; the perhaps unduly emollient tones that he coaxes from the trumpet of Fame leave the art historian with the answering duty of making a dispassionate analysis of a deeply problematic enterprise. At the very least, success in Hamburg must not elevate the avoidance of psychological tension into the program of a new school of monumental history painting.

Where, in this Hamburg cycle of five phases of civilization, are we to seek

the signs—alleged by the artist's admirers—of progress in the formation of a monumental style? Surely, above all, in the elimination of the theatrical vices that had insinuated themselves into the treatment of gesture, accessories, and backgrounds. In place of overbearing prolixity and an inappropriate style of Latin grandiloquence, we are to be offered calm and collected humanity; clearly defined from within, its exalted characters speak for themselves without need of explanatory adjuncts, whether antiquarian or allegorical. Nor do these figures any longer need scene changes to convey the illusion of authentic local color. Motifs from the local landscape provide a single horizon that spans five separate symbolic episodes from the history of this native ground.

Both in idea and in execution, this background is an undoubted artistic achievement in its own right; its pleasantly pasteurized Impressionism meets the decorative requirements of large-scale mural art, while filling the vast spaces of City Hall with a blue-gray light that renders the impassive mien of the figures entirely plausible as a stylistic consequence of the misty Lower Saxon atmosphere. The tranquillity of the effect was received with gratitude, and—understandably, after the restless didacticism of the Düsseldorf school of history painting—with some relief. Now that the painter had “purged” himself in Paris of all “Düsseldorf velleities,” landscape and figure alike had learned to bear themselves with the utmost monumental decorum.

The first image, of a primeval, unpopulated scene, held out the promise—unfulfilled in what was to follow—of a stylistic transformation and spiritualization of the decorative aspects of landscape. One was inclined to accept the gray, autumnal mood, in accordance with the artist's own explanatory program notes, as a not particularly profound symbol of the “mists of prehistory.”

The second image, however, is of prehistory; and this required the artist to overstep the bounds of a merely decorative talent. At first sight, the psychological neutrality of the figures in the *Prehistoric Age* was not unattractive; not for nothing had Puvis de Chavannes enriched the vocabulary of official, monumental art by introducing effects of still, calm, self-contained humanity. Vogel's figures profit directly, if negatively, by Puvis's achievements: they engage in no lively gesticulations. But, whereas the outward tranquillity of the French artist's figures conveys the disciplined self-possession of sentient fellow-beings, the fisherfolk in the *Prehistoric Age* are tranquilized by the apathetic passivity of the artist's model.

Even if we leave aside the comparison with Feuerbach, the members of the launching party seem to infuse no active energy whatever into the still life of their conventionally drawn musculature. This pleasantly composed and academically well-drawn group may nevertheless find acceptance, if we suppose that the listless appearance of the people reflects the torpor of primitive human beings as yet unawakened by civilization.

When it comes to the central panel, however, the *Beginnings of Christian Civilization*, stillness and vacancy have lost their atmospheric function: this would have been the place for a lapidary statement. Originally, the composi-

tion was divided into two scenes by the upper half of the portal: on the left a chief with his mounted retinue, on the right the bishop baptizing the heathen. The artist's desire for an unbroken expanse of wall was later met by the removal of the intrusive upper half of the portal. The resulting blank was filled in with a procession of white-clad figures, bearers of the "Golden Reliquary of Saint Peter" (Graul).

At the last moment, the principal action itself underwent a fundamental change: the bishop lost his candidate for baptism, so that his almost unaltered baptismal gesture has declined into a meaningless rhetorical flourish. He is left to preach, across the space thus vacated, to a congregation of men and women who stand assembled on the marshy ground. Graul accounts for this highly conspicuous flattening of the principal action by saying that baptism "has gradually become rather a banal subject in popular history painting, and excessive repetition has robbed it of much of its sanctity." A mere decorator may well fight shy of hackneyed subjects; but a creative artist has no need to do so, provided always that he takes the refashioning of a traditional theme as a spur to his own instinctive desire for intensity of expression. Vogel's eclectic disposition saves him from any such competitive pursuit of the expressive sublime; on the contrary, he takes his mentors' wine and waters it down.

This process of dilution is especially apparent in the present case, in which a specific painting by Puvis de Chavannes has served as a source. This is the mural in the Panthéon in Paris, depicting the encounter between the youthful Saint Geneviève and Saint Germain. Both works show a sainted bishop performing a ritual action between two groups of pious bystanders. The French artist sees the laying on of hands as the act of conveying an imponderable spiritual ichor to the girl and to her people, all of whom are reduced to stillness by an intense religious emotion. The stillness that enfolds them is only the outward sign of a concrete religious experience; and the "atmospheric harmony" of the painting demands the will and ability to share in this feeling of rapt adoration. But to use atmosphere for its superficial aesthetic attraction alone—to shrink from the vivid embodiment of emotion, for sheer lack of retrospective sympathy—is to reduce a profound collective experience, in all its potency, to the empty proprieties of a dutiful art.

Another symptom of the superficial nature of the whole creative process is the involuntary shift in emphasis produced by this expressive inhibition. As the bishop no longer performs the action of baptism that would draw our attention over to the right, the principal focus shifts to the center of the scene, and thus to the procession that the bishop now appears to lead. For the unprejudiced observer, the arrival of Christian civilization—the "most important turning point in the history of our native soil"—is now summed up, symbolically, in the institution of the reliquary cult beneath the protection of the secular power.

The golden gleam of the reliquary, as it rises above the municipal coat of arms on the doorway to form the architectural and illustrative focus of the whole, reveals to the reflective student of history that the artist who presses

the significant, concrete realities of history into the service of his own artistic priorities is not—as might be supposed—by any means escaping from the fetters of antiquarian history painting. Liturgical garments and paraphernalia have a meaning of their own; they are not simply color values and linear cadences. Anyone who calls to mind the fact that Carl Gehrts was once intended to depict the *Victory of the Reformation* on this very wall will perceive the elimination of the “agitated verbosity” of religious dialogue as a dearly bought victory of studio refinement over historical character and substance.

With the painting on the third wall, as Graul’s illustrations reveal, the stylistic crisis took a decisive turn. When it came to the depiction of *Old Hamburg*, there was a decision of principle to be taken: the types must either be costume figures or representatives of the popular soul. The easy answer was to seek to convey the Hanseatic setting through a combination of modern fishing-village realism with medieval costume; the ultimate result—after this compromise had been painted across vast expanses of wall and had been found incapable of independent survival—was the reverse of what had been expected. The popular soul emerged victorious, at the expense of considerable losses that we have no reason to deplore: nothing has been obliterated but sketchbook platitudes, unworthy of enlargement.

It would, however, take more than their disappearance to endow the surviving figures with due inner grandeur. In the left-hand corner, two groups of men represent the boldness and energy of the Hanseatic merchant venturers. An old gentleman in a long robe, flanked by a few blasé waterfront types, is trying to reach agreement with a mariner on the content of a sheet of paper; behind them, five others are endangering the trim of an implausible sailing vessel by loading it with two crates and three sacks. Other shipping, its design an uneasy mixture of medieval and modern, adorns a harbor scene framed by a view of a city shimmering in a gray-blue mist.

Some figures have been eliminated, but the result does not look like an organic selection of those fittest for monumental survival. This artist has felt no urgent, ingrained compulsion to simplify. No agonizing profusion of inner experience has ever compelled him to respond with the synthesis—the true mark of genius—in which imaginative creations take on the intuitive symbolism of ideal humanity.

As a result, the experiment undertaken in the fourth mural painting, that of representing an epoch in the history of civilization without the conventional resources of costume and gesture, has inevitably led only to a kind of life-size folk realism that would have been more at home on the modest scale of an illustrated book.

Even so, it took a fifth mural painting, now obliterated—a final, massed effort to jettison the formal niceties customary in the higher monumental echelons—to expel this earthbound vernacular from its mural context once and for all, to replace it with a panorama entirely devoid of human figures. In its present state, this scene conceals from view a complete and fully executed apotheosis of modern life: men in sou’-westers, sailors breaking out the col-



ors, and a strikingly unmonumentalized woman from the Vierlande marshes at downstage center. In short, the artist was so lacking in self-criticism as to permit the company finale of a popular drama in Saint Pauli to appear before the public in a monumental context: an abuse for which it has atoned through a sacrificial death beneath the waters of Hamburg's river.

The fateful stylistic crisis through which the artist passed was both subjectively salutary and objectively respectable—just so long as he and his friends could discreetly dispose of the evidence that, after a lengthy period of creative gestation, he had made the irresponsible attempt to inflate so banal a genre painting to the scale of monumental art. On the contrary, Graul displays all the destroyed evidence of this lapse of self-criticism in the largest possible format, and fails to distance himself adequately from it.

The artist himself has covered his own retreat from the depiction of epic characters by advancing himself as a practitioner of the decorative atmospheric landscape: the ingenious replacement that he offers is a harbor scene, which calls for no great capacity to create human figures and movement, is intrinsically interesting, and compensates for its lack of content with a broad expanse of sparkling Elbe water. Its function is to draw a veil over his failure to reforge the components of artistic experience in the crucible of style to create a higher unity.

Vogel's monumental style thus says its last word in the absence of the noblest and most distinctive of all the expressive resources of history painting: the spectacle of spirited human life. So successfully does the atmospheric quality of the landscape on the main wall divert attention from the lifelessness of the remaining figures that the gratified viewer may well not trouble to ask whether this set of paintings really delivers as much artistic energy and coherent meaning as its grandiose scale might entitle us to expect.

An artist who undertakes to make a public historical statement is binding himself to operate as an organ of social memory, bringing the retrospective self-consciousness face to face with the essential forces of its own evolution. But if this gigantic triptych of a seashore idyll, a religious ceremony, and a landing-stage is to stand as adequate symbolic expression for the quintessence of Hamburg and its contribution to civilization—then it would seem that Hamburg people, by straining their historical memory to the utmost, could find in their heads not a single great or even basic human idea deserving of monumental utterance. Graul is clearly unaware of this dearth of meaning: he praises the mural scheme as “a mighty epic” and as a “paean of praise for the civilization of the Elbe country,” which inspires “an enthusiastic sense of Hamburg's greatness.”

Hamburg seems to share his sanguine view of this dubious attempt at artistic compromise. Heliogravures, deprived of the decorative merits of color and thus reduced to the questionable information content mimed by the *staffage* figures, already adorn the walls of Hamburg's high schools. It is to be hoped that the financial situation will preclude any more such promotion of the City Hall murals at public expense, and ensure that no further members of

the coming generation will be offered pseudomonumental surrogates for a genuinely large-minded understanding of the past.

A mistrust of facile enthusiasm is an understandable reaction against the historical rhetoric of earlier times; but such bouts of dyspepsia soon pass. As recently as Goethe's time, works of art were still expected "to stimulate and to be useful." Such times might well return. "From Stimulus to Impetus" ought then to be the title of that chapter of the yet unwritten history of psychological fashions in the twentieth century that would treat of the influence of work-weary humanity on the culture of art. Hamburg's City Hall murals would then become an object lesson in the social psychology of an age that was content to "avoid something worse" when it ought to have demanded the very highest.

#### Note

1. Richard Graul, *Die Wandgemälde des grossen Saales im Hamburger Rathaus* (Leipzig, 1909).

# Art Exhibitions at the Volksheim (1907)

**T**he young artists' exhibition—the only one to be held this year—confirmed the success of earlier events of the same kind. In five weeks or so, 667 pictures were sold. Subsequently, however, when the idea of a Rembrandt exhibition was mooted, obstacles and doubts emerged; and, after long debate, these still persist.

In a few words, I shall attempt to set out the personal misgivings that hold me back from advocating the use of “surrogates,” in this second stage of our artistic endeavors, to stimulate the popular appreciation of art.

The initial phase of negative utility—the lively and vigorous campaign against philistine bad taste that the Volksheim conducted through its works by young artists—caused me no qualms of art-historical conscience. To let fresh air into stifling apartments is always a worthwhile undertaking. In the present, second stage, with its objective of “bringing people to great art by means of surrogates,” I myself collaborated on the initial Dürer exhibition; and I still maintain that the color reproductions of Dürer drawings are the best of their kind that we can have. If they failed in their effect, this was because no interpreter was constantly present to help the visitors to look beyond the tough and unfamiliar historical shell of the work to its universal humanity.

The same difficulty arises with Rembrandt. The fact that he lived one hundred fifty years later than Dürer does not necessarily bring him very much closer to us; we are still two hundred fifty years away from him. Quite apart from the historical cobwebs, two of the types of surrogate that we plan to use in our exhibitions exclude themselves on stylistic grounds: these are photography and the magic lantern.

It was by seeing darkness as color that Rembrandt created a new way of expressing color through halftones: and these are the very halftones that photography devours and destroys. Similarly, his etchings are made to be held in the hand, when they use the expressive power of black and white to reconstitute an inner image that is perceived as much larger: a process that crude mechanical enlargement puts into reverse. The result is a hydrocephalic monster from which the public is expected to divine some of the most monumental effects ever achieved on a tiny scale.

The only morally defensible way of bringing Rembrandt to Mühlenweg, and to its seekers after enlightenment, might be to sit down around a table

with a group (ten at most) and look with them at Rembrandt's originals; for heliogravures, even the best of them, do no more than muddy the waters. Of course, the heliogravures would give pleasure, of a kind; but then that is not our aim. We have no right to mistake the agreeable sensation of filling a void with adulterated food for the response of a psyche regaled with a truly healthful diet. This sort of spurious popular success serves only to suppress what ought to be a spontaneous wish: to go down to the Kunsthalle and see the originals. A technique whereby we use a surrogate to spare us a piece of work, namely, a journey as far as Glockengiesserwall, can only be described as a systematic obstruction of the emergence of an independent and informed interest in art. At least, that is how I—in my professional capacity as an honest broker of artistic culture—feel constrained to judge our efforts.

The Meunier guided tour, on the other hand, seems to me to show that the more natural and more productive method is being tried for the first time. This is the way to go!

# A Specialized Heraldic Library

(1913)

On the evening of 11 January [1912], the members of the Hamburg Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde (Society of bibliophiles) experienced the all-too-rare realization of one of their own presiding ideals: a private home, within which a lovingly tended library truly and organically belongs. Mr. Paul Trummer's library at Wandsbek is of a strictly scholarly character. It is a practical aid, if you will, in a field—sphragistics, the study of seals—that is dry enough in itself, but of which the library's owner has total command, both as a shrewd and dedicated collector and as a scholarly, unfailingly helpful connoisseur. The owner, who not only keeps his own racing stable but is himself a leading amateur steeplechase jockey, radiates a joyous enthusiasm that brings to life the thousands of seals and hundreds of precious folio volumes in his collection.

This contains approximately 40,000–50,000 seals (with approximately 4,000 originals), from the eighth through the nineteenth century, including nearly 900 German Imperial seals and those of almost all of the German princely families, the higher and lower nobility, the cities, and the German episcopate from the eleventh century onward. There is a special section devoted to medieval and modern English seals.

The document collection contains approximately 1,000 items, ranging from the twelfth through the sixteenth century; one particularly fine archiepiscopal deed from Cologne dates from 1190. There are also 35 magnificently illuminated grants of arms issued by German Emperors and princes, and 40 albums containing single sheets and photographs of medieval works of art.

The library of approximately 1,800 titles and 2,500 volumes covers the ancillary historical disciplines in all their branches. Most of the better-known armorials, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, Belgian, Italian, and Swiss, which are normally found only in the largest libraries, are here, including such rarities as Meyer's Zurich armorial of 1605 and the great Russian armorial in ten volumes. They are supplemented by manuscript material, including for example a superb late seventeenth-century folio collection of colored heraldic tombs in Bruges. There is hardly a single modern publication on seals, of any utility, that is not here. Among earlier published works, the collection includes only those works that derive historical value from reliable reproductions (such as the works of Oliver Vredius, in 1639, on the seals of the counts

of Flanders). There is also a small collection of coins (bracteates), and another of casts of medals. The periodicals of all the German heraldic societies are subscribed to.

Late in the evening, as we made our way home, some of us reflected that our amiably dilettantish Hamburg, with its tendency to hail a “promising initiative” and leave it at that, has much to learn from our fellow citizen out at Wandsbek, and from his happy maintenance of the tradition of the old-fashioned, sensitive amateur antiquarian — for whom, in all modesty, an effective contribution to scholarship is both a recreation amid the cares of business and an earnest of individual good faith and self-sacrifice.

# A Newly Discovered Fresco by Andrea del Castagno

(1899)

**I**n the third chapel of the north aisle in the church of Santissima Annunziata in Florence, the altar was until recently surmounted by a gigantic canvas, the work of Bronzino [Alessandro Allori], representing the terrors of the Last Judgment. Concealed behind this was a fresco by Andrea del Castagno (around 1410–1457), one of the greatest precursors of the early Renaissance. Vasari saw it there before 1550; it was not until the second edition of his *Vite*, dated 1568 [ed. Milanesi, 2:671], that he wrote: “*Ma questa pittura, essendovi stata posta sopra dalla famiglia dei Montaguti una tavola, non si può più vedere.*” (But this painting can no longer be seen, as the Montaguti family have covered it with an easel picture.)

The credit for having correctly interpreted the practical significance of this passage in Vasari and traced it to the Montaguti Chapel is due to Professor Heinrich Brockhaus, director of the Kunsthistorisches Institut (Art historical institute) that was opened in Florence one-and-a-half years ago. Thanks to a sympathetic and cooperative response on the part of the authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, Mr. von Marcuard, the Florentine member of the board of the Institute, was able to obtain permission to remove the Bronzino.

On 3 June 1899 at 2:30 p.m., after much strenuous work, the painting was finally shifted and taken down; and sure enough, to the joy and surprise of a small group of watching lovers of art, Castagno’s fresco awoke from its three centuries of slumber.

The fresco exactly tallies with Vasari’s description. In the center stands Saint Jerome, his head with its sallow, ascetic features thrown back and his left hand raised in astonishment as he gazes up into the clouds and sees the Miracle of the Trinity. To the right and left stand two massive, draped female figures, their faces visible only in lost profile, echoing the motif of wonderment. The Trinity itself—as Vasari, with his incomparable artistic understanding, rightly emphasizes—is a masterstroke of perspective: in a billowing red mantle, God the Father stretches out his arms to hold Christ on the Cross, half laying them on him and half supporting him; the dove of the Holy Ghost hovers above the head of the Redeemer, who emerges in drastic foreshortening, with torso and head bent forward, from a cluster of red angel heads.

Castagno’s unmistakable source is the *Trinity* by Masaccio at Santa Maria Novella; but he has sought to transform Masaccio’s quasi-sculptural relief into a painterly composition in space. With that elemental, monumental

strength of his, Castagno compels our admiration by solving a perspectival problem in virtuoso fashion, while maintaining a deep, religious seriousness in every part of the work.

The colors are relatively well preserved; only the blue has darkened considerably. The Annunziata fresco lacks the monumental scale of the *Last Supper* at Sant'Apollonia, Castagno's most famous work; but it certainly constitutes an outstanding example of the master's late development. The Kunsthistorisches Institut is to be congratulated for this discovery—a discovery in the most literal sense of the word. May it often find itself united with the Florentines in the performance of their finest duty: that of awakening their past greatness to new life.



# Speech on the Opening of the Kunsthistorisches Institut at the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence, 15 October 1927 (1927)

Ladies and gentlemen,

Honored guests: It is both a great honor and an even greater personal pleasure to thank you for your presence, in the name of the committee of the association for the support of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence.

