

collana  
engramm**am**nemosyne



**Giulia Zanon**

**MNEMOSYNE 46**  
**THE FLORENTINE NYMPH'S STEP**

©2024

edizioni**engramma**, venezia

*direttore editoriale*

damiano acciarino

*direttore della collana engrammamnemosyne*

giulia zanon

*progetto grafico*

anna ghiraldini

[www.engramma.org](http://www.engramma.org)

[edizioni@engramma.org](mailto:edizioni@engramma.org)

ISBN carta 979-12-55650-58-4

ISBN digitale 979-12-55650-59-1

L'editore dichiara di avere posto in essere le dovute attività di ricerca delle titolarità dei diritti sui contenuti qui pubblicati e di aver impegnato ogni ragionevole sforzo per tale finalità, come richiesto dalla prassi e dalle normative di settore.

## Contents

7	<b>Aby Warburg and Mnemosyne</b>
19	<b>The Florentine Nymph's Step. Reading of Panel 46</b>
21	Panel and captions
25	Reading of Panel 46
57	Assembly Strategy
69	The Images in Panel 46
117	Selected Writings by Warburg
127	<b>Bibliography and Index of Names</b>



**Aby Warburg  
and Mnemosyne**



Aby Warburg in a drawing by his wife Mary, 1925.

## Aby Warburg

Born into a prominent Jewish banking family in Hamburg, Aby Warburg (1866–1929) studied art history, archaeology, anthropology, philosophy and the history of religions at the University of Bonn. His first trip to Florence in 1888–1889 marked the beginning of a privileged relationship with Italian art and culture. He summed up his biography in a single sentence: ‘Jew by birth, Hamburger at heart, Florentine in spirit’.

From his earliest research, such as his 1893 essay on Botticelli’s *Primavera* and *The Birth of Venus*, Warburg proposed a groundbreaking method for studying images from the classical tradition. He mapped the constants of Western cultural memory—myths, figures, words and symbols—through an inquiry that illuminated the resonances between antiquity, the Renaissance and the present. This comprehensive research methodology redefined the chronological, geographical and material boundaries of *artworks* and challenged traditional hierarchies and disciplinary boundaries. It emphasised the comparison and interaction of iconographic and literary sources and the reconstruction of historical contexts. In contrast to purely aesthetic approaches to art history, Warburg taught us to analyse images using all the documentary and disciplinary tools available. For him, every work—whether a masterpiece or an everyday object—was a symptom of the resurfacing of latent memories from the vast thesaurus of classical images and texts. Artists reactivated these nuclei of memory, even across centuries, in response to the urgencies and desires of their time. The work of art is therefore always seen as a symptom and a signifier. It is not only the expression of an artist’s singular genius but also the trace and tangible evidence of the ‘afterlife’ of ancient forms and the clue to a specific cultural and historical climate.

Warburg’s research revolves around several key themes. First, the re-emergence and persistence of myths and images from classical antiquity and the revival of archaeological models as vehicles and amplifiers of expressive gestures; festivals and theatre as mediators between art and life; the transmission of the astrological tradition from Arab-Persian sources to Renaissance humanism and finally to the culture of Reformation Europe; the migration, circulation and reproduction of images between the Italian courts and those of Europe and vice versa; the adaptation and transformation of themes and images during their passage to the North.

The breadth and complexity of Warburg’s method is evident not only in his writings—which include a few essays published during his lifetime and numerous important notes that recorded his ongoing research—but also in two extraordinary projects: the creation of the Warburg Library in Hamburg, which moved from Germany to London in 1933, and the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, an image-based project dedicated to memory. Situated at the intersections of science and philosophy, archaeology and art history, and philology and anthropology, Warburg’s work resists categorisation



within a single academic or disciplinary framework. Nevertheless, his approach and methodology have been profoundly influential. They have inspired, if not always directly, modern research into the history and meaning of images, most notably iconology. The discipline pioneered by Warburg continues to be described in the phrasing of Giorgio Agamben as a ‘Nameless science’, reflecting its enduring openness and interdisciplinary nature: “psychohistorian”—a complex and evocative term, still open to exploration— is the definition Warburg proposes for himself.

### Mnemosyne Atlas

The Atlas dedicated to memory, the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, was Aby Warburg’s final project: a series of panels with pictorial collages visualising the mechanisms of transmission and tradition of themes and figures from antiquity—both Eastern and Greco-Roman—to modern times. Particular attention was paid to the formal revival of patterns of movement, gestures, postures and iconographic schemes.

*Mnemosyne* is the most original item in Warburg’s legacy and the culmination of his research. Conceived as a large-format publication with extensive explanatory texts and intended for a specific editorial publication, the project remained unfinished and unpublished after Warburg’s sudden death in the autumn of 1929. The conceptual ambition of the work was to assert the semantic autonomy of images: *Zum Bild das Wort*, ‘to the image the word’, was one of Warburg’s guiding principles. Reading the Atlas and deciphering the meaning of this pioneering and visionary project—a true ‘thinking machine’, per Carlo Ginzburg’s description—remains both an intellectually stimulating and challenging endeavour.

What remains of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* is the photographic reproduction of its final version, made during the transfer of the Warburg Library from Hamburg in 1933, together with the hundreds of photographs that originally comprised it. These materials are now in the Archive of the Warburg Institute in London.

The *Mnemosyne Pictorial Atlas*, in its final form, consists of 63 large-format panels. Each panel contains a montage of images: photographs of paintings, miniatures, engravings, book pages, maps and playing cards. There are also reproductions and drawings of archaeological artefacts from Eastern, Greek and Roman antiquity. The collection also includes newspaper clippings, advertising labels and stamps as representations of contemporary culture. These eclectic materials reflect Warburg’s intention to explore the interplay between ancient and modern visual traditions, tracing the continuity and transformation of motifs, gestures and iconographic patterns over time.

The structure of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* cannot be explicitly deduced from Warburg’s writings, as he left no complete or precise programmatic guidelines on the subject. However, from the surviving traces—sketches, notes, letters and exchanges with his collaborators—and through a careful and patient



analysis of each panel, image by image, it is possible to reconstruct the internal framework of the work and uncover the orchestration of materials underlying its composition. What emerges is a project that is both coherent and meticulously organised, designed with the clear intention of eventually being published as a volume. Despite its unfinished state, the Atlas reflects Warburg's methodical and visionary approach and allows a reconstruction of his conceptual architecture.

The 63 panels of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* are meticulously labelled with numbered tags, although there are inconsistencies and gaps in the numbering. These discontinuities both emphasise the existence of a defined structure for the work and underline its incomplete nature. For example, the first three panels are marked with the letters A, B and C rather than numbers, indicating their role as an opening and introductory section. The subsequent numbering, from 1–79, contains gaps, most notably between Panels 8–20 and between Panels 64–70. This suggests that the project was still in progress, with further panels probably planned, but also shows that the panels were already organised and arranged within the wider framework of the project that Warburg envisaged.

The syntax of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* closely follows the themes of Warburg's research—its connections to his published essays and lecture notes are unmistakable—and is simultaneously influenced by the studies of the circle of students and intellectuals who frequented the Hamburg Library. The Atlas is the culmination of a method developed over time and practised collectively. The use of diverse images pinned to large panels was a common practice employed by Warburg and his circle during seminars and public lectures, serving as a testing ground for an innovative methodology of study and dissemination of research. In this approach, images were no longer used merely as illustrations of logical-discursive arguments but were presented in their semantic autonomy and through the relationships established between them. The arrangement of the panels was not fixed: the materials were pinned and thus movable, allowing for the possibility of multiple interpretative solutions. This fluidity underscores the openness and experimental nature of the Atlas, fostering a dynamic interaction between the visual elements and inviting a plurality of hermeneutic approaches.

The structure of the *Mnemosyne Atlas* follows a chronological progression, though not always linear, organised into more or less defined and readable semantic clusters. At times, the gaps and asynchronies in the arrangement of the material highlight the importance of a theme in relation to the historical evolution of ideas and images. The first three panels (A, B, C) serve as an introduction, outlining the cultural, geographical and conceptual coordinates of the work. These are followed by panels of Archaic and Greco-Roman archaeological artefacts, which form a compact repertoire of models selected with philological precision exclusively from those known during the Renaissance. Subsequent panels trace the *basso continuo* of the survival—often in transformed guises—of pagan deities and themes throughout the



Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel C (detail) | Sons of Mars, War and Technology.

Middle Ages, manifested in astrology, mythological fables and chivalric tales. The focus then shifts to the triumph of the classical tradition in Renaissance culture, its subsequent Mannerist crystallisation in the Baroque and Classical periods, and finally its extension into the present day. The final panels depict events from the last months of Warburg's life, such as the signing of the Lateran Pacts in Rome in June 1929 and the transatlantic flight of the Zeppelin in September 1929.

The architecture of the Atlas invites us to read the processes of cultural tradition both diachronically and synchronically, in an interplay of internal connections that link one panel to another, even across distances, crossing different paths. For example, the maenads of ancient sarcophagi lend their pathos and posture to the 'Dionysian' Magdalene, who breaks out in lamentation over Christ, while the graceful stride of the Nymph is transmitted to both the 'head-hunter', Judith, who beheads Holofernes and liberates the Jewish people, and also to Salome, who uses her seductive charm to claim the head of the Baptist as a trophy. Next, the image of the ancient Victory, soaring in Hellenistic and Roman triumphal monuments, is reincarnated in the angels of late fifteenth-century Florentine paintings, but also in the figures of Fortuna, revived as the protective deity of Renaissance merchants' ventures. The posture of Judith wielding the sword of justice reappears in the gesture of the contemporary golfer, cut out from a magazine. The Zeppelin is the latest technological product of the Copernican discovery of the elliptical orbit of the planets, but its existence in the categories of war and technology, according to Hellenistic and medieval astrology, can also be read as an exercise of the 'sons of Mars'. The melancholy pose, already adopted in antiquity as an iconographic schema for the figure of the intellectual, reappears not only in Dürer's *Melencolia* but also in the picnic scene of Parisian youths with a Nymph in Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, whose formal matrix is found in Roman sarcophagi depicting the Judgement of Paris.

At the centre of the Atlas are the reappearances and rebirths of antiquity, understood not only as a repertoire of formal matrices but also as a tool for reactivating pathos formulae, the expressive formulae of emotion. The postures that convey the most intense passions—the 'superlative degrees of pathos' in Warburg's words—derive from pagan matrices, but they also erupt in religious and devotional art. Dionysian iconographic formulae can be found in works from different periods that depict the full range of emotional intensity: aggression and defence, sacrifice and mourning, triumph and defeat, annihilation and rage, melancholy and ecstasy. The pathos formulae can be derived directly from ancient models, but they also appear without direct connection to these models as engrams—a term borrowed from biological studies—that signify the mnemonic trace of unconscious memory in instinctive human expression.

Thus, at the time of his death in 1929, Warburg left behind an incomplete draft (the 63 panels of the final version), the outline of an introduction, and a collection of letters and notes. The panels were to be accompanied by



Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 39 (detail) | Florence under the Sky of Venus.

explanatory texts and published by Teubner as part of a series of typological, archaeological and scientific atlases. In 1930 the work was described as ‘on the verge of publication’. However, the unfinished state of the project, historical events—including the Nazi seizure of power in Germany in 1933 and the subsequent removal of the library and photographic materials to London—and above all the inherent difficulty of completing the work without the guidance of its creator, meant that the project was forgotten for many decades. There was nevertheless an active interest in completing the project by Warburg’s heirs and collaborators, most notably Gertrud Bing, Fritz Saxl and Edgar Wind.

It was not until 1994 that an edition of the final version of the Atlas was presented in Vienna, with an exhibition of reconstructed panels and the publication of the tables as loose sheets. This initiative marked the beginning of a series of publications and exhibitions of the Atlas in various languages and countries. Recently, after more than half a century of neglect, the Atlas has experienced a period of significant editorial and exhibition revival.

Seminario Mnemosyne

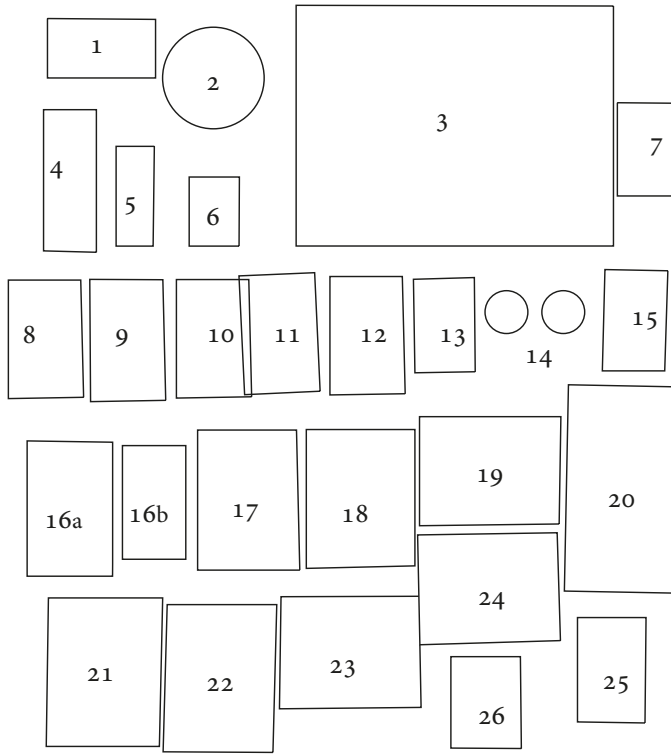


**The Florentine Nymph's Step  
Reading of Panel 46**



Panel and captions





1. Helmet of Agilulf (frontal portion), repoussé copper sheet, seventh century, Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

2. Filippo Lippi, *Tondo Bartolini* (Madonna and Child; in the background, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna and the Birth of Mary), tempera on panel, 1452–1453, Firenze, Palazzo Pitti.

3. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Birth of John the Baptist*, fresco, 1485–1490, Firenze, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.

4. *Scenes with Stories of Christ: Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Shepherds*, bas-relief on an ivory diptych valve, seventh century, Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

5. Female Figure as Caryatid, marble relief, 1259–1283, Sessa Aurunca, Cattedrale dei Santi Pietro e Paolo.

6. Jean Fouquet, *The Birth of John the Baptist*, tempera on parchment, 1452–1460. Miniature from the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*, ms. 71, fol. 28r., Chantilly, Musée Condé.

7. Artist from the Circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Fruit Bearer (copy of the basket-bearing Nymph from *The Birth of John the Baptist*), detached fresco, late fifteenth – early sixteenth century, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.

8. Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *Esther Kneeling Before Ahasuerus*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima: La storia di*

- Hester, codex Magl. vII.338, fol. 51v, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
9. Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *Tobias and the Angel*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima: La vita di Tubia*, codex Magl. vII.338, fol. 89v, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
10. Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *Judith and Holofernes*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima: Ystoria di Iudith vedova hebraea*, codex Magl. vII.338, fol. 28r, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
11. Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *Christ and Saint John the Baptist*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima: La vita di Sancto Giovanni Baptista*, codex Magl. vII.338, fol. 1r, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
12. Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *Susanna and the Elders*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima: Ystoria della devota Susanna*, codex Magl. vII.338, fol. 81v, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.
13. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni*, tempera on panel, 1488, Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.
14. Niccolò Fiorentino, *Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni*, cast and silvered bronze, 1486.
15. Giuliano da Sangallo, *Female Figure with Flowing Garment*, pen drawing on paper, early sixteenth century, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.
- 16a. Roman *Spolium with Water Carrier*, bas-relief in stone, Roman era, Verona, Basilica di San Zeno, crypt, postcard, twentieth century.
- 16b. Roman *Spolium with Water Carrier*, bas-relief in stone, Roman era, Verona, Basilica di San Zeno, crypt, postcard, twentieth century.
17. Fra' Carnevale (Bartolomeo di Giovanni Corradini), *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, oil and tempera on panel, ca. 1467, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
18. Sandro Botticelli, *Woman Carrying a Bundle of Sticks* (detail from *The Temptations of Christ*), fresco, 1481–1482, Roma, Cappella Sistina.
19. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Visitation*, fresco, 1485–1490, Firenze, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.
20. Water Carrier (detail from Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*), red chalk on paper, seventeenth century, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.
21. Niccolò Tribolo (Niccolò di Raffaello di Niccolò dei Pericoli), *Lot Fleeing Sodom with His Wife and Daughters*, relief in Istrian stone, 1525–27, Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, left portal.
22. Alfonso Lombardi, *Birth of Esau and Jacob*, relief in Istrian stone, 1524–25, Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, left portal.
23. Sandro Botticelli, *A Young Man Being Introduced to the Seven Liberal Arts*, detached fresco, ca. 1486, Paris, Musée du Louvre.
24. Sandro Botticelli, *Venus and the Three Graces Presenting a Gift to a Young Woman*, detached fresco, ca. 1486, Paris, Musée du Louvre.
25. Agostino Veneziano, *Woman Carrying a Vase on Her Head*, etching on copper, 1528, London, British Museum.
26. Aby Warburg, *Peasant in Settignano*, photographic print, ca. 1900, London, The Warburg Institute.



## Reading of Panel 46

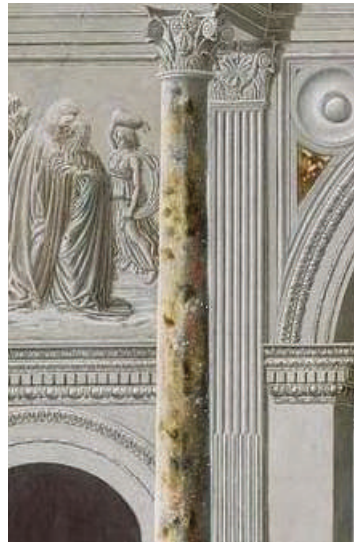
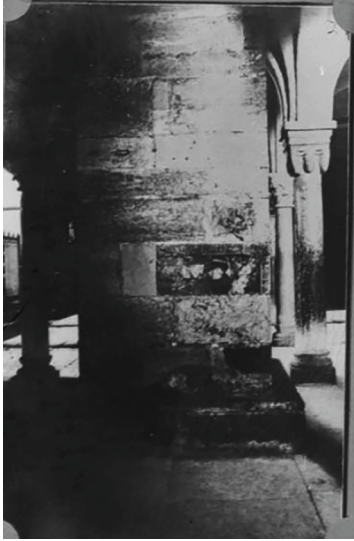
### *Coordinates*

Panel 46 provides a clear pathway into the architecture of the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, both for its particular structural composition and for its leitmotif, the Nymph. The Nymph has been at the centre of Warburg's studies since his earliest research into Botticelli's mythological cycle. Reading this panel, however, also offers insights into understanding the nature of pathos formulae—formulae that crystallise gestures and postures to their highest degree. The pathos of emotions preserved in the ancient repertoire is called upon to reactivate itself across different epochs.

The images that constitute Panel 46 are predominantly from the Renaissance and Florence. Two specific images, the opening and the closing, introduce a sharp stylistic and chronological discordance. On the upper left is the medieval helmet of Agilulf [46\_1]; on the lower right is a contemporary photograph taken in Settignano [46\_26]. These create two breaks in the unity of the materials and define the grid of the Panel's primary meaning: the images mark the temporal poles that frame the dense Renaissance core of the montage's elements.

At the centre of the panel is the image of the Nymph. In the classical world, the term (Gr. νύμφη; Lat. *nympha*) refers to a young woman at the height of her beauty and grace, and in this sense also to a young bride. For Warburg, the Nymph is the model of the female figure in motion that reappears from antiquity in the lives and bodies of fifteenth-century Florentine maidens and in the images and texts of Renaissance culture. The energy of the ancient figure is paradigmatically embodied in the profile of the young woman who, in Ghirlandaio's *Birth of John the Baptist*, enlivens the domestic scene of the mother's visit by entering among the composed and dignified Florentine ladies with a graceful step and a basket on her head.

The themes of the Panel are: first, the free movement of the maid Nymph (with her light dress and graceful step) in dialectical contrast with the conventional and austere representation of Florentine patrician ladies; second, the various *facies* of Venus and the harmonious poses of the Graces; and third, the persistence of the Nymph's figure through the interruption of her appearances until her final contemporary epiphany.

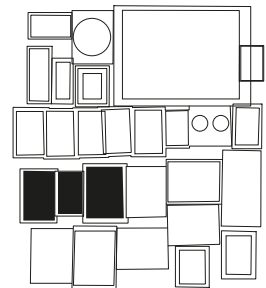


**phase I | conservation – *spolium*: imprisonment of the antique in reused stone**

Verona, cripta di San Zeno, fragment of a Roman bas-relief embedded in the structure of a pillar (*spolium in se*) [46\_16a] and detail [46\_16b].

**phase II | reemergence – *grisaille*: containment of the figure in faux relief *all'antica***

Fra' Carnevale, Presentation of the Virgin [46\_17] and detail of the *grisaille* relief [not in the Panel].



