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*Ricerche filosofiche e materiali storico-testuali*

ANNO XX

2014 / 2



PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE

MMXIV

«Bruniana & Campanelliana» is an International Peer-Reviewed Journal.  
The Journal is Indexed and Abstracted in *Scopus (Elsevier)*, in *Current Contents/Arts & Humanities*  
and in *Arts & Humanities Citation Index (ISI - Thomson Reuters)*.  
The eContent is Archived with *Clockss* and *Portico*.

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Stampato in Italia · Printed in Italy

ISSN 1125-3819

E-ISSN 1724-0441

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# MANET AND ITALIAN ANTIQUITY

ABY WARBURG

TRANSLATED BY HENRIETTE FRANKFORT

INTRODUCED, EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY CLAUDIA WEDEPOHL

## SUMMARY

In his short text on Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* of 1929, here published for the first time in English translation (with its posthumous title given by Ernst Gombrich), Aby Warburg explicates the transmission of memory via its materialisation in art. Singling out a group of nymphs and river gods on a late Roman sarcophagus he demonstrates the chain of transmission of this motif to Édouard Manet via Raphael and a seventeenth-century Dutch landscape, and analyses the «inversion» of its meaning from the sacred to the profane. Warburg was planning to turn this text into a chapter of his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*.

## INTRODUCTION\*

ABY WARBURG's fragments on *Manet and Italian Antiquity*<sup>1</sup> contain the most concise summary of one of his fundamental theoretical ideas: namely, the «energetic inversion» of *pathos formulas* that leads to a change in their meaning. This concept is part of Warburg's larger theory of a conscious or unconscious recourse to collective, material memory, in other

Claudia.Wedepohl@sas.ac.uk

\* I thank Jon Frankfort for the permission to publish the English translation of Warburg's text, and Christopher Johnson for corrections to my own text. Copyright of Manet's «*Déjeuner sur l'herbe*». *Die vorprägende Funktion heidnischer Elementargottheiten für die Entwicklung modernen Naturgefühls* is held by The Warburg Institute.

<sup>1</sup> *Manet und die Italienische Antike*. The wording repeats the titles of Warburg's earlier texts on the afterlife of ancient forms in northern Europe: *Dürer und die italienische Antike* of 1905 and *Rembrandt und die italienische Antike* of 1926. The text has been edited and published in German under the title *Manet's «Déjeuner sur l'herbe». Die vorprägende Funktion heidnischer Elementargottheiten für die Entwicklung modernen Naturgefühls* (which was given by Ernst Gombrich in 1937 to the sequence of fragments he had arranged as a text) by D. WUTTKE, in *Kosmopolis der Wissenschaft. E. R. Curtius und das Warburg Institute. Briefe und andere Dokumente*, Baden-Baden, Koerner 1989, pp. 257-272, and by M. TREML, S. WEIGEL, P. LADWIG in A. WARBURG, *Werke in einem Band*, Berlin, Suhrkamp, 2010, pp. 647-659. The editors of Warburg's *Studienausgabe* quote Warburg's original title *Manet und die italienische Antike* for the project, but give their edition of the text the title *Manet*; see GS II.2, pp. 367-386.

words, to either intentional copying of ancient forms or their unintentional revival.<sup>1</sup> *Manet and Italian Antiquity* is indeed the only surviving document in which Warburg explicates this concept through examples. These examples are various early modern and modern adaptations of the iconographies of three antique representations of *The Judgement of Paris* held in collections of antiquities before the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup>

Warburg's earliest examples and thus effectively the original types to which he refers had been handed down to the early modern age via two front reliefs of Roman sarcophagi (FIGS 1, 3). Thanks to what was presumed to be the original iconography of the myth, they piqued the interest of Renaissance artists who passed it on through their copies (FIGS 2, 4) before the objects were lost from sight.<sup>3</sup> We know that in 1584 one of the sarcophagi went from the Della Valle Capranica collection to the Villa Medici, where it was immured in the north façade of the *casino*.<sup>4</sup> The other sarcophagus had been at the church of S. Maria a Monterone, at least at the end of fifteenth century. However, Ulisse Aldrovandi saw it around 1550 at the house of Girolamo Frangipani;<sup>5</sup> and after 1647 it was immured in the *casino* del Belrespiro of the Villa Pamphili.<sup>6</sup>

The iconographies of these sarcophagi combine the scene of Paris's judgement with the figure of Jupiter on his throne above the earth. On the Medi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. PINOTTI, *Nympha zwischen Eidos und Formel. Phänomenologische Aspekte in Warburgs Ikonologie*, in *Phänomenalität des Kunstwerks*, ed. by H. R. Sepp, J. Trinks, Vienna, Turia und Kant, 2006, pp. 222-232.

<sup>2</sup> *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, ed. by C. Robert, Berlin, G. Grote, 1890, pl. v, figs 10', 11'. Cf. Codex Coburgensis, f. 58, 59; Codex Pighianus, f. 259v and Codex Escorialensis, f. 8v; H. WREDE, R. HARPRATH, *Der Codex Coburgensis. Das erste systematische Archäologiebuch. Römische Antiken-Nachzeichnungen aus der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Coburg, Druckhaus Neue Presse, 1986, no. 4, p.13.