It is so much more truly human to look forward to a future that is dignified and cheered by work than to confront—as we did some twelve-and-a-half years ago—times when possibilities of communication would be sorely limited. None of us can or ever will forget those times; but no one to whom Europe still means something will hesitate to join us in hailing the day on which this Institute, now restored to us intact, once more becomes free to continue its work. Those in the know will know just how much gratitude lies behind these few words; those who have helped us the most—colleagues and *galantuomini* that they are—will be the least anxious to hear too much said on the subject. To its eternal credit, the Italian government granted our Institute—a body dedicated to scholarship for its own sake, without ever denying its German identity—the extraterritorial privileges of a mission accredited to the timeless realm of scholarship.

We owe a deep-rooted allegiance to a power that transcends the personal; one that recognizes neither victors nor vanquished, but only those who eternally serve. And that is why the Institute, to us, is not an object to be possessed, but an instrument of music. Anyone who believes in his own capacity may play upon it; but in life's unending Farewell Symphony he must take care to leave the instrument to his successor in the best possible condition. This was the ethos of Schmarsow, of Bayersdorfer, of Marquardt, of Brockhaus, of Gabelentz, and—above all—of our own Bode; and we are convinced that the same selfless idealism is shared by the present incumbents, the admirable director, and all his associates.

The committee itself can hold out to itself only one directive: to remove, so far as humanly possible, every obstacle in the path of the Institute's gratifying tendency to expand. The vital question is therefore whether the German colony in Florence will—as we hope—take the Institute to its heart. We want this place to provide central heating for the psyches of all who seek the truth;

and we ask for your support in supplying both the concrete, external means of combustion and the inner flame of enthusiasm.

To return, finally, from these ethereal regions to the solid Florentine streets: the absorbing serial story of the "Florence German," which we followed with such eager attention before 1915, has suffered an unwelcome interruption, happily now brought to an end. Today marks the beginning of a new chapter: "To be continued in our next." *Si continua—coraggio!—ricominciamo la lettura!*

# In Memory of Robert Münzel

(1918)

The Stadtbibliothek (City library), the Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde (Society of bibliophiles), and the Hamburgische Wissenschaftliche Stiftung (Academic foundation) are united in mourning the death of Robert Münzel, in whom all three have lost the very embodiment and living symbol of inspiring strength. The constant force of his enthusiasm, with which he infused the daily round, from trifling duty to great idea, made him an example and an ideal to all who were ever privileged to work with him. And so the desire has arisen, among his grateful friends and associates, to preserve his memory after his death.

Almost immediately after Münzel's funeral, the burgomaster, Dr. von Melle, voiced the idea of publishing a commemorative volume. The Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde, to which I passed on the message, was happy to agree; and so our Society, with material support from the Wissenschaftliche Stiftung, has been privileged to take up the idea and carry it through to completion. I am sure that you will accept the commemorative volume, which I have the honor to present to you today, in a spirit of sorrow and yet also of joy, because it represents the final literary honor that we can pay to our beloved chairman.

Fritz Burg, Albert Köster, Karl Meinhof, B. A. Müller, Karl Rathgen, and myself, as friends and admirers, have come together to shed some brief light on Münzel as a man and as a scholar. This commemorative volume is accompanied by a concrete memorial, in the shape of his working library, which we have preserved for the use of the public. It was threatened with dispersal by the codicil that Captain Münzel added on the third mobilization day in 1914 to his will, dated 7 May 1908: "My library, which I have deeply loved, is to be sold, and the proceeds added to my estate."

This provision left just one way in which his friends could preserve Münzel's sophisticated scholarly resource from dispersal; and the Wissenschaftliche Stiftung is honored to have been able to erect a modest, but living and eloquent, memorial to its revered former member, here in Hamburg, by purchasing the section of his library concerned with classical philology and presenting it to the state.

This represents a gratifying enrichment of the cultural resources of Hamburg; for, of the thousand or so works of classical philology thus acquired, approximately two hundred fifty were absent from our Stadtbibliothek, rich

though it is. The remaining seven hundred fifty printed books represented the ideal foundation of a working library for the study of Ancient Greek civilization; and the Osteuropäisches Seminar des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts (East European department of the Hamburg colonial institute) has provisionally taken this part into its care. It is the hope of the donors that, on the day when a university opens its doors in Hamburg—a day for which he, like so many others, longed in vain—the young students of the department of classics will find his library at their disposal and pursue the study of antiquity in his pure and noble spirit.

Exhausted before his time, Robert Münzel was compelled to pass on the torch of life to the next runner; but we know that to his very last breath he kept alive the sacred flame of enthusiasm—even though, in the service of scholarship and of his country, that flame ultimately consumed him.

This is the meaning of the bookplate that Fritz Schumacher has devised at my request—for Münzel did not possess one—and that now appears in every book from his library. It shows a blazing ancient torch, surrounded by the Latin inscription "*Serviendo consumor*" (In serving, I am consumed). The torch is copied from a numismatic masterpiece of fourth-century Northern Greece, a tetradrachm from Amphipolis: it recalls how Greek youths ran relays in honor of Apollo, in which the torch had to remain alight at the end of the race.

So long as he lived, Münzel guarded and held aloft the Promethean flame of Greek civilization; to him, antiquity was not a foreign country but a second home, one whose very different beauty and riches served to make him all the more conscious of his own profoundly German nature. He was one of those who are sustained by the belief that to *be* German is to find fulfillment in a profoundly German process of *becoming*. With so profound and humane an understanding of the greatness of other civilizations, he was born for the work that he did: that of a faithful custodian of the spiritual and intellectual treasures of the entire world.

The ancient ideal of a finely strung harmony of mind and body was enshrined in his blood and in his breeding; and to this ideal—as we have seen—his commitment was tragically complete. The salvo that was fired over the open grave of the captain-librarian was an apt and poignant allegory of his courageous life.

One who, after fifty-eight years of life, was privileged to depart in the performance of his duty, and who constantly enjoyed the love and confidence of his fellow human beings, is a man whose destiny—for all the suffering that he certainly endured—bears the marks of true earthly fulfillment.

Let us honor his memory in our own actions; and in all those areas close to his influence let us respect his example by continuing, as best we can, to do the duty that lies to hand.

# The Problem in Between

(1918)

The development of the idea of a university in Hamburg cannot present the gratifying spectacle of a graph ascending in a straight line. Some have considered the traditional German university—as distinct from the Kolonialinstitut (Colonial institute) and the Wissenschaftliche Stiftung (Academic foundation), with which, as early as 1907, Hamburg marked a new departure in German education—to be an obsolescent institution: condemned, by the drudgery of academic teaching on an industrial scale, to become ever more remote and isolated from any refreshing contact with real life. The Kolonialinstitut, the Wissenschaftliche Stiftung, and the public lectures were established precisely in order to conserve the energies of the scholar, to give him more time to engage in purely academic research, while bringing him the direct stimulus of questioning by an educated public close to the practical affairs of the day.

Now, after a decade of hard and unremitting effort, the specialists responsible for this new conception admit that it has not lived up to justified public expectations. They therefore propose further consultations as to the extent to which it will, after all, be necessary to move toward the framework and structure of a university. The central question is this: is it possible to devise a type of higher education based on a new kind of balance between teaching and research, between the teacher's right to examine and the layperson's right to inquire?

Understandably, this return to the conference table has not met with universal public approval; and we have all the more cause to be grateful to the senate, to the city council, and to the instructors concerned, for bracing themselves to reconsider an issue that is quite as thorny in practical as in theoretical terms. It is to be feared, alas, that during this interval of painstaking reappraisal the audience may become nervous and impatient and may lend an ear to those vociferous elements who tend, with a fine show of clarity and resolution, to hold a pistol to the conscientious deliberator's breast and confront him with a stark "either-or."

In such a situation, those who ponder the issue may be consoled by the thought that, according to Goethe, they are approaching the problem in the right way. In *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* we read, in a comment on the then topical controversy between Neptunism and Vulcanism:

*“Hier aber”, versetzte Wilhelm, “sind so viele widersprechende Meinungen, und man sagt ja, die Wahrheit liege in der Mitte.” “Keineswegs!” erwiderte Montan, “in der Mitte bleibt das Problem liegen, unerforschlich vielleicht, vielleicht auch zugänglich, wenn man es darnach anfängt!”*

“But here,” said Wilhelm, “contradictory opinions are so many, and it is said that the truth lies in between.” “Not in the least!” retorted Montan. “What lies in between is the problem: impenetrable, perhaps, but also perhaps approachable, did one only go the right way about it.”

How the adversaries of the university idea are “going the right way” about finding *no* approach to this fundamental issue—by failing to show the necessary respect, either in substance or in form, for the “problem in between”—is the subject of the present special publication by the Literarische Gesellschaft (Literary society).

# Addenda to Volume 2

## Dürer and Italian Antiquity

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- 553 Published as “Dürer und die italienische Antike,” in *Verhandlungen der achtundvierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Hamburg vom 3. bis 6. Oktober 1905* (Leipzig, 1906), 55–60.

- 553 Albrecht Dürer’s drawing the *Death of Orpheus*, Lippmann no. 159; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der junge Dürer* (Augsburg, 1928), 13, no. 50.

The Northern Italian engraving, the *Death of Orpheus*, Pass. 5:47, no. 120, was first reproduced by Eugène Müntz, *Histoire de l’art pendant la Renaissance* 1 (1889): 252.

On this engraving as a direct or indirect source for Dürer, see Joseph Meder, “Neue Beiträge {zur} Dürerforschung,” *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 30 (1911–12): 213; Tietze, 13, 306 f.

- 553 Other ancient sources for the *Death of Orpheus* cited by Meder, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 30 (1911–12): 219 ff., figs. 25–33; and Erwin Panofsky, “Dürers Stellung zur Antike,” *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (15) (1921–22; Vienna, 1923): 46, no. 10; Carl Robert, *Sarkophag-Reliefs* 2:96 f. and pl. 33. See also the addendum to Warburg’s paper on the *Battle of Constantine* fresco, page 492.

- 553 The Pollaiuolo drawing in Turin discussed by Luigi Dami, “Due nuove opere pollaiuolesche,” *Dedalo* 4 (1924): 706. Pentheus sarcophagus in Pisa: Roscher, *Mythologisches Lexikon*, s. v. “Pentheus,” fig. 5; Hans Dütschke, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Campo Santo in Pisa* (Leipzig, 1874), 40 f., no. 52. The Orpheus pose in the engraving *Hercules and the Giants*, School of Antonio Pollaiuolo, repr. van Marle, 11:354, fig. 225.

Campbell Dodgson, *A Book of Drawings Formerly Ascribed to Mantegna* [Earl of Rosebery] (1923), pl. 21, and also—as pointed out by Meder, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 30 (1911–12): 221—fig. 32, pl. 8. Orpheus plate, School of Francia, Correr collection, Venice, photograph Anderson 14057.

Plaque in Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, ascribed to Bertoldo by Bode, *Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici* (Freiburg, 1925), 39 (illus.), 40.

Giulio Romano’s drawing in the Louvre, photograph Braun 293: see E. Habich,

“Handzeichnungen italienischer Meister in photographischen Aufnahmen von Braun & Co., kritisch gesichtet von Giovanni Morelli,” *Kunstchronik*, n.s., 3 (1891–92): 374; also mentioned by Meder, 221.

- 555 The Venetian Ovid edition of 1497: *Metamorphoses* translated into Italian (with allegorical interpretations) by Giovanni da Buonsignori, around 1370–80 (Venice: Zoane Rosso, 1497), 11.1, woodcut fol. 92<sup>v</sup>. On reprints and copies of this edition, see M. D. Henkel, “Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen,” in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1926–27* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930), 65 ff. The same motif: 13.23, fol. 110<sup>v</sup> (Polymnestor slain by Hecuba and her women) and 11.13, fol. 94<sup>v</sup> (Peleus and the serpent).

Other examples in Meder, *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 30 (1911–12): 219 ff., and in Panofsky, “Dürers Stellung zur Antike,” *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (15) (1921–22; Vienna, 1923): 77, n. 132.

- 555 Wedding chests by Jacopo del Sellaio in Paul Schubring, *Cassoni* (Leipzig, 1915), 304 f., pl. 85. On the relation between the *cassone* and the Mantuan premiere of Poliziano’s *Orfeo*, see the addendum to “The Birth of Venus,” p. 416, and d’Ancona, *Origini del teatro*, 2d ed., 2:363, where the letter mentioning the planned inclusion of centaurs in the 1491 performance is printed in full.

- 555 Copies of Mantegna: *Bacchanal*, L. 455, 454; Tietze 63, 64. Abduction scene, L. 347; Tietze 85.

The engraving B. 73 interpreted by Panofsky, *Herkules am Scheidewege* (Leipzig, 1930), 168 ff.; the woodcut B. 127, *ibid.*, 181 ff.

On the significance of Pollaiuolo’s pictures of Hercules at the Palazzo Medici, see Luigi Dami, *Dedalo* 4 (1924): 706; Maud Cruttwell, *Antonio Pollaiuolo* (London, 1907), 66 ff.; van Marle, 11:364 ff. Pollaiuolo’s *Hercules and Nessus*, formerly in the Jarves Collection, New Haven, now Fogg Art Museum, Harvard, was first connected with Dürer’s *Hercules and the Stymphalian Birds* (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) by Werner Weisbach, *Der junge Dürer* (1906), 50; see Tietze, *Der junge Dürer* (Augsburg, 1928), 51 (no. 165) and 327.

- 556 On Dürer’s studies of proportion based on the Apollo Belvedere, see Panofsky, “Dürers Darstellungen des Apollo und ihr Verhältnis zu Barbari,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 41 (1920): 359 ff.; *idem*, “Dürers Stellung zur Antike,” *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 1 (15) (1921–22; Vienna, 1923): 53 ff. Also Tietze, *Der junge Dürer* (Augsburg, 1928), 68 f., nos. 229–32.

- 556 Letter from Dürer to Pirckheimer, 7 February 1506, in K. Lange and F. Fuhse, *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlass* (Halle, 1893), 22; see Hans Rupprich, *Willibald Pirckheimer und die erste Reise Dürers nach Italien* (Vienna, 1930), 62 ff.

- 558 On the discovery of the *Laocoön* group in 1506, see A. Michaelis, “Geschichte des Statuenhofes im vatikanischen Belvedere,” *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäo-*



*logischen Instituts* 5 (1890): 15 f. On the antique remains discovered in 1488, see the addendum to Warburg's essay "The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal," p. 468.

- 558 The *David* painted on a leather shield (now in Philadelphia, Widener Collection) has been ascribed by Friedrich Antal, "Studien zur Gotik im Quattrocento," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925): 6, to Andrea del Castagno.

The Florentine Niobid group was discovered in 1583, and the Pedagogue (also discovered no earlier than the sixteenth century) was subsequently added to it. The Pedagogue's arms are a later restoration; see K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden* (Leipzig, 1863), 10 ff., 217 ff., 236 ff. This figure cannot, therefore, have been a direct source for the *David*. But a similar figure must already have been known, as appears both from a majolica plate from Urbino in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (no. 3578, *Death of the Daughters of Niobe*, sixteenth century) and from the use of the Pedagogue's pose by the artist of the Codex Escorialensis in restoring a figure on the Amazon sarcophagus now in Wilton House: H. Egger, *Codex Escorialensis: Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaios* (Vienna, 1905–6), fol. 65<sup>v</sup>; text vol., 155 f. The sarcophagus is illustrated by Robert, *Sarkophag-Reliefs* 3:3, pls. 101, 102, where the more accurate drawing in the Codex Pighianus may be compared with that of the Escorialensis (discussed on pp. 383 f.).

An authentically antique formulation of the same expressive gesture is preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Theriaca* of Nicander (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Suppl. grec 247), illustrated with miniatures copied from antique originals. There the young man's gesture of alarm (fol. 6) is used to illustrate an account of measures to be taken against snakebite. This manuscript was in Italy in the fourteenth century; see H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 2d ed. (Paris 1929), 35 f., 38, pl. 65,4.

### The Gods of Antiquity and the Early Renaissance

- 559 Published as "Die antike Götterwelt und die Frührenaissance im Süden und im Norden," in *Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte* (1908).

Fuller accounts of the subjects touched upon in this outline may be found as follows:

Descriptions of the gods (Albericus, Berchorius, *Ovide moralisé*): see "Palazzo Schifanoia," pp. 563 ff. and addendum, pp. 732 f.

Planetary deities in Rimini: see "The Birth of Venus," pp. 96 f.

Death of Orpheus: see "Dürer," pp. 553 ff.

*Tarocchi*: see "Theatrical Costumes," p. 358, and addendum, p. 532.

Mercury: see "Low German Almanac," p. 593, and addendum, p. 758.

Dürer's *Jealousy*: see "Dürer," pp. 555 f.

Dürer's *Melencolia I*: see "Dürer," pp. 641 ff., and Panofsky and Saxl, *Dürers Melencolia I*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, no. 2 (Leipzig, 1923).

Stephan Arndes: see "Low German Almanac," p. 593.

### Church and Court Art at Landshut

- 561 Published as “Kirchliche und höfische Kunst in Landshut,” *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, no. 441 (21 September 1909). On Burgkmair, see “Low German Almanac,” p. 596, and addendum, pp. 759 f.

Direct descent from the Berchorius tradition is confirmed by, among other signs, the *signum triceps* (tricephalous sign) that accompanies the Apollo; see p. 532.

### Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara

- 563 Published as “Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoia zu Ferrara,” in *Italia e l'arte straniera: Atti del X. Congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte* (Rome, 1922), 179 ff. (An English translation by Peter Wortsman was published in Gert Schiff, ed., *German Essays on Art History*, The German Library, no. 79 (New York: Continuum, 1988).)

- 564 The work of Liebeschütz, in *Fulgentius Metaforalis*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, no. 4 (1926), has made it possible to define more clearly the relationship between the descriptions of the gods based on “Albericus” and the texts and illustrations, respectively, of the moralizing commentaries on Ovid. Liebeschütz has shown that Mythographus III (“Albericus”), the putative author of one of the medieval treatises on the heathen gods, was very probably the Englishman Alexander Neckam, which confirms that his treatise was written at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth.

On the other hand, the *De deorum imaginibus libellus* (Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 1290, written in Northern Italy around 1400; see Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters in römischen Bibliotheken* [Heidelberg, 1915], 67 f.; our fig. 112) is essentially a digest of the account of the gods [*De formis figurisque deorum*] by Petrus Berchorius. For all his “medieval” delight in attributes, Berchorius must be accounted the heir to his friend Petrarch’s humanistic conception of the gods. His mythography was composed in two versions, one at Avignon before 1340 and the other in Paris in 1342. As Hauréau has shown, in “Mémoire sur un commentaire des Métamorphoses d’Ovide,” *Mémoires de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 29 (1883): 45 ff., this work was intended to serve as a preamble to the Latin moralizing commentaries on Ovid that form Book 15 of Berchorius’s *Reductorium morale*.

It was between the first and second redactions of his treatise that Berchorius became acquainted with the rhymed *Ovide moralisé* composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century by an unknown French author (the first six books ed. C. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1905, 1915–20; the seventh ed. J. T. M. van’t Sant, in *Le commentaire de Copenhague de l’“Ovide moralisé,”* Amsterdam, 1929). He took very little from it for his own work.

