

BABYLON AS INSPIRATION:
SEMIRAMIS' ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PICTURES

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MAARTEN VAN HEEMSKERCK'S BABYLON

A drawing made by the Dutch artist Maarten van Heemskerck in 1570 is among the most suggestive reconstructions ever made of Babylon (fig. 1). On the hill in the foreground appears the legendary Queen Semiramis, first mentioned by Herodotus, as an Amazon on a lion hunt.¹ According to Diodorus, she had Babylon built with the aid of two million men.² She had a tomb built for herself that is reconstructed here in the form of the monument towering over the gate on the right.³ Herodotus connected this monument with Queen Nitokris,⁴ but in the inscription in idiosyncratic Latin on the base Heemskerck defined it as the »tomb of Semiramis« (»Sipylgrum Semiranûs«).⁵ The inscription on the tomb and the scene of the hunting queen indicate that here Heemskerck offers a panorama, from a slightly raised position, of the city she constructed.

As a compositional opposite pole to the tomb, to the left in the half of the city on the other side of the Euphrates, rises the building of the Hanging Gardens as one of the wonders of the world created by Semiramis.⁶ The right half of the city, by contrast, is dominated by the soaring tower. Above a square complex of buildings, an octagonal shaft modulates to the tower's spiral form, which ends at a dizzying height in an overhanging cupola crowned with a lantern. In contrast to the vertical orientation of the tower, to the right in front of the queen lies a complex consisting of three circular enclosures that extend into the river; in their middle rises a castle-like construction. This ensemble is repeated in front of the mountain range in the background, from where the city wall moves to the right through the terrain, leading in a broad, concealed arc in the foreground through the tomb to the outer ring of the central construction. The two buildings secure the city walls and are in turn protected by three concentric rings. Heemskerck places the closer of these two complexes in the center of the picture's middle ground.

The image of Babylon has been dominated for ages by Nimrod's tower, so that the intactness of the skyscraper must surprise the viewer as much as the

focus on the central building surrounded by three wall rings. Both motifs brought the expectations directly associated with Babylon into confusion. In addition, the title »BABYLONIS MURI« at the upper left in the margin of the picture, which, with the walls of this metropolis, alludes to another wonder of the ancient world, seemed not quite appropriate.⁷ These city walls are quite apparently recognizable only in the hints in the background and in the part that leads in the lower right from the tomb to the ringed building. Instead, the drawing is dominated by this building in the central axis of the picture and by the huge tower. The two constructions provide the key to understanding this picture of a magnificent Babylon whose majesty is still intact, which van Heemskerck connected with Queen Semiramis.

THE REHABILITATION OF THE TOWER OF BABEL

Most surprising is that the tower is not presented as a ruin or unfinished construction, but as a complete building. The reason for this is that here Heemskerck does not reconstruct Nimrod's Tower of Babel, which God intervened to destroy, but the Temple of Zeus-Belus that Semiramis completed.⁸ But this liberated the tower, which seems like a monumentalization of a Gothic pinnacle, from the role that the Tower of Babel had played in the Old Testament, namely as an emblem of blasphemy.⁹ It does not appear as a warning against hubris, but as a monument to outstanding capability.

Semiramis' tower has nothing in common with Nimrod's Tower of Babel, but the fame of the Old Testament construction thrusts onto every viewer the impression that Heemskerck has actually completed the latter's ruin in his imagination. But with this, Heemskerck's Tower of Semiramis contributed to the 16th-century revision that turned Nimrod's symbol of overweening pride into a sign of incitement. By conceptually superimposing a daring power of construction and knowledge upon the Old Testament's Tower of Babel, Heemskerck's vision rehabilitated the latter. Heemskerck's spiral form and the clock mounted on the front of the octagon recall the first observatories, with which the Babylonians advanced the exploration and systematisation of time.¹⁰ As a well turned-out Tower of Babel, Heemskerck's reconstruction of Semiramis' huge tower could thus become a model for the astronomical observatory of Copenhagen and for Francesco Borromini's university church St. Ivo alla Sapienza in Rome.¹¹

1 *Maarten van Heemskerck: Babylonis muri (The Walls of Babylon), 1570, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques*