*Phases of the Vitality of Antiquity: Preservation, Re-emergence, and Re-elaboration*

The central question that drives Warburg's research, and which also underlies the Atlas project, is how the essence of antiquity is preserved over the centuries and how it re-emerges—sometimes obscuring its traces and sometimes regaining its vitality. Panel 46 clearly illustrates the process of transmission of ancient forms—preservation, re-emergence and re-elaboration—through alternating phases of resilience and reactivation, and impulse and restraint of their energetic charge. The guiding figure of this trajectory is the Nymph, who gradually re-emerges from the ancient repertoire, both conceptually and materially, until she assumes a leading role. This progression is paradigmatically represented by several images on the panel that trace her journey through these phases.

In the initial phase, the medium that retains and preserves the figures and forms of antiquity is stone, in the form of *spolia* reused and embedded in medieval buildings. This is the case with a pillar in the crypt of San Zeno in Verona, which incorporates a fragment of a Roman bas-relief depicting a young woman carrying a water vessel on her head, framed by a pilaster decorated with ribbons and vegetal motifs, beneath a garland [46\_16a, 16b]. As was customary in the Middle Ages, the *spolium* was extracted as an ancient artefact and inserted horizontally into the structure, in a position that reflects a primarily functional use, with little regard for the form or meaning of the subject depicted.

The next step was the reappearance of classical forms in *grisaille*, the monochrome faux-relief technique which, by decorating architectural elements in the background of the painting, gave the scene the *auctoritas* of antiquity. This is evident in Fra Carnevale's *Presentation of the Virgin* [46\_17]: the figure of the young woman, advancing in wind-blown garments and carrying a basket on her head, appears among the faux bas-reliefs of the classically inspired architecture of the portal.

The *grisaille*, as Warburg wrote, is 'grey painting [...] an illusionistic imitation of sculpture'.

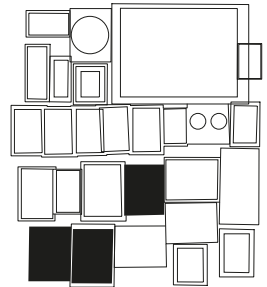
In the shadowy midrealm, below the Saint, and above the un bridled antics of the nature spirits, the spandrels of both funerary niches are painted with military scenes in *grisaille*, faithfully copied from Roman imperial coins. [...] They form part of the symbolism of energy, synthesis, and balance; 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* (Francesco Sassetti's *Last Injunctions to His Sons, Renewal*, p. 247).

Phantasmagorical projections of pagan shadows are evoked in the background of religious paintings: *en grisaille*, the energy of antiquity is still restrained, trapped in the false marble shell that remains in the background,



**phase II | reemergence – painting: conquest of the foreground**  
 Sandro Botticelli, *The Temptations of Christ*, Roma, Cappella Sistina.  
 Detail [46\_18] and full composition [not in the Panel].

**phase III | reworking – sculpture: return to imprisonment in stone**  
 Niccolò Tribolo and Alfonso Lombardi, reliefs with biblical scenes,  
 Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio [46\_21, 22].

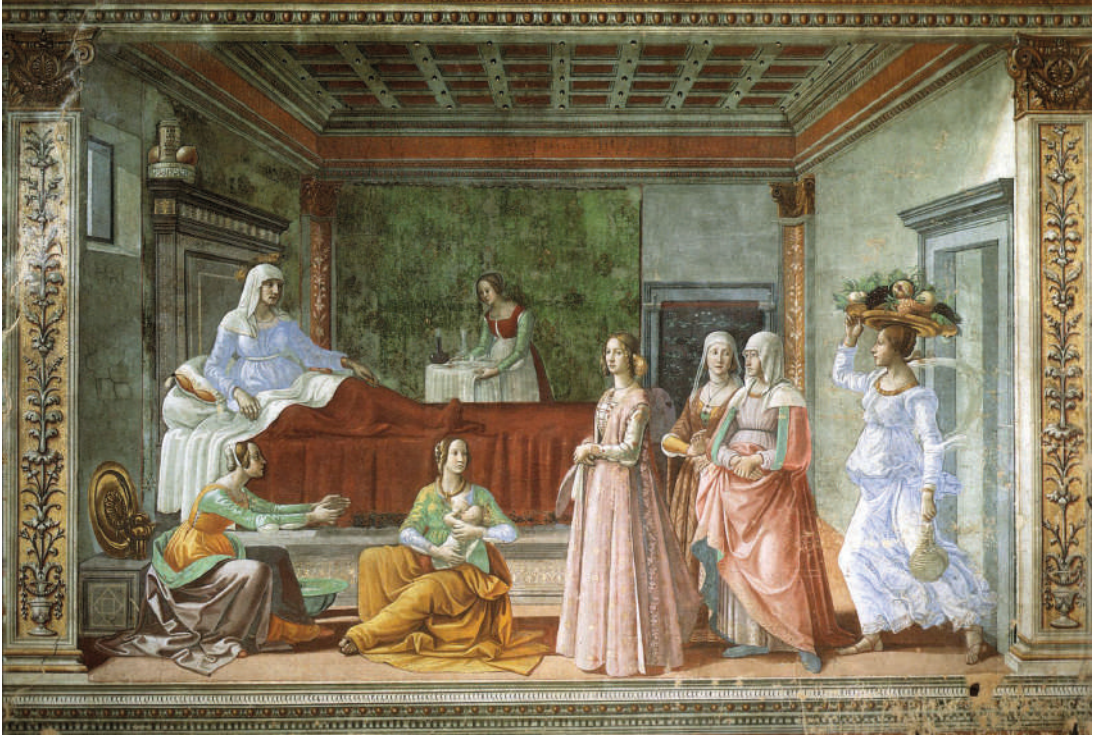


serving as a backdrop to the stories and characters that animate the main scene. The placement of the faux relief imitating antiquity in the background thus represents a form of distancing, but this separation is already on the verge of collapse. The restrained power in the background is about to break free and become disruptive.

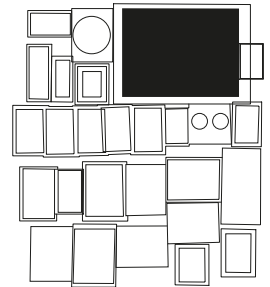
In Botticelli's Sistine fresco, *The Temptation of Christ* [46\_18], the reappearance of the ancient model becomes more pronounced, and the autonomy of the figure takes a significant step forward in the intense visual focus on the young woman carrying a bundle on her shoulder. Freed from the captivity of stone, whether real (bas-relief) or simulated (*grisaille*), the Nymph now bursts forth, claiming colour and the foreground, and attracting attention by the vivid presence of her body. She carries a pagan essence that contrasts with the religious scene at the centre of the work. A key marker of this transition is the conquest of vibrant colour: from the latent grey of the faux-painted stone, the ancient figure in Botticelli's fresco is reborn into life by colour.

This 'superlative' power of antiquity gives rise to the series of nymphs that populate Panel 46, illustrating the thematic and formal success of the subject in the imagination of the early Renaissance. However, the story does not end here with the triumphant reappearance of the Nymph. While the subject persisted into the sixteenth century, the reactivation of antiquity gradually lost its potency, its energy dissipated, and it became a mannered motif. In the stone reliefs of the portal of San Petronio [46\_21-22], Old Testament scenes depict four female figures—the daughters of Lot fleeing from Sodom and the maidservants who assist Rebecca at the birth of Esau and Jacob—who recall the Nymph in their postures and dress as they carry baskets and jugs. However, despite their classical style, they appear stiff and formalised. The dynamic vitality of the young maiden seems to have faded.

From the stone of the Roman *spolium* [46\_16a-b] through to the painted sculpture of the *grisaille* [46\_17], the image of the Nymph, having achieved freedom and prominence in Florentine Renaissance painting [46\_18], descends into the Mannerist reinterpretation of the bas-reliefs of San Petronio. The process of the figure's emancipation, from the captivity of stone to the freedom and autonomy of movement and colour, is thus powerful but not irreversible, always threatened by a decline in energetic output.



46\_3 | Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Birth of John the Baptist*, fresco, 1485–90, Firenze, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.



*Ninfa Fiorentina*

Ninfa. “Eilbringitte” im Tornabuoni-Kreise. Domestizierung.  
Ninfa. “Quick-bringing-Bridget” in Tornabuoni Circle. Domestication.  
Notes by Warburg & Collaborators

The sparse notes by Warburg and his collaborators provide only a partial indication, almost in the form of keywords, about the contents of Panel 46. Warburg plays on the German conventional name for the handmaid—*Brigitte*—and the verb *bringen* (‘to carry’).

At the centre of the composition is Ghirlandaio’s *Birth of John the Baptist* [46\_3]. In the fresco, a series of female figures appears as characters associated with Nativity scenes and contexts of care and protection. They are presented in various postures that form two converging lines towards the centre of the painting: from left to right, the static solemnity of the Mother, which dissolves in the affectionate gestures of the Nurses; from right to left, the seductive and free gait of the basket-bearing Nymph, with the movement of her light garments, becomes progressively stiffer as it passes through the accompanying ladies, culminating in the austere demeanour of the Lady at the centre of the composition, enclosed in the heavy folds of her garment.

Ghirlandaio’s composition is structured on several levels. The subject is the birth of John the Baptist, depicted according to conventional iconography, with Elizabeth lying in bed after giving birth, lovingly attended by a group of maidservants, two of whom look after the infant John. In the foreground, however, the group of women visiting the new mother strongly intrudes on the sacred scene. These are portraits of Ghirlandaio’s patrons, who take on the role of protagonists. At the centre is Giovanna Tornabuoni, accompanied by her entourage, who anachronistically enters Elizabeth’s room for the formal congratulatory visit. As Warburg notes, she is marked by “the somewhat philistine, severe self-containment of the wife of a worthy, who must insist on good manners and who only knows those who have been introduced to her”.

The Lady, with her upright posture and formal dress, embodies the bourgeois conventionality of the patron class, but the Tornabuoni group is not the only incongruous element in the sacred scene. Another layer, which breaks the formal, thematic and narrative coherence of the subject, is introduced by the entrance of the maid, dressed in a thin classical veil that reveals rather than conceals the contours of her body. Warburg identifies in this figure an epiphany of the ancient Nymph, characterised by specific elements that he famously described as ‘moving accessories’: wind-blown hair and garments or light fabrics in motion. Warburg finds references to these particular features of antiquity in Alberti’s treatise *Della Pittura* and Leonardo’s writings, which emphasise the task of Renaissance artists to revive this quality. It is the kinetic

intensification of the movement and dynamism of the figures that makes them ‘ancient’. As Leon Battista Alberti says:

Dilettano nei capelli, nei crini, né rami, frondi et veste vedere qualche movimento [...] Ma siano [...] i movimenti moderati e dolci, più tosto quali porgano grazia a chi miri che meraviglia di fatica alcuna. [...] E quindi verrà a quella grazia che i corpi da questa parte percossi dal vento, sotto i panni in buona parte mostreranno il nudo, dall'altra parte i panni gittati dal vento dolce voleranno per aria. E in questo ventoleggiare guardi il pittore non ispiegare alcuno panno contro vento (Leon Battista Alberti, *Della pittura*, a cura di C. Grayson, Bari 1980, p. 45).

Warburg thus adopts Alberti’s instruction to painters to give their figures an antique character. He also refers to a similar passage in which Leonardo da Vinci instructs artists to dress nymphs and angels in thin fabrics that are moved by the breath of the wind so that the naked body is partially visible under the garments:

Farai scoprire la quasi vera grossezza delle membra ad una ninfa o ad un angelo, i quali si figurino vestiti di sottili vestimenti, sospinti o impressi dal soffiare de’ venti (Leonardo da Vinci, *Trattato della pittura*, § 527).

However, this instruction is not just about external movement or the exercise of formal virtuosity applied to ornamentation. The movement of the hair and the clothes also manifests an inner pathos, expressed in the postures of bodies moved by passions (grief, intoxication, melancholy, ecstasy), and finds another form of expression in the movement of the accessories. The artist’s task is to revive the aesthetic experience of the ‘superlatives of pathos’ found in ancient figures, the energy of their ‘intensified life’ (as Warburg writes).

In the paintings of Panel 46, and particularly in the *Birth of John the Baptist*, the Nymph, with the movement of her garment, is not merely a classical element introduced into the composition by the artist. Above all, she appears as a figure free from the social conventions of the Florentine elite. The young woman who bursts into the domestic interior, asserting her freedom with a graceful and confident stride, represents every girl who, as was customary in Florence at the time, took to the streets, processions and festivals in her distinctive dress, with loose hair and movements inspired by antiquity. She embodies the joyful grace of life characteristic of young Florentine women, for whom Ghirlandaio’s workshop made metal garlands to adorn their hair (a detail Warburg takes from Vasari). These ‘nymphs’ became the target of violent attacks in Savonarola’s sermons, criticised for their dress and behaviour: the wind-blown hair, the light and fluttering dresses, the graceful and liberated display of their bodies caused scandal and uproar.

The Nymph who enters the scene of the birth of the Baptist thus seems to come from a dimension alien both to the sacred story and to the style of the ladies who visited Elizabeth. Massimo Cacciari writes:

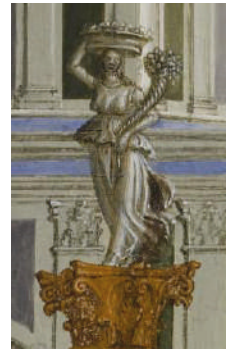
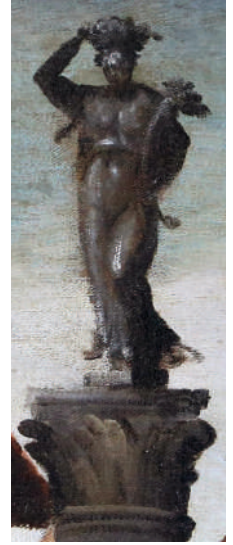
Da quale origine proviene quella figura? [...] Quale vento la muove, che le altre figure neppure sfiora? Perché il *presto* di quel passo così ‘dissonante’ con il tempo delle altre figure? (*Dell’inizio*, Milano 1990, p. 347).

The Nymph undoubtedly comes from elsewhere, from another cultural sphere rather than simply another time: she is a phantom of antiquity erupting into the Renaissance, the uninhibited seduction of the feminine contrasted with the aloof serenity of the ladies.

Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Warburg spent time studying and researching in Florence. It was there that he met Mary Hertz, a young painter sketching Renaissance masterpieces, who would later become his wife. It was during these years that Warburg and his friend André Jolles wrote an unpublished novel of letters in which the protagonist is the young woman who so disarmingly enters Ghirlandaio’s fresco, the Nymph with whom the two friends became enamoured. They described her as a ‘fascinating nightmare’. Here is an extract from their correspondence:

Jolles | *Cherchez la femme*, my friend. There is a lady involved, who is ferociously flirting with me. I have started an intellectual flirtation and am becoming her victim. Am I chasing her or is she chasing me? Indeed, I no longer know. But let me tell you the tale of my suffering in sequence. I made her acquaintance during a weekly visit to a church... and now you’ll already know who she is. She lives in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, on the right wall, second row from the bottom, in the image to the viewer’s right. [...] Right at the open door, there runs, no, flies, no, floats, the objects of my dreams, who gradually begins to assume the proportions of a graceful nightmare. A fantastical figure, no, a serving girl, no, a classical nymph, enters the room wearing her billowing veil, bearing a plate of luscious fruit on her head. By the devil, this is no way to enter a sickroom, not even if one wants to offer congratulations. What does it mean—this lively light-footed yet so highly animated way of walking; this energetic urge to move, this striding step, when all the other figures possess a certain aloofness?! Above all, what does the sudden change in the character of the floor mean? [...] Who is she? Where does she come from? Have I met her before, I mean one and a half thousand years ago?

Warburg | While it tempts you to follow her like a winged idea through all the spheres in a Platonic rapture of love, I feel compelled to turn my philological gaze toward the soil from which she arose and, marvelling, ask: is this strangely delicate plant really rooted in the arid Florentine earth? (*Ninfa fiorentina*, the entire exchange in *Appendix* → T1)



Filippo Napoletano (attributed), *Piazza del Mercato Vecchio in Florence*, oil on canvas, ca. 1600–1630. Firenze, Collezione della Cassa di Risparmio; on the right: detail of the statue of *Dovizia* on the column.

Anonymous [Fra' Carnevale?], *Ideal City*, oil and tempera on panel, ca. 1480–1484. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; on the right: detail of the rear right column with *Dovizia*.

In the exchange between Jolles and Warburg, as in Cacciari's questions, the Nymph seems to emerge from somewhere else, bringing to the world of images the freshness and energy of life in motion.

With a 'philological eye', Warburg had sought to discover where this elsewhere might be: what was the archaeological model that inspired the Florentine artists? In other words, he sought the genealogy of the image, tracing it from the nymphs or maenads of ancient reliefs, or from the winged victories on triumphal arches, down to the domestic sphere, where it appears as the epiphany of a 'Florentine domestic Victory'. He hypothesised that Ghirlandaio had developed this image after seeing a Roman sarcophagus in Piazza San Pietro depicting a Bacchic scene with a *gradiva* Nymph holding a bouquet of flowers. The proof is a drawing found in a notebook in his workshop (*The Entry of the Idealizing Classical Style in the Painting of Early Renaissance* → T3).

#### *Nymph as a Daughter of Dovizia*

Warburg was unaware—and could not have been aware—of a far more significant model for the 'Florentine Nymph': the statue of Dovizia, a model whose memory had almost entirely faded by Warburg's time. It was created by Donatello in the 1430s at the behest of Florentine merchants and patrons. This work was an allegory of wealth and abundance and placed on a tall column in the centre of the Mercato Vecchio, at the intersection of the city's main Roman roads. The statue served as both a protective figure and a symbol of good fortune, representing a wish for the continued economic prosperity of Florence.

The statue, which fell and was smashed in 1721, had been forgotten in both documentation and iconography. Recent studies, however, have rediscovered its image in several paintings dating from before its destruction. It is therefore highly probable that the model for Ghirlandaio's Nymph, and for other nymphs in the artistic production of the time, did not come directly from the ancient repertoire, but rather from the image of Donatello's *Dovizia*, familiar to everyone in Florence at the time.

The fame and importance of the statue are confirmed by a fifteenth-century parodic text, *The Representation of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon*. In this story, Donatello is brought before the king, who wishes to commission a colossal golden statue of himself. Donatello declines the titanic task, claiming that he is already overburdened with work:

Io ho fornire el pergamo di Prato / [...] / e ho a fare la Dovitia di Mercato / la qual  
in sulla colonna s'ha a porre / E hor più lavorio non posso torre.

The choice of iconography for the statue at the centre of the Mercato Vecchio was perfectly in keeping with the ideology and interests of the Florentine ruling class. The allegory of Dovizia (abundance) inverted the



Giovanni della Robbia, *Dovizia*, polychrome glazed terracotta, ca. 1520. Minneapolis Institute of Art.

Fra Mattia della Robbia, *Dovizia*, polychrome glazed terracotta, ca. 1520. Firenze, Casa Museo Buonarroti.

Workshop of Fra Mattia della Robbia, *Dovizia*, polychrome glazed terracotta, ca. 1520. The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Workshop of Giovanni della Robbia, *Dovizia*, polychrome glazed terracotta, ca. 1520. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

doctrine and ethics of Paupertas (poverty), thereby appropriating the image of personified wealth from the ancient repertoire for the wealthy Florentine merchant class. The Mercato was the centre of Florence's commercial activity (just as Piazza del Duomo was the centre of religious life and Piazza della Signoria the centre of civic affairs), and Donatello's *Dovizia* towering above it symbolised that Florence (Florentia) had to be prosperous (*fiorente*) in both name and reality. The wealth of Florence's merchants made economic prosperity and good government possible and, through patronage, the flourishing of the arts as well.

Donatello drew on the classical repertoire for his *Dovizia*, combining various models such as the image of a young woman advancing with a quick step and a basket of fruit on her head and the iconography of *Abundantia* with the horn of plenty, which already appeared in the decoration of the Porta della Mandorla in Florence Cathedral. It is very likely, however, that the image of the allegorical figure was also inspired by the real women who populated the city market, carrying goods to sell in their baskets.

The *Dovizia* quickly became one of the symbols of the city. The figure also enjoyed considerable popular success, being reproduced in miniature versions of varying quality, multiplying its presence in private contexts as a benevolent image of a bearer of life and gifts. The miniaturisation and the transition from the public to the domestic sphere are further evidenced by a series of statuettes inspired by the *Dovizia*, produced in the workshop of Giovanni della Robbia between 1494 and 1513, some of which bear the eloquent inscription: GLORIA • ET DIVITIE/IN • DOMO TVA.

The image of public prosperity thus enters every home, just as the basket-bearer maid enters Ghirlandaio's fresco. The basket of fruit offered to Elizabeth by the young woman who accompanies the visiting ladies is not only a gesture of courtesy, but also a symbol of happiness, health, well-being and prosperity, in perfect harmony with the theme of birth. It is a good omen, not only for the Tornabuoni family, but also for the flourishing Florence, whose patron saint is St John the Baptist, and in which the 'doviziosa' ('abundant') maid becomes an allegorical personification.