It was Berchorius’s text that thenceforth dictated the appearance of the pagan deities in pure and applied art: an approach to antiquity that stemmed from a long

tradition but also represented the state of fourteenth-century scholarship. The pagan deities who had appeared in the early fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Ovide moralisé* in the guise of contemporary knights, monks, and ladies, mostly with few signs of their divine nature, reappeared in later manuscripts of the same work equipped with all the additional, learned attributes assigned to them by Berchorius, which have no counterpart in the text of the *Ovide moralisé* itself (e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. fr. 373; see also p. 577, fig. 113). They then went on to reappear in every context where images of the pagan gods were required: not only in the *Tarocchi* (pp. 532, 577, and 753) but in the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, cod. 9242/4) and in the commentary to the *Echecs amoureux* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. fr. 143).

Warburg's use of the name "Albericus" should therefore be understood to refer not to the twelfth-century author but to a later source: the *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, adapted from Berchorius.

566 As a more positive interpretation of divinatory astrology, taking into account the role of the pictorial image in it, Warburg adds the following amplification of the term "onomastic fetishism": empathetic transformation into the character of the image (identification with the artistic image), accompanied by total suppression of one's own ego; metamorphosis of the self-willed, purposive personality through extraneous imagic entities.

566 According to Manilius, weavers are associated not only with Aries the Ram (4.124 f.) but directly with Minerva herself (4.134 ff.). On the relationship between Firmicus Maternus and Manilius, see Boll in *Realenzyklopädie* 6, col. 2372.

566 Catharsis of the belief in omens through astral "contemplation" (sc. circumscription); the metamorphosis from self-defense against a monstrous portent (*placatio*) to the contemplation of divinatory hieroglyphs of fate: from omen to idea.

The supernatural character of the astrological program is underscored by Warburg through two stylistic alterations: for "intellectualized the animate creations . . . to functioning mathematical points," read: "reduced . . . to sober, functional . . ."; and, on p. 578, for "the dry program," read: "the outlandish program."

567 On the Hebrew translation of Abū Ma'šār, see Raphael Levy, *The Astrological Works of Abraham ibn Ezra* (Baltimore and Paris, 1927); on Pietro d'Abano, *ibid.*, 32 ff., and Leo Norpoth, "Zur Bio-, Bibliographie und Wissenschaftslehre des Pietro d'Abano," *Kyklos* 3 (Leipzig, 1930): 292 ff.

On the Salone in Padua, see Wilhelm Gundel, *Dekane und Dekanbilder* (Leipzig, 1933), and the older literature listed by him.

567 Like Perseus, the Oriental planet Mars, who rules the first *facies* of Aries in the *Astrolabium planum*, also has the sword and the severed head (see, e.g., *Liber Bolhan*, Ms. Bodl. Or. 133). Perseus's *falchion* is multivalent.

The sources and the process of compilation of the 36 planetary *facies* of the

*Astrolabium planum* remain to be investigated. It is clear that these are not purely aspects of the planets themselves, as the captions would seem to suggest, but that here, as with the decans in Ferrara (see below, p. 738), some cross-contamination has taken place with the *Paranatellonta* and other astral imagery.

The two separate tripartite divisions of the signs of the zodiac, *facies* and decans, are sometimes presented as parallel systems, as in the Bianchini planisphere, but are sometimes regarded as identical; and the term *decans* is in use not only to denote mathematical divisions of the ecliptic but to refer to groups of stars interpreted as images: Boll, *Sphaera* (1912), 81; Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), 215 ff., 221 ff., 229 ff.

- 569 The Aventine, where the Bianchini tablet was found, was the precinct of the Temple of Jupiter Dolichenus (Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 4th ed. [Leipzig, 1931]), 60, the god whose attributes include the double ax.

Is this tablet a divinatory board for the casting of (fictitious) nativities with dice, like the icosahedron in Boll, *Sphaera*, 470? The magician Nectanebus, in the *Romance of Alexander* by Pseudo-Callisthenes (see Boll, *Sphaera*, 303 n.), has a similar device. For the evidence for the use of the Bianchini tablet as a dice board, see Gundel, “Wozu diente die Tabula Bianchini?” in Boll, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 4th ed., addendum D, 191 ff., esp. 196 ff.

- 569 In the *Picatrix* (Cracow, Ms. XI, 1, 793), the decan holds a sickle. The garment tied with a cord in the Abū Maʿšār tradition is a vestige of the sacrificial apron worn by the decan with the double ax on the Bianchini tablet and in the lapidary of Alfonso the Wise.

The Ethiopian in Ferrara (fig. 111) corresponds to the black executioner in the lapidary.

- 569 Still in print to this day in India; copy in the Warburg Library, received from Saint Xavier's College, Bombay. *The Bṛihat Jātaka of Varāha Mihira*, tr. into English by N. Chidambaram Aiyar, 3d ed. (Madras, 1926). A German version, based on the English translation and edited for modern astrological use: Wilhelm Wulff, *Das grosse Buch der Nativitätslehre (Bṛihat Jātaka) des Varāha Mihira* (Hamburg, 1925).

- 569 Hence a sacrificial priest, as per Bianchini {tablet}.

- 572 Warburg's and Boll's findings as to the migration and metamorphosis of astrological imagery have been amplified and clarified in several respects by later work: Saxl's catalogs of the astrological and mythological illuminated manuscripts in Rome and in Vienna, the extensive and seminal work of Gundel on the decans and decan symbols, and Elsbeth Jaffé's work on the Latin *Picatrix* text.

Warburg carried the history and metamorphoses of the decans no further than the appearance of the Latin translation of Abū Maʿšār; a succession of later texts has since come to light, in which the tradition of Abū Maʿšār is further developed. Some

of these abandon Abū Maʿšār's separate presentation of the three spheres and (as in Ferrara) show only a single sequence of figures. The direct tradition of Abū Maʿšār affords no sufficient exegesis of the twenty-one decan figures still extant in Ferrara; nor can the attributes of the figures be explained on the basis of the Indian tradition alone. The tables that follow represent an attempt to trace the individual attributes of every figure back to the text of the planisphere closest to it, whether Persian (for which Warburg uses the term *Arab*) or Indian, in order to clarify the successive strata of tradition of which the monumental and enigmatic figures in Ferrara are the end-product—and, where possible, to elucidate the laws governing their form.

The texts should therefore be understood rather as parallels than as direct sources for Ferrara; and, even if some of them (especially the *Picatrix*, whose curious catalog of the properties of the decans is paralleled only by the lapidary of Alfonso the Wise; see figs. 158–61 and note 1 to Libra in the table below) look like direct sources of specific details, our knowledge of the cosmological treatises of the fifteenth century is not yet sufficient to determine once and for all whether the whole program of the frescoes was devised ad hoc by one of Borso's court astrologers, or whether the selection from traditional sources used in Ferrara corresponded exactly to that made in some existing work of compilation. The existence of a number of such works, on the lines of the treatises of Ludovicus de Angulo (around 1450) and Giovanni Fontana (first half of fifteenth century), proves in any case that it was not unknown for a fifteenth-century scholar to devise his own more or less original extension and elaboration of these—as of other—theoretical and cosmological portions of Arab astrological lore.

The relationship between the Ferrarese decan figures and the source texts reveals principles of selection that allow us to establish clear degrees of relationship. Thus, in Ferrara, monstrous or hybrid forms are avoided even at those points (Aries II, Cancer I and II, Libra II and III) where most of the texts describe half-human, half-animal figures. Only Zahel and Leopold of Austria similarly restrict themselves entirely to the human form. On the other hand, dark-skinned types are retained wherever they appear in the tradition (Aries I, Leo III, Virgo II). Buildings and indications of landscape are omitted, and in several cases a relationship that exists in the manuscripts between a figure and an inanimate object is converted into an action motif for the figure alone. One example is the woman at Virgo III who is shown in Ferrara kneeling with hands raised, but whom the texts describe as on her way to pray in an adjoining temple (figs. 170–73); another is the flying man at Libra II (figs. 162–63), whose action is indicated in all of the manuscript illustrations by endowing him with the form of a bird. A similar process takes place with the man at Leo II, who is mentioned in the texts only as carrying a bow, the arrows being added in the illustrations (figs. 167–69).

Warburg's tracing of the first decan of Aries through its successive metamorphoses can now be paralleled by three other cases. Just as the Egyptian priest with the double ax, on his migrations, has been transformed into the man with the garment tied by a cord, so the kneeling page and the staff-bearer who stands before him, at Gemini I, can be traced back to an original image of two wagoners (see Boll, *Sphaera*, 108 ff., 223 ff., 505). One of these, who in Abū Maʿšār/Johannes Hispalensis simply leads his cart (fig. 164), has been transformed, by a twofold misinterpretation that



**Fig. 158. *First Decan of Libra***  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 735, 751)

**Fig. 159. *First Decan of Virgo***  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 735, 748)

**Fig. 160. *First Decan of Libra, from Picatrix***  
Cracow, Ms. xi. 1. 793 (see pp. 735, 751)

**Fig. 161. *First Decan of Virgo, from Picatrix***  
Cracow, Ms. xi. 1. 793 (see pp. 735, 748)

can be traced through the texts (fig. 165 and table, Gemini, note 1), first into a ruler and then into a servitor (fig. 166).

Similarly, the kneeling figure at Gemini II (fig. 174), who originally corresponded to the constellation of Heracles, has lost all trace of the original figure, so that his characteristic posture, “*genuflexus*,” has given rise to an entirely new illustration. Even in Leopold of Austria, who describes him as “*curvus*,” he is no longer to be recognized as a Hercules (see table, Gemini, note 2).

The most interesting transformation is that of one figure who, according to Boll (*Sphaera*, 275 ff., 519), is none other than the familiar sleeping Ariadne of antique sculpture, misinterpreted and wrongly positioned. In this position (Libra III), Johannes Hispalensis places a man with one hand to his head and the other outstretched “in praise”; in the illustrations of Zothorus Zaporus this gesture is transformed, with the addition of an arrow unauthorized by the text, into a gesture of despair (fig. 177); and this in turn gives rise (via intermediate forms, as in Ludovicus de Angulo, figs. 176, 178) to the “*nudus*” of Ferrara (fig. 175), who wrings his hands in desperation. Motivation for this gesture is supplied by the archer who has been imported (from the Indian *sphaera*) to form a coherent group.

#### *Analytical Commentaries on the Decan Figures by Elsbeth Jaffé*

The table below is based on the text of Abū Maʿšār, in the translation of Johannes Hispalensis, provisionally dated 1133 (Albumasar, *Introductorius*, Clm. 374, fol. 45<sup>v</sup>–47<sup>v</sup>); this forms the third vertical column. Discrepancies between image and text, and portions of text that remained unillustrated, are emphasized by the use of italic. The notes are an attempt to explain contradictions between Ferrara and Johannes Hispalensis by adducing further texts. In those cases where a discrepancy between the Ferrara fresco and Johannes Hispalensis is matched by a conspicuous parallel between the fresco and other decan texts, the latter are inserted in the table itself (column 4).

The lists of decans used here and in the notes are drawn from the following works:

1. Hermannus Dalmata, *Introductorium in Astronomiam Albumasaris Abalachi* (Venice, 1506), fol. e 3 ff.; composed 1140–43.
2. Georgius Zothorus Zaporus Fendulus, *Liber astrologie* (Sloane 3983; Paris, Mss. lat. 7331.7344): digest of Hermannus Dalmata. Earliest known manuscript, Paris, Ms. lat. 7330, around 1200.
3. Ibn Ezra, *Abrahe Avenaris... liber introductionis... qui dicitur principium sapientie*, in *Opera* (Venice, 1507), ch. 2; a Latin translation made by Pietro d’Abano in 1293.
4. Zahel, *Imagines secundum Zaelem* (Vat. lat. 4085, fifteenth century); idem, *De interrogationibus* (Venice, 1493 and 1519). Zahel Israelita (Abū ‘Uthmān Sahl ibn Bīṣr ibn Habib ibn Hānī) lived in the first half of the ninth century. It is clear from the large measure of agreement between this text and that of Leopold of Austria (see below, 5) that it must have been available to Leopold in Latin translation. Quotations from Zahel kindly supplied by Professor Gundel.

5. Leopold of Austria, *Compilatio Leupoldi ducatus Austrie filii de astrorum scientia*... (Augsburg, 1489), fol. a [7']–[8]; written around 1200.
6. Pompilius Azalus Placentinus (pseudonym for Giovanni Fontana), *De omnibus rebus naturalibus* (Venice, 1544), fol. 32 ff.; a cosmology elaborated before 1455.
7. Ludovicus de Angulo, *Liber de figura seu imagine mundi* (Sang., Vad. 427; Paris, Ms. lat. 6551; Paris, Ms. franç. 612), composed around 1450.
8. *Picatrix* (following the edition now in progress of the Latin translation made after 1256).

On the grouping of these sources:

Hermannus Dalmata, and with him Zothorus Zaparus (whose almost identical decan series is not cited separately), represent the second Latin version of Abū Ma'shar. Ibn Ezra's decan text is a stylistic reworking of the same Arabic source. Together with that of Johannes Hispalensis, these lists thus represent the direct Western tradition of the decans according to Abū Ma'shar.

Zahel and Leopold provide almost identical digests, by way of *tituli*, which agree in basics with that of Abū Ma'shar. We cite Zahel only where he differs from Leopold.

Giovanni Fontana and Ludovicus de Angulo supply reworked excerpts from the Persian and Indian decans, as given by Hermannus Dalmata, and are therefore cited only where variants arise. To these Fontana adds a further sequence, which he calls a Greek *sphaera*, and which is close to those of Zahel and Leopold.

*Picatrix* occupies a unique position. In a number of the decans in book 1 (the only one relevant to Ferrara), this shows figures from a previously unknown *sphaera*. The lapidary of Alfonso X of Castile, which is in broad agreement with *Picatrix*, has been left out of account, as the wide circulation of *Picatrix* in the fifteenth century, and its influence on the program of the uppermost field of the Ferrara frescoes, are proven facts (see p. 753).

The horizontal arrangement of the table divides the decans into their component parts in accordance with the systems from which they are taken: Sphaera I, Persian; Sphaera II, Indian; Sphaera III (only at Libra I), unknown. It is evident that in Ferrara Abū Ma'shar's third, Greek *sphaera* is entirely missing. The same omission is found in Zahel, Leopold, Ludovicus, Fontana, and *Picatrix*—the last, apart from the decans of different origins mentioned above, describes only Indian decans.

The blending of Persian and Indian decan elements into a single series is something that Ferrara shares with Zahel, with Leopold, and with Fontana's pseudo-Greek list. In Ludovicus de Angulo the process is almost complete.



Aries	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšār / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	—	—	—
Indian I	Man, dark skin, stocky, <i>coat and breeches in rags</i> , cord around waist, <i>the ends of which he holds in his hand</i> , fierce-looking, standing.	Vir niger, rubeis oculis et magni corporis, fortis et magnanimus indutus lintheo laneo albo, precinctus in suo medio fune, et est iratus, stans super pedes suos. (Black man, with reddish eyes, large body, strong and high-spirited, clad in white linsey-woolsey tied with a rope around his middle, and he is angry, standing up.)	—
Persian II	—	—	—
Indian II	Woman, dress, ends of kerchief fluttering on shoulders, <i>crouching</i> .	Mulier induta laneo lineo et vestimentis rubeis habens unum pedem, et eius imago assimilatur imagini equi, <sup>1</sup> habens in animo ire... (Woman, clad in linsey-woolsey and red garments, with one foot, and her likeness is made like that of a horse, intending to go...)	—
Persian III	—	—	—
Indian III	Youth, fair curly hair, well dressed, <i>arrow</i> <sup>2</sup> in right hand, hoop in left hand.	Vir albi coloris et rubei, rufus capillis et iratus et inquietus habens in manu sua armillam ligneam et virgam, indutus vestimentis rubeis. (Man, of white and reddish tint, red hair, angry and disturbed, holding in his hand a wooden bracelet and a staff, dressed in red clothing.)	—

1. The hybrid features are missing only in Leopold (see introductory text above). In Hermannus Dalmata and Ludovicus de Angulo, this decan has a horse's hoofs.

2. Why the staff, which is prescribed by the direct Abū Maʿšār tradition, by Ludovicus de Angulo, and by Giovanni Fontana, has here been replaced by an arrow, cannot be explained. *Picatrix* omits the staff, and Leopold omits all attributes.

Taurus	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšār/ Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	—	—	—
Indian I	Woman, abundant flowing hair, <i>loose</i> dress; before her a child, <i>both standing</i> .	Mulier multos capillos habens ante capite, pulchra, crispa, <i>similis coloris</i> habens filium, induta vestimentis <i>que per partes invenit ignis combustio</i> . (Woman, with a lot of hair in front, pretty, curled hair, with child <i>of like color</i> , wearing garments, <i>parts of which are on fire</i> .)	—
Persian II	Naked man, key in right hand, <i>seated on the ground</i> .	—	<i>Leopold of Austria</i> : <sup>1</sup> Vir nudus in cuius manu clavis. (Naked man, in his hand a key.)
Indian II	—	—	—
Persian III	Naked man, winged serpent in right hand, arrow in left hand,	—	<i>Leopold of Austria</i> : Vir in cuius manu serpens et sagitta. (Man, serpent and arrow in hand.)
Indian III	— with, <i>behind him</i> , a horse and a dog. <sup>2</sup>	<i>et ascendit equus sinister et canis</i> . (and a horse <i>going up</i> on the left, and a dog.)	—

1. We here give Leopold of Austria's text as a parallel, because all other sources associate the key-bearer with a ship. Only the *titulus* to the illustration of Taurus II in Paris, Ms. lat. 7331, and in Sloane 3983 (key-bearer on a ship), gives the same abbreviated formula as Leopold, "*vir nudus manu clavem tenens*" (naked man holding a key in his hand). Only Ludovicus de Angulo describes the key-bearer as seated: "*Vir male indutus habens clavem in manu sedens in parte navis*." (Man, poorly dressed, holding a key in his hand, sitting on board a ship.)

2. There is no parallel for the combination of the serpent-bearer from the Persian system, and the Northern horse and dog from the Indian system has no parallel. Ludovicus de Angulo, in his version of Taurus III, also combines the two systems; but he takes from the Indian system the monster with long fangs and a half-lion, half-elephant body. This decan in Ferrara cannot, therefore, be based on him. On the other hand, the "Persian" portion of the image does reveal a convincing agreement between the Ferrara image and Leopold's text. Leopold, for reasons hitherto unexplained, gives the man an arrow as well as a serpent.

Gemini	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšār / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	Standing man, <i>court dress</i> , staff in right hand, page kneeling before him. <sup>1</sup>	—	<i>Ludovicus de Angulo</i> : Vir manu sua virgam tenens et iuxta eum clientulus unus, (Man, holding staff in his hand, and next to him a retainer,)
Indian I	—	—	<i>vel mulier benivola forma erecta</i> . (or a kindly woman, standing.)
Persian II	<i>Naked</i> flute player, <i>squatting</i> , before him a kneeling figure <i>with hands crossed on breast</i> , also <i>naked</i> . <sup>2</sup>	Vir habens fistulam auream, cum qua canit et Beruleus, et quidam vocant eum Hercules et ipse est reflexus super genua sua. (Man having a gold pipe, on which he plays, and Beruleus, and some call him Hercules, and he is squatting.)	—
Indian II	—	—	—
Persian III	—	—	—
Indian III	Man, <i>standing</i> , bow <sup>3</sup> and arrows in right hand, quiver at side, well dressed.	Vir petens arma ad induendum, habens secum clipeum <sup>3</sup> et geabah, id est faretra, et sagitta in manu illius et vestimenta atque ornamenta. (Man, looking for arms to put on, having with him a shield and geabah, that is a quiver, and an arrow in his hand and clothing and ornaments.)	—

1. To clarify the metamorphosis of the two wagoners into the group in Ferrara will require a review of the successive forms taken by the text.