THE INVENTION OF THE PICTURE ENCYCLOPEDIA

The aura of the Tower of Semiramis adds to the impressiveness of the facility in the front middle ground, which lies in the sun and consists primarily of three ring walls. Diodorus says that this building is one of the two buildings on the corners of the two bridges crossing the Euphrates, which protected them.¹² But Heemskerck has reinterpreted them as bulwarks of the city wall protruding into the river, because positioning them at the sides of the bridge would have blocked the view of the city (fig. 2). Access to them is from the water. The two huge figures flanking the gate apparently depict the two bronze statues of Semiramis and her husband that Diodorus located on the external wall of the second bridge palace.¹³ But there is no information on the two female herms that each hold a sphere and together frame the gate of the second ring.

Special and pioneering about Semiramis' ensemble is not these monumental bronzes, but the recognisable picture cycles on the external surface of the wall.¹⁴ They reflect the double function of the wall, as described by Diodorus: the walls serve not only as protection, but also as the ground for huge paintings. According to Diodorus, figures of wild animals were incised into the still warm bricks of the second ring »and by means of the ingenious use of paints, these pictures reproduced the true appearance of the animals«. ¹⁵ The third, central ring and the tower rising within it was to complete this painted natural science lesson in a narrative manner: »Animals of every kind, ingeniously executed by the use of paints and by the realistic imitation of various types; and the entirety was made in order to depict a hunt, complete in every detail, with every kind of wild animal.«¹⁶

Heemskerck has given the inner building more the appearance of a late medieval castle than of an ancient building, so the straight surfaces mentioned by Diodorus to show the paintings of wild animals are lacking here.¹⁷ In compensation, Heemskerck has extended the principle of mural painting to the external wall, in accordance with the outfitting of the second palace, so as to depict the turmoil of the hunt from close proximity, »and on it were also portrayed scenes both of battle and hunts of every kind, which filled those who saw them with diverse feelings of joy«. ¹⁸ By visualising these hunts both on the outermost and on the innermost ring, Heemskerck could use the second

ring of wall to show productive livestock like a camel or an elephant in their domestic peacefulness. This increased once more the encyclopedic character of this world of images.

Presumably inspired by the ancient world's animal cycles, which were still visible and public in Rome, for example as displayed by Nero's Domus Aurea, Heemskerck's implementation of Diodorus' report imagined a first publicly painted encyclopedia of the animal kingdom in a time when Conrad Gessner's »*Historia animalium*« and other publications tried to visualise the universe of the known species in book form.¹⁹ Heemskerck's execution of Diodorus' report makes Babylon into the site of origin for an ingathering of natural research and knowledge dissemination by means of public picture cycles.

PHILIPS GALLE'S ENGRAVED VERSION

Heemskerck's vision would have remained a wonderful footnote in the history of natural-scientific monumental painting if Philips Galle had not made an engraving from his drawing, thereby transmitting it to contemporaries and posterity in reproduced form (fig. 3).²⁰ The laterally reversed engraving, extremely precise in its details, bears the label at the bottom left »M[aerten van Heemskerck] Inventor/P[hilips] Galle fecit« and with the date »1572« conspicuously incised in the plaque on the tomb. Above this date, the inscription »Sepulchrum Semiramidis« corrects the somewhat adventurous Latin of Heemskerck's label. In the picture legend, as well, Galle noted that Semiramis had the city walls of Babylon erected in order to extend the city with a hundred towers and »a noble tomb for herself«: »sibi nobile bvstvm«. Finally, Galle directed attention to the city walls with the inscription beside the tower spiral »BABYLONIS MVRI«.

In Galle's version, the lines in the engraving bring out the wall pictures even more clearly than was possible in Heemskerck's fine pen and ink drawing. With impressive faithfulness, the engraver recognised, interpreted, and underscored the individual scenes, so that the bull leaping forward and the hunter riding behind the lion's head on the outermost ring are as clearly recognisable as the dromedary and the elephant striding toward the outer right on the second ring, to the left of the gate. The inner ring's energetic hunt on foot and on horseback can also be clearly made out. The eye wanders in astonishment across the scenes of the hunt and of the domesticated dealings with wild animals, which unfold a natural history lesson as a narrative pictorial sequence.