<sup>3</sup> M. CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, *Le antichità di Villa Medici*, Rome, La Libreria dello Stato, 1951, cat. 54, pp. 68-69, pl. XXVIII; *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphilj*, ed. by R. Calza et al., Rome, De Luca, 1977, pp. 164-165, pl. CXIX a-c; C. CLAIRMONT, *Das Parisurteil in der antiken Kunst*, Zurich, 1951, cat. 242, cat. 242, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Villa on the Pincio, founded by Ferdinando I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. The design by Bartolomeo Ammanati included a number of ancient bas-reliefs and statues. The villa was completed in 1544.

<sup>5</sup> P. BOBER, R. RUBINSTEIN, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources* (1986), London, 2nd rev. and updated edition, Miller, 2010, no. 119, p. 161; U. ALDROVANDI, *Delle statue antiche per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case particolari si veggono*, in L. MAURO, *Le antichità del la città di Roma brevissimamente raccolte a chiunque ha scritto, o antico o moderno*, Venedig, 1556, p. 284. Cf. K. CHRISTIAN, *Empire without End. Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527*, New Haven-London, Yale, 2010, pp. 315-316.

<sup>6</sup> Villa on the Gianicolo, bought in 1630 by Pamfilo Pamfili. Cardinal Giambattista Pamfili, elected pope Innocence X in 1644, commissioned Alessandro Algardi together with Francesco Grimani with the design of the new casino Belrespiro, completed in 1647; its façade was decorated with antiquities.

ci-sarcophagus the three goddesses, Juno, Minerva, and Venus, are depicted twice, once in the judgement scene in the centre, and a second time on the right, escorted by Mercury, on their return to Olympus where Jupiter is seated above Uranus (FIGS 1, 3). A group of two reclining river gods and two nymphs are firmly seated on the earth and watching the goddesses' ascent towards Jupiter, to whose appearance both nymphs react with awestruck gestures. On the Pamphili-sarcophagus, Jupiter is similarly depicted above a reclining goddess, namely Tellus with a cornucopia (FIGS 2, 4), placed in the same right-hand corner of the relief as the nymphs and river gods of the Medici-sarcophagus.<sup>1</sup>

It was precisely this motif of the onlookers, marginal to the scene of the *Judgement*, that fascinated Warburg. His particular interest had been raised by an observation of his colleague and friend Gustav Pauli, director of the *Kunsthalle* in Bremen, and later of the *Hamburger Kunsthalle*. In his *Raffaël und Manet* of 1908, Pauli had argued that Édouard Manet's famous *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* must have been inspired by this particular group of marginal figures as they were transmitted by Marcantonio Raimondi's famous engraving of *The Judgement of Paris*<sup>2</sup> after a composition by Raphael (FIGS 7, 8). According to Vasari this invention had immediately astonished the whole of Rome<sup>3</sup> before it became famous beyond the city. The antique origin of its iconography was however forgotten until two German archaeologists, Otto Jahn and Emil Braun, who were examining the fragment of a third antique relief depicting *The Judgement of Paris* (FIG. 5), had discovered the dependence of Raphael's composition on both above-mentioned late-antique reliefs. Their clue was the fact that this third relief, held in Ludovisi Collection, had been reconstructed in plaster on the basis of Raimondi's engraving with Raphael's addition of Helios's chariot which is missing in the Roman iconography (FIG. 6).<sup>4</sup> Warburg's own additional observation was that Raphael had also

<sup>1</sup> BOBER, RUBINSTEIN, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, cat. 120, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> G. PAULI, *Raffaël und Manet*, «Monatshfte für Kunstwissenschaft», 1, 1908, pp. 53-55. Unknown to Pauli and Warburg, Ernest Chesneau had already published the same observation in 1864, see E. CHESNEAU, *Le Salon des Refusés. Salon annexe des ouvrages d'art refusés par le jury*, in IDEM, *L'art et les artistes modernes en France et en Angleterre*, Paris, 1864, pp. 182-197 (190), n. 1: «Il est à peine croyable que M. Manet ait emprunté à Raphaël une de ses compositions. Cela n'est, hélas! que trop vrai cependant. Que l'on compare son *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* à certain groupe du *Judgement de Pâris*».

<sup>3</sup> VASARI-MILANESI, V, p. 411:«[...] egli [Marcantonio, c.w.] si dispose a mettere fuori in istampa alcuni disegni di cose sue [di Raffaello, c.w.]; ed appresso un disegno che già aveva fatto del giudizio di Paris, nel quale Raffaello per capriccio aveva disegnato il carro del sole, le ninfe dei boschi, quelle dei fonti e quelle de' fiumi, con vasi, timoni, ed altre belle fantasie attorno; e così risoluto furono in maniera intagliate da Marcantonio, che ne stupì tutta Roma».

<sup>4</sup> E. LOEWY, *Di alcune composizioni di Raffaello ispirate a monumenti antichi*, «Archivio storico dell'arte», ser. II, II/IV, 1896, pp. 241-254; A. SPRINGER, *Raffaël und Michelangelo*, II, Leipzig,

introduced the idealised rear-view figure of the naked Minerva. In Warburg's view representing the incarnation of the High-Renaissance ideal of beauty, this last figure, he speculated, Raphael had copied from another antique original.