Johannes Hispalensis:

*Vir habens in sua manu virgam ...*

(Man holding a staff in his hand ...

*et duo plaustra, super duos equos sedens super illa vir regens ea*

and two carts, above two horses, sitting on them [i.e., the carts] a man driving them)

Leopold of Austria:

*Vir in cuius manu virga*

(Man with staff in hand

*et alteri serviens*

and serving a second man)

Giovanni Fontana (pseudo-Greek system):

*Forma hominis habentis in manu virgam,*

(Figure of a man, with staff in hand,

*cui adest alter, qui ei deservit*  
next to whom is a second man  
who is subject to him)

Ludovicus de Angulo:

*Vir manu sua virgam tenens*

(Man with staff in hand

*et iuxta eum clientulus unus*

and next to him a retainer)

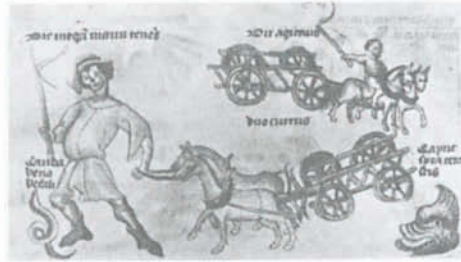
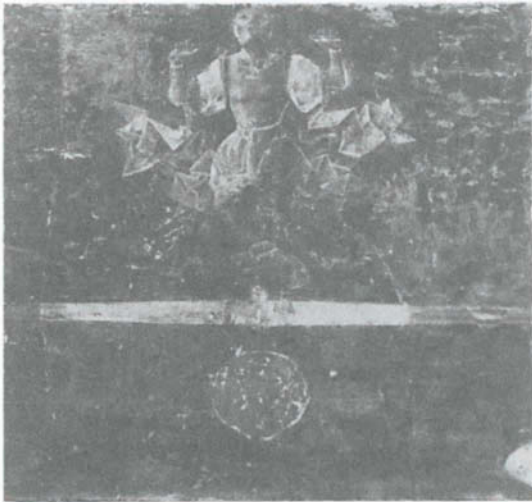
The description of this decan in the Arabic text of Abū Maʿšār caused difficulties for the Latin translators and led them into attempts at conjectural interpretation. The concept translated by Johannes Hispalensis as “*vir regens ea*” was applied to both wagoners, large and small; the same

goes for Leopold, who, here as elsewhere, compresses the texts of his sources. He regards the smaller of the two wagoners, with the staff, as “*serviens alteri*,” i.e., as subordinate to the larger figure.

An inadvertent omission in the text of the *titulus* to Zahel/Leopold (*alter* for *alteri*) was the source of the version given by Giovanni Fontana and, consequently, of the paraphrase given by Ludovicus de Angulo, which corresponds exactly to the image in Ferrara.

2. Johannes Hispalensis’s explicit identification of the kneeling figure as “Herculeus” makes it unlikely that the image in Ferrara is derived from his text. This identification is missing only in the abbreviated texts (Leopold, Zahel, Fontana); following a different tradition of translation, these describe the kneeling (Hercules) figure not as “*genuflexus*” (kneeling) but as “*curvus*” ([bent over] see Johannes Saxonicus, commentary on Alcabitus, Paris, 1541, fol. 36: “*incurvatus vel genuflexus*”). Fontana, in turn, misreads this as “*cervus*” (stag). The visual consequences of the word *curvus* are evident in the bent figure of this decan in the *Astrolabium planum*, while the image that the word *cervus* evokes for Fontana is evident from his gloss, “*quem alii vocant Atheonem*” (whom others call Actaeon). The composition in Ferrara must therefore be based on an abbreviated text very similar to Leopold’s “*Vir in cuius manu fistula et alter curvus*” (Man with a reed-pipe in his hand and a second {man}, bent over), but retaining the word *genuflexus*.

3. Johannes Hispalensis’s “*clipeum*” (shield) is an error. Ferrara retains the bow in agreement with the Arabic text of Abū Maʿšar and with the entire Latin tradition, insofar as the arms are specified. Thus, the Ferrara image cannot derive solely from Johannes Hispalensis.



**Fig. 162. *Second Decan of Libra***  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 735, 751)

**Fig. 163. *Second Decan of Libra*, according to Ludovicus de Angulo**  
St. Gall, Cod. Vad. 427, fol. 89<sup>r</sup>. (see pp. 735, 751)

**(right)**  
**Fig. 164. *Persian Sphaera* of Abū Ma'shar for the first Decan of Gemini**  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. lat. 7331, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>  
(see pp. 735, 741)

**Fig. 165. *First Decan of Gemini*, according to Ludovicus de Angulo**  
St. Gall, Cod. Vad. 427, fol. 86<sup>v</sup> (see pp. 737, 741)

**Fig. 166. *First Decan of Gemini***  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 737, 741)

Cancer	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšar / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	—	—	—
Indian I	Handsome youth, <i>body apparently unclad</i> . A leafy branch covers groin. <i>Much overpainted and damaged</i> . <sup>1</sup>	Vir pulchre speciei, iuvenis, <i>indutus vestimentis et ornamentis et in facie eius atque digitis aliquantulum tortuositatis; corpus quoque eius assimilatur corpori equi atque elephantis habens pedes albos</i> , iamque suspendit super eo diversas species frugum et folia arborum. (Man of handsome appearance, young, <i>wearing clothing and ornaments, and in his face and also his fingers a little distortion; his body is made like the body of a horse and an elephant, and has white feet</i> , and now he is holding up above him different kinds of fruits and leaves of trees.)	—
Persian II	Woman <i>in courtly dress, standing before a...</i>	<i>secunda puella ex virginibus...</i> ( <i>second girl of the maidens...</i> )	—
Indian II	... woman in rich garments with a diadem. <i>She is seated and has a staff in her right hand</i> . <sup>2</sup>	<i>secunda puella aspectu pulchra et super caput eius corona mirti rubei et in manu eius virga lignea.</i> ( <i>second girl, pretty, on her head a garland of red myrtleberries and in her hand a wooden staff.</i> )	—
Persian III	—	—	—
Indian III	Man with webbed feet, <sup>3</sup> <i>a winged serpent twines upward round him</i> . Wears a golden chain and rests one foot on a ship laden with ingots of silver and gold.	Vir cuius pes assimilatur pedi celhae <sup>a</sup> ... <i>iamque extendit super corpus suum amicam</i> <sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup> habens super se ornamenta aurea, habens animo venire ad navem et navigare in mari ut auferat aurum et argentum. (Man whose feet are like the foot of a tortoise ... <i>and now he holds his female friend {cloak} out over his body</i> . Has on him gold ornaments, plans to take ship and sail on the sea in order to carry off gold and silver.)	—

a. Tortoise; see Boll, 509.

b. *Sic* manuscript; should presumably read “*amictum*” (cloak). See Boll, 509, n. to 16.

1. In Ferrara, this Indian decan is in such a poor state of preservation, and has been so heavily overpainted, that care is necessary in identifying any of the details. It is certain, however, that the figure originally lacked the “*vestimenta et ornamenta*” (garments and ornaments) prescribed by Johannes Hispalensis, and also that its lower half has never displayed any zoomorphic attributes. Leopold of Austria also omits these, and all “distortion” of the face and fingers: “*vir super*

*quem panni decoratio*" (man in ornate garments). However, as he also places this decan, wrongly, at Cancer II, it is worth adducing another parallel, that of Giovanni Fontana (Indian system): "*pulcher adolescens, nobilibus pannis involutus et ornatus, sed facie et digitis parumper tortis*" (handsome youth, dressed and adorned with splendid garments, but his face and fingers a little distorted). Although Zahel's description, "*puella virgo et vir super quem sunt panni et decoratio*" (young woman and man; he wears garments and ornaments), differs from Leopold's, it is not relevant to Ferrara.

2. The same combination of the same portion of the elaborate Persian decan with the Indian decan figure is present in Zahel and in Ludovicus de Angulo.

3. Cancer III is the only zoomorphic decan in Ferrara. And it is precisely this exception that confirms the hypothesis that the absence of hybrid human-animal forms elsewhere in the Ferrara scheme is to be ascribed to the influence of Leopold. For it so happens that his description of Cancer III, "a girl with a crown," could not be incorporated in the Ferrarese program, where the same description had been used for Cancer II (whence Leopold had transferred it to Cancer III). Zahel's description, which refers to a girl and a man, was also not illustrated in Ferrara. The motif of movement has the authority of Ibn Ezra: "*eiusque desiderium est navem intrare*" (and his desire is to board a ship).

4. *Amicam* (for *amictum*) appears only in Johannes Hispalensis; in the remaining texts, other than the abbreviated ones, this decan has a serpent (see Boll, 509, note to 16) twined around his body (as in Ferrara) or in his hand (*Picatrix*). Here, too, then, Johannes Hispalensis is not the sole source.

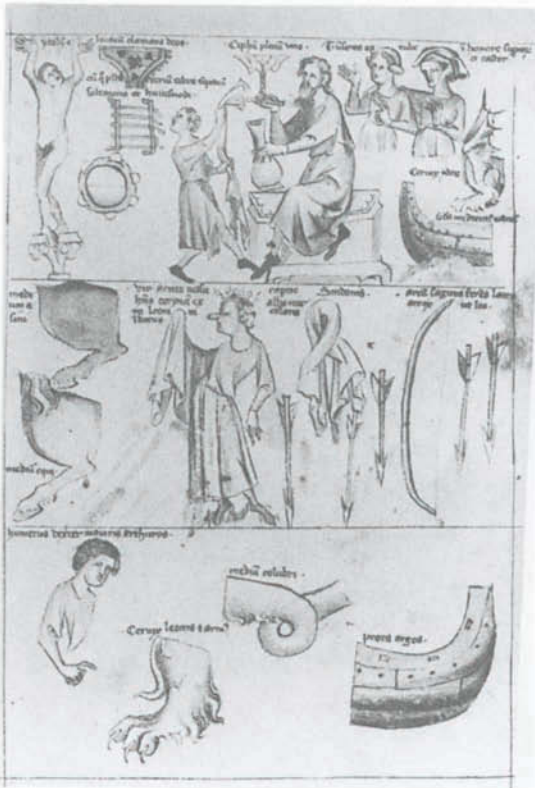


Fig. 167. *Second Decan of Leo*  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 735, 747)

Fig. 168. Tripartite *Sphaera* of Abū Ma'sār for the second Decan of Leo  
London, British Museum, Sloane Ms. 3983, fol. 17<sup>v</sup> (see pp. 735, 747)



Fig. 169. Tripartite *Sphaera* of Abū Ma'sār for the second Decan of Leo, according to Ibn Ezra  
Munich, Cod. Lat. Monac. 826 (see pp. 735, 747)



Leo	Ferrara	Abū Ma'shar / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Indian I	Tree with extensive roots; in it are perched a dog, a bird, and a man <i>in a cap and gown</i> .	arbor magne radice super cuius ramos est canis et rahgmah <sup>a</sup> et indutus <i>vestibus sublinuotis</i> <sup>b</sup> sordidis, cupiens flere. (Tree with large root; on its branches are a dog and a <i>rahgmah</i> {vulture}; {a man} <i>dressed in dirty</i> {?} <i>garments, on the verge of tears</i> .)	—
Persian I	—	—	—
Persian II	—	—	—
Indian II	Man <i>squatting, ordinary face</i> , garland on head, <i>arrow in right hand</i> , bow in left hand. Costume with fluttering strips of cloth.	Vir parvi nasus, super caput eius corona ex albo mirto, et in manu illius arcus, <i>iudicatur pro latronibus, callidus et iracundus assimilatur in fortitudine sue leoni</i> , circumdatus lintheo laneo <i>ad colorem leonis</i> . (Man with <i>small nose</i> , on his head a garland of white myrtleberries, and in his hand a bow, <i>is being judged in front of bandits; crafty and angry, is made like a lion in bravery</i> ; wrapped in linsey-woolsey <i>the color of a lion</i> .)	—
Persian III	—	—	—
Indian III	Dark-skinned man, ugly; with his right hand he is putting an unidentified object into his mouth; in his left hand a leg of meat, <i>clothed and sword-girt</i> .	Vir cuius species est similis speciei aringee <sup>c1</sup> fedus et iners <i>multi laboris ac gravis meroris</i> in cuius ore sunt fructus et caro, et in manu illius <i>ib[ri]s, id est urceum eneum</i> . <sup>2</sup> (Man whose appearance is like that of a Negro, ugly <i>and unskilled at much work and very sad</i> ; in his mouth are fruit and meat, and in his hand an <i>ib[ri]s, that is, a bronze pitcher</i> .)	—

a. Vulture; see Boll, 511.

b. *Sic* manuscript.

c. Black man; see Boll, 513.

1. Leopold, with whom Ferrara agrees in avoiding zoomorphic forms, here avoids the word “*niger*” (black) as well and refers to the figure as “*fede faciei*” (foul of face).2. Ibn Ezra and Ferrara both omit the metal vessel held in the black man's hand. According to Ibn Ezra's text, he has in his mouth “*deliciamenta*” (sweets), and in his hand “*caro*” (meat); this corresponds better to the depiction in the fresco than does that of Johannes Hispalensis.

Virgo	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšār / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	Beautiful woman with hair down, ears of wheat in right hand...	Virgo pulchra atque honesta et munda, prolixi capilli et pulchra faciei habens in manu sua duas spicas et ipsa sedet... (Beautiful maiden, noble and elegant, long hair, pretty face, holding in her hand two ears of grain, and she is seated...)	—
Indian I	...wearing antique costume, standing upright, pomegranate in left hand.	...puella virgo habens super se lintheum laneum et vestimenta vetera, in manu illius <sup>a</sup> et manus eius suspense, et ipsa est erecta. (...maiden, wearing linsey-woolsey and old garments, in her hand {object missing} and her hands raised, and she is standing erect.)	Picatrix: puella virgo lintheo laneo veteri coperta et in eius manu malum granatum tenens. (Picatrix: maiden clad in old linsey-woolsey, and holding in her hand a pomegranate.)
Persian II	—	—	—
Indian II	Ugly, exotic-looking man, wrapped in cloths. Writing- or reckoning-tablet in right hand, quill in left hand, squatting. <sup>2</sup>	Vir niger, <sup>1</sup> in cuius universo corpore iam nati sunt pili, habens super se vestimenta tria, quorum unum est corium et secundum siricum, tertium vero est lintheum laneum rubeum, et in manu illius est vas incausti, et ipse cupit aspicere in computacionibus. (Black man, with hair all over his body, wearing three garments, one of which is leather, the second silk, the third is red linsey-woolsey, and in his hand is a pot of ink, and he is about to look at account books.)	—
Persian III	—	—	—
Indian III	Elderly woman, nun's habit, kneeling, praying. <sup>3</sup>	Mulier surda pulchra alba magnanimis se <sup>b</sup> iam <sup>b</sup> lintheum lineum tinctum et ablutum ubi numquam accidit infirmitas in suo corpore et ipsa nititur venire ad domos orationis causa orandi in eis. (Woman, rapt in contemplation, beautiful, fair, noble-spirited, {wearing} linsey-woolsey dyed and washed clean where weakness never affects her body, and she is striving to come to a house of prayer to pray there.)	—

a. The name of the object is an obvious omission. In the Arabic text it is “a small vessel” (Boll, 514), which was interpreted in varying ways in the Latin tradition. The “*vestimenta vetera*,” which appear throughout the tradition as garments worn by the figure, cannot, therefore, be interpreted in the Hispalensis context as if they were the object carried.

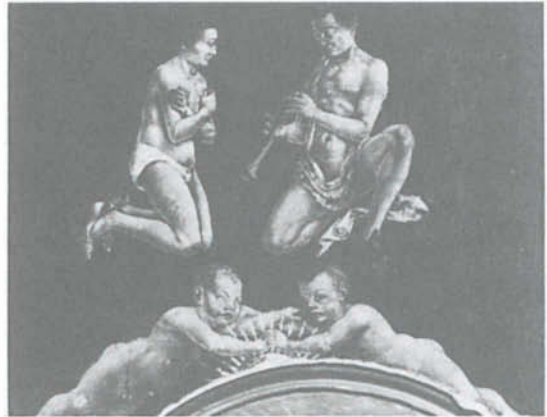
b. The sense seems to demand “*super se habens*.”



**Fig. 170. Third Decan of Virgo.**  
London, British Museum, Sloane Ms. 3983, fol. 20<sup>v</sup> (see pp. 735, 748)

**Fig. 171. Third Decan of Virgo, according to Ludovicus de Angulo.** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. franç. 612, fol. 117<sup>v</sup> (see pp. 735, 748)

**Fig. 172. Third Decan of Virgo, according to Ludovicus de Angulo.** Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. lat. 6561, fol. 106<sup>v</sup> (see pp. 735, 748)



**Fig. 173. Third Decan of Virgo.**  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 735, 748)

**Fig. 174. Second Decan of Gemini.**  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 737, 741)

1. *Picatrix* is alone in describing him not as a black man but as “*vir pulchri coloris*” (a man of attractive complexion).

2. As the table shows, few of the elements of the Hispalensis description of the Indian decan are retained here. Some of them, the “*vas incausti*” (pot of ink) and the tablet that stands for “*cupit aspicere in computacionibus*” (he is about to look at account books), are so lacking in definition that one is tempted to enlist the interpretative assistance of Ibn Ezra, who says in so many words: “*sunt in manu eius tabule, ubi computacionem exerceat*” (there are tablets in his hand, on which to practice reckoning).

3. Here, too, the extremely corrupt Hispalensis text can have served, at best, to suggest the idea of a “woman at prayer”; in Ibn Ezra, who leaves out the mention of churchgoing, this is more concisely expressed: “*ipsaque Deum precatur*” (and she is praying to God).

Libra	Ferrara	Abū Maʿšar / Joh. Hisp.	Other Sources
Persian I	Man, <sup>1</sup> <i>standing</i> , playing on a wind instrument, which he holds in his right hand;	—	<i>Leopold of Austria</i> : forma viri irati in cuius manu fistula. (Figure of a man, <i>wrathful</i> , in his hand a pipe.)
Indian I	—	—	—
unidentified I	<i>left hand</i> staff or lance and bird dangling.	—	<i>Picatrix</i> : Vir in eius dextra lanceam tenens, in sinistra vero avem pedibus pendentem. (Man, holding in <i>his right hand</i> a lance, in his left a bird dangling by the feet.)
Persian II	—	—	—
Indian II	Man, <i>clothed</i> , with face and palms upturned, giving the impression that he is flying.	Vir cuius species est species vulturis, <sup>2</sup> super <sup>a</sup> colorem arrahim <sup>b</sup> nudus sitibundus, manibus debilis, cupiens volare ad aera. (Man whose appearance is that of a vulture, having in his upper part the complexion of arrahim [carriion vultures], <i>naked, thirsty, his hands crippled</i> , wishing to fly up in the air.)	—
Persian III	Naked man <i>wringing hands and...</i>	—	<i>Leopold of Austria</i> : Vir nudus. (Naked man.)
Indian III	... archer stringing his bow. <sup>3</sup>	—	vir vehemens, in cuius manu est arcus. (agitated <i>man</i> , in whose hand is a bow.)

a. Emend by adding “*se habens*.”

b. Vulture; see Boll, 319.