3 *Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck: Babylonis muri, 1572, Vienna, Albertina*

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER'S WALL PICTURES

Heemskerck's move forward of taking public educational pictures as a theme through a reconstruction of Semiramis' palace facility was repeated in the form of the large-format engraving in Athanasius Kircher's »Turris Babel« (fig. 4).²¹ This book, published in 1679, also developed a rehabilitation of the Tower of Babel's art-technological achievement, despite all criticism of the tower's hubris. For Kircher, this reevaluation was justified because the Jesuits' reconciliation of the Church with science seemed to have solved all theological as well as technological problems raised by the Tower of Babel.²²

That made it less ticklish for him to imagine a bird's-eye view of Semiramis' palace directly on the Euphrates, which permitted an unblocked view of the wall rings. Faithful to Kircher's thesis that the early buildings of Babylon had already tried out all the styles of later architectural history, the Flemish artist Liévin Cruyl made the palace within the innermost ring more sumptuous and

4 Coenraet Decker
after Liévin Cruyl
(attributed): *Arx Baby-
lonica Semiramide*, in:
*Athanasius Kircher:
Turris Babel, Amster-
dam 1669*, p. 59

imaginative than Heemskerck did.²³ In the area of the front walls, Cruyl used his ability to tip the perspective forward so as to reveal the individual rings.²⁴

Another difference from Heemskerck is that, in accordance with Diodorus, Cruyl began the depictions on the second ring. Here he makes impressively visible, for example, how two bucks leaping at each other to the right of the door behave in their natural ambience. The ground, the underbrush, and the tree in the background, as well as the clouds in the sky, create a complete

illusion of the environment. The hunting scenes reported by Diodorus are on the third, innermost wall, where to the left of the gate an archer and to the right a rider springing forward can be seen. The individual motifs cannot be identified in all their detail, due to the foreshortening of the wall segment, but it is very clear that the two inner ring walls are covered with depictions of the entire animal kingdom.

TOMMASO CAMPANELLA'S PICTURE CYCLES

Between Heemskerck's and Kircher's reconstructions of Semiramis' educational pictures stands Tommaso Campanella's »Civitas solis« of 1602 whose six city walls bring together the examples of Babylon's two bridge palaces as the design principle for the city he dreamed up.²⁵ At the same time Campanella's »Sun State« esteemed the encyclopedic approach connected with the institution of the art chamber.²⁶

He planned an agency for science and education that would have turned each individual city ring into a Babylonian poster surface of knowledge and research. The head of this ministry, said Campanella, »had all the surrounding walls and forward redoubts painted inside and outside with all the sciences«. ²⁷ The pictorial cycles of mathematics and geography, of ethnology and the various alphabets, then minerals, metals, liquids and meteorological phenomena, the plants of the earth and the animals of all three living elements, and finally scientific instruments and the portraits of discoverers and inventors were to follow, from the inside to the outside.²⁸

THE POSSIBILITIES OF ARCHITECTURE

This publicly accessible pictorial encyclopedia remained a great vision because there were no walls anywhere on which a new edition of the walls of Babylon could have been implemented. No city possessed, along with an outer wall, also such inner rings as would have been suitable for this educational interplay between art and science. Only cemetery walls were suitable, for example those of the Dominican cloister in Bern, 100 meters of which Nikolaus Manuel Deutsch had used between 1516 and 1520 for his huge Dance of Death; but such walls remained reserved for paintings with religious themes.²⁹

What Campanella imagined was more oriented toward the diversity of individual paintings on buildings which had made particularly Italian cities appear like stone easels. »The old buildings are all painted«, we read about the palaces of Venice's Canal Grande at the end of the 15th century.³⁰ In the following centuries, too, the walls of buildings in Italy, but also in transalpine regions like Augsburg, were used for elaborate paintings,³¹ but their usually subdivided façades could not fulfill the precondition for Semiramis' walls, namely of providing smooth, expansive surfaces that could be covered with incrustations and paintings.

