

la rivista di **en**gramma
febbraio **2018**

153

Mnemosyne challenged

La Rivista di Engramma
153

La Rivista di
Engramma

153

febbraio 2018

Mnemosyne Challenged

a cura di

Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola
ed Elizabeth Thomson

direttore

monica centanni

redazione

sara agnoletto, mariaclara alemanni,
maddalena bassani, elisa bastianello,
maria bergamo, emily verla bovino,
giacomo calandra di roccolino, olivia sara carli,
silvia de laude, francesca romana dell'aglio,
simona dolari, emma filipponi,
francesca filisetti, anna fressola,
anna ghiraldini, laura leuzzi, michela maguolo,
matias julian nativo, nicola noro,
marco paronuzzi, alessandra pedersoli,
marina pellanda, daniele pisani, alessia prati,
stefania rimini, daniela sacco, cesare sartori,
antonella sbrilli, elizabeth enrica thomson,
christian toson

comitato scientifico

lorenzo braccesi, maria grazia ciani,
victoria cirlot, georges didi-huberman,
alberto ferlenga, kurt w. forster, hartmut frank,
maurizio ghelardi, fabrizio lollini,
paolo morachiello, oliver taplin, mario torelli

La Rivista di Engramma

a peer-reviewed journal

153 febbraio 2018

www.egramma.it

sede legale

Engramma
Castello 6634 | 30122 Venezia
edizioni@egramma.it

redazione

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

©2020

edizioni**engramma**

ISBN carta 978-88-94840-69-8

ISBN digitale 978-88-94840-31-5

finito di stampare gennaio 2020

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

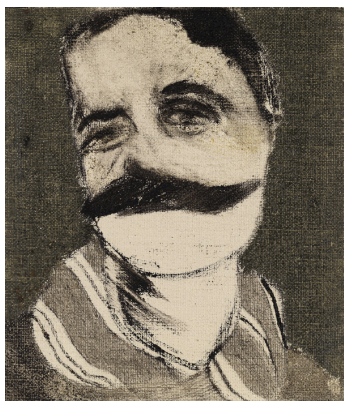
Sommario

- 7 *Mnemosyne Challenged. Editorial paper*
Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Elizabeth Thomson
- 11 *Ernst H. Gombrich's Geburtstagsatlas: An Index of materials published in Engramma*
Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson
- 13 *Ernst H. Gombrich, Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg (5 June 1937)*
Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson
- 77 *Ernst H. Gombrich, To Mnemosyne: An Introduction to Geburtstagsatlas (1937)*
Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson
- 83 *Zwischenraum/Denkraum*
Victoria Cirlot. English translation by David Carrillo-Rangel
- 109 *"L'esprit de Warburg lui-même sera en paix". A survey of Edgar Wind's quarrel with the Warburg Institute*
Ianick Takaes de Oliveira
- 183 *A Review of Ernst H. Gombrich, Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography, London 1970*
Edgar Wind
- 197 *A Laboratory of the Science of Culture*
Johan Huizinga. Translation by Monica Centanni, Sergio Polano, and Elizabeth Thomson
- 213 *Ronald B. Kitaj, Autobiography of a Warburgian Artist (2017)*
Matias J. Nativo and Alessia Prati

Mnemosyne Challenged

Editorial paper of Engramma No. 153

Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Elizabeth Thomson



When he died, in October 1929, Aby Warburg left unfinished the extraordinary project of the Bilderatlas which was soon to be published by Teubner (see, in Engramma, the presentation of Mnemosyne Atlas). Giorgio Pasquali wrote in 1930 that the Atlas was “ready for publication”, and that its publication would change the history of studies and dissemination of research in the humanistic field (see: G. Pasquali, *A tribute to Aby Warburg*, Eng. trans. by E. Thomson, “La Rivista di Engramma” 114,

March 2014). As we know, Warburg’s great project was suspended for two reasons: the death of its ‘director’, and the contemporary historical events (the emigration of the Warburg Institute to London because of the Nazi Party’s rise to power in Germany).

In 1937, Ernst H. Gombrich, who had just joined the Warburg-Kreis in London, was commissioned to produce a private edition of the Bilderatlas: *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg*, to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Aby Warburg’s brother. The operation, conceived as a private gift, was probably initiated by Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, or Max himself: the undertaking was intended to satisfy the family’s wishes as they continued to believe that the Mnemosyne project could be published. Preserved in two typewritten copies – one kept in London, the other in Hamburg – the *Geburtstagsatlas* was for decades consigned to oblivion and still remains unpublished (see the dedicated page on The Warburg Institute website).

Gombrich's *modus operandi* is very clear: he selects 24 panels (out of the 63 of the last version of the *Bilderatlas* of 1929); removes many images from each of the panels; lays out the surviving images on a white background, in a well-balanced and hierarchical order, by modifying original formats and space relations; each of the 24 panels is furnished with a brief but condensed explanation of its main topics. Gombrich introduces his version of the Atlas with a short but charged premise; although a copy of the *Einleitung* to *Mnemosyne* written by Warburg in 1929 was available to him, he firmly disassociated himself from it, both formally and conceptually.

An analysis of Gombrich's *Geburtstagsatlas* makes it possible to throw light on the introduction to his theoretical reflections on Warburg that would be included in his seminal publication: *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (London 1970). On Gombrich's biography, see in *Engramma*, *Aby Warburg and his biographers. An intellectual portrait in the words of Giorgio Pasquali (1930), Gertrud Bing (1958), Edgar Wind (1970)* (originally published in "La Rivista di Engramma" 1, September 2000; re-issued in November 2012); the critical review of the Italian edition (Feltrinelli, Milano 1983) by Guglielmo Bilancioni ("La Rivista di Engramma" 34, June/July 2003), and the Introduction to the new Feltrinelli edition (Milano 2003; in "La Rivista di Engramma" 24, April 2003).

Engramma No. 153* presents: an Index of materials published in *Engramma* on the *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg*, in both Italian and English versions; the first English digital edition of Gombrich's *Geburtstagsatlas*, from the collation of the two typewritten copies of the document, preserved at the Warburg Institute in London and the Warburg-Haus in Hamburg; the original German text with a translation into English of Gombrich's Introduction to the *Geburtstagsatlas*, edited by Seminario *Mnemosyne* and translated by Elizabeth Thomson, which highlights their different ways of thinking, and elements for a first attempt to compare Warburg's methodology with Gombrich's; the essay by Victoria Cirlot on the concepts of *Zwischenraum/Denkraum*, fundamental terms in Warburg's Introduction to *Mnemosyne Atlas*, scotomised by Gombrich (see the original text in Spanish in *Engramma* no. 150).

Engramma No. 153 has also focussed on Edgar Wind's intellectual career and his delicate relationship with the Warburg Institute, publishing the essay by Ianick Takaes de Oliveira "*L'esprit de Warburg lui-même sera en paix*". A survey of Edgar Wind's quarrel with the Warburg Institute, with an Appendix of the Warburg-Kreis correspondence. We also publish here the first digital edition of Wind's review of Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, originally published in "The Times Literary Supplement", 25 June 1971. Furthermore, we present in both English and Italian renditions the first digital edition of Johan Huizinga's review of Aby Warburg's complete works [*Gesammelte Schriften*, Teubner 1933], published in the journal "De Gids" in 1933, a few months after the German edition of *Gesammelte Schriften*: an important text to measure the timely reception of Warburgian thinking, and the intelligent and brilliant synthesis of the Warburg method that Huizinga proposes.

Finally a review by Matias Julian Nativo and Alessia Prati of Ronald Brooks Kitaj's autobiography, *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter*, edited by Eckhart J. Gillen with an Introduction by David Hockney; it was published for the first time in Germany in November 2017. The artist, who painted a portrait of Ernst Gombrich, which was rejected by Gombrich himself, also produced a painting depicting 'Aby as Maenad' (see "La Rivista di Engramma" 151, November/December 2017), and Warburg's portrait which has been adopted as the covering image for this issue of Engramma. Kitaj's *Autobiography* proposes a new form of biographical portraiture in which he used different materials in the montage. It combines heterogeneous traits that create a productive tension - a 'passage' in which Walter Benjamin meets Aby Warburg.

* Part of the materials presented in this issue are the result of the work of the itinerant Seminar which in the last four years has spent two stages at classicA-luav (1st stage 2014, 2nd stage 2015); Warburg-Haus in Hamburg (3rd stage 2015); Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa (4th stage 2016); Pompeu Fabra Universitat in Barcelona (5th stage 2017); Scuola Normale Superiore in Palazzone di Cortona (6th stage 2017); Warburg-Haus in Hamburg (7th stage 2017).

Ernst H. Gombrich's Geburtstagsatlas

An Index of materials published in Engramma

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola,
and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson

§ *Ernst H. Gombrich, Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg (5 June 1937).
First digital edition*

Edition by Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni,
Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi, English edition by Elizabeth
Thomson

"La Rivista di Engramma" 153 (February 2018)

§ Italian version: *Ernst H. Gombrich, Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg
(5 giugno 1937). Una prima edizione digitale*

Edition by Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni,
Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi

"La Rivista di Engramma" 151 (November/December 2017)

§ *Ernst H. Gombrich, To Mnemosyne: An Introduction to Geburtstagsatlas
(1937). Original version and English translation of Zur Mnemosyne*

Edition by Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni,
Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi, English edition by Elizabeth
Thomson

"La Rivista di Engramma" 153 (February 2018)

§ Italian version: *Ernst H. Gombrich, Zur Mnemosyne. Introduzione al
Geburtstagsatlas (1937). Testo originale e traduzione italiana con Note e
appunti di lessico*

Edition by Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni,
Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi

"La Rivista di Engramma" 151 (November/December 2017)

Zwischenraum/Denkraum. Terminological Oscillations in the Introductions to the Atlas by Aby Warburg (1929) and Ernst Gombrich (1937)

Victoria Cirlot, English edition by David Carrillo-Rangel

"La Rivista di Engramma" 153 (February 2018)

§ Italian version: *Zwischenraum/Denkraum. Oscillazioni terminologiche nelle Introduzioni all'Atlante di Aby Warburg (1929) e Ernst Gombrich (1937)*

Victoria Cirlot

"La Rivista di Engramma" 151 (November/December 2017)

§ Spanish version: *Zwischenraum/Denkraum: oscilaciones terminológicas en las Introducciones al Atlas de Aby Warburg (1929) y Ernst Gombrich (1937)*

Victoria Cirlot

"La Rivista di Engramma" 150 (October 2017)

§ *Esercizi di confronto tra le Tavole 7, 30, 37 del Geburtstagsatlas di Gombrich e le corrispondenti del Mnemosyne Atlas*

Salvatore Settis, Alessandra Pedersoli, and Simone Culotta

"La Rivista di Engramma" 151 (November/December 2017)

Ernst H. Gombrich, *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg* (5 June 1937)

First digital edition

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson

***Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg* by Ernst H. Gombrich (1937)**

London, 1937: A young Ernst Gombrich, who had recently joined the scholars of “The Warburg Institute” – still based in South Kensington under the direction of Edgar Wind – was commissioned to produce a private edition of the *Bilderatlas*: the *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg*, to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Aby’s brother, Max. The undertaking, conceived as a private gift, was probably initiated at the behest of Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, or perhaps at the request of Max himself. In any event, the project clearly met with family approval – almost ten years after Warburg’s death and after the Institute’s eventful transfer to England, they still believed in the possibility of the Mnemosyne project being published.

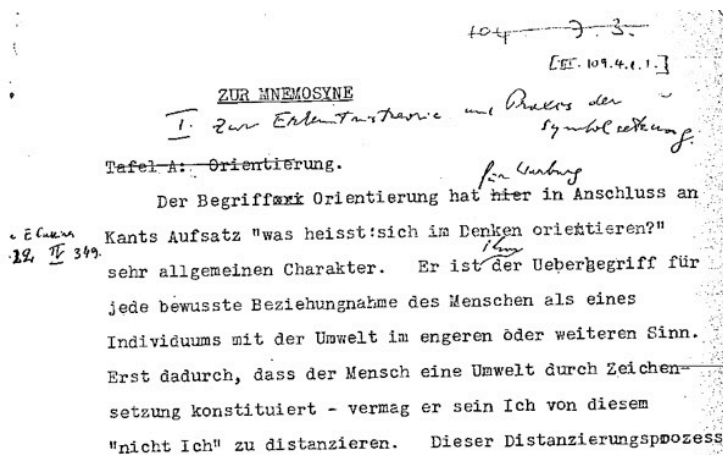
Preserved in two typewritten copies – one in London, one in Hamburg – the *Geburtstagsatlas* is still unpublished, and has for decades been consigned to almost total oblivion (see the dedicated page on The Warburg Institute website and, in the Bibliographic Note, the meagre collection of critical reviews).

In this issue of Engramma we present a complete edition of *Geburtstagsatlas*, obtained by collating the two typescripts; for now, it is a simple reproduction of copies in the form of images, but the Seminario Mnemosyne is working on a digitised version that will soon be published and will be the *editio princeps* of the “Birthday Atlas”.

Although it is a sort of preparatory paste-up created for a publication that was supposed to remain private, the work reflects, in its general layout, the structure that had originally been designed for the publication of the *Bilderatlas* – a set of panels, accompanied by concise texts – but at the

same time, it differs considerably from the panels assembled by Warburg and collaborators in 1929.

The *Zur Mnemosyne* text of the Introduction and all the accompanying texts of the individual panels are written in German, typed with an English typewriter, which was not equipped with a typographical font set with German diacritical signs (vowels with *Umlaut*, and *scharfes S*).



1 | The preparatory draft of the Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas*, in addition to the ink-written corrections, demonstrates that a typewriter without the diacritical signs peculiar to German (*Ueberbegriffe* pro *Überbegriffe*; *dass* pro *daß*...) was used.

Basically, in addition to some obvious misprints due to the 'artisanal' nature of the work, the enforced transliteration from German sounds like a graphic scar that is a tell-tale sign of the delicate state of exile that the Warburg-Kreis was experiencing during those years, and the difficulties that the refugees from Hamburg had in finding a worthy home in London despite England's capital city having generously welcomed the scholars and their precious materials.

As a premise, Gombrich offers a short and condensed introduction, and from the outset, this text poses an important critical query: despite having at his disposal the *Einleitung* for the *Bilderatlas* written by Warburg in 1929 (see in *Engramma* no. 142 the first digital edition, with an English translation by M. Rampley), Gombrich made a marked departure, both

conceptually and terminologically, from the approach that Warburg had wanted for his *opus* (see in this issue of *Engramma*, Ernst H. Gombrich, *To Mnemosyne*). In particular, in the Warburg Institute Archive, two *testimonia* of the Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas* are preserved: the preparatory draft, type-written, with various corrections and ink-written marginalia by Gombrich [WIA.III.109.4] and the final version, type-written, which partially includes the corrections made by Gombrich [WIA.III.109.5.1].

The *Birthday Atlas* contains 24 reconstructions of some of the 63 panels in the final version of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (which had been photographed before the materials were transported to the U.K., and which therefore Gombrich had at his disposal). The numbering of the individual panels is as follows:

A · B · C · I · II · III · IV · V · VII · VIII · XX · XXI · XXII · XXIII · XXIV ·
XXV · XXVII · XXVIII · XXX · XXXI · XXXVII · XLI · XLII · LV

When considering the individual panels, Gombrich's numbering agrees with the numbering of the corresponding panels of the 1929 *Mnemosyne* version, and respects the gaps in the continuous numbering (between Panel VIII and Panel XX, for example). The correspondence of the numbering is, therefore, accurate, or almost (an exception is the numbering of Laocoön: 41 for Gombrich; Panel 41a in the 1929 *Mnemosyne*, but as can be seen from the 41a formula, the numbering was evidently anything but provisional). However, in the Gombrich version, at least in the typewritten package to which we refer, the choice of inclusions and exclusions is not explicit: as can be seen in the *Geburtstagsatlas*, only the opening panels, *Tafeln* A, B, C created by Warburg and collaborators between September and October 1929 are included – (on the genesis of the ABC block of the *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* see in *Engramma* no. 125, “*Symbol tut wohl!*”, *Il simbolo fa bene! Genesi del blocco ABC del Bilderatlas Mnemosyne di Aby Warburg* by Silvia De Laude). The final panel of the selection proposed by Gombrich – *Tafel* 55 – is the panel dedicated to Warburg's research on Manet. The *Geburtstagsatlas* thus covers a narrower historical and geographical period than the final version of *Mnemosyne* (which in the last groups of panels, covers Rubens and Rembrandt, before moving to strictly topical concerns), but nevertheless it

coincides with the chronological period of which Warburg and Bing write in *Roman Diary*, “from Babylon to Manet”:

In the afternoon, I set up Mnemosyne on two hessian supports. Now there is an overview of all architecture from Babylon to Manet: so it can be[et1] subjected to a ruthless critique.

A. Warburg, February 10, 1929 (A. Warburg, G. Bing, *Diario Romano (1928-1929)*, ed. M. Ghelardi, Torino 2005, 53; Eng. trans. by E. Thomson).

It is not clear, however, why almost all the panels dedicated to the Florentine Renaissance were excluded (Panel 39, e.g. dedicated to Botticellian themes that might have had textual references to Warburg’s essay on Botticelli and might have been very useful for the accompanying captions). In short, the significance of Gombrich’s choices, and the fact that his version of the Atlas stops at Manet, certainly deserves further study – indeed, we hope soon to undertake a detailed study of the relevant archive materials.

Each panel is accompanied by a succinct but dense explanation – a sort of long caption that provides the sense of the ‘theme’ of the panel.

Many images were eliminated – 280 in the 24 panels of Gombrich’s version compared with about 2,000 images that Warburg planned to include in the Atlas in April 1929:

Mnemosyne: the awakening of the pagan gods during the European Renaissance as an expressive value of energy. An attempt at an art-historical science of civilisation.

Two volumes of text. In addition, an atlas with about 2,000 illustrations edited by A. Warburg. Indices by Gertrud Bing.

A. Warburg, April 8, 1929 (A. Warburg, G. Bing, *Diario Romano (1928-1929)*, ed. M. Ghelardi, Torino 2005, 98; Eng. trans. by E. Thomson).

Even with regard to the composition of the individual panels, Gombrich performed a distinct process of selection. He eliminated different materials from each panel, particularly images that did not appear to be clearly related to the ‘theme’ of the panel, reducing the number of images to about 10 per panel: all the materials that appeared to Gombrich to be

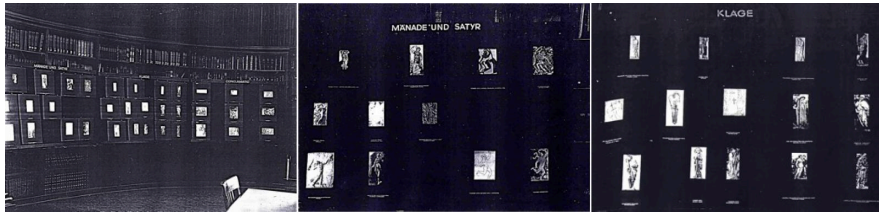
eccentric were purged; however, the recurring, magnified details of the images, a device that we could define as 'zoom & focus' to which Warburg often resorted, were excluded, sometimes complicating it with the variant of cropping the detail not from the original work but from a copy (e.g. on Panel 46, see figs. 3 and 7: the first is Ghirlandaio's *Birth of Saint John the Baptist* in Santa Maria Novella in Florence; the second is the detail of the 'basket-carrying nymph' from a workshop copy). The effect that Warburg achieves using this type of device is doubly hermeneutic: not only does he focus attention on the detail from which the thematic thread of the assemblage starts and around which it unfolds; he also picks up the theme of the fortune of the images, not only in terms of reusing models in an erudite manner, but also and significantly, in terms of their serial dissemination, which always underlies Warburgian discourse.



2 | Mnemosyne Atlas, Panel 46: Domenico Ghirlandaio, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, fresco, 1486, Firenze, Santa Maria Novella Church, Tornabuoni Chapel; detail of the 'basket-carrying nymph' from a workshop copy.

Gombrich paginates the surviving images in an orderly manner on a white background, in a structured and hierarchical way, radically modifying spatial relations and formats. The regular resizing and the orderly position of the images are reminiscent of the 'thematic' panels as we see them

proposed in the first installations at the Warburg-Haus in Hamburg (1925), in the very first panels that were a sort of “incunabulum” of Mnemosyne. However, from the outset, the background of the assemblages for Mnemosyne was black, and would remain so in all subsequent versions.



3 | Hamburg, 1925: Incunabulum of the Bilderatlas.

From the left: A view of all the panels in the Oval room of Warburg-Haus; ‘Mänade und Satyr’; ‘Klage’.

The choice of the white background is, therefore, to be entirely attributed to the general process of clarification – conceptual and graphic – that Gombrich carried out on the materials of the Bilderatlas.

As is clear from the accompanying texts, each panel focusses on a single theme, creating a linear and sequential structure that traces the history of a “cultural evolution” that views man – as Gombrich writes in his Introduction – giving shape to the world that surrounds him by placing signs, thus ‘distancing’ his ‘I’ from the environment that surrounds him, from the ‘not me’: a process of ‘distance-taking’ which – as Gombrich observes – Warburg called *Denkraum* and which he interpreted as “the constitutive act of creating a space for thought for all ontogenetic and phylogenetic development”, in the sense of an “achievement of distance from the surrounding world”.

In his Bilderatlas, Warburg graphically translated his concept of ‘space for thought’ into the framing of the panel and the spacing between one image and another – they are never homogeneous or regular. As can be seen in the *Geburtstagsatlas*, on the other hand, Gombrich adopted a style of layout in which the *Denkraum* between the individual and the objects of the world, but also, more visibly, the spacing between one image and another, have pre-set, regular and orderly measurements. In fact, in the previous layout of the panels in 1937, Gombrich preempted the prejudice that would permeate his *An Intellectual Biography* of 1970 – the notion of

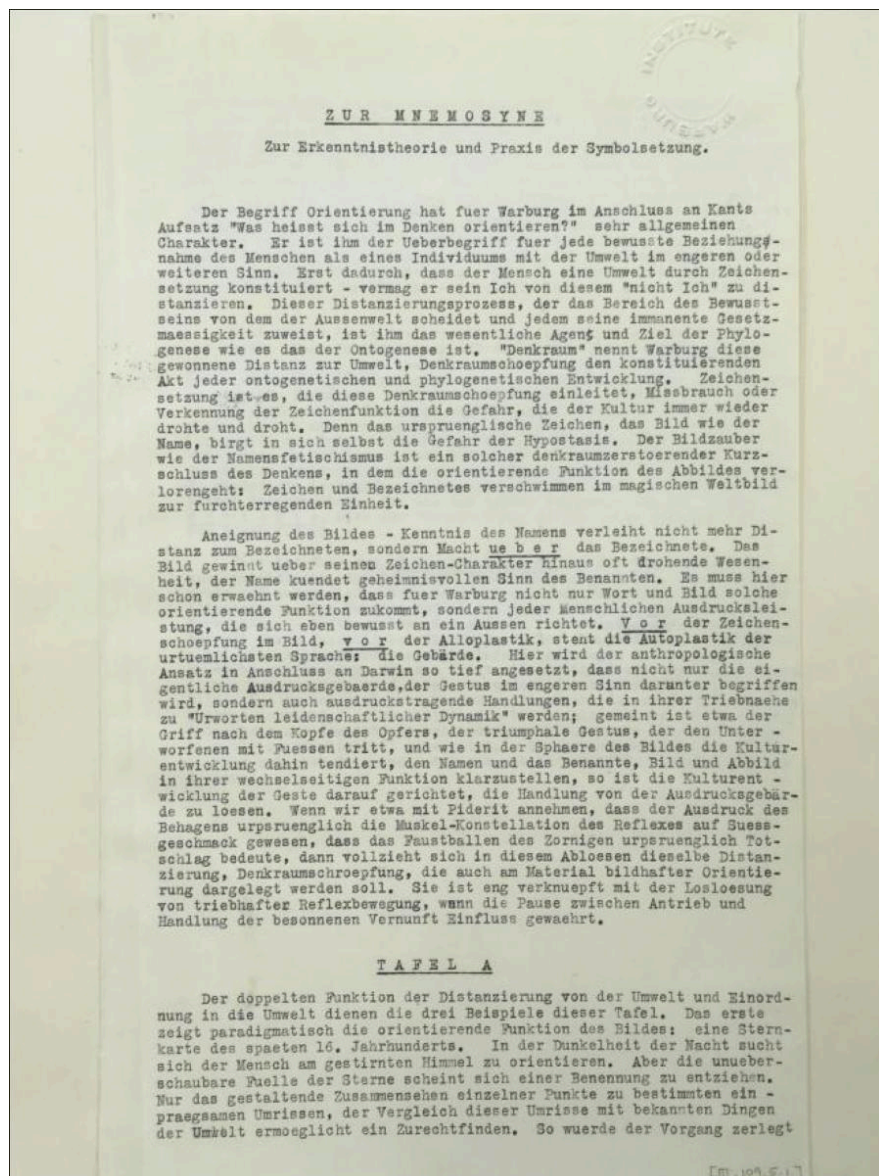
Warburg being not only psychologically shaken and broken, but methodologically fragmented, unintelligible, and with no procedure for re-ordering his montages (and his ideas).

Bibliographical note

Contributions that specifically deal with *Geburtstagsatlas* are quite rare in Bibliography. Some information in Katia Mazzucco, *The work of Ernst H. Gombrich on the Aby M. Warburg fragments*, "Journal of Art Historiography" 5 (2011); Katia Mazzucco, *Images on the Move: Some Notes on the Bibliothek Warburg Bildersammlung (Hamburg) and the Warburg Institute Photographic Collection (London)*, "Art Libraries Journal" 38/4 (2013). Careful reconstruction of Gombrich's relationship with Warburg's legacy, but not specifically focussed on the Atlas, has been proposed by Claudia Wedepohl in *Critical Detachment: Ernst Gombrich as Interpreter of Aby Warburg*, in U. Fleckner, P. Mack (eds.), *The Afterlife of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg. The Emigration and the Early Years of the Warburg Institute in London, Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus, Hamburg, Band 12*, Berlin 2015, 131-164. Currently there are no precise comparisons between the panels of the *Geburtstagsatlas* and the corresponding Mnemosyne 1929 panels. Precious notes can be found in the essay by Salvatore Settis, *Aby Warburg, il demone della forma. Antropologia, storia*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 100 (settembre/ottobre 2012). In Engramma no. 151, we have published an *excerptum* from Settis' essay, together with two other notes, edited by Alessandra Pedersoli and Simone Culotta as preliminary introductory essays to a systematic reading of the panels of *Geburtstagsatlas* 1937 compared with Mnemosyne 1929: Salvatore Settis, Alessandra Pedersoli, Simone Culotta, *Esercizi di confronto tra le Tavole 7, 30, 37*.

Ernst H. Gombrich, Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg (1937)

Einleitung. Zur Mnemosyne



Final version of Gombrich's Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas*.

Tafel A

A.



DER ANTIKE STERNENHIMMEL MIT MODERNEN HINZUFÜGUNGEN NACH EINER HOLLÄNDISCHEN STERNKARTE.



DIE "WÄNDERSTRAßENKARTE" DES KULTURBAUSTAUSCHES ZWISCHEN NORDEN-SÜDEN, OSTEN-WESTEN.



DER STAMMBAUM DER FAMILIE MBIZI.

Tafel A

Der doppelten Funktion der Distanzierung von der Umwelt und Einordnung in die Umwelt dienen die drei Beispiele dieser Tafel. Das erste zeigt paradigmatisch die orientierende Funktion des Bildes: eine Sternkarte des späten 16. Jahrhunderts. In der Dunkelheit der Nacht sucht sich der Mensch am gestirnten Himmel zu orientieren. Aber die unüberschaubare Fülle der Sterne scheint sich einer Benennung zu entziehen. Nur das gestaltende Zusammensehen einzelner Punkte zu bestimmten einprägsamen Umrissen, der Vergleich dieser Umrisse mit bekannten Dingen der Umwelt ermöglicht ein Zurechtfinden. So würde der Vorgang zerlegt aufzufassen sein, im primitive Denken aber ist er eine Einheit.

Die für uns so geometrisch abstrakt wirkenden Konstellationen des Himmels genuegten, um in der gestaltenden Phantasie des Menschen zum Baeren, zum Fisch oder Krebs zu werden, wie den abstrakten Ornamenten der Primitiven immer wieder gegenstaendliche Namen und gegenstaendlicher Sinn beigelegt werden. Und mit dieser Einsetzung des Denkraumverlustes: Das abstrakte Gebilde am Himmel ist ein Krebs und muss demnach die Eigenschaften haben, die diesem zukommen. Dennoch hat das Bild, solange es als Sternbild am Himmel auffindbar bleibt, seine orientierende Funktion nicht verloren, das Bild, auch das besaait gedachte, bleibt Werkzeug der Orientierung. Es lebt heute noch im wissenschaftlichen Namen des Sternbildes – gegen die Versuche der Aufklaerung - fort.

Eine andere Phase der Orientierung fuehrt uns das zweite Bild vor Augen. Fuer „Orientierung auf der Erde“ ist die Karte des europeischen Kulturraumen gewaehlt, die die Zentren, Wanderstrasse und Niederschläge astrologischer Vorstellungen also „der Orientierung am Himmel“ festhaelt. Mit dieser „Wanderkarte der Planeten“ wird ein Haupt-Thema der Mnemosyne angeschlagen. Darueber hinaus aber steht sie als ein fortentwickeltes Bildsymbol der Orientierung: sie ist Abbild der Erdoberflaeche und Zeichen zugleich, denn in der Landkarte wird ja relationstreuues Schema und abstraktes Abbild einer nie geschauten Wirklichkeit im Laufe der Entwicklung der Kartographie eins. So bietet die Landkarte eine Zwischenstufe zwischen dem Bild und dem reinen Zeichenschema, das uns das dritte Beispiel, das der Geschichte, also der „Orientierung in der Zeit“ gewidmet ist vor Augen fuehrt.

Hier ist fuer den Stammbaum, der die Generationsfolge versinnbildlicht, der Stammbaum jener Familie gewaehlt, deren Lebenskreis und europaeische Bedeutung ein weiterer Hauptteil dieser Arbeit illustriert. Die Familie Medici mit ihren buergerlichen florentiner Verwandten, - Auftraggebern der grossen Frueh-Renaissance Kuenstler – und mit ihren fuerstlichen Nachfolgern, die ihr politisches Intriguenspiel hinter glaenzenden symbolbeladenen Aufzuegen und Festspielen zu verbergen wussten, die ein dritten Leitmotiv dieser symbolgeschichtlichen Untersuchung sind. Der orientierende, klaerende Charakter des Bildes hat im schematischen Stammbaum die Hoehe des wissenschaftlichen Schemas erreicht. Alles Abbildhafte ist eliminiert, es werden einzig Relationen auf dem Gebiete zeitbedingten biologischen Ablaufes in die visuelle Anschaulichkeit uebersetzt. Das Ausgespanntsein der Orientierung zwischen Bild und Zeichen kommt auf der Tafel sinnfaellig zum Ausdruck.

Tafel B

B.



DER MENSCH IM KREIS DER KOSMISCHEN GEWALTEN; DARSTELLUNG EINER VISION DER HL. NIKOLAUS VON BINGEN, 15. JHDT.



HERAKLES ALS WELTENHERRSCHER; SEINE KÖRPERTEILE SIND TIERKREIS ZEICHEN ZUGETEILT.



EINTEILUNG DES KÖRPERS NACH DEN TIERKREISZEICHEN ZUM ZWECK DER ABERLASSEN; (RYSCH-HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT.)



TIERKREIS MANN, BURGUNDISCH, 15. JHDT.



PROPORTIONSFIGUR LEONARDO DA VINCI



TIERKREISMANN ALS ANWEISUNG FÜR DEN BADEN; AUS EINEM KALENDER DES 15. JHDT.



PROPOR TIONISFIGUR



PLANEHMENSCH NACH AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM



HAND MIT PLANE- TEN ZEICHEN NACH AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM

Tafel B

Neben dem Abbild steht vom Anbeginn der Kulturentwicklung an das bildhafte Gleichnis. Seine Rolle in der Orientierung ist dieser Tafel gewidmet. Ein Unbekanntes wird einem Bekannten gleichgesetzt, um es so verstaendlich zu machen. Die Bedeutung dieser Denkform der „Veranschaulichung“ fuer die gedankenmaessige Beherrschung der Umwelt kann gar nicht hoch genug eingeschuetzt werden. Wir haben vielleicht kein anderes Organ einsichtigen Verstehens.