1. The combination is the same as in Virgo I: a figure from *Picatrix*, with the appropriate attributes, has been given one attribute from the Persian system. The derivation from *Picatrix* is persuasive, because the decan is taken from the unidentified system that appears in this source and nowhere else. Leopold is cited as the closest parallel for the “Persian” element, because elsewhere the flute-player has another instrument as well and appears on horseback or (in Johannes Hispalensis) seated upon a saddle.

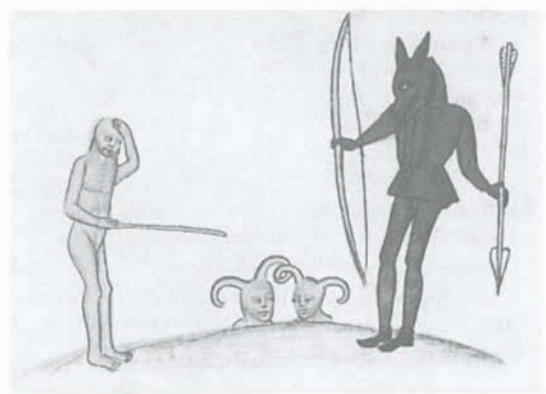
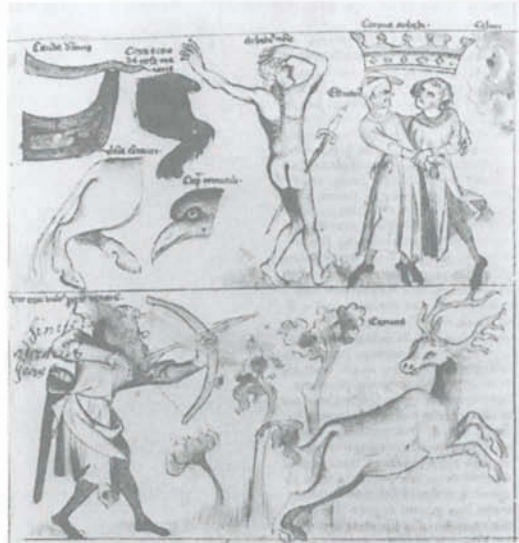
2. The vulturine features are missing in the texts of Leopold, Fontana (pseudo-Greek system), and *Picatrix*; and so they are in the frescoes in Ferrara. Leopold’s “*duo viri servientes*” (two serving-men) form an unlikely source for Ferrara, as does the “*vir niger*” (black man) in *Picatrix*, from which black-faced types have generally been taken over intact. The closest description is Fontana’s single “*forma hominis servi*” (figure of a manservant); but this, too, departs in several details from the Ferrara figure.

3. The text that comes closest to the figure of the archer, taken from the Indian system, is that in Leopold’s *titulus*. In all the other texts, the figure has the head of a horse (see introductory text, above). In Leopold’s text, the sequence of the figures is reversed.



**Fig. 175. Third Decan of Libra**  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see pp. 737, 751)

**Fig. 176. Persian and Indian Sphaera for the third Decan of Libra, according to Ludovicus de Angulo**  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. franç. 612 (see pp. 737, 758)



**Fig. 177. Persian and Indian Sphaera of Abū Ma'sar for the third Decan of Libra**  
London, British Museum, Sloane Ms. 3983, fol. 22r (see pp. 737, 751)

**Fig. 178. Third Decan of Libra, according to Ludovicus de Angulo**  
St. Gall, Cod. Vad. 427, fol. 89r (see pp. 737, 758)

- 572 **Names of the artists:** for these see Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* 7.3 (Milan, 1914): 602 ff., 750 ff. March, April, and May are by Francesco Cossa; the workshop of Cosimo Tura is responsible for (1) June and July; (2) August and September.
- 573 **The epic vein asserts itself.**  
In matters of detail, even the “Olympian” realm of the uppermost register is not entirely untouched by the Oriental demonology that supplies all of the figures in the middle register. Some of the animals in the frescoes above bear a magical rather than a mythological relation to the deities with whom they appear: they derive from the lists of cosmic affinities in *Picatrix*, which assign specific animals, plants, stones, metals, perfumes, colors, languages, parts of the body, and occupations to the gods invoked by magical prayers; see H. Ritter, “*Picatrix*, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie,” in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921–22* (Leipzig, 1923), 104. *Picatrix* assigns hares and many kinds of birds to Venus, falcons to Sol, and monkeys and wolves to Mercury (these are not documented in this context in any other known source of the period). Even the peacock, which emerges from behind a rock on the right of the Sol fresco, is accounted for by a remark in *Picatrix*: “*et est particeps in pavonibus*” ({has to do with peacocks} Hamburg, cod. mag. 188, p. 122).
- 577 Illustrated by Friedrich Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925), pl. 60: Master of Mary of Burgundy.
- 577 The corresponding passage in Mythographus III (11.2; see p. 732) describes the classical pose of the three Graces: two face the viewer, one turns her back. Petrarch (*Africa* 3.216 f.) follows suit. Berchorius misconstrues this description and has two Graces facing Venus and the other facing away from her—as do the illustrations in the *Ovide moralisé* manuscripts, the *Tarocchi*, and, surprisingly given its late date, the Gafurius woodcut (pp. 532 ff. and fig. 96). The *De deorum imaginibus libellus* relates the pose of the Graces once more directly to the viewer, but omits the linking of arms (“*connexae*”), which appears both in Mythographus III and in Petrarch, and which—again—Berchorius was the first to omit.
- 577 Venus holds a duck instead of a shell in almost all of the *Ovide moralisé* illustrations that derive from Berchorius; this seems to derive from a misreading, perhaps *auca marina* for *concha marina*.
- 578 On the July fresco of Jupiter and Cybele: In Cyzicus, where Teucer was born, there was an exceptionally strong cult of Cybele. The identification of Teucer the Babylonian with Teucer of Cyzicus is questionable; see Christ and Schmidt, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 6th ed., 2.1 (Munich, 1920): 416.
- 578 These empty thrones of Cybele (fig. 114) found their way into the mythographic tradition by way of a corrupt text. Saint Augustine writes (*De civitate Dei* 7.24):

*Nam et ipse Varro quasi de ipsa turba verecundatus unam deam vult esse Tellurem. Eandem, inquit, dicunt Matrem Magnam; quod tympanon habeat, significari esse orbem terrae; quod turres in capite, oppida; quod sedens fingatur, circa eam cum omnia moveantur, ipsam non moveri . . .*

(Varro himself, as if embarrassed by such a multitude, maintains that Tellus is a single goddess. She is the one, he says, they call the Great Mother; she has a tymbrum to signify the circle of the earth; she has towers on her head to signify towns; she is shown seated to signify that she herself remains unmoved, though all things move around her . . .)

However, the reading of this passage given here was established only by Zoega (*Bassirilievi*, 1:93). Until his time, the corrupt text of the manuscripts prevailed: “*quod sedes fingantur*” (because seats are shown). This version passed from Isidore (*Etymologica* 8.11.64) to Hrabanus Maurus’s *De rerum naturis* (Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 111, col. 431); from which Boccaccio seems to have derived his “*sedes vacuae*” (empty seats) in *Genealogia deorum* 3.2 (Basel, 1532), 58.

Boccaccio replaced Varro’s allegorical interpretation, which had been rendered meaningless by the corruption of the text, with a series of interpretations of his own:

*Sedes autem vacuae illi circumpositae existimo, nil aliud velint quam ostendere, quia non solum domus, sed civitates, quae incolentium sunt, sedes vacuentur, per saepe peste agente vel bello; seu quia in superficiae terrae vacuae sint sedes plurimae, id est loca inhabitata; seu quia ipsa terra semper sedes servet vacuas nascituris . . .*

(I consider that the empty seats placed around her mean that not only houses but cities, which are the seats of their inhabitants, are very often emptied by the action of plague or war; or else that on the face of the earth there are many empty seats, that is to say uninhabited places; or else that the earth itself keeps seats vacant for those yet unborn . . .)

In the late medieval mythographic literature, these empty seats appear only in Boccaccio, who is thus revealed as the source used by the humanist deviser of the Palazzo Schifanoia frescoes. From Boccaccio they were taken over by Vincenzo Cartari, *Le vere e nove imagini degli dei delli antichi* (Venice, 1556); and Cybele still appears surrounded by empty seats in Vasari’s masque of 1565: see *Discorso sopra la mascherata della genealogia degl’iddei de’ gentili* (Florence, 1565), 112, with express reference to Boccaccio.

It is impossible to tell whether Augustine himself read Varro’s text in this oddly corrupt form—and indeed whether the corruption actually stems from him. It remains an open question whether the misreading was itself an echo of the ancient cult of the empty thrones of the gods. Pausanias tells us that the Great Mother was one of those to whom it was applied; see Wolfgang Reichel, *Über vorhellenische Götterkulte* (Vienna, 1897), 21. This cult was a contributory factor in the emergence of the early Christian belief in the Etimasia, the empty throne of Christ; see Oskar Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa* (Strasbourg, 1903), 214 f.

Boccaccio’s contribution to the imagery of the gods in Ferrara is confirmed by another fresco. The monkeys on and in front of the chariot of Vulcan are taken from *Genealogia deorum* 12.70 (Basel, 1532), 315 f., where they are based on a corrupt

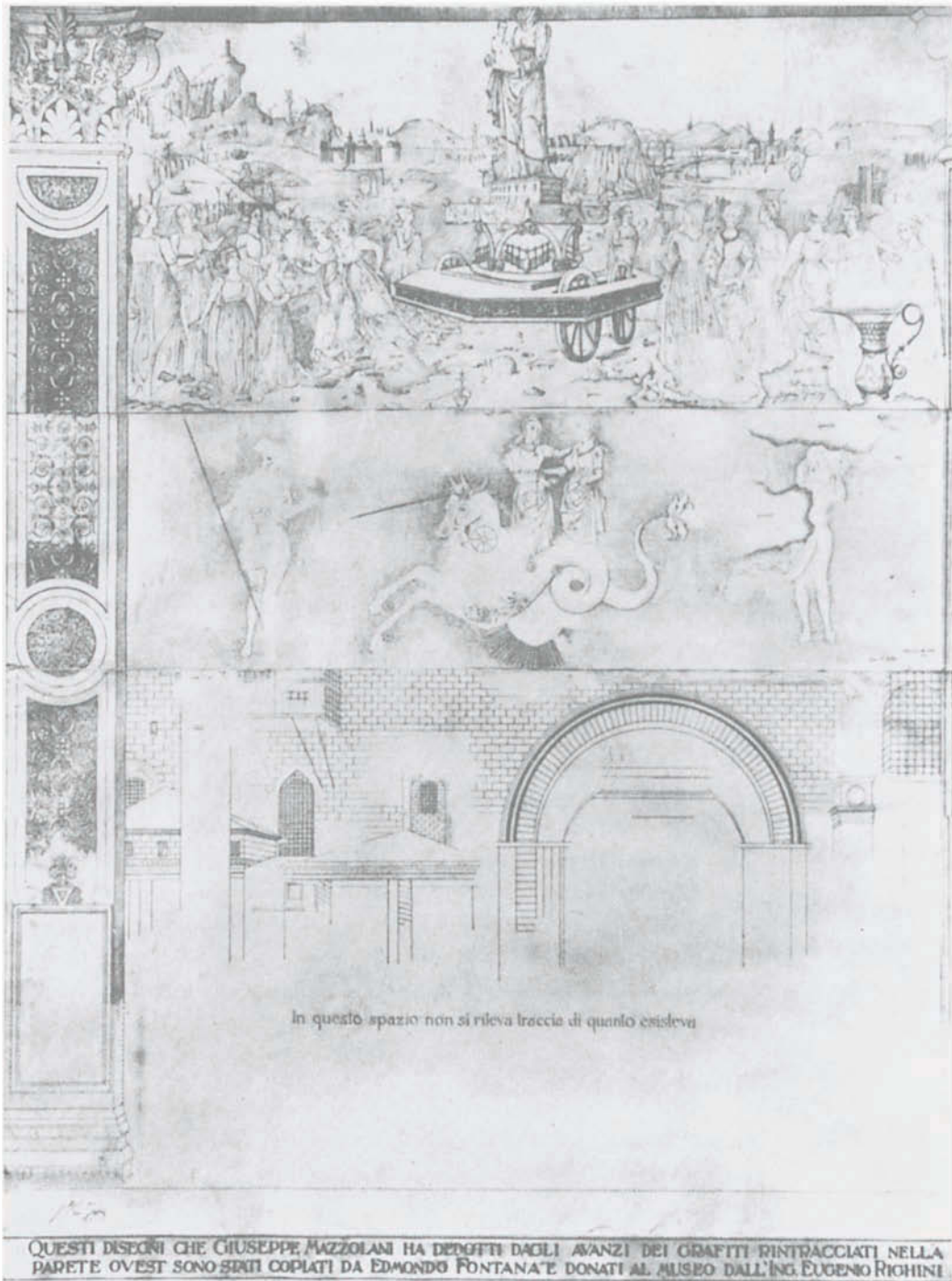


reading of Servius's commentary to Virgil, *Eclogues* 4.62, ed. Thilo (1887), 53. On being cast down from heaven, Vulcan was nursed by the Sintians, the inhabitants of Lemnos. Boccaccio reads "*a simiis*" (by monkeys) for "*a sintiis*," further emphasizing this curious idea of a god's upbringing by supplying an allegorical explanation of his own; he thus enriches the iconography of Vulcan with a detail unknown elsewhere.

The flaming head of Vesta, no longer distinguishable on the fresco, is preserved in a nineteenth-century drawing (fig. 179); it corresponds to Boccaccio's "*Huius praeterea numquam visam dicunt effigiem, quod dicunt eo quod incognita sit, nam si flammam videamus, quam illi dicemus esse effigiem?*" ({They say that no image of her has ever been seen, which they say is because she is unknown; for if we see a flame, what shall we say its image is?}) *Genealogia* 8.3, Basel, 1532, 201). This passage in Boccaccio derives in turn from Ovid: "*effigiem nullam Vesta nec ignis habet*" ({neither Vesta nor fire has an effigy}) *Fasti* 4.298; hence also *Mythographus* III 2.5, ed. Bode, 159). But the fact that her flaming head appears in the fresco accompanied by the child Zeus and a throng of maidens makes it probable that Boccaccio, and not one of the other texts, was the source used by the humanist inspirer of the frescoes.

Duke Borso's library is known to have contained two copies of Boccaccio's *Genealogia*: Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense* (Turin, 1903), 222.

- 581 Galeotto died excommunicate in 1499. For sixteen years, since his excommunication for political reasons in 1483, he had not only remained under an anathema himself but had defied the interdict simultaneously laid upon his native city. See Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance*, *Gesamtausgabe* 5:337. The mother of these two combative brothers was Giulia di Feltrino Boiardi, herself a poet and the sister of the poet Matteo Maria Boiardo.
- 581 This Avogaro was the same man who advised Lorenzo on the medicinal virtues of gemstones (in rings) and followed Mesue in recommending "*ellescof*," "*elitropia*," and "*celidonio*." Angelus Fabritius, *Laurentii Medicis magnifici vita* (Pisa, 1787), 2:394 f. On Mesue the Younger and his pharmaceutical works, frequently printed and translated in Italy (some editions being expanded and edited by Pietro d'Abano), see Ludwig Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin* (Leipzig, 1842), 351 ff. *Elitropia* or *diaspro* is bloodstone, a variety of chalcedony; *celidonia* is celidony or chelidony.
- 581 On the conjunction described by Pellegrino Prisciani as auspicious: according to the *Catasterisms*, Aquarius equals Ganymede, i.e., aspiring to heaven and piously devoted to the gods (Boll, *Sphaera*, 156, 224, 282); and the ascending lunar node, the point of intersection of the ecliptic and the moon's orbit, known as the Caput Draconis—the Dragon's Head; Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), 122 f.—is regarded by the Arab astrologers as "fruitful" in relation to certain planets.
- Franciscus Junctinus Florentinus, *Speculum astrologiae* (Lyons, 1581), 1:769, "Commentarium in Ptolomaeum *De Astrologia iudiciaria* Lib. IV, Cap. 5": "*Planetae foecundi seu prolem largientes sunt Jupiter, Venus, Luna et caput Draconis Lunae*"



**Fig. 179. December (Vesta)**

Drawing, nineteenth century, from traces of the destroyed fresco  
Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (see p. 755)

(The fecund planets, which bestow offspring, are Jupiter, Venus, the Moon, and the Lunar Dragon's Head) quoted by Bouché-Leclercq, 452 n. 2).

On the inclusion of the Dragon's Head in horoscopy as the equivalent of a planet, see Bouché-Leclercq, 122 f., who also (468 n.) cites Abū Ma'sar, after *Margarita philosophica*, on the auspicious relation of Jupiter to Caput Draconis, and calls it "*moment rare, du reste, et difficile à saisir*" (a rare moment, difficult to catch). See Gregor Reisch, *Margarita philosophica*, bk. 7, tractate 2, ch. 10 (Strasbourg: Grüninger, 1512), fol. T III: "*Albumasar impietatem impietati accumulans ait: Qui deo supplicaverit hora qua Luna cum capite Draconis Iovi coniungitur, impetrat quicquid petierit.*" (Piling impiety upon impiety, Albumasar says: He who makes his petition to God at the hour when the Moon is conjunct the Dragon's Head is granted whatever he may have asked.) Clearly, this refers to the same passage in Abū Ma'sar (Cat. Cod. astr. gr. V. 1, 147 f.) that underlies Prisciani's reference to Abū Ma'sar (Almansor) as authority for his own advice; see pp. 586 f.

- 584 An idealized, quasi-antique style, similarly associated with court life, is also to be found in contemporary Ferrarese literature: Cleofe Gabrieli describes Borso d'Este as first receiving tributes from the gods of antiquity and then making a poetic-heroic ascent to Parnassus, escorted by the seven Liberal Arts and by a contingent of pagan and modern poets. (*Anecdota litteraria* 4 (Rome, 1783): 449 ff. Burckhardt, *Kultur der Renaissance*, in *Gesamtausgabe* 5:303.)

Proof that the characters of humanist mythography were regarded in Renaissance Ferrara as Olympian gods is supplied by the treatise dedicated to Duke Borso in 1471 by Lodovico Lazzarelli (cod. Urb. lat. 716): his verses are written to accompany copies made from the planetary deities of the *Tarocchi*, with a view to rescuing the "gods of the Gentiles" from the profanation of being used as playing cards, and to restore them to their original significance as deities (Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrologischer... Handschriften... in römischen Bibliotheken*, Heidelberg, 1915, 101 f.). In very much the same spirit, the deities in the uppermost band of the frescoes would have appeared to a Ferrarese observer as Olympians—especially as they are arranged in accordance with Manilius (p. 573).

Cosimo Tura's paintings in the library of Pico della Mirandola are described in the *Dialogi* of Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus; see H. Julius Herrmann, "Miniaturhandschriften aus der Bibliothek des Herzogs Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 19 (1898): 207 ff. As to when Gyraldus saw the frescoes, a better source is Gianandrea Barotti, *Memorie istoriche di letterati ferraresi*, 2d ed., 1 (Ferrara, 1792): 339 ff.

- 584 The Minerva fresco, too, marks an intermediate stage on the way to the Olympianization of the gods: Pallas with the "Meduxa" is the virgin protectress on the tournament banner in the *Giostra* (Florence, 1475), where she alludes allegorically to the relationship between the knight who fights under her protection and his lady; see above, pp. 109 f., 144, 425.