Only when the struggle against ornamentation began did architectural zones arise that could serve flat depictions. Since then, although not responding consciously to the walls of Babylon, advertising, political appropriation, and uncontrolled use have been in incessant conflict over the occupation of public pictorial surfaces. The conflict developed in particular between pictorial advertising and the pictorial cycles of socialist utopias, which sought to preserve the pictorial concept that went back to Semiramis. Not in a direct recourse, but through Campanella's mediation, this Babylonian principle emerged at least indirectly as one of the shaping forces of Modernism.

THE CITY CLEANSED OF ADVERTISING

The counter-model to the educational task of Semiramis' pictorial walls is advertising. Compelled to constantly draw the limited quantum of public attention to itself,³² pictorial advertising in particular has always had to activate the principle upon which the first concept of public pictures was based. One of the reasons for the flat walls of modern urban architecture was the striving to acquire zones for the pictorial and script theatre of this kind of public pictorial address. The fight over the ornament was also a conflict over the façade as surface, whose illustration and inscription was able to produce profit.

An especially striking example in Berlin was offered by the building at Potsdamer Straße 1A, which faced Potsdamer Platz. In 1912, its Neo-Renaissance façade was covered with awnings and slender strips of advertising. Only on the roof did the space of the air, with its »Leibniz Cakes« inscription, display a more expansive possibility to advertise (fig. 5). After Hermann Muthesius remodeled it in 1924, the same building became a »prototype« of the so-called advertising façade, which allotted to advertising larger and better organized segments of

5 *Waldemar Titzenthaler: Building at Potsdamer Straße 1a, 1912*

6 *Building at Potsdamer Straße 1a, 1925*

7 *Advertisement on the southern façade of the Charité hospital, Berlin 2008*

architecture (fig. 6). The white stripes advertised their own suitability as advertising surfaces.³³

Today it is construction scaffolding that offers itself to be occupied by advertising (fig. 7). Semiramis' walls' claim to shape the urban space has been transferred to the streams of money that can be won from the producers of commodities as tribute for being seen.

In September 2006, São Paulo became the first big city to decide to ban this kind of public picture. The result was and is empty wall surfaces that seem more dirty than liberated. In their emptiness, they provide no solution to the problem that inspired them (fig. 8).

8 Building cleansed of advertising, São Paulo 2007

MURALS OF SOCIALISM

Socialist educational policy had an alternative in mind that did not exhaust itself in negation. In the tradition of Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' esteem for Campanella, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin suggested in 1918 that pictorial arts should be employed after the model of the »Civitas solis«. He was impressed by the idea that »frescos are painted [on the walls of this] socialistic fantasy city that serve youth as visual instruction in natural science and history, that awaken the feeling of citizenship, in a word: that are a component of the education of the growing generation. It seems to me to be anything but naïve, and it can now be adopted and realized by us with certain adjustments.«³⁴

In a special way, the Mexican school of »Muralism« was able to make a start at fulfilling the precept of systematically using exterior walls as a medium for painting.³⁵ In 1934, Siqueiros wrote a manifesto for a technical and iconographic exterior space painting that aimed to increase knowledge, education, and political awareness and to defy advertising. »We have to advocate a »mural painting in exterior space«, public painting, on the street, in the open air, on the walls of great buildings, instead of the advertising billboards one currently sees there.«³⁶ But the implementation was restricted mostly to pedagogical buildings, for example

9 *David Alfaro Siqueiros: El pueblo a la universidad, la universidad al pueblo, 1952–56, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Chancellor's building 2007*

10 *Haus des Lehrers (House of the Teacher) facing Alexanderplatz, Berlin 2007*

Siqueiros' relief »The People to the University. The University to the People«, which he painted in colour between 1952 and 1956 (fig. 9).³⁷

These attempts to pictorially adorn urban wall surfaces in utopian variants extended as far as the frescos, mosaics, and stained glass of Socialist Realism, which determined the appearance of all kinds of public buildings, from ministries to schools and theatres. The façades of the House of the Teacher facing Berlin's Alexanderplatz are examples preserved to testify to this kind of monumental painting (fig. 10).³⁸

ANTI-PROPAGANDA AND STREET ART AS SEMIRAMISIAN PICTORIAL ART

With some exceptions left as examples, these friezes of images were removed. In Warsaw, however, the photographers' association Dementi Independent Photo Agency used the same principle to renew the memory of the conditions concealed behind the pictures. From August 30 to September 30, 2007, huge photographs were mounted on the façades of buildings on City Hall Square in the center of Warsaw (fig. 11). With their inscriptions of year dates, the