Knowing since 1908 of Pauli's discovery,<sup>1</sup> Warburg found this chain of transmission and transformation from antiquity to the nineteenth century to be an ideal example for his *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, the major unfinished project of his final years. He thus included Manet's painting in the very first draft of the *Atlas* photographed on 21 May 1928.<sup>2</sup> Seven months later, however, on a trip from Rome (where he been staying for several months) to the Villa d'Este in Tivoli on 2 December 1928 he discovered a painting which for him represented the «missing link» in this chain: a seventeenth-century Dutch landscape depicting the same *Judgement of Paris* after Raimondi;<sup>3</sup> following Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, he thought this painting was by Nicolaes Berchem and continued to call it «the Berghem» (FIG. 10).<sup>4</sup> This discovery triggered a new interest in the transmission of the motif, in particular in the question of how Manet had received it. After acquiring a photograph of the painting from Tivoli on 28 January 1929, Warburg began to fully explore this question.<sup>5</sup> In February, Warburg asked his colleagues in Hamburg to send him reproductions of the sarcophagi, books on Manet, and information about the dispute his *Déjeuner* had sparked; in response he received a typed summary of the events following the refusal of the painting by the Salon jury in 1863.<sup>6</sup> While from Pauli he requested bibliographical references regarding Manet's dependence on Raphael.<sup>7</sup>

Between February and April 1929, Warburg, still in Rome, focused on developing the above-mentioned theory of «energetic inversion» of *pathos*

Seemann, 1883, p. 122; E. BRAUN, *Il giudizio di Paride nella Villa Ludovisi*, «Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica», XIII, 1841, pp. 84-90 (89-90); O. JAHN, «Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig», II, 1849, p. 555; *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, ed. by T. Schreiber, Leipzig, Engelmann, 1880, p. 126, no. 106; H. SICHTERMANN, G. KOCH, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen*, Tübingen, 1975, p. 548, n. 56, pl. 141.2, 142, 143.

<sup>1</sup> WIA, GC, A. Warburg to J. Dwelshauvers, 3 April 1908; J. Dwelshauvers to A. Warburg, 10 April 1908.

<sup>2</sup> WIA, III.108.7.1, Panel 29. Cf. *ibidem*, III.107.3, Panel 68, photographed in late August or early September 1928.

<sup>3</sup> GS VII, p. 376: «Im Eßaal der Villa d'Este ein Bild von einem Flanderer (circa 1560) der Giulio Romanos [sic] Parisurteil (Manet) in eine holländisch italianisierende Landschaft setzt».

<sup>4</sup> C. HOFSTEDÉ DE GROOT, *Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke der hervorragendsten holländischen Maler des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Esslingen, Paul Neff, 1928, no. 52, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> GS VII, p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> WIA, GC, F. Alber to K.B.W., 6 February 1929; A. Warburg to F. Saxl, 10 February 1929; *ibidem*, III.2.1, Zettelkasten no. [11], «Der Streit über das Déjeuner sur l'herbe».

<sup>7</sup> WIA, GC, A. Warburg to G. Pauli, 9 February 1929.

*formulas* through a *Bilderreihe*, a sequence of five panels on which almost 300 photographs were attached. These panels must have remained a work in progress until he employed a professional photographer to record them on 2 May 1929.<sup>1</sup> Motives relating to Manet's composition, among them the type of the reclining figure (in particular the river god Eridanus) and the melancholic posture of the resting chin, appear on the third panel of the photographed sequence (FIGS 12, 13). We also know that in February and March Warburg had invited several of his colleagues from various disciplines to his hotel suite to «demonstrate» his ideas through this *Bilderreihe*; among his guests was the Dutch art historian G. J. Hoogewerff, a specialist in iconography and Early Christian art.<sup>2</sup>

On 26 March, Warburg began dictating a summary of the theory that he had explained during these demonstrations. According to his correspondence he was initially planning to bring it out as a *Festschrift* for the centenary of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome in May 1929. For this intended publication he formulated the title *Manet and Italian Antiquity* (*Manet und die italienische Antike*). This project was, however, later abandoned as Warburg failed to meet the deadline.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, he continued to research the topic. He traveled to inspect the two sarcophagi *in situ*, even using a telescope to look for later additions to the Villa Medici-sarcophagus (FIG. 1). His main concern was that the scene of the seated earthly and heavenly gods was not original – a worry later dispensed with by the archaeologist Margarethe Gütschow from the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, a specialist in antique sarcophagi.<sup>4</sup> Warburg also went to see the Ludovisi relief in the *Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano* in its original fragmented state (FIG. 5).<sup>5</sup> By mid-April he called his text in progress the «last chapter» of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*.<sup>6</sup>

Warburg's new chain of transmission was thus based on the representation of the classical myth on the late-antique sarcophagi. A representation that had at once inspired Raphael to imitate it and provoked him to transform it; the new, widely circulated composition contained an element that Warburg considered to be the spiritualization of physical beauty: the naked figure of Minerva seen from the back. Manet knew Raimondi's engraving,

<sup>1</sup> Warburg sent one set of photographs to Hamburg and dedicated another to Gertrud Bing on her 37<sup>th</sup> birthday, on 7 June 1929.