In the dialogue of the epistolary novel, Jolles provocatively remarked about the stride of Ghirlandaio's Nymph that it was not a proper way to enter the room of a new mother, 'not even if one wants to offer congratulations'. After the recent rediscovery that this maid is a daughter of Donatello's *Dovizia*, Warburg, with his 'philological eye', might have countered that this is indeed how the Nymph figure, modelled on antiquity, descends from the column at the centre of Florence's Mercato and strides briskly to bring the good omen of prosperity and abundance to the life that is about to be born.

Ny  
 Sæculisfring casalinga  
 sur  
 Koppjägerin v. Vígþendin  
 Agave Victoria  
 Botticelli - Ghirlandaio

Tættmynding v. v. Jafni / Kuldur  
 (Botticelli v. / Gættur:  
 2 ps)

Nymph.  
 casalinga Secularization  
 of

the Head Huntress  
 Agave

and

the Victory Bearer  
 Victoria



Botticelli - Ghirlandaio  
 Distance achieved by *trompe-l'œil* sculpture  
 (*grisaille* and later plaster).

## *Domestication and Secularization of the Nymph*

The figure of the Nymph, still charged with the energy of her ancient demon, is reborn in fifteenth-century culture in various forms that simultaneously revitalise and attempt to exorcise her power. Warburg writes:

In the Cappella Tornabuoni we can observe from two perspectives the attempts to neutralise the demonic energy of the pulsating life. On the one hand, the children's stories of Lucrezia Tornabuoni, which, in spite of their tragic origins, skilfully remove the darkness from the figures of running, walking and carrying people; on the other hand, on the side of the visual artist, the Victory of the Roman triumphal arch is forced to assume a more domestic role, entering the everyday life of Florence as a practical provider (*Die römische Antike in der Werkstatt Ghirlandaios*, Outline for the lecture at the Hertziana Library in Rome, January 19, 1929, "La Rivista di Engramma" 119 (settembre 2014), p. 25).

The reappearance of the Nymph in the fifteenth century is marked by her domestication (as noted in the brief commentary on the themes of Panel 46). This 'domestication' can take the form of servile submission, such as a basket-bearer servant [46\_2, 19, 26], a water bearer extinguishing *The Fire in the Borgo* [46\_20], a wood carrier for a sacrifice [46\_18], or as a carrier of household goods during the *Flight from Sodom* [46\_21]. Alternatively, the Nymph may 'serve' in a purely material sense as in the reused stone supporting a pillar in the church of San Zeno [46\_16b], placed horizontally (as Warburg crudely jokes in a note on a postcard [46\_16a]). The Nymph is thus reduced to a structural object with the mere substance of stone and no longer an object of desire. This 'domestication' also includes her entry into the domestic sphere of Florence, where she became a decorative motif on furniture, such as *deschi da parto* or wedding chests, or, as already noted, transformed into an object herself, as a lucky charm.

In his diary, Warburg outlined a schema summarising the forms of 'addomesticamento' (written in Italian) of the Nymph, describing her secularisation in a 'household' context as one of the modes of the survival of antiquity. In the same note, he also highlighted the alternating process by which the demonic energy of ancient forms is both diminished and resisted. This process involves the materiality of artworks (stone versus paper, monochrome versus colour, relief versus painting) and is a dynamic of 'distancing' (as Warburg calls it) and approximation, in which images and their forms only gradually achieve prominence, resisting the fluctuations in energetic tension across epochs, historical and cultural contexts, and shifts in repertoire from ancient mythological subjects to biblical and Christian ones. As Warburg writes of the image of the winged Victory in Roman official art:

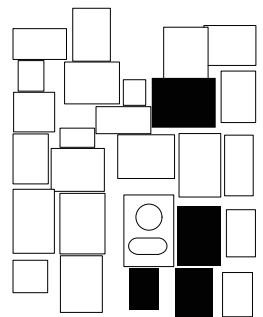
The piety of the Church has not been able to completely banish her from the relief inside the triumphal arch. [...] Although she has had to abandon the habit of



47\_18 | Filippo Lippi, *Salome Dancing for Herod* (detail), fresco, ca. 1464, Prato, Duomo, parete sud del coro.

47\_23 | Sandro Botticelli, *Judith Returning from the Camp with the Head of Holofernes*, tempera on panel, part of a diptych, ca. 1470, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.

47\_25a, 25b | School of Ghirlandaio, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, oil on panel, 1489. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie [repeated twice in the Panel].



proudly flapping her wings, in the equally inexplicable fluttering mobility of her garments, there remains a hint of those upper regions where she once soared as a pagan goddess of victory (in *Appendix* → T2).

The new epiphany of the Nymph as a graceful maiden in bloom, even in a secondary and subservient role, carries within her both triumphant and redeeming power (Victory) and the fierce rage of the murderous maenad (Agave).

However, the neutralisation of the cruel *facies* of the ancient demon is neither a simple nor an irreversible process. As we have seen, in Renaissance Florence the figure of the Nymph lends her image to the graceful maiden and, earlier, to the flourishing *Dovizia*, who dispenses fruit and abundance to the citizens of Florence. But she is also a ‘head-hunter’ in the form of the glorious and righteous Judith, who displays the tyrant’s head as a trophy, as well as her negative counterpart, the seductive Salome, who, whether by her own lustful whim or that of her mother Herodias, has John the Baptist beheaded.

In the epistolary novel project *Ninfa fiorentina*, Jolles emphasises the continuity between the graceful figure carrying the basket of fruit and the cruel images of Judith and Salome with the trophy head. He thus addresses the Nymph:

Where have I seen you before? It was, for me, as if a previous acquaintance bound us from the beginning [...]. Once she was Salome, dancing with death-bringing charm before the desirous tetrarch; another time she was Judith, proudly and triumphantly bringing the head of the murdered general to the city with jaunty stemp (*Ninfa fiorentina*, the full text in *Appendix* → T1)

Warburg himself highlights these various epiphanies of the young female figure, which encompass the full spectrum of movement and passion, from graceful elegance to murderous fury. This is summarised in the commentary to Panel 47:

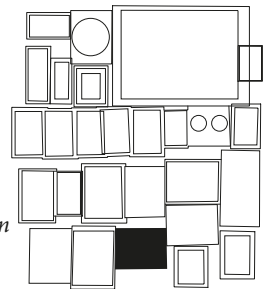
*Ninfa* [...] as Head Huntress. Bringing the Head.

The iconographic motif of the young woman carrying a basket—filled with either a head or fruit—takes on an autonomy of its own, detached from the action and its motivations. It is not always Judith, the positive heroine, or Salome, the deadly seductress, who carries the head of Holofernes or John the Baptist; in some works of the period, it is the maid Nymph who carries the trophy.

The innocent servant girl in Ghirlandaio’s fresco, ‘quick-bringing-Bridget’, who balances on her head a basket full of fruit as a gift of fertility and abundance, is a sister of the cruel Judith and Salome and their faithful handmaids who, for good or ill, present the severed head of their victim.



46\_23 | Sandro Botticelli, *Young Man Presented to the Assembly of the Seven Liberal Arts and Venus*, detached fresco from Villa Lemmi in Firenze, ca. 1486, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



## Ninfa Magistra

Contrasting and coexisting with the figure of the ‘domesticated’ Nymph, is the figure of the Nymph as domesticator, assuming the role of guide and teacher. The Panel contains several examples of authoritative women engaged in the *vita activa*, capable of taming the male figure, instructing him and initiating him into civic life. Among these are the *Istorie in rima* by Lucrezia Tornabuoni [46\_8-12], written to instruct and educate her children, Lorenzo and Giuliano de’ Medici, with noble stories from antiquity. As Warburg observes:

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 Baptistry of San Giovanni (*Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoise*, in *Renewal*, p. 201).

There is also the Venus of the Villa Lemmi fresco in Florence, presiding over the liberal arts and holding out her hand in a gesture of instruction to the young man brought before her by a Nymph, another female figure leading the man by the hand towards *Humanitas* [46\_23]. The frescoes in Careggi’s Villa Lemmi (donated by Cosimo the Elder to Marsilio Ficino in 1462 and the seat of the Platonic Academy) were commissioned by Botticelli for the wedding of Lorenzo Tornabuoni (maternal cousin of Lorenzo the Magnificent) and Giovanna degli Albizzi on 16 June 1486.

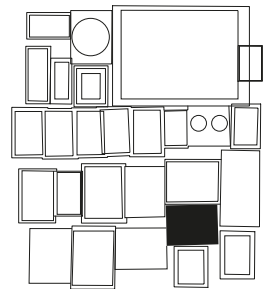
A moving male figure is led by the hand of a female figure in front of a group of seven seated figures arranged in a semicircle in a clearing. These are the liberal arts, as indicated by their attributes: the Trivium, represented by Grammar (a scroll), Rhetoric (a leaf with diagrams) and Dialectic (a scorpion); the Quadrivium, composed of Geometry (a compass), Music (musical instruments) and Astronomy (an armillary sphere); and, without specific attributes, Arithmetic, which served as a guide for the young scion of a wealthy Florentine merchant family.

The central figure, identifiable by the eloquent gesture of her right hand, can be recognised as the *Magistra Artium*. In her left hand, she holds a crude bow, an attribute that suggests a superimposition—a novel, though not unprecedented in the cultural context of the time, allegorical combination—between the figure of Venus and that of Mnemosyne, the Mother of the Muses and the Arts.

The Lord is guided by the hand of the Nymph Arte, who accompanies and introduces him to the assembly of the sisters, presided over by Venus as a teacher. In the tradition of the *stilnovisti*—most notably Guido Cavalcanti and in its revival, Marsilio Ficino—Venus is the medium of access to the divine, which in Neoplatonism, rooted in Plotinus and now reinterpreted through a Renaissance lens, coincides with Love.



46\_24 | Sandro Botticelli, *Venus and the Three Graces Presenting a Gift to a Young Woman*, detached fresco, ca. 1486. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



The male initiation into the arts and love is not immediate, as it requires a process of instruction. The seven liberal arts are presented as a multiplicity of the virtues of Venus: the virtue of Love educates, teaches, emancipates and guides the young man towards *Humanitas*.

The all-female group in the Villa Lemmi pendant fresco [46\_24] also represents Venus and her emanations in the tripartite figure of the Graces. The same Lady is a Grace-Venus, dressed in contemporary clothes, in the Florentine fashion of the time, courteously receiving homage from the Graces. These figures, dressed in light, wind-blown garments, indicate their ancient origins. Her face, dress and jewellery identify her as a real historical figure: Giovanna degli Albizzi, the young bride and new lady of the house.

In Panel 46, Giovanna Tornabuoni appears in several images [46\_3, 13, 14, 19, 25]. The most important of these is the medal dedicated to her by Niccolò Fiorentino for her wedding.

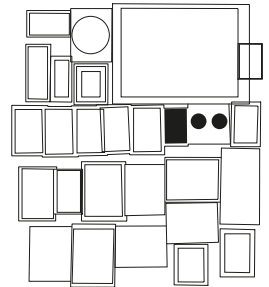
Three of the four female figures paying homage to the Lady thus represent a multiplication, with subtle chromatic and postural variations, of the Venusian virtues of chastity, beauty and love. These words (*castitas, pulchritudo, amor*) appear as the names of the three Graces on a second medal also created by Niccolò Fiorentino for Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni.



46\_13 | Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni*, tempera on panel, 1488. Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

46\_14 | Niccolò Fiorentino, *Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni*, cast and silvered bronze, 1486.

below: Niccolò Fiorentino, *Twin Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni*, cast and silvered bronze, 1486 [not in the Panel].



### *Giovanna, the Lady and the Nymph*

Panel 46 shows one of the medals created by Niccolò Fiorentino for Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni.

The obverse depicts a profile bust of Giovanna as an elegant Florentine lady: the string of pearls around her neck underlines her status as a bride, and her dress, jewellery and carefully composed hairstyle are very similar to the funeral portrait painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio only two years later [46\_13]. Surrounding her profile like a halo is the *titulus* UXOR • LAURENTII • DETORNABONIS • IOANNA • ALBIZA, confirming the nuptial occasion for which the medal was commissioned.

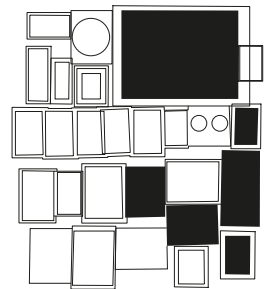
On the reverse of the example shown in Panel 46 [46\_14], Giovanna is represented in full-length, in mythological dress, in accordance with the conventions of medals of the time. Around the edge runs the inscription VIRGINIS • OS • HABITUM • QUE • GERENS • VIRGINIS • ARMA, a verse from the first book of the *Aeneid*, in which the divine mother appears to her son Aeneas in a forest in the form of an armed ‘virgin’ (*Aeneid*, I, v. 315). In this passage, Venus is assimilated to Diana, the huntress, and thus takes on the chastity inherent in the goddess of the forest, in stark antinomy to her nature as the goddess of love. The Virgin of Venus is depicted in a proud pose, holding a bow (both Cupid’s and the huntress’s weapon), with an athletic stride reminiscent of a ‘Spartan maiden’ (*Aeneid*, I, v. 316), her loose hair and classical dress giving her profile to Giovanna. The Lady plays out her beauty between the poles of love and chastity: the triad of *castitas*, *pulchritudo* and *amor* appears on the reverse of the double medal. The obverse of the two medals, with the portrait in profile, is identical, while the reverse bears two different allegories: on the one hand, the mythological figure depicted in the example included in the panel; on the other, the triad of the intertwined Graces, accompanied by the inscription CASTITAS • PULCHRITUDO • AMOR.

Giovanna is thus both Venus and Diana, two divine names of the feminine, incompatible in ancient mythology—the ardent lover versus the icy huntress, Eros versus chastity—reconciled in the Renaissance concept of *coincidentia oppositorum*. As Edgar Wind observes, this is a ‘hybrid figure in which the two opposing goddesses. Diana and Venus, are merged into one. [...] “In her the Renaissance Platonists thought they had found a fine poetical confirmation for their doctrine of the union of Chastity and Love” (Wind 1958, p. 73).



**The Florentine Nymph's step**

Details from: Ghirlandaio [46\_3], Giuliano da Sangallo [46\_15, Botticelli [46\_18, 24], Raphael [46\_20], Agostino Veneziano [46\_25].



## Ninfa Gradiva

Un piede di Botticelli non è il profilo di un piede come lo possiamo vedere nella natura: è lo spettro di un piede, la parte demoniaca di quell'arto che l'artista classico ci rivela [...]. Diremmo quasi che ogni aspetto della natura ingannevolmente cangiante o passeggero, possiede riguardo al mondo delle cose eterne il suo particolare segno o simbolo; ed è appunto tale segno o simbolo, o perlomeno parte di esso, che l'artista classico scopre (Giorgio De Chirico, *Sull'arte metafisica*, 1919).

The new epiphany of the Nymph, striding swiftly from antiquity to Renaissance Florence, is always a figure in motion. Like the figure in the Pompeian bas-relief that fires the literary imagination in Wilhelm Jensen's novel *Gradiva*, later taken up by Sigmund Freud as an erotic phantom of the unconscious, it is the Nymph's step (*gradus*) that seduces and enchants.

For De Chirico, the foot, as *pars pro toto*, embodies the demonic genius that the 'classical artist' is to reveal. And while the foot may also function as an erotic and seductive detail, the Nymph's step is an engram, a mark imprinted in cultural memory (as Warburg describes it) that reappears even in the heart of contemporaneity in the most unexpected forms and finds its permanence in the work of art.

The Nymph in motion, the *gradiva* Nymph, embodies a *Pathosformel*, or the condensation of form and content in a single image. According to Warburg's interpretation, the pathos formula is a posture that involves the whole body and expresses a physical and psychic vitality that finds its exemplary representation precisely in this form and in no other. A *Pathosformel* is thus a sign that is inscribed in the cultural tradition of the West and is always potentially legible as such. Artists, who certainly learn the most effective formulas of pathos from ancient models, also learn from the movements of contemporary bodies, clothes and hairstyles, creating forms of passion and gestures 'in their superlative degree'. The Renaissance artist, then, took his models from the forms imprisoned in archaeological spolia, but breathed life into them, animating them with what he learnt from the living forms of his time, from the aesthetics of his era, and from what he observed in the streets of Florence.

In this sense, in the life—cultural before biological—of bodies, pathos formulae are not learned from models but are retriggered. In Warburg's words, the formula of pathos serves to 'de-demonise' the original phobic impressions, which do not merely coincide with the peak or 'superlative degree' of passion. All gestures and movements, all human actions, can be described as part of a dynamically evolving spectrum, flowing between a minimum and a maximum degree of intensity: from the most ordinary action to its more intense (either quantitatively or qualitatively) variations, from putting one foot in front of the other to running and dancing. In this sense, pathos formulae reappear across epochs as expressions of a fundamental psycho-physical quality of vital energy. They encapsulate not



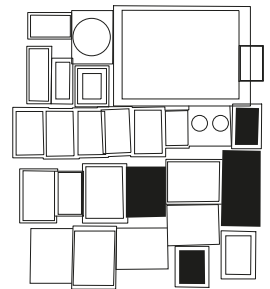
*Mai 1968. La Beauté est dans la rue, manifesto, France 1968*  
(Seminario Mnemosyne 2008, p. 35).

only heightened moments of emotional intensity but also the continuity of human movement and gesture, resonating with the enduring rhythms of life.

Depending on their emotional and expressive charge, the often-resilient formulae can shift and change in meaning and intensity according to the energetic field in which they are reactivated. The ancient maenad, the Victory and the Nymph thus reappear in the life and art of the fifteenth century, awaiting their rebirth as 'maidens in bloom' in places as diverse as the literary imagination of Marcel Proust and in the hair, clothes and gait of the rebellious young women who marched in the protests of 1968.



**Figures of the Renaissance Nymph and the Modern Nymph**  
from: Botticelli [46\_18], Giuliano da Sangallo [46\_15], Raffaello [46\_20],  
Aby Warburg [46\_26].



## *Ninfa Moderna*

The only contemporary element in Panel 46 is a photograph of a peasant woman from Settignano (*Bäuerin*, as noted on the photograph), taken by Warburg himself around 1900 in the rural hamlet near Florence [46\_26]. The photograph stands out among the images of the Panel for its apparent incongruity, which is evident in the quality of the snapshot and its chronological distance from the other elements. This striking discrepancy, together with its placement at the end of the montage, gives the photograph a prominent position that seems to contrast with the semantic weakness of the image, which is simply a female figure in motion. Moreover, the woman from Settignano is not wearing the airy and graceful, classically inspired garments of the Florentine nymphs of the fifteenth century. She is dressed in the heavy and plain clothes of her time, with her hair neatly tied up, neither loose nor blowing in the wind. The only connection with the other female figures in Panel 46 is in her posture as the woman walks with her left foot forward. However, her stride is far from the free and light step of the *gradiva* Nymph.

The connection with the other material in the Panel could be reduced to mere geographical proximity: the modern Nymph of Settignano also belongs to the predominantly Florentine *corpus* of figures in the Panel.

The peasant woman of Settignano appears to Warburg as a phantom: perhaps her posture, to the attentive eye of the scholar, activates the image of the *gradiva* Nymph. Or perhaps what Warburg captures in his snapshot is not so much the energy of the posture—the *Pathosformel* itself—but rather the legacy of the engram: the step of the female figure in Settignano forms a bridge between the present and antiquity. The intention is to signal, precisely through the snapshot, the imprint that persists despite the passage of time and the progressive neutralisation of its power. The photograph seals a chain of images, giving greater meaning to the other elements of the panel. It becomes a key link in the visual dialogue, linking the ancient and the modern through the enduring resonance of the step.

Included in the assembly of nymphs in the montage by virtue of a latent and distant kinship with them, the woman of Settignano, in her simplicity, becomes the unconscious bearer of a sign of the Nymph's survival. In this sense, she marks a further opening in the discourse of Panel 46. She demonstrates the exceptional nature of the re-emergence of antiquity, which is possible at any time, and serves as an entirely incidental trace of what Warburg describes as the 'secularisation of the nymph' or, in other words, the progressive 'humanisation of the pagan gods' (*Diario romano*, p. 99).

From early Renaissance depictions of the gods having epiphanies at secular festivals in woods and glades, these divinities gradually 'bourgeoisise' and eventually appear *en promenade* in modern landscape painting. This process culminated in the refined recovery of Manet, who, in his *Déjeuner*

*sur l'herbe*, used ancient models to depict young Parisian intellectuals as minor deities on a Sunday outing.

The stride of the peasant woman from Settignano is placed at the end of Panel 46 to narrate the occasion of the Nymph's return and her never-exhausted possibility of reappearing anywhere, even in contemporary contexts, fully humanised.