11 *Photo action by the Dementi Agency on City Hall Square, Warsaw 2007*

12 *Boundary wall 75, at Bethaniendamm, Berlin 1987*

pictures seemed a counter-mirror to everyday life in the present. The photo labeled »1981« showed a line standing in front of a bread store, while the photograph marked »1988« sought to bring to mind how a happening critical of the government was put down in February 1988.³⁹

Another alternative to the mural painting of socialist societies was and is Street Art, with its huge noncommercial pictures on the walls of buildings or on moving surfaces like trains – an art devoted to pure pleasure in painting and in spreading subversive messages.⁴⁰ This direction includes, on the one hand, an anarchic, often destructive pictorial rage and, on the other, a communally developed and legally secured monumental painting, like Philadelphia's Mural Arts Program as an »anti-graffiti network«.⁴¹

As Street Art, the principle embodied in Semiramis' walls has indeed been realized a single time in her monumental dimensions. Initially on the Western side and since the end of 1989 also on the Eastern side, the huge painting surface of the Berlin Wall provided the opportunity to transform an architecture of separation into an agency of subversive education by means of large-format picture cycles (fig. 12).⁴²

THE WALLS OF BABYLON

Babylon is generally associated with the linguistic confusion described in the Old Testament. The pictorial walls of Semiramis are an opposite pole with which the public reflection of knowledge and research appeared in a medium that, because it did not depend on language, kept alive the memory of the common basis of all communication in things and their representations. Working in a period dominated by iconoclasm in the literal sense, Heemskerck had good reason to imagine his vision of an ancient pictorial encyclopedia.⁴³ When he used his depiction of Babylon to underscore that this mythical city could not be understood without the principle of a pictorial world beyond language, as developed by Semiramis, this conflict over media may have played the decisive role.

By promising to heal the wounds of the confusion of languages by providing universal images, Babylon authenticated their inviolable status. The *BABYLONIS MVRI* noted in the title of Galle's engraving refers not only to the hardly visible walls surrounding the city, but also to the pictorial encyclopedic rings of the building depicted in the foreground: the true Walls of Babylon.

NOTES

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- 1 Herodotus: *Historien*, tr. into German by August Horneffer, ed. by Hans-Wilhelm Haussig, Stuttgart 1971, p. 83 (*Histories apodexis I*, 184). The scene takes up Diodorus' report, according to which Semiramis was portrayed as a leopard huntress, while her husband was depicted as a lion hunter; Diodorus of Sicily in *Twelve Volumes*, ed. by Charles Henry Oldfather, 12 vols., Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1933–67, vol. 1, 1933, p. 378 (*Bibliothèque historique II*, viii, 6). By associating Semiramis with the king of beasts, however, Heemskerck underscores her superior rank.
- 2 Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 370 (*Bibliothèque historique II*, vii, 2); cf. Sabine Comptoi: *Die Darstellung der Semiramis bei Diodorus Siculus*, in: *Geschlechterrollen und Frauenbild in der Perspektive antiker Autoren*, ed. by Robert Rollinger, Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck 2000, pp. 223–244.
- 3 Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 378 (*Bibliothèque historique II*, viii, 8).
- 4 Herodotus (note 1), p. 85 (*Histories apodexis I*, 187).
- 5 Heemskerck shows the statue of the naked queen holding a scepter and the head of an animal and flanked by two lions, as well as the obelisk towering behind her, which was also interpreted as the first pyramid of ancient times. It is possible that the iconography of the statue alludes to the Hera statue created by Semiramis, which Diodorus says held a scepter in its left hand and the head of a snake in its right; Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 382 (*Bibliothèque historique II*, ix, 6); on the composite character of the monument, see Maria Luisa Madonna: *>Septem Mundi miracula< come templi della virtù. Pirro Ligorio e l'interpretazione cinquecentesca delle meraviglie del mondo*, in: *Psicon 3* (1976), pp. 25–63; here p. 31.
- 6 *Die sieben Weltwunder*, ed. by Peter A. Clayton, Martin J. Price, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 56–80.
- 7 Lise Duclaux: *Dessins de Martin van Heemskerck*, in: *La revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 30* (1981), pp. 375–380; here p. 376. The numeral >3< at the upper left marks the picture as the third in the sequence; the picture was later shifted to the seventh position in Heemskerck's series of the wonders of the world; cf. Ilja M. Veldman: *The New Hollstein. Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700*, Maarten van Heemskerck, ed. by Ger Luijten, 2 vols, Roosendaal 1994, vol. 2, p. 192 f., nos. 513–520; cf. the second version, *ibid.* and Martin Stritt: *Die schöne Helena in den Romruinen. Überlegungen zu einem Gemälde Maarten van Heemskercks*, 2 vols., Frankfurt am Main/Basel 2004, vol. 2, fig. 37. In the oldest register of the paramount achievements of human construction art Antipatros of Sidon (c. 150 BC) listed the city walls in first place; *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 58, in: Clayton, Price 1990 (note 6), p. 23.
- 8 *Madonna 1976* (note 5), p. 31.
- 9 Gen. 11:1–11:9; on textual tradition and interpretation, cf. Alexander Wied: *Der Turmbau zu Babel*, in: *Der Turmbau zu Babel. Ursprung und Vielfalt von Sprache und Schrift*, ed. by Wilfried Seipel, exhibition catalogue Vienna/Graz, 3 vols., Vienna/Milan 2003, vol. 1: *Der babylonische Turm in der historischen Überlieferung, der Archäologie und Kunst*, pp. 59–85; here pp. 59–64.