The group of learned men, whom the March fresco assigns to Minerva as her "children" in exactly the same way as the women weavers (Manilius, *Astronomicon*

4.137), supplies an iconological precedent for the *School of Athens*, in which the same goddess appears once more as patroness of learning—albeit in metaphorical guise, as a statue.

584 To the believer, the cosmic will is to be read in the skies, through the energetic proper motion of the heavenly bodies.

584 The Middle High German word *wimpel* (OHG *wimpal*), which is cognate with the French *guimpe* (still spelled *guimpe* in the thirteenth century; see Littré, *Dictionnaire*), means both “kerchief” and “pennon” or “pennant”; see Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1878), vol. 3.

585 The emergence of this antiquarian, historical worldview as the turning point for the redirection of energy.

585 In the memorial cult of Simonetta Vespucci, Venus symbolizes cyclic return: Persephone (see the addendum to the conclusion of “Botticelli,” pp. 425 f.).

However:

The chthonian element becomes aetherial; for Botticelli’s ideal sphere is pervaded by the πνεῦμα of Plato and Plotinus. Botticelli accomplished the ascent from Venus *alla franzese* to *Amore Divino* (Dante) in all its stages. (These successive “stages” are as follows: the Baldini engravings, first and second editions; the *Birth of Venus* and the *Primavera*; and the drawings to the *Divine Comedy*.)

590 Ignorance of the astral myth totally disrupts the rescue drama: Perseus, the Deliverer, has turned into a specter who terrorizes the paterfamilias and his wife. Astrological myth has crumbled into hieroglyphs.

### On Images of Planetary Deities in the Low German Almanac of 1519

593 Published as “Über Planetengötterbilder im niederdeutschen Kalender von 1509,” in *Erster Bericht der Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde zu Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1910).

593 For the *Mercury*, there is evidence of a direct source in antiquity. It derives from a drawing by Ciriaco d’Ancona, clearly based on an antique monument of an archaic type. See F. Saxl, “Rinascimento dell’Antichità,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 63 (1922): 252 f., fig. 21.

593 The lost *Archetypus triumphantis Romae* of Sebald Schreyer, Peter Danhauser, and Sebald Gallenstorfer might have been responsible for bringing the *Tarocchi* to Germany. This work was planned as an anthology of Roman poets, orators, and historians to be compiled at the behest of Sebald Schreyer by Peter Danhauser and illustrated with woodcuts by Sebald Gallenstorfer; see Bernhard Hartmann, “Konrad Celtis in Nürnberg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*,

no. 9 (1889), 18 f., 23 ff., 59 ff., who prints the contracts between Schreyer and Danhauser. On 61 f., costings for the *Archetypus*:

*Item meister Sebolten, furmschneider, gegeben, das er das spil <Mantegna Tarocchi?> verreth hat, 1 guldin, mer für ein mess eichen prennholz, und davon zu hauen und zu tragen 6 £ 28 d., facit 1 fl. 6 £ 28 d.*

(Item: given to Master Sebold, woodblock cutter, for making the pack <Mantegna Tarocchi?>, one guilder, plus, for one measure of firewood, chopped and hauled, 6 pounds 28 pence, making 1 guilder 6 pounds 28 pence.)

On the connection between this projected book and Italy, see Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus*, part 1 (Leipzig, 1910), 156 f.

On Sebald Gallenstorfer's supposed part in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (*Schedelsche Weltchronik*), see Thieme-Becker, 13:114.

- 593 On Langenbeck's *Digests*, see G. Fumagalli, *Dictionnaire géographique d'Italie, pour servir à l'histoire de l'imprimerie dans ce pays* (Florence, 1905), 296. On Steffen Arndes, see E. Voullième, *Die deutschen Drucker des XV. Jahrhunderts*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1922), 95 f.

- 593 Also on the **Junkernhaus** in Göttingen.

- 596 Burgkmair's planetary series must have been produced before 1517, as the Mars appears in the *Cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt en Vrieslant* (Leiden, 1517), fol. 88<sup>r</sup>, 114<sup>v</sup>, 175<sup>r</sup>. This also reuses other woodcuts by Burgkmair, including *Anger* from the *Virtues* series, fol. 125<sup>v</sup> and fol. 185<sup>v</sup>. This use of the woodblocks bears no relation to their original significance: they appear as "portraits" of the persons mentioned in the chronicle. On Burgkmair's planets, see A. Burkhard, *Hans Burgkmair d.Ä.*, *Meister der Graphik*, no. 15 (Berlin, 1932), 36.

- 596 Detailed description and illustrations of the "Painted House" at Eggenburg, Lower Austria, in *Die Denkmäler des politischen Bezirkes Horn in Niederösterreich*, vol. 5, part 1, of *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* (Vienna, 1911), 57 ff. The verse accompanying the figure of Saturn corresponds to the one in the Low German calendar. On the Huneborstelsches Haus in Brunswick, see P. J. Meier and K. Steinacker, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Braunschweig* (Brunswick, 1926), 87 f., figs. 151–52.

- 596 The planetary deities in Burgkmair's paintings on the facade of the Fuggerhaus in Augsburg seem to be just visible in the engraving by Raphael Custos; see the note by Sandrart on the houses on the Weinmarkt: Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste* (1675), ed. A. R. Peltzer (Munich, 1925), 76.

Engraving by Jacob Custos, published by Raphael Custos, depicting the corporation of the city of Augsburg paying homage to Gustavus Adolphus on 24 April 1632, reproduced in Adolf Buff, *Augsburg in der Renaissancezeit* (Bamberg, 1893), 26–27; text reference 31 f. Also by Adolf Buff, "Augsburger Fassadenmalerei," *Lützows Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 21 (1886): 59 ff., 61 (ill.); Julius Groeschel, "Die ersten

Renaissancebauten in Deutschland,” *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 11 (1888): 244 f. Also the unpublished Berlin dissertation (1924) by Albert Heppner, “Deutsche Fassadenmalerei der Renaissance,” in which the frescoes on the Fuggerhaus are ascribed to Jörg Breu and associated with that artist’s pen drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. This drawing is a copy of Baldini’s *Mercury*; see E. Bock, *Die deutschen Meister*, vol. 1 of Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett* (Berlin, 1921), 16, nos. 4326 (*Mercury*) and 4327 (*Saturn*).

- 596 Not all the copies from the *Tarocchi* are by Dürer himself. On this topic, as also on the relationship of the series to its sources and to the woodcuts, see H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der junge Dürer* (Augsburg, 1928), 306–12, and figs. 154 f., 235.

### Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther

- 597 Published as “Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten,” in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1920*, no. 26 (Heidelberg, 1920).
- 603 For “Melanchthon, for his part, adopted the astrology of the ancient world as an intellectual defense against a cosmically predetermined earthly fate. So strong, indeed, was his faith in the stars . . .,” read: “adopted the astrology of the ancient world as a means of gaining insight into the workings of a Fate governed by cosmic laws. So full was he of his fundamentally Enlightenment (rationalistic) belief in astrology . . .”
- 606 For “usurp the place of,” read: “suppress.”
- 607 This sentence, which both Enders and de Wette (4:341) describe as illegible, should read (reading proposed by Dr. Elsbeth Jaffé): “*Sed plus cum vili Astrologo et ominoso Mathematico quem toties falsum convici, convincam adhuc saepius falsum.*” The whole passage refers to Luther’s own poor state of health, which inspires thoughts of death. The last sentence should therefore be interpreted with reference to the Gauricus horoscope, which had prophesied an early death for him (see also Cochlaeus’s opinion, p. 625), roughly as follows: “But I am more than that vile astrologer and portentous mathematician takes me for, to whom I have often given the lie in the past, and shall often give the lie in the future.”
- 611 For “by the commentary,” read: “by the tendentious commentary.”  
For “1483 instead of . . . 1484,” read: “changing 1484 to 1483.”  
For “horoscope then in circulation,” read: “horoscope in circulation until then.”
- 611 On the mythical birthdays of the ancients, whereby individuals came under the protection of the god on whose feast day the supposed birthday fell, see Wilhelm Schmidt, *Geburtstag im Alterthum*, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vor-

arbeiten 7.1 (Giessen, 1908), 42 ff. Friedrich Pfister, in his review of the work, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1909), col. 1486–89, stresses that, in computing the birth-dates of heroes, cultic requirements took precedence over the legendary circumstances of the birth itself.

615 On the tower-like vessel on the table in the December illustration of the Chronographus, see the article “Fritillus” in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* 2.2 (Paris, 1896), 1341 f. The dice were inserted into the opening at the top of the vessel (*pyrgus* or *turricula*), and they dropped through a stepped opening below onto the gaming table. See also *Die Calenderbilder des Chronographen vom Jahre 354*, ed. J. Strzygowski (Berlin, 1888), 12, 80.

615 The last sentence of the paragraph should read as follows:  
In Luther’s sarcastic remark of 1532, Saturn would seem to present himself in a naively accessible guise borrowed from popular myth; in reality, however, what here survives as a mere gambling chip in the superstitious mechanics of the casters of horoscopes is a symbol of cosmic order, part of the Hellenistic heritage of abstract and systematic thought.

617 The portent became a possible object of public scientific controversy only through the medium of the *printed broadsheet*.

617 The genesis of the title page of *Der Basler Hinckende Both*. It is noticeable that the figure of a peasant with a peg leg and a lance, as a “Hobbling Messenger” (*hinkender Bote*), appears in just those late sixteenth-century political almanacs (1590) that marked the transition between the astrological almanac and the political news service. In contrast to the “Courier” (*Postreutter*), who recounted the events of the past year, the Hobbling Messenger told of the year before that. In these almanacs—unlike the broadsheets of the Reformation period, in which astrological predictions had been enlisted in the service of day-to-day politics—the political content outweighed the astrological: prophecy became, as it were, backward-looking. Even so, the kinship between these later almanacs and the earlier, astrological ones provides some grounds for believing in the persistence of the Saturn image. See R. E. Prutz, *Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus* 1 (Hanover, 1845): 179 ff.

618 The polarizing function of realistic allegory.

621 In the central panel: Perseus with Fama, who arises from the blood of Medusa, as the quintessence of *Virtus*: the triumphant victor as patron of worldly energy; the metamorphosis of the Eternal Greek. Perseus magically transformed, set free from the gemstone on the ring. (On Perseus as an apotropaic figure on gems, see Roscher, *Mythologisches Lexikon* 3.2, col. 2027 f.)

The astronomical calculation proposed by Warburg, and recently revised, permits Agostino Chigi’s date of birth to be read off from the planetary configuration on the ceiling as early December 1466. This, and the astrological and mythological

significance of the ceiling frescoes in the context of pictorial representations of the starry sky in general, will be discussed in a work by F. Saxl, *La fede astrologica di Agostino Chigi*, which is to be published in 1933 by the Reale Accademia d'Italia in Rome.

621 On Chigi's horoscope see G. Cugnoni, "Agostino Chigi il Magnifico," *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* 2 (1878): 82; *ibid.*, 4 (1881): 215 f.

621 For "an escort...Father," read: "Christian angels, who, holding each one by the hand, bring them under the supreme authority of God the Father, as he looks down from the center; here is the pagan-Christian harmony of the spheres."

622 W. Köhler, *Basler Nachrichten* (1922), *Sonntagsblatt* no. 42, cites Luther's homiletic epistle of 1522 (on the second Sunday in Advent, Luke 21.25–33), Luther, *Sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen ed., 2d ed., 10 (Frankfurt am Main, 1868): 53 ff.: "*Ein Christliche vnn vast wolgegründete beweysung von dem Jüngsten Tag Vnnnd von seinen zeichen, das er auch nit ferr mer sein mag.*" (A Christian and well-substantiated proof of the Last Day, and of the signs that it cannot now be far off.)

Luther linked the celestial and other natural phenomena of his own time with the scriptural prophecies concerning the Day of Judgment; rejecting the Aristotelian, natural explanation, he interpreted them as the "signs" mentioned by the Apostles. Thus, the darkening of the Sun and Moon had already happened; the fall of the stars was a reference to the successive comets; and the motions of the heavenly powers were a reference to the great conjunction. *Ibid.*, 65:

*So haben wir auch (daneben) so viel Cometen gesehen, und (neulich) sind viel Kreuz vom Himmel gefallen (und ist mit unter auch aufkommen die neue, unerhörete Krankheit, die Franzosen). Auch wie viel Zeichen und Wunder sind etliche Jahr daher im Himmel ersehen, als Sonnen, Mond, Sternen, Regenbogen, und viel ander seltsame Bilde. Lieber, lass es Zeichen sein, und grosse Zeichen, die etwas Grosses bedeuten, welche auch die Sternmeister und Frau Hulde nicht mag sagen, dass sie aus natürlichem Lauf sind kommen, denn sie haben zuvor nichts davon erkannt noch geweissaget.*

*So wird auch kein Sternkündiger thüren sagen, dass des Himmels Lauf habe verkündigt das schrecklich Thier, das die Tiber zu Rom todt auswarf vor kurzen Jahren, welchs hatte einen Eselskopf, eine Frauenbrust und Bauch, einen Elephantenfuss an der rechten Hand, und Fischeschuppen an den Beinen, und ein Drachenschweif am Hintersten etc. Darin das Papstthum bedeutet ist, der grosse Zorn Gottes und Strafe. Solcher Haufen Zeichen will etwas Grössers bringen, denn alle Vernunft denket.*

(Besides, we have seen so many comets, and (latterly) many crosses have fallen from the heavens (and at the same time a new and unknown sickness has appeared, known as the French disease). And how many signs and wonders have appeared in the heavens these few years past, such as suns, moon, stars, rainbows, and many other strange sights. My dear friend, take these things as signs, and great signs, which signify some great matter; neither the astrologers nor Dame



Hulda herself can allege that these are part of the natural order of things; for they had no foreknowledge of them and could make no prophecy.

Likewise, let no astrologer dare to say that the natural course of the heavens foreshadowed the fearful monster that was cast up dead by the River Tiber, in Rome, a few years since: it had an ass's head, a woman's breast and belly, an elephant's foot in place of the right hand, fish scales on its legs, a dragon's head on its hinder parts, etc. By which is signified the papacy, and God's great wrath and punishment. Such a succession of signs will bring something greater than reason can conceive.)

On the conjunction of 1524, Luther had this to say (*ibid.*, 69):

*Was aber die Bewegung des himmelischen Heers sei, weiss ich noch nicht, es wäre denn die grosse Constellation der Planeten (die itzt eintreten wird uber zwei Jahr). Denn die Planeten sind gewisslich von der Himmel Kräften und Heer wohl das furnehmest, und ihre wunderliche Versammlung ist ein (gross) gewiss Zeichen uber die Welt. Nu spricht Christus nicht, dass alles Heer oder Kräfte der Himmel sich bewegen werden, sondern etliche (Schaaren). Denn nicht alle Sterne werden sich bewegen, gleichwie droben gesagt ist, nicht alle Menschen Gedräng und Furcht leiden, nicht alle Wasser allezeit brausen und rauschen, Sonne und Mond nicht alle Tag finster werden; denn es sollen nur Zeichen sein, die müssen nur in etlichen und im wenigern Theil geschehen, dass sie etwas sonderlichs Ansehens gewinnen gegen das ander Theil, das nicht Zeichen sein wird. Darumb ich darauf stehe, dass des himmelischen Heers Bewegung seien (gewisslich die zukunfftige) Constellation der Planeten (darüber die Sternmeister sagen, es solle eine Sindfluth bedeuten; Gott gebe, dass der jüngste Tage sei, wilchen sie gewisslich bedeutet).*

*Und hie solltu aber nicht irren lassen, dass diese Constellation sich aus des Himmels Laufft natürlich begibt. Es ist dennoch ein Zeichen von Christo genen net. Und es ist fast wohl sein wahrzunehmen, weil es nicht allein, sondern gleich mit dem Haufen der andern Zeichen sich sammet, und zu gleicher Zeit mit eintrifft. Lass die Ungläubigen zweifeln und verachten Gottes Zeichen, und sagen, es sei natürlich Geschäft; halt du dich des Evangelii.*

*...Lieber, lass es Zeichen sein, und grosse Zeichen, die etwas Grosses bedeuten; aber sie sind schon vergessen und veracht.*

(What this motion of the powers of heaven may be, I cannot tell as yet—unless it be the great conjunction of the planets (which will occur in two years from now). For the planets are surely the most illustrious of the heavenly powers and hosts, and their wondrous assembly is a great and certain sign for the world. Now, Christ does not say that all the host or powers of heaven will stir, but only some (bands). For not all stars shall move, as aforesaid; not all men's hearts shall fail them for fear; not all waters shall constantly roar; the Sun and Moon shall not grow dark every day: for these are only signs; they need appear only now and again, in the lesser part, to distinguish them from the other, greater part, in which there will be no signs. For which reason, I maintain that this stirring of the powers of heaven is (certainly the forthcoming) conjunction of the planets (of which the astrologers say that it signifies a deluge; God grant that it be a certain sign of the Last Day).

And here you must not be deluded into saying that this conjunction springs naturally from the course of the heavens. It is a sign, promised by Christ. And it is very good to perceive it, because it does not come alone but concurs and coincides with a host of other signs. Let the unbelievers doubt and spurn God's signs, and say these things are natural: you abide by the Gospel . . .

My dear friend, take these things as signs, and great signs, which signify some great event; but they are already forgotten and spurned.)

In the second part of the homily he gives a spiritual interpretation of the same signs (81), according to which Christ is the Sun, the Church the Moon, the stars the Christians, and the powers of heaven "the Prelates or Planets in the Church." Ibid., 83:

*Die Kräfte der Himmel sind unser Planeten, unsere geistliche Junkern und Tyrannen, Papst, Bischof und ihre Gesellen, die hohen Schulen, die so tief in das weltliche Regiment, Gut, Ehre und Lust gesessen sind mit aller Sicherheit, dass sie gemeinet, sie wären nicht Planeten, das ist Errones; denn Planeta auf Griechisch heisst Irriger, der kein rechter Weg gehet, sondern nur hinter sich und zu beiden Seiten, wie die Planeten am Himmel auch thun. Das legen die Deutschen aus mit einem Sprichwort, und sagen: Die Gelehrten, die Verkehrten; das ist, das geistliche Regiment ist eitel Planeten. Nu aber das Evangelium anbricht, und zeigt ihnen an ihre Tugend, und färbet sie mit ihrer eigen Farbe, dass es ungelehrte Götzen und Seelverführer sind, wölln sie zornig werden, bewegen sich, und machen eine Constellation, treten zusammen, wöllens mit Bullen und Papier schützen, dräuen ein grosse Sindfluth; aber es will und wird sie nichts helfen, der Tag bricht an, den wird man nicht unter den Scheffel stürzen, als wäre es ein Wachlicht.*

(The powers of heaven are our planets, our spiritual barons and tyrants, the pope, the bishop, and their henchmen in the colleges: all ensconced so deep and safe in worldly power, dominion, goods, honors, and pleasures, as to be unaware that they are planets: that is, Erratics. For *planeta* in Greek means one who strays, who follows no straight path but only falls back and wanders from side to side, as the planets in heaven also do. The Germans have a proverb for this: "The greater clerk, the greater fool": that is, the lords spiritual are all planets. But now that the Gospel dawns, and shows them their virtues, and paints them in their true colors as ignorant idols and soul-seducers, they grow angry and shift into a conjunction; they crowd together and seek to defend themselves with bulls and papers; they threaten a great deluge; but all this will avail them nothing. The light is dawning, and no one will hide that light under a bushel, as if it were a wax taper.)