Even today—and not only in the markets or festivals of fifteenth-century Florence—the Nymph's step must be sought in real life, even in the everyday occurrence of a woman who happens to pass in front of a scholar's camera in a village in the Florentine countryside. In this sense, the photograph, which Warburg unexpectedly and strategically places at the end of the montage, takes on the value of a hermeneutic key, not only to the composition of Panel 46 but also to the entire mechanism of the Atlas device. In the photograph, the phantom of the Nymph appears against the light as a faded, diminished and depowered apparition; in juxtaposition with the more eloquent images of the montage, it ignites the demon of the imagination. The photograph that seals the conclusion of Panel 46 is the promise of a new beginning.

### *Explicit*

‘[The Nymph] this strangely delicate plant really rooted in the arid Florentine earth?’—so Warburg reflected in his ‘Platonic’ dialogue with his friend Jolles. In truth, Warburg teaches that the Nymph has no roots, and if she does, they are rhizomes that bloom again from the subsoil of antiquity, whose legacy and genealogy the scholar seeks to reconstruct. The Nymph is neither an archetype nor the ultimate object of research: she is a figure of philology, a teacher and guide of research itself.

‘I feel compelled to turn my philological gaze toward the soil from which she arose’—this is Warburg’s answer, and his answer finds a precise and invaluable reflection in the work of Panel 46.

Philology is not only a ‘love of knowledge’: it is also desire—it is also *voluptas*. Warburg is right, but perhaps even more so is his friend Jolles, who sees in the Nymph’s play an ‘intellectual flirtation’ and a ‘cruel game’: a magnificent obsession that collapses the distance between the researcher and the object of his study. ‘Am I chasing her, or is she chasing me? I no longer know’, wrote André Jolles to Aby Warburg on 23 December 1900. It is a question we all must ask ourselves.



## Assembly Strategy

The Mnemosyne project came to a halt with Warburg's death in 1929, leaving the Atlas as a provisional *menabò* that would have required further revision and accompanying commentary texts. Nevertheless, each panel functions as an 'electrically charged space', a 'battery of memory' (as Kurt Forster described it), capable of generating meaning on its own. Warburg himself likened the large black panels on which he pinned images—in an ephemeral and always precarious syntax—to an arena. The Atlas panel is an agonistic field where no linear progress or definitive conclusions are reconstructed, but where transformations, tensions and conflicts become visible and can even be represented graphically.

In this sense, graphic reading becomes a valuable hermeneutic tool, productively intertwined with the threads of the interpretive essays. By examining the images one by one, considering their singularity and interrelationships, particularly in Panel 46, it becomes possible to discern the montage *ratio*, which follows a clear compositional logic.

These strategies concern the choice of the format of the reproductions, which are almost never proportional to the dimensions of the originals. First, the arrangement of elements along vertical and horizontal axes. Second, the emphasis on one or more works that serve as a pole and semantic nucleus. Third, the use of enlargements and extrapolations of details that, when juxtaposed with the complete image, acquire formal autonomy and allow for further layers of interpretation. These techniques were made possible by the advanced technical, photographic and typographic equipment of the time with which Warburg had equipped his library in Hamburg.

Tracing and highlighting the compositional grids that organise the material of the Atlas is valuable for two reasons. First, it vividly reveals the conceptual and thematic structure of each panel, suggesting a syntax in which the image—with its formal characteristics, placement and format—speaks eloquently on its own. Second, uncovering these grids often provides additional evidence of the meticulous care and methodological rigour that governed the construction of the montages.

### *The Poles of Composition*

In the montage of Panel 46, two works stand out as poles imbued with a significant charge of formal and semantic energy that resonates meaningfully throughout the other images: Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Baptist* [46\_3] and Giovanna Tornabuoni's medal [46\_14].

The first pole is Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Baptist* [46\_3]. This fresco, in the Tornabuoni Chapel, emphasises the duality of the female figure: the Lady (Giovanna Tornabuoni) and the Nymph (the basket-bearing maid). These figures project variations of themselves, forming two interconnected



montage strategies | pole 1

46\_3 | *The Birth of John the Baptist* by Ghirlandaio

Semantic and formal projections of the figures of the Lady [red] and the Nymph [pink], highlighting all the profiles of the Lady and the Nymph in the Panel.

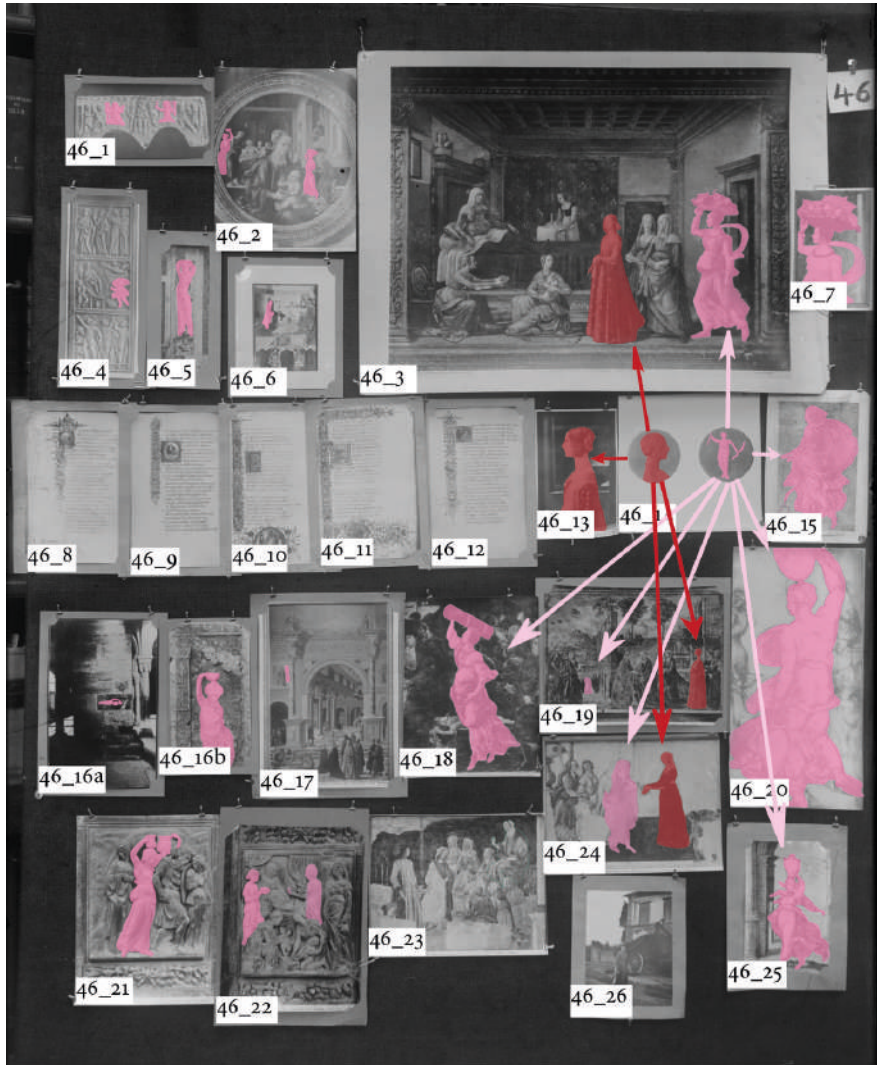
sets whose elements, although different in form and meaning, establish syntactical relationships with each other.

The image of the Nymph, an ingredient on the right of the fresco, is cut out and re-proposed in Figure 46\_7. At first glance, it might appear to be a zoom from Ghirlandaio's painting, but it is instead a workshop copy of the detail of the basket-bearer. This choice, in the strategy of montage, highlights the circulation of the subject in an autonomous, non-authorial form, in copies and multiples of wide popular diffusion. The proliferation of themes and figures in various media—from decoration to objects, engravings and loose prints—is a theme dear to Warburg. On the opposite side, the domestic interior of the visit to the puerpera is reproduced in the background of Filippo Lippi's *Bartolini Tondo* [46\_2], dated to the 1550s. Juxtaposed below the tondo, a miniature by Jean Fouquet from *Hours of Étienne Chevalier* [46\_6] exemplifies how the theme of the visitation of the puerpera with nymphs in an ancillary function is elaborated at the northern latitude.

While the chronological height is the same, the cultural and stylistic temperatures and the quality of the images are radically different. In the iconography from beyond the Alps, the rigidity of the figures, still all medieval, highlights the difference from the Florentine Renaissance. This difference is also evident in the style of dress: in the Nordic paintings, the characters wear, in a realistic and anachronistic manner, the clothes of their time. Thick fabrics cover their bodies and impede movement, according to a fashion that is still medieval 'alla franzese' (Warburg), and continues the courtly and fairytale style of the illustrations of chivalric novels. The 'new old-fashioned style', as Warburg called it, which made its way into Florentine paintings, was instead inspired by classical models. Warburg noted that it is a matter of interpreting different historical speeds in different cultural contexts as 'symptoms of that crucial transitional phase—as traces of the 'unresolved blend of Northern popular comedy, quasi-French costume realism, and dynamic, quasi-antique idealism in gesture and drapery movement as a symptom of crucial transitional phase in the emergence of secular Florentine art (*Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century*, in *Renewal*, p. 275)'.

The second energetic pole is the figure of the obverse and reverse of the medal made by Niccolò Fiorentino for Giovanna Tornabuoni on the occasion of her marriage [46\_14]. In the Panel, the two sides are juxtaposed, making them visible simultaneously—unlike when the real medal is viewed, where they would be seen alternately. This juxtaposition presents Giovanna both as a Lady and as a Nymph: on one side, her composed portrait in sumptuous dress, rigid and immobile; on the other side, her mythical alias, the classical image of a unique hybrid between Venus and Diana, the Virgilian *Venus-Virgo*.

The diptych serves as a central node from which the adjacent images radiate. Horizontally, the medal's obverse, with its profile portrait modelled on Roman imperial coinage, extends to Ghirlandaio's posthumous portrait



montage strategies | pole 2

46\_14 | The Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni

Semantic and formal projections of the figure of the Lady [red] and the Nymph [pink] highlighting all profiles of Lady and Nymph in the Panel.

of Giovanna Tornabuoni in courtly dress [46\_13]. The reverse of the medal, depicting the wind-blown huntress of Venus inspired by antiquity, links up with the Nymph in flowing garments in Giuliano da Sangallo's drawing [46\_15].

In the vertical projection, Giovanna's medal relates, upward, to the posture of the two female protagonists in *The Birth of John the Baptist*—the *Signora* and the basket-bearing Nymph [46\_3]. Downward, it connects to another scene from the Tornabuoni Chapel, *The Visitation* [46\_19], where the *Signora* occupies the foreground while the *gradiva* Nymph appears in the background.

The two figures on the faces of the medal draw the surrounding nymphs, both painted [46\_18, 46\_19, 46\_24] and drawn on paper [46\_15, 46\_20, 46\_25], into their field of radiation. Together, they form a field with the medal at its centre. The medal can be conceptualised as an ellipse—a geometric figure dear to Warburg—with the two foci being the two faces of Giovanna: Lady and Nymph.



Mnemosyne Atlas, Panels 37, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.

### *The Position of Panel 46 in the Atlas*

In the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, although unfinished, one can find a ruled structure, a controlled syntax articulated by groups of Panels that proceed chronologically, although not always linearly, and by thematic scansion. Studies and research on the early Florentine Renaissance, to which Warburg devoted numerous essays and lectures, occupy the central panels—the heart of the Atlas. Panel 46 is placed in this chronologically and geographically compact set, in which the re-emergence of antiquity and *Pathosformeln* in the early Renaissance are in evidence. There are two main groupings in this core—Panels 37–39 and Panels 43–48—whose contents can be defined as follows from the notes of Warburg and collaborators.

Mnemosyne Atlas, Panels 37, 38, 39

The irruption of the Ancient and the reactivation of the *Pathosformeln* drawing, *grisaille*, court games, and mythical allegories.

The works that make up Panels 37–39 testify to the intrusion of the style of antiquity into early Italian Renaissance art, through drawing from archaeological models and the practice of faux-relief (*grisaille*) as a vehicle for the intrusion of Dionysian pathos (struggle, abduction, mourning, Eros, victory). An old-fashioned juxtaposition of styles in Florentine art, between the ‘muscular retorica’ of Pollaiuolo’s figures (according to Warburg) and the restless grace of Botticelli’s mythological allegories.

Mnemosyne Atlas, Panels 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48

Nike and Fortuna: merchants, angels, nymphs

This group stages the patron’s self-representation in the art of portraiture, combining an antiquarian style with a balance of bourgeois restraint, superlative emphasis and allegorical detachment. The most intense ancient pathos formulae are not confined to the metaphorical language of painted sculpture; they animate the scenes in Ghirlandaio’s works. Figures such as the Angel, the Nymph and the ‘head-hunters’ Judith and Salome break away from the sculptural reliefs and enter the narrative as dynamic and emotionally charged protagonists.



Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 45.

### *Links of Panel 46 with Panels 45 and 47*

A glance at the adjacent panels of the Atlas, Panels 45 and 47, further illuminates and enriches the themes presented in Panel 46.

The leitmotif of Panel 46—Ghirlandaio's *Birth of John the Baptist*—already appears in Panel 45 [45\_8] in a reduced format, occupying a secondary position. From there, a window opens onto the theme of the *gradiva* Nymph, particularly evident in the vertical sequence on the left. Here, the flowing garment is worn by a young woman witnessing the *Presentation of the Virgin* [45\_1], by *Salome* in her dance for Herod [45\_4], juxtaposed with the Nymph in the *Birth of John the Baptist* [45\_8], and by the Angel in the *Story of Zechariah* [45\_12, 14].

Some of these themes reappear, albeit in the background, in Panel 46, particularly in the fables from Lucrezia Tornabuoni's manuscript and in the illustration from Fouquet's *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*: the Angel with Tobias and Judith with the head of Holofernes [46\_9, 6, 10]. The analogy between the formal invention of the figure of the Angel and the reappearance of the Nymph, accentuated by the movement of the thin, windblown garments, was already emphasised by Warburg in his essay on Botticelli (1893), where he quotes the passage from Leonardo's *Trattato della pittura* on the 'density of the limbs', which the artist should make visible when drawing nymphs and angels<sup>1</sup>.

The device of reflecting ancient forms in the *grisaille* reliefs of the architectural frames surrounding the main scene, which appears in Panel 46 of Fra Carnevale's *Presentation of the Virgin* [46\_17], is already proposed in Panel 45 as one of the central elements, both formally and semantically. This is further emphasised by the reference to two other works by Ghirlandaio: the *Massacre of the Innocents* [45\_9] and the *Sacrifice of Zechariah* [45\_12].

The figures of the Angel, the Nymph and the 'head-hunters' Judith and Salome, central to Panels 45–47, are modelled on the Victories and the Dancing Maenads of ancient reliefs. As Warburg writes:

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 (*On Imprese Amoroze in the Earliest Florentine Engravings, in Renewal*, p. 174).

1. *Infra*, p. 32.



Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 47.

Judith, who appears in Panel 46 as the ‘good heroine’ of Lucrezia Tornabuoni’s domestic tales, regains her strong role as ‘head-hunter’ in the adjacent Panel 47. The young woman, whether Judith [47\_20, 21, 22a, 23, 24, 25, 26] or Salome [47\_16, 17, 18, 19], carries in the basket on her head or on the plate not fruit offerings but the severed head of her victim.

The image of Tobias with the Angel—glimpsed in Panel 46 within the pages of Lucrezia Tornabuoni’s book [46\_9]—takes centre stage in the following Panel 47 [47\_10, 11, 12, 13, 15]. The angel, whose ancient model lies in the figure of Nike, appears in the late fifteenth-century Florentine painting as a guiding figure for Tobias in the biblical episode. In real life, at the time, this figure symbolised the protection of young merchant sons embarking on sea voyages.

In a purely formal context, detached from moral judgements, the angel corresponds to the Nymph in both role and posture. The angels on the left and the ‘head-hunters’ on the right animate Panel 47 with their wind-blown garments, creating a dynamic interplay that visually enlivens the composition.



## The Images in Panel 46

Below is a description of each image in Panel 46. The captions distinguish between the real objects—drawings, paintings, statues and other works examined—and the elements physically present in the panel.

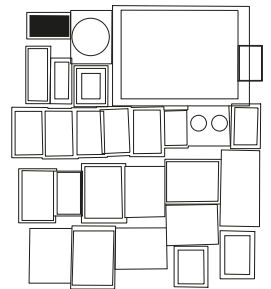
**On the left-hand side:** the image in the panel in the best resolution available; at the top, a diagram indicates its position in the montage; the full caption of the work refers to the real object to which the image in the panel corresponds; and the caption for the element in the panel indicates the materials used by Warburg to assemble the panel (photographic reproductions, book or newspaper pages, postcards, or other media). The dimensions of the reproduction in the panel are also given, as their relationship to the actual dimensions of the work may be significant within the montage strategy.

**On the right-hand side:** an editorial title; a description that succinctly presents the historical-artistic coordinates of the work and the significance of its inclusion within the syntax of the panel, linked to the thematic analysis published in the previous pages; and specific references to the object as derived from Warburg's writing.



Helmet of Agilulf (frontal portion), repoussé copper sheet, seventh century. Firenze, Museo Nazionale del Bargello.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (14,3x7,8 cm).



46\_1

*Agilulf's Triumph. Scene of Homage with the 'Hurrying Victory'*

Frontal of a Helmet with Tribute Scene to King Agilulf commemorating the successful siege of Rome at the end of the year 593. The metal plate depicts a scene of homage. The central group, shown in a static frontal composition, is contrasted by the dynamism of two pairs of warriors advancing symmetrically from both sides, led by two winged Victories.

To present the king as the heir to the Roman Empire, the iconography of homage includes the image of Nike, a prefiguration of the *Eilsieglinde*, the 'hastening Victory', as Warburg puts it.

**Note by Aby Warburg on the Nike-Victory in Agilulf's Helmet**

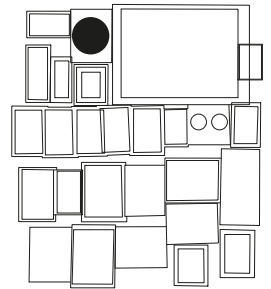
"The Diadem of Agilulf: Change to assert universal authority. When King Agilulf appropriates the Nike, he seeks to magically acquire the expansive power of the Roman Empire through a symbol"

(WIA III.102.1.2 [5]).



Filippo Lippi, *Tondo Bartolini* (Madonna and Child; in the background, the Meeting of Joachim and Anna and the Birth of Mary), tempera on panel, 1452–1453, Firenze, Palazzo Pitti.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (14,8x6,7 cm).



46\_2

*Gradive / Carrying Nymphs in Jesus' Birth Scene*

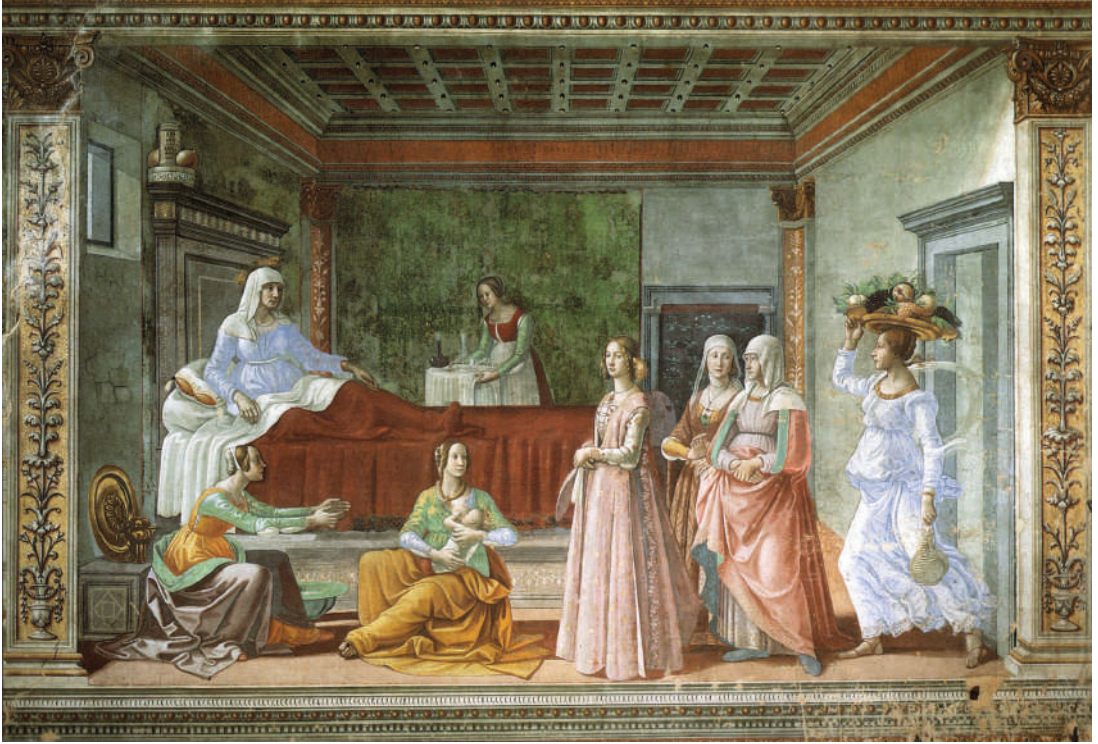
The tondo, which depicts scenes from the life of Saint Anne, the mother of Mary, on several levels, was created by Filippo Lippi for domestic devotion. In the foreground, the Madonna sits on a throne with the Child.