- 10 Ulrike B. Wegener: Die Faszination des Maßlosen. Der Turmbau zu Babel von Pieter Bruegel bis Athanasius Kircher, Hildesheim et al. 1995, p. 109 f.
- 11 Johann Christian Klamt: Der Runde Turm in Kopenhagen als Kirchturm und Sternwarte. Eine bauikonologische Studie, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38 (1975), pp. 153–170; cf. in general Ansgar Stöcklein: Leitbilder der Technik. Biblische Tradition und technischer Fortschritt, Munich 1969, p. 105 f., and with numerous examples Wegener (note 10), pp. 73–128; on Schlottheim's ball track clock in Dresden mentioned there, see Horst Bredekamp: Der gebändigte Babelturm, in: Dresdener Kunstblätter 48 (2004), pp. 228–231.
- 12 Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 376 (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 3).
- 13 Ibid., p. 378 (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 7).
- 14 What follows expands earlier ideas: Horst Bredekamp: Die Fenster der Monade. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz' Theater der Natur und Kunst, Berlin 2004, pp. 165–168.
- 15 Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 376 (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 4 f.); cf. Wegener (note 10), p. 107.
- 16 Diodorus (note 1), vol. 1, p. 378 (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 6 f.).
- 17 Ibid. (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 6).
- 18 Ibid. (Bibliothek historike II, viii, 8).
- 19 Antonio Lafreri published three depictions of such cycles in 1547; see Birte Rubach: Ant. Lafreri Formis Romae. Der Verleger Antonio Lafreri und seine Druckgraphikproduktion, 2 vols., Ph.D. thesis Berlin 2008 (at press), vol. 2, cat. 341–343; on Gesner, see Brian W. Ogilvie: The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe, Chicago/London 2006, pp. 34–36; 236–240; cf. Angela Fischel: Die Entdeckung der Natur im Bild. Visuelle Aufzeichnung in der Naturphilosophie des 16. Jahrhunderts, Ph.D. thesis Berlin 2007 (at press).
- 20 Veldman 1994 (note 7), p. 193, no. 519/I; Seipel 2003 (note 9), p. 132, cat. 1.1.14, fig. on p. 136.
- 21 Wegener 1995 (note 10), p. 167.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 129–162.
- 23 Ibid., p. 167.
- 24 On this technique, see Barbara Jatta: Liévin Cruyl e la sua opera grafica. Un artista fiammingo nell'Italia del Seicento, Brussels 1992, pp. 15–23.
- 25 Helen Rosenau: The Ideal City, London/New York 1974, p. 78, assesses the ground plan of the Tower of Babel as a model.
- 26 Gerhard Wolf: Gestörte Kreise, in: Räume des Wissens. Repräsentation, Codierung, Spur, ed. by Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, Michael Hagner, Bettina Wahrig-Schmidt, Berlin 1997, pp. 39–62; here p. 40 f.
- 27 »E questo ha fatto pingere in tutte le muraglie, su li rivellini, dentro e fuori, tutte le sciente«; Tommaso Campanella: La Città del Sole, in: Scritti Scelti di Giordano Bruno e di Tommaso Campanella, ed. by Luigi Firpo, Turin 1968, pp. 405–464; here p. 412; Klaus J. Heinisch: Der utopische Staat, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1960, p. 120.
- 28 Campanella (note 27), p. 412–414; Heinisch 1960 (note 27), pp. 120–122.
- 29 Urs Martin Zahnd: Gesellschaftsbild und Gesellschaftskritik in Nikolaus Manuels »Berner Totentanz«, in: Zum sterben schön. Alter, Totentanz und Sterbekunst von 1500 bis heute, Aufsätze, ed. by Andrea von Hülsen-Esch, Hiltrud Westermann-Angershausen, Düsseldorf/Regensburg 2006, pp. 144–155.
- 30 Philippe de Commynes: 1494, in: Wolfgang Wolters: Architektur und Ornament. Venezianischer Bauschmuck der Renaissance, Munich 2000, p. 75.