(See also pp. 635 f.)

- 623 The Mars and Saturn from the woodcut in Paulus van Middelburg's *Prognostica* (fig. 134) were copied, without reference to the accompanying texts, in woodcuts in four undated books issued by the printing shop of Peter van Os, printed around 1500:

1. Bartholomei Coloniensis Canones; Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise*, 1st supplement (The Hague, 1878), no. 250a. The *Gesamtkatalog*



**M**it wüersten vinn mit braten,  
 Will ich mein hauß wol beraten  
 Also hat das jar ein ende,  
 Got vns in sein ewiges rēich sende,



**Fig. 180. December**  
 From *Kalender* (Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1490)  
 (see p. 766)

**Fig. 181. Hans Holbein the Younger**  
*Luther as Hercules Germanicus*  
 Broadsheet (see p. 767)

*der Wiegendrucke* 3 (Leipzig, 1928), col. 433, points out that the use of the arms of Julius II as printer's mark shows that this dates from 1503 or later; Hain-Copinger 2496; Proctor 9153.

2. Sallust, *Bellum Catilinarium* (Campbell, *Annales*, The Hague, 1874, no. 1502; Hain-Copinger 5224).
3. Sallust, *De Bello Jugurthae liber* (Campbell 1503; Hain-Copinger 5227).
4. Ovid, *Fasti* (William Martin Conway, *The Woodcutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1884, 272, gives the date of this as 1511).

The woodcut is reproduced by M. J. Schretlen, *Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts* (London, 1925), pl. 65B; discussed by Conway (as above), 109 f.

623 Is not this inverted father-and-son relationship straightforwardly anti-Christian: the son as the enemy of his father, whom he sacrifices?

623 The bull in the Lichtenberger woodcut, which is also present in the earlier editions (Modena, 1490; Mainz, 1492), has no justification in the text. Nor can it be accounted for on astrological grounds. It may be that the December page in the German almanacs (Augsburg: Blaubirer, 1481; Augsburg: Bämle, 1483; Augsburg: Schünspurger, 1490, fig. 180), in which the slaughtering of cattle is shown as the activity of the month, is to be considered as the source (information from Dr. Edgar Breitenbach). (The early Lichtenberger illustrations do not show the animal with its forelegs crumpling beneath it.)

The significance of this “borrowing,” and whether the appearance of the bull can be explained solely by reference to this iconographic source, remains undetermined. Clearly, the almanac page was quite in keeping with the popular character of the Lichtenberger illustration. Another possible source would be a mythological illustration, perhaps Hercules with the bull (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Venice, 1497, woodcut on fol. 76<sup>r</sup>); but this would presuppose that the connection between Jupiter and the bull had already been established.

632 A pseudo-Joachimite catalog of popes (Cod. Vind. 412) is described in detail by H. J. Hermann, *Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der italienischen Renaissance* [Nationalbibliothek, Vienna], Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, vol. 8, part 6, 1 (Leipzig, 1930): 165 ff., no. 132. This is a Northern Italian, probably Bolognese, manuscript of the fifteenth century. The pope with sickle and rose is on fol. 44; the three pillars are on fol. 43.

635 The figure of Luther (according to Hans Sachs) with sickle and rose may well represent a Saturn type: according to Bernardus Silvestris, Saturn is the Lord of Sickles and the Reaper of Roses. *De mundi universitate*, ed. C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), 42:

*Crudus adhuc nec citra vires emeritus insumpto falcis acumine, quicquid pulcrum, quicquid florigerum, demetebat. Rosas et lilia et cetera, et olerum genera sicut nasci non sustinet, non sustinet et florere.*

(Vigorous still, and not worn out beyond his strength by the expended sharpness of the sickle, he used to harvest whatever was fair, whatever bore flowers. Just as he does not endure roses and lilies and the rest, and the varieties of greens, growing, he also cannot bear their flowering.)

On the Rose as symbol of Aion: H. Junker, “Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aion-Vorstellung,” in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921–22* (Leipzig, 1923), 153.

- 635 On Luther’s use of polemical images, see Hartmann Grisar S.J. and Franz Heege S.J., *Luthers Kampfbilder* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1921–23), installment 3 of 4 (1923), ch. 1, devoted specifically to the pope donkey and the monk calf. One polemical image that satirizes both Luther and his adversaries is the woodcut *Hercules Germanicus* (fig. 181), attributed to Hans Holbein and said to have been devised by Erasmus. See Daniel Burckhardt-Werthemann, “Drei wiedergefundene Werke aus Holbeins früher Baslerzeit,” and Theophil Burckhardt-Biedermann, “Über Zeit und Anlass des Flugblattes: Luther als Hercules Germanicus,” *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertum* 4, no. 1, 33 ff., 38 ff.

- 637 A comment by Dürer on meteorological portents, in exactly the same form as those of Mennel and Grünpeck, is to be found in *Dürers schriftlicher Nachlass*, ed. K. Lange and F. Fuhse (Halle, 1893), 14:

*Das grösst Wunderwerk, das ich all mein Tage gesehen hab, ist geschehen im 1503 Johr, als auf viel Leut Kreuz gefallen sind, sunderlich mehr auf die Kind denn ander Leut. Unter den allen hab ich eins gesehen in der Gestalt, wie ichs hernoch gemacht hab. Und es was gefallen aufs Eyrers Magd, der ins Pirkamers Hinterhaus sass, ins Hemd, in leinenes Tuch. Und sie was so betrübt drum, dass sie weinet und sehr klagte. Dann sie forcht, sie müsst dorum sterben. Auch hab ich ein Komet am Himmel gesehen.*

(The greatest wonder that ever I saw in all my days was in the year 1503, when crosses fell on many people, and on children more than on others. Of these I saw one, in the shape in which I subsequently drew it. It had fallen on Eyrer’s maid, who was sitting in the rear part of Pirckheimer’s house; it fell onto her skirts, into a linen cloth. She was sorely troubled by it, weeping and lamenting most grievously. For she feared that she would die of it. I have also seen a comet in the sky.)

- 641 “Mythical causation” in the present day: earthquake on the frontiers of Albania (*Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, 19 April 1928); superstition and the end of the world.

In a village near Monastir, a calf was recently born with two heads. Tens of thousands of country dwellers from all over the region are making their way to the village in order to see the animal, which is displayed as a prodigy by its owner. The superstitious local people believe that the birth of a two-headed calf portends more earthquakes and the end of the world.

On 15 May 1927, *Der Weltspiegel* illustrated a Monster from Southern Bulgaria, very like the sow of Landser, under the headline “A Wonder of Nature.”

- 653 Bonincontri's poem (written around 1472–1475) has a commentary, written by the poet himself around 1484–1487 (Cod. Vat. lat. 2845); see B. Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento* (Florence, 1906), 141, 155. The commentary on the lines quoted by Melanchthon (pp. 653 f.) reads as follows (Soldati, 196):

*Haec [coniunctio], meo iudicio, erit anno salutis 1504, quae indicat prophetae adventum vel alicuius sanctissimi viri, qui in melius reformabit religiosorum mores et vitam, quae est nostro tempore omnibus bonis viris contemptui, ne dicam odiosa, propter ipsorum fastus et turpitudinem.*

(This [conjunction], in my opinion, will be in the year of our salvation 1504; it indicates the advent of a prophet or some very holy man who will reform the habits and lives of churchmen for the better. The way they live in our time is a source of contempt, not to say odious, to all good men, because of their arrogance and immoral behavior.)

As the text of the poem deals with the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, Melanchthon undoubtedly quotes these lines by way of allusion to the nativity of Luther—although Bonincontri himself, in his commentary, alters the date, just as Paulus van Middelburg spread the effects of the 1484 conjunction over twenty years.

The excitement caused in Italy by the advent of the 1484 conjunction (p. 623) can be traced in the Dante commentary of Cristoforo Landino, who assigns the date of 25 November 1484 to Dante's prediction of the *veltro* ({greyhound} *Inferno* 1.105), and also hints at a religious reformation:

*Io credo che 'l Poeta, come ottimo mathematico, havesse veduto per astrologia, che per l'avenire havessero a essere certe revolution de Cieli, per la benignità delle quali habbi al tutto a cessar l'avaritia. Sarà dunque il veltro tal influenza, la quale nascerà tra Cielo et Cielo, o veramente quel Principe, il quale da tal influenza sarà prodotto. Onde dirà disotto ch'io veggio certamente, et però il narro. Et certo nell' anno 1484 nel dì vigesimo quinto di Novembre, et a hore tredici, et minuti 41 di tal dì sarà la coniuntione de Saturno et di Giove, nel scorpione, ne l'ascendente del quinto grado de la libra, la qual dimostra mutation di religione. Et perchè Giove prevale a Saturno, significa che tal mutatione sarà in meglio. La onde non potendo esser religione alcuna piu vera che la nostra, havrò adunque ferma speranza che la Republica christiana si ridurrà a ottima vita et governo; in modo che potremo veramente dire: iam redit et virgo, redeunt saturnia regna.*

(I believe that the poet, excellent mathematician that he was, had seen by astrological means certain preordained revolutions of the heavens, through whose benign influence avarice would entirely cease. The greyhound must therefore be one such influence, which will come to birth between one heaven and another; or else it is the prince who will be brought forth by such influence. For which reason I shall tell below what I perceive to be certain. In the year 1484, on 25 November, at 1:41 p.m., there will be a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, in Scorpio, with the 5th degree of Libra rising; this marks a change of religion. And because Jupiter prevails over Saturn, that change will be for the better. And as there can be no religion truer than ours, I shall confidently hope that Christendom will then revert to the best possible life and governance; so that we shall truly

be able to say: “Now the Virgin returns; the rule of Saturn is restored.” [Virgil, Eclogues 4.6.])

*Dante, con l'espositione di Cristoforo Landino et di Alessandro Vellutello...* (Venice, 1564), fol. 7<sup>v</sup> f.; see Friedrich von Bezold, “Astrologische Geschichtskonstruktion im Mittelalter,” in idem, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance* (1918), 191, 410 n. 379.

In this commentary, which dates from 1481, Landino thus refers to the very date given by Lichtenberger (whose prophecies were first published around 1488, Heidelberg: Heinrich Knoblochtzter) and before him by Paulus van Middelburg (1484); see note 82. On the wide circulation enjoyed by Lichtenberger’s prophecies in Italy from 1492 on, see Domenico Fava, “La fortuna del pronostico di Giovanni Lichtenberger...,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 5 (Mainz, 1930): 126 ff.

- 655 A highly important source for Luther’s comments on astrology is the *Homily on the Ten Commandments* (1518), in which he inveighs against the “necessitant” of the stars. Luther, *Werke*, Weimar ed., 1:404 f., reference supplied by F. Blanke.

*Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi predicata populo  
per P. Martinum Luther Augustinianum.*

*Praeceptum Primum. Non Habebis deos alienos. (1:398 ff.)*

*Nono. Sequitur lauta illa Astrologia seu Mathematica, quae valde cupit esse scientia, sed non potest stulticiam ingenitam exuere. Haec est quae nos docet, Quis, qualis quantusve sit futurus, Quisquis natus fuerit in horoscopis signorum: Consiliarii scilicet divini secreti nec angelis noti. Unum ego miror, quidnam illis acciderit, ut non invenerint stellam quae portendat, quis iustus, quis peccator sit nasciturus. Quandoquidem suos horoscopus maxime in hominibus valere volunt, tum non est res tam parvi momenti iusticia, peccatum, veritas, mendacium, sed nec tam rara quam sit Balneator, Cantator, Trapezita, piscator, orator, amator, qui suos habent horoscopus. Cur ego nullum ibi iusticiae et veritatis signum? Aut si est, Cur nunquam sortitur effectum? Siquidem omnis homo nascitur peccator, mendax, insipiens, licet nulla stella ad hoc fatum sit conficta, nec mutatur, nisi supercoelesti gratia visitetur. Aut est coelum adeo infestum et incuriosum iusticiae et veritatis, ut vilissima balnea influat et ludos et veneres, iusticiam autem omnino nesciat? Aut tam invidus creator, Qui nullum signum boni, sed tantummodo mali constituit? quippe cum nullus homo nascatur bonus sitque natura sua cum influentiis perseveraturus malus, hos ego inter subtiles fatuos numerassem, nisi rudibus essent rudiores.*

*Sed pulcherrime solvunt obiecta, dicentes “Influentiae non necessitant, sed inclinant ad peccatum,” &c. quasi non sit idipsum impiissimum sentire, quod deus foecerit creaturam ad inclinationem peccati et non potius ad erectionem iusticiae, ut omnia cooperentur in bonum, non in malum, hominibus, Aut quasi ullus hominum necessitate pulsus peccet, et non potius semper inclinatione. Quis invitum dicet peccare? Omnis mala inclinatio non extra nos, sed in nobis est, Sicut ait Christus: De corde exeunt cogitationes malae, Non quod intrat in hominem &c. Et B. Iacob.: Unusquisque tentatur a concupiscentia sua abstractus et illectus, quae non fato sed origine peccati venit. Omnia enim, quae foecit deus,*

Matt. 15.19, 11  
James 1.14

*bona sunt: ideo ex natura sua non possunt nisi ad bonum inclinare. Quale est unumquodque, tale et operatur. Quod autem ad malum serviunt, non est natura, sed iniuria eorum, sicut Paulus ait: Omnis creatura subiecta est vanitati non volens. Illi autem naturam eorum faciunt vanitatem, Volentes ex institutione dei illa habere, ut ad peccandum inclinent. Cur ergo Adam et Hevam ante serpentem non inclinaverunt? Cur non Christum? Cur non Virginem? pereat ea blasphemans impietas. Vox illa Vox patris Adam est, qui et ipse suam inclinationem ad mulierem transtulit, id est, creaturam dei, dicens, Mulier, quam mihi dedisti, &c. Verum quam egregie mihi obstarent, si ullum sanctorum vel martyrem his usum esse aut scripsisse aut approbasse possent ostendere. Nunc autem non modo non approbaverunt, sed etiam reprobaverunt, presertim B. Augustinus in multis locis, tum B. Gregorius. Et tamen invenit ista languidula insipientia languidiores qui credant.*

Gen. 1.31

Rom. 8.20

Gen. 3.12

*“Abraham, inquit, docuit Aegyptios astrologiam, ut testis est Ioseppus,” quasi Ioseppus nusquam excesserit verum, praesertim tam anhelus iudaicae gloriae appetitor. Abraham sine dubio, docuit Aegyptios deum colere et veram dei sapientiam, Sicut et de Ioseph dicitur, ps. ciiii. Ut erudiret principes eius et senes eius prudentiam doceret. Non est credendum sanctos illos viros nec astronomiae, multominus astrologiae operam dedisse, quae iuventutis sunt studia ociosa. Sed Ioseppus videns, huius scientiae opinionem apud Graecos extolli et in gloria esse, fingere visus est voluisse, quomodo etiam in hac re Iudaei Graecis non impares sed superiores essent, quod in omnibus aliis quoque facere conatus fuit, quae ad vanam gloriam pertinent.*

Ps. 105.22

*Deinde mirum est, daemones non fuisse aliquando mutatos, qui tot saeculorum influentiis subiecti, tum propiores quam nos, utpote in aere habitantes, sunt. Non autem venisse stellarum influentias super eos aut easdem stellas eodem modo eis fulsisse absurdum videtur. Manent enim obstinati in sua perversitate nec ullo signo mutantur, cum nostrae animae brevissimo momento influentiarum mutari dicantur.*

*Ultimo. Quid ad Mosen dicemus Deut: iiii. Ne forte elevatis oculis ad caelum videas solem et lunam et omnia astra caeli, quae creavit dominus deus tuus in ministerium cunctis gentibus &c. Si in ministerium, quomodo in dominium? At subtiliter evadunt dicentes auctoritate sui Magistri Ptolomei “Sapiens dominatur astris, ideo praevenire et impedire potest influentias stellarum.” Ergo non sunt in dominium sapientibus, sed insipientibus tantum? Quid autem Moses? Cunctis, inquit, gentibus in ministerium. Si cunctis, ergo vel cunctae gentes sunt sapientes et ita dominantur astris omnes, vel aliquae tantummodo sunt sapientes et fiet, ut non cunctis gentibus sint creata in ministerium, Vel Moses verax et tu mendax, Ut omittam, quod, si etiam vere sapiens esset dominus astrorum, nihilo minus falsum dixisset Moses, utpote quod astra non ministrent sapientibus etiam, sed magis impediunt, ita ut, nisi illi sapientia praestarent, non possint eorum fata vitare. Non ergo in ministerium, sed in bellum sapientibus et in dominium atque tyrannidem insipientibus dicendae fuissent stellae creatae. Quod est et Mosen mendacii arguere et deum crudelitatis accusare, omninoque blasphemare. Sed haec alii latius tractarunt. Sat sit indicasse vanitatem hanc*

Deut. 4.19



Jer. 10.2  
Rom. 8.28

*prohibitam. Hiere: x. Iuxta vias gentium nolite dicere et a signis caeli nolite metuere. Solus enim deus timendus est in omnibus. Caetera omnia ut ministeria in bonum electis cooperantia esse debemus intelligere.*

(Ten commandments preached to the people of Wittenberg

by Fr. Martin Luther, Augustinian

First commandment. Thou shalt have no other gods.

...

Ninth. Next comes that fashionable astrology or mathematics, which keenly wants to be a science but cannot shake off its native foolishness. This is what teaches us, when anyone is born, who he will be, of what sort or how great, from the horoscopes of the signs: counselors of the divine secret, that is, one not known even to the angels. One thing puzzles me: what happened to them that they did not find a star to prophesy who will be born righteous, who a sinner? Since they are very keen for their horoscopes to carry weight among men, it is not a matter of such small moment—righteousness, sin, truth, falsehood—but neither should it be so rare as a bath keeper, minstrel, money changer, fisherman, orator, lover, who each have their own horoscopes. Why no sign of righteousness or truth there? Or if there is one, why does it never take effect?

Since indeed every human being is born a sinner, mendacious, foolish (though no star has been adduced for this fate), and does not change unless he is visited with more than celestial grace. Or are the heavens so spiteful and indifferent to righteousness and truth that they steal into the vilest baths and games and love affairs, but are wholly ignorant of righteousness? Or has the Creator been so hostile as to establish no sign of good, but only of evil? Since, to be sure, no man is born good, and is because of his nature together with influences likely to go on being evil, I would have counted these men among the foolishly subtle, if they were not more ignorant than the ignorant.

But they solve objections very prettily, saying, “The influences do not compel; they merely incline to sin”—and so forth, as if it were not in itself most impious to think that God made his creation for an inclination toward sin and not rather for the setting up of righteousness, so that all things may work together for good, not for evil, for mankind. Or as if any man sinned because he was driven by destiny, and not rather by inclination. Who shall say that he sins against his will? Every wicked inclination is not outside us, but inside us. For, as Christ says: “Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts; not that which goeth into... a man,” etc. And Saint James: “Every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed”; and this comes not by fate but from the origin of sin. For all things that God has made are good: therefore by their nature they cannot incline but to the good. Whatever the nature of each thing, so, too, it does its work. But the fact that they serve for evil is not by nature but because of abuse of them: as Paul says: “For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly...” But those men make vanity their nature, because they want those things that incline to sinning to come from God’s disposition. Why then were Adam and Eve not so inclined before the serpent tempted them? Why not Christ? Why not the Virgin? May such blasphemous impiety perish. That voice is the voice of Father Adam, who himself

ascribed his own inclination to the woman, that is, to the creature of God, saying, "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me," etc.