In the background, on the right, is the meeting of Joachim and Anne; on the left, the birth of Mary. Among the women visiting Anne, who has just given birth, there are two women with baskets of fruit on their heads. One of them is advancing briskly, her light garments fluttering as they cling to her body, emphasising her form: she is one of the revelations of the *gradiva* Nymph.

**Note by Aby Warburg on the Nymph in the *Tondo Bartolini***

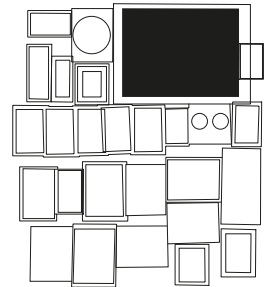
“The striding maiden, carrying a basket or a pot on her head, who appears so often as a generalized ornamental motif in the panel paintings and frescoes of the Florentine School, from Filippo Lippi to Raphael”

(*Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589*, in *Renewal*, p. 381).



Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Birth of John the Baptist*, fresco, 1485–1490, Firenze, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (41,9x31,8 cm).



The fresco is part of a cycle commissioned by the wealthy merchant Giovanni Tornabuoni to Domenico and Davide Ghirlandaio to decorate the great chapel in the choir of Santa Maria Novella. Giovanni's sister Lucrezia had married Piero di Cosimo and was the mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent. The sacred stories celebrate the prestige of the family: at the centre of the composition is Giovanna degli Albizzi, wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni (the patron's son), accompanied by Lucrezia. The noblewomen of the Tornabuoni family are shown visiting Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, after her birth.

A female figure stands out in the scene, advancing briskly with fluttering garments that emphasise her movement, carrying a basket of fruit on her head. In Warburg's imagination, this is the quintessential epiphany of the *gradiva* Nymph.

**Note by Aby Warburg on the Ladies in *The Birth of John the Baptist***

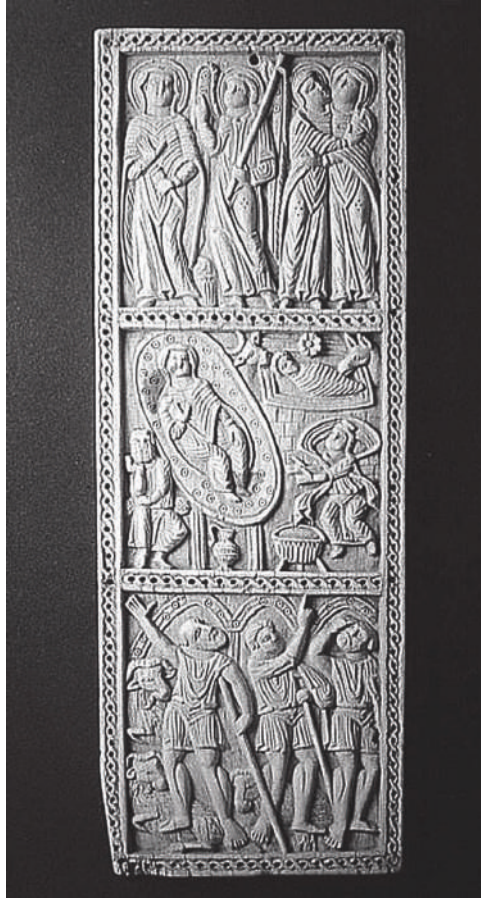
"Mrs. Tornabuoni, for instance, who in one of Ghirlandajo's frescoes enters the room on a solemn visit of congratulation [...]. this is the somewhat philistine, severe self-containment of the wife of a worthy, who must insist on good manners and who only knows those who have been introduced to her"

(*Leonardo*, in Gombrich 1970, p. 104).

**Note by Aby Warburg on the Ghirlandaio's Nymph**

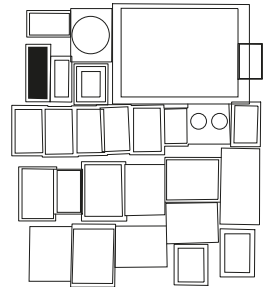
"Right at the open door, there runs, no, flies, no, floats, the objects of my dreams, who gradually begins to assume the proportions of a graceful nightmare. A fantastical figure, no, a serving girl, no, a classical nymph, enters the room wearing her billowing veil"

(continues in *Appendix* → T1, T2, T3).



Scenes with Stories of Christ: *Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Shepherds*, bas-relief on an ivory diptych valve, seventh century. Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (6,9x18,7 cm).



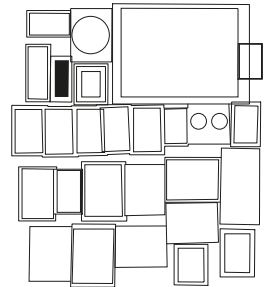
The reason for including this bas-relief, the work of an anonymous Byzantine artist, in the montage is the presence, on the left of the central panel depicting the Nativity, of a female figure attending and caring for the Virgin and the newborn child after their birth.

The figure of the attentive handmaid, ready to nurse the child, can be seen as a prefiguration of the Nymph: compared to the rigidity of the other figures, the fluttering veil that envelops the handmaid stands out as an expressive form of her solicitude. The *velificatio*, already part of the expressive repertoire of Hellenistic and Roman art, can be seen as a 'precoinage' (*Vorpägung*, as Warburg called it) of the 'accessories in motion' that would characterise the Renaissance revival of antiquity in art.



Female Figure as Caryatid, marble relief, 1259–1283, Sessa Aurunca, Cattedrale dei Santi Pietro e Paolo.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (5x13,2 cm).



46\_5

*Caryatid-Canefora in Sessa Aurunca's Ambon*

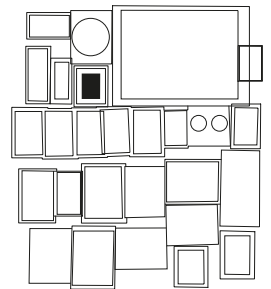
The picture shows a relief statue on the ambo of the Cathedral of Sessa Aurunca, modelled on the pulpit of Aiello in the Cathedral of Salerno. From the sculptures carved into the mosaic-panelled loggia, Warburg extracts the figure from the corner relief, comparable in appearance and simulated function to a caryatid.

The female figure wears wind-blown garments that reveal the contours of her body, with her right arm raised in the pose of the *canefora* Nymph. In the montage of the panel, this figure is to be read in dialogue with the image of the *spolium* from San Zeno [46\_16a].



Jean Fouquet, *The Birth of John the Baptist*, tempera on parchment, 1452–1460. Miniature from the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*, ms. 71, fol. 28r., Chantilly, Musée Condé.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (6,6x9,1 cm).



46\_6

'*Alla francese*' *Nativity of Jesus (Without Nymph)*

This *Book of Hours* was made between 1452 and 1460 by Jean Fouquet for Étienne Chevalier, King Charles VII's treasurer. The miniature is a small painting in its own right which, despite Italian and Flemish influences, retains a distinctly French character and late Gothic style. The three lower panels depict scenes from the life of Saint John.

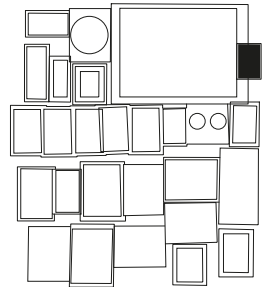
Fouquet's work is linked to Ghirlandaio's fresco by its subject: the Nativity in the Mother's chamber. However, although it is almost contemporary with the Florentine works, it belongs to a completely different cultural context: the French court during the reign of Charles VII.

The figures' clothing is much more bundled, and their postures are more static. What dynamism there is, albeit subdued, is conveyed by the minor figures, while the anonymous visitors and the protagonists of the sacred scene maintain a rigid and composed demeanour.



Artist from the Circle of Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Fruit Bearer* (copy of the basket-bearing Nymph from *The Birth of John the Baptist*), detached fresco, late fifteenth – early sixteenth century. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.

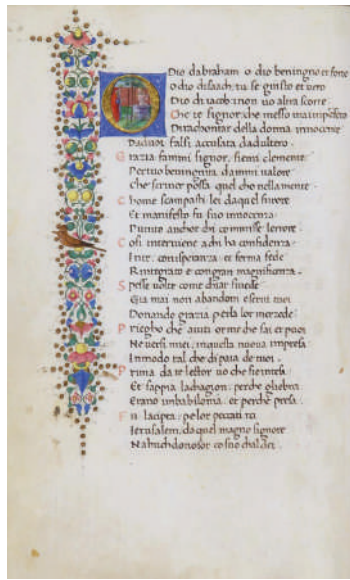
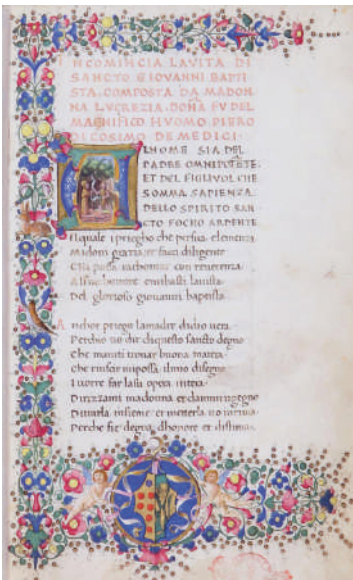
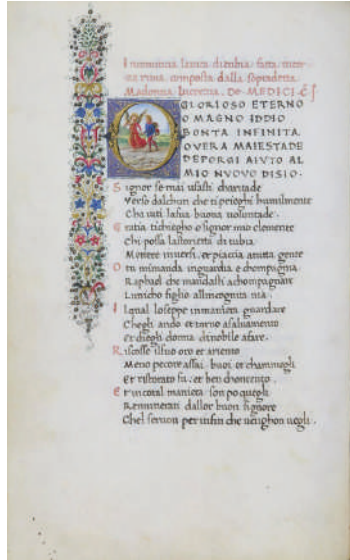
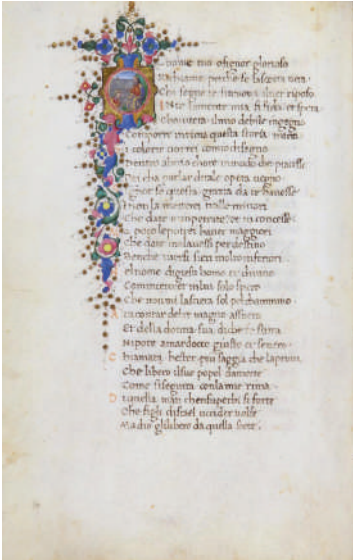
in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (7,9x12,3 cm).



46\_7

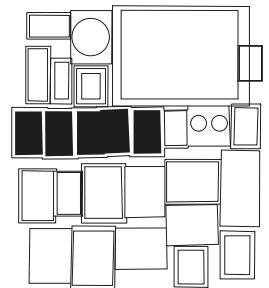
*The Absolute Nymph*

The image highlights and foregrounds, by extracting and isolating, the figure of the maid who, in Ghirlandaio's fresco, follows the three women visiting Elizabeth and enters the room with a basket of fruit on her head. However, this is not a detail from Ghirlandaio's fresco, as it might appear at first glance, but rather a workshop copy. This is evidence of the widespread circulation of the *canfeora* Nymph, regardless of the author's value or the work's artistic merit.



Gherardo di Giovanni di Miniato, *La storia di Hester; La vita di Tubia; Ystoria di Iudith vedova hebreia; Judith and Holofernes; Ystoria di Iudith vedova hebreia; La vita di Sancto Giovanni Baptista; Ystoria della devota Susanna*, tempera on parchment, post 1469, in Lucrezia Tornabuoni, *Istorie in rima*., codex Magl. vii.338, fol. 51v; fol. 89v; fol. 28r; fol. 1r, Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (9,5x11 cm).



46\_8–12

*Lucrezia, as a Lady and as a Magistra. The Tales of Esther, Tobias, Judith, John the Baptist, Shoshana*

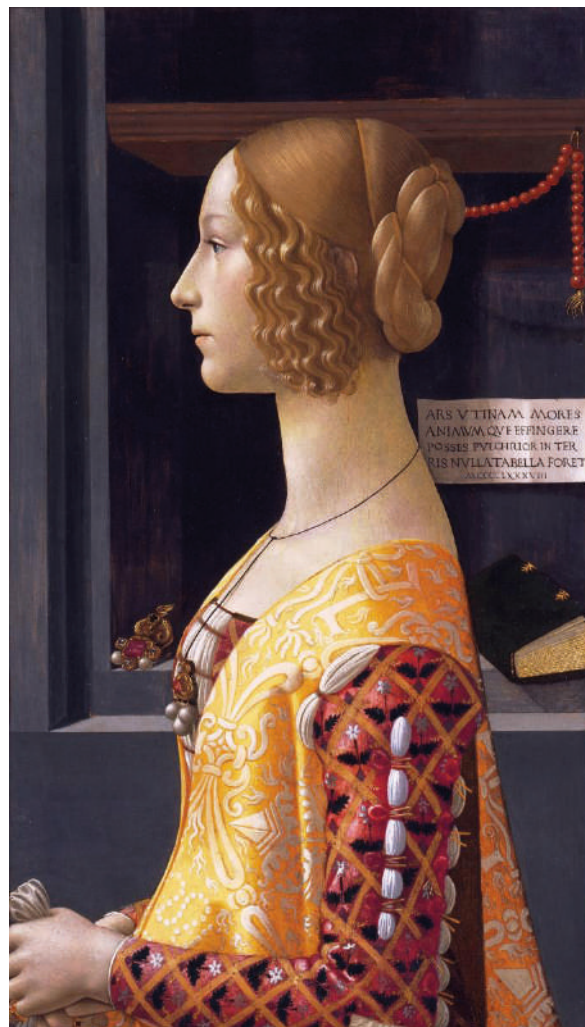
Panel 46 contains five illuminated pages from the manuscript of the *Istorie in rima* by Lucrezia Tornabuoni, mother of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Giuliano. Lucrezia composed *fabulae* with heroines and characters drawn from the repertoire of the Old and New Testaments.

Alongside Esther, defender of the Jewish people [46\_8], Judith, heroine of freedom against the tyrant [46\_10], and Susanna, an example of chastity [46\_12], we find the story of John the Baptist [46\_11], patron saint of Florence, central to the city's festivals and popular devotion, and the protective figure of the angel Raphael, who accompanies Tobias [46\_9].

As his correspondence shows, Warburg attached great importance to this didactic-literary work by the mother of the Magnifico, to the extent that he planned a critical edition of the text (*Diario romano*, p. 30).

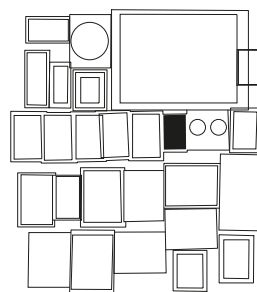
**Note by Aby Warburg on the *Istorie in Rima* by Lucrezia Tornabuoni**

“Lorenzo had clearly inherited his love of storytelling from his mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni. 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” (*Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoise*, in *Renewal*, p. 201).



Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi Tornabuoni*, tempera on panel, 1488. Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (8x12,4 cm).



46\_13

*Giovanna Tornabuoni as a Lady*

Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi, married to Lorenzo Tornabuoni, executed in 1488, the year of her death in childbirth.

In a niche in the background, there is a necklace of coral pearls, an amulet for newborn babies and a reference to the Blood of Christ. On a shelf, there are a jewel and a scroll with a Latin inscription, taken from an epigram by Martial, referring to the Lady's virtues. The inscription reads:

ARS VTINAM MORES ANIMVMQUE EFFINGERE POSSES  
PVLCHROR IN TERRIS NVLLA TABELLA FORET  
MCCCCLXXXVIII

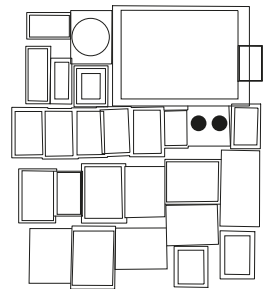
Art, if ever you could portray the soul and manners,  
there would be no portrait on earth more beautiful.  
1488

In terms of physiognomy, hairstyle, clothing and jewellery, the portrait corresponds to the profile on the medals created for Giovanna by Niccolò Fiorentino [46\_14]. It also corresponds to the figure of the Lady in Ghirlandaio's frescoes for the Tornabuoni Chapel, particularly in the Scene of the *Visitation* [46\_19] and the *Birth of the Baptist* [46\_3], and to Botticelli's fresco for Villa Lemmi [46\_24].



Niccolò Fiorentino, Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni, cast and silvered bronze, 1486.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (14,7x14,4 cm).



46\_14

*The Lady and the Nymph: Two Faces of the Medal*

The medal, struck on the occasion of Giovanna degli Albizzi's marriage to Lorenzo Tornabuoni, shows a realistic portrait on the obverse and an allegorical representation of Giovanna, the central figure of Panel 46 [46\_3, 13, 14, 19, 25], on the reverse.

On the obverse, the medallist has faithfully reproduced Giovanna's hairstyle, clothing and physiognomic features as they appear in Ghirlandaio's posthumous portrait [46\_13].

The reverse shows a figure in mythological dress surrounded by the inscription:

VIRGINIS • OS • HABITUM • QUE • GERENS • VIRGINIS • ARMA

This is a rare depiction of an episode from the *Aeneid* in which Venus appears to Aeneas as a virgin in an unusual hybrid of the chaste goddess of the woods and the goddess of love (*Aeneid* I, 315). The bow and arrows are both Cupid's and the huntress's weapons.

The two sides of the medal depict Giovanna Tornabuoni in a double role: on the one hand, as a serene lady in sumptuous dress, rigid and silent; on the other, as her mythical alias, a dynamic and exuberant image in the classical style.

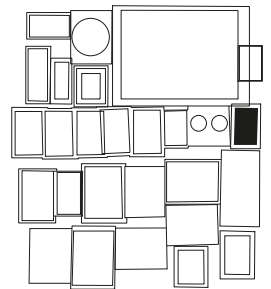
**Note by Aby Warburg on the Medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni**

"[The mythical figure] 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" (continues in the *Appendix* → T4)



Giuliano da Sangallo, Female Figure with Flowing Garment, pen drawing on paper, early sixteenth century, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (10x16 cm).



The female figure in Giuliano da Sangallo's pen drawing is included in the montage to illustrate the widespread use of the Nymph theme.

Warburg was particularly interested in the sketchbooks in which Renaissance artists kept their studies of ancient models as a kind of visual repertoire. The subjects in these sketchbooks were later used in workshops and by other artists, ensuring the success of certain figures, including that of the Nymph—a maiden in flowing garments—derived from Roman sarcophagi.

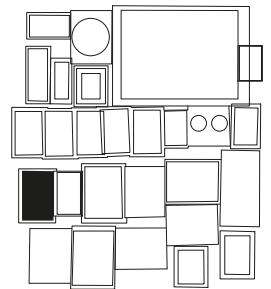
**Note by Aby Warburg on the Archeological Sketchbooks by Giuliano da Sangallo and Ghirlandaio**

“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 Tornabuoni frescoes with the loftier style of an idealized and tique rendering of motion” (*Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons*, in *Renewal*, p. 249).



Roman *Spolium* with Water Carrier, bas-relief in stone, Roman era.  
Verona, Basilica di San Zeno, crypt, postcard, twentieth century.

in Panel: postcard (13,6x19,4 cm).



46\_16a

*Nymph as Spolium in se*

The element in the panel reproduces a postcard sent by Warburg on 3 July 1929, showing a pillar in the crypt of San Zeno in Verona in which an ancient *spolium* with a water carrier had been inserted horizontally.

On this image, Gombrich writes:

Warburg had noticed this Roman slab in the crypt of San Zeno in Verona where it had been fitted horizontally into the wall, and this ‘degradation’ of a once triumphant motif struck him as a symbol of the very process he was investigating, the ‘degradation’ and ‘encapsuling’ of pagan ‘engrams’ during the dominance of Christian values (Gombrich 1970, p. 298).

On the back of the postcard, Warburg’s note humorously highlights the idea of the suspension of life in ancient images:

Immortel Paganisme – est-tu mort – on le dit.

Paganism is dead—so they say—but the energy of antiquity is ready to be awakened in a new rebirth.

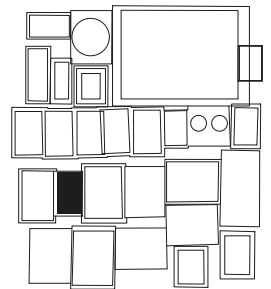
**Note by Aby Warburg on the San Zeno crypt**

“The conservation of energy, also symbolised by the victory on the Benin bronze in the Vatican, with the swift victor, a dynamogram with a Lombard nuance. The civil preservation of the maenad as a caretaker in the room of the woman in labour at the birth of Christ (early Christian relief). The symbol of the ‘swift victorious Brigitta’ in tectonic subjugation in the crypt of Verona—walled crosswise as a punishment in the central pillar of the crypt of the dark-skinned apostle Zeno: a material inversion” (WIA III.102.1.2[6]).