- 31 Margarete Baur-Heinhold: *Bemalte Fassaden. Geschichte, Vorbild, Technik, Erneuerung*, Munich 1975; Marina Dmitrieva: *Italien in Sarmatien. Studien zum Kulturtransfer im östlichen Europa in der Zeit der Renaissance*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 161–186.
- 32 Gernot Böhme: *Die Wirklichkeit der Bilder und ihr Gebrauch*, in: *Journal of the Faculty of Letters. The University of Tokyo. Aesthetics* 31 (2006), pp. 1–12; here p. 9 f.
- 33 Brought to my attention by Georg Hiller, who examined this chapter of the *New Construction* in his dissertation.
- 34 Lenin, as quoted by Anatoli Lunatscharski, cited after Hans-Joachim Drengenberg: *Die sowjetische Politik auf dem Gebiet der bildenden Kunst von 1917 bis 1934*, in: *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 16 (1972), p. 186 f. (translated by the author); brought to my attention by Aljoscha Begrich; cf. also his master's thesis: *Der mexikanische Muralismus als Bilderziehung. Ein Vergleich der Konzepte von David Alfaro Siqueiros und Diego Rivera*, master's thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Berlin 2007, p. 60; *ibid.* on what follows.
- 35 Rita Eder: *Muralismo mexicano: modernidad e identidad cultural*, in: *Modernidade: Vanguardas Artísticas na América Latina*, ed. by Anna María de Moraes Belluzzo, São Paulo 1990, pp. 99–120.
- 36 David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Zu einer Veränderung der bildenden Künste*, in: *Kunsttheorie im 20. Jahrhundert. Künstlerschriften, Kunstkritik, Kunstphilosophie, Manifeste, Statements, Interviews*, ed. by Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, 2 vols., Ostfildern-Ruit 2003, vol. 1, pp. 516–518; here p. 517; cf. in general David Craven: *Art and Revolution in Latin America 1910–1990*, New Haven/London 2003.
- 37 Desmond Rochfort: *Mexican Muralists. Orozko, Rivera, Siqueiros*, London 1997, p. 205 f.; cf. Begrich 2007 (note 34), p. 56.
- 38 Walter Womacka (design): *Unser Leben*, frieze of glass, enamel, ceramic, and metal pieces on the Haus des Lehrers (House of the Teacher), Berlin, Alexanderplatz, 1964.
- 39 Niezależna Agencja Fotograficzna Dementi: *Dementi Independent Photo Agency 1982–1991*, exhibition catalogue Warsaw, p. 69.
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- 43 On this, see Horst Bredekamp: *Maarten van Heemskercks Bildersturmzyklen als Angriffe auf Rom*, in: *Bilder und Bildersturm im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Arbeitsgespräch der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Sept. 14–17, 1986*, ed. by Bob Scribner, Wiesbaden 1990 (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 46), pp. 203–247.

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