<sup>2</sup> WIA, GC, A. Warburg to M. Warburg, 1 February 1929. Between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> of March he held four such demonstrations, see GS VII, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 423; WIA, GC, A. Warburg to F. Saxl, 1 April 1929.

<sup>4</sup> GS VII, p. 443.

<sup>5</sup> On 28 March he went to the Museo delle Terme di Diocleziano; on 7 April he traveled a second time to see the sarcophagus at Villa Doria Pamphili; and on 18 April he inspected the sarcophagus in the façade of the Villa Medici, see GS VII, pp. 426, 432, 439.

<sup>6</sup> WIA, GC, A. Warburg to F. Saxl, 17 April 1929.

but not its Dutch adaptation. In this respect, Manet's painting became for Warburg (in an explicit reference to Goethe's evolutionist theory) a «Zwischenkieferknochen», that is, the bone which apes and men share, and thus proof of a common origin. The Dutch landscape was in as much a missing link as the artist was the first one known to Warburg to omit any allusion to a heavenly sphere. He had thus transformed the composition from a sacred into a profane subject, turning the myth into a bucolic scene in which the demi-gods are merely watching a herd of cows.

Warburg did not just reconstruct this chain to highlight the transmission. First and foremost he stresses the cultural-historical phenomenon of a fundamental change in the meaning of motives. He believed he was able to show an «energetic inversion» of the meaning of the language of the bodies of the nymphs and river gods. Their gestures and their mimicry had presumably undergone a revolutionary transformation by which a religious scene of theophany was turned into a profane idyll – a picnic scene. First omitted by Raphael, the gestures of fear, which to Warburg were phobic reflexes, had been turned into gestures with no particular meaning; the formerly awe-struck, raised arms are now resting and the gaze of one of the nymphs reverts towards the beholder. After Raphael's aesthetical spiritualisation Manet had «inverted» the *pathos formulas* of fear into symbols of man's striving for light and unspoiled nature. On Panel 55 of the last known version of his *Bilderatlas*, Warburg thus focussed on the depiction of the *Judgement of Paris* together with the origin of idyllic landscape painting in order to highlight precisely these transformations from the fifteenth century to Manet (FIG. 14). Moreover, in addition to this chain of transmission and transformation of motives, Warburg observed another «energetic inversion». Moreover, in addition to this chain of transmission and transformation of motives, Warburg observed another «energetic inversion»: in late antiquity the Olympian figure of a reclining river god, Eridanus, had been transformed into the symbol of the star constellation called Eridanus, rising in company with the watery Pisces, ruled by Saturn who is also the ruler over the melancholic temperament. In this way, Warburg believed, Eridanus's seated pose with his chin propped on an elbow (as it was painted by Baldassarre Peruzzi in Agostino Chigi's birth horoscope in the Villa Farnesina) had influenced the iconography of melancholy.

\*

Warburg's text on Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, published here for the first time in English (WIA, III.116.4), is based on the passages he dictated to Gertrud Bing on 26 and 27 March 1929, with additions and revisions from April 1929. At least three different fragments can be differentiated (WIA, III.116.1. and 116.2.). Since Warburg's editors considered the sequence of fragments one of his most coherent texts relating to the *Bilderatlas*, they decided to include a polished version in a compilation of texts and panels

for Max Warburg's (Aby's younger brother's) 70<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1937 (WIA, III. 109.5.2). In 1941 the same editors were planning to publish a translation in one of the first volumes of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, following the publication of Warburg's lecture on the *Snake Ritual* in 1939. Their intention was to make Warburg's works known to a British audience. Henriette Frankfort was asked to translate the piece. Her translation was revised by Gertrud Bing and then given to Frances Yates for corrections without revealing who the author was. Yates found it difficult to comprehend the argument and was particularly confused about the various references to the three sarcophagi. For his part, Ernst Gombrich, at the time employed to edit Warburg's *Bilderatlas*, argued strongly against publishing the piece before Warburg's ideas and his method in general had been introduced to the anglophone world. This partially explains why this English translation has remained unpublished until now; yet it can be firmly maintained that Warburg's ideas and method have since that time been widely discussed by the international community of scholars. This historic translation should thus rightly be added to those works which are available in English.

### Abbreviations

K.B.W. Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg

WIA = Warburg Institute Archive

GC = General Correspondence

FC = Family Correspondence

GS I = A. WARBURG, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance (Gesammelte Schriften, 1)*, ed. by G. Bing, F. Rougemont, Leipzig-Berlin, Teubner, 1932.

GS II = A. WARBURG, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike. Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance, (Gesammelte Schriften, 11)*, ed. by G. Bing, F. Rougemont, Leipzig-Berlin, Teubner, 1932.

GS.II.1 = A. WARBURG, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne (Gesammelte Schriften, Studienausgabe, II.1)*, ed. by M. Warnke, C. Brink, Berlin, Akademie, 2000.