Roman *Spolium* with Water Carrier, bas-relief in stone, Roman era.  
Verona, Basilica di San Zeno, crypt, postcard, twentieth century.

in Panel: postcard (10,4x16,2 cm).



46\_16b

*A Straightened and Resemantised Nymph*

This is another postcard sent by Warburg on 3 July 1929, showing the same column from San Zeno [46\_16a] with a close-up of the female water carrier. In contrast to the other picture, in which the *spolium* is mounted horizontally, here the figure of the water-carrying Nymph is shown upright, restored to its original vertical position, thus regaining its meaning and orientation.

Warburg jokes about the position of the female figure, which, once victoriously vertical, was forcibly laid flat in the practical medieval reuse of stone. This is how he lets the Nymph's victory speak:

Mais Pan se mocque sont bas — et la Victoire en rit.

Die Eilsieglinde.

But deep down, Pan is amused, and Victory laughs.

The hurrying Victory.

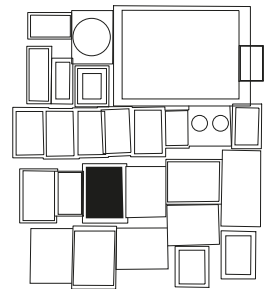
The diminutive *Eilsieglinde* ('hasty bringer of victory') is one of several playful word variations that Warburg attributed to the Nymph in his notes: *Eilsiegbring* ('swift bringer of victory'), *Eilbringitte* ('Brigitta hurries to bring') or *Eilsiegbringitte* ('Brigitta/quick bringer of victory'). It is worth noting that 'Brigitte' is a conventional name for the figure of the maid in German popular culture. According to Gombrich, the whole of Panel 46 was intended to tell 'the fairy tale of Fräulein Schnellbring'.

Regarding the Nymph positioned horizontally in the crypt of San Zeno, Warburg humorously reflects on the new subjugation of the 'maidservant' and the very literal 'Inversion im Materiellen', referring to the altered meaning of the ancient *spolium* caused by its reorientation from vertical to horizontal (see Warburg's Note on the Crypt of San Zeno, p. 93).



Fra' Carnevale (Bartolomeo di Giovanni Corradini), *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, oil and tempera on panel, ca. 1467. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (15,9x21,2 cm).

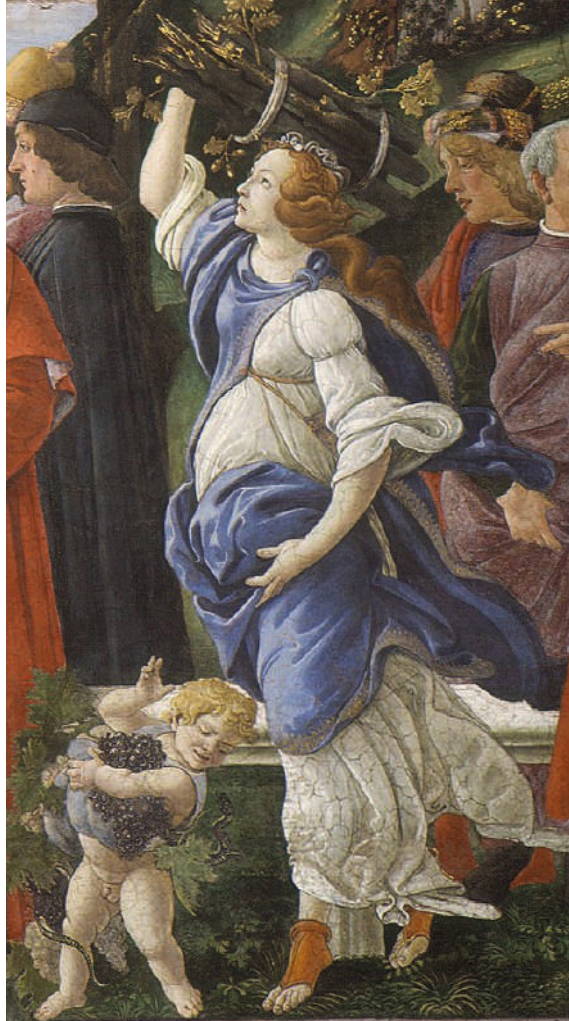


Fra' Carnevale's painting includes a figure of the basket-bearing Nymph, visible in the upper left panel, in the background of Mary's visit to Elizabeth. In addition, an image of a dancing maenad—recognised by Warburg as another model for the movements of the Florentine Nymph—appears in the bas-relief of the portal, paired with a satyr on the symmetrical pedestal.

The reference to these pagan figures, seemingly trapped in the bas-reliefs embedded in the structures of the 'grey' background architecture, makes *grisaille* painting one of the earliest vehicles for the re-emergence of antiquity and, consequently, the figure of the Nymph.

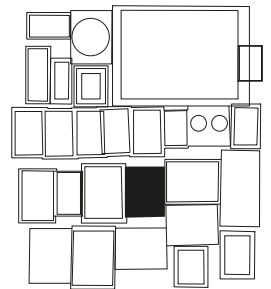
**Note by Aby Warburg on the “grey architecture” of Fra' Carnevale**

“A third impression was added yesterday in the Barberini Gallery: two paintings, very important for us, by the so-called Fra' Carnevale [Master of the Barberini panels], who stands out from Piero, Ferrara (Cossa, Cassone of Casa Buonarroti), Pesellino and the eight Perugian paintings, to which Carnevale is more akin. However, it lacks a characteristic of the so-called Fiorenzo [di Lorenzo]: the clear architecture that stands out so strangely against the blue sky. Here the architecture is grey”  
(*Diario romano*, p. 9).



Sandro Botticelli, *Woman Carrying a Bundle of Sticks* (detail from *The Temptations of Christ*), fresco, 1481–1482, Roma, Cappella Sistina.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (14,3x18,3 cm).



46\_18

*Nymph in Rome*

The image is a detail from the fresco *The Temptation of Christ*, which Botticelli painted in the Sistine Chapel in 1481–82 at the request of Pope Sixtus IV as part of the reconciliation project with Lorenzo de' Medici.

It represents another variation of the *gradiva* Nymph: this time, she carries a bundle of kindling intended for the sacrifice depicted in the central scene of the fresco. Once again, she is a secondary figure in the narrative, yet the image in the panel draws attention to her. The detail from the Sistine Chapel fresco introduces the theme of the circulation of the subject: Botticelli, familiar with the ancient image of the Nymph, carries her figure beyond the borders of Florence and the Medici circle.

**Note by Aby Warburg on the “Florentine Nymph” in the Sistine Chapel**

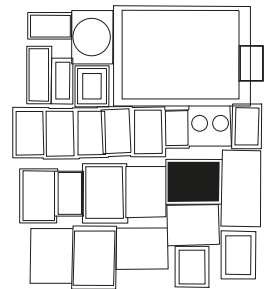
“The lively image of a maidservant hurrying in is already present in Fra Filippo; but it was not until Botticelli had become familiar with the nymphs of antiquity, both in art and in literature, that this running female figure acquired the sprightly, self-assured beauty of her first appearance in his 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”

(*Sandro Botticelli*, in *Renewal*, p. 159).



Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Visitation*, fresco, 1485–1490, Firenze, Chiesa di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Tornabuoni.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (20x16 cm).



The work is one of the frescoes in the Tornabuoni Chapel. In the background, we can see the tower of Palazzo Vecchio, the bell tower of Santa Maria Novella and perhaps the San Miniato Gate. All the elements that make up this painting are explicitly mentioned in the contract between Giovanni Tornabuoni and Domenico Ghirlandaio for the cycle of frescoes: the landscape, the city, the animals, the perspective, the portraits and the classical elements.

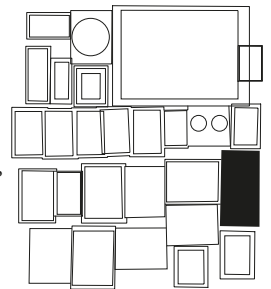
In the element of the triumphal arch in perspective, two *grisaille* scenes stand out: a bas-relief of Trajan's Justice (reminiscent of the bas-relief on the Arch of Constantine) and a scene with Nereid and Tritons. In this Visitation, too, a Nymph appears in the background, carrying her basket on her head, but her presence does not interact with the primary scene.

Instead, the meeting between Mary and Elizabeth, accompanied by two maidservants, is accompanied by a series of figures arranged in the foreground: on the left, three saints; on the right, the group of Tornabuoni ladies, among whom is Giovanna degli Albizzi.



Water Carrier (detail from Raphael's *Fire in the Borgo*), red chalk on paper, seventeenth century. Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (13,7x27,2 cm).



46\_20

*Fire-Fighting Nymph*

The drawing reproduces a detail from Raphael's fresco *The Fire in the Borgo*. As Warburg pointed out in one of his notes, the inclusion of this figure in the panel represents another variation of the bringing maid, this time as a water carrier. The figure was now typified and became a repertory image—an antique appearance used in both sacred and classical compositions.

Like the figure of the bundle carrier [46\_18], this is another example of the assimilation of the theme into the Roman context and the role of the sketchbook as a vehicle for disseminating the repertoire of ancient imagery. The figure has gained formal autonomy. Warburg refers to the figure in the drawing as a *Feuerlöscherin*, a 'fire extinguisher': the Nymph has been transformed into a generic 'firefighter'.

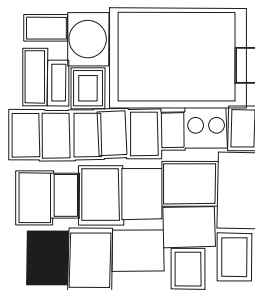
**Note by Aby Warburg on the "firefighter Nymph"**

"To Gertrud Bing, I gifted the heroic firewoman from the Fire in the Borgo. From the human head in the basket of fruit to the pitcher to extinguish the fire—and back again!" (*Diario romano*, p. 45).



Niccolò Tribolo (Niccolò di Raffaello di Niccolò dei Pericoli), *Lot Fleeing Sodom with His Wife and Daughters*, relief in Istrian stone, 1525–27. Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, left portal.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (15x19,6 cm).



46\_21

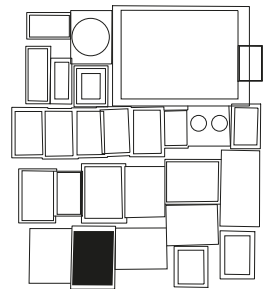
*Bologna Nymphs as Spolium in re*

On each side of the left portal of the church of San Petronio, among the Old Testament episodes carved by Niccolò Tribolo between 1525 and 1527, Warburg chose a relief depicting the flight of Lot from Sodom and Gomorrah, with Lot's daughters carrying a jug and a basket on their heads. This is not the material reuse of an original stone (*spolium in se*) but a new work in style (*spolium in re*), testifying to the survival of antiquity in the San Petronio workshop. This is another example of the exportation of the Nymph, which was carried beyond the borders of Florence by an artist of Florentine origin.



Alfonso Lombardi, *Birth of Esau and Jacob*, relief in Istrian stone, 1524–25.  
Bologna, Chiesa di San Petronio, left portal.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (15,6x22,6 cm).



46\_22

*Awaiting Nymphs*

Alfonso Lombardi's *formella* depicts the birth of Rebecca's twins, Jacob and Esau, who are being washed in a basin by the nurse and handmaids. This scene of daily life takes up the entire foreground of the scene, while in the background the mother, reclining in an alcove, is attended by other handmaids.

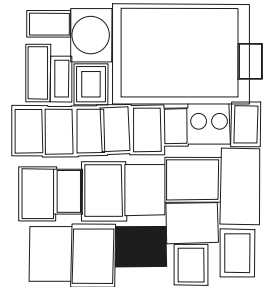
On each side of the left portal of the Church of San Petronio, below the relief depicting the *Flight of Lot* [46\_21], Warburg chose a Nativity scene that repeats the typical iconographic structure of the subject, as can also be seen in the leading images of Panel 46 [46\_2, 3, 4, 6].

Among the figures, two women carry a basket of fruit and a pitcher as gifts. The bearers do not follow the typical iconography of the *canefora* Nymph; they appear more rigid and adopt less dynamic postures.



Sandro Botticelli, *A Young Man Being Introduced to the Seven Liberal Arts*, detached fresco, ca. 1486, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (18,2x17,9 cm).



The fresco is part of the Villa Lemmi cycle, a suburban residence near Florence owned by the Tornabuoni family. It was probably commissioned for the marriage of Lorenzo Tornabuoni and Giovanna degli Albizzi in 1486. The Villa Lemmi cycle [46\_23, 24] is linked to Ghirlandaio's frescoes in Santa Maria Novella [46\_3, 19] through the Tornabuoni patronage.

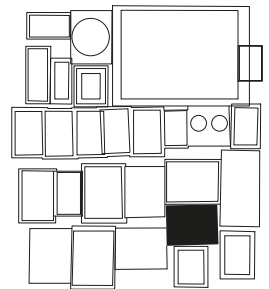
In a natural setting—a forest clearing—a young man is led by a figure to a group of women. The figures, identifiable by their iconographic attributes, represent the liberal arts: the three disciplines of the Trivium—Grammar (a scroll), Rhetoric (a chart) and Dialectic (a scorpion)—and three of the four disciplines of the Quadrivium—Geometry (a compass), Music (musical instruments) and Astronomy (an armillary sphere). By exclusion, the art without attributes, leading the young man by the hand, is identified as Arithmetic, the missing Quadrivium discipline.

A seated figure in an elevated position presides over the assembly. The red cloak and the bow, an attribute of Cupid, identify this figure as Venus. The goddess raises her right hand in the characteristic gesture of instruction: *Magistra Artium*, Venus introduces the young gentleman to *Humanitas* through the disciplines of the Trivium and Quadrivium.



Sandro Botticelli, *Venus and the Three Graces Presenting a Gift to a Young Woman*, detached fresco, ca. 1486. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (17,25x13,2 cm).



46\_24

*Venus and the Graces, Welcomed by the Lady, as gradiva Nymph  
Figurations*

Painted by Sandro Botticelli in 1486 for Villa Lemmi, this fresco, together with the previous one, is part of the cycle commissioned for the Tornabuoni-Albizzi wedding.

In an aristocratic loggia with an antique-style fountain, the lady is paid homage by four figures in classical dress, recognisable as Venus and the Graces. At the feet of the lady of the house, there is a small cupid-putto holding a heraldic shield.

The lady, dressed in the richly textured fabrics of the period and wearing a pearl necklace with her hair neatly arranged and held in a veil, contrasts with the figures emerging from the realm of myth. These figures approach with graceful steps, barefoot, with loose hair and dressed in light, colourful fabrics.

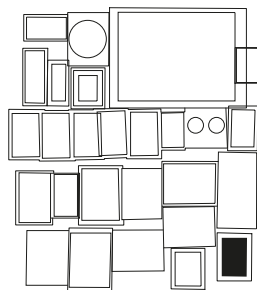
**Note by Aby Warburg on the Villa Lemmi fresco**

“In the Louvre there is a fresco fragment from the Villa Lemmi, not far from the Villa Careggi, that is ascribed to Botticelli. 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, walk ing in file, have the same loose, ideal costume as those in the *Spring*” (continues in the *Appendix* → T4)



Agostino Veneziano, *Woman Carrying a Vase on Her Head*,  
etching on copper, 1528. London, British Museum.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (13,2x8,1 cm).



46\_25

*Mannered Nymph*

The etching is signed and dated by Agostino Veneziano and depicts a subject probably derived from Raphael or Giulio Romano.

Warburg includes this image in Panel 46 as an example of a mannered figure: the Nymph has become a repertory model, and her energetic intensity has now dissipated. The fact that it is an engraving once again draws attention to the artistic reproduction techniques of drawing and engraving, which served as privileged means of disseminating the theme [see also 46\_15 and 46\_20].

**Note by Aby Warburg on the Mannered Nymph**

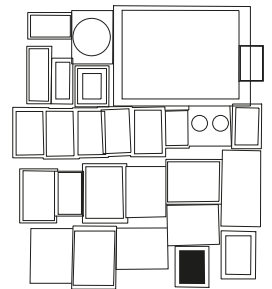
“This figure appears, for example, in Ghirlandaio’s frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella, and in those by Botticelli, Signorelli, and Rosselli in the Sistine Chapel. The engraving by Agostino Veneziano (1528; Bartsch, vol. 16, section 9, no. 470) shows us the type in Mannerist guise”

(*Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589*, in *Renewal*, p. 399).



Aby Warburg, *Peasant in Settignano*, photographic print, 1900 ca.,  
London, The Warburg Institute.

in Panel: photographic reproduction, b/n (11x8,5 cm).



46\_26

*Contemporary Plebeian Nymph*

Taken in the early 1900s during one of his stays in Florence, this is the only photograph by Warburg included in the montage of the entire Mnemosyne Atlas.

The stride of the woman from Settignano, a village in the Florentine countryside, serves as evidence of the persistence of the movement and posture of the *gradiva* handmaid in modernity. The new and reduced Nymph has discarded her fluttering antique garments and now wears the thick and anonymous garments typical of Italian peasant women of the period.

This image steps out of the realm of art history and carries the theme of the *gradiva* female figure into the anthropological and psychohistorical dimensions: it is the phantom residue of the Nymph, captured and immortalised by the modern technical medium of reproduction, photography.



## Selected Writings by Warburg with References to Themes and Subjects in Panel 46

T1 | Aby Warburg, André Jolles, *Ninfa fiorentina* (1900)

The epistolary novel composed in 1900 by Aby Warburg and André Jolles on the Nymph, inspired by the excitement evoked by the figure of the maid in Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Baptist*.

T2 | Aby Warburg, *Florentine Realism and Antique-Inspired Idealism* (1901)

Outline of a lecture on the Nymph (first German edition in WEB 2010, pp. 226–227; translated in Naval 2025).

T3 | Aby Warburg, *The Nymph of Ghirlandaio* (1914)

Excerpts from the essay *The Entry of the Idealizing Classical Style in the Painting of Early Renaissance* ([1914], now in Woodfield 2001, pp. 7–32).

T4 | *The Nymph and the Lady in Giovanna's Medal and the Frescoes of Villa Lemmi* (1893)

Excerpts from the essay Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus and Spring* ([1893], now in *Renewal*, pp. 89–156).

T1 | Aby Warburg and André Jolles, *Ninfa fiorentina*, 1900

published in C. Wedepohl, E. Marchand (eds.), *Ninfa Fiorentina: an exchange of two fictional letters*, “Visual History” VII (2021); with *Addenda* from Gombrich 1970, pp. 105–124.

André Jolles to Aby Warburg, 23 December 1900

Dear friend!

Do you recall the conversation we had on the terrace of your villa in San Domenico on that moonlit night about a year ago? The orange trees were as fragrant as a fairy tale. Far away, in the cold clarity of blue moonlight, the city lay like a sleeping woman, dreaming of her past. It was as if you could see her breath in the miraculously bright tremor of the mist. All around, the silhouetted hills kept watch, stretching out to one another like giants reaching out with their hands. Above us, the leaves hung down, black and motionless. We talked about art, of course. I, with the Epicurean exuberance of a boy who—only recently

liberated from the confining fetters of university study—revels for the first time in the feast of the Florentine early Renaissance; you with the more thoughtful dignity of a guest who has not yet eaten his fill, but whose first hunger has been appeased. We did not agree. In my heart I called you a pedant, you probably called me a paradoxical pirate. But the nightly ambience ended our strife. We both realized that in some moments it is better to remain silent and surrender completely to a sense of infinity. The liquid clarity of the atmosphere dissolved our differences of opinion in a shared admiration of nature. And now I return, not as the exuberant fighter of the past, but as a humble supplicant. The despiser of all official scientific study and its dogmas, who recognized no other authority than the artist’s eye, who dared to revile your sacred archive as stuffy and silly and wanted to leap through art like the goats on Mount Gilead, approaches your altar with bowed head, miserably waving a palm branch. He asks you most humbly to exorcise the ghost who gives him no peace and chases him as if whipped by furies through an underworld of wild fantasies.

What has happened? ‘*Cherchez al femme*’, my friend. There is a lady involved, who is ferociously flirting with me. I have started an intellectual flirtation and am becoming her victim. Am I chasing her or is she chasing me? Indeed, I no longer know. But let me tell you the tale of my suffering in sequence.

I made her acquaintance during a weekly visit to a church... and now you’ll already know who she is. She lives in the choir of Santa Maria Novella, on the right wall, second row from the bottom, in the image to the viewer’s right.