How splendidly they would refute me if they could show that any of the saints or any martyr had used such {words}, or written or approved them. But, as it is, not only did they not approve, they condemned, especially Saint Augustine in many places, then Saint Gregory. And yet that feeble foolishness finds feebler persons to believe it.

"Abraham," they say, "taught the Egyptians astrology, as Josephus testifies"; as if Josephus had never gone beyond the truth, especially since he was so avid a seeker of Jewish glory. Abraham, without a doubt, taught the Egyptians to worship God and the true wisdom of God, as is also said of Joseph, Psalm 104: "To bind his princes at his pleasure; and teach his senators wisdom." It is not to be believed that those holy men paid attention to astronomy, much less to astrology, which are the idle pursuits of youth. But Josephus, seeing that this science had an exalted reputation among the Greeks and was held in honor, seems to have wished to pretend that in this matter the Jews were not inferior to the Greeks but superior (as he also tried to do in all other areas that pertain to vainglory).

Next, it is strange that the daemons, who have been subjected to the influences for so many centuries, besides being nearer than we since they live in the upper air, have not ever changed. But that the influences of the stars have not come over them, or that the same stars have shone on them in the same way, seems absurd. For they remain steadfast in their perversity, and are not changed by any sign, although our souls are said to be changed by the tiniest shift of the influences.

Finally. What shall we say to Moses, Deuteronomy 4: "And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven . . . which the Lord thy God hath created for the service of {hath divided unto} all nations under the whole heaven"? If for their service, how for their subjugation? But they subtly evade this, saying on the authority of their master Ptolemy, "The wise man rules the stars, therefore he can anticipate and forestall their influences." Are they therefore not for the wise men to serve, but only for the foolish? What does Moses say? They are, he says, for the service of all nations. If for all, then either all nations are wise, and so they all rule the stars; or only some nations are wise, and it will be the case that the stars have not been created for the service of all nations; or Moses is telling the truth, and you are lying. Not to mention the fact that, even if a truly wise man were master of the stars, nonetheless Moses would have spoken falsely, inasmuch as {on this supposition} the stars do not serve even wise men but rather so hinder them that, unless preeminent for wisdom, they cannot avoid their fates. We would therefore have to say that the stars were created not for service but for war (in the case of the wise) and for dominion and tyranny (in the case of the unwise). Which is both to call Moses a liar and to accuse God of cruelty, and to be totally blasphemous.

But others have discussed these matters at greater length. Let it suffice to have indicated this forbidden deception. Jeremiah 10: "Learn not the ways of the hea-

then, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven.” For only God is to be feared in everything. All other things we are to understand as servants, working together for the good of the elect.)

Warburg intended to incorporate a careful analysis of this sermon in a new edition of his essay on Luther. In a contribution to the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* for 1933, Professor Blanke, of Zürich, will analyze and comment on the sermon in the light of Warburg’s findings.

- 659 The words “*propter spicam uirginis*” underlined.

The Christian theological interpretation of the sign of Virgo, after Abū Maʿṣar, is traced by Kurt Rathe, “Ein unbeschriebener Einblattdruck und das Thema der ‘Ährenmadonna,’” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* (1922): 1 ff.; see Franz Boll, “Aus der Offenbarung Johannis,” *Stoicheia* 1 (1914): 115.

- 685 The history of the Gauricus horoscope of Luther was described in the eighteenth century by Friedrich Siegmund Keil, *Das Leben Hannss Luthers und seiner Ehefrauen Margarethen Lindemannin* (Leipzig, 1752), and Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, book 4, Slawkenbergius’s Tale.

Keil, 49 f.:

§69. *Es hat die Mutter dieses herrlichen Kindes das Jahr seiner Geburt nicht gewusst. Melanchthon hat sie deswegen unterschiedlichemal gefragt, zu welcher Zeit ihr Sohn gebohren, darauf sie zur Antwort gegeben, den Tag und die Stunde wisse sie gewiss, wegen des Jahres aber wäre sie ungewiss. Doch sagte sie ihm, dass er am 10. November zur Nacht um 11 Uhr gebohren, und hätte dem Kinde den Namen Martin gegeben, weil der folgende Tag Martini gewesen, an welchem das Kind getauft worden. Ob sie nun wol das Jahr der Geburt nicht eigentlich gewusst, so hat man doch hiervon genaue Nachricht, dass es das Jahr 1483 gewesen. Denn es hat Lutherus mit eigner Hand aufgezeichnet, dass er An. 1483, den 10. November Abends um 12 Uhr gebohren, und dabey eigenhändig die Constellation des Himmels beschrieben wie der Horoscopus 15. ☿ 5. in decima 28. ☿ 19. locus Solis 28. ♀ 6. Jovis 26. ♄ 24.*

70. *Hiervon gibt Nachricht D. Christoph Daniel Schreiter, weylend Stifts-Superintendens zu Wurtzen in Disputatione: De discursu Astrologico, welche er als ein Student unter dem Praesidio M. Christoph Notnagels, Prof. Matthes. zu Wittenberg am 12. April An. 1651 gehalten. Seine eigenen Worte sind: Lutherus propria manu figuram coelestem descriptam reliquit ad diem 10. Nov. horam XII. noctis, anni 1483. cujus picturae αὐτόγραφον Dominus, Christianus Gueinzius, olim Gymnasii Halensis Rector, in sua Bibliotheca sancte asservabat, qui mihi, cuius fidei ac informationi concreditus eram, ex singulari benevolentia, qua me semper prosequabatur, non tantum copiam videndi, sed describendi concedebat: Horoscopus erat 15. ☿ 5. in decima 28. ☿ 19. locus Solis 28. ♀ 6. Jovis 26. ♄ 24. Der Autor disputiret in derselben wider Cardanum, welcher Lutheri Geburtstag auf den 22 Oct. Abends um 10 Uhr 1483 gesetzt, und aus der Constellation beweisen wollen, dass Lutherus zu einen Ketzer und Bösewicht gebohren worden (In libro de Gent. Genituris, Genit. XI). Da nun Lucas*

*Gauricus (Part. IV. Tract. Astrologici, p. 69) den Geburtstag Lutheri auf den 22. Oct. 1484 um 1 Uhr nach Mitternacht gesetzt: So hat auch Pelletier (In Tract. de arca Noae p. 443) sehr wohl die Absurditaet der päbstlichen Astrologorum bemercket, die aus der falschgesetzten Zeit seiner Geburt schliessen wollen, er müsse ein Ketzer seyn, und Unruhe in der Kirche anrichten (Unschuldige Nachrichten 1702, p. 578), und werden auch billig von Petro Gassendo (Tom. I. Philosoph. Epist. p. 505. b) und de la Mothe (Vayer. Tom. I. Opp. 263) verlachtet. Wir setzen diesen päbstlichen Theologis billig Isaaci Malleoli, Prof. Matthes. zu Strassburg Disputation, de Genitura Lutheri An. 1617. entgegen, in welcher er Lutheri Constitution des Leibes und Gemüths, herrlichen Verstand, Gottesfurcht, Religionseifer, sanften und natürlichen Tod aus astrologischen Principiis gezeiget.*

(§69. The mother of this wondrous child did not know the year of his birth. Melancthon asked her a number of times when her son had been born; she answered that she knew the exact day and hour, but was uncertain of the year. But she told him that he had been born on 10 November, at eleven o'clock at night, and that she had given the child the name of Martin because the following day was Martinmas, the day of the child's baptism. Although she did not know the year for certain, it is nevertheless known that this was 1483. For Lutherus wrote in his own hand that he was born in 1483, on 10 November, at eleven in the evening, and added, still in his own hand, the positions of the stars: Ascendant Leo 15° 5', Midheaven Aries 28° 19', Sun Scorpio 28° 16', Jupiter Virgo 26° 24'.

§70. Of this Dr. Christoph Daniel Schreiter, sometime superintendent of the community at Wurtzen, gives notice in *Disputatio: De discursu astrologico*, which he delivered as a student under the presidency of Master Christoph Notnagel, professor of mathematics at Wittenberg, on 12 April 1651. His own words are:

Luther left a celestial figure for 10 November 1483, at the twelfth hour of the night, drawn up with his own hand. Master Christianus Gueinzus, some time Rector of the Halle Gymnasium, faithfully preserved the autograph of this chart in his own library. Having been entrusted with my education, he granted to me—out of the singular kindness with which he always honored me—the privilege not only of seeing but of copying it. The horoscope was Ascendant Leo 15° 5', Midheaven Aries 28° 19', Sun Scorpio 28° 16', Jupiter Virgo 26° 24'

In this the author argues against Cardanus, who moved Luther's day of birth to 22 October at 10 o'clock in the evening and then sought to prove from this configuration that Luther was born a heretic and a scoundrel (*Liber [de exemplis geniturarum]*, Genitura xi). Now, as Lucas Gauricus (*Tractatus astrologicus*, part 4, p. 69) placed the birth of Luther on 22 October 1484, at one hour after midnight; Pelletier (*Tractatus de arca Noae*, p. 443) has well remarked the absurdity of the papal astrologers, who seek to conclude from a false hour of birth that he must needs be a heretic and stir up unrest in the Church (*Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1702, p. 578), and they are also mocked by Petrus Gassendus (*Philosophicae epistolae*, p. 505.b) and de la Mothe (Vayer, vol. 1, Opp. 263). We refute these papal

theologians easily with the dissertation of Isaac Malleolus, professor of mathematics at Strasbourg, *Disputatio de genitura Lutheri* (1617), in which he sets forth Luther's physical and mental constitution, his splendid intellect, his God-fearing temper, his religious zeal, and his easy and natural death, all on sound astrological principles.)

Sterne quoted the wording of the 1552 Gauricus text, but gave the date of the papist version of Luther's nativity as 22 October 1483, and that of the Lutheran version as 10 November 1484, thus confounding the years all over again. Although well aware, from the Gauricus text, that there was a conjunction "in the ninth house, which the Arabians allotted to religion," Sterne then altered the planetary positions in such a way (when the moon was in the twelfth house — Jupiter, Mars, and Venus in the third, the Sun, Saturn, and Mercury all got together in the fourth) as to make them impossible to reconcile with any of the horoscopes known to us.

- 685 For "Janus-faced," read: "dual."
- 686 On this episode, and on Joachim and Carion, see Wilhelm Schäfer, "Der andere Noah," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, no. 1293 (Sunday, 23 September 1923).
- 691 The same metamorphosis of the saturnine individual, predestined to the hard labor of tilling the earth, into the free creator of an earthly domain wrested from Neptune, is to be found in *Faust*, part 2, act 5: "Wie das Geklirr der Spaten mich ergetzt." (How the rattle of shovels delights me.)
- 697 This "Pronosticatio Firmini" is printed by Hubert Pruckner, *Studien zu den astrologischen Schriften des Heinrich von Langenstein*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 14 (Leipzig and Berlin, 1933), 220–21.

### Astrology under Oriental Influence

- 699 Published as "Orientalisierende Astrologie," in *Wissenschaftlicher Bericht über den deutschen Orientalistentag Hamburg vom 28. Sept. bis 2. Okt. 1926, veranstaltet von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1927): this is a summary of a talk given on the occasion of a guided tour of the Warburg Library.

Most of the illustrative material for this paper is to be found with the essays on the Palazzo Schifanoia, the Low German Almanac of 1519, and Luther.

It has now been established that Agostino Chigi was born in December 1466; see pp. 761 f.

Majrītī is no longer regarded as the author of the Arabic *Picatrix* (the *Ghāyat al-hakīm*): see H. Ritter, "Picatrix..." in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921–22* (Leipzig, 1923), 95 f., and E. J. Holmyard, "Maslama al-Majrītī..." *Isis* 6 (1924): 294 ff.

### **American Chapbooks**

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- 703 Published as “Amerikanische Chap-Books,” *Pan* 2, no. 4 (April 1897).

### **The Mural Paintings in Hamburg City Hall**

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- 711 Published as “Die Wandbilder im Hamburgischen Rathaussaale,” *Kunst und Künstler* 8, no. 8 (May 1910).

### **Art Exhibitions at the Volksheim**

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- 717 Published as “Die Bilderausstellungen des Volksheims,” in *Das Volksheim in Hamburg: Bericht über das sechste Geschäftsjahr 1906–1907*.

### **A Specialized Heraldic Library**

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- 719 Published as “Eine heraldische Fachbibliothek,” in *Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde in Hamburg: Bericht über die Jahre 1909–1912* (Hamburg, 1913).

### **A Newly Discovered Fresco by Andrea del Castagno**

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- 721 Published as “Ein neuentdecktes Fresko des Andrea del Castagno,” *Beilage to Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 138 (Munich, 20 June 1899).

A detailed account of the fresco and of its rediscovery is to be found in Heinrich Brockhaus, “Andrea del Castagnos Fresko der Dreieinigkeit in der Kirche der Annunziata,” in idem, *Forschungen über Florentiner Kunstwerke* 3 (Leipzig, 1902); illustrations.

### **Speech on the Opening of the Kunsthistorisches Institut at the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence, 15 October 1927**

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- 723 Privately printed as “Begrüßungsworte zur Eröffnung des Kunsthistorischen Instituts im Palazzo Guadagni zu Florenz am 15. Oktober 1927.”

### **In Memory of Robert Münzel**

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- 725 Published as “Zum Gedächtnis Robert Münzels,” on the occasion of the presentation of a commemorative volume for Robert Münzel to the Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde, Hamburg, to mark its tenth anniversary on 15 September 1918.

Robert Münzel (1859–1918) was director of the then Stadtbibliothek, later Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, in Hamburg, from 1902.

### **The Problem in Between**

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- 727 Published as “Das Problem liegt in der Mitte,” in *Die Literarische Gesellschaft* 4 (1918), no. 5 (a periodical published by the Hamburg Literary Society; special issue containing a series of essays by senior figures in academic life in Hamburg on the question of setting up a university in the city).

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- fig. 1 Sandro Botticelli, *The Birth of Venus*, circa 1485. Tempera on canvas, 172.5 × 278.5 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 1890, no. 878. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
- figs. 2a,b *Birth of Venus*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Raccolta di rime di Lorenzo de' Medici*, Plut. 41.33, fols. 35<sup>v</sup>–36<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. All rights reserved.
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- fig. 5 Donatello, *Sculpture of the Saint George Tabernacle: Saint George Slaying the Dragon*, 1417. Marble, 68 × 64 cm. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
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- fig. 8 Sandro Botticelli, *Saint Thomas*, circa 1490–1495. Pen drawing, 19 × 18 cm. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Codice Resta, 18,14. Photo: Biblioteca Ambrosiana. All rights reserved.
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- fig. 13 Workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni, *Wind Gods*. Detail of *cassone*. Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, acc. no. KM 308.
- fig. 14 Workshop of Apollonio di Giovanni, *Venus and Aeneas*. Detail of *cassone*. Hannover, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, acc. no. KM 308.

- fig. 15 *Pomona*, second half of first century A.D. Marble, 151 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
- fig. 16 Sandro Botticelli (attrib.), *Pallas Athena*, circa 1476. Tarsia, 158 × 69 cm. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. All rights reserved.
- fig. 17 Sandro Botticelli, *Allegory of Abundance*, early or mid-1480s. Pen and brown ink and faint brown wash over black chalk on paper tinted pink, heightened with white, 31.7 × 25.3 cm. London, British Museum. Photo: © The British Museum.
- fig. 18 After Botticelli, *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, circa 1480–1490. Engraving, 20.5 × 56 cm. Photo: © The British Museum.
- fig. 19 Anonymous Florentine, *The Abduction of Helen*. Pen and brown wash with traces of underdrawing in black chalk, 23 × 32 cm. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1889-5-27-53, fol. 35. Photo: © The British Museum.
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- fig. 22 *Venus*, engraving from Baldini almanac, first edition, 32.7 × 21.8 cm. Photo: © The British Museum.
- fig. 23 *Venus*, engraving by an anonymous artist after Baldini almanac, second edition, 26.3 × 18.7 cm. Photo: © The British Museum.
- fig. 24 Giotto, *The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule*. Florence, Santa Croce. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
- fig. 25 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III*, circa 1482–1486. Fresco. Florence, Santa Trinita. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
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- fig. 27 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Lorenzo de' Medici and Francesco Sassetti*. Detail of fig. 25. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
- figs. 28a,b Niccolò Fiorentino, *Lorenzo the Magnificent*, fifteenth century. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, N.Y.
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- fig. 30 Leo X. Medal, 39.7 mm. Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello. Photo: Museo Nazionale del Bargello. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. All rights reserved.
- fig. 31 Spinello (?), *Poliziano*. Medal, diameter 55 mm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett. Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett.

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- fig. 37 Bookplate of Francesco Sassetti, Latin translation by Argyropoulos of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Photo: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence. By permission of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali. All rights reserved.
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- fig. 45 *Battle for the Breeches*. Norwegian *tine*, 12 × 12 × 8 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Volkskunde, inv. no. 47/57. Photo: Ute Franz-Scarciglia.
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Photo: Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.
- fig. 51b Hans Memling, Detail of donor panel showing *Catarina Tanagli*, right wing reverse of *The Last Judgment* (see fig. 50). Oil on panel, 242 × 90 cm (including frame). Gdansk, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. SD/413/M.  
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- fig. 59 Studio of Pasquier Grenier, Tournai, *Woodcutters*, circa 1460. Tapestry. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, L. Sully Jaulmes, Paris. All rights reserved.
- fig. 60 Anonymous Flemish, Tournai, *Woodcutters*, late fifteenth century. Tapestry. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, L. Sully Jaulmes, Paris. All rights reserved.
- fig. 61 Studio of Jean Grenier, Tournai, *Woodcutters*, early sixteenth century. Tapestry. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs. Photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, L. Sully Jaulmes, Paris. All rights reserved.
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- fig. 81 Bernardo Buontalenti, *Four Planetary Gods*, circa 1588–1589. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, 36.5 × 45.7 cm. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatina C.B.3.53, vol. 2, c. 37<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.
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- fig. 84a Bernardo Buontalenti, *Delphic Couple*, circa 1588–1589. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, 46.5 × 37.3 cm. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatina C.B.3.53, vol. 2, c. 26<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.
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- fig. 84c Bernardo Buontalenti, *Delphic Couple*, circa 1588–1589. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, 46.8 × 37.2 cm. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatina C.B.3.53, vol. 2, c. 17<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.
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- fig. 89 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Confirmation of the Franciscan Rule by Pope Honorius III*. Black pen and wash, study for Santa Trinita, Florence. 247 × 367 mm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. Photo: Kupferstichkabinett.
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- Palatina C.B.3.53, vol. 2, c. 6<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.
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- fig. 95 Bernardo Buontalenti, *Necessity and the Fates*, circa 1588–1589. Pen and brown ink, watercolor, 48.1 × 34.9 cm. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatina C.B.3.53, vol. 2, c. 27<sup>r</sup>. Photo: Biblioteca Nazionale.
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# Index

*Note:* The index is not a reproduction of the original German. This was a conscious choice to provide the reader with an index that conforms to current indexing practices.

Church names such as S. Giovanni and SS. Annunziata are listed under S. Proper names that appear as subentries are sorted by last name, although a first name is sometimes included to aid identification. For passages in languages other than English, only terms from the English translations have been indexed. Numbers in *italic* refer to illustrations.

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