GS II.2 = A. WARBURG, *Bilderreihen und Ausstellungen (Gesammelte Schriften, Studienausgabe, II.2)*, ed. by U. Fleckner, I. Woldt, Berlin, Akademie, 2012.

GS VII = A. WARBURG, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg, mit Beiträgen von F. Saxl und G. Bing (Gesammelte Schriften, Studienausgabe, VII)*, ed. by K. Michels, C. Schoell-Glass, Berlin, Akademie, 2001.

MANET'S DÉJEUNER SUR L'HERBE  
PAGAN CONCEPTIONS OF ELEMENTAL DIVINITIES  
AND THEIR FORMATIVE FUNCTION  
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN ATTITUDE  
TOWARDS NATURE

ABY WARBURG

ART critics seeking to define in modern works the essential function of a tradition, both of form and content, could hardly face a more perplexing problem than that offered by Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* [FIG. 8].<sup>1</sup> For this work was created as a challenge, a banner borne in the sunward-turned escape from academic bonds,<sup>2</sup> and it would therefore seem a useless intellectual effort to trace a line of development through the ages and to link Arcadia,<sup>3</sup> Rousseau,<sup>4</sup> and Battignolles.<sup>5</sup> And yet it was Manet himself, who in his fight for the claims of natural vision, summoned Giorgione from the dead to help him prove that the grouping of dressed men and nude women in a landscape setting was not an act of revolutionary realism [FIG. 11].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Édouard Manet, *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1862-1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. The three main sitters can be identified as Manet's model Victorine Meurent, Manet's brother Gustave and his later brother-in-law Ferdinand Leenhoff.

<sup>2</sup> Due to its alleged indecency Manet's painting was refused by the Salon of 1863 and subsequently exhibited under the title of *Le Bain* at the first *Salon des Refusés*. Thanks to his break with the academic tradition the impressionist painters regarded Manet (who was trained at the academy, and refused to exhibit together with the impressionists) as an advocate of open-air painting and light-filled outdoors sceneries.

<sup>3</sup> The classical ideal of pastoralism.

<sup>4</sup> The political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) who had promoted man's uncivilised «état naturel».

<sup>5</sup> The former village Battignolles, suburbanised in 1860, was home to a group of artists around Manet.

<sup>6</sup> Giorgione's name refers to the famous painting of c. 1509 in the Louvre, known as *Concert champêtre*. Traditionally considered as a work by Giorgione, it is nowadays attributed to young Titian. According to his friend Antonin Proust, Manet's idea for the *Déjeuner* came when they were both watching bathers at Argenteuil. Being reminded of the *Concert champêtre*, Manet was allegedly determined to repeat the theme in clearer colour and with modern personnel, see A. PROUST, *Édouard Manet. Souvenirs*, Paris, Renouard, 1913, p. 43: «A la veille du jour où il peignit le *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, nous étendus sur la rive, regardant les yoles blanches sillonner la Seine et enlever leur note claire sur le bleu de l'eau foncée. Des femmes se baignaient. Manet avait l'œil fixé sur la chair de celles qui sortaient de l'eau. "Il paraît", me dit-il, "qu'il faut que je fasse un nu. Eh bien, je vais leur en faire un. Quand nous étions à l'atelier, j'ai copié les femmes de Giorgione, les femmes avec les musiciens. Il est noir, ce tableau. Les



Why should Manet, we may ask, boldly advancing in search of light, have turned to the past to prove himself the faithful steward of tradition? His own achievement bears witness to the fact that only those who share a cultural inheritance can create a new style to express new values, and that the dynamic influence of this style is due not to the destruction of old forms but to their subtle transformation.

For the spiritual constraint of tradition may seem an intolerable burden to mediocre talent, but to genius the very struggle becomes a mysterious act of Antaeian magic which renders his work irresistibly convincing. Manet spoke of Giorgione, but he called neither Raphael nor classical monuments to his aid when he fought the Philistines.

It has, however, been proved by Gustav Pauli that Manet's *al fresco* party, apparently grouped with easy nonchalance, so strikingly resembles in outline certain Italian works of classical style that it is possible to demonstrate, with an exactness rare in the history of art, the existence of both intermediate and classical prototypes [FIG. 8].<sup>1</sup> Raphael made a drawing of the judgment of Paris from the relief of an antique sarcophagus which can still be seen built into the walls of the Villa Medici in Rome [FIG. 1]; and there exists an engraving by Marc Antonio Raimondi which depicts at the right hand bottom corner three recumbent earthbound naked demi-gods in attitude that prefigure the movements of the group on the lawn [FIGS 7, 8].

The differences in gesture and facial expression, though apparently slight, actually imply a spiritual change in the experience of the human subjects shown: the awe-struck gestures of elemental divinities in fear of lightning have come by way of the Italian engraving to express the poise of free human beings at ease in the sun-lit world. Pauli describes the figures on the engraving as «naked and beautiful, with nothing to say to one another».<sup>2</sup> This seems to characterise, charmingly yet incisively, the prevailing atmosphere of the group. Existence was less carefree for its pagan forebears.