The baby John has just come happily into the world; Elizabeth, resting on her long, ceremonial bed of state, is receiving visitors. She seems still a

little spent (such an affair is no small matter at her age), and the doctor has prescribed strengthening tonics, which a serving maid offers her on a platter. In front of the bed, sitting on low stools, are the wet nurse who is feeding the little boy and the nanny who is stretching her arms toward him? The overall impression of this holy performance is rather sober. It lacks a point. The gold of John's and Elizabeth's halos has faded and, along with the aura, the biblical glory has as well. We see simple, rather bourgeois people. Yet, if the value of edifying memory is lost, it is amply compensated for by the appearance of an ostentatious presence. A Florentine noblewoman is paying a visit. She has come not so much to see the nursing mother, whom she doesn't look at, or the holy mother, who has just given birth to the child whose mighty voice will later make the Jordan tremble; her visit is a general one. With her aristocratic hands folded over a slightly protruding belly, bearing her head with high-minded artlessness on a slender neck, she advances, her careful step barely shifting the rigid folds of her heavily brocaded gown. Her stateliness is somewhat superficial, not very distinctive, but very distinguished: a woman of the world with unsurpassable grace and a noble manner, but without much spirit.

Walking behind her, unconcerned, are two elderly ladies: her mother and her aunt. Behind them, right at the open door, there runs, no, flies, no, floats, the object of my dreams, who gradually begins to assume the proportions of a graceful nightmare. A fantastical figure, no, a serving girl, no, a classical nymph, enters the room wearing her billowing veil, bearing a plate of luscious fruit on her head. By the devil, this is no way to enter a sickroom, not even if one wants to offer congratulations. What does it mean—this lively light-footed yet so highly animated way of walking; this energetic urge to move, this striding step, when all the other figures possess a certain aloofness?! Above all, what does the sudden change in the character of the floor mean? Whilst all the other figures stand or walk firmly on hard Florentine tiles, these, beneath the feet of my beloved, seem to lose their natural solidity; the floor seems to acquire the soft elasticity of a sunlit spring meadow, it wobbles like thick cushions of moss on a shady green path in the woods. Yes, sometimes it seems to me as if this floor has something supernatural about it; as if the serving girl, instead of walking on traversable paths, glides along, like a goddess, on softly moving clouds; as if she speeds through the bright ether with winged feet, or lets herself half drift, half move ahead on slowly rocking waves, on curves that arch like the backs of dolphins, with the grace of a large bird gliding on outstretched wings in broad flight, and of a swaying ship with swollen sail, rhythmically cleaving the mighty water.

Perhaps I'm making her more poetic than she really is—what lover doesn't? Yet in the first moment I saw her, I had the strange feeling that sometimes overcomes us when we see a gloomy mountain landscape or when we read a great poet or even when we are in love: the feeling 'where have I seen you before'. It was, for me, as if a previous acquaintance bound us from the beginning, something—don't laugh—mystical, as if we suddenly

recognized a dear friend or a beloved place from a previous existence. And if it wouldn't take me too far from my striding friend, I would describe for you how, in my view, a believer should imagine heaven—the place where the souls of everyone they have loved and admired are found—to be precisely like the ideal of this feeling of recognition. Enough. I lost my heart and in the brooding days that followed I saw her constantly, always different and in different places; and constantly I was reminded of other situations in which I had already seen her.

Dear friend, one really only falls in love once. Even if one thinks one is doing so more often, it is always only another face of the same prism. While the objects may change, the state of being in love remains one and indivisible. And thus I discovered in much that I had loved in art something of my present nymph.

My state wavered between a bad dream and a fairy tale. When I took my magic lamp in hand and spoke the magic word, there appeared no fifty Circassian slaves carrying golden bowls on their heads, filled with flowers of pure gemstones (you will likely remember tulips of ruby with calyxes of opaque amber, dark irises of lapis lazuli from which hung diamond dew drops, lilies of opal with leaves of jasper, violets of translucent amethyst etc), but this time, always, only the striding servant girl with her veil.

Once she was Salome, dancing with death-bringing charm before the desirous tetrarch; another time she was Judith, proudly and triumphantly bringing the head of the murdered general to the city with jaunty step; then she seemed to have hidden herself under the boyish grace of young Tobias, just as he, with courage and light-heartedness, marched to his haunted bride. Sometimes I saw her in a seraphim, flying to God in adoration, and then again in Gabriel proclaiming the good news. I saw her as an attendant at the 'Sposalizio' in innocent joy, I found her in a fleeing mother at the massacre of the innocents with mortal fear written on her face.

I tried to see her again, as I had first met her in the choir of the Dominican church, but she had increased tenfold. I was losing my mind. Always it was she who brought life and motion into otherwise calm depictions. Yes, she seemed to be embodied motion... but it is quite uncomfortable to have her as a beloved mistress.

And so, as I've said, I approach the priest of official scientific learning, who knows, or at least should know, the holy of holies of the Quattrocento, to ask her name, status and address. Who is she? Where does she come from? Have I met her before, I mean one and a half thousand years ago?

Is she of classical Greek nobility and did her great-grandmother have an affair with people from Asia Minor, Egypt or Mesopotamia? Yet, above all, do letters addressed to the striding nymph *poste restante* reach her?

Seriously, what is it with this girl?

Today and always,

Yours

[André Jolles]

Aby Warburg to André Jolles, no date

No, no, my friend, I can't help you make the girl's acquaintance just like that. Without having been introduced in any way, you would be storming the fortified compound of a Florentine patrician family just as impetuously as your light-footed lady. Surely you don't want to pursue an intimate acquaintance with a member of the Tornabuoni household, even a serving girl, in the manner of a hussar. But I can already tell that you don't really know what's going on in these pictures... Let us sit quietly in the choir stalls so we do not disturb them: the Tornabuoni, you see, are performing in a mystery play in honour of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist.

Giovanni Tornabuoni happily succeeded in acquiring the patronage of the choir and the right to decorate it, which is why his dependents may now act as characters in the holy legend; they make serene and dignified use of the dispensation, these patrician worshippers whose impeccable manner resides in their blood. The fact, however, that the Tornabuoni family allows your pagan whippet to rush in and disrupt the slow-moving respectability of their Christian sobriety, reveals in them the enigmatic and illogical side of primitive humanity—which attracts me as much as the pleasurable levity of your 'unknown' attracts you. While it tempts you to follow her like a winged idea through all the spheres in a Platonic rapture of love, I feel compelled to turn my philological gaze toward the soil from which she arose and, marvelling, ask: is this strangely delicate plant really rooted in the arid Florentine earth?

Was it perhaps a clever gardener (with a secret penchant for the higher things in Renaissance culture) who insinuated her—to a rather reluctant Mr. Tornabuoni—as a fashionable flower, something that had become de rigueur, a joyfully fantastic spot in the middle of his house garden, otherwise solidly green?

Or was it rather the merchant and his gardener who, animated by the same elementary life force, succeeded in winning a place in the dark soil of the churchyard to plant their lush ornamental flower, against the unyielding severity of fanatical Dominicans?

***Addenda to the epistolary novel***

from Gombrich 1970, pp. 110–124

The most beautiful butterfly I have ever pinned down suddenly bursts through the glass and dances mockingly upwards into the blue air... Now I should catch it again, but I am not equipped for this kind of locomotion. Or, to be exact, I should like to, but my intellectual training does not permit me to do so. I, too, was born in Platonía and I should like, in your company, to watch the circling flight of ideas from a high mountain peak; I should like, at the approach of our lightfooted girl, joyfully to whirl away with her. But such soaring movements are not for me. It is given to me only to look

backwards and to enjoy in the caterpillars the development of the butterfly. [...] Ghirlandajo is not that kind of rural, bubbling brook for the refreshment of Pre-Raphaelites, nor is he a romantic waterfall which inspires that other type of tourist, the superman on Easter holiday with *Zarathustra* in the pocket of his tweed cape, seeking fresh courage from its mad cascading for his struggle for life, even against political authority... Life weighs heavily on the Tornabuoni, but they are too proud to tell this immediately to every hurried tourist. Only when he lingers in silence and does not tire of silently enquiring after their fate will they allow him to share the sufferings of their lives which stiff brocades and the heavy folds of Lucca cloth hide so splendidly. [...] In the scene where Saint Elizabeth is lying-in, the ecclesiastical and dogmatic elements are entirely eliminated. The merchant who takes pleasure in putting on a show and the tasteful artist who is fond of decoration have harmoniously joined forces here at the expense of the monks, but even where the holy legend has to come into its own right, as in the Sacrifice of Zacharias, the three Ps—Priest, Patron and Painter—come apart and thus betray the fact that they owe their artistic existence not to an organic compound, but merely to an arbitrary mixture. [...] Who, then, is the ‘Nympha’? As a real being of flesh and blood she may have been a freed slave from Tartary... but in her true essence she is an elemental sprite, a pagan goddess in exile. If you want to see her ancestors, look at the relief under her feet.

T2 | *Aby Warburg, Florentine Realism and Antique-Inspired Idealism*

published in WEB, pp. pp. 226-227

One of the frescoes that Ghirlandaio painted for Giovanni Tornabuoni in Santa Maria Novella around 1490, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*—the patron saint of the Tornabuoni family—is depicted in a decidedly secular and Florentine manner. For both the painter and the patron, it was a welcome opportunity to depict a state visit, with the ladies of the Tornabuoni household congratulating a distinguished woman on the birth of her son. There is a dignified silence on both sides; the mother rests on her canopied bed, already decorated like an Etruscan matron on her sarcophagus. A maid in the background brings her a tonic, while in the foreground the nurse tends to the newborn and another impatiently stretches out her arms to receive the baby for his bath.

The three stately women paying homage to Saint Elizabeth show no enthusiasm; they know how to hide their emotions effectively under the heavy drapery of their brocade gowns and the dignified folds of their cloaks. All the more explosively, then, does this lively agility—so unsuited to the pompous ladies of the Tornabuoni household—appear in the servant carrying the fruit. She tries in vain to disguise her unusual, ancient past with her quick leap into domestic virtues. Her pagan Roman origins are revealed in her billowing

dress, her stylised drapery and even her sandal-clad feet. The Roman goddess of victory shines all too vividly through the mask of the hurrying servant girl, accustomed to traversing airspace in a tempestuous flight.

What would Ghirlandaio say to a modern painter who, worried about Domenico's originality, gently but reproachfully suggested that in this case he had been inspired by an ancient figure? *Altro che!* One could imagine him replying with contempt: 'This is our pride—that the Nymphs of antiquity have returned to us!'

Far from being ashamed of an ancient reminiscence, Domenico places the model for his Nymph in the fresco immediately below, at the top left of the *grisaille* architecture depicting the Sacrifice of Joachim: it is the goddess of victory, faithfully copied from the Arch of Constantine in Rome, crowning the victorious emperor. As is well known, no mythical figure from antiquity resisted Christian representation so desperately as the statue of a goddess of victory in the Roman Curia, which only in Constantine's time fell victim to the relentless zeal of Saint Ambrose as an official cult image.

However, the piety of the Church has not been able to completely banish her from the relief inside the triumphal arch. Nor could it prevent her survival in ecclesiastical art, for the Virgin seems to walk lightly as a biblical figure in early Renaissance art: as a dancing Salome, as the archangel accompanying Tobias or as the hasty girl at the birth of Mary or John.

Although she has had to abandon the habit of proudly flapping her wings, in the equally inexplicable fluttering mobility of her garments, there remains a hint of those upper regions where she once soared as a pagan goddess of victory. Yet, rarely in Florentine art has the Tuscan Nymph, the hurrying maiden of everyday life, so freely identified herself with the ideal figures of the past as she does in Ghirlandaio's fresco.

### T3 | *The Entry of the Idealizing Classical Style in the Painting of Early Renaissance*

published in Woodfield 2001, pp. 7-22

What are these reliefs meant to signify? They are at least not stylised representations of the familial congress of the Tornaquinci-Tornabuoni faction. Perhaps in this concluding picture, which praises the fortunate peace in Florence in 1490 in an inscription above the door, they are meant to be appended as a kind of festive seal, following the Roman style of drawing a list of all those present at a family celebration.

However, the stone Victory from the Arch of Constantine produces an altogether different, lively and purely artistic effect. Immediately above the Sacrifice of Zacharias is a depiction of a ceremonial visit to St. Elisabeth. Splendid ladies from the Tornabuoni family offer congratulations in the dignified manner of noble society, but behind them a serving woman rushes in at a hurried step carrying a flask with her hand and a fruit dish on her

head. Despite this prosaic task she is stylised and idealised: she wears a belt around her gown, which flutters briskly, like that of Victory, and even if the sandals on her feet have to tarry on the ground, her robe, blown out from her shoulders like a sail in the wind, provides her with at least an ornamental, earthly, substitute for the olympian aerial paraphernalia of the victory goddess.

One difference between the Trajanic victory goddess and the Victoria in the guise of a Florentine housewife, consists in the fact that the latter appears in profile. But even this positioning was first coined by an ancient original, according to the sketchbook of Ghirlandaio's workshop. A woman with fluttering robes, even carrying a bowl of fruit, is to be found on page 51 with the comment: "in sulla piazza di sancto pietro", or "on the piazza of Saint Peter".

The basket may be an addition; the figure as a whole appears exactly the same in the guise of a nymph on a Bacchic sarcophagus where she is holding cymbals instead of the basket. However, the archaeology of the figure is only of secondary significance; we can think of this nymph as a symbol of the affirmation of life, as the Quattrocento understood it. [...] Ghirlandaio's nymph has nothing orgiastic about her, but nevertheless even she typifies, in the world view of Savonarola, that impudent pagan vanity, whose image was not to be tolerated in church.

#### T4 | Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus and Spring*

published in *Renewal*, pp. 115–117

In the Louvre there is a fresco fragment from the Villa Lemmi, not far from the Villa Careggi, that is ascribed to Botticelli. 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.

Cosimo Conti adduced two medals to support his identification of the lady in contemporary costume as Giovanna Tornabuoni. 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>9 3</sup> The lettering around the figures reads: “Castitas. Pulchritudo. Amor”. The first medal thus shows these antique goddesses as we have been accustomed to see them since Winckelmann, namely, “in the spirit of antiquity,” nude and in a stable pose; but the second shows a female figure whose hair and garments again show an unexplained but agitated movement. 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 ob habitumque gerens et virginis arma.

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, volucrumque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.  
Namque umeris de more habilem suspenderit arcum  
venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,  
nuda genu, nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.

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.



**Bibliography  
and Index of Names**



## Abbreviations

- GS** A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, hrsg. von G. Bing, Leipzig/Berlin 1932.
- RPA** A. Warburg, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*, a cura di G. Bing, tr. it. di E. Cantimori, Firenze 1966.
- RENEWAL** A. Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, ed. by K.W. Forster, Eng. trans. by D. Britt and K.W. Forster, Los Angeles 1999.
- AWO I.1** A. Warburg, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico e altri scritti (1889-1914)*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, S. Müller, Torino 2004.
- AWO I.2** A. Warburg, *La rinascita del paganesimo antico e altri scritti (1917-1929)*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2007.
- AWO II.1** A. Warburg, *Mnemosyne. L'Atlante delle immagini*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2002.
- AWM I** A. Warburg, *Astrologica. Saggi e appunti 1908-1929*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2019.
- AWM II** A. Warburg, *Fra antropologia e storia dell'arte. Saggi, conferenze e frammenti*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2021.
- WEB** A. Warburg, *Werke in einem Band. Auf der Grundlage der Manuskripte und Handexemplare*, hrsg. und kommentiert von M. Treml, S. Weigel und P. Ladwig, Berlin 2010.
- WIA** Warburg Institute Archive.



## Warburg's Selected Writings and Fragments on the Themes of Panel 46 English edition with reference to original version

### *Fragments on Expression*

Warburg [1888-1901]

A. Warburg, *Grundlegende Bruchstücke zu einer pragmatischen Ausdruckskunde* [WIA III.43].

### *Sandro Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Spring*

Warburg [1893] 1999

A. Warburg, *Sandro Botticellis Geburt der Venus und Frühling. Eine Untersuchung über die Vorstellungen von der Antike in der Italienischen Frührenaissance*, Hamburg/Leipzig 1893; in *Renewal*, pp. 89–157

### *The Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589*

Warburg [1895] 1999

A. Warburg, *I costumi teatrali per gli Intermezzi del 1589: i disegni di Bernardo Buontalenti e il 'Libro di conti' di Emilio de' Cavalieri*, "Atti dell'Accademia del R. Istituto Musicale di Firenze: Commemorazione della Riforma Melodrammatica" xxxiii (1895), tr. it. di A. Giorgetti, pp. 133-146; in *Renewal*, pp. 349–402.

### *Symbolismus als umfangbestimmung*

Warburg [1896-1901]

A. Warburg, *Symbolismus als Umfangbestimmung* [WIA III.45.1; WIA III.45.2].

### *Three Lectures on Leonardo*

Warburg [1899] [1970] 2019

A. Warburg, *Leonardo Da Vinci. Drei Vorträge*, parzialmente pubblicati in E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970, pp. 96-105; first edition A. Warburg, *Three Lectures on Leonardo* 1899, ed. by E. Marchand, J. Spooner, B. Sherman, London 2019.

### *Ninfa fiorentina*

Warburg, Jolles [1900] [1970] [1983] [2004] 2021

A. Warburg, A. Jolles, *Ninfa fiorentina* (1900) [WIA III.55]; partially published in E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970, pp. 105-127; in Wedepohl, Marchand 2021.

### *Florentinische wirklichkeit*

Warburg [1901] [2010] 2024

A. Warburg, *Florentinische Wirklichkeit und antikisierender Idealismus* [WIA III.51.3]; web, pp. 211-233; in Naval 2025.

### *The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie*

Warburg [1902] 1999

A. Warburg, *Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum. Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinita: die Bildnisse des Lorenzo de' Medici und seiner Angehörigen*, Leipzig 1902; in *Renewal*, pp. 185–222.

### *On Imprese Amoroze in the Earliest Florentine Engravings*

Warburg [1905] 1999

A. Warburg, *Delle "imprese amorose" nelle più antiche incisioni fiorentine*, "Rivista d'Arte" III, 1905, tr. it. di G. Poggi, pp. 1-15; in *Renewal*, pp. 169–184.

**Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons**

Warburg [1907] 1999

A. Warburg, *Francesco Sassetti's letztwillige Verfügung*, in H. Weizsäcker et. al., *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge August Schmarsow gewidmet*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 129-152; in *Renewal*, pp. 223-262.

**The Entry of the Idealizing Classical Style in the Painting of Early Renaissance**

Warburg [1914] 2001

A. Warburg, *Der Eintritt der antikisierenden Idealstils in die Malerei der Frührenaissance*, "Kunstchronik" 25/33, 8 Mai 1914, p. 491; in Woodfield 2001, pp. 7-32.

**Diario romano**

Warburg, Bing [1928-1929] 2005

A. Warburg, G. Bing, *Tagebuch der kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg zu Hamburg*, VIII, Rom, (2. Theil) [WIA III.15.3.2]; tr. it. *Diario romano (1928-1929)*, a cura di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2005.

**Die römische Antike in der Werkstatt Ghirlandajo's**

Warburg [1929] [2007] [2014] 2021

A. Warburg, *Die römische Antike in der Werkstatt Ghirlandajo's*, Vortrag, Biblioteca Hertziana, Rom, Januar 1929 [WIA III.115.1.2, WIA III.115.1.1]; tr. it. AWO I.2, pp. 829-839, 840-860, 861-862 [WIA III.115.3.2, WIA III.115.3.1]; A. Warburg, *L'antico romano nella bottega del Ghirlandaio. Traccia della conferenza alla Biblioteca Hertziana di Roma (19 gennaio 1929), con una Nota al testo (e 'agenda warburghiana')*, tr. it. di M. Ghelardi, a cura di S. De Laude, "La Rivista di Engramma" 119 (settembre 2014), pp. 8-29; AWM II, pp. 683-712.

**Mnemosyne Einleitung**

Warburg [1929]

A. Warburg, *Einleitung, einleitende Worte der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, Juni 1929 [WIA III.102.3-4]; translated by M. Rampley, "La Rivista di Engramma" 142 (febbraio 2017), pp. 11-29.

**Frammenti tra Manet e Mnemosyne**

Warburg [1929] [2007] 2019

A. Warburg, *Notizien zu Manet und Mnemosyne* [WIA III.102.1.2]; tr. it. AWO I.2, pp. 805-815; M. Ghelardi, *Aby Warburg, Frammenti tra Manet e Mnemosyne* [102.1.2], con una nota di commento di M. Centanni, "La Rivista di Engramma" 165 (maggio 2019), pp. 49-87.

## Critical Lectures on Panel 46

### Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne 2016

Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne (hrsg. von R. Ohrt), 8. *Salon, Baustelle 8.5 Tafel 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, in Baustelle 1-13. Aby Warburg. Mnemosyne Bilderatlas. Rekonstruktion – Kommentar – Aktualisierung, box 2016/2017*, Kartoffelverlag, Hamburg-Karlsruhe 2016.

### Pinotti 2013-2016

A. Pinotti, *Panel 46, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas*, Cornell University.

### Seminario Mnemosyne 2000

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni e K. Mazzucco, *L'epifania della ninfa gradiva. Saggio interpretativo di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 3 (novembre 2000), pp. 19-24.

### Seminario Mnemosyne 2021

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni e S. Agnoletto, *Il passo della Ninfa fiorentina. Lettura interpretativa di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 51-85.