„Der Mensch begreift nie, wie anthropomorphisch er ist.“ (Goethe) Dass alle Vorstellungen vom Kosmos mit Gleichnis und Gleichsetzung arbeiten, ist bekannt. Leisegang hat in seiner Gnosis schoen gezeigt, wie die mystische Gleichsetzung von Mensch und Kosmos eine eigene Denktechnik entwickelt, die durch Introspektion der Geheimnisse des Universums habhaft werden moechte. Es kann nur erwaeht werden, welche orientierende Bedeutung der Tatsache zukommt, dass in der Vorstellung der Einheit vom Macrocosmos und Microcosmos das gesamte Universum als eine Einheit einem einheitlichen Gebilde, dem menschlichen Organismus, zugeordnet wird. Die Vorstellung von einer einheitlichen Gesetzmaessigkeit, die das Universum regiert, hat hier eine Wurzel. Die Rolle der Microcosmos-Idee in der Entwicklung der Wissenschaft, scheint diese Auffassung zu bewahrheiten. Auf der Tafel sind einige Typen der Veranschaulichung dieses Gleichnisses, die die Moeglichkeiten und inneren Gefahren dieses Bildsymbole illustrieren, gesammelt. Einem Missverstaendnis ist vorzubeugen: auch diese Bilder sind nicht als historische --- „sondern als systematische Reihe aufzufassen, an deren einem Ende bildhaft primitiven-Denken, an deren andere Ende der gewonnene Denkraum steht. Freilich vollzieht die Renaissance in ihrer Loslösung vom Mittelalter gleichsam in Abriss noch einmal den Prozess der Menschheits-Entwicklung. Wie die antike Vorpraegung helfend und ausloesend beim „Geschaeft der Orientierung“ eintritt, ist Gegenstand der Memosyne.

Am Eingang steht das Kosmosbild der Vision der Hildegard von Bingen. Liebeschuetz und Reitzenstein haben es in der Entwicklung eingestellt. Es versinnbildlicht trotz seiner individuellen Auspraegung die allgemeine Bedeutung der Mikrokosmos-Vorstellung nach zwei Richtungen.

Neben dem Anschaulich werden kosmisch-geometrischer Gesetzlichkeit im Bilde, steht die magische Bedeutung, die mit dieser Vorstellung nebenherlaeuft. Gleiches kann nur auf Gleiches wirken und so wird seit fruehster Zeit in Ost-Asien wie in Europa ein immer reicheres System von Zuordnungen ausgearbeitet, nachdem Kosmisches und Organisches einander in vielxxfacher Verflechtung entspricht und so aufeinander wirkt. In der Vision der Hildegard sind wie in anderen Kosmosbildern manche dieser Kraeftlinien, di vom Macrocosmos zum Microcosmos fuehren, durch Striche angeben, Gleichzeitig ruht hier der Mensch beinahe so im Innern des Kosmos wie die menschliche Frucht im Liebe der Mutter. Auch hier ist Entsprechung und Verursachung noch eins. Noch tiefer hinab in magischem Vorstellungskreise reichen die Wurzeln des naechsten Bild-Typus, das den Menschen im Kreise der kosmischen Symbole des Tierkreises darstellt. Die Vorstellung scheint in irgend einer Form bis in aegyptische

Hymnen der Pyramidenzeit zurueckreichen. Nach diesen wird der Menschurspruenglich wohl nur der Koenig – nach seinem Tode in den hoechsten Himmelsgott verwandelt werden. Dieses hoechsten Gottes Koerperteile aber sind die einzelnen Goetter des Himmels und so sind nach vollzogener magischen Gleichsetzung auch die menschlichen Koerperteile je einer Gottheit zugeordnet, die in der Hymne um seine gleichsam stueckweise Vergottung im jenseits angerufen werden. Verwandtes ist auch aus Vorderasien bekannt. Vorstellungen dieser Art koennten dem Urbild der spaeten griechischen Miniatur zugrunde liegen, auf der Herakles als Himmelsbeherrscher erscheint, seine Gliedmassen dem Tierkreiszeichen zugeordnet. Der Architypus dieses Bildes koennte vielleicht gleichzeitig der Architypus einer Illustrationsreihe sein, die die Vorstellung vom „Tierkreisemensen“ im medizinischen Handschriften rapraesentiert.

Der Glaube, an den sie anschliesst, wird schon im spaeten Griechentum als chaldaeisch bezeichnet. Er begegnet bei Manilius wie bei den Neuplatonikern. Es handelt sich in diesen Bildern um ein "Beherrschtsein" der Koerperteile durch die zweoelf Zeichen des Zodiakus Zunaechst nur, um eine allgemeine Einflusslehre vom Kosmos auf den Menschen, die aber auch praktische Folgen hat. Bei Manipulationen an den betreffenden Koerperteilen, vor allem beim Aderlass, soll auf diese Herrscher Ruksicht genommen werden. Die medizinische Praktik bemaehtigt sich dieser Lehre frueh, obwohl ein Konzil des 6. Jahrhunderts dieses ganze Zuordnungssystem mit dem Anathema bedroht. Seit dem 13. Jahrhundert fehlt kaum der Tierkreisermann in einer medizinischen Handschrift und als Aderlassmann, der sinnfaellig angeben soll, in welchem Monat, an welchem Glied der Aderlass vorgenommen werden soll, wird er zum bleibenden Bestand beinahe saemtlicher Kalenderhandschriften und Drucke des ausgehenden Mittelalters. Zwei Typen bildhafter Anschaulichung stehen hier nebeneinander. Der eine laesst den Menschen von Tierkreiszeichen umgeben sein und vollzieht durch Striche die Zuordnung. Er ist dem Bild des Kosmosmenschen nahe verwandt. Aendere setzen das Zeichen selbst auf den betreffenden Koerperteil und schaffen so ein monstroes wirkendes Schema. Es hat den Anschein, als saessen die Tierkreiszeichen wie Schröpfkoepe auf dem Koerper. Die kosmische Vorstellung einer wirksamen Gesetzhchkeit ist hier im bildhaften zu einem fast abstossend wirkenden Merkschema erstarrt. Wenn auch fuer den aeztlichen Benutzer die verschiedenen Formen der Aderlass-Schemata vom Mann im Tierkreis bis zur blossen schriftlichen Fixierung wohl gleichgeordnet waren, vermag doch das abstruse Aussehen dieser letzteren Gebilde ihnen ein erhoehtes Ansehen bei den Laien gegeben haben. Die Moeglichkeit eines solchen Missverstaendnisses wird besonders dort sinnfaellig, wo ein derartiges Schema vom Kuenstler in naturalistische Anschaulichkeit uebersetzt ist, wie in dem Blatt aus den "Très Riches Heures".

Die folgende Leonardo-Zeichnung gibt sich durch Beischrift als eine Illustration zu Vitruvs Text (1/3) ueber die Proportion zu erkennen. Das Gesetz, dass die ausgebreiteten Arme des Menschen seiner Groesse entsprechen, wird dort mit der gleichmaessigen Ausdehnung des Kosmos in Zusammenhang gebracht.

Saxl und Panofsky haben herausgearbeitet, wie in dieser Vorstellung kosmische und menschliche Proportion noch ein Stueck des Glaubens an ein durchwaltendes

Weltprinzip nachschwingt. Die Pythagoräer und Platons Timaeus zeigen deutlich den Weg, den die Vorstellung von kosmischer zu mathematischer Gesetzmäßigkeit gegangen ist. Ein Hinweis Warburgs auf eine indische Parallele bestätigt das paradigmatische dieser Denkform. Zahlenverhältnisse treten immer mehr an die Stelle anthropomorpher "Kräfte", eine Entwicklung, die heute noch nicht abgeschlossen scheint.

Man weiss, wie die Renaissance-Künstler, wie Dürer etwa, um diese Vorstellung in der Welt des Sichtbaren gerungen haben. Die Berufung auf die kosmische Harmonie ist diesen kunsttheoretischen Spekulationen ebenso geläufig wie denen der Musiktheoretiker und doch besteht

ein entscheidender Unterschied in der Rolle des bildhaften Gleichnisses: nicht mehr als sichtbare Merkschemata stehen die Kosmischen Zeichen auf dem Menschenkörper. Das Wirken kosmischer Gesetzmäßigkeit soll im Endresultat nur durch eines sichtbar werden: durch die erreichte Schönheit, die der Stempel der "göttlichen" Proportion ist.

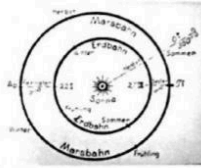
Die kosmische Vorstellung erfährt durchaus nicht überall und immer eine solche Vergeistigung zum Denkraum hin. Neben den Werken der grossen Renaissance-Künstler Dürer und Leonardo stehen, anschaulich verwandt, die magischen Bilder des Agrippa von Nettesheim als als (?) Abbilder der Planetenkräfte. Die Chiromantie, ursprünglich auf dieselbe Zuordnungslehre (?) aufgebaut, bewahrt bis auf unsere Tage die Vorstellung einer durchlaufenden Gesetzmäßigkeit. Der Kundige kann in den kleinsten Anzeichen der Linie der Hand das umfassende Geschehen wiederfinden und deuten.

Tafel C

C.



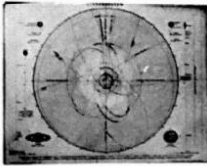
DIE IDENTIFICATION DER PLANETENBÄHNEN MIT DEN REGELMÄSSIGEN KÖRPERN; AUS DEM MYSTERIUM COSMOGRAPHICUM, (1621)



DIE BAHN DES PLANETEN MARS; (NACH KEPLER)



DER PLANET MARS UND SEINE "KINDER" NACH EINER MITTELALT. HDSCHR.



DIE PLANETENBÄHNEN NACH MODERNER AUFFASSUNG



PROGNOSTIK DER GROSSEN WEISERUNG 1524 (REYMANNS HANDSCHRIFT IN STUTTGART)



DER "GRAF ZEPPELIN" ALS SYMBOL DER MODERNEN BEHERRSCHUNG DES RAUMES

TAFEL C

Die Vorstellung von kosmischer Gesetzmäßigkeit als von einem harmonikalem System war Vorstufe und Hemmnis der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung des Kosmos zugleich. Im Bild der Naturgesetze wirkt sie heute noch nach. Ihre Erkenntnis war Ansporn und Ziel jeder erwachenden Naturwissenschaft. Aber das Einfachheitselement, das in ihr lag, konnte auch zum Hemmnis werden. Das Gleichnis konnte das Vergleichene beinahe verdecken. Warburg macht diese Doppelstellung ans Kepler's Entwicklungsgang deutlich. Den Planeten Mars, dessen Unberechenbarkeit mittels des ptolemäischen Systems viel Schwierigkeit bereitet hatte, fasst er, freilich schon gleichnishaft, noch im astrologischen Sinn auf, wenn er schreibt: "Auf Geheiss Eurer Majestaet fuehre ich endlich einmal den hochedlen Gefangenen zur oeffentlichen Schaustellung vor, dessen ich mich schon vor einiger Zeit unter dem Oberbefehl Eurer Majestaet in einem beschwerlichen und muehevollen Krieg bemaechtigt habe." Es ist barockes Spiel, wenn er hier den Kriegsgott, der als unheildrohender Planetendaemon in den mittelalterlichen Handschriften fortlebt, dem Kaiser als Gefangenen bringt, aber welcher Ernst in diesem Spiele steckt beweist uns Keplers astrologische Taetigkeit, die durchaus nicht nur dem Broterwerb diene. An die Erforschung der Verhaeltnisse der Planetenbahnen geht er zunaechst ganz aprioristisch von der pythagoräischen Vorstellung der Harmonie der Planetenspaeren aus: ihre Bahnen sollten sich wie die einfachen Koerper verhalten. Ein Bild dieser Koerper schmueckt das innere Titelblatt seines "Mysterium Kosmographikum" und wie stark Kepler der alten bildhaften harmonikalen Auffassung des Kosmos verpflichtet blieb wird nicht nur in seiner Streitschrift "Contra Ursuum" deutlich. Auch seine Entdeckung der wahren Gestalt der Planetenbahnen als Ellipsen, nicht als Kreise, muss er mit Ueberlegungen vor sich und Anderen verteidigen, die die aesthetisch-harmonische Vollwertigkeit der Ellipse neben dem Kreis, zum Gegenstande haben. Das schematische Bild der Marsbahn nach Keplers Lehre zeigt schliesslich die orientierende Bedeutung bildhafter Vorstellung nachwirkend. Wissen wir doch heute, dass dieses "galiläische Bezugssystem", nach dem die Planeten die stillstehende Sonne umkreisen, nur den Vorzug bildhafter und mathematischer Fasslichkeit vor anderen Darstellungen voraus hat.

Eine auffaellige Parallele mag beweisen, dass es hier nicht um Zufaelles geht: das harmonikale Weltbild spielt in denselben Jahrzehnten bei Harvey's Entdeckung des Blutkreislaufes die gleiche merkwuerdige Doppelrolle. Bei dieser Entdeckung, die sich an geschichtlicher Bedeutung wohl der Keplers an die Seite stellen laesst, beruft sich Harvey ausdruesslich auf die innere Wahrscheinlichkeit seines Fundes: Erst so sei die Parallele zwischen Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos abgerundet. Fuer den Blutkreislauf gelte nun dasselbe, was Aristoteles fuer den Kreislauf des Wassers in der Welt festgestellt habe. Die Sonne sei das Herz des Universum, wie das Herz die Sonne des Organismus. Wie sehr selbst in solchen scheinbar spielerischem Analogisieren uralte Praegungen eingreifen, erfahren wir aus der Tatsache, dass das Herz schon bei Ptolemaeus wie auch weiterhin der Sonne als der zugehoerigen Planetengottheit zugeordnet wird: dasselbe Weltbild, das einer kausalen Erklaerung Jahrtausendlang im Wege stand, bietet sich in entscheidenden Wendepunkt als Achse an, um die der Umschwung erfolgen kann.

Die Beherrschung des Kosmos durch Kenntnis seiner Gesetze war fuer Warburg im Zeppelin zum Symbol geworden. Die erste Ozean-Ueberquerung Eckeners hatte ihm den allertiefsten Eindruck gemacht. Nicht die sportliche Kuehnheit, sondern rationales Zukunftswissen sah er darin verkoeorpert. Das Berechnen der Wetterlage aus kleinsten Schwan-

kungen der Quecksilbersaeule, der organisierte drahtlose Meldedienst, die damit gegebene Moeglichkeit, Sturm oder Gewitterzentren vorauszuberechnen und zu umfahren, statt wie einstmals der waghalsige Schiffer sich dem Zufall der Fortuna anzuvertrauen, all dies ward im Bilde des Zeppelins zum Symbol. Es entspricht Warburgs anschaulicher Methode, dass er es liebte, die unerhoerte Wandlung der Auffassung und den historischen Sinn des Symbols bildhaft eindringlich dadurch vor's Auge zu stellen, dass er das Bild des Zeppelins mit dem Titelblatt einer astrologischen Weissagungsschrift von Reyman aus der Reformationszeit konfrontierte, die einen Fisch in den Lueften zum Gegenstand hat. Dieser Fisch ist kein menschliches Gerat zur Beherrschung des Kosmos. Er ist Symbol der gefuerchteten Abhaengigkeit von kosmischen Gewalten. Denn das Bild Reyman's will eine Sternbildkonstellation veranschaulichen, in der das Tierkreiszeichen der Fische uebermaechtig werden sollte. Die blosse Namensassoziation gibt die Bedeutung an, die sich damit verband: Grosse Fluten sollten die Erde bedrohen. Beide Vorstellungen, die hier gegenuebergestellt sind, beruhen auf einem Bilde allgemeiner Gesetzmassigkeit. Aber waehrend in der alten Vorstellung fuer die Kenntnis der kuenftigen Wetterlage das Groesste, der ganze Sternenhimmel, als Ursachensetzung gerade gross genug war, genuegt dem vorausberechnendem Verstand das kleinste Anzeichen einer schwankenden Quecksilbersaeule, der geringste Ausschlag des empfindlichen Instruments, um die Verschiebung der atmosphaerischen Situation zu erschliessen, um die Zukunft rechnend abzulesen.

Tafel I



BABYLONISCHER URKUNDENSTEIN
MIT STERNBILDERN.



BABYLONISCHER URKUNDEN-
STEIN.



ETRUSKISCHE
WEISSAGUNGSLEBER.



DER BABYLONISCHE
KÖNIG, SEINE GOTTHEIT
ANBETEND.



PHRYGISCHE
WEISSAGUNGSLEBER.

TAFEL I.

Die Tafel fñhrt das vorantike Erbgut im Beispiel vor, das die Antike zu verarbeiten hatte und das in veraendertter Form, aber unveraendertter Lebenskraft heute noch nachwirkt. Neben magischen Praktiken wie der Zingeweisenschau, fuer die hier die etruskische Weissagungslehre stehen mag (siehe Tafel D) sind es vor allem die Sternbildformen, die der Orient gepraegt ueberliefert. Babylonische Urkundensteine zeigen uns zum Teil Bilder, wie das des Sagittarius, Skorpions, Kaprikornus, die von den heute gebrauchten Symbolen nur unwesentlich abweichen. Aegyptische Sarkophage liefern die Kalendergottheiten der 36 Herrscher der Zehntageweche des Jahres, die fuer die Kalenderpraxis der folgenden Jahrtausende verbindlich bleiben. Die Frage des Ursprungs dieser Symbole wird hier bei Seite gelassen, sie stehen nur als Sinnbild des Ursprungs jener Ueberlieferung, deren Schicksal der Atlas gewidmet ist.



DER SONNENGOTT AUS DEM MEER TAUCHEND; (KIRCH VASE DES G. 707F.)



SIE AUFGEHENDE SONNE VERSCHLEUCHT DIE STERNE; (VASENBILD)



SIE EMPORTAUCHEN VON SONNE UND MOND; (VASENBILD)



SOGEN. ATLAS FARNESI, ROM



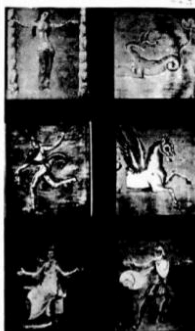
GLOBUS DES ATLAS FARNESI



SIE BRISSEUTAGE AM GRIECHISCHEN GLOBUS; PERSEUS, AMPHIMEDA, DES WALFISCH, CERBERUS, CASSIOPEIA,



GLOBUS MIT STERNBILDERN; AUS EINER HANDSCHRIFT,



SIE PERSEUSJAGDE IN STERNBILDERN; AUS EINER CAROLINGISCHEN HANDSCHRIFT IN LEYDEN,

T A F E L II.

Die griechische Bildphantasie hat in ihrer einzigartigen Praegekraft dem europaeischen Bewusstsein Symbole von wunderbarer Anschaulichkeit und Lebenskraft ueberliefert. Im Bereich kosmischer Symbolik mag es kennzeichnend sein, dass die starren isolierten Tierkreisbilder altorientalischen Erbguts sind, waehrend die griechischen Deutungen des Himmels immer Bewegtes durch Bewegung und Geste nachzubilden bemueht sind. Wo immer aber man die Ursache solcher Polaritaet suchen moechte, ihre Auswirkung ist sichtbar: die Gestalt des Sonnengottes, den schon schwarzfigurige Vasen mit seinem Gespann zeigen, ist der Keim aller jener Planetenwagen, die eine spaetere Entwicklung ins Allegorische gewandt hat. Das Auf und Ab von Sonne und Mond rahmt als menschlich anschauliches Geschehen die Mythenbilder auf Giebeln und Vasen. Alles Geschehen ist fuer diese Anschauungsform durch menschliches Treiben abbildbar; das Untertauchen der Sterne vor der Erscheinung des strahlenden Gottes stellt eine griechische Vase des Britischen Museums als muenters Untertauchen von Juenglingen dar, die sich wie auf einem Sportplatz tumeln. Euripides schildert in seinem "Ion" (1140) ein Teppichgemaelde mit dem Bild des nachtslichen Himmels: "Uranos ruft das Heer der Sterne zusammen. Der Sonnengott treibt seine Rosse hinab, den Hesperos nach sichziehend; die Nacht zieht, stark verschleiert, hinter ihm auf seinem Viergespann daher, die Sterne folgen der Gaeatin, die Pleias und Orion, die Baerin, hoch ueber allen Selene, dann die Hyaden und endlich Eos, die Sterne vor sich hertreibend."

Dieser geschmeidigen Bildphantasie gelingt es nun auch im Laufe der spaeteren Entwicklung, unterstuetzt von der Gelehrsamkeit der alexandrinischen Lehrdichter, das gesamte abstrakte Netz von Konstellationen nicht etwa zu monströsen Gestalten zusammenzufassen, sondern zu einem bewegten dramatischen Geschehen wie es der Mythos vorgeformt hatte. Die Hoehe dieser Leistung richtig einzuschuetzen muesste man ~~dann~~ vielleicht an ein Experiment appellieren, das den Rohrschach'schen Versuchen von Fleckdeutungen entspraecht. Wieviel leichter ist es in die Zufallsgebilde der Konstellationen monströse Bildungen hineinzusehen, die jede fuer sich stehen, als sie zu einer bewegten Aktion von Menschen zu vereinheitlichen! Kein Wunder, dass die Namen der griechischen Deutungen bis heute, allen Versuchen der Aufklaerung zu trotz, die der Wissenschaft geblieben sind.

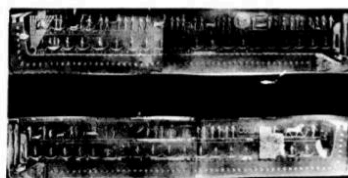
Einen Mythos fand man mit allen Protagonisten am Himmelsglobus wieder: den des Perseus. Ihn zeigt uns der antike Globus des Atlas Faranese, ihn die getreuesten Kopien von antiken Illustrationen des Germanicus, die auf uns gekommen sind. Die Stern-Positionen, die Grundlagen der Deutung, sind in dem Bild eingezeichnet. Durch sie wird die griechische Sphaera das einzigartige Doppelinstrument wissenschaftlicher Orientierung und anschaulicher Verewigung des Mythos durch die Jahrhunderte.

Tafel III

3.



ÄGYPTISCHES HIMMELSBILD AUS
DENDERAH



ÄGYPTISCHER TIERKREIS AUS DENDERAH



ANTIKES
HIMMELSBILD -
BILD. SOGEN. TABULA BIANCHINI



JUPITER BOLICREMIUS
AM MANTEL DIE 7
PLANETEN.



HELLENISTISCHE
GOTTERZEIT MIT DEN
7 PLANETEN



DIANA VON
EPHESUS

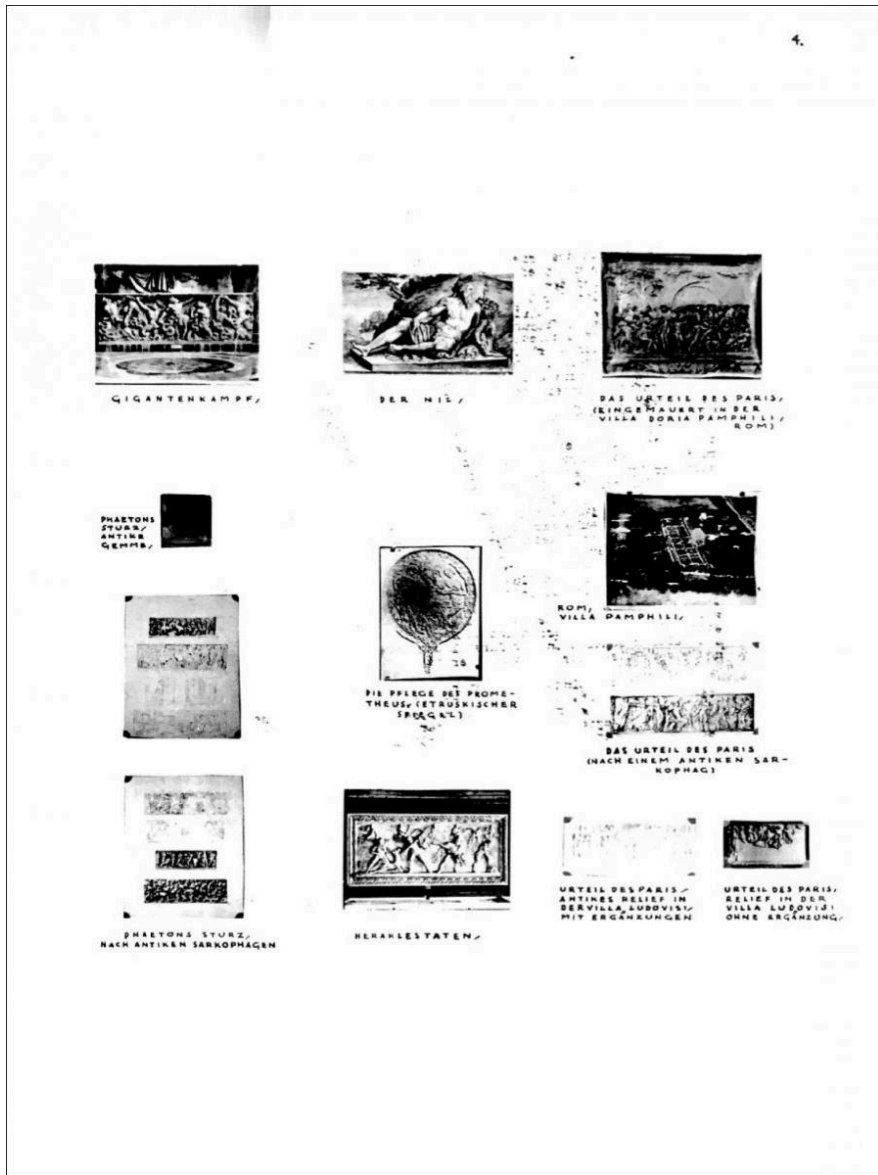


KOPF DER
DIANA

Tafel III

Die tiefgreifende Wandlung des griechischen Geistes im Hellenismus laesst sich nirgends eindringlicher anschaulich machen als in der Umpraegung der kosmischen Bildvorstellung, als in der Ueberwucherung des klassisch – bildhaften Mythos durch orientalische Sternreligion. Es ist der Weg von Athen nach Alexandria. Der aegyptische Tierkreis von Denderah formt die griechische Idee de Himmelsbildes entscheidend um. Statt umfangsdeutender Bilder stehen nun Hieroglyphen am Himmel, Bildzeichen fuer Sternbilder. Die Bilderschrift ermoeeglicht hier ein Verschwimmen der Grenzen, das verderblich werden konnte: denn neben den Zeichen fuer wirkliche Sternbilder stehen ununterschieden die Gotterzeichen fuer die altaegyptischen Goetter der Zehntage-Woche, die Dekane, je zehn Graden des Tierkreises zugeordnet. Mit dieser Vermengung von Kalenderfigur und Himmelsbild setzt ein Zersetzungsprozess der Sphaera ein, der immer weiter greift. Gibt der Tierkreis von Denderah noch die orientalischen Sternbilder an, deren Namen uns die von Boll rekonstruierte Sphaera des Teukros ueberliefert hat, so setzt bald eine Ueberlagerung der „sphaera barbarica“ und „sphaera greca“ ein, deren Himmelsbild jeder orientierenden Funktion spottet. Orientierung ist es auch nicht mehr, was vom Sternbild gefordert wird. Die tabula bianchini, ein antikes Himmelsbild, zeigt schon die ganze pseudowissenschaftliche Systematik, die der Astrologe fuer seine Zukunftsdeutungen braucht. Neben den Sternbildern stehen in immer wiederholter Reihe die Bilder der sieben Planeten, die als Wandelsterne auf der eigentlichen Himmelskarte ja teine Platz finden konnten und um die Planeten ist nun bereits in der griechischen Vorstellung das Band der Dekane geschlungen. Der sogenannte Dodecaoros ein Tierkreis, vielleicht ostasiatischen Ursprungs, vervollstaendigt das Bild einer geheimnisvollen Zeichenreihe, an der nichts abbildhaftes mehr erkennbar ist. Warburgs Vermutung, dass es sich um ein astrologisches Lossbrett handle, wird von der modernen Forschung bestaetigt. Die Verbreitung der orientalischen Astrologie wird durch die Durchdringung der ganzen abendlaendischen Religion mit astralen Vorstellungen ermoeeglicht. Gerade die typischsten hellenistischen Neuschoepfungen von Kultbildern und Goettergestalten sind vom Sternglauben nicht zu trennen. Die sieben Planeten schmuecken ihren Mantel, denn der Himmel selbst ist Mantel der Weltgottheit und magische Bedeutung voll geworden.

Tafel IV



T A F E L IV.

Die Dynamik des griechischen Mythos und die eminente Tragik seiner Motive ruht auf einem tiefen Gegensatz zwischen olympischen Gottheiten der lichten Hohe und der Halbgoetter - und Heroenwelt, die der Erde verhaftet bleiben. Es ist der Gegensatz, den Iphigenien's Parzenlied, Hyperion's Schicksalslied, wie Schiller's Ideal und Leben in unser Bewusstsein getragen haben. Das Aufbaumen gegen diesen Zwiespalt, der Kampf der Heroen um die Hohe des Lichtes, ihr Siegen und ihr Scheitern praegt im Mythos Gestalten von unzerstoerbarem Ausdrucksgehalt. Sie sind von Warburg auf dieser Tafel vereint. Die Giganten, die im elementaren "titanischen" Zorn vergeblich nach aufwaerts kaempfen, bilden den tragischen Eingang. Die Schlangenfuesse unterstreichen im Bildhaften das Erdgebundene dieser Antagonisten des Olymps. Erdgebundene Elementargoetter, wie sie am Paris-Urteils-Sarkophag in ehrfuerchtigen Staunen mit adorierendem Gestus nach der himmlischen Versammlung der olympischen Goetter blicken, zu der die drei streitenden Goettinnen eben frei auffahren, entsprechen ihnen. Zwar in ihren ruhigen Lagen erinnert nichts an Kampf und Aufbaumen, aber gerade darum wird ihr Typus fuer Warburg zum Ausdruckssymbol des passiven Pathos irdischer Befangenheit und des Gebanntseins in den Freilauf der Natur. In der Umwertung, die die spaetere europaeische Kunst mit ihrer Bewegungsformel vornimmt, wird ihm dieser Ausdruckssinn deutlich. Ihre resignierte dumpf-melancholische Ruhe wird in der Antike nur dort zur erregt teilnehmenden Trauer wo, wie im Phaeton Mythos, die Olympier die Hybris des Heroen fuerchtbar strafen, der es gewagt hatte, den Sonnenwagen lenken zu wollen, selbst einer der Lichtgoetter zu werden; wie Phaeton hilflos, kopfueber, mit verwirrtem Gespahn in den Fluss Eridanos sturzt, klagen die Elementargoetter um dieses Opfer des olympischen Zornes. Dieses Leidenspathos des zerschmetternden Kämpfers um die Hohe gibt der Gestalt des Prometheus ihren Ewigkeitswert. Als ein leidender und leidenschaftlicher Kaempfer um das Licht als eine Erloeser Figur erscheint schon in manchen Stellen von Ayschylos Drama, und seltsam scheint in der Darstellung der Pflege des Prometheus und der Abnahme vom Felsen der Typus mancher pietä Darstellung vorgepraegt.

Nur einem gelingt aus eigener Kraft und mit Hilfe der Goetter der Aufstieg aus der Welt, durch die Unterwelt, bis in den Olymp: Herakles, der darum Urbild des kaempfernden Helden ueberhaupt ist. Seine Arbeiten sind ja ein Kampf gegen die Hindernisse der Vergottung, sein Leidenstod ist Vorbedingung seiner Auffahrt in das Lichtreich des Olymp.

Tafel V

5.



ZELSKARLIEF DER
"MAGNA MATER"



"PÄDAGOGE"



NIOBIDE



NIOBIDE



MYRNA



AMAZONENKAMPF



PANTHEUS' TOD



MEDEA LARKOPHAG



MEDEA
(PROPERGDI)



RAUB DER PROSERPINA



PANTHEUS' TOD



MEDEA
(PROPERGDI)



TOD MELEAGERS



TOD DER ALKESTIS



MELEAGERS HEIMBRINGUNG

T A F E L V.

Das Thema dieser Tafel ist die Frau in den Zuständen des Leidenspathos. Wie ein Leitmotiv steht das Felsrelief der grossen Goettermutter Kybele, deren Kult das Rasen gegen sich bis zur Selbstverstummlung fordert, am Eingang. Des Unterliegen unter dem grausamen Goetterwillen charakterisiert die Niobiden, die, wie der Paedagoge, vergebens in Bitten und Schreckgebarde die Haende erheben um die toetlichen Pfeile abzuwehren. Der Formel der Niobide ist auch die fliehende Myrrha nachgebildet. (Sieweking, Muenchner Jahrbuch, 1912.)