On the engraving by Marc Antonio the figures form only a part – the right wing – of the scene; they are semi-divine onlookers privileged to observe the judge as he awards the apple in the fateful contest [FIG. 7]. Now it has long been known that we owe this impressive fragment of pagan mythol-

fonds ont repoussé. Je veux refaire cela et le faire dans la transparence de l'atmosphère, avec des personnes comme celles que nous voyons là-bas". Warburg purchased Proust's memoir in Rome, see WIA, GC, Fratelli Treves to A. Warburg, 30 January 1929.

<sup>1</sup> G. PAULI, *Raffael und Manet*, «Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft», 1, 1908, pp. 53-55: «[D]iese Komposition ist in der Tat klassischen Ursprungs und geht geradewegs auf eine Zeichnung Raffaels zurück, die Marc Anton gestochen hat – und hinterdrein Marco Dente noch ein zweites Mal».

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55: «[...] nackt und schön und haben sich nichts zu sagen».

ogy to two antique sarcophagi which exist to this day [FIGS 1-4].<sup>1</sup> Set high up to form a long strip of relief, the sides of stone sarcophagi were built into the walls of the spacious garden front of the Villa Medici. Such monuments were at this time distributed over the whole of Rome even to the churches, and were in the Early Renaissance the main vehicles by which pagan divinities were bodily rescued for posterity. One of them is the marble sarcophagus which provided the main motifs for the Italian engraving [FIG. 1].<sup>2</sup> The other, made equally inaccessible for research by the pride of ownership, was built into the façade of the Casino Doria Pamphili [FIG. 3]. We know that in Raphael's archeologically minded time it formed part of the collection of Ulysse Aldrovandi.<sup>3</sup>

The two sarcophagi differ in the treatment of the legend, for the relief in the Villa Medici gives two scenes as prologue to the Trojan drama [FIGS 1, 2]; the judgement of Paris left, and on the right the return of Venus to Olympus, while the Pamphili relief only renders the judgement of the shepherd on Mount Ida, and the three goddesses hardly take up more space than the three water nymphs on the left [FIGS 3, 4] whose elaborate physical beauty evidently tempted the engraver to emphasise it in his picture, although he otherwise followed the Medici sarcophagus very closely [FIG. 7]. There is only one highly significant change: the naked hero with his shield is omitted, as is also the ascension of Venus who, accompanied by a Victory, returns to Olympus.

Another engraver, Bonasone, did actually render the myth with as much detail as the sarcophagus of the Villa Medici, and here we also find the central motif, omitted by Marc Antonio, the ascension of Venus [FIG. 9]. But both engravers insist on depicting the rulers of the angry radiant world of light, Jupiter enthroned as God of Lightning, the very sky his footstool, and Sol's tempestuous epiphany in the rhythm of night and day. The decisive change in the engravers' rendering, however, is only revealed by a minute comparison of the gestures of the semi-divine witnesses. In Bonasone's work the chthonic gods are symbolised by four figures: Tellus, the goddess of the earth, appears enthroned, near her are lying three demi-gods in earth-bound postures, the movement of whose half-raised torsos betrays their emotion in perceiving the gods in the sky. This scene is rendered differently

<sup>1</sup> Raphael's composition combines elements of both late Roman Paris-sarcophagi known in the fifteenth century, one later immured in the façade of the Villa Medici, the other later immured in the façade of the Villa Pamphili.

<sup>2</sup> The Villa Medici-sarcophagus.

<sup>3</sup> Warburg's mistake: Aldrovandi lists this sarcophagus among the antiquities he saw in the palace of Girolamo Frangipani, see U. ALDROVANDI, *Delle statue antiche per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, et case particolari si veggono*, in L. MAURO, *Le antichità del la città di Roma brevissimamente raccolte a chiunque ha scritto, o antico o moderno*, Venedig, 1556, p. 284.

in Marc Antonio's engraving which also varies its antique prototype [FIG. 7]. Tellus is omitted, and the nymph who in the pagan work lifts her head ecstatically towards the miracle on high and greets it with a gesture of adoration, here turns her head from the scene and faces the world.

If one considers under this aspect the lesser artistic achievement of Bonasone, one is bound to admit that he has rendered more faithfully the religious significance of the relief, as we may interpret it from pagan funerary art. For the picture of the ascension surely was that symbolic scroll, embodying the hope of resurrection, which those who stayed behind gave to the dead in his marble coffin.

From Marc Antonio's engraving, however, it seems as if a straight path lies open, which must finally lead towards man's fearless surrender to the primordial goodness and beauty of nature. True, in the Italian copies the theophany of the rulers of Celestial Light has been maintained, and the aesthetically convincing torpor of the recumbent earth-bound figures is enhanced by their gestures, born of ritual Fear. Doomed to remain on riverbanks and mountains they raise themselves, whether in awe or longing, to spheres of light never to be their own. Their eyes, completely absorbed by the fearful spectacle of the divine epiphany, speak of nostalgia and the burden of still-corporal existence – the fate of the non-Olympians.

If we now compare Manet's three figures with the sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> and the engraving of Marc Antonio, the motif which links them with the latter is the nymph's head turned outward [FIGS 1, 8]. It is not only that the loss of the miracle of the ascension renders her spontaneous gesture of adoration superfluous; she now gazes at an imaginary spectator, who is to be looked for on earth and not in heaven.