### Targia, Mazzucco 2023

G. Targia, K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 46*, in Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf *et al.* 2023, pp. 142-145.



## Essential Bibliographical References

### *on the Nymph in relation to Warburg*

Cacciari 1990, 347-354; Galitz, Reimers 1995; Seminario Mnemosyne 2000; Didi-Huberman 2002a; Didi-Huberman 2002b; Seminario Mnemosyne 2002; Contarini, Ghelardi 2004; Seminario Mnemosyne 2004; Didi-Huberman [2002] 2004; Didi-Huberman 2005; Pichler, Rappl, Swoboda 2006; Agamben 2007; Seminario Mnemosyne 2008; Weigel 2009; Gluchowska 2010; Didi-Huberman 2012; Gough 2012; Pedersoli 2012; Baert 2014; Seminario Mnemosyne 2014; Weigel 2014; Tomsic 2015; Wolf 2015; Baert 2016; Trautmann-Waller 2018; Didi-Huberman [2015] 2019; Sacco 2016; Baert 2017; Campos 2020; Amaro 2021; Naval 2021; Seminario Mnemosyne 2021; Ghelardi 2022, pp. 17-28; Settis 2023; Targia, Mazzucco 2023. Sulla Ninfa moderna fotografata da Warburg a Settignano: Rizzonelli 2021; Viola 2023.

### *on Donatello's Dovizia*

Kaufmann 1935; Haftmann 1939; Wilkins 1983; Haines 1984; Mori 1984; Blake Wilk 1986. Sulla *Dovizia* come modello per Ghirlandaio si veda Chrzanowska 2018; Agnoletto, Centanni 2021.

### *on the Villa Lemmi frescoes*

Conti 1881; Gombrich [1945, 1972] 1975, pp. 84-85; Ettlinger 1976; van der Sman 2007; Simons 2011-2012; Centanni 2017, 128-134.

### *on the medal of Giovanna Tornabuoni*

Wind [1958] 1985; Centanni 2017, 130-131; Perfetti 2021.



## Bibliographical References

### A

Agamben 2007

G. Agamben, *Ninfe*, Torino 2007.

Agnoletto, Centanni 2021

S. Agnoletto, M. Centanni, *La Dovizia di Donatello come modello per la Ninfa fiorentina*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 85-98.

Amaro 2021

H. Amaro, *A Ninfa de Aby Warburg: a metamorfose de um motivo intelectual*, dissertação, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 2021.

### B

Baert 2014

B. Baert, *Nymph. Motif, Phantom, Affect. A Contribution to the Study of Aby Warburg (1866-1929)*, Leuven 2014.

Baert 2016

B. Baert, *Nymph. Motif, Phantom, Affect. Part II. Aby Warburg's (1866-1929) Butterflies as Art Historical Paradigms*, Leuven 2016.

Baert 2017

B. Baert, *Aby Warburgs (1866-1929) 'Nymphe'. Ein Forschungsbericht zu Motiv, Phantom und Paradigma*, "Imago. Interdisziplinäres Jahrbuch für Psychoanalyse und Ästhetik" 4 (2017), pp. 39-62.

Blake Wilk 1986

S. Blake Wilk, *Donatello's "Dovizia" as an Image of Florentine Political Propaganda*, "Artibus et Historiae" 7, 14 (1986), pp. 9-28.

### C

Cacciari 1990

M. Cacciari, *Dell'inizio*, Milano 1990.

Campos 2020

D.Q. Campos, *Ninfa como personagem teorica de Aby Warburg*, "MODOS: Revista de História del Arte" 4 n. 3 (2020), pp. 225-224.

Centanni 2017

M. Centanni, *Fantasmî dell'antico*, Rimini 2017.

Centanni 2022

M. Centanni, *Aby Warburg e il pensiero vivente*, Dueville 2022.

Chrzanowska 2018

A. Chrzanowska, 'Who, Then, is the "Nympha"?' *An Iconographic Analysis of the Figure of the Maid in the Tornabuoni Frescoes*, in K.A.E. Enenkel and A. Traninger (eds.), *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture*, Leiden 2018, pp. 177-191.

Contarini 2023

S. Contarini, *Un'amicizia fiorentina: Aby Warburg e André Jolles*, in Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf et al. 2023, pp. 50-52.

Contarini, Ghelardi 2004

S. Contarini, M. Ghelardi, "Die verkörperte Bewegung": la ninfa, "aut aut" 321-322, (maggio/agosto 2004), pp. 32-45.

Conti 1881

C. Conti, *Découverte de deux fresques de Sandro Botticelli*, "L'Art" 27, 4 (1881), pp. 86-87.

## D

Didi-Huberman 2002a

G. Didi-Huberman, *La ninfa e la sua caduta*, "Trame" 3 (2002), pp. 13-26.

Didi-Huberman 2002b

G. Didi-Huberman, *La chute des nymphes. Le subtil panthéon du devil et du désir*, "L'Erasmus" 7 (2002), pp. 22-33.

Didi-Huberman [2002] 2004

G. Didi-Huberman, *Ninfa moderna. Essai sur le drapé tombé*, Paris 2002; tr. it. di A. Pino, *Ninfa moderna. Saggio sul panneggio caduto*, Milano 2004.

Didi-Huberman 2005

G. Didi-Huberman, *Bewegende Bewegungen. Die Schleier der 'Ninfa' nach Aby Warburg*, in J. Endres, B. Wittmann und G. Wolf (hrsg. von), *Ikonomie des Zwischenraums*, München 2005, pp. 331-360.

Didi-Huberman 2012

G. Didi-Huberman, *Au pas léger de la servante. Savoir des images, savoir excentrique*, in P. Haag e C. Lemieux (éds.), *Faire des sciences sociales. Critiquer*, Paris 2012, pp. 177-206.

Didi-Huberman [2015] 2019

G. Didi-Huberman, *Ninfa fluida. Essai sur le drapé-désir*, Paris 2015; tr. it. di R. Izzo, *Ninfa fluida. Saggio sul panneggio-desiderio*, Milano 2019.

## E

Ettlinger 1976

H.S. Ettlinger, *The portraits in Botticelli's Villa Lemmi Frescoes*, "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz" 20 (1976), pp. 404-407.

## F

Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf et al. 2023

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

Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne 2016

Forschungsgruppe Mnemosyne (hrsg. von R. Ohrt), 8. *Salon, Baustelle 8.5 Tafel 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, in Baustelle 1-13. Aby Warburg. Mnemosyne Bilderatlas. Rekonstruktion – Kommentar – Aktualisierung, box 2016/2017*, Kartoffelverlag, Hamburg-Karlsruhe 2016.

## G

Galitz, Reimers 1995

R. Galitz, B. Reimers (hrsg. von), *Aby M. Warburg. "Ekstatische Nymphe... trauernder Flussgott". Portrait eines Gelehrten*, Hamburg 1995.

Ghelardi 2022

M. Ghelardi, *Uno spazio per il pensiero*, Roma 2022.

Ginzburg 2012

C. Ginzburg, *Une Machine à Penser*, "Common Knowledge" 18.1 (Winter 2012), pp. 79-85.

Głuchowska 2010

L. Głuchowska, "Die Nymphomanie" und "die wilden Kräfte" Aby Warburg contra "das Dionysische" Friedrich Nietzsches. Ein Versuch des systematischen Vergleichs, in B. Wojciech (hrsg. von), *Die Etablierung und Entwicklung des Faches Kunstgeschichte in Deutschland, Polen und Mitteleuropa*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 411-430.

Gombrich [1945, 1972] 1975

E.H. Gombrich, *Botticelli's mythologies: a study in the neo-platonic symbolism in his circle*, "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes" vol. 8 (1945), pp. 7-60, in Id., *Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London 1972, pp. 31-81; tr. it. di R. Federici, *Mitologie botticelliane. Uno studio sul simbolismo neoplatonico della cerchia di Botticelli*, in Id., *Immagini simboliche*, Torino 1975, pp. 43-87.

Gough 2012

K.M. Gough, *Between the Image and Anthropology: Theatrical Lessons from Aby Warburg's "Nympha"*, "The Drama Review" 56/3 (2012), pp. 114-130.

## H

Haftmann 1939

W. Haftmann, *Das italienische Säulenmonument: Versuch zur Geschichte einer antiken Form des Denkmals und Kultmonuments und ihrer Wirksamkeit für die Antikenvorstellung des Mittelalters und für die Ausbildung des öffentlichen Denkmals in der Frührenaissance*, Leipzig 1939.

Haines 1984

M. Haines, *La colonna della Dovizia di Donatello*, "Rivista d'arte" 37, 4 (1984), pp. 347-359.

## K

Kaufmann 1935

H. Kauffmann, *Donatello. Eine Einführung in seine Bilden und Denken*, Berlin 1935.

## M

Mori 1984

M. Mori, *First Public Sculpture in the Early Renaissance Florence. Donatello's Lost Dovizia*, "Bijutsu shigaku" 6 (1984), pp. 39-71.

## N

Naval 2021

A. Naval, *El reliquat de la Ninfa. Aproximación a la Pathosformel Ninfa en la obra de Georges Didi-Huberman*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 11-43.

Naval 2025

A. Naval, "Hacia una 'Idea de la Ninfa'": *Ninfa florentina y otros materiales para el estudio de la Pathosformel de Aby Warburg*, tesis doctoral, Universidad Pompeu Fabra - Università Ca' Foscari, 2025.

## P

Pedersoli 2012

A. Pedersoli, *La riemersione della ninfa. Materiali, contesti e sfasature cronologiche*, "Schifanoia" 42/43 (2012), pp. 271-284.

Pichler, Rappl, Swoboda 2006

W. Pichler, W. Rappl, G. Swoboda, *Metamorphosen eines Flussgotts und der Nympe. Aby Warburgs Denk-Haltungen und die Psychoanalyse*, in L. Marinelli (hrsg. von), *Die Couch. Vom Denken im Liegen*, Wien 2006, pp. 161-186.

Pinotti 2013-2016

A. Pinotti, *Panel 46, Guided Pathways*, in *Mnemosyne. Meanderings through Aby Warburg's Atlas*, Cornell University.

Perfetti 2021

F. Perfetti, *Venus Virgo/Venus Magistra. Lettura della figura femminile in trono negli affreschi di Botticelli di Villa Lemmi, alla luce del montaggio di Mnemosyne Atlas*, *Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 197-220.

## R

Randolph 2002

A.W.B. Randolph, *Engaging Symbols: Gender, Politics, and Public Art in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, New Haven/London 2002.

Rizzonelli 2021

F. Rizzonelli, *Una (sola) fotografia (46\_24). La materialità immateriale delle forme*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 98-104.

## S

Sacco 2016

D. Sacco, *Ninfa e Gradiva: dalla percezione individuale alla memoria storica sovraperpersonale*, "Cahiers d'études italiennes" 23 (2016), pp. 45-60.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2000

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni e K. Mazzucco, *L'epifania della ninfa gradiva. Saggio interpretativo di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 3 (novembre 2000), pp. 19-24.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2002

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni, K. Mazzucco, *L'arco, la grisaille, la Ninfa: dal 'come se' alla poetica della contrazione metaforica. Materiali, letture grafiche, saggio interpretativo di Tavola 45*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 21 (novembre/dicembre 2002), pp. 17-26.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2004

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni, *La ninfa di Manet: deduzioni formali e ispirazione tematica*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 36 (ottobre 2004), pp. 13-16.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2008

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da G. Cengiarotti, M. Centanni, P. Nanni e D. Pisani, *Tavola 68. Mnemosyne 1968 - Mnemosyne 2008*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 68 (dicembre 2008), pp. 8-52.

Seminario Mnemosyne [2002] 2014

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Bergamo, G. Bordignon, M. Centanni, *L'Angelo e la Cacciatrice di teste. Una lettura della Tavola 47 dell'Atlante Mnemosyne*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 116 (maggio 2014), pp. 38-53.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2021

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinato da M. Centanni e S. Agnoletto, *Il passo della Ninfa fiorentina. Lettura interpretativa di Mnemosyne Atlas, Tavola 46*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 182 (giugno 2021), pp. 51-85.

Settis [1997] 2004

S. Settis, *Pathos und Ethos, Morphologie und Funktion*, "Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus" 1, 1997; tr. it. *Pathos ed Ethos, morfologia e funzione*, in *Pathosformeln, retorica del gesto e rappresentazione: Ripensando Aby Warburg*, fascicolo speciale della rivista "Moderna. Semestrale di teoria e critica della letteratura" VI (2004 [ma: 2006]), nr. 2, pp. 23-34.

Settis 2012

S. Settis, *Aby Warburg, il demone della forma. Antropologia, storia, memoria*, "La Rivista di Engramma" n. 100 (ottobre 2012), pp. 269-289.

Settis 2023

S. Settis, *L'antichità si muove! Un apocrifo di Mnemosyne*, in Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf et al. 2023, pp. 273-275.

Simons 2011-2012

P. Simons, *Giovanna e Ginevra: Portraits for the Tornabuoni Family by Ghirlandaio and Botticelli*, "I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance" 14/15 (2011-2012), pp. 103-135.

van der Sman 2007

G.J. van der Sman, *Sandro Botticelli at Villa Tornabuoni and a nuptial poem by Naldo Naldi*, "Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz" 51 (2007), pp. 159-186.

## T

Targia, Mazzucco 2023

G. Targia, K. Mazzucco, *Tavola 46 e Tavola 47*, in Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf et al. 2023, pp. 142-149.

Tomsic 2015

A. Tomsic, *ErosAntEros, Itinerari scenici e compositivi attraverso la Ninfa e l'Atlante di Warburg. Esperienze di ricerca del gruppo ErosAntEros*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 130 (ottobre-novembre 2015), pp. 209-216.

Trautmann-Waller 2018

C. Trautmann-Waller, *Warburg, Jolles et la nymphe florentine, de l'expérience partagée à l'anthropologie de l'art*, "Revue germanique internationale" 28 (2018), pp. 31-49.

## V

Viola 2023

T. Viola, *Pathosformeln e fotografia del quotidiano*, in Faietti, Schmidt, Targia, Wolf *et al.* 2023, pp. 228-234.

## W

Wedepohl [2012] 2014

C. Wedepohl, *Von der "Pathosformel" zum "Gebärdensprachatlas". Dürers Tod des Orpheus und Warburgs Arbeit an einer ausdrucksstheoretisch begründeten Kulturgeschichte*, in *Die entfesselte Antike. Aby Warburg und die Geburt der Pathosformel*, hrsg. von M.A. Hürttig mit T. Kettelten, Köln 2012, pp. 33-50; tr. it. di A. Pedersoli, *Dalla Pathosformel all'Atlante del linguaggio dei gesti. La morte di Orfeo di Dürer e il lavoro di Warburg sulla storia della cultura basata su una teoria dell'espressione*, "La Rivista di Engramma" n. 119 (settembre 2014), pp. 36-57.

Wedepohl, Marchand 2021

C. Wedepohl, E. Marchand (eds.), *Ninfa Fiorentina: an exchange of two fictional letters*, "Visual History" VII (2021); with *Addenda* from Gombrich 1970, pp. 105-124.

Wedepohl 2023

C. Wedepohl, *Aby Warburg and André Jolles's Ninfa Fiorentina: the Story of an Ambitious Undertaking*, "Visual History" IX (2023), pp. 83-130.

Woodfield 2001

R. Woodfield (ed. by), *Art history as cultural history: Warburg's projects*, Amsterdam 2001.

Weigel 2009

S. Weigel, *Aby Warburgs "Göttin im Exil". Das "Nymphenfragment" zwischen Brief und Taxonomie, gelesen mit Heinrich Heine*, "Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus" IV (2000), pp. 65-103.

Weigel 2014

S. Weigel, "Von Darwin über Filippino zu Botticelli... und... wieder zur Nymphe". *Zum Vorhaben einer energetischen Symboltheorie und zur Spur der Darwin-Lektüre in Warburgs Kulturwissenschaft*, in M. Treml, S. Flach, P. Schneider (hrsg. von), *Warburgs Denkraum. Materialien, Motive, Formen*, München 2014, pp. 143-180; tr. it. in versione ridotta di C. Nicasastro, "da Darwin attraverso Filippino sino a Botticelli...e...di nuovo alla ninfa", in A. Barale, F. Desideri, S. Ferretti (a cura di), *Energia e rappresentazione. Warburg, Panofsky, Wind*, Milano/Udine 2016, pp. 41-62.

Wilkins 1983

D.G. Wilkins, *Donatello's Lost Dovizia for the Mercato Vecchio: Wealth and Charity as Florentine Civic Virtues*, "Art Bulletin" 65 (1983), pp. 401-423.

Wind [1958] 1985

E. Wind, *Pagan mysteries in the Renaissance*, London 1958; tr. it. di P. Bertolucci, *Misteri pagani nel rinascimento*, Milano 1985.

Wolf 2015

G. Wolf, *Warburgs Botticelli und Botticellis Nymphe*, in *The Botticelli Renaissance, exhibition catalogue of The Botticelli Renaissance* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Kulturforum 24 September 2015 bis 24 Januar 2016), München 2015, pp. 102-105.

## Index of Names

- Agilulfo 20, 25, 78, 79, 146, 148  
d'Aiello, Niccolò 87  
Alberti, Leon Battista 32
- Bing, Gertrud 15, 111, 141, 144  
Botticelli, Sandro (Alessandro di Mariano di Vanni Filipepi) 7, 21, 25, 29, 40, 42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 54, 67, 69, 71, 73, 95, 106, 107, 116, 118, 119, 121  
Botticini, Francesco (Francesco di Giovanni) 73
- Cacciari, Massimo 33, 35  
Campagnola, Giulio 73  
Carlo VII 89  
Cavalcanti, Guido 47  
Chevalier, Étienne 20, 63, 88, 89  
di Cosimo, Piero 83
- De Chirico, Giorgio (Giuseppe Maria Alberto Giorgio de Chirico) 51  
Donatello (Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi) 35, 37, 39, 71, 73  
Duccio, Agostino di 73  
Dürer, Albrecht 13
- Ficino, Marsilio 47  
Fiorentino, Niccolò di Giovanni 21, 47, 48, 49, 65, 95, 96  
Fora, Gherardo di Giovanni del 20, 21, 92  
Forster, Kurt Walter 61  
Fouquet, Jean 20, 63, 69, 88, 89, 146, 147  
Fra Carnevale (Bartolomeo di Giovanni Corradini) 21, 26, 27, 36, 69, 104, 105  
Fra Filippo Lippi 20, 42, 63, 71, 73, 80, 81  
Freud, Sigmund (Sigismund Schlomo Freud) 51
- Ghirlandaio, Domenico (Domenico Bigordi) 20, 21, 25, 30, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39-43, 48, 49, 50, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 82, 83, 89, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 99, 107, 108, 109, 117  
Giambologna (Jean de Boulogne) 73  
Ginzburg, Carlo 9, 150  
Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri) 73
- Hertz, Mary 33
- Jensen, Wilhelm Hermann 51  
Jolles, André (Johannes Andreas Jolles) 19, 33, 35, 39, 43, 56, 57, 127, 129
- Leonardo da Vinci (Leonardo di ser Piero da Vinci) 32, 69, 83  
Lombardi, Alfonso 21, 28, 114, 115
- Manet, Édouard 15, 56, 79, 101  
Marziale, Marco Valerio 95  
de' Medici, Cosimo di Giovanni 45  
de' Medici, Giuliano di Piero 45  
de' Medici, Lorenzo di Piero (Lorenzo il Magnifico) 45, 83, 93
- Napoletano, Filippo (Filippo Teodoro di Liagno) 36  
Nicodemi, Giorgio 73
- Plotino 47  
Pollaiuolo, Antonio del (Antonio Benci) 67, 73  
Proust, Marcel (Valentin Louis Georges Eugène Marcel Proust) 53
- della Robbia (Famiglia) 38, 39
- Sangallo, Giuliano da (Giuliano Giamberti) 21, 50, 54, 65, 98, 99  
Sanzio, Raffaello 21, 50, 54, 81, 110, 111, 121  
Savonarola, Girolamo Maria Francesco Matteo 33  
Saxl, Fritz 15

Tornabuoni (famiglia) 69, 95, 99, 117, 119  
Tornabuoni, Giovanna (Giovanna degli  
Albizzi) 21, 31, 45, 47, 48, 49, 63, 64, 65,  
83, 94, 95, 96, 97, 109, 117  
Tornabuoni, Giovanni 83, 109  
Tornabuoni, Lorenzo 45, 83, 95, 97, 117  
Tornabuoni, Lucrezia 20, 21, 39, 45, 69, 71,  
83, 92, 93  
Tribolo, Niccolò (Niccolò di Raffaello di  
Niccolò dei Pericoli) 21, 28, 112, 113

Vasari, Giorgio 33  
Veneziano, Agostino (Agostino di Musi)  
21, 50, 120, 121  
Verrocchio, Andrea (Andrea di Michele di  
Francesco di Cione) 71  
Virgilio (Publio Virgilio Marone) 49, 65, 97

Wind, Edgar 15, 49