Die im Leiden rasende Mutter gibt den Uebergang zu dem mythologischen Motiv der beleidigten Zauberin Medea, die im Zorn ihre Kinder schlechtet. Hier aber ist nicht die Gebaerde Traegerin des Ausdrucks der Aktion. Es kennzeichnet die Polaritaet der reichen griechischen Kunst, dass fuer diese Tat aeusserster Wildheit das Monologartige, Lauernde und Kaempfernde Verweilen vor der Tat in der Antike Gegenstand des Kunstwerkes wurde. Das heisst als "fruchtbarer Moment" erscheint gerade die schicksalhafte Pause zwischen Antrieb und Handlung, in der, in Euripides wie in Ovid's verlorenem Drama schliesslich die triebhafte Gewalt durchbricht, in dem beruehmten Worte der ovidianischen Medea "video meliora proboque, deteriore sequor." So schildert uns auch die E-Phrasis des Callistratus die Statue der Medea. Das ist die Hinwendung zum "Seelendrama", in dessen Mittelpunkt nicht mehr der kaempfernde Mann, sondern die von eigener Leidenschaft ueberwaeltigte Frau steht. Warburg hat das Wiederauftauchen dieser Kunstgesinnung im Zusammenhang mit dem Medea-Stoff bei dem grossten "Seelendramatiker" der Neuzeit, bei Rembrandt, verfolgt.

Gerade der Moment vor dem Morde wird auch auf den Sarkophagen in derselben Ruhe wiedergegeben, waehrend der Ausdruck der ungluecklichen Kreusa im Flammenhemd hoechstes Leidenspathos zeigt. In ihrem Schmerzsgestus, der Arm hoch aufgerichtet, der Kopf zurueckgeworfen, gemahnt diese Ueberwaeltigte an die typische Gestalt der von Leidenschaft ueberwaeltigten Maenade in der griechischen Kunst. Die rasende Maenade ist das Urbild triebhaft entfesselter Leidenschaeftegebarde. In keiner anderen Kunst wie der griechischen hat ein solcher Typus von extremer gebaerdenspraechlicher Ausdruckskraft Praegung gefunden. Ihre Formel ist die Formel des gesteigerten Pathos schlechthin, ohne dass uns das Vorzeichen der Erregung deutlich wird. Flucht und Ekstase, Lust und Entsetzen zugleich spricht aus den herrlichen Gestalten der Eingeweiheten des Dionisos in den Fresken der Villa Item. Die urtuemliche fuerchterregende Wildheit dieser "Rasenden" im Gefolge des Bacchus findet ihren Niederschlag in den Mythen von Pentheus, und Orpheus' Tod. Das Denkraum-Zerstoerende triebhafter Wildheit klingt in beiden Mythen an. Wird im Pentheus Mythos nach der verbindlichen Fassung des Euripides der denkende Zweifler von der Gewalt des Gottes verblendet und von seiner eigenen Mutter und von ihren Schwestern im thiasothischen Rausche wie ein wildes Tier rissen, so ist es im Orpheus Mythos ebenso vielsagend der Saenger der Harmonie, den die wilden Trakerinnen ihrem wahnsinnigen Zorn opfern. Die beiden Mythen, in manchen Fassungen fast identisch, kuennden doch von einer tiefen Polaritaet. Dort ist es der geheimnisvolle Gott, der die Widerstrebenden toeten laesst, hier der Gruender des Mysteriums, der widerstrebend getoetet wird und den dieser Opfertod heiligt. Die Berliner Gemme, auf die Eisler hingewiesen hat, die einen Gekreuzigten mit der Beischrift "Orpheus" "Bakhikos" zeigt, oeffnet die geistesgeschichtlichen Perspektiven.

Die bildlichen Darstellungen der Zerreissung des Pentheus halten sich genau an die Darstellungen der Literatur. Die eine, die auf dem Sarkophag den Fuss gegen seine Seite stehend, den linken Arm mit beiden Haenden aus dem Koerper reisst, ist Pentheus' eigene Mutter, die verblendete Agave, zu der er vergebens fleht. Nach dem rechten Arm greift ihre Schwester Ino - ein Zug, den die Bildtradition nicht bewahrt - Anthoos, die andere Schwester, packt den Fuss, die eine der Maenaden greift nach dem Haupt, das Agave als das Haupt eines erlegten Loewen im Triumphzug auf der Spitze des Thyrsos in den Palast traegt, bis der Wahn von ihr weicht und die Klage beginnt.

Dieses ertuemlichste Wildheitsmotiv der "Kopfjaegererei" ist fuer Warburg Symbol der seelischen Tiefen, in die jene Mythen hinabreichen. Er sieht es nachwirken in der Ausdruckshandlung des Griffes nach dem Kopf des Opfers, fuer die die Vase mit der Toetung der Amazone als typische Praegung steht.

Hier bietet sich der Uebergang zum Thema des Frauenraubes, das fuer diesen Zusammenhang im Zeichen der ueberwaeltigten Frau steht. Frauenraub zieht als ein staendiges Motiv durch die griechische Sage, wie er auch am Eingang der roemischen steht. Proserpina, von der Pluto Besitz ergriffen hat, um sie in das Totenreich zu tragen, kuetet in ihrer widerstrebenden Haltung von denselben extremen Leiden der Leidenschaft, wie die Maenade, von der der Gott im Innern Besitz ergriffen hat. Auch die Leukippiden zeigen dieselben Gebaerden aussersten Ausser-sich-seins, die in der Antike nicht nur der Kunst erlaubt waren. Kennt doch die ganze Antike wie der Orient das ausser-sich-geratene, hemmungslose Klagen als kultischen Akt der Totenfeier, fuer den, wie bekannt, eigene Weiber bestellt wurden. Diese Gebaerde hemmungsloser Klage als Symbol des extremen Leidenszustandes ist vielleicht die aelteste Pathosgebaerde der bildenden Kunst. Bereits die aegyptische Kunst - sonst doppelt verhalten - kennt sie.

Der antike Mythos bietet vor allem zwei Sterbeszenen, die diesem Thema auf lange hinaus seine Form gaben. Beim Tod des Meleager spielt noch das daemonische Element der maenadischen-mordenden Mutter eine Rolle. - Die linke Szene stellt die Verbrennung des Scheitels dar, durch die Meleager, aus Rache fuer die Ermordung ihrer Schwestern von seiner Mutter ums Leben gebracht wird. Auch die Klage selbst hat noch etwas thiasotisch Wildes in der einpraegsamsten Art, mit der zwei Klage-Gesten anschaulich verdoppelt werden. Der verzweiflungsvoll erhobene Arm und der Klage-Gestus des in die Hand gepressten Kopfes. Ruhiger wirkt die andere Fassung, in der der gefallene Held von Kriegern aus der Schlacht getragen wird, wie bekannt ein Vorbild fuer einen Grablegungs-Typus der Renaissance.

Stille Verhaltenheit und tiefe Innerlichkeit hat die Antike im Typus der Todes-Szene der Alkestis zur Form werden lassen. Denn diese Sage bewahrt nichts mehr von ertuemlicher Wildheit. In ihrem Ethos aufopfernder Gattenliebe kuetet sich eine neue Auffassung vom Menschen an. Ruhig trauernd nimmt der alte Vater von der Zuruecksinkenden Abschied, keiner der Umstehenden wagt eine laute Gebaerde. Nur die Kinder, denen Hemmungslosigkeit noch zusteht, lassen ihrer Trauer um die scheidende Mutter freien Lauf. Aber auch dieser ergreifende Gestus hilflosen Abschiednehmens scheint nur den ethischen Charakter des Opfertodes zu unterstreichen; von der rasenden Mutter, die in daemonischem Zorn die Kinder opfert, bis zur - gefasst fuer ihren Gemahl ins Totenreich hinabsinkenden, sich aufopfernden Gattin, so weit reicht die Spannweite des griechischen Geistes, wie er in der Sarkophagkunst lebt.

Tafel VII



NIKESTATUE AUS OSTIA



AUFGANG
DES SONNENS
(KONSTANTINS
BOGEN)



KONSTANTINS BOGEN (ROM)



KRÖNUNG EINES KÄISERS
(VOM KONSTANTINSBOGEN)



VIERGESPANN
(KONSTANTINS
BOGEN)



REITERSCHLACHT
(VOM KONSTANTINSBOGEN)



APOTHEOSE
(ANTIKE GEMME)



VERGÖTTUNG DES KAISERS
AUGUSTUS
(ANTIKE GEMME)



APOTHEOSE DER SABINA



APOTHEOSE
DES KAISERS ANTONINUS UND DER FAUSTINA



KRÖNUNG DURCH SENATSBESCHLÜSS
(AUS EINER BYZANTINISCHEN
SCHRIFT DES 10. JHDT.)



VERGÖTTERUNG DES
KAISERS NAPOLEON III.
(MALTA, RELIEFGEMÄLDE)



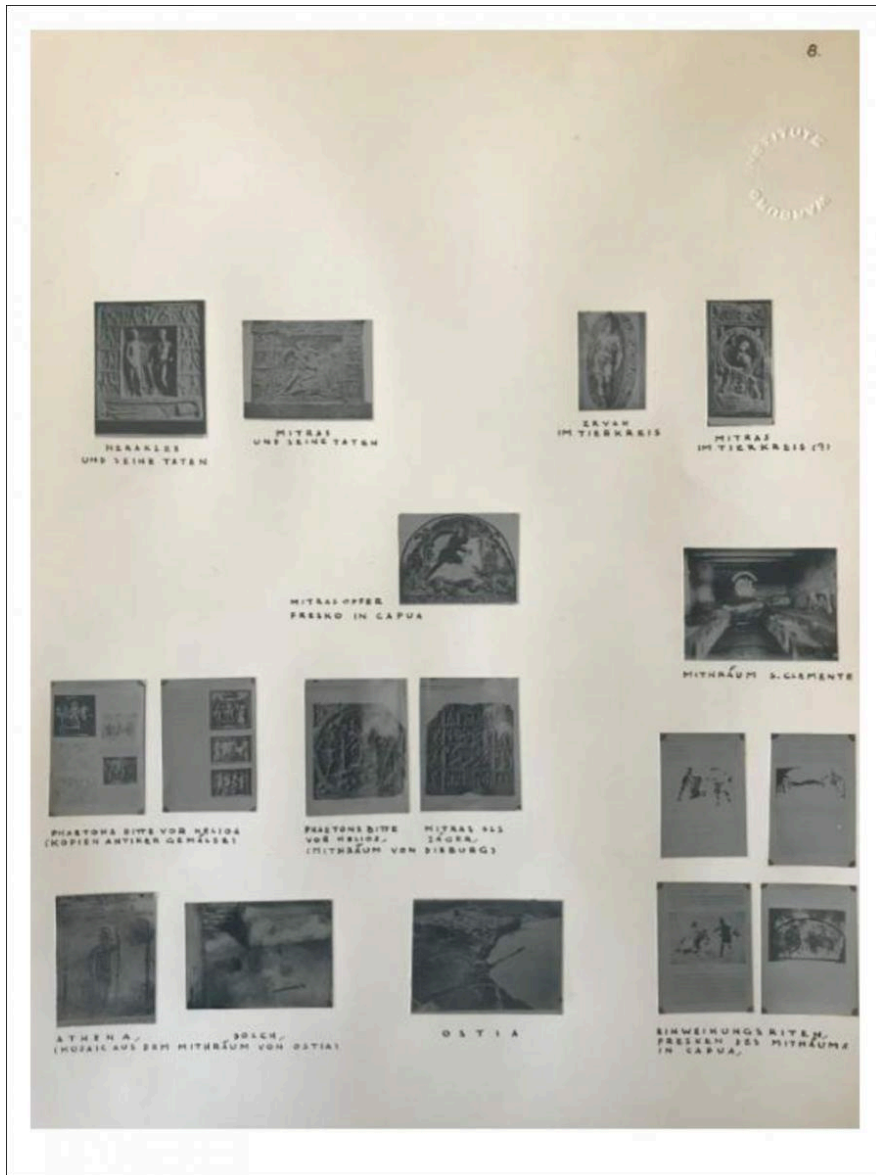
KAISER MIT FEM. GESTALT
EINER GEBÜRGEN PROVINZ
(RÖMISCHE MÜNZE)

T A F E L VII.

Aus den Denkmälern der römischen Triumphalkunst sind solche vereinigt deren Nachwirken in der Neuzeit behandelt werden soll. Im Zentrum steht der Konstantinshagen, diese Epitome aus drei Jahrhunderten römischer Triumphalkunst, die den Künstlern auf lange hinaus die Stichworte zur Veranschaulichung römischer Grösse gaben. Diese Grösse ist nicht des griechischen Leidenspathos. Es ist das römische Staatsethos hemmungslosen Siegerwillens. Auch hier hat hellenistische Form uralten Inhalten neue und gueltige Praegung verliehen. Die Gruppe des siegenden Herrschers ueber den ueberwundenen Gegner ist eine der ertuemlichsten Bildpraegungen monumentalen Kunstschaefens: römische Staatsmacht und hellenistisches Pathos verleihen dieser einst magisch-starren Gebaerdenhieroglyphe, die den Akt des Ueberwindens ins Dauernde erheben sollte, neue Lebensnahe und neue Gueltigkeit. Vor allem in den zwei trajanischen Reliefs sammelt sich alles, was Siegerstolz seit Jahrtausenden der Nachwelt zu kuennden Biese: das wilde Ueberreiten des zusammengesunkenen Gegners, die Kaempfergruppe mit dem Griff nach dem Kopf des Feindes, und endlich im Hintergrunde rechts, ueber der Masse der Fliehenden, die grausige Wahrnehmung dieses symbolischen Gestus: zwei abgeschnittene Koeefe von gestueten Legionaeren dem Kaiser dargebracht.

Dass solche ertuemlich barbarische Inhalte in diesen Denkmälern kuenatlerische Form finden konnten, sichert diesen Formen die Macht ueber die kommende Zeit. Etwas von orgiastischem Geist sah Warburg in diesen kopfjagenden Legionaeren ebenso am Werk wie in den maenadischen Kopfjaegerinnen der griechischen Sarkophage. Eine "Maenade mit umgekehrten Vorzeichen" ist ihm gleichsam die Nike, deren Beistand solchen Triumph verleiht. Ihre Gestalt ist mehr als eine "Personifikation" des Sieges. Sie macht als himmlische Botin dem Sieger zum Vollzieher eines Goetterwillens. Diese Goetlichkeit des Sieges - im Wettkampf wie im Feld - muss man im Auge haben, um die magische Wucht des Triumphgedankens ganz nachzuempfinden. Schon der Triumph als sakrale Handlung ist zeitweise Vergoetterung, Apotheose, in der der Imperator im Gewande des Jupiters als irdische Verkoerperung des Gottes zum Staatstempel am Kapitoll emporfuhr. Fuer den Kaiser ist diese Auffahrt gleichsam nur Vorstufe. Nach seinem Tode wird der Vergoettlichte auffahren oder emporgetragen werden ins lichte Reich der Goetter. Das Wortbild von der "Erhoehung", das in germanischen Ariegebrauch der Schilderhebung Gestalt gefunden hat, - so schildert etwa der pariser Psalter die Salbung Davids - wird hier in grossartiger Steigerung zur eigentlichen Himmelfahrt. Eine Ahnung solcher Zusammenhaenge mag Appliani geleitet haben in Mailand den grossen Nahofahren römischer Imperatoren, Napoleon I. zu malen, wie Erken ihn auf dem Schild emporheben bis in die Sternensphäre des Tierkreises, in dem das Zeichen der Waage, das Sinnbild der Gerechtigkeit, kulminiert.

Tafel VIII



T A F E L VIII.

Denkmaeler des Mithras Kultes stehen hier fuer die letzte grosse Erregungswelle, die aus dem Abendlande in die europaeische Kultur hineinberschwingt. Es ist der Geist der spaetantiken Religiositaet, der in diesen Bildpraegungen wirksam ist. In der heroischen Geste des opfernden "Griffes nach dem Kopf der Bestie" praegt sich das Bild des triumphierenden Lichtgottes und Mittlere Mitra den Mythen ein. Aber dieses Pathos ist nicht mehr das rein hellenische der Aktion, es ist rueckueberreitet in orientalische Repraesentation, die Geste hat symbolische Gueltigkeit, das Bild ist nicht Darstellung einer bestimmten Heldentat, sondern Schaustellung einer heiligen Schoespruegungshandlung, deren eigentlicher innerer Sinn dem Eingeweihten wohl schrittweise enthuehelt wurde. Wir kennen noch nicht alle diese Bedeutungsgeschichten; soviel aber scheint sicher, dass das alte primitive Mythos astral interpretiert und zum Abbild kosmischen Geschehens umgedeutet werden konnte. Die Bilder des Tierkreises, das Bild der Opferhandlung oft umgeben, verbinden Mithras mit der orientalisierenden Vorstellung vom Himmelsheerschaer, dessen Bild vom Zodiakus umgeben wird. Eine dieser Gestalten hat im Mithraskult selbst eine Rolle gespielt: das Bild des iranischen Erwan.

Bueckt diese synkretistische Astralsymbolik diese Tafel nahe an die Gedankenkreise von I-III, so schlagen andere Denkmaeler die Bruecke zu den Bildpraegungen hellenistischer Kunst. Schon die Art des Kultbildes, umgeben von der Schilderung der Lebens-Stationen des Helden, ist eine Praegung, die auch fuer Herakles-Bilder belegbar ist. Dem Mithraskult war jene Ausschliesslichkeit fremd, mit der das Christentum sich die Alleinherrschaft errang. In Ostia scheint er eine enge Verbindung mit dem orgiastischen Kult der Goettermutter eingegangen zu haben, ja, Anzeichen sprechen dafuer, dass die grausig-urteuermlichen Bluttaufen der Tauropolien in dieser Kultstaette eine Rolle gespielt haben. Bei dieser weilt der Initiant in einer Grube unter dem Opfertier und wurde in seinen warmen Blute gebadet. Urteuermliche Wildheit scheint auch sonst dem Ritual nicht fremd gewesen zu sein: wir haeren von Masken-Ritualen und haben - freilich verzerrte - Kunde von jenen schauervollen Pruefungen der Mysten, in denen Erinnerungen an urspruengliche Menschenopfer nachgelobt haben moegen. Auf diese Pruefungen lassen sich wohl die Darstellungen des Mithraeums in Capua beziehen, und ein Dolch der, mit Blut bedeckt, dabei eine Rolle gespielt haben soll, mag am Fussboden in Ostia gemeint sein, wo dieses Zeugnis einen urteuermlichen Ritus seltsam nahe neben der olympischen Goettin Athena steht. Diese Doppelheit von Thiasos und Spekulation, von Magie und Philosophie, die Verguickung tiefer Primitivitaet mit dem weiten Horizont einer Spaetzeit ist es, was Warburg an der spaetantiken Religiositaet vor allem fesselte. In diesem Sinne wollte Warburg das bedeutsame Relief aus dem Mithraeum in Dieburg verstanden wissen, das, in einem Zapfen drehbar, den Glaubigen vielleicht zwei Seiten eines Mythos im Kult vor Augen fuehrte. Wir kennen nur den Wortsinne dieser zwei Darstellungen, nicht aber ihre eigentliche Bedeutung. Die eine Seite stellt Szenen aus dem Mithras-Mythos dar, Mithras als Jaeger im Zentrum. Die andere laesst sich aus Analogien mit einem heute verlorenen Fresko in Rom mit Sicherheit als die Szene deuten, in der Phaeton Helios ueberredet, ihm das Sonnengespann zu leihen (Nehn). Schon werden die Pferde vorgefuehrt und so ist die Ekpyrosis, der Weltuntergang, nicht mehr aufzuhalten: Mit dieser Ekpyrosis, die Mithras am Ende der Welt herbeifuehren werde, setzt die Forschung auch dieses Relief in Verbindung. Oder haben wir den thronenden Helios als eigentlichen Gegenstand der Komposition zu denken, der einen Sterblichen selbst den Sonnenwagen anschnurren laesst als Aneignung auf einer Sonnenfahrt der Seele? Denn dieser Erlueungsgedanke steht im Zentrum der mithrasischen Lehre: es ist der Glaube, dass die Niederkunft des Mysten nur Pruefung ist zu einer schliesslichen Auffahrt durch die sieben Planetensphaeren ins Reich des Lichts. Bei dieser Auffahrt wird Mithras die Seele geleitet. Sol Invictus verleiht dem Kaeempfer fuer das Licht schliesslich den Triumph der Vergeltung.

Tafel XX

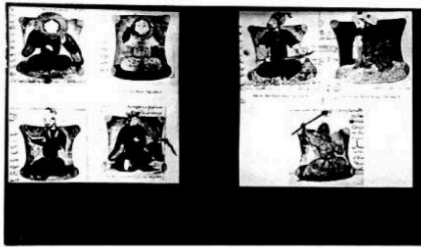
20.



ABU HA'IZ THORNBIAUS
EINER ARABISCHEN HAN-
DSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT. IN OL-
IWAID)



RAUCHEROPFER AN DIE
STERNE (ARAB. HANDBUCH,
DES 15. JHDT.)



DIE 7 PLANETEN NACH MITTELALTERL. ORIENTAL. VORSTELLUNG.
(AUS EINER ARAB. HANDBUCH DES 15. JHDT.)



PERSEUS NACH ARAB. VOR-
STELLUNG (HABCHRAFT DES 15. JHDT. PARIS)



TIERKREISZEICHEN
(MAYN VOM BUCH DER WUNDER.)

EINLEITUNG zu XX - XXVII.

Die folgenden Tafeln halten Denkmaeler fest, die Macht und Geltung antiker Bildtradition im hohen und spaeten Mittelalter aufs Eindringlichste veranschaulichen. Aber nicht jene Bildwerke wurden in diesem Zeitraum vor allem kopiert, die uns in den Sinn kommen, wenn wir von antiken Bildtraegungen sprechen. Denn das Interesse am Bild war nicht aesthetischer Art. Nicht um Macht der Gebaerde und Schoenheit der Form ging es. Es sind Bilder, die um ihre Inhalts-gestalten, die um ihrer Attribute willen sorgfaeltig tradiert und neben sorgfaeltigen Beschreibungen lebendig erhalten werden. Die Bilder des Himmels etwa sind zu Zeichen geworden, deren Kenntnis Wissenschaft heisst. Aber diese Bilder des Himmels haben schon in der Spaetantike ihre Funktion als blosse orientierende Hilfen am Firmament eingebuesst. Sie werden schliesslich als Abbilder von wirkenden Wesenheiten uebermittelt, deren Kenntnis Macht zu magischer Handtierung kraft der Partizipation von Bild und Abgebildeten verschafft. Troetzdem bleibt ihre urspruengliche Funktion in vielen Faellen latent erhalten: die eigentlichen Sternbilder wenigstens sind als Teile der Himmelskarte aufzufassen, in denen die Sternpositionen eingezichnet bleiben. Je weiter von diesem Ursprung aber das Gebilde liegt, das abgebildet werden soll, desto willkuerlicher und monstroeser wird die Form, die doch mit aller Sorgfalt uebermittelt und beschrieben wird. Erst das Wiederaufleben der olympischen Antike, das Wiederaufleben des antikanischen Menschen und Schoenheitsideals, vertribt diesen monstroesen Spuk der daemnischen Spaetantike und schmilzt die in Attribute zersplitterten Bilder wieder zur dynamischen Einheit symbolkraeftiger Gestalten. Dieser Entwicklung sind die folgenden Tafeln gewidmet:

TAFEL XX.

Der Kulturkreis des naeheren Osten ist es vor allem, der die spaetantike Kosmologie und ihre Bildvorstellungen bewahrt und vermittelt hat. Das Bild eines der gressten und einflussreichsten Vertreter der arabischen Sternkunde, Abu Mashars, in einer Handschrift des XV. Jahrhunderts, zeigt schon ausserlich, welches Ansehen die Autoritaet dieses Mannes mehr als ein halbes Jahrtausend nach seinem Tode genoss: er ist thronend dargestellt. Wir koennen kaum besser in die Problematik seiner Sternkunde und des Denkstiles, fuer den sie hier steht, einfuehren, als dass wir ein Zitat aus seiner "grossen Einleitung" hersetzen, das seine Stellung zum Problem Bild und Orientierung auf das klarste praезisiert. In dem Kapitel, dass die Dekane die Herrscher von je zehn Graden des Tierkreises, nach verschiedenen Lehren synoptisch vergleicht, heisst es: (Boll p.491): "Die alten Gelehrten wollten, wenn sie diese Gestalten unter Angabe eines bestimmten Zustandes derselben erwaehnten, keineswegs sagen, dass an der Himmelskugel ihnen aehnliche Gestalten nach Umriss, Aussehen und Koerper existieren, so dass jede Gestalt in dieser Beschaffenheit in einem jeden Dekan aufstiege, sondern sie haben herausgefunden, welche besondere Bedeutung jeder Ort der Himmelskugel und jeder Dekan fuer die Dinge dieser Welt hat. Waehrend freilich, wie wir wahrgenommen haben, die Leute gemeinhin glauben, dass nur dann irgendetwas von den Graden der Himmelskugel wirklich eine besondere Bedeutung fuer eine Sache habe, wenn dort eine Gestalt besteht, so dass dich diese Gestalt durch ihre Besonderheit auf diese Dinge hinweist. Und so haben denn die alten Gelehrten die Bedeutungen der Oerter der Himmelskugel und der Dekane der Tierkreiszeichen auf Gestalten und Dinge bezogen, von denen sie saerten, dass sie in den Dekanen der Tierkreiszeichen aufstiegen, damit sie dem Verstaendnis derjenigen, die sich damit befassen, naeher laegen, haben

Before the accompanying text of *Tafel XX*, Gombrich briefly introduces the Panels XX to XXVII: *Einleitung zu XX - XXVII*.

diese Gestalten mit verschiedenen Namen benannt und fuer jede einzelne ein 1. vom Zustand der anderen verschiedenen Zustand festgesetzt..... Man hat aber diese befremdenden Namen und Zustände nur festgesetzt, damit ein Unterschied sei zwischen den Namen der Gestalten der Himmelskugel und ihren Zuständen einerseits und zwischen den Namen dieser Dinge, die sich bei uns vorfinden, andererseits!

Nichts koennte die merkwuerdige Doppelstellung der Astrologie besser kennzeichnen, als dieser seltsame Rationalisierungsversuch. Die urspruengliche primitive Praxis des analogischen Schliessens von der Form eines Himmelszeichens auf seine Bedeutung fuer den Menschen wird gleichsam in einem ruecklaufenden Prozess als Methode postuliert, die es fordert, dass einer Bedeutung auf der Erde ein entsprechendes Merkzeichen am Himmelsglobus zugeordnet werde, das in seiner Form und seinem Namen bewusst analogisch gebildet ist. Dieses 'Bild' ist als Metapher gedacht, als ein "gefordertes" Sternbild sozusagen - oder es wird doch von Abu Mashar so postuliert. Das analogische Denken in dieser Systematik darf wissenschaftlich genannt werden. Das Bild und der Name gelten ihr als passende Konvention fuer abstrakte Kraeftekonstellationen. Diese Kraeftekonstellationen, muessete man weiter schliessen, seien empirisch festgestellt, die monstruoesen Zeichen nur gewaehlt, um das Zeichenhafte recht deutlich vom Abbild zu trennen. Freilich darf man Abu Mashar nicht so bei seinem Wort nehmen. Schon nach dem Wesen der Kraefte-Konstellation wuerde man vergeblich fragen. Ihr Sitz ist nicht ein Ort am Himmelsgewoelbe, wie es doch Abu Mashars eigene Aussage glauben laesst, denn im Gegensatz zu den griechischen und aegyptischen Dekanen, die Teile von wirklichen Sternbildern aufzuehlen, die zu dem Orte des Himmelsglobus gehoeren, mached diese "indischen" Verkuegestalten nach seiner Meinung die Praezisionsbewegung nicht mit. Das heisst, sie beherrschen im Grunde Kalendertage - wie schon im alten Aegypten - nicht Teile der Sphaere. Es sind "eitgelter, nicht Orientierungsbilder, trotz Abu Mashars Interpretation. Diese Doppelheit mathematisch-logischen und anschaulich-magischen Denkens durchzieht das Gebaeude der arabischen Sternkunde, fuer das hier einige Bilddokumente versammelt sind. Als orientierende Merk-Bilder werden die Konstellationen wie der Perseus einer Sufi Handschrift dargestellt; mit groeester Sorgfalt sind die Sternpositionen eingezeichnet, waehrend das antike Beiwerk, ja das antike Bewegungsmotiv, gegen uecht-orientalisches Bildgut ausgetauscht ist, ganz als waere es dem Zeichner unwesentlich. So wird die hellenische Pathosgestalt des Befreiers, Helden, zum orientalischen Maerchenkrieger. Aber neben solchen Bildern stehen die Abbildungen von Opfern an die Tierkreiszeichen, die die Lebendigkeit der magischen Uebung anschaulich bezeugen. Fuer diesen magischen Sinn ist das Attribut des Himmelszeichens kein blosses Beiwerk, sondern das eigentliche Prinzipium individuationalis, das eigentliche Anzeichen fuer seinen inneren Sinn. Diese Attribute erweisen sich denn auch als das bestbekehrte Traditionsgut des ganzen Bilderkreises. Denn waehrend in den Bildern der Konstellationen griechischer Glaube und griechische Wissenschaft sichtbar nachwirkt, sind die Bilder der Planeten-Gottheiten mit griechischen Goettern nicht unmittelbar zu verbinden. Saxl hat nachgewiesen, dass es die alten mesopotamischen Sterngottheiten sind, die hier in Gestalt astronomischer Symbole weiterleben; Jupiter mit dem Buch, Venus mit der Laute, Saturn mit der Hacke, all das sind Attribute, die wir fuer die "chaldaeischen" Vorformen der griechischen Planeten voraussetzen duerfen und die in Asien unbezuehrt neben der griechischen Tradition fortleben, waehrend die Tierkreiszeichen nur durch die Vermittlung des Griechentums auf so alte Vorbilder zurueckfuehrbar scheinen. Hier nun, bei Planeten und Tierkreisbildern, wird auch in der arabischen Sternkunde im urspruenglichen Sinn von der wirklichen und verliehenen Gestalt auf das Wesen und die Bedeutung geschlossen.

Tafel XXI



TIERKREISZEICHEN AUS EINER ARAB. HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT. (IN OXFORD)



TIERKREISZEICHEN DES TOKEN, (AUS EINER ARAB. HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT. IN OXFORD)



DIE BEURF. DER PLANETEN KINDER, (AUS EINER ARAB. HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT. IN OXFORD)



ASTROLOGISCHE GEOGRAPHIE, (AUS EINER ARAB. HANDSCHRIFT DES 15. JHDT. IN OXFORD)



LÖWENKÖPFIGE SAMODNEN, BABYLONISCH, (AUS DER LAT. "PILATRIS" HANDSCHRIFT IN KRKAU)



DEKANE, (AUS DER LAT. "PILATRIS" HANDSCHRIFT IN KRKAU)



MAGISCHE QUADRATE UND PLANETEN, AUS DER ARAB. SAUBER-BULH "PILATRIS"

Auch in Bild-Schemata wurden diese Gleichsetzungen eingefangen: Dieselbe Abu Mashar Handschrift des XV. Jahrhunderts, die nach verschiedenen, unbekannteren älteren Vorbildern kopiert scheint, enthält solche Zuordnungsschemata verschiedener Art. Das eine teilt den Planeten je sieben zugehörige Berufe zu, die ihre "Kinder" ausüben werden: unter Venus wird gespielt und musiziert, unter Jupiter, dem alten Schreibergotte der Babylonier, geschrieben und studiert, die Sonne ist nach uralter Lehre dem Herrscher zugeordnet, aber auch dem Schmied, weil er mit Feuer hantiert, unter Mars steht natürlich der Krieger und der Henker. Nicht nur Berufe werden so den Planeten zugeordnet, sondern auch - nach hellinistischer Tradition - Landstriche. Es ist jenes typische Ordnungssystem dieser Wissenschaftsstufe, das die Erscheinungen der Welt nach Qualitäten ordnet und nun auch Wirkungen von Gleich auf Gleich anzunehmen geneigt ist. Die gleiche Handschrift enthält die Bilder einer solchen astrologischen Geographie: sie zeigt die Länder, die von den Planeten beherrscht werden. Damit ist die Möglichkeit bildhafter Zuordnung noch lange nicht erschöpft. Die astrologischen Elemente selbst können miteinander in mannigfache Beziehung treten und wieder ist es wirklichen Himmelsgeschehen und ordnungssüchtige Willkür nicht zu trennen. Die Sonne im Löwen, Mars im Widder sind Veranschaulichungen wirklicher astronomischer Tatbestände, und so phantastisch-dämonisch die Bilder wirken mögen, so fehlen doch auch hier nicht die Angaben der Sternpositionen. Wenn darunter in einem Streifen nochmals drei Planeten erscheinen, so gibt es kein Himmelsgeschehen, das dieser Lehre entsprechen würde. Es ist die alte Vorstellung, dass jeder Dekan die Maske, das "Froschpon" eines Planeten anregen kann, und dass so je drei Planeten einander in einem Monat abwechseln, den ein vierter "beherrscht".

SPANIEN ALS VERMITTLER ARABISCHER STERNENGLAUBENS?
(PER-NAKI) AL-KHAYY AL-SADIQI)



DER PLANET MARS UND SEINE ENGEL-GEISTER, (AUS EINER SPAN. HANDBUCHSCHRIFT 16. JHDT.)



DAS TIERNENNZEICHEN SKORPION UND 30 ANGEORDNETE GESTIRNE ALS GRUNDLAGE FÜR DIE PROPHEZIEUNG FÜR JEDEN TAG DES MONATS, (SPAN. HDSCHR. 16. JHDT.)



DER HIMMEL DES PLANETEN MARS, (SPAN. HDS. 16. JHDT.)



DIE MONDSTATIONEN NACH INDIANER LEHRE.



OPFER AN MERKUR, (AUS DEM "STEINBUCH")



BEKANNBILDER, AUS DEM "STEINBUCH"



DAS PLANETENSPIEL, AUS DEM SCHACHZÄBELBUCH,

T A F E L XXII.

In dieser streng geregelten Zuordnungssystematik der astrologischen Elemente - die eine praktisch unendliche Zahl möglicher Kombinationen ergeben musste - liegt ein höchst charakteristisches Element dieses pseudo-logischen Denkform. Die Strenge des geregelten Verfahrens - die Geschlossenheit des Schemas steht im krassen Gegensatz zu der Willkür, die am Anfang, bei der Setzung und Auswahl des jeweiligen Zuordnungssystems, und am Ende, bei der Interpretation des solcher Art errechneten Horoskopes steht. Es scheint wichtig zu betonen, dass diese Willkür durchaus nicht subjektiv sein muss, dass auch in ihr Methode steckt, die Methode des analogen Denkens eben. Der Astrologe war oder ist sich des Sprunges zwischen Ordnungssystem und magischem Denken durchaus nicht bewusst. Sind ihm doch die geregelten Konventionen seiner Himmelschrift, in der er lesen möchte, nicht als Konventionen bewusst, sondern als geheimnisvoll wirksame immanente Gesetze. Er macht keinen Unterschied zwischen der Ordnung seines Bezugssystems und der Regelmässigkeit der kosmischen Erscheinungen. Das kann uns umso weniger Wunder nehmen, als jene problematische Spannung zwischen Naturgesetz als einer metaphysischen Setzung und logischer Konvention als einer Denkhilfe erst unseren Zeiten voll zum Bewusstsein gekommen ist. Puer den Zusammenhänger der astrologischen Stufe besteht diese Spannung nicht. Er trennt nicht die Geordnetheit seines Schemas von der Regelmässigkeit, die ihm der Himmel zeigt. Das eine scheint ihm Abbild des anderen. Das wissenschaftliche Schema wird nicht als Orientierungshilfe, sondern als magische Entsprechung angesehen. Ja, was ursprünglich ein Mittel der gedanklichen Beherrschung war, kann vollends zu magischer Wirkung hypostatisiert werden. Die Lehre von den magischen Quadraten, wie sie in arabischen Zauberhandschriften wieder einzelnen Planeten zugeordnet werden, gehört hierher. Man sieht in der Ordnungseigenschaft selbst ein Geheimnis, von dem man sich Wirkung verspricht.

Diese Überlegungen geben den Bildformen einer Handschriftengruppe besondere Bedeutung, die auch fuer die Traditions Geschichte der Astrologie von hohem Interesse ist: es sind die Handschriften aus dem Kreise Alonso el Sabios. Die Bedeutung seines Hofes in Toledo fuer die Vermittlung hellenistischen Wissens aus arabischen Quellen nach dem Abendland ist oft dargestellt worden, sein Name lebt in der Bezeichnung der alphonisischen Tafeln heute noch in der Astronomie fort. Es ist noch nicht hinreichend untersucht, welche Zuege der spanische geschriebenen Werke - es handelt sich vor allem um das berühmte Steinbuch und um einen von Harburg entdeckten Kodex der Vaticana - direkt arabische Vorbilder widerspiegeln und welche Neuschöpfungen aus dem Geiste der Astrologie sind. Sicher ist, dass wir mit einer sehr bewussten Auswahl aus dem Traditionsgut zu rechnen haben und zwar mit eben jener Vorliebe fuer das bildhafte Schema, das auf einem Blatte ein ganzes Stueck Lehre anschaulich macht und systematisiert. So zeigt uns ein Blatt die Synopsis der drei Lehren von den Dekanen des Loewen, wie sie Abu Mashar geboten hatte, im Kreischema veranschaulicht. Jeder Ring um das Tierkreiszeichen des Loewen enthaelt in drei Sektoren die Bilder und Bilderteile, die wirklich oder imaginär in jenen drei Monatszeiten "aufgehen". Andere Reihen des fragmentierten Manuskripts geben ein noch reicheres Schema: fuer jeden der dreissig Grade eines Zeichens wird ein Bild gezeigt, das mit "aufgehen" (Paranellen) soll. Puer 360 Tage des Jahres also ein Herrscher abgebildet. Eine exaktere Lehre, die durch das Steinbuch vertreten ist, spricht nur von Einzelsternen in Sternbildern, die die Grade beherrschen sollen. Aber der Deutungslust gaben diese Einzelsterne zu wenig Nahrung. Drum - so scheint es - wurden schon in der antiken populären Astrologie "Bilder" fuer jeden Grad festgestellt. Ihnen entsprachen Wahrsagungen ueber das Schicksal der an jedem Tage geborenen und solche Sprueche - aber nicht die Bilder - sind auch bei Zirmicus Maternus erhalten. Das Vorhandensein von Grad-Bildern in der Antike koennen wir nur erschliessen. Eine feste Tradition scheint sich noch nicht gebildet zu haben, denn ein arabisches Handbuch beschreibt solche "Bilder", die sich nicht nur nicht am Himmel, sondern auch nicht

dargestellt denken lassen. Die spanische Handschrift des Vatikans ist die erste, in der wir diese Gradbilder auftauchen sehen, zusammen mit analogisch ausgedeuteten Sprüchen, die in der populären Astrologie nachwirken sollen. Denn es sich bedeutet das Gradbild mit seinen Fernregeln ein Stück Denkraumverlust. Statt der systematischen Kombination der Elemente des Globus und seiner "Heuser", die zu einem Horoskop gehören, wird nun einfach das phantastische Bild des Grades befragt und gedeutet. Solche Gradbilder kann man sich statt an der Halbkugel an einem Streifen aufgereiht denken. Es ist die "Verflachung" der Sphaera an ihrem Endpunkt. Jede Beziehung zum wirklichen Himmelsgewölbe scheint ausgetilgt.

Noch reicher und noch phantastischer mutet das Schema an, das indische Lehren verarbeitet. Es ist die Darstellung von 28 Monatsstationen und die ihnen entsprechenden Berufe, deren "Beschaeftigung" jeweils in den Sektor dazu gemalt ist. Und auch dieser Systematik wird eine weitere zugesellt, die die Engel und den Himmel des Planeten zum Gegenstand haben. Es ist die alte Vorstellung von den Sphaerenhimeln, die auch der Mithraismus gepflegt hatte.

Und diese ganze ueberreiche enzyklopaedische System der kosmischen Ordnung steht im Dienst primitiver Magie, denn wenn das Ordnungssystem selbst als Abbild des Kosmos gilt, so kann es auch in den Dienst analogischer magischer Praktik gestellt werden. Das Gleichnis gehorcht den Gesetzen des Vergleichenen. Und alles Regelhafte ist Gleichnis des Universums. Darum hat das Regelhafte Spiel sein Ausgang mehr als Zufallsbedeutung; an ihm ist das kosmische Gesetz direkt ablesbar, es ist ein Mikrokosmos im eigentlichen Sinn.

Auch diese Konsequenz scheint in "Greise Alfonsos gezogen: das Planetenspiel in seinem Schachzabelbuch gibt wohl davon Zeugnis. Das zweifelhafte Brett ist ein Abbild des Kosmos, auf dem sieben Spieler in den Rollen der Planeten wuerfeln. Das Unberechenbare des Planetenlaufs gegenueber der starren Sphaera koennte nicht anschaulicher nachgebildet werden. Aber die magische Vorstellung solcher Partizipation durchdringt das ganze System. Auch bei Alfonsos werden Opfer und Gebete an die Planetengoettern gelehrt und der eigentliche Sinn des Steinbuchs, das an eine breite hellenistische und arabische Tradition anschliesst, ist ja die Lehre, die Zauberkraefte der Steine zu nutzen, die bestimmten Gestirnsaechten im System des Kosmos zugeordnet sind. Das Steinbuch begnuegt sich nicht mit den gelaeufigen Zuordnungen zu Planeten und Tierkreiszeichen, die in den "Monatssteinen" noch heute in Schmuck und Amulett weiterleben. Ein Abschnitt des Buches lehrt, welche Steine den 36 Dekanen zugehoren und gibt jeweils das Bild, das in den Stein graviert, erst die rechte Heilkraft fuer den rechten Menschen verleiht. Es sind mit Varianten die "indischen Dekane", die wir in Abu Meshars Einleitung kennen gelernt haben. Aber nun geben sie sich nicht mehr als blosse Merkszeichen fuer Kraefte: das Bild selbst hat, in Stein graviert, die Kraft zu wirken und Wirkungen zu beheben. Aus dem Orientierungszeichen ist ein Werkzeug magischer Praktik geworden, das Bild wirkt durch sein Dasein, wie das Zauberwort durch das Aussprechen.

Die Anweisungen zu Dekangravierungen leben in dem Zauberhandbuch "Picatrix" weiter. Die illustrierte lateinische Handschrift in Krakau zeigt, wie nun jedes aesthetische Element ausgeschaltet ist; aus den strengen aegyptischen Wochengoettern des Tierkreises von Denderah und den fiktiven "indischen" Kraftbezeichnungen Abu Meshars, sind haessliche Daemonen geworden, deren bildhafte Bannformen als esoterische Weisheit bis in die Kreise der Rosenkruetzer und ihrer Nachfolger weitergeschleppt werden. Und doch ist die stehende Formel all dieser Gesellschaften Vermittler uraeltester Kunde zu sein nicht so absurd, wie der Anspruch, den sie daraus ableiten. Denn wirklich haben sich gerade in jenen "unteren" Sphaeren magischer Praxis die Traditionen als besonders zueh erwiesen. Als ein Beispiel dafuer stehe Saturn derselben Picatrix Handschrift neben einem gleichgeformten Daemon des alten Babylon. Der Sinn mag sich gewendet haben, die Formen werden weiter tradiert.



PLANETEN (SATURN, JUPITER, VENUS, MARS, MERCUR) NACH DER VORSTELLUNG DES SCOTUS; LAUS EINER ITALIENISCHEN HANDSCHRIFT



PLANETEN NACH SCOTUS; LAUS EINER BÖHMISCHEN HANDSCHRIFT DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS.



"SALONE" DES PALAZZO DELLA RAGIONE IN PADUA.



ASTROLOGISCHE FIGUREN AUS DEN WANDGEMÄLDEN DES "SALONE"

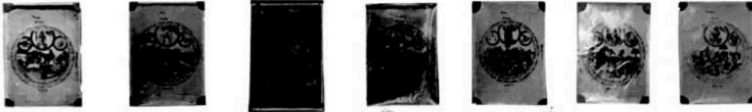


SCHEMATISCHE DARSTELLUNG DES KUPFERSCHIFFS NACH DER BESCHREIBUNG VON DANTE.

T A F E L X X I I I .

Dieses System in all seinen Abwandlungen dringt nun im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert in Italien ein. Die Namen Scotus und Petrus von Abano, von der Tradition mit der Aura des Unheimlichen umgeben, bezeichnen die wichtigsten Etappen dieser Rezeption. Dass die Rezeption antiken Gutes hier nicht direkt aus der Antike schöpft, ist entscheidend; die Planeten-Typen der Scotus-Handschriften haben nichts mit den klassischen Göttergestalten gemeinsam. Wenn Jupiter statt als antiker Zeus als ein italienischer Richter der Zeit erscheint, oder Merkur als Bischof, so sind es die arabischen Attribute der Planeten, die diese Umdeutung nahe legten. Hinter den arabischen sehen wir die assyrisch-babylonischen Sterngottheiten stehen. In dieser Erscheinungsweise leben nun die Planeten auch in den Scotus-Handschriften des Nordens, etwa in denen aus dem Kreis Wenzels von Boehmen. Mit dieses Gestalten wird auch das ganze bildliche System von kosmischen Zuordnungen uebernommen, das dem fruhen und hohen Mittelalter fremd war. Es passte sich dem Denkstil des grossartigen scholastischen Ordnungsgebauedes an, das Dantes "Comedia" zu unerhoerter bildhafter Anschauungskraft gebracht hat. In diesem bewunderungswuerdigen Weltgebäude werden die Sphaeren der Planeten, durch die die Seele aufwaerts zu Gott steigt, mit entsprechenden Eigenschaften des Laeterungsberges verbunden, ganz aehnlich wie wir es schon fuer die mithraeische Lehre von der Himmelsreise voraussetzen duerfen. Nur ist die Zuordnung bei Dante unendlich viel durchgebildeter und klarer. Er hat dem Schauplatz seiner himmlischen Wanderung auch die sieben freien Kuenste zugeordnet und auch dieses bereicherte System hat Eingang in die Bildhandschriften gefunden. Stern-Symbolik ist in sein Gedicht mit hineinverwoben - nicht zufaellig endet jener der drei Hauptabschnitte mit dem Wort "stelle" - aber die Astrologie hat Dante abgelehnt. Scotus begegnet unter den Verdammten, wie kurz nach Dantes Zeit Pietro von Abano, den Scheiterhaufen bestiegen muss. Und doch siegt das Weltbild der astrologischen Enzyklopedik in Italien. Das Salone in Padua ist Zeugnis da fuer. Die riesigen Waende reichen gerade hin, um ein kleinteiliges, heute durch Uebermalungen verworrenes Schema des Kosmos und seiner Wirkungen zu fassen. Tierkreiszeichen und seine Planeten, deren "Kinder" die Gradbilder, all dies gewaltige Gut von Bildvorstellungen ist an den Waenden aufgeteilt und das Ganze eingeordnet in das weite System des dogmatischen Gebauedes; Apostel "beherrschen" die Tierkreiszeichen, nicht olympische Goetter wie in der Antike und bald in der Renaissance.

PLANETEN KINDBILDER
IN DARSTELLUNGEN DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS



AUS EINER HANDSCHRIFT IN KASSEL



AUS EINER HANDSCHRIFT IN
TÜBINGEN

AUS EINEM "BLOCKBUCH"
(FRÜHER DRUCK)



IN DEUTSCHEN KUPFERSTICHEN



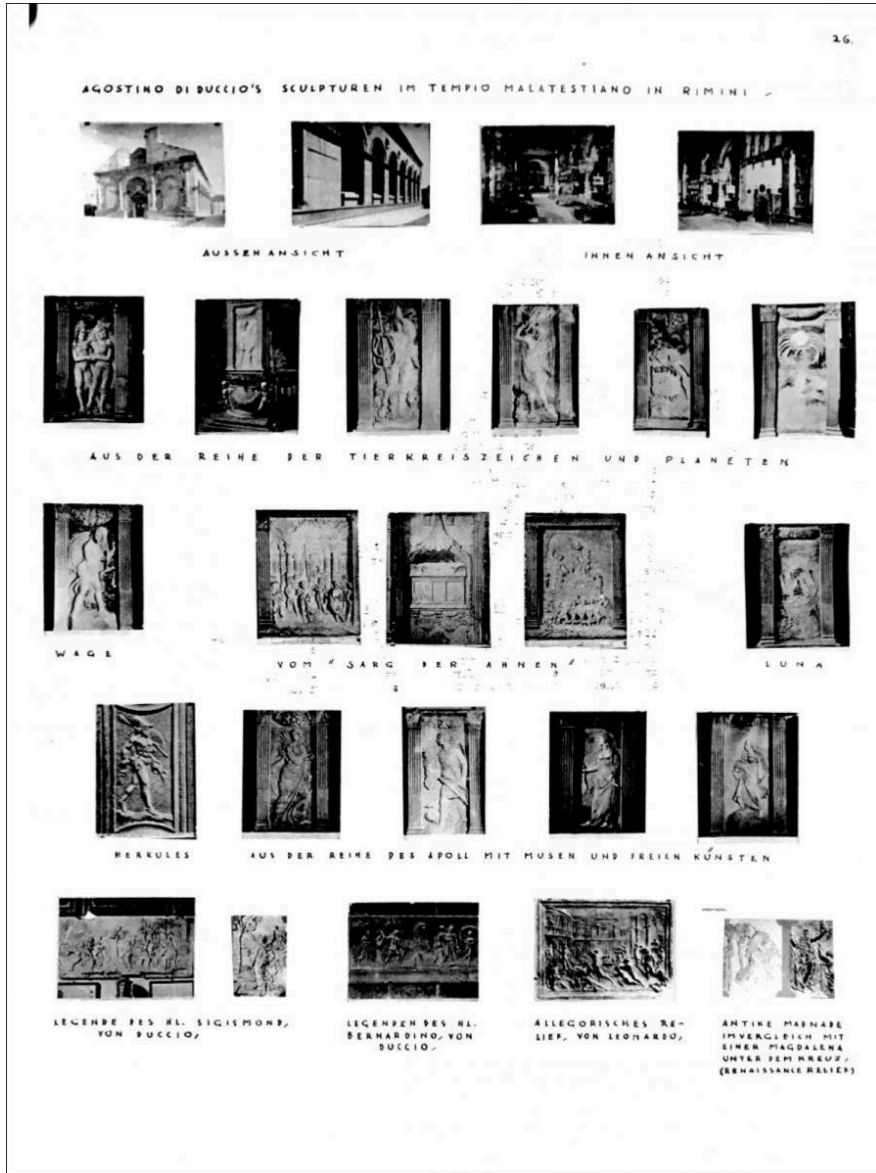
IN EINEM FRANZÖSISCHEN DRUCK

TAFEL XXIV.

Das Schicksal der astrologischen Bildereagungen im 15. Jahrhundert spiegelt auch hier ein allgemeines geschichtliches Problem der Bildkunst. In dem Masse, als die astrologischen Bilder aufhören, Bilderschrift zu sein - wie sie Abu Mashar verstanden wissen wollte - und wie sie sich uns in ihrer Polarität von Zeichen und magisch partizipierendem Symbol zu erkennen gaben - in dem Masse also, in dem an das Bild ästhetische Forderungen von "Naturlichkeit" oder "Schoenheit" gerichtet werden, tritt eine Krise ein: das Zeichen soll zum Abbild werden von etwas, dem in der sichtbaren Wirklichkeit nichts entspricht. Die abendländische Kunst ist zwei Wege gegangen, um diese Apkorie zu ueberwinden. Man koennte in antichetischen Richtung die Richtung des Nordens die nominalistische Loesung nennen: ein Allgemeines wird nur an einem Besonderen sichtbar, und darstellbar. So werden in die alten Bildschemata schrittweise realistische Zuege der Anschauung eingetragen. Statt des Gottes Mars steht bald ein wirklicher Krieger dar. Die Tuebinger Handschrift bietet eine Reihe huerbecher Beispiele wie diese Krise zwischen sinnlichem Abbild und treuer Uebernahme von Zeichen zu komischen Neuschöpfungen fuehren kann. Der "Wassermann" giesst dem Baecker das Wasser in den Trog und der "Biber" wirft die "Urne" auf die Kerzen der "Ara": "Biber, was hast du gemacht?" fragt die belustigte Umschrift, die unendlich viel ueber das neue Sehen der alten Konstellationen aussagte. Die Uebertragung der bilderschriftlichen Relationen in die Sphaere einer anschaulichen Wirklichkeit kann zu komischen Bildungen fuehren. Was hier beinahe zufaellig entstanden ist, hat mehr als ein Jahrhundert spaeter Brueghel in seinen Sprichwoertern zum Prinzip erhoben. Aber das ist ein Seitenweg: der Hauptweg ist der der Veranschaulichung, aus dem Attribute wird eine konkrete Eigenschaft: am Ende steht Duerers Melancholie, die der Attribute nicht mehr beduerfte, um die Saturn-Kindschaft anschaulich zu machen, oder Baldungs grossartige Zeichnung des "Saturn" in Wien, die bereits charakterologische Physiognomik ist. Alles spiegelt sich im Gesicht, aus dem Zeichen ist ein Ausdruck geworden. Statt durch Tradition geheiligter, nur dem Eingeweihten verstaendlicher magisch wirksamer Attribute, ist es das Bild eines Menschengesichts, dessen saturnisches Wesen jeder ihm ansieht. Aber Saturn als saturnischer Mensch ist keine magische Hyroglyphe mehr. Baldungs oder Duerers Bilder kann man sich nicht in Stein geschnitten als Amulette denken. Es sind aesthetische Gebilde.

Die breite Produktion astrologischer Bilder in deutschen Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts zeigt den Weg zu diesem Ziel. Die Zyklen der Planetenkinder etwa gleichen in nichts mehr dem beinahe abstrakten Repräsentanten, die wir als die Architypen voraussetzen durften. (Tafel 20) Dadurch, dass diese Themen mit dem Mittel des neuen Realismus dargestellt werden, ist alles Zeichenhafte getilgt. Freilich duerfen wir auch hier die polare Bedeutung einer solchen Wandlung nicht uebersehen. Der Einfluss des Planeten stent nun mitten im anschaulichen Leben der Benutzer solcher Handschriften. Trennen in manchen Bildern noch Kreise die himmlischen Zeichen vom irdischen Geschehen, das "unter ihnen stent", so wirken bei anderen die Bilder schon gaeenzlich genuehft. Als zeitgenoessischer Fuerdentm eger reitet der Planet am Himmel und unter seiner Herrschaft traibt es das Volk auf die Zuehne der Welt, wie er es eben treiben heisst. Es sind nicht mehr schlicht Berufsorakel, es sind Lebenskreise, die auf diesen Bildern vereinigt werden. Nicht nur Krieger und Henker schafft Mars, sondern Raufuer und Foerder. Es sind Typen und Szenen aus dem unmittelbaren Leben, die hier vor uns stehen und doch angeschlossen an eine lange Entwicklungsreihe. Entsprechen doch nicht nur die Attribute der Planetengoetter selbst der Tradition von der Antike her. Auch die Berufstypen lassen sich oft auf die antiken Bildformen zurueckfuehren, die uns etwa die Enzyklopaedie des Rabanus Maurus ueberliefert hat.

Tafel XXV



The numbering shown on the Panel is "26". The montage, however, refers to Panel 25 of the Mnemosyne Atlas, as the accompanying text that follows it makes clear.

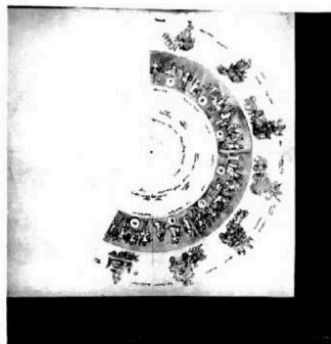
T A F E L XXV.

Ist die Voranschaulichung der eine Weg der Abloesung, so ist der andere, den Verborgene seine eindringlichste Forschungsarbeit gewidmet hat, der Weg der Beiseelung durch Pathos, der Entdeckung durch Schoenheit. Das ist jene Doppelrolle des antiken Pathos, die hier Thema ist: wo statt der ueberlieferten reduzierten Huelle des Planetengottes die antike Form benutzt wieder eingesetzt wird, da geht es bald weniger um magische Wirkung als um aesthetische. Die Restitution der "olympischen" Form erfolgt ja gerade in der Absicht, eine Kluft aufzureissen und die ueberweltlichen andersartigen "erhabenen" Gestalten von den Abbildern des Wirklichen zu trennen. Jene andere Welt aber, die antikisch spricht in Form und Gebaerde, ist die Welt der platonisierenden "Universalien" des Eigentlichen, des Ideals. Sie hat gleichsam das Vorzeichen der Metapher. Ideen und Allegorien tragen sich wie die Schoepfungen des antiken Pathos vom 15. Jahrhundert an bis in unsere Gegenwart hinein. Es ist ein neues Reich der Anschauung, das sich hier zu erschliessen beginnt. Auch dem Mittelalter war Schoenheit ein Zeichen, Zeichen fuer das Gute, nicht aber fuer einen anderen Wirklichkeitsgrad. Diese neue Auffassung setzt sich erst in Rahmen der neuplatonischen Kunstphilosophie durch, der ja Schoenheit als Abglanz einer goettlichen Ueberwirklichkeit gilt.

Agostino di Duccios Reliefs des Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini sind in ihrer Uebergangsstellung hier besonders charakteristisch. Das ikonographische Programm der Ausschmueckung dieser sonderbaren Franziskanerkirche umfasst neben Propheten und Sibyllen auch eine Folge der sieben Planeten, denen ihre "Hauser" - je ein Tierkreiszeichen fuer Sonne und Mond, zwei fuer die uebrigen Planeten - zugeteilt werden. Die Darstellung dieser Planetengoetter lehnt sich, was Aktion und Attribut anlangt, im wesentlichen an die Beschreibungen der mittelalterlichen literarischen Tradition an: die Form von Merkurs Schlangentab etwa oder Zeus mit seinem Adler und seiner Eiche, lassen sich als aus Beschreibungen rekonstruierte Formen verstehen. Und doch ist die "Rekonstruktion in Formen durchgefuehrt die antikisch wirken und die, teils aus erster, teils aus zweiter Hand, tatsaechlich aus der Antike stammen. Es ist nicht schwer die Formquelle anzugeben, aus denen die hiesigen Putti der "Gemini" oder der Putto, der die "Libra" traegt, herkommen. Es sind Donatellos Cantoris Putten. Aber dieser donatelleske Stil, selbst an antiken Puttenarkophagen geschult hat eine Naehverwandschaft zur Antike geschaffen, deren Formen nun vom Duccio muelos assimiliert werden. Der Tempio Malatestiano selbst gibt manches Zeugnis von solchen Entlehnungen, die dazu gefuehrt haben, dass fruehere Jahrhunderte in den Reliefs Spolien aus Griechenland erkennen wollten. Und wenn seine Planetengoetter nur eine antikische Formensprache sprechen, so ist sein Herkules etwa zweifellos von einem griechischen Original abzuleiten, das vielleicht durch Zyriacus von Anconas Griechenland-Reisen bekannt geworden war. Diese Rezeptionen kommen in der Umwelt des Sigismondo Malatesta und L.A. Albertis nicht verwundern. Antikisch gelacht ist ja die Form des Tempels sowohl wie auch manches im Programm der Ausschmueckung. In dem stolzen Gedanken eines Sarges fuer die eigenen Ahnen und Nachkommen gewinnt das Gefuehl der Verbundenheit mit den antiken Helden der fiktiven Ahnenreihe Form. Sigismondo steht mitten unter ihnen im antik gedachten Tempel der Weisheitsgoettin Athena. Fama kuen-det am gegenueberliegenden Relief den Ruhm des Triumphtors.

So wirken auch die Planetengoetter in den geschwungenen Schleierge-waendern der neu-attischen Maenaden nicht mehr als abenteuerliche, kosmische Konfigurationen, sie scheinen das beiseelte Gewand der gott-erfuellten Taenzerinnen mit Fug zu tragen. Man moechte sie sich als Verkoerperung der kreisenden Sphaeren denken, weniger als Schicksalshieroglyphen denn als Veranschaulichungen der den Kosmos bewegenden und im Kosmos bewegten Kraefte.

Die gleiche Beschwingtheit besetzt auch die allegorischen Gestalten der gegenüberliegenden Kapelle, deren Ordnung und Sinn noch immer nicht ganz geklärt ist. Mit einiger Sicherheit darf man die freien Kuenste und Musen mit Apollo unter ihnen erkennen. Auch in den Musen wirkt fuer das Bewusstsein der gelehrten Zeitgenossen das belebende Pneuma der Weltseele. Die Musen als Vorsteher der Sphaeren, wie sie Plutarch genannt hat, spielen in den kosmologischen Systemen des erneuerten Platonismus eine bevorzugte Rolle. Warburg schien diese Auffassung in den Reliefs mitzuschwingen. Auch die Musen wirken wie maenadische Tanzerinnen, das Einsetzen der antiken Sprache wirkt als "Steigerung" im Sinne des gleichen Pathos, das auch die kosmischen Symbole erfuehlt. Es ist diese neue Formensprache heidnische Gottbegeisterung, nicht das literarische Programm der Ausschmueckung, das Malatesta des Vorwurfes des Papstes eintrug: "Aedificavit nobile templum Arimini in honorem divi Francisci: verum ita gentilibus operibus implevit, ut non tam christianorum quam infidelium daemones adorantium templum esse videretur." Die Kirche spuerete, dass es hier nicht um Geschmacksfragen, sondern um ein neues heidnisches Lebensgefuehl geht, das mit diesen heidnischen Spolien zugleich einströmt. Fuer den Kuenstler selbst war dieser Gegensatz in seiner Spannweite keineswegs bewusst. Wenn er in der Sixtinskuppel derselben Kirche den Engel des Herrn darstellen hat, der dem Heiligen in den Weg tritt und ihn die Himmelsharmonie hoeren laesst, so steht diese himmlische Erscheinung wieder in Gewand der ekstatischen Maenade in der vergleichsweise realistischen Szene. Es ist bezeichnend, dass Bode und Venturi in dieser Darstellung eine antike Szene erkennen wollten: in dem Engel sahen sie Sybille, die Kaiser Augustus die Erscheinung Christi vorher verkueundete. Es beginnt hier die Auswechselbarkeit bestimmter Formen und Bedeutungsinhalte, die das Schauspiel des Einflusses der Antike in diesen Jahrzehnten so fesselnd gestalten. Nicht nur die antiken Allegorien, wie das Relief im South Kensington Museum, das Mueller-Walde dem Leonardo zugeschrieben hat, sprechen diese Sprache, die die antike Orgerastik gepraeagt hat, auch der hemmungslose Schmerz der Magdalena unterm Kreuz leihet seine Ausdrucksform von dem Maenaden-Typus, der auch den kosmischen Symbolen neuen Ausdruckssinn gegeben hat.



SCHEMATISCHE DARSTELLUNG DER ASTROLOGISCHEN FRESKEN IM PALAZZO SCHIFANOIA IN FERRARA



PLANETEN UND GÖTTER ALS MONATSHERRSCHER UND DEKANE ALS BEHERRSCHER VON DEN TAGESZEITEN IN DEN SCHIFANOIA-FRESKEN



PLANET VENUS IN FERRARA



SCHWARZE RITTER, NIEBERL, PIMPINONE, VON DER 15. JHDT.



ATHENA ALS BEHERRSCHERIN DES MONATS MÄRZ IN FERRARA

T A F E L K X V I I .

Die astrologischen Freskenzyklen im Palazzo Schifanoja in Ferrara sind spaeter entstanden als der Templo Malatestino. Sie sind ein letztes Produkt der Auseinandersetzung der neuen Kunstgesinnung mit dem alten Erbe, in Worten ueberlieferten antiken Bildgutes. Warburg hat in seiner Untersuchung, die das Raetsel dieses Zyklus loeste, gezeigt, wie hier ein klassisches Zuordnungsschema an Stelle des im Mittelalter und auch noch in Rimini herrschenden eindringt. Es ist das Schema des lateinischen Dichter Manilius, der den einzelnen Tierkreiszeichen - also Monaten - nicht wie es gelaueufig ist, die sieben Planeten, sondern zwolff olympische Goetter zuordnet. Ihnen ist der obere Streifen gewidmet. Ihre Darstellung folgt mit peinlicher Treue dem ueberlieferten Detail, gibt alle Einzelzuge wieder, die nach der Tradition der moralisierenden Bildanweisungen des Mittelalters (wie des Albricus) das Bild des Gottes ausmachen. Selbst Missverstaendnisse, die sich in den Text eingeschlichen haben, werden, wie Rougement gezeigt hat, getreulich illustriert. Beinahe nirgends ist der Versuch gemacht die klassischen Bildwerke selbst zu befragen. Die Grazien im Hintergrund der Venus koennen als Ausnahme gelten; ihr Vorhandensein und ihr Stellungsmotiv entspricht den Anweisungen der Tradition, aber ihre Form ist von der beruehmten antiken Gruppe selbst entlehnt, die auch die Tradition inspiriert hatte. Anders die Gestalt der Venus selbst. Hier koennte Warburg mit Recht von "Lohengrin-Stimme" sprechen. Man kann auch an Tannhaeusers Frau Venus erinnern. Die Miniatur eines gleichzeitigen flaemischen Ritterromans wirkt wie aus demselben Milieu gegriffen. Die Genre-Szenen des unteren Streifens sind demgemass nicht Planetenkinder, sondern Monatsbeschaeftigungen nach der alten Kalendertradition, die bis in die Enzyklopaedien der Spaetantike zurueckzuehren scheinen. Freilich sind diese Typen hier bis ins letzte an die Umwelt des Malers und der Betrachter herangefuehrt; wir sehen das Leben des Volkes und des Hofes im Kreislauf der Jahre vor uns. Der mittlere Streifen endlich gibt hier das unmittelbarste Stueck Bildtradition. Es sind die Tierkreiszeichen und, jedem zugeordnet, je drei der indischen Dekane des Abu Naschir oder einer ihm nahe verbundenen Traditionarsine. Es ist ihr letztes Auftreten an monumentaler Staette. Ihrer monstroesen Formen wegen, die in Ferrara bereits die Wahl der Listen zu mildern such, wurden sie bald von einer Kunstauffassung gemieden, die die kosmischen Kraefte ins Gewand der griechischen Schoenheit gekleidet sehen wollte.



S. GIOVANNI ERST IN FLORENZ
FLORENTINER TRUHENBILD UM
1490



SCHACHSPIELER IN FLORENZ
UM 1490



HOCHZEIT IN FLORENZ
FLORENZ UM 1490



QUACKSÄLBER BEIM BAPTISTERIUM,
(DETAIL AUS OBIGEM BILD)



QUACKSÄLBER,
FRESCO, 16. JHRT.
(MANTUA)



RAUB DER SÄBINERINNEN



VERSÖHNUNG ZWISCHEN
RÖMERN UND SÄBINERN
FLORENTINER TRUHEN UM 1460



PAQO, PAOLO UCCELLO



TURNIER, FLORENT. TRUHEN BILD



ST. GEORG UND DER
DRACHE, UCCELLO



DREI SCHLACHTENBILDER, PAOLO UCCELLO



FREDELLE MIT DER LEGENDE DER PROFANIERTEN HOSTIE, PAOLO UCCELLO



EINLEITUNG ? KXVIII.

Flandern und Italien im Kampf um den Stil bewegten menschlichen Lebens bis zum Eintritt des antiken Idealbilds.

Die folgenden Tafeln suchen durch charakteristische Beispiele ein Bild von der künstlerischen Situation des Quattrocento zu geben, so weit es nicht von neuen antiken Kunstidealen berührt ist. Das ist nicht nur chronologisch zu verstehen. Nicht der Zeitpunkt des Eintrittes wird untersucht. Auch nicht darum geht es in erster Linie, in welchen Denkmalern Motive aus der Antike verarbeitet werden. Die antike Kunstauffassung als Ganzes, als "repräsentant in einer neuen Lebenshaltung, löste nicht einfach eine mittelalterliche Auffassung ab, die widerstandslos vor der "besseren" Kunst das Feld preisgab. Warburg hat gezeigt, wie stark und wie beharrlich die Kräfte waren, die es hier zu überwinden galt. Wie sehr gerade jene Kreise einflussreicher Bürger - an ihrer Spitze die Medicis - die uns als die Wegbereiter und Bannerträger der neuen Humanität erscheinen, in allen verwurzelt waren und blieben, das uns als mittelalterlich, konservativ, ja anticlassisch erscheint. Dieses Milieu in seiner Komplexität gleichsam durch Schlagworte zu kennzeichnen, sind die folgenden Tafeln gedacht. Sie sollen Eigenwert und innere Gefahr der Symbolwelt jener sozialen Wirklichkeit vor das Auge stellen, fuer die Huizingha das Wort "Herbst des Mittelalters" geprägt hat. Nur vor dieser Folie ist der Eintritt antiker Sprache in seiner Dynamik zu verstehen.

T A F E L KXVIII.

Die Tafel sucht einen Eindruck von der Wirklichkeit des bewegten Lebens zu geben, unter dem der Sieg der antiken Pathosform spielt. Dieses wirkliche Leben spiegelt sich vor allem in den "erken des neuen Realismus, der zur Verherrlichung und Verewigung der gesteigerten Pracht und Jaseinslust des florentiner Buegertums geschaffen scheint. Diese Phase kennzeichnet eine Freude an die Wiedergabe des Detail, des Festhaltens der Lokalitaet, die den Dokumentcharakter der Kunstwerke sichert. So zeigen uns die Truhen-Bilder festliche Aufzuge aus Florenz; Ein Turnier von Santa Croce, Schubring denkt an die zu Ehren der Konzils-Gaeste 1439 abgehaltene Giostra, mit aller Freude an dem entschwindenden Ritterwesen. Kirchliche und weltliche Feste sind hier nicht zu trennen. Am Johannestag zieht die Prozession der offerta de pali aus dem Dom nach dem Baptisterium, wo Jahrmarktsserzte ihre geheimnisvollen Mittel gegen Schlangengift- Erdkuegelchen aus Kaltefelblaten. Das Pferderennen am Marktplatz bildet das Gegenstueck. Der berühmte Cassone der sogenannten Adinari-Hochzeit laesst uns einen Blick in die Pracht adeliger Familienfeiern tun. Mitten in dieses gleichzeitige bewegte Leben stellen die Kuenstler dieser Braut-Truhen ja auch die alten Geschichten, die sie darzustellen haben: den Raub der Sabinerinnen, wie das Versoehnungsfest, hat erfSchubring als mythologische Darstellung erkannt. Hoefischer Glanz erfuellete das ganze Leben der Vornehmen. Die Jagd, die uns Ucellos Bild schildert und selbst seine Schlachten, die wie ernst gewordene Turniere wirken. Gerade Ucellos Werk, das eine formale Kunstgeschichte in Banne Vasaris immer wieder auf "erkerungen abgesucht hat, ist der klarste Spiegel dieser sozialen Wirklichkeit. Auch wo er Legenden zu geben hat wie die Georga-Legende bei Lanskoronski (die freilich neueste Kritik einem gleichstrebenden Kuenstler geben wüll) oder die Legende von der profanierten Hostie in der Predella in Urbino, immer blicken wir in die bunte Welt des spaetmittelalterlichen Lebensstils, zu dem die Kampfesfreude der Schlachtenbilder ebenso gehoert wie die mitleidslose Haerte der urbinat&predellen-Erzaehlung.



RAMBOUX' KOPIE DER FRESKEN VON PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA IN AREZZO



PIERO'S FRESKO DER KONSTATINSCHLACHT



PORTRAITS DES BYZANT. KAISERS GIOV. PALEOLOGUS; MEDAILLE VON VIGNELLO,



DER TRAUM DES KONSTANTIN - VON PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA



DER BYZANTINISCHE KAISER, GIOV. PALEOLOGUS, ALS EINER DER HEILIGEN KÖNIGER, (B. GOTZOLI, PAL. MEDICI, FIRENZE)

TAFEL III.

In Hero de la Francesca hat diese Umwelt ihre monumentale Gestaltung gefunden. Warburg hat nachgewiesen, dass seine berühmten Fresken der Konstantins-Schlacht im Arezzo eine gleichzeitige Wirklichkeit spiegeln und ein Appell an die Zeitgenossen sein wollen. An Ramoux' Kopien, die einen besseren Erhaltungszustand wiedergeben, wird deutlich, dass Piero in Konstantin, dem Beschützer der Christenheit, nach Tracht und Zuegen den byzantinischen Herrscher Johannes Paleologos dargestellt hat, der wegens mit seinem Gefolge nach Ferrara und Florenz gekommen war, um die Kirchenspaltung zu ueberbruecken und so die gesamte abendlaendische Christenheit zum Kampf gegen die Auerken aufzurufen, die Konstantinopel bedrohten. In der fremden Kleidung dieser Griechen sah man die antike Tracht lebendig, wie ihre Bildung der begehrte Schluessel zur antiken Bildung wurde. Auch Gozzolis Koenige aus dem Morgenland im Medici Palast, sind eine Erinnerung an Pracht und Buntheit ihres Aufzugs, aber waehrend dort die erzaehlerische Freude am modischen Detail ueberwiegt, strebt Piero zur Gestaltung der antiken Szenen von innen heraus. Nicht durch die antike Gewaltgebaerde triumphierenden Ueberreitens siegt Konstantin - Paleologus. Wie dem Schlafenden in der Stille der Nacht der Engel das heilige Zeichen nennt, unter dem er siegen wird, so scheint in der Schlacht vom Kreuze ein heiliger Schrecken auszugehen. Feierlich haelt es der Kaiser vor sich hin, kein Feind kommt ihm nah. Maxentius flieht jenseits des Flusses mit seinen asiatischen Bogenschuetzen, eine deutliche Anspielung darauf, wer gemeint ist. Und zwischen den Aeren betont die wunderbare Landschaft jene Distanz, die der ueberirdischen Wirkung des Kreuzes zukommt.



DÜNSTES GESICHT. VON MEMLING
IN DANZIG.



PORTRAIT DES LIDIA ARDUZZINI
VON JAN VAN EYCK.



PORTRAITS VON ANGELO TANI UND
SEINER FRAU. VON MEMLING.



PORTRAITS VON GIOV.
ARDUZZINI UND SEINER
FRAU. VON MEMLING.



ALTAR DES HUGO VAN DER GOES IN FLORENZ, MIT PORTRAITS DER FAMILIE PORTINARI.



HIERONYMUS IN SEINER STUDIERSTUBE
VON COLANTONIO.



PREDIGT DES VINCENT
FERRELL VON COLANTONIO
IN NEAPEL.



KREUZIGUNG DES
KONIGS VON ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN
IN FLORENZ.



AUS EINER FRANZÖSISCHEN HANS-
SCHRIFT DES "DOH DE RENÉ".

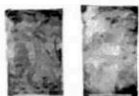


KREUZABNAHME VON
ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN.

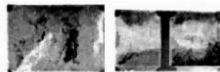
Die Tafel vereinigt Dokumente fuer den lebendigen Anteil der florentiner Kunstfreunde an den Werken flaemischer Malerei. Die realen Voraussetzungen dieses Anteils - den regen Handelsverkehr der florentiner Grosskaufleute mit dem Zentrum in Bruegge - ist Warburg ebenso nachgegangen wie den psychologischen Vorbedingungen. Immer mehr wird deutlich, dass die Klueft, die die Kunstgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts zwischen der noch goetisch-mittelalterlichen Kunst des Nordens und einer neuzeitlich befreiten Italiens sah, im Bewusstsein der Zeitgenossen nicht bestand. Das klare Abspiegeln der Wirklichkeit, der eindringliche Realismus, der nordische Bilder zum kompletten Mikrokosmos gestaltete, wurde ebenso bewundert, wie die pathetische Bewaengungskunst klassischer Sarkophage. Ja, der spezifischen Aufgabe des Andachtsbildes schien ihre gesammelte Innerlichkeit vielleicht besonders adaequat. Im Stifterbild war der Realismus aus noch tiefer legenden "Freunden willkommen". Wie in SS. Annunciate Wachsfiguren als voll die abwesenden Kaufleute gleichsam magisch vertreten, so leistete die sorgsame Wirklichkeitstreue der nordischen Portraetkunst eine aehnliche Verdoppelung, die den Stifter, (einen umgekehrten Dorian Grey) in wirksamer Anbetung verharren liess, wie er es auch sonst im Leben halten moechte.

Bestimmten Aufgaben gegenueber empfand man die flaemische Kunst zweifellos als der eigenen ueberlegen. Das intime Detail zur Veranschaulichung der Umwelt - von der Spaetgotik ins Bild eingefuegt - war durch die Erruengenschaften der van Eyck vollends zum Sprechen gebracht. Es kann kein Zufall sein, dass wir von drei grossen Sammlern der Renaissance Zeit, von Alfons von Neapel, von Lorenza di Medici und von Federico II. Gonzaga wissen, dass in ihren Basemen auch ein flaemischer "Hyeronimus in Geisnuse" hing. Das neapolitaner wie das florentiner Exemplar galt als "erk von Jan von Eyck. Einen direkten Reflex dieser Komposition glaubt Winkler in dem von Friedlaender Petrus-Christus zugeschriebenen Hyeronimus in Detroit zu sehen. Fuer das neapler Exemplar liegt es nahe, die Tafel mit dem gleichen Thema zur Veranschaulichung heranzuziehen, die dort um 1440 wenigstens im Kreise jenseits Collantonio entstanden scheint, der als Vermittler der flaemischen Malweise nach Neapel gilt. Ihm schreibt ein Brief von 1524 auch die grosse Altartafel mit dem Leben des Hl. Vincenzo Ferrer in San Pietro Martire in Neapel zu, die zeigt, wie stark Neapel neben Spanien zum Herrschaftsbereich des Stils "alla fiandreska" geworden war. Eben jener Brief gibt auch in der pragmatischen Vereinfachung des 16. Jahrhunderts die Ursache dieses Einflusses an. Koening Rene, der politisch unglueckliche Schirzherr der flaemischen Kunst im 15. Jahrhundert habe waehrend seines kurzen Herrschaftversuches in Neapel Collantonio die flaemische Malkunst gelehrt. Wenn wir auch Rene* als Kuenstlerpersoennlichkeit nicht mehr erfassen koennen, so koennen wir doch seine hohe Kultur und kuenstlerische Bildung an den Werken ermesen, die unmittelbar aus seinem Umkreis stammen. Eines der schoensten ist die Handschrift eines allegorischen Romans vom "Liebentbrannten Herzen", die sich in Wien befindet. Die allegorischen Figuren wie Coeur und Amour bewegen sich im Zeitkostuem als ritterliche Herren aus dem Umkreis des Rens. Aber ueber dem Ganzen liegt eine Stimmung, die durch das Schlagwort "Realismus" schlecht bezeichnet waere. Die naechstlichen Szenen des ersten Bildes, der wundervolle Sonnenaufgang des anderen, haben in ihrer Verinnerlichung das stoffliche des Rittermaeklefas durch den Zauber des Lichts und der mitwirkenden Natur verklarert und ueberwunden. Eine innerliche Parallele zu den Fresken Piero's, die in denselben Jahrzehnten entstanden. Nicht im Sinne formalen Einflusses, aber im Sinne einer tiefverwandten geistigen Situation.

Aus Neapel, der Stadt von Rens'Schule" stammt auch die erste Kunde von der Kunst der van Eycks und von der Italienfahrt, die Rogier van der Weyden im Jahre 1450 so viel Ruhm brachte. Nicht er nur hat sich Anregungen in Italien geben lassen - man weiss, dass in seiner Grablegung eine Komposition Fra Angelicos umgestaltet wird - auch fuer die italienischen Kuenstler musste die gesellschaftliche "Bewegtheit", die aus den Mienen seiner Andaechtigen spricht, tiefe Eindruecke vermittelt haben. Einer Komposition wie Rogiers "Grablegung", die auch nach dem Sueden gegangen ist (Escorial) hatte in dieser Hinsicht italienische Kunst ebensowenig an die Seite zu stellen, wie wenige Jahrzehnte spaeter der noch zersplitterten minischen Kunst des van der Goes.



ANTIKEN KOPLEN, NACH
EINER PADUANER WELT-
CHRONIK UM 1400.



ANTIKEN KOPLEN - PISANELLO.



GEISSELUNG CHRISTI
VON JACOBO BELLINI
(AM TORBOGEN RAUB DER DIANIRA)



MARIAE TEMPELGANG,
VON CARPACCIO, (AN-
DER STIEGE HERAKLES-
TATEN)



MADONNA MIT ENGELN
VON GIOV. BOCCATTI,
IM THRONHIMMEL EINE
SCHLACHT.



CHRISTUS VOR
PIATUS, VON G.
FERRARI, (AM PA-
LAST DES PIATUS
LAOKOON)



A. POLLAIUOLO, BÜSTE,
AN DER KÜSTUNG HE-
RAKLES TATEN.



A. POLLAIUOLO,
HERAKLES TATEN.



A. POLLAIUOLO
HERAKLES



A. POLLAIUOLO, HERAKLES-
TATEN, (FRESKEN IM
PALAZZO VENEZIA - ROM)



A. POLLAIUOLO (?)
HERAKLES TATEN
KUPFERSTICH



A. POLLAIUOLO,
ZEICHNUNG FÜR
EIN DENKMAL.



A. POLLAIUOLO,
RAUB DER DIANIRA

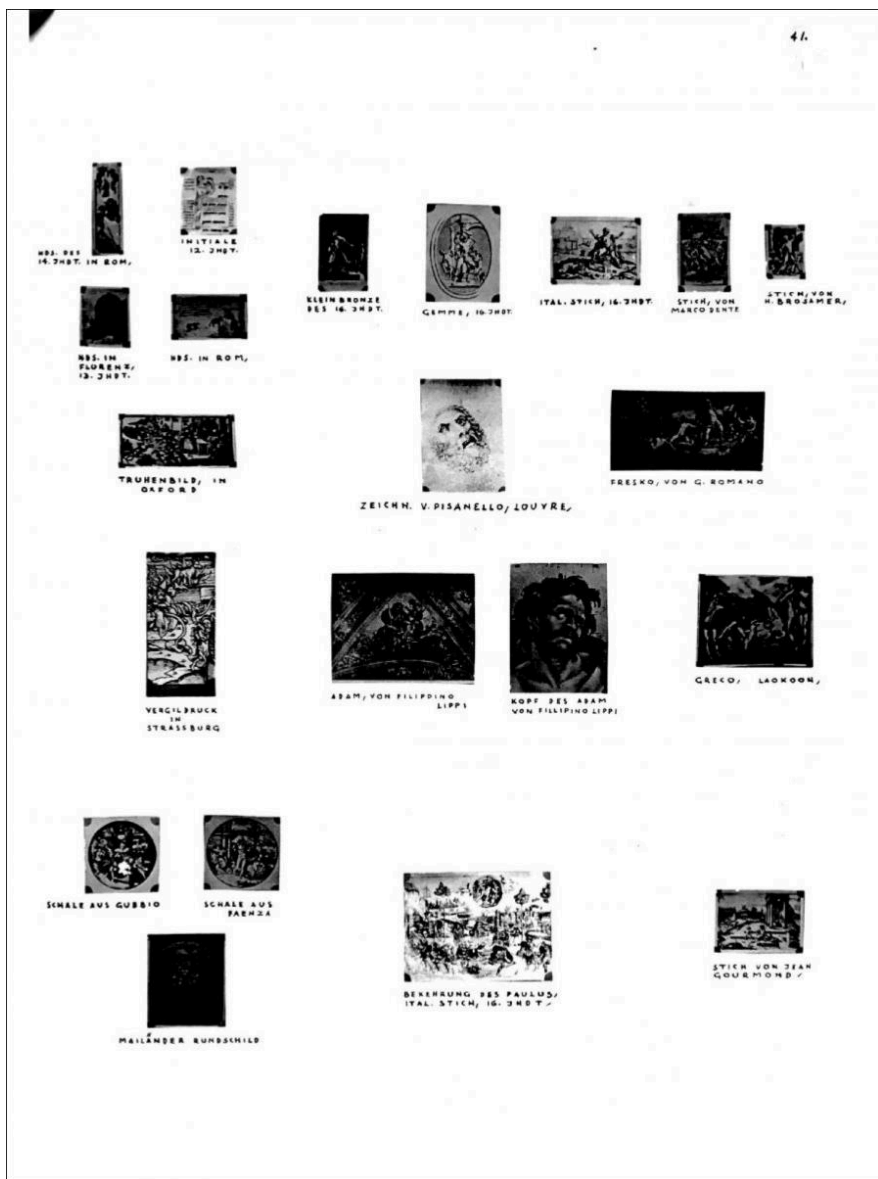


B. GOZZOLI,
RAUB DER HELENA.

TAFEL XLVII.

Die antike Formenwelt und die antike Gebaerdensprache wird nicht von aesthetisch gerichteten Kuenstlern ohne weiteres an die Stelle der ausgebildeten und lebenskraeftigen Formensprache der Spaetgotik gesetzt. Es ist ein ungemein aufschlussreiches Schauspiel zu beobachten, auf welchem Wege und durch welche Kanale die neuen Formen eindringen. Inhaltliches, Stoffliches Interesse ist es zunaechst, das die Beschaeftigung mit antiken Truemern nahelegt. Der Wille zum Realismus, zum Nachgestalten der biblischen Wirklichkeit foerdert die Anteilnahme an den Werken und "esten as der Zeit Christi und aus der Zeit der bewunderten roemischen Vorfahren. Als historisches Requit wird die Antike eingefuehrt und erobert von dem bescheidenen Platz, der ihr hier geoennt wird, allmaechlich aber unaufhaltsam das ganze Bilddenken. In der oberitalienischen Chronik um 1400 stehen die Kopien nach Antiken noch durchaus im Zusammenhang antiquarischen Interesses. Und auch Pisanello, dessen Medaillen den Rekonstruktionswillen der Mächtigen nach antiker Groesser bezeugen, scheint in der Antike noch durchaus nicht einzig die vorbildliche Form gesucht zu haben. Er kopiert ihre Formen, wie er die Formen der Natur studiert. Als klassisches "Zitat" fuehrt nun das Quattrocento antikische Zirkform und antikische Reliefs in die biblischen Szenen ein. Auf Bellinis "Geisselung Christi" schmueckt den Eingang zum Hof, in dem das Passionsdrama sich abspielt, ein Relief vom Raub der Dianira. Es ist ebenso zur Veranschaulichung der historischen Distanz gemeint, wie der orientalische Reiter im Vordergrund. Carpaccios so unantiker "Tempelgang Mariae" enthaelt doch an der Stiege die klassischen Zitate der "erakles-Taten, die uns beweisen, wie bewusst sich ein solcher Kuenstler im Bildfeld von antiker Formensprache freihielt. Ueberraschender noch wirkt die wilde Kampfdarstellung auf dem mittelalterlichen Andachtsbilde Boccatis. Noch Gaudenzio Ferrari folgt diesem Brauche, wenn er als sopraporte am Palast des Pilatus die Laokoon-Gruppe zitiert. Aber diese Verbannung antikischer Formensprache in das Reich gemalter Plastik, muss einen tieferen Grund haben. Die neuartige Lebendigkeit, die die antiken Inhalte und Formen vermittelten, hatten die Macht, das Bild in beinahe unheimliche Lebensnuehe zu ruecken. Diese ungewohnte und fast drohende Wirklichkeit ins Bereich aesthetischen Anteils abzuschieben, war die Grisaille ein willkommenes Mittel. Ein plastisches Kunstwerk war nun so dargestellt, nicht die Wirklichkeit.

Als Schein, nicht als Realitaet, geben sich auch die ersten Bilder, die antikische Szenen in antikem Gewande vortragen. Die Grisaille wird gleichsam die Sphaere, in der die heidnische Dynamik sich auswirken darf. Auch im Stich und am Cassone, im Fresko, wirkt die antike Herkules-Szene wie uebersetzte Plastik, nicht wie abgebildetes Leben. Es mag kein Zufall sein, dass ein Plastischer, Pollaiuolo der Schoepfer dieser Themenreihe ist. Wir wissen aus seinem eigenen Zeugnis, dass er fuer die Medici "Herkules-Taten" geschaffen hat. Mit seiner "erkstatt konnte man denn auch viele Darstellungen dieser Art in naechere oder weitere Verbindung bringen. Welch neuartige Vortragsweise in diesen heroischen Bildern lebt, mag man an der nur wenig frueher entstandenen Szene des Hellenaerubes von Gozzoli ermesen, auf der Paris seine "eute vor-sichtig huckepack zum Schiff traegt. Wie gewalttaetig-heidnisch wirkt dagegen der Frauenraub in Pollaiulos Fassung! Und doch ist auch hier nicht ungehemmte Wildheit: der Reliefstil der Grisaille in weiteren Sinne bannt die Szene noch in die Anfuhrungszeichen eines Zitats.



T A F E L III.

Die Auffindung der berühmten Gruppe des Laokoon am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts in Rom löste bekanntlich einen ungeheuren Jubel unter der Kuenstlerschaft aus. Die zahlreichen Kopien und Wiederholungen in Plastik und Graphik sowie im Kunstgewerbe, die Umbildungen und Adaptierungen an verwandte Themen beweisen, wie sehr hier die Formensprache des antiken Pathos der geistigen Situation des Italien jener Tage entgegenkam. Nicht nur die oft gefeierte formale Vollendung des Werkes war es, die wirkte. Warburg hat gezeigt, wieviel tiefer der Geist der antiken Szene des sterbenden Priesters die Gemüeter beschaeftigt hat. Ein Blick auf die Vergil-Illustrationen des ausgehenden Mittelalters zeigt, wie wenig vom Gehalt der Szene damals in den Kuenstlern nachschwingen konnte. Umso ueberraschender und rätselhafter wirkt es, wenn bei Filippo Lippi in seiner Gestalt des sterbenden Adam der Geist des Laokoon von der Auffindung der Gruppe zu leben scheint. Der Ausdruck des Sterbenden ist von einem antikischen Pathos, das fuer uns jenes des Laokoon ist. Ob dem Quattrocento in der, in einem Brief genannten Gruppe von faunetti, die gegen Schlangen kaempfen, eine verlorene Replik der Gruppe zugaenglich war oder nicht: die Ausdruckshaltung war wirksam. Der aufblickende Kopf des Pisanello ist dafuer das Ueberraschendste Beispiel.



GRABLEGUNG, GEMALDE VON COSIMO TURA



BEWEINUNG CHRISTI, FLORENTIN. ZEICHNUNG VON 1480



GRABLEGUNG, RELIEF VON BUONATTELLI



BEWEINUNG, KANTZEL VON SONATTELLO IN FLORENZ



(LOBEN) BEWEINUNG CHRISTI, FLORENTINISCHES RELIEF IS. 2017



GRABMAL DER FRANCESCA TORNABUONI, VON VERROCCHIO



GRABMAL DES FRANCESCO SASSETTI, VON GIULIANO DA SANGALLO



KREUZIGUNG, RELIEF VON BERTOLDO DI GIOVANNI



GRABLEGUNG, KUPFERSTICH VON HANTECHA



GRABLEGUNG, WAND-GERÄBE VON LICINRELLI



GRABLEGUNG, ZEICHNUNG VON RAFFAEL



MEMENTO MORI, GEMALDE VON CARPACCIO

T A F E L I L I I .

Nirgends hat sich die Wucht antiker Leid-Gebaerde stae'ker ausgepru'gt als in der hemmungslosen Klage um den Toten, in der sich magischer Brauch und urtuemliche Triebhaftigkeit vereinigte. Die christliche Vorstellung vom Tod kennt diese orgiastische Hingabe nicht. Und doch dringt mit der spaetantiken Bibel-Illustration dieses tiefheidnische Motiv in die christliche Kunst ein und gewinnt im Bildtypus der Beweinung Christi neue ergreifende Inhalte. Die Gebaerde der Klage um den toten Erloeser wird feierlicher und inniger; das Quattrocento belebt die Bildformel durch neues Zureuckgehen auf antikes Pathos. Das Wueten der Magdalena gegen sich selbst auf Donatellos Lorenzo-Kanzeln kennt in der mittelalterlichen Kunst nicht seinesgleichen. Entscheidender noch ist, dass nun Form und Sinn der "conclamatio" von dem religioesen Anlass losgeloeset wird, fuer den sie im Mittelalter vorbehalten blieb. Kein Erloeser und kein Heiliger wird auf den Reliefs Verocchios und San Gallos so fassungslos beklagt, sondern Lucrezia Turnabuorni und Francesco Sassetti, Kaufmannsgattin und Kaufmann. Die eigene Valenz von Form und Ausdruck, die Losloesung von geheiligten Inhalten, koennte nicht klarer zum Ausdruck kommen: die Kuenstler haben sich fuer die Kompositionen antiker Sarkophage zum Vorbild genommen, die auch die christlichen Beweinungstypen vorgebildet hatten. Aber neben dieser ueberlauten Klage "all' antica" steht in der Fruehrenaissance Carpaccios gebaerdenloses stilles Menmento-Mori, in dem nur das Dasein des Toten und das Mitsprechen der Natur wirkt. Zwischen solchen Polen verhaltenster "continentia" und leidenschaftlicher Ergriffenheit ist die Ausdruckskskala des Renaissancemenschen ausgespannt.

Tafel LV

MENSCH UND LANDSCHAFT



PARIS URTEIL, STICH VON BONASONE,



PARIS URTEIL VON B. PERUZZI, VILLA FARNESINA, ROM,



PARIS URTEIL, STICH, RELIEF,



PARIS URTEIL, NACH DEM ANTIKEN SÄRKOPF, STICH VON MARCANTONIO,



HOLLÄNDISCHE LANDSCHAFT MIT PARIS URTEIL, VILLA DESTRO, PRASCATI,



KONZERT IM FREIEN, VON GIORGIONE,



DEJEUNER SUR L'HERBE VON MANET,



SPAZIERGANG, VON RUBENS,

T A F E L L V .

Fuer die geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Tatsache, dass Manets "Fruehstueck im Freien" Zug fuer Zug eine Gruppe von Flur-Gottheiten aus Marc-Anton Rammondis Paris-Urteil adaptiert, duerfen wir auf Warburgs Text verweisen.

*Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi, with Victoria Cirlot, Giacomo Calandra di Roccolino, Simone Culotta, Francesca Dell'Aglio, Silvia De Laude, Anna Ghiraldini, Clio Nicastro, Alessandra Pedersoli, Sergi Sancho Fibla, Elizabeth Thomson, Martin Warnke.

English abstract

In 1937, Ernst Gombrich, who had just joined the Warburg-Kreis in London, was commissioned to produce a private edition of the Bilderatlas. *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg*, to celebrate the seventieth birthday of Aby Warburg's brother. The operation, conceived as a private gift, was probably initiated by Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl, or Max himself: the undertaking was intended to satisfy the family's wishes as they continued to believe that the Mnemosyne project could be published. Preserved in two typewritten copies - one kept in London, the other in Hamburg - the *Geburtstagsatlas* was for decades consigned to oblivion and still remains unpublished (see the dedicated page on The Warburg Institute website).

Gombrich's *modus operandi* is very clear: he selects 24 panels (out of the 63 of the last version of the Bilderatlas Mnemosyne of 1929); removes many images from each of the panels; lays out the surviving images on a white background, in a well-balanced and hierarchical order, by modifying original formats and space relations; each of the 24 panels is furnished with a brief but condensed explanation of its main topics. Gombrich introduces his version of the Atlas with a short but charged premise; although a copy of the *Einleitung* to the Bilderatlas Mnemosyne written by Warburg in 1929 was available to him, he firmly disassociated himself from it, both formally and conceptually.

An analysis of Gombrich's *Geburtstagsatlas* throws light on the introduction to his theoretical reflections on Warburg that would be included in his seminal publication: *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (London 1970). Engramma no. 153 presents a first digital edition of Gombrich's *Geburtstagsatlas*, from the collation of the two typewritten copies preserved at the Warburg Institute in London and the Warburg-Haus in Hamburg.

Ernst H. Gombrich, To Mnemosyne

An Introduction to Geburtstagsatlas (1937). Original version and English translation of Zur Mnemosyne

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi. English edition by Elizabeth Thomson

The Mnemosyne Seminar presents Ernst Gombrich's unpublished text of the Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg*. This was a private publication curated by the young scholar of the Bilderatlas Mnemosyne, and put together in 1937 on the occasion of the Max Warburg's seventieth birthday. It was conceived as a private gift (see, in this issue of *Engramma*, *Ernst H. Gombrich, Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg (5 June 1937). First digital edition*).

In the Warburg Institute Archive, two *testimonia* of the text are preserved: the preparatory draft [WIA.III.109.4], type-written, with various corrections and marginalia ink-written by Gombrich, which is presented here; and the final version, type-written, which partially includes the corrections made by Gombrich on the draft [WIA.III.109.5.1]. Gombrich's Introduction is accompanied by the first Italian translation – the work of many resulting from the last two phases of the Mnemosyne Seminar (June 2017, Palazzone di Cortona; November 2017, Warburg-Haus of Hamburg).

On Gombrich's Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas*, see also the Commentary entitled *Note e appunti di lessico*, by Seminario Mnemosyne ("La Rivista di *Engramma*" 151, November/December 2017).

Zur Mnemosyne

I. Zur Erkenntnistheorie und Praxis der Symbolsetzung

Der Begriff Orientierung hat für Warburg im Anschluss an Kants Aufsatz "Was heisst sich im Denken orientieren?" sehr allgemeinen Charakter.

Er ist ihm der Überbegriff für jede bewusste Beziehungnahme [*sic!*] des Menschen als eines Individuums mit der Umwelt im engeren oder weiteren Sinn.

Erst dadurch, dass der Mensch eine Umwelt durch Zeichensetzung konstituiert – vermag er sein Ich von diesem "nicht Ich" zu distanzieren. Dieser Distanzierungsprozess, der das Bereich des Bewusstseins von dem der Aussenwelt scheidet und jedem seine immanente Gesetzmässigkeit zuweist, ist ihm das wesentliche Agent und Ziel der Phylogenese wie es das der Ontogenese ist.

"Denkraum" nennt Warburg diese gewonnene Distanz zur Umwelt, Denkraumschöpfung den konstituierenden Akt jeder ontogenetischen und phylogenetischen Entwicklung.

Zeichensetzung ist es, die diese Denkraumschöpfung einleitet, Missbrauch oder Verkennung der Zeichenfunktion die Gefahr, die der Kultur immer wieder drohte und droht.

Denn das ursprüngliche Zeichen, das Bild wie der Name, birgt in sich selbst die Gefahr der Hypostasis. Der Bildzauber wie der Namensfetischismus ist ein solcher denkraumzerstörender Kurzschluss des Denkens, in dem die orientierende Funktion des Abbildes verlorengelht: Zeichen und Bezeichnetes verschwimmen im magischen Weltbild zur furchterregenden Einheit.

Aneignung des Bildes – Kenntnis des Namens verleiht nicht mehr Distanz zum Bezeichneten, sondern Macht ueber das Bezeichnete.

Das Bild gewinnt über seinen Zeichen-Charakter hinaus oft drohende Wesenheit, der Name kündigt geheimnisvollen Sinn des Benannten. Es muss hier schon erwähnt werden, dass für Warburg nicht nur Wort und

Bild solche orientierende Funktion zukommt, sondern jeder Menschlichen Ausdrucksleistung, die sich eben bewusst an ein Aussen richtet.

Vor der Zeichenschöpfung im Bild, vor der Alloplastik, steht die Autoplastik der urtümlichsten Sprache: die Gebärde. Hier wird der anthropologische Ansatz in Anschluss an Darwin so tief angesetzt, dass nicht nur die eigentliche Ausdrucksgebärde, der Gestus im engeren Sinn darunter begriffen wird, sondern auch ausdrucksstragende Handlungen, die in ihrer Triebnähe zu "Urworten leidenschaftlicher Dynamik" werden; gemeint ist etwa der Griff nach dem Kopfe des Opfers, der triumphale Gestus, der den Unterworfenen mit Füßen tritt, und wie in der Sphäre des Bildes die Kulturentwicklung dahin tendiert, den Namen und das Benannte, Bild und Abbild in ihrer wechselseitigen Funktion klarzustellen, so ist die Kulturentwicklung der Geste darauf gerichtet, die Handlung von der Ausdrucksgebärde zu lösen.

Wenn wir etwa mit Piderit annehmen, dass der Ausdruck des Behagens ursprünglich die Muskel-Konstellation des Reflexes auf Süßlachgeschmack gewesen, dass das Faustballen des Zornigen ursprünglich Totschlag bedeute, dann vollzieht sich in diesem Ablösen dieselbe Distanzierung, Denkraumschöpfung, die auch am Material bildhafter Orientierung dargelegt werden soll.

Sie ist eng verknüpft mit der Loslösung von triebhafter Reflexbewegung, wann die Pause zwischen Antrieb und Handlung der besonnenen Vernunft Einfluss gewährt.

To Mnemosyne

I. For a theory of knowledge and the practice of symbolisation

The notion of orientation has a very general character for Warburg, in relation to Kant's essay "What Does it Mean to Orient Oneself in Thinking" [Note, Gombrich III, 109.1: the reference is to the edition of Kant edited by Ernst Cassirer].

For Warburg, it is a supra-notion to indicate every conscious relationship that Man as an individual establishes in a broad and narrow sense with the world around him.

Precisely because Man represents the world around him by marking it with signs, he can distance his 'I' from his 'not me'. This process of distance-taking, which separates the realm of self-consciousness from the outside world and assigns to each its own immanent law, is for Warburg the essential principle and purpose of both phylogenesis and ontogenesis.

Warburg calls the distance achieved with respect to the surrounding world, "Denkraum", and the "creation of Denkraum" the constitutive act of all ontogenetic and phylogenetic development.

Marking with signs is what introduces this creation of a space for thought, where abuse or disallowance of the function of signs constitutes a danger that threatens and continues to threaten culture.

The original sign, be it image or name, conceals within itself the danger of hypostasis. The magic of the image as well as the fetishism of names is a sort of short-circuiting of thought, which destroys the *Denkraum*, and in which the orientation function of representation is lost: in the magical conception of the world, signs and what has been assigned a name disappear in an alarming union.

Assimilation of the image – Knowledge of a name no longer allows a distance from what has been designated but is instead a power over it.

The image, beyond its character/sign, acquires an often-threatening entity; a name announces a mysterious sense of what is named. We must anticipate here that for Warburg, the orientation function does not only

pertain to word and image, but to every form of human expression that consciously turns outwards.

Before the creation of the sign in the image, before the act of shaping what is other than oneself, there is the autoplasmic act of primordial language: gesture. Here the anthropological approach is to be understood as being in such a close relationship with Darwin, that the notion includes not only expressive gesture – gesture in the strictest sense, but also all actions that are bearers of expression, as they are similar to impulse, and are converted into “original words of the dynamics of passions”; this means, for example, the grasping of a victim by the head or the gesture of the victor trampling underfoot those who have been subjugated. As in the sphere of images, cultural evolution tends to highlight a reciprocal function between name and what is named, between image and representation, so the cultural evolution of gesture tends to separate action from expressive gesture.

If, for example, along with Piderit, we assume that expressions of pleasure originally derive from the muscular apparatus that responds to a sweet taste with a smile reflex, and that the closed fist of an angry man is the sign of an originally murderous act, then, in this separation, the same process of distance-taking is carried out – the creation of a *Denkraum*, which must also present itself through the materials of imaginal orientation.

The creation of a *Denkraum* is closely connected to detachment from the motion of instinctive reflex, when the pause between a stimulus and the action deriving from weighted reason exerts its influence.

*Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, and Maurizio Ghelardi, with Victoria CirLOT, Giacomo Calandra di Roccolino, Simone Culotta, Francesca Dell’Aglío, Silvia De Laude, Anna Ghiraldini, Clio Nicastro, Alessandra Pedersoli, Sergi Sancho Fibla, Elizabeth Thomson, Martin Warnke.

English abstract

Here, we present the original German text with a translation into English of Gombrich's Introduction to the *Geburtsstagsatlas*, edited by Seminario Mnemosyne (an Italian version has been published in Engramma no.151). It provides the basis for a first attempt at comparing Warburg's methodology with Gombrich's, thereby highlighting their different ways of thinking. This translation is the result of the collaboration carried out by the Seminario Mnemosyne at Scuola Normale Superiore in Palazzone di Cortona (June 2017), and at the Warburg-Haus in Hamburg (November 2017).

Zwischenraum/Denkraum

Terminological Oscillations in the Introductions to the Atlas by Aby Warburg (1929) and Ernst Gombrich (1937)

Victoria Cirlot. English translation by David Carrillo-Rangel

The comparison between the two introductions to the Mnemosyne Atlas allows us to distinguish significant differences, both with regards to the arrangement of the images in the panels and with regard to the texts. The first introduction was written by Aby Warburg between 27 May and 4 July 1929 (Warburg 2012a, Warburg [1929] 2016). The second introduction was composed by Ernst Gombrich in 1937 on the occasion of the Max Warburg's seventieth birthday on 5 June 1937, the reason that it was entitled *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg* (Gombrich [1937] 2017). It was conceived as an attempt to revive the unfinished, vital project started by his recently deceased brother (26 October 1929). The most interesting thing about Gombrich's text is that it is a reading and interpretation of Warburg's work, resulting from intense and in-depth research at the Warburg Institute, where he worked as a research member from January 1936. It also constitutes the first stage of his renowned *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* published in 1970 (Wedepohl 2015).

I am not going to follow the complex trails of Gombrich's interpretation here but will focus only on the use of the concepts of *Zwischenraum* ("intermediate" space) and *Denkraum* (space of thinking) in Warburg's works, and their resonance in the Gombrich's text. I will begin by emphasising that Gombrich does not use the term *Zwischenraum*, even though this term dominates the opening of Warburg's introduction, and only uses the term *Denkraum*, also common in Warburg's works. The reason why the term *Zwischenraum* has captured my attention so fully is the prominent place that both thought and artistic creation have been granted in the twentieth century by Claude Lévi-Strauss, who wanted to highlight the coincidence in that intermediate space on the part of Max Ernst, (Lévi-Strauss 1983, 327-331; Cirlot 2010, 63-83); to Max Ernst

himself and André Breton (Ernst [1934] 1970, 232; Breton [1933] 2008, 471). The identification of *Zwischenraum* as *al-'âlam al-khayâlî al-mithâli* or *barzakh* in Iranian thought, as *mundus archetypus imaginalis* in Corbinian expression, which means an intermediate world between the sensitive and the intelligible, the corporeal and the spiritual, or an interval (Corbin 1960, 128-142), is sufficient justification to explore the meaning within the works of Warburg and its suppression in Gombrich's text.

***Zwischenraum* in the Introduction of Atlas Mnemosyne by Aby Warburg**

The term *Zwischenraum* can be found already in the opening lines of the Introduction to the Atlas:

Bewusstes Distanzschaffen zwischen sich und der Aussenwelt darf man wohl als Grundakt menschlicher Zivilisation bezeichnen; dieser *Zwischenraum* das Substrat künstlerischer Gestaltung, so sind die Vorbedingungen erfüllt, dass dieses Distanzbewusstsein zu einer sozialen Dauerfunktion werden kann die durch den Rhythmus vom Einschwingen in die Materie und Ausschwingen zur Sophrosyne jenen Kreislauf zwischen bildhafter und zeichenmässiger Kosmologik bedeutet, deren Zulänglichkeit oder Versagen als orientierendes geistiges Instrument eben das Schicksal der menschlichen Kultur bedeutet [A1] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

The conscious creation of distance between oneself and the external world can probably be designated as the founding act of human civilization. When this interval becomes the basis of artistic production, the conditions have been fulfilled for this consciousness of distance to achieve an enduring social function which, in its rhythmical change between absorption in its object or detached restraint, signifies the oscillation between a cosmology of images and one of signs; its adequacy or failure as an instrument of mental orientation signifies the fate of human culture [A1] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

The intermediate space is understood as the result of a conscious creation by mankind, which needs a distance between the self and the surrounding world. Warburg raises as a possibility that this space constitutes the substrate for artistic creation, and from this point envisages that this distance can become a lasting social function. In order to end this section [A1] - the paragraph numbering is that of Ernst H. Gombrich -, Warburg

proposes a polarity that is formulated as “rhythmical change between absorption in its object or detached restraint” (*Einschwingen in die Materie und Ausschwingen zur Sophrosyne*), like “a cosmology of images and one of signs” (*jenen Kreislauf zwischen bildhafter und zeichenmässiger Kosmologik*). Success or failure depends on the “instrument of mental orientation” (*orientierendes geistiges Instrument*) (Warburg 2012b, 52). The first question that I pose is: at what point does the concept *Zwischenraum* appear in the works of Warburg?

It is generally thought that the first important precedent of the introduction to the Atlas, and the first concretisation of the Mnemosyne project that occupied Warburg’s thought since at least his return from Kreuzlingen in 1924, was the famous conference at the Hertziana in Rome on 19 January 1929 (Warburg [1929] 2014). Judging by the surviving materials from that conference, it does not seem clear that Warburg used the concept *Zwischenraum* at all. In his *Roman diary*, Aby Warburg exchanges impressions with Gertrud Bing some days after the event about the effect caused by the conference in the Hertziana as well as its repercussions in the progress of the project of the Atlas, and Bing as collaborator believes that:

Der Text des Atlas wurde gefördert durch die Einleitung des Vortrages, die allerdings, wenn sie eine methodologische Einleitung des ganzen Werkes werden soll, noch bedeutende Erweiterungen erfahren muß; so muß zum Beispiel bei der Erwähnung des psychologischen Begriffs der Polarität als heuristischen Prinzips noch eine Auseinandersetzung des Gedankens von dem Wechsel zwischen Distanzsetzung und Einverleibung hinzutreten.

The text of the Atlas ought to be supported by the lecture’s introduction, which, however, if it is to be a methodological introduction to the entire work, must undergo significant amplification. Thus, for example, when the psychological concept of polarity as a heuristic principle is mentioned a discussion must follow of the intellectual struggle between embodiment and distantiating. January 28, 1929 (Eng. trans. by C. Johnson, in Johnson 2012, 200).

The concept *Zwischenraum* could be one of the components of that theoretical dimension that the Hertziana conference lacked, and the

concept was instead required in the Introduction to the Atlas. According to Bing it was necessary “to add a discussion about the idea of change between embodiment and distantiation” and it is precisely to “distantiation” that the term will refer, at least in one of its definitions. The fundamental role that the term performs in the introduction to the Atlas is evident since it controls all the first section [A], in which the preposition *zwischen* (between) and the concept of *Zwischenraum* are repeated on several occasions:

Um die kritischen Phasen im Verlauf dieses Prozesses durchschauen zu können, hat man sich des Hilfsmittels der Erkenntnis von der polaren Funktion der künstlerischen Gestaltung *zwischen* einschwingender Phantasie und ausschwingender Vernunft noch nicht im vollen Umfang der durch ihre Dokumente bildhaften Gestaltens möglichen Urkundendeutung bedient. *Zwischen* imaginärem Zugreifen und begrifflicher Schau steht das hantierende Abtasten des Objekts mit darauf erfolgreicher plastischer oder malerischer Spiegelung, die man den künstlerischen Akt nennt [A3] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

Those seeking to understand the critical stages of this process have not yet made fullest use of the way recognition of the polarities of artistic production, of the formative oscillation between inward-looking fantasy and outward-looking rationality, can assist possible interpretations of documents of the formation of the image. Between the imagination’s act of grasping and the conceptual act of observing, there is the tactile encounter with the object, subsequently reflected in sculpture or painting, which we term the artistic act [A3] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

Imagination and reason (*Phantasie und Vernunft*) substitute here the “matter” and the ‘Sophrosyne’ of the first section [A1] to the extent that they share with them immersion (*Einschwingen*) and oscillation (*Ausschwingen*), the nouns that here appear as adjectives (*einschwingender Phantasie und ausschwingender Vernunft*). But, above all, what is at stake here is the positioning of the artistic act in a place that is precisely a “between” (*zwischen*), which is repeated a couple of lines below: “between” the imaginative capture and the conceptual contemplation (*zwischen imaginärem Zugreifen und begrifflicher Schau*). The separation between the *zugreifen* (grab, take), pure sensitive, and the

intellective *begrifflich* that accompanies contemplation (*Schau*), plays with the shared root of the terms (*griff/greif*), and constitutes one of the contrasts characteristic of the Warburg's language and style. This third section, according to Gombrich's numbering, could be juxtaposed to the first, insisting on the creative act and looking for new ways of describing it. Both sections show the relationship between the polarity and the creation of space because the "between" or "intermedial" of that space is determined by that polarity and the oscillation from one side to the other. The section concludes by going back to the concept of *Zwischenraum* announced by the repetition of the preposition *zwischen*:

Diese Doppelheit *zwischen* antichaotischer Funktion, die man so bezeichnen kann, weil die kunstwerkliche Gestalt das Eine auswählend umrissklar herausstellt, und der augenmässig vom Beschauer erforderten, kulturell erheischten Hingabe an das geschaffene *Idolon* schaffen jene Verlegenheiten des geistigen Menschen, die das eigentliche Objekt einer Kulturwissenschaft bilden müssten, die sich illustrierte psychologische Geschichte des *Zwischenraums zwischen* Antrieb und Handlung zum Gegenstand erwählt hätte [A3] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

This duality between an anti-chaotic function, which can be termed thus because the artwork selects and clarifies the contours of the object, and the demand that the beholder should gaze in cultic devotion at the idol that has been created, creates the human intellectual predicaments that should form the proper object of a scientific study of culture that takes as its subject the illustrated psychological history of the interval between impulse and rational action [A3] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

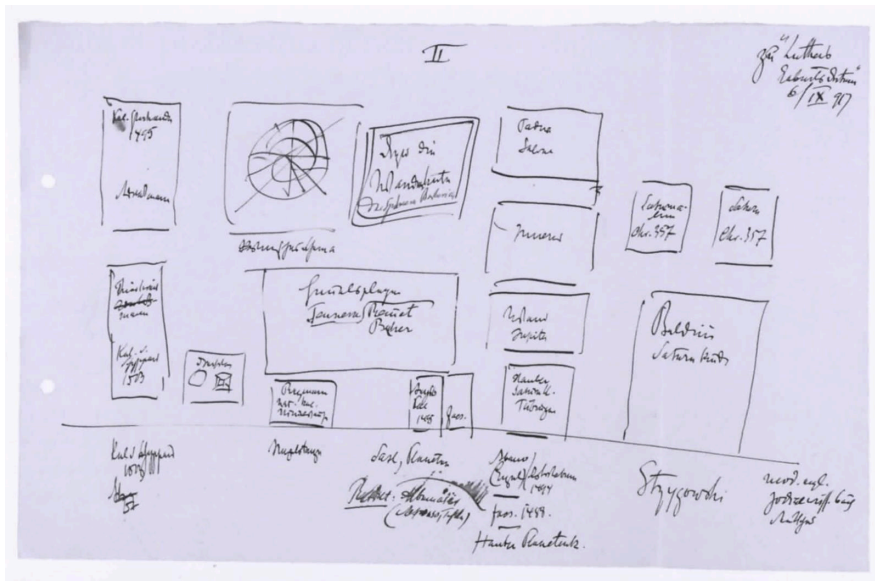
To the duplicity (*Doppelheit*) between (*zwischen*) the antichaotic function and the idol created (*geschaffene Idolon*), belongs the intermedial space (*Zwischenraum*) that separates the impulse (*Antrieb*) of the action in relation to the object (*Handlung zum Gegenstand*). But between these two sections [A1] and [A3], in which the term *Zwischenraum* thrives, as noted above, repeated twice and resonating in the reiteration of the preposition *zwischen* (up to four times), Warburg introduces another concept which seems to be a synonym, *Denkraum*:

Dem *zwischen* religiöser und mathematischer Weltanschauung schwankenden künstlerischen Menschen kommt das Gedächtnis sowohl der Kollektivpersönlichkeit wie des Individuums in einer eigentümlichen Weise zur Hilfe: nicht ohne weiteres *Denkraum* schaffend, wohl aber an den Grenzpolen des psychischen Verhaltens die Tendenz zur ruhigen Schau oder orgiastischen Hingabe verstärkend. Es setzt die unverlierbare Erbmasse mnemisch ein, aber nicht mit primär schützender Tendenz, sondern es greift die volle Wucht der leidenschaftlich-phobischen, im religiösen Mysterium erschütterten gläubigen Persönlichkeit im Kunstwerk mitstilbildend ein, wie andererseits aufzeichnende Wissenschaft des rhythmische Gefüge behält und weitergibt, in dem die Monstra der Phantasie zu zukunftsbestimmenden Lebensführern werden [A2] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

In a peculiar way recollection, both collective and individual, comes to the assistance of the artist oscillating between the religious and the mathematical world view. Although it does not create intellectual space unqualifiedly, it does nevertheless strengthen the tendency either to tranquil contemplation or to orgiastic devotion, which comprise the extreme psychological poles of behaviour. It establishes the lasting legacy of memory, yet not as part of a primarily protective tendency. Rather, the full force of the passionate and fearful religious personality, in the grip of the mystery of faith, intervenes in the formation of artistic style, just as, conversely, science, with its practice of recording, preserves and passes on the rhythmical structure whereby the monsters of the imagination guide one's life and determine the future [A2] (Warburg [1929] 2017).

The oscillation between one pole and another, either between the religious conception and the mathematical, or between tranquil contemplation and orgiastic devotion, creates an intellectual space, in other words, intermediate space. The creator of that space is "Memor" (*Gedächtnis*), which moreover reinforces each of the poles at its furthest extremes. Warburg comments frequently on the demonisation of inherited phobic impressions (*Entdämonisierung der phobisch geprägten Eindruckserbmasse*) to define the purpose of his Mnemosyne Atlas which is to capture the process, which he defines as "the attempt to absorb pre-coined expressive values by means of the representation of life in motion" – the reflections with which Warburg concludes his Introduction to the theories that form the basis of his project.

As has been pointed out, Warburg operates by blocks, as Gombrich notices rightly by numbering and structuring the text, and as can be observed from some preparatory schemes of Warburg's conferences [Fig. 1].



1 | Aby Warburg, preparatory scheme.

These five initial blocks [A1-A5] show intimate interrelated relationships of a repetitive and alternate nature: [A1] and [A3], where the concepts *Zwischenraum* and the preposition *zwischen* are found repeatedly; [A2] and [A4], where *zwischen* still resonates as a link with the previous, introducing now the second concept *Denkraum* linked with memory (*Gedächtnis*) to achieve the final conclusion [A5], where the goals of the Atlas are unveiled. It is a textual construction in which the parataxis rules from a syntactic point of view, and attention to the word and its derivatives from a semantic and phonetic point of view. Much of the coherence of what has been stated is trusted to the latter.

Georges Didi-Huberman studied Warburg's style using the book written by Warburg's psychiatrist in Kreuzlingen, Dr. Ludwig Binswanger, *Über Ideenflucht*. The style responds to a way of thinking called "elusive ideas": "a 'linguistic prolixity' which uses and abuses 'comprehension' or the

concision of formulas; an immoderate taste for series with an abundance of rimes, assonance, similarities between words... the ludic and sometimes poetic, character of the puns, and even of 'grand words' pronounced as prophecies" (Didi-Huberman [2002] 2017, 308-309). Warburg's intense writing activity in the years 1927-1929 is also noteworthy. This is attested in unpublished manuscripts with titles that are enough "to understand that Warburg wanted to accompany the Mnemosyne Atlas, not with a *history* of the 'influences of Antiquity', but rather with a theoretical discussion of the *memory* of images and symbols based on the phenomena associated with memory's forms of survival" (Didi-Huberman [2002] 2017, 304-305). Didi-Huberman continues by pointing out that in these texts Warburg gives himself, erratically, but tirelessly, "to a *theoretical experience* – at once a test and an experiment- which finds its coherence in the very style of its exposition". He notices something that I believe is extremely important: the visuality Warburg's writing – "The ideas are disposed on the white pages like the images on the black screens of the Mnemosyne Atlas: in living piles, in constellations, in exploding packets" (Didi-Huberman [2002] 2017, 305).

Indeed, this first part of the Introduction could be resolved in three pages arranged horizontally [A1, A2, A3] and in them, the contrasts, the similarities, the differences would stand out, and below them, completing the picture, the two conclusive pages [A4, A5]. It is then that the similarity of both terms *Zwischenraum/Denkraum* emerges, and *Zwischenraum* stands out above the others, supported by the sonority achieved through prepositional repetition.

The term *Denkraum* had already appeared in other Warburgian texts (Nicastro 2016), specifically in the *Schlangenritual*, the text that reports on the famous conference in the Bellevue clinic on April 21, 1923, one that marked the beginning of Aby Warburg's convalescence (Seminario Mnemosyne 2017). At the end of this text one can read:

Durch sie zerstört die Kultur des Maschinenzeitalters das, was sich die aus dem Mythos erwachsene Naturwissenschaft mühsam errang, den *Andachtsraum*, der sich in den *Denkraum* verwandelte.

Der moderne Prometheus und der moderne Ikarus, Franklin und die Gebrüder Wright, die das lenkbare Luftschiff erfunden haben, sind eben jene

verhängnisvollen Ferngefühl Zerstörer, die den Erdball wieder ins Chaos zurückzuführen drohen. Telegramm und Telefon zerstören den Kosmos. Das mythische und das symbolische Denken schaffen im Kampf um die vergeistigte Anknüpfung zwischen Mensch und Umwelt den Raum als *Andachtsraum oder Denkraum*, den die elektrische Augenblicksverknüpfungen mordet (Warburg [1923] 1988, 59).

With these waves, the culture of the machine age destroys what the natural sciences, born of myth, so arduously achieved: the space for devotion, which evolved in turn into the space required for reflection. The modern Prometheus and the modern Icarus, Franklin and Wright brothers, who invented the dirigible airplane, are precisely those ominous destroyers of the sense of distance who threaten to lead the planet back into chaos. Telegram and telephone destroy the cosmos. Mythical and symbolic thinking battle to form spiritual bonds between humanity and the surrounding world, shaping distance into the space required for devotion and reflection: the distance killed by the instantaneous electric connection (Eng. trans. by C. Johnson, in Johnson 2012, 35).

In this text, *Denkraum* is linked to *Andachtsraum* and appears as a space conquered by the culture of myth and by symbolic thought, destroyed by the culture of the machine that has ended with the feeling of distance sacrificed to immediacy or fleeting connection. The telegraph and telephone are in Warburg's eyes the emblems of the destruction of the space of thinking and contemplation, or as he will say six years later, of the intermediate space without which civilisation cannot exist.

Denkraum in the Geburtstagsatlas by Ernst Gombrich

Ernst Gombrich's Introduction to the *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg* (5 June 1937), *Zur Mnemosyne. Zur Erkenntnistheorie und Praxis der Symbolsetzung* (Gombrich [1937] 2017) is the outcome of Gombrich's work at the Warburg Institute, at least during one year, from January 1936, in which he gained familiarity not only with Warburg's published writings but also with the enormous documentation preserved (papers, letters, diagrams, and so forth). This reconstruction of the Warburg's project undertaken by Gombrich was offered together with Gertrud Bing to Max Warburg on his seventieth birthday by way of acknowledgement. It was donated to the Warburg Institute by a relative in 1984 (Culotta 2016) and

constitutes, in my opinion, a very interesting text, since it deploys a reading and an interpretation of Warburg's Introduction to the Atlas. The brevity of this introduction contrasts with the effort of providing each of the 24 *Tafeln* (a third of Warburg's final series) with a commentary in which the coherence of each constellation of images would be shown. Specifically, Warburg could not have finished these commentaries, and Gertrud Bing thought it could be resolved by using fragments of his writings (Wedepohl 2015, 135). Gombrich opens the Atlas with some preliminary words focussing on the concepts of orientation (*Orientierung*) and distantiation (*Distanzierungsprozess*), to observe:

Der Begriff Orientierung hat für Warburg im Anschluss an Kants Aufsatz "Was heisst sich im Denken orientieren?" sehr allgemeinen Charakter. Er ist ihm der Überbegriff für jede bewusste Beziehungsnahe des Menschen als eines Individuums mit der Umwelt im engeren oder weiteren Sinn. Erst dadurch, dass der Mensch eine Umwelt durch Zeichensetzung konstituiert - vermag er sein Ich von diesem 'nicht Ich' zu distanzieren. Dieser Distanzierungsprozess, der das Bereich des Bewusstseins von dem der Aussenwelt scheidet und jedem seine immanente Gesetzmässigkeit zuweist, ist ihm das wesentliche Agens und Ziel der Phylogenese wie es das der Ontogenese ist. 'Denkraum' nennt Warburg diese gewonnene Distanz zur Umwelt, *Denkraumschöpfung* den konstituierenden Akt jeder ontogenetischen und phylogenetischen Entwicklung. Zeichensetzung ist es, die diese *Denkraumschöpfung* einleitet, Missbrauch oder Verkennung der Zeichenfunktion die Gefahr, die der Kultur immer wieder drohte und droht. Denn das ursprüngliche Zeichen, das Bild wie der Name, birgt in sich selbst die Gefahr der Hypostasis. Der Bildzauber wie der Namenfetischismus ist ein solcher *denkraumzerstörender* Kurzschluss des Denkens, in dem die orientierende Funktion des Abbildes verlorenght: Zeichen und Bezeichnetes verschwimmen im magischen Weltbild zur furchterregenden Einheit (Gombrich [1937] 2017).

The notion of orientation has a very general character for Warburg, in relation to Kant's essay "What Does it Mean to Orient Oneself in Thinking". For Warburg, it is a supra-notion to indicate every conscious relationship that Man as an individual establishes in a broad and narrow sense with the world around him. Precisely because Man represents the world around him by marking it with signs, he can distance his 'I' from his 'not me'. This process

of distance-taking, which separates the realm of self-consciousness from the outside world and assigns to each its own immanent law, is for Warburg the essential principle and purpose of both phylogenesis and ontogenesis. Warburg calls the distance achieved with respect to the surrounding world, "Denkraum", and the "creation of Denkraum" the constitutive act of all ontogenetic and phylogenetic development. Marking with signs is what introduces this creation of a space for thought, where abuse or disallowance of the function of signs constitutes a danger that threatens and continues to threaten culture. The original sign, be it image or name, conceals within itself the danger of hypostasis. The magic of the image as well as the fetishism of names is a sort of short-circuiting of thought, which destroys the Denkraum, and in which the orientation function of representation is lost: in the magical conception of the world, signs and what has been assigned a name disappear in an alarming union (Gombrich [1937] 2017).

The disappearance of the term *Zwischenraum*, so powerful in the first introductory lines by Warburg, is surprising in this initial paragraph, if only to introduce the term *Denkraum*, whose meaning is constructed from the passage of the *Schlangenritual* quoted above. The idea of the destruction of this space by means of a short circuit (*Kurzschluss*) as being very similar to the fleeting connection (*Augenblicksverknüpfungen*) of the *Schlangenritual* prevails. From the first paragraph of Warburg's text, only the concept of orientation (*Der Begriff Orientierung*), has been retained in the first words of Gombrich's text, which Warburg resolved as "an instrument of mental orientation" (*als orientierendes geistiges Instrument*). Gombrich reads, glosses, and understands Warburg's text, but probably not just Warburg's alone. The reference to Kant allows us to link it with a passage that can be found in the *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen* by Ernst Cassirer, specifically in the second volume devoted to myth (*Das mythische Denken*), the prologue of which is dated December 1924 in Hamburg. In it, Cassirer acknowledges the Warburg Library because of the rich and abundant material offered to him there that enabled him to continue his research (Cassirer [1925] 1973, XIII). In chapter II we find the Kant quotation that discusses orientation, and where this is related to the *Denkraum*:

Das mythische Denken ergreift eine ganz bestimmte, konkret-räumliche Struktur, um nach ihr das Ganze der 'Orientierung' der Welt zu vollziehen.

Kant hat in einem kurzen, aber für seine Denkweise höchst bezeichnenden Aufsatz: "Was heisst: sich im Denken orientieren?" den Ursprung des Begriffs der 'Orientierung' zu bestimmen und seine weitere Entwicklung zu verfolgen gesucht. "Wir mögen unsere Begriffe noch so hoch anlegen und dabei noch so sehr von der Sinnlichkeit abstrahieren, so hängen ihnen doch noch immer bildliche Vorstellungen an... Denn wie wollten wir auch unseren Begriffen Sinn und Bedeutung verschaffen, wenn ihnen nicht irgendeine Anschauung... unterlegt würde?". Von hier aus zeigt Kant, wie alle Orientierung mit einem sinnlich gefühlten Unterschied, nämlich mit dem Gefühl des Unterschieds der rechten und linken Hand beginnt, - wie sie sich sodann in die Sphäre der reinen, der mathematischen Anschauung erhebt, um zuletzt zur Orientierung im Denken überhaupt, in der reinen Vernunft aufzusteigen. Betrachten wir die Eigenart des mythischen Raumes und stellen wir sie der des sinnlichen Anschauungsraumes, wie der des mathematischen 'Denkraumes' gegenüber, so lässt sich dieser Stufengang der Orientierung in eine noch tiefere geistige Schicht zurückverfolgen - so lässt sich deutlich der Punkt des Übergangs bezeichnen, an dem in Gegensatz, der an und für sich rein im mythisch-religiösen Gefühl wurzelt, sich zu gestalten, sich eine 'objektive' Form zu geben beginnt, durch welche nunmehr dem Gesamtprozess der Objektivation, der anschaulich-gegenständlichen Erfassung und Deutung der Welt der sinnlichen Eindrücke, eine neue Richtung gewiesen wird (Cassirer [1925] 1973, 116).

Mythical thinking seizes upon a very specific and concrete spatial structure in order to carry through its whole "orientation" of the world. In "What does it mean to orient oneself in thinking?" - an article which despite its brevity is highly characteristic of his manner of thinking - Kant attempted to define the origin of the concept of "orientation" and follow its development: "However high we may place our concepts and much as we may abstract them from the sensuous world, still images adhere to them... For how should we give meaning and signification to our concepts if some intuition... did not underly them?". Kant then goes on to show how all orientation begins with a sensuously felt distinction - namely the feeling of the distinction between the right and the left hand - and how it then rises to the sphere of pure mathematical intuition and ultimately to the orientation of thought as such, of pure reason. If we examine the peculiarity of mythical space and compare it with the space of sensory intuition and the logical space of mathematics, we can follow these stages of orientation down to a

still deeper spiritual level; and we can clearly discern the point of transition at which an opposition intrinsically rooted in mythical feeling begins to shape itself, to take on an objective form, through which the general process of objectification, the intuitive-objective apprehension and interpretation of the world of sense impressions, assumes a new direction (Cassirer [1925] 1955, 93-94).

Some pages before, Cassirer explains the distance between mythical and mathematical thought, pointing out the “intermedial position” (*Mittelstellung*) of the mythical space, between the space of a pure sensory experience and the space of pure knowledge, emphasising not only the distance, but even the divergence between the visual and the tactile space and the space of pure mathematics, to which the *Gedankenraum* or *Denkraum* belongs:

Um die Eigenart der mythischen Raumschauung vorläufig und in allgemeinen Umrissen zu bezeichnen, kann man davon ausgehen, dass der mythische Raum eine eigenartige *Mittelstellung zwischen* dem sinnlichen Wahrnehmungsraum und den Raum der reinen Erkenntnis, dem Raum der geometrischen Anschauung einnimmt. Es ist bekannt, dass der Wahrnehmungsraum, dass der Seh- und Tastraum, mit dem Raum der reinen Mathematik nicht nur nicht zusammenfällt, sondern dass zwischen beiden vielmehr eine durchgehende Divergenz besteht. Die Bestimmungen des letzteren lassen sich aus denen des ersteren nicht einfach ablesen oder auch nur in einer stetigen Abfolge des Denkens ableiten; es bedarf vielmehr einer eigentümlichen Umkehr der Blickrichtung, einer Aufhebung dessen, was in der sinnlichen Anschauung unmittelbar gegeben erscheint, um zu dem ‘*Gedankenraum*’ der reinen Mathematik vorzudringen (Cassirer [1925] 1973, 104).

We may arrive at a provisional and general characterisation of the mythical intuition of space by starting from the observation that it occupies a kind of middle position between the space of sense perception and the space of pure cognition, that is, geometry. It is self-evident that the space of perception, the space of vision and touch, does not coincide with the space of pure mathematics, that there is indeed a thoroughgoing divergence between the two. The determinations of mathematical space do not follow simply from those of sensory space (the former cannot even be derived from

the latter in an unbroken logical sequence); on the contrary, we require a peculiar reversal of perspective, a negation of what seems immediately given in sensory perception, before we can arrive at the "logical space" of pure mathematics (Cassirer [1925] 1955, 83).

Ernst Cassirer does not mention *Zwischenraum*, but although the term does not appear in his *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, it is evident that he has been thinking about that intermedial space since his first attempt in the Introduction to the first volume (*Die Sprache*), in which he deals with the dualism of the sensible and the intelligible:

Die Idee einer derartigen Grammatik schliesst eine Erweiterung des traditionellen geschichtlichen Lehrbegriffs des Idealismus in sich. Dieser Lehrbegriff war von jeher darauf gerichtet dem 'mundus sensibilis' einen anderen Kosmos den 'mundus intelligibilis' gegenüberzustellen und die Grenzen beider Welten sicher zu scheiden. Im wesentlichen aber verlief die Grenze derart, dass die Welt des Intelligiblen durch das Moment des reinen Tuns, die Welt des Sinnlichen durch das Moment des Leidens bestimmt wurde. Dort herrschte die freie Spontaneität des Geistigen, hier die Gebundenheit, die Passivität des Sinnlichen. Für jene 'allgemeine Charakteristik' aber, deren Problem und Aufgabe sich jetzt im allgemeinsten Umriss vor uns hingestellt hat, ist dieser Gegensatz kein unvermittelter und ausschliessender mehr. *Denn zwischen dem Sinnlichen und Geistigen knüpft sich hier eine neue Form der Wechselbeziehung und der Korrelation.* Der metaphysische Dualismus beider erscheint überbrückt, sofern sich zeigen lässt, dass gerade *die reine Funktion des Geistigen selbst im Sinnlichen ihre konkrete Erfüllung suchen muss*, und dass sie sie hier zuletzt allein zu finden vermag. [...] In ihnen allen zeigt sich in der Tat dies als das eigentliche Vehikel ihres immanenten Vorgangs, dass sie neben und über der Welt der Wahrnehmung eine eigene freie Bildwelt erstehen lassen: *eine Welt, die ihrer unmittelbaren/Beschaffenheit nach noch ganz die Farbe des Sinnlichen an sich trägt, die aber eine bereits geformte und somit eine geistig beherrschte Sinnlichkeit darstellt.* Hier handelt es sich nicht um ein System sinnlicher Mannigfaltigkeiten, die in irgendeiner Form freien Bildens erschaffen werden (Cassirer [1923] 1954, 19-20).

The idea of such a grammar implies a broadening of the traditional and historical concept of idealism. Idealism has always aimed at juxtaposing to

the *mundus sensibilis* another cosmos, the *mundus intelligibilis*, and at defining the boundary between these two worlds. But the usual means of drawing this boundary was to say that the intelligible world is governed by the principle of pure action, while the sensible world is dominated by the principle of receptivity. The free spontaneity of the mind prevails in the former, the confinement, the passivity of the senses in the latter. But for the “universal characteristic” which now stands before us in the broadest outlines as problem and project, this opposition is no longer irreconcilable and exclusive. For the senses and the spirit are now joined in a new form of reciprocity and correlation. Their metaphysical dualism seems bridged since it can be shown that precisely the pure function of the spirit itself must seek its concrete fulfilment in the sensory world. [...] We find indeed that, beside and above the world of perception, all these spheres produce freely their own world of symbols which is the true vehicle of their immanent development – a world whose inner quality is still wholly sensory, but which already discloses a formed sensibility, that is to say, a sensibility governed by the spirit. Here we no longer have to do with a sensible world that is simply given and present, but with a system of diverse sensory factors which are produced by some form of free creation (Cassirer [1923] 1955, 86-87).

Overcoming of the metaphysical dualism between the sensible and the intelligible world results from an understanding of an intermedial world, a world where the sensible and the intelligible meet, where the intelligible shows itself in the sensible and vice versa. Iranian philosophy was at a crossroads of thought in which the ancient Zoroastrian religion, Platonism and Islam coincided; and it dealt precisely with this world, which was later translated by Henry Corbin as *mundus imaginalis*.

A few months before writing the Prologue to his second volume of *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, on April 10, 1924, Cassirer visited Warburg. In the clinical history of Ludwig Binswanger, the importance of this visit is reported, and it is stated that “The patient is happy that Cassirer could confirm the hypotheses he has raised from his specific field” (Binswanger, Warburg 2007, 163, Eng. trans. by D. Carrillo-Rangel). Binswanger himself was very interested in Cassirer’s philosophical work, and found many similarities with his own. In his work from 1933, already quoted here, *Über Ideenflucht*, Binswanger talks about space and spatiality

and clarifies that he does not do so in the sense of physical space but in the sense of the spatiality of Martin Heidegger's *Dasein*:

Was wir (Stimmungs-)Optimismus nennen, ist nicht anders, als diese annähernde Übereinstimmung der räumlichen Grenzen der Gedanken – und der Sachwelt. Beide Räume sind hier nahezu gleich weit oder gleich eng. Diese Ausdrucksweise darf natürlich nicht gleichnishaft aufgefasst werden, vielmehr muss sie aus der Ontologie des Daseins und seiner Räumlichkeit verstanden werden [en nota: Räumlich ist hier nicht im Sinne des geometrischen oder irgendeines objektiven oder physikalischen Raums gemeint, sondern im Sinne der Räumlichkeit des Daseins überhaupt Vgl. Heidegger, a.a.O. & 22, 23, 24]. Dann ist aber klar, dass sie auch auf den Grund der annähernden Übereinstimmung der Grenzen beider Welten im Optimismus hinzuweisen vermag. Auch dieser Grund lässt sich noch räumlich fassen. Sagen wir doch von diesem Optimismus, dass es hier nicht weit sei vom Gedanken zum Entschluss und zur Tat, und dass hier nur ein Schritt sei von der Möglichkeit zur Wirklichkeit. Das zeigt wieder, dass, wie wir bereits wissen, Gedanken- und Sachwelt an Umfang nahezu gleich sind, überdies aber auch, dass sie hier nahe beieinander liegen. Beide Momente gehören ontologisch zusammen, eines weist auf das andere hin (Binswanger [1933] 1980, 61).

This mode of expression cannot naturally be conceived as images, it should be understood rather from the ontology of Dasein and spatiality (48, Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, & 22, 23, 24). But it is clear then that this also makes it possible to give some indications about the foundation of the harmony approaching the borders of the two worlds as optimism. This foundation can also be grasped spatially. However, it should be noted that this optimism is also not far from the thought of the resolution and the act, and that there is only one step from possibility to reality. As we already know, this shows again that the world of thoughts and the world of things are almost identical in extent, but also that they are here near each other. Both moments are ontologically equivalent, one reflects the other (Eng. trans. by D. Carrillo-Rangel).

Two pages later, he refers to *Denkraum*:

Die Volatilität auch der Denkgegenstände, insbesondere ihre Wandlung – und Gestaltungsfähigkeit, im Verein mit der Gelichtetheit des *Denkraums* überhaupt, hat zur Konsequenz, dass man hier nie vor einem unüberwindlichen Denkhindernis steht, immer einen Ausblick und Ausweg findet, dass sich hier immer (Denk-)Fäden, ‘nach allen Seiten’ spinnen und sich immer wieder neue Gedanken bilden (Binswanger [1933] 1980, 63).

The volatility of the objects of thought, specifically their capacity to transform themselves and to take shape, alongside the luminosity of the space of thought in general, results in the consequence that one is never in front of an obstacle of unconquerable thought, but that one always finds a point of view and an outcome, and that “on all sides”, the threads (of thought) are always being woven and that thoughts are formed always anew again (Eng. trans. by D. Carrillo-Rangel).

In the note to page 58 he introduces the term *Zwischenreich* (Binswanger [1933] 1980, 58). Peter Sloterdijk already understood that “Only a few Heidegger exegetes seem to have realised that the sensational programmatic tide of *Sein und Zeit* also contains an embryonically revolutionary treatise on being and space. Under the spell of Heidegger’s existential analytics of time, it has mostly been overlooked that this is rooted in a corresponding analytics of space, just as the two in turn rest on an existential analytics of movement” (Sloterdijk [1998] 2011, 333). Further in the text: “Heidegger’s analytics of existential spatiality arrives at a positive tracing of the spatiality of Dasein as approach and orientation in two destructive steps”. In *Being and Time*, Heidegger talks about *Zwischenraum* in order to allude to the space between the chair and the wall:

Das ‘Sein bei’ der Welt als Existenzial meint nie so etwas wie das Beisammen-vorhanden-sein von vorkommenden Dingen. Es gibt nicht so etwas wie das ‘Nebeneinander’ eines Seienden, genannt ‘Dasein’, mit anderem Seienden, genannt ‘Welt’. Das Beisammen zweier Vorhandener pflegen wir allerdings sprachlich zuweilen z.B. so ausdrücken: “Der Tisch steht ‘bei’ der Tür, ‘der Stuhl berührt’ die Wand”. Von einem ‘Berühren’ kann streng genommen nie die Rede sein und zwar nicht deshalb, weil am Ende immer bei genauer Nachprüfung sich ein Zwischenraum zwischen Stuhl und Wand feststellen lässt, sondern weil der Stuhl grundsätzlich nicht, und wäre

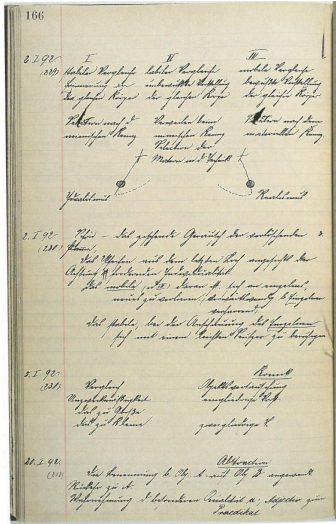
der *Zwischenraum* gleich Null, die Wand berühren kann (Heidegger [1927] 2006, 55).

As an existential, “being with” the world never means anything like the being-objectively-present-together of things that occur. There is no such thing as the “being next to each other” of a being called “Dasein” with another being called “world”. It is true that, at times, we are accustomed to expressing linguistically the being together of two objectively present things in such a manner: “The table stands ‘next to’ the door”, “The chair ‘touches’ the wall”. Strictly speaking, we can never talk about “touching”, not because in the last analysis we can always find a space between the chair and the wall by examining it more closely, but because in principle the chair can never touch the wall, even if the space between them amounted to nothing (Heidegger [1927] 1996, 51-52 [I, II 12]).

Of more interest for our discussion is his reflection on the “between” between the subject and the object, suggesting how appropriate (or not) it would be to place the orientation in that “between”:

Was anderes stellt sich aber dann mit diesem Phänomen dar als das vorhandene *commercium* zwischen einem vorhandenen Subjekt und einem vorhandenen Objekt? Diese Auslegung käme dem phänomenalen Bestand schon näher, wenn sie sagte: das Dasein ist das Sein dieses ‘Zwischen’. Irreführend bliebe die Orientierung an dem ‘Zwischen’ trotzdem. Sie macht unbesehen den ontologisch unbestimmten Ansatz des Seienden mit, wozwischen dieses Zwischen als solches ‘ist’. Das Zwischen ist schon als Resultat der *convenientia* zweier Vorhandenen begriffen (Heidegger [1927] 2006, 132).

But then what else presents itself with this phenomenon other than the objectively present *commercium* between an objectively present subject and an objectively present object? This interpretation would come closer to the phenomenal content if it stated that Da-sein is the being of this “between”. Nonetheless, the orientation toward the “between” would still be misleading. It colludes unawares with the ontologically indefinite approach that there are beings between which this between as such “is”. The between is already understood as the result of the *convenientia* of two objectively present things (Heidegger [1927] 1996, 124 [I, V, 28]).



2 | Aby Warburg, *Grundlegende Bruchstücke*, 1888/1896-1905/1912.

Let us return to Gombrich once more. It seems to me highly relevant that Gombrich dismissed the term *Zwischenraum* only to choose the *Denkraum*. Moreover, Claudia Wedepohl reports in Gombrich's project to research and edit Warburg works an inquiry about Warburgian terminology was planned (*Mneme, Engramm, energetische Inversion, Ambivalenz, Denkraumverlust, Schlitterlogik*). This means that Gombrich considered the concepts employed by Warburg to be highly relevant (Wedepohl 2015, 145). However, in this list, we are also unable to find any mention of the *Zwischenraum*. If I have insisted until now upon the proximity between *Zwischenraum* and *Denkraum* and their use as almost synonyms in some contexts, it is now time

to point out their differences. That the space of thinking can be an intermediate space certainly does not imply that the notion of intermedial space and that of the space of thinking are identical. The latter comes from a need for a distance, of the creation of a space that allows the contemplation and the thought; while the first, in addition to alluding to that space generated between the two poles, necessarily implies a hybridity. This happens because that intermedial space is participated by both poles since in being a space of separation it is also one of meeting. In the *Grundlegende Bruchstücke* (1888/1896-1905/1912) an ink drawing by Warburg can be observed. In it, "idealism" and "realism" appear as two opposite poles in oscillation (Warburg 2015, 110) [Fig. 2]. Between both poles, the *Zwischenraum* is expanded, here not mentioned. But the *Zwischenraum* will possess in Warburg's work a creative potential because taking it as a point of departure a decisive expression for the understanding of the Mnemosyne Atlas will be generated.

Iconology of the interval

It is in Warburg's *Tagebuch* where the concept *Zwischenraum* can be found, although here the term is used in a more specific way since it is accompanied by the concept "iconology": *eine Ikonologie des*

Zwischenraumes. The passage is quoted by Gombrich in his *Intellectual Biography*:

Ikonologie des Zwischenraumes. Kunsthistorisches Material zu einer Entwicklungspsychologie des Pendelganges zwischen bildhafter und zeichenmässiger Ursachsetzung ("Journal" VII, 1929, 267; Warburg 2001, 434).

Iconology of the interval: art historical material towards an evolutionist psychology of the oscillation between the positing of causes as images and as signs (Gombrich 1970, 253).

The concept of *Ikonologie* was used for the first time by Warburg in October 1912 in his lecture on Palazzo Schifanoia, although already in 1907, the use of the adjective *ikonologisch* is attested (Heckscher [1967] 1985, 254 and 274). Gombrich introduces the quotation maintaining that "The image of art belongs to that intermediate realm in which the symbols are rooted". This means that Gombrich recognises it as intermedial space in which the sensible and the intelligible world meet, which is, indeed, the place of the symbol. Georges Didi-Huberman pointed out how enigmatic the expression was for many exegetes in order to state:

He seems to have defined, in 1929, the project of his atlas as the grouping together of a 'stock' of images forming the visual corpus of his hypothetical 'psychology of evolution in the determination of causes', an expression in which we recognise one of the innumerable formulations Warburg considered for the possible subtitle of the Mnemosyne Atlas. It also seems to relate to the *dictum*, inspired by Goethe, according to which 'the problem' – but Warburg also wrote: 'the truth' – lies in the middle (Didi-Huberman [2002] 2017, 327).

The fact that Didi-Huberman links the iconology of the interval with the assembly as the procedure and characteristic method of the Atlas seems decisive to me. Philippe-Alain Michaud also understood that the expression referred to the expression alluded to the way itself of construction of the Atlas: "[...] avec Mnémiosyne, Warburg fonde 'une iconologie des intervalles' (*Eine Ikonologie des Zwischenraumes*) [...] qui ne porte plus sur des objets, mais sur des tensions, analogies, contrastes

ou contradictions”. Michaud talks about it as an “enigmatic formula” which would allude to the idea that it is “...une iconologie qui porterait non sur la significations des figures – c’est le sens que lui donnera Panofsky –, mais sur les relations que ces figures entretiennent entre elles dans un dispositif visuel autonome, irréductible à l’ordre du discours” (Michaud 2012, 260 and 321). For his part, Maurizio Ghelardi, in *La lutte pour le style*, adds a second quotation that is found in *Italienische Antike im Zeitalter Rembrandts*:

L’ascension d’Hélios vers le soleil et la descente de Proserpine dans les profondeurs symbolisent deux stations qui font partie intégrante du cycle de la vie, de même que l’inspiration et l’expiration. Dans ce voyage nous n’emportons pour seul bagage que l’*intervalle* toujours mouvante entre l’impulsion et l’action, et c’est à nous de déterminer quelle extension l’on peut donner à cette pause de la respiration grâce à l’aide de Mnémosyne (Ghelardi 2016, 231).

Ghelardi concludes maintaining that the Atlas can be understood as something like an “iconologie de la pause ou de l’intervalle respiratoire; ils impliquent une conception de l’art fondée sur le matériau histórico-artistique qui indique une ‘psychologie du développement’ oscillant entre l’image et le signe, et indissolublement liée à un principe architectonique et gramatical. L’art se situe, suivant cette perspective, entre le monde de l’expression pure et celui de la signification pure, et c’est pour cette raison que la parole et l’image représentent pour Warburg les termes médians entre le mythe et le *logos*” (Ghelardi 2016, 229).

When observing the *Tafeln* of the Atlas, it can be observed how each of them shows a different layout of the photographs attached to the black sack cloth. Sometimes the seriation is intensified, as in 24 and 25. In others, the details play a key role, as in 43 and 54, and yet in another, the gathering of images reaches lyrical values, as in 5, 6, 39 and 47, because the panel reveals intimate relationships between the images, and shows a structure that comes from the layout. In this, their arrangement is as important as the image itself as the intermedial space that separates them, like the blank spaces in the collection of poems or the silences that allow the word to be heard.

When looking for *Zwischenraum* in the *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (Ritter, Gründer 1971), in the entry for *Raum* Vitruvius is quoted. Indeed, Vitruvius speaks of distance and interval in Book I, Chapter V of his *De Architectura*, when discussing the construction of walls and towers:

*Intervalla autem turrium ita sunt facienda ut ne longius sit alia ab alia sagittae missionis, uti, si qua oppugnetur, tum a turribus, quae erunt dextra sinistra, scorpionibus reliquisque telorum missionibus hostes reiciantur. Etiamque contra inferiores turrium dividendos est murus intervallis tam magnis, quam erunt turres, ut itinera sint interioribus partibus turrium contignata, nequeo ea ferro fixa (Marco Vitruvio Pollione, *De architectura*).*

The distances between the towers are to be so devised that one is no further from another than a bowshot; so that if a tower is besieged anywhere, then, by scorpions and other missile engines from the towers to the right or left, the enemy may be thrown back. And also, opposite the lower part of the towers, the wall is to be divided by intervals as wide as a tower; and these intervals opposite the interior parts of the towers shall be joined with planks. These, however, are not to be fixed with iron nails (Eng. trans. by F. Granger, Cambridge 1955).

Returning to the twentieth century, there is much debate in architecture around the “intermediate space”. In their tribute-article to Louis Kahn, the architects Alison Smithson and Peter Smithson (Smithson 1974), conceive that the regeneration of ideas in order to provoke the regeneration of city architecture should necessarily take into account the *space between*: from the renewal of the street to the need to create dialogue between old and new buildings.

An earlier draft of this article was presented at the Seminar Mnemosyne which took place in the Palazzone di Cortona from the 13 to 16 June 2017. The seminar was devoted to the translation, commentary and comparative study of both Introductions to the Atlas, that of Warburg and that of Gombrich. The members of the Seminar (Monica Centanni, Simone Culotta, Silvia De Laude, Anna Fressola, Maurizio Ghelardi, Anna Ghiraldini, Clío Nicastro, Alessandra Pedersoli, Sergi Sancho Fibla) discussed and commented the mentioned draft. My acknowledgements to all of them.

Bibliography

Binswanger [1933] 1980

L. Binswanger, *Über Ideenflucht* [Zürich 1933], facsimile Garland, New York-London 1980.

Binswanger, Warburg 2007

L. Binswanger, A. Warburg, *La curación infinita. Historia clínica de Aby Warburg* [La guarigione infinita: storia clinica di Aby Warburg, a c. di D. Stimilli, tr. it. di C. Marazia e D. Stimilli, Vicenza 2005], Eng. trans. by N. Gelormini and M.T. D'Meza, Buenos Aires 2007.

Breton [1933] 2008

A. Breton, *Picasso dans son élément* [1933], in Id., *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IV, ed. M. Bonnet, Paris 2008, 469-485.

Cassirer [1923] 1954

E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Erster Teil, Die Sprache* [1923], Oxford 1954.

Cassirer [1925] 1973

E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Zweiter Teil, Das mytische Denken* [Oxford 1925], Darmstadt 1973.

Cassirer [1923] 1955

E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. Volume one: Language* [Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Erster Teil, Die Sprache, Oxford 1923], Eng. trans. by R. Manheim, New Haven 1955.

Cassirer [1925] 1955

E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. Volume two: Mythical thought* [Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, Zweiter Teil, Das mytische Denken, Oxford 1925], Eng. trans. by R. Manheim, New Haven 1955.

Cirlot, 2010

V. Cirlot, *La zona intermedia, el cielo estrellado y la pintura meditativa*, in Id., *La visión abierta. Del mito del Grial al surrealismo*, Madrid 2010, 63-83.

Culotta 2016

S. Culotta, *Teche dialettiche, un dispositivo per l'esposizione*, tesi di laurea magistrale, relatore M. Centanni, Università luav di Venezia, a.a. 2005-2016.

Corbin 1960

H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection. De l'Iran Mazdéen à l'Iran Shî'ite*, Paris 1960.

Didi-Huberman [2002] 2017

G. Didi-Huberman, *The Surviving Image: Phantoms of Time and Time of Phantoms. Aby Warburg's History of Art* [L'image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des

fantômes selon Aby Warburg, Paris 2002], Eng. trans. by H.L. Mendelsohn, Pennsylvania 2017.

Ernst [1934] 1970

M. Ernst, *Qu'est ce que le surréalisme?* [1934] in Id., *Écritures*, Paris 1970, 228-234.

Ghelardi 2016

M. Ghelardi, *La lutte pour le style* [Aby Warburg. *La lotta per lo stile*, Torino 2012], Paris 2016.

Gombrich [1937] 2017

E.H. Gombrich, *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg. Zur Mnemosyne. Zur Erkenntnistheorie und Praxis der Symbolsetzung* [1937], in Ernst H. Gombrich, *To Mnemosyne: An Introduction to Geburtstagsatlas (1937). Original version and English translation of Zur Mnemosyne*, ed. Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by M. Centanni, A. Fressola, and M. Ghelardi; Eng. trans. by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 153 (February 2017).

Gombrich 1970

E.H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970.

Heckscher [1967] 1985

W.S. Heckscher, *The Genesis of Iconology* [1967], in Id., *Art and Literature: Studies in Relationship*, Durham 1985, 253-280.

Heidegger [1927] 2006

M. Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* [1927], Tübingen 2006.

Heidegger [1927] 1996

M. Heidegger, *Being and Time* [Sein und Zeit, Tübingen 1927], Eng. trans. by J. Stambaugh, New York 1996.

Johnson, 2012

C.D. Johnson, *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images*, Ithaca 2012.

Lévi-Strauss 1983

C. Lévi-Strauss, *Une peinture méditative*, in Id., *Le regard éloigné*, Paris 1983, 327-331.

Michaud [1998] 2012

P.A. Michaud, *Aby Warburg et l'image en mouvement* [1998], Paris 2012.

Nicastro 2016

C. Nicastro, *Morfologia della distanza: le radici corporee del Denkraum der Besonnenheit*, in A. Barale, F. Desideri, S. Ferretti (a c. di), *Energia e rappresentazione. Warburg, Panofsky, Wind*, Milano 2016.

Ritter, Gründer 1971

J. Ritter, K. Gründer (Hrsg.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Basel 1971.

Seminario Mnemosyne 2017

Seminario Mnemosyne, coordinated by G. Bordignon, M. Centanni, S. De Laude,

D. Sacco, *Sons of Mars and the Heirs of Prometheus – the Conquest of the Heavens: War and Technology: An Interpretative essay on Plate C of the Mnemosyne Atlas*, Eng. trans. by E. Thomson, "La Rivista di Engramma" 144 (April 2017).

Sloterdijk [1998] 2011

P. Sloterdijk, *Spheres. Volume I: Bubbles. Microspherology [Sphären I. Blasen, Mikrosphärologie]*, Frankfurt am Main 1998], Eng. trans. by W. Hoban, Los Angeles 2011.

Smithson 1974

A. Smithson, P. Smithson, *The Space Between*, "Oppositions" 4 (October 1974).

Warburg [1923]1988

A. Warburg, *Schlangenritual. Ein Reisebericht [Bilder aus dem Gebiet der Pueblo-Indianer in Nord-Amerika]*, Vortrag gehalten am 21 april 1923, Kreuzlingen], Mit einem Nachwort von U. Raulff, Berlin 1988.

Warburg 2001

A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, Hrsg. von K. Michels, C. Schoell-Glass, Berlin 2001.

Warburg 2012a

A. Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, Bd. II.1, *Gesammelte Schriften. Studienausgabe*, Hrsg. von M. Warnke, C. Brink, Berlin 2012.

Warburg 2012b

A. Warburg, *L'Atlas Mnemosyne*, avec un essai de R. Recht, Paris 2012.

Warburg [1929] 2014

A. Warburg, *Die römische Antike in der Werkstatt Ghirlandaios. Traccia della conferenza alla Biblioteca Hertziana di Roma (19 gennaio 1929) con una Nota al testo (e agenda warburghiana)*, a c. di S. De Laude, "La Rivista di Engramma" 119 (settembre 2014).

Waurg 2015

A. Warburg, *Fragmente zur Ausdruckskunde*, in Id., *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hrsg. von V.U. Pfisterer, H.C. Hönes, Berlin 2015.

Warburg [1929] 2017

A. Warburg, *Mnemosyne Atlas. Introduction* [1929], Eng. trans. by M. Rampley, "La Rivista di Engramma" 142 (February 2017).

Warburg, Bing [1928-1929] 2005

A. Warburg, G. Bing, *Diario romano (1928-1929)*, a c. di M. Ghelardi, Torino 2005.

Wedepohl 2015

C. Wedepohl, *Critical Detachment: Ernst Gombrich as Interpreter of Aby Warburg*, in U. Fleckner, P. Mack (eds.), *The Afterlife of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg. The Emigration and the Early Years of the Warburg Institute in London, Vorträge aus dem Warburg-Haus, Hamburg*, Band 12, Berlin 2015, 131-164.

English abstract

This contribution consists of a comparative study of the two Introductions to the Mnemosyne Atlas, one by Aby Warburg (1929) and the other by Ernst Gombrich (1937), starting from the concept of *Zwischenraum* (*space between*) that only appears in Warburg's. This essay starts out from the peculiar importance given to this concept by philosophers like Henry Corbin who, following Iranian texts, named it *mundus imaginalis*. The concept of *Zwischenraum* is linked with another, frequently used by Warburg, *Denkraum*, which appears in Gombrich's Introduction and is also present in Ernst Cassirer, Ludwig Binswanger and Martin Heidegger. From the theoretical concept of *Zwischenraum* as the necessary space for all acts of civilisation to take place, Warburg passes to the expression *Ikonomie des Zwischenraumes* (iconology of the interval), in which he lays the foundations of the Mnemosyne Atlas, where the space between images, always different, acquires meaning. This article ends with a quick reference to the sense given to the *space between* in contemporary architecture.

“L’esprit de Warburg lui-même sera en paix”

A survey of Edgar Wind’s quarrel with the Warburg Institute

Ianick Takaes de Oliveira

§ Appendix of the Warburg-Kreis correspondence

Edgar Wind’s intellectual career can be defined as somewhat tragic. Shortly after his demise in September 1971, his colleague Isaiah Berlin commented in a letter: “Poor Wind. In a way, it was a wasted life” (Berlin, Nabokov 1971). For Wind was a celebrated intellectual in his own time. His oxonian lectures amassed vast audiences and his *œuvre* often transgressed the hermetic borders of academia, making him a public intellectual. Wind’s published writings, however, are somewhat few in number, especially so if we compare him with some of his more prolific art historian colleagues. His widow, Margaret, would comment – some twenty years after her husband’s death – that “the complexities of his [Wind’s] life are not understood” (Wind, Breidecker 1995). Born in 1900, Wind was, after all, part of the German intellectual diaspora, a scholar whose nomadic career spans two continents, three countries, and a many misfortune. It was also Wind who, in mid-1933, travelled to England to begin the negotiations that would result in the transfer of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg (KBW) to London, thus saving Aby Warburg’s books – his mentor’s books – from the looming Nazi threat.

Wind’s academic output – and that of the Warburgians – during the 1930s was uncanny, especially so if we consider the political turbulence of the period and the degree of international engagement required. Moreover, his professional position was relatively stable. It is possible, however, that the émigré scholar retained a modicum of continental apprehension. In 1935, the Nazi periodical *Völkischer Beobachter* criticised a virulent review of the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, published in 1934 by the Warburg Institute. The article, titled *Juden und Emigranten machen deutsche Wissenschaft*, denounced, in particular, the

introduction written by Wind and the fact that the Warburg Institute had become a haven for exiled Jewish scholars^[1]. In May 1940, the SS included Wind in the *GB Sonderfahndungsliste* (also known as “The Black Book”). This document blacklisted prominent British residents that should be immediately put under investigation if Germany’s invasion of England – codenamed Operation Sea Lion (*Unternehmen Seelöwe*) – was successful^[2]. A year before, in 1939, Wind was invited by former colleagues Scott Buchanan and Stringfellow Barr (whom he had met in the United States in the 1920s) to lecture on Italian Renaissance art at St. John’s College. Wind embarked for the United States on 28 August in the famous *SS Normandie*. This voyage would be the ship’s last before the outbreak of the European conflicts following the Nazi invasion of Poland on 1 September. “When I sailed in August of that year, I intended to stay for five months. By the outbreak of the war, this period was prolonged to six years”, wrote Wind years later (Wind 1939-1945).

Entering his fourth decade, Wind lived up to the Hellenistic acme with a vertiginous performance as a lecturer across the United States. His fame in the country – which preceded him largely because of his articles in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* – grew significantly due to a large academic tour he undertook from 1939 to 1942. Wind travelled endlessly throughout the country during this period, lecturing from the East Coast to the West Coast and from the Midwest to the South. He lectured both at the major centres of learning – Harvard, Yale, Columbia, University of North Carolina, University of Chicago, Berkeley, Mills College – and “the most provincial institutions”, such as museums in Worcester, Hartford and Providence (Wind 1939-1945). According to Wind, he did so not to promote himself, but fundamentally in the interest of the Warburg Institute. “When it became evident that I would have to remain longer than I had planned, it was my intention to travel as much as possible and, therefore, avoid becoming affiliated with an institution”, said Wind, “as lectures which I had delivered had met with a response that went far beyond my expectations, and as these lectures were regarded as expositions of the method to which the Warburg Institute in London was committed, I inferred that it would be in the interest of the Warburg Institute if I made this method known in as many parts of the United States as possible” (Wind 1939-1945). By the end of this peripatetic pilgrimage, Wind had held seventy-three lectures, generally devoted to “a work of art

of universal interest” or “objects of art preserved in the region” where he was to speak (Wind 1939-1945).

At the invitation of the unorthodox Monroe Wheeler (MoMA’s exhibition director at that time), Wind went to the New York museum in the spring of 1942 to deliver five lectures on “The Tradition of Symbols in Modern Art”. This series – which began with “The Heritage of Baudelaire” and concluded with “Scientific and Religious Fallacies – ‘Our Present Discontents’” – was pioneering for its interpretation of contemporary art from an iconological perspective. Wind caused some controversy when he criticised the marginality of modern artistic experience and its irreversibly centrifugal nature (a critique that was to be the core of his famous 1960s Reith Lectures). For him, Picasso’s *Crucifixion* (based on Grünewald’s *Isenheim Altarpiece*) was exemplary of this process of marginalisation, just as much as Rouault’s portraits of Christ in comparison with the dead Christs painted by Mantegna or Holbein. The ebullient artistic society of New York of the 1940s – made up of “artists, scholars, writers, musicians, producers brought together by the hazardous circumstances of the time” (Wind, Harvey 1995) – hailed Wind’s lectures at the MoMA. However controversial (Meyer Schapiro once delivered a counter-lecture impromptu at a nearby cafe) (Gilbert 1988, 242), these conferences elicited exalted positive reactions. The New York intelligentsia was aghast with Wind, an unusual hybrid of erudition and provocative speculation. Glenway Wescott characterised the émigré scholar as “an oceanographer of the ocean of art”, whose perception of subjects would be ineffable to the common folk (Wescott, Wind 1942). Leo Liberthsen even insinuated a certain delight of Wind’s in provoking the contemporary sensibilities of his audience:

[I] could not help wondering whether the twinkle in the lecturer’s eye was not equally significant of something else; to wit, his awareness of the inability of the modern audience to face or accept all the implications inherent in the subject (Liberthsen, Wind 1942).

On 14 May 1942, Wind married Margaret Kellner, whom he had met in 1940. She worked initially as his assistant in New York, helping him produce a book on Italian art. After Wind’s death in 1971, Margaret became her husband’s literary executor. She was the driving force behind the organisation of his *Nachlass*, and also the keeper of his intellectual

legacy. In 1942, Wind also participated for some time in the editorial committee of the incipient Bollingen Foundation. This organisation would become famous not only for printing the complete works of C.G. Jung and Paul Valéry but also for publishing renowned authors associated with the symbolic tradition (such as Jean Seznec and Joseph Campbell) (McGuire 1989, 65). Wind even considered having his work on the religious symbolism of Michelangelo, which, at the time, he envisioned divided into three volumes, published with Bollingen (McGuire 1989, 45-48).

The recognition of the local intelligentsia was not, however, the major cause of Wind's peripateticism through the American landscape, but rather the propagation of the practices and academic principles of the Warburg Institute and the awareness-raising of its precarious position in England. After the invasion of France on 10 May 1940, Wind received a telegram from his Warburgian colleagues in London advising him to remain in the United States:

In the common interest advise you to stay in the states awaiting further developments if necessary, also next winter. Saxl Wittkower Bing. 1010AM (Saxl et al. 1940).

Wind was to repeat across the Atlantic the procedures carried out seven years before when he began the negotiations in England that would ultimately result in the relocation of the Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg (KBW) from Hamburg to London. According to the Warburg Institute Report of 1940, "Dr. Wind who was in America when war broke out continues his lecture tour there on behalf of the Warburg Institute. His aim is to form a Society of the American Friends of the Warburg" (Warburg Institute Report 1939-1940).

The result of Wind's activities was a joint proposal from the Library of Congress, the National Gallery of Art, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library (Bliss Collection), in the summer of 1940, to host and finance the Warburg Institute during the war (Wind, Simmons 1986). The then president of the Institute's advisory council, Lord Lee of Fareham, refused the offer. In his letter to Wind explaining the refusal, however, Lord Lee acknowledged that "it is largely due to your [Wind's] solicitude for the Institute that the offer was made, and to the reputation which you have

achieved for yourself that American interest in the Institute's work found expression in the invitation" (Lee, Wind 1940). In the Warburg Institute Report of 1940-1941, Saxl reiterated Fareham's evaluation, stating that the American offer would not have occurred "if the researches and teaching of its representative [Wind] in America were not so highly appreciated" (Warburg Institute Report 1940-1941). Wind, however, kept open the communication channels in the United States. In 1943, he wrote to Edward Warburg, noting: "In case the English fall, we shall have the choice between a number of institutions in this country, all of whom have expressed the desire to transfer the Warburg Institute to the United States and support it here" (Wind, Warburg 1942). A collateral result of Wind's actions was Saxl's strengthened position in the negotiations for the incorporation of the Warburg Institute by the University of London in 1944 (date in which when the one-decade funding provided by Sir Samuel Courtauld would cease). Wind also worked on behalf of the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* at that time, organising an edition with articles by American scholars and seeking funds for the periodical from the Rockefeller Foundation (Wind, Warburg 1942).

Such an intense activity, however, took its toll. After "three years of incessant travelling and propagating the [Warburgian] faith" (Wind, Saxl 1943), Wind felt tired. Although he wished "to come back to the Institute which, in [his] personal opinion, [he] had never left," he assumed a post in the Department of Art of the University of Chicago in October 1942 for an indefinite period. At that time, Wind also negotiated a contract with Columbia's Department of Philosophy and with the Harvard's Department of Fine Arts. The decision to go to the University of Chicago, however, gave rise to a series of disagreements that culminated in Wind's rupture with the Warburg Institute in 1945. For the Warburgians began to imply that Wind's new professorial position ratified his estrangement from the Institute, thus ignoring their plights while living comfortably in the United States. Wind, on the other hand, resented the way they referred to him in their letters, as if he were some deserter, accusing them of ignoring all the work he did on behalf of the Institute in the United States (see Bing, Wind 1942 and Wind, Saxl 1943). The appointment to the University of Chicago came from a former acquaintance, the American philosopher Richard McKeon. Wind wrote to him a year earlier, inquiring about the possibility of a professorial position at the institution (Zorach 2007, 198). Wind found

himself entering a hostile environment: a fierce factional war had just been triggered by the educational reform submitted by the President of the university, Robert M. Hutchins. The proposed restructuring incorporated a critical reaction to the departmentalisation, professionalisation, overspecialisation, and data analytical approach. Hutchins considered these tendencies not only deleterious but also rampant in American academia. The result, he judged, was the loss of critical density in university education. Wind arrived shortly after a tight decision in the university senate, where it was decided to institute a degree in “general education”, which brought about structural changes in the curricula of the Humanities. Wind first intended to remain neutral in this factious dispute. However, his co-optation for Committee on Social Thought’s executive board (led by the economic historian John U. Nef, henceforth his main ally in the university) and his pedagogical posture of a congenial hostility towards disciplinary divisions soon earned him the enmity of Hutchins’s opposition. By default, Wind joined one of the sides of the dispute. The animosities rose to such an extent that the émigré scholar was prevented from lecturing – as a representative of the Committee on Social Thought – on subjects like the Sistine ceiling or the paintings of Tiziano (Wind 1939-1945). Due to his German philosophical training, he was also seen by his opponents as an adept of the *Geistesgeschichte* (of which he was extremely critical). Besides that, his status as an enemy alien after the attack on Pearl Harbor certainly did not improve his reputation (Wind, Redford 1995). Wind’s partisanship, however, was anything but sceptical: he was not only an adherent of American pragmatic philosophy but somewhat adverse to the Great Books Program, which grounded Hutchins’s agitations and was led by many of Wind’s American colleagues, such as Scott Buchanan and Stringfellow Barr.

In summary, the Great Books Program aimed to provide access to the classical sources of Western knowledge considered exemplars of human thought. The inherent transdisciplinarity of these canonical works was understood as a corrective to the rampant overspecialisation of American academia. This *exemplarity*, however, was only correlative to its *perfection*, as the ideas contained in a particular work maintained supra-historical relations with other ideas, to the exclusion of their contingency aspects and the peripheral knowledge of works deemed inferior. The Great Books, therefore, emphasised critical access to methodologies of thought

rather than knowledge of specific content. Wind, while agreeing with the pedagogical proposal of direct access to literary sources, was both a reader of William James and a disciple of Aby Warburg. He was, consequently, theoretically averse to intellectual programs hostile to historical connections and which presupposed, albeit surreptitiously, a traditionalistic appeal to the literary canon (Zorach 2007, 197). Wind's pedagogical posture is best expressed by a proposal of "encyclopedic studies" which he referred to the Committee on Social Thoughts in July 1943. In this memorandum, Wind criticised the field opposed to Hutchins, stating that it is "only with the growth of departmentalism in scholarly studies that the courage to pursue the encyclopedic ideal diminishes and that the ideal has become suspect itself and finally 'unscientific'". He also noted that "the mortifying effect of this intellectual self-mutilation is increasingly felt and regretted" (Wind 1943). Wind's encyclopedic ideal presupposes access to the "unity" of knowledge only through its *circularity* and the reciprocal illumination of different areas. The myriad of academic disciplines orbited around a common epistemological nucleus; they should, therefore, refer to each other and make use of one another. The proposed encyclopedia, therefore, should not be a merely alphabetically organised tome, but a transversal and creative heuristic enterprise. It should promote a kind of circular thinking that did not neglect access to content. Therefore, among Wind's proposals for these "encyclopedic studies," there are titles such as "A History of Scientific Illustration (from Leonardo da Vinci to Darwin)" and "Iconography of the Seven Liberal Arts" (Wind 1943).

The truest source of tension for Wind at the University of Chicago was his relationship with McKeon and with the stringent course he wanted Wind to teach, *Humanities II*. As an administrator, McKeon accumulated positions and responsibilities, and the hierarchical and doctrinal structure of the Division of Humanities commanded by the philosopher soon provoked Wind's dissatisfaction, for he judged it to be autocratic and, worse, inept. The tension between the two escalated, and Wind threatened to resign from the university in October 1943. Hutchins dissuaded him, however (Hutchins, Wind 1943). There followed an ill-fated legal action brought by Wind and two other teachers in 1944, aimed at limiting McKeon's powers. In mid-1944, Wind applied for a license from the University of Chicago, to which he would no longer return. A letter from Wind to McKeon in October

1942, in which he objects to *Humanities II*, is expressive of the differences between the two intellectuals. In this missive, Wind criticises a conception of humanistic studies blind to the theoretical inquiries about their nature (i.e., a kind of humanistic *hypotheses non fingo*); the refusal of history while, at the same time, reinforcing its authority through the memorisation of data (e.g., dates of events); a pedagogical methodology focussed on a kind of umbrella exegesis, impervious to the particular needs of each reading (Wind, McKeon 1942). Due to his profound aversion to the conceptual split between form and content, Wind also refused to teach a course called "Introduction to the Literary and Philosophical Interpretation of Art", a counterpart to "Introduction into the Formal Interpretation of Art" (Wind 1942-1944).

His characterisation of the Italian Renaissance as one among the various periods of cultural revivalism also seems to contain a critique of McKeon's positions. For Wind states that "the common characteristic of these revivals is that the revolt against a given tradition is coupled with the attempt to re-instate an older, supposedly more 'genuine' tradition so that revolution and restitution go hand in hand. To trace the manner in which the traditional and novel features interpenetrate and reinforce each other is the central problem of Renaissance studies" (Wind 1943-1944). Such a conception of the Renaissance opposed the rationalists' point of view, according to which the period overcame medieval superstition and restituted a more "genuine" literary and philosophical tradition. Wind also taunted:

However, the student of this field will be expected to understand the import of this problem not only in general philosophical terms but to study it in a particular historical manifestation (Wind 1943-1944).

During his intellectual career, Wind would continually retort to the astringent partisans of historiographical method and rationalism that *hypotheses non fingo* is a fallacy of scientific abstractionism. The currents of the irrational permeate to such a degree human cultural manifestations that systematic/structural methodologies do nothing but skim their surface, for the expressive forms obey, in their formation, the symbolic polarity observed by Wind in his article on Warburg of 1931 (Wind 1931, 163-179). "In the centre of any good symbol there is an opaque core which

will not yield to rational analysis”, Wind would write in 1950, “although around this core translucent images may be grouped which draw from it their strength and denseness” (Wind 1950, 349). This understanding of a perpetual aporia in the interpretation of symbols, from which a large parcel of its heuristic vitality derives, can even undermine the rational assumptions inherent to abstract methodologies. These, if dogmatic, must be based on an axiomatic principle that ultimately requires a “faith,” conscious or unconscious. Wind’s material eye seems to speak from a superior position when he contrasts the purist security of the distant and “scientific” observer with the notion of heuristic activity as unstable and insecure, in which tentative truths are found at the end, not at the beginning. In a letter to McKeon, where Wind criticises the pedagogical lines of *Humanities II* and the need for a theoretical detachment in humanistic studies, he states:

Yet one of the most essential lessons to be taught to young people in the humanities is that they cannot proceed without taking the risk of certain commitments, and the adventurous part of the study is to discover what these risks are (Wind, McKeon 1942).

Wind’s failing relationship with McKeon, aggravated by a profound pneumonia crisis that hospitalised him for months in 1943 (a period in which, according to Wind, McKeon acted exceptionally unethically), made him take a temporary leave of absence from Chicago at the beginning of 1944. Wind then accepted an invitation from Herbert Davis, president of the Smith College, to assume the William Allan Neilson Research Professorship for the fall term. Such a position, in an exclusively female liberal arts college, required little dedication from its incumbent. The news sent by the Warburgians in London at the time informed Wind of the final incorporation of the Institute by the University of London (Saxl, Wind 1944). These developments implied sufficient political and financial stability for Wind to abandon the American front and resume his role in England. Smith College extended Wind’s professorship to one-year, thus allowing him sufficient time to prepare his return to England. He was expecting to return as Deputy Director with the promise of assuming the directorate after Saxl’s retirement^[3]. In reaction to these events, Wind officially resigned his position at the University of Chicago in October 1944 (Wind, Hutchins 1944). After a constant epistolary exchange between

Wind and Saxl during the first half of 1945, they finally reunited in mid-June, first in New York and then in Northampton. At these meetings, they discussed four main subjects: Wind's professorial position and salary in London, the proposal for an encyclopedia to be organised by the Warburg Institute with American support, Wind's publications and the future of the Institute (Wind, Saxl 1945).

Shortly after this reunion, Wind expressed his displeasure with Saxl in a letter to Bing. Haunted by his colleague's manners and attitudes, Wind was perplexed: "He has changed remarkably little. [...] It seemed as if the intervening six years had not existed. I can't quite understand it, for these years must have changed both him and me immeasurably. I know that they have changed me and that I have grown very much older. But he looks to me not a day older than when I saw him last"; in this regard, he added – perfidiously – that Saxl: "seemed a tiny little bit deaf toward arguments which did not quite suit his preconceived plans, and changed the subject whenever they occurred; but this will not deter me from presenting them to him" (Wind, Bing 1945). Profoundly dissatisfied with the meeting, Wind sent a letter to Saxl on 9 July informing the Viennese scholar that he would not return to London, adding that the fundamental differences between the two prevented future collaborations (Wind, Saxl 1945). Therefore, Wind officially broke ties with the Warburg Institute at the end of 1945. The official reason was his disagreement with Saxl's project for an encyclopedia of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance modelled on the *Pauly-Wissowa*. That was the reason why the Viennese art historian went to the United States in the first place, for he expected to establish a transatlantic academic collaboration and secure some American funding. Saxl also expected Wind to captain the project after his retirement, a prospect that the latter abhorred.

Wind himself, however, had proposed a series of encyclopedic studies for the Committee on Social Thought. One must consider – thus ignoring a possible hypocrisy of his – that his fears were of a more deep-rooted, stemming from profound epistemological divergences he had with the director of the Warburg Institute. Regarding the encyclopedias proposed by Saxl, he asserted that these, "instead of leading to the sources, [...] have a tendency to supplant them", adding that the "*Pauly-Wissowa* should be a warning rather than a model. Ever since this wonderful instrument

became available, classical studies have been on the decline” (Wind, Bing 1945). Nevertheless, what Wind feared most was the encyclopedia as lexicography, that is, the indexing of facts and sources that would ultimately restrain creative access to original documents by imposing a cataloguing authority, which merely remits. This sentinel placed at the garden doors opposed the classical-renaissance ideal of “cyclical education” (gr. Ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία), the basis for Wind’s research on the iconographic program of the *School of Athens*.

Wind’s interpretation of the typological structure of the Raphaelite fresco presupposed the orientation of the program by a humanist close to the artist, whom he believed to be Celio Calcagnini. Heir to the philosophy of the *princeps concordiae*, Pico della Mirandola, Calcagnini would have proposed a composition that expressed both Mirandola’s *Concordia Platonis et Aristotelis* and the encyclopedic ideal as conceived by Renaissance humanists. According to Wind, the encyclopaedism of the period was a supplementation and antidote to scholastic hierarchical formalism. The sciences should be reorganised in an innovative fashion, one in which the vast expanse of learning engendered by the Renaissance frenzy remained linked to the Ancient presupposition of a spherical unity of knowledge. The many sciences – dots interconnected around the same sphere – would in this dialogue confront their own principles and illuminate each other. The historian of religion, who investigates the nature of the Trinity, should require the assistance of the theologian, who in his turn needs to consult the geometer, the algebraist and so on. The student, therefore, who began his studies in a relatively circumscribed province of knowledge, finds himself obliged to incorporate different knowledge and, due to the interconnected nature of the procedure, illuminates them reciprocally in their course. From this perspective, the dialectical disposition of the groups depicted in the *School of Athens* must be understood in their final circular articulation. Its fundamental conflict, the Platonic specular unity in opposition to the Aristotelian knowable multiplicity, is radiated through the marginal debaters, thus ensuring, when the intuition of its globality is reached, the fresco’s harmonic resolution. Each philosophical current maintains its autonomous value while being, concomitantly, subsumed in a hybrid harmony: for the enthusiast under Apollo becomes a rationalist, and the rationalist under the aegis of Athens morphs into an inspired being.

The inseparability between form and content, however, brings us once more to the encyclopedic divergences of Wind and Saxl. If the *School of Athens* is considered a great work, argues Wind, it is not merely on the basis of a “great idea” (Wind [1963] 1985, 49ff). Its conception required a pictorial genius like that of Raphael, able to harmonise the plethora of meaning proposed in a way that does not ground the energetic vivacity of the contenders, which traverses the image as a high-tension cable. Wind regarded this articulation between order and variation, between figuration and meaning, to be of such a high degree that he suggested to the student of Italian Renaissance philosophy the *School of Athens* as a guide to its labyrinthine meanderings (Wind [1963] 1985, 59ff. Moreover, he argued, if Rafael distinguishes himself from other pedagogical painters by his capacity for the harmonious integration of multiple elements, this was based by his transgressive propensities rather by his stringent adherence to rules. Concerning the partial affiliation of Raphael to the idealising abstraction of the Ciceronians, Wind stated that “his innate purism (if the phrase be permitted) was attracted to their cult of abstract perfection. But his curiosity supplied an antidote of intellectual vagrancy and adventure, which led him to explore the composite and the scholastic”. He also noticed that: “there were moments in Raphael’s development when his style wavered between the academic and the capricious [...] But in 1509, when Raphael began painting the Stanza della Segnatura, he held these forces in perfect balance” (Wind 1954).

For Wind, such a transgressive attitude – one which engaged creative faculties – was also necessary for academic enterprises. In his view, every intellectual project demands risk if they are to be worthy and fruitful. When Wind questioned Saxl’s project, he noticed that it would have to “mobilise all the forces available, with the result that the energies, particularly of the younger generation, which ought to be free for constructive research and produce new results, would be channelled into the unconstructive labour of compiling, and that for a period of at least two decades” (Wind, Bing 1945). In such a way, “if [Saxl’s] plan were to succeed, it would reduce a whole generation of scholars into compilers” (Wind, Clark 1948).

It may be objected, however, that the epistemological divergences between Wind and Saxl could be resolved, that they express only the “official”

reason for a more ingrained antagonism. Although the theoretical-methodological dissent of these two individuals – who devoted themselves to intellectual investigations even in the face of serious political turmoil that would have touched less obstinate personalities – cannot be dismissed as a flimsy justification, the fact is that Wind also opposed financial policies of the Institute and his future position in it. His criticism precedes the tension emerging in 1945 and goes back to the state of the institution after the German financial crisis of the 1920s. In this period, according to Wind, the Institute mixed in a confused way the functions of a humanistic research centre with those of an institution of academic charity (assisting financially unstable scholars). Judging that the Institute's demands on its associates were far superior to its financial returns, Wind accused Saxl and Bing of intellectual larceny:

By your ambiguous and self-deceptive policy in these matters, both you and Saxl have substantially contributed to the increase of the intellectual proletariat. And in my opinion this is a crime (Wind, Bing 1945).

Wind wanted, roughly speaking, a compact and extremely proficient group – grounded, for example, in a Wind-Seznec-Wittkower triad – rather than an oscillation of diverse academics, a “floating population”. Wind described the problems of this model to Bing as:

The old policy of minimum salaries for those who work, little pittances here and there for those who suffer, and lucrative gifts for those who visit, is to be continued in the old style (Wind, Bing 1945).

Another key issue for Wind was his future position at the Institute. Although formerly its Deputy Director, he was then faced with the possibility of becoming a mere aggregated scholar:

I must also confess that I was shocked by the disclosure, as unexpected as the academic pigeon-holes, that the post of Deputy-Director has been abolished without telling me a word, and that you have resumed your old role under a new name (Wind, Bing 1945).

In his view, the hierarchical structure proposed by Saxl and Bing violated the collegial nature of the Institute. It also placed him in a situation of

hierarchical inferiority that he deemed unjust and unworthy. Wind's salary was also a point of contention: he would receive less than half of what Smith College had paid him (\$ 8,000 per year) (Wind, Bing 1945). Wind considered such a reduction an unreasonable sacrifice, thus comparing Saxl to "an old-clothes dealer who tries to find out what is the cheapest price at which I will sell him my suit. I have therefore forced him to make the one decent offer which he should have made from the beginning, and then told him that I was too disgusted to accept it" (Wind, Wittkower 1945). In an energetic letter sent to Wittkower in June 1945, in which he flatly asserted that he would no longer be returning to London, Wind attributed to Saxl and Bing "rotten instincts" (Wind, Wittkower 1945). He also speculated that, in the case of his return, "there would be incessant friction and since I do not have your [Wittkower's] patience, it would lead to a row of such proportions that it would be damaging to all of us. I want neither a row, nor do I want to be an accomplice. So, there is no choice but to stay out; which is the only decent form of protest that I happen to have at my disposal" (Wind, Wittkower 1945).

Wind accused Saxl and Bing of intellectual and moral dishonesty. This kind of assertion burned the bridges between him and the Warburg Institute. Notwithstanding Wind's strong condemnation – and despite his paranoid tendencies and bitterness – Saxl did, in fact, believe he was the scholar most qualified to be the next director. "There is nobody except you (and perhaps Gombrich) who has ever been touched by Warburg's personality and understood what he meant by founding the Institute", wrote Saxl to Wind in March 1943, "but the Institute as a centre of Kulturwissenschaft in Warburg's sense will collapse without you. I think I need hardly say these things; you are as much aware of them as I am. But the form which your collaboration will take depends, of course, on you. I have also often told you in the past that I am burning to retire" (Saxl, Wind 1943a). In a draft of a letter sent to Max Warburg in August 1943, Saxl commented on Wind's possible wage and suggested that he could seek another wage for himself since the Institute's budget (£10,000) was not able to afford two large salaries (his and Wind's). The final version of the letter, even if omitting this salary issue, commented on the issue of Saxl's succession, noting not only that he was exhausted, but that "Wind who has had experience in Germany, in France, in England, and in the United States is the ideal director for an international institution as ours has always been, and I

know that he still regards the Institute as his spiritual home. Whatever happens, we must have him” (Saxl, Wind 1943b). In his response in late November, Max Warburg refused to conceive of Saxl’s retirement: “I write too, to tell you that your idea to work less for the Institute than up to now is impossible and can never be carried out as long as I am living”. Max did not trust Wind, and in another letter to Saxl one year later, he stated: “Panofsky is egotistical and thinks only of his own interests and Wind is not reliable. He is what I call a windhund. I do not say that they should be totally ignored, but anyhow they do not merit special consideration” (Warburg, Wind 1944). On the same day, Max also wrote to his son, Eric Warburg, denigrating Wind and counselling him not to “give this man a position of influence in the Warburg Institute. His manners are really too bad and you cannot rely on him” (Warburg, Warburg 1944). Eric shared his father’s opinion, and in a letter to Bing in January 1946, in which he commented on Wind’s refusal to pay some money that he allegedly owed the Institute, Eric described him as egocentric and insensitive to the difficulties faced by the institution (Warburg, Bing 1946). As for Wind, he abominated this branch of the Warburg family, portraying Eric as “detestable”, and Max, whom he “disliked profoundly,” as “foolish and arrogant”, noting, in particular, his terrible judgment in political affairs (Wind, Grange 1969).

Wind’s disagreement with Max Warburg has motives both superficial and profound. Regarding the encyclopedia, the criticisms of Saxl’s project were ultimately based on a perceived oversimplification of the philosophical nature of all academic endeavours (see Rampley 2001, xxv ff.). In the case of his position at the Warburg Institute, a dispute over remuneration was compounded by sharp disagreements as to the Institute’s financial attitude, for Wind felt that Saxl and Bing managed it in an almost criminal fashion. Wind’s letters of this period, however, reveal another issue, more overarching. When he criticised Saxl’s encyclopedia, Wind accused his elder colleague of conventionality and of lacking the courage to be “an intellectual outcast [...] which [...] is today the only honourable position” (Wind, Bing 1945). He added that “if this tendency of Saxl’s prevails, the moment may come when the Warburg Institute is no longer the most suitable place for developing Warburg’s methods and ideas” (Wind, Bing 1945). The “ghost” of his mentor was a constant source of concern for Wind, and Warburg’s *Nachlass* haunted him as an authentic *Nachleben*. It

is difficult to assess the extent to which Wind's later writings stems from Warburg's legacy since the former rarely quotes the latter. However, if we evaluate the range of Wind's Warburgian heritage not by mere conceptual emulation, but by the perspective of incorporation and transgression, it is possible that his silence in this matter reveals, paradoxically, the presence of Warburg. In this regard, Wind's *œuvre* is a reference to his mentor: the title of the work that secured Wind's reputation, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, was only formulated thanks to the opening of intellectual horizons promoted by Warburg.

It is in Wind's personal documents that the "immense intellectual debt" (Wind, Warburg 1946) that he felt he owed to Aby Warburg is explicitly stated. In a poignant letter to Sez nec written in August 1954, Wind describes the relationship between the two in the most intimate terms. In a crossed-out sentence, for example, he states that Warburg treated him "non seulement comme élève mais comme fils" (Wind, Sez nec 1954). Wind also states that: "Dans nos conversations régulières et très étendues il m'a fait voir et comprendre des phénomènes étranges dont aucun autre de mes maîtres n'a jamais parlé" (Wind, Sez nec 1954). He even recalled that he had been called one afternoon to Warburg's office. Finding the older scholar in a good mood and willing to chatter, Wind asked him what the true subject of that conversation was. Warburg then replied: "C'est simple. J'avais toujours peur de mourir, et vous savez pourquoi. Mais depuis que vous êtes dans cette bibliothèque, je n'ai plus peur; je sais que tout ira bien quand je serai parti" (Wind, Sez nec 1954). Warburg passed away a month later, in late November 1929. In an entry on the KBW's *Tagebuch* a few days before his death, Warburg states: "mit Wind weithin blickende Männerworte geredet" (Warburg, Bing, Saxl 2001, 553).

Warburg held Wind in high regard. Mentions to the latter in the *Tagebuch* are often positive: "Herr Wind ist eine Denktupe bester Sorte" (Warburg, Bing, Saxl 2001, 104) or "sehr intensiv die anknüpfenden Probleme der Philosophie besprochen, wobei sich Edgar Wind immer mehr als Vordenker und Zurechtordner ausweist" (Warburg, Bing, Saxl 2001, 546). Other members of the School of Hamburg reinforced the view of Wind as a sort of intellectual heir to Aby Warburg. Saxl, for example, thought that Wind was Warburg's best interpreter. On the other hand, Panofsky in 1939 defined his former student as "certainly the one man who has developed

the ideas of the late Professor Warburg in an entirely independent spirit and is able to carry them on in a most stimulating form” (Panofsky, Boas 1939, 219). The fact that Wind judged himself Warburg’s natural successor, coupled with his propensity to overwhelming criticism, would result in what would be his last published writing, a review of Gombrich’s intellectual biography of Warburg. Considered by many to be a baleful critique, aimed purely at demolishing him, Wind accuses Gombrich of fundamental misunderstandings of Warburg’s life and style. In addition to that, he also railed against his ignorance of fundamental theoretical issues. This text, however, is ultimately a critical testament by Wind, one that goes beyond academic analysis and his very personal dislike of Gombrich. It is above all a criticism of the Warburg Institute as a whole, recalling previous quarrels while exposing unexplored possibilities. Wind’s death shortly after the publication of this review made it a Parthian shot, unanswerable⁽⁴⁾.

A series of minor strifes followed the rupture between Wind and the Warburg Institute. Wind later accused some of the Institute’s members of plagiarism, challenged his alleged financial debts and demanded the transfer of his books and documents. He had left those to the care of the Institute when he left for the United States in 1939. This request soon escalated juridically. After the death of the archaeologist Henri Frankfort in 1954, who succeeded Saxl after Gombrich’s demise in 1948, Wind made one last attempt at reinstatement. He wrote to Bing, expressing his condolences and asking if his candidacy was appropriate (Wind, Bing 1954). A neutral response by Bing followed with a disparaging conclusion: “I am wondering whether or not there are such things as irreversible processes” (Bing, Wind 1954). Wind’s decision in 1945 not to return to England and to break ties with the Institute involved a profound abdication: that meant refusing Warburg’s request to take care of the library and being away from British bibliographic and artistic collections (as well as the easy access to continental Europe). In the following years, Wind would have to sustain himself intellectually with the more modest resources of local libraries – with the notable exception of Harvard’s collections – and with his books.

Appendix of the Warburg-Kreis correspondence

**May 21, 1940 | Fritz Saxl, Rudolph