In Manet's triple harmony of recumbent postures this influence of the spectator (in the sense of the Italian engraving) is more dominant still: also the man, by the side of the French nymph, now firmly holds in his gaze the outer world.

There is yet another figure on the engraving by Marc Antonio which reveals a change of attitude towards the mythical motif: the nude woman seen from behind, in the act of flinging her garment over her head [FIG. 7]. On the sarcophagus this motif does not occur; it may have been transferred from an antique statue to the figure here identified as Minerva by the shield and plumed helmet which lie beside her on the ground. On the sarcophagus she appeared as the offended daughter of Zeus, rushing upwards in full armour like an angry bird [FIGS 1, 2].

This pastoral idyll with its innocent joy in the rendering of bodily beauty appears a new motif in art which defies any attempt to interpret it in terms

<sup>1</sup> The Villa Medici-sarcophagus.

of dramatic tension. The representation of Minerva typifies that happy Olympian detachment in the artist which can conceive the human body as a reflection of divinity, no longer as a prey to incalculable daemonic wrath. It is just this tendency (which originated from Raphael and his archeologising school) to exile the gods to the realms of ideal plastic beauty which has had the disastrous consequence to our understanding of art history, of inclining us to believe that the High Renaissance considered pagan gods no longer as fateful powers but as mere out-of-date superstitions. The astrological-daemonic function of pagan deities should, however, be considered not only as older and more essential but as outlasting the period in which they were aesthetically spiritualised. Thus we still find that on the ceiling of the Galatea chamber in the Villa Farnesina the apparently idyllic groups of divine figures are congregated powers of destiny, symbols of the constellations at the birth of Agostino Chigi.<sup>1</sup> In Italy the desire for harmony produced in the circle of this same Agostino Chigi, who knew the fear of heavenly bodies, a work of art which we might call a reconciliation between God the father and Jupiter Capitolinus.<sup>2</sup> God takes over the daemons of fate into the service of Christian predestination by assigning an angel to each planet.<sup>3</sup>

A welcome confirmation of our theory that the narcissism of man, as revealed in his images, can be made a stylistic criterion is found on the third sarcophagus [FIG. 5].<sup>4</sup> This seems at first to contradict our statement that the outward turning of the nymph's head is unclassical. But here archaeology comes to the aid of historical psychology, for this particular figure has been proved a fake since the days of Braun and Jahn and was later removed from its context [FIG. 6].<sup>5</sup> That this restoration never gave the slightest offence to art historians for centuries demonstrates the often-ignored fact that the selective power of a community is dominated in all matters of art by

<sup>1</sup> The astrological ceiling fresco in the garden hall (*Sala di Galatea*) of Agostino Chigi's suburban villa (Villa Farnesina) was executed in 1510-1511 by Baldassare Peruzzi. Warburg had argued convincingly that the depicted constellation represents Chigi's birth horoscope, a hypothesis which was later confirmed, see GS II, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> The cult statue in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Roman Capitol.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to the mosaic decorating the dome of Agostino Chigi's funeral chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, designed by Raphael and executed in 1516 by Luigi della Pace. The central figure of God the father is surrounded by angels and the seven planetary deities. Cf. GS II, p. 511.

<sup>4</sup> This «third sarcophagus» is indeed the fragment of a Roman relief from cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi's collection.

<sup>5</sup> The archaeologist Emil Braun (1809-1856) and the classical philologist and archaeologist Otto Jahn (1813-1869) were both active in Rome in the 1830s. See E. BRAUN, *Il giudizio di Paride nella Villa Ludovisi*, «Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica», XIII, 1841, pp. 84-90: 89-90; O. JAHN, «Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig», II, 1849, p. 55s. For the reconstruction of the composition see C. ROBERT, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, II, Berlin, 1890, pl. 4, fig. 10.

emotional factors of attraction and repulsion which seem to alternate in rhythmic succession. The recognition of these phases might be the task of a new method of art history.

Between the Judgement of Paris on the pagan sarcophagus and Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* a fundamental change has occurred in the conception of causality in nature. The completely impersonal character of immanent causality in natural events has chased from the sky the wrangling council of divinities with all their human foibles. The council of seven planets, Rulers of Fate, seems as virulent as ever in the unbroken tradition of astrology but the great Olympian gods were no longer worshipped once they had been archaeologically sterilised.

The same happy detachment which could produce the Minerva figure found powerful expression in the searching analysis of minds like that of Leonardo which conceived the human body and human existence itself as a microcosm and joyfully discovered its inherent dynamic laws. The soil from which they sprang was the aesthetic culture of the Renaissance and its quest for beauty and harmony within the scope of the phenomenal world. And the same energy with which they sought to conquer chaos through enlightenment pervaded the experiments of the mathematicians. For starting from a microcosmically predestined human world the new mathematical cosmology discovered the latent dynamic laws of the microcosm.

Among the mass of irrelevant Italian works of art there is one which the art critic with an eye for evolution may regard as a missing link. Among the wall decorations of the Ethnological Museum of the Villa d'Este<sup>1</sup> one sees a Judgement of Paris of about 1600, a blend of the antique scene with Dutch landscape [FIG. 10]. The engraving of Marc Antonio determines every detail of the figures but the landscape is typically Dutch and reminiscent of <Jan Botz's sceneries>. The three river gods are no longer under the spell of terrific happenings in the sky. The nymph may well look away from the scene for the male divinities are merely absorbed by a commonplace spectacle: A small company of travellers attempts to cross the river which two cows standing in the water prove to be reassuringly shallow. There is no reason here to presuppose alarming elemental occurrences caused by the will of powerful daemons. The homely-looking Dutch cow on the mountain top to the left can hardly have a spiritual significance since on the sarcophagus a far more imposing specimen merely represented the herd of Paris. However this may be, the nostalgia for nature, corollary of a humanity caught in the grip of society, now claims the fulfilment of its rights. Manet has read his Rousseau!

<sup>1</sup> Museo di Etnografia italiana, Villa d'Este, Tivoli.



FIG. 1. Front relief of a Roman sarcophagus depicting *The Judgement of Paris* (with sixteenth-century additions), marble, c. 200 AD, 90 × 230 cm, immured in the garden façade of the casino of the Villa Medici, Rome.



FIG. 2. Codex Coburgensis, f. 58, sketch of the Roman sarcophagus depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, 1550-1555, Veste Coburg.



FIG. 3. Front relief of a Roman sarcophagus depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, marble 150-175 AD, 60 × 210 cm, immured in the north-façade of the casino Belrespiro of the Villa Doria-Pamphili, Rome.



FIG. 4. Codex Coburgensis, f. 59, sketch of the Roman relief depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, 1550-1555, Veste Coburg.



FIG. 5. Fragment of a Roman relief, possibly part of a sarcophagus, depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, marble, c. 130-140 AD, 123 × 227 cm, Museo Nazionale Romano.



FIG. 6. Drawing after the reconstructed fragment of a Roman relief depicting *The Judgement of Paris*, formerly in the collection of cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (after *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, ed. by C. Robert, II, Berlin, 1890, p. 17).

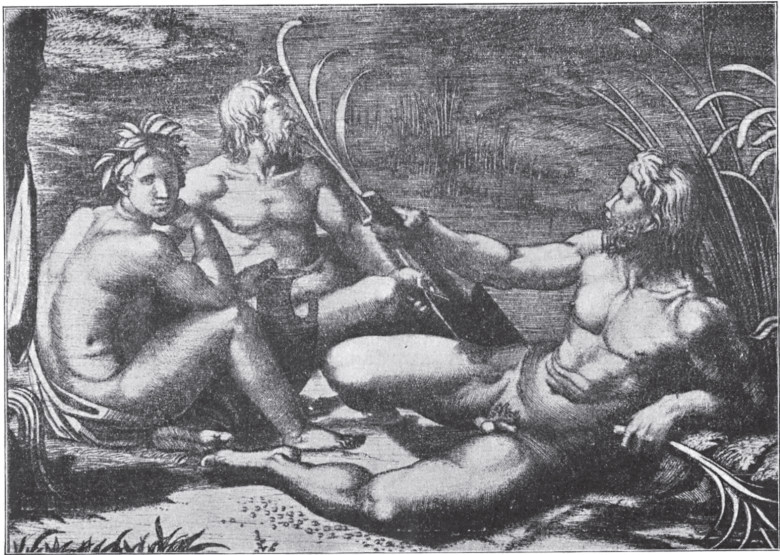




FIG. 7. MARCANTONIO RAIMONDI after RAPHAEL, *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1517-1520, engraving, 44.3 × 29 cm.



MANET: *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* □ Paris, Slg. Moreau-Nélaton



RAFFAEL: *Drei Flußgottheiten* □ Ausschnitt aus dem Kupferstiche Marc Antons B. 245

FIG. 8. ÉDOUARD MANET, *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1862-1863, Oil on canvas, 81 × 101 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris and detail of fig. 7 (after G. PAULI, *Raffaël und Manet*, «Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft», 1, 1908, p. 54).



FIG. 9. GIULIO BONASONE, *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1550-1560, engraving, 45.9 × 30.4 cm.



FIG. 10. Seventeenth-century Dutch Master, *The Judgement of Paris*, c. 1650, formerly Villa d'Este, Tivoli.



FIG. 11. TITIAN, *Il concerto campestre*, c. 1509, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



FIG. 12. ABY WARBURG, *Eridanus to Manet*, third panel of a *Bilderreihe* of five panels, Rome, 2 May 1929 (WIA.III.105.2), ©The Warburg Institute.



FIG. 13. Detail of FIG. 12, ©The Warburg Institute.



FIG. 14. ABY WARBURG, *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, Panel 55, October 1929  
©The Warburg Institute.

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FABRIZIO SERRA EDITORE, PISA · ROMA.  
STAMPATO E RILEGATO NELLA  
TIPOGRAFIA DI AGNANO, AGNANO PISANO (PISA).

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*Dicembre 2014*

(CZ 2 - FG 3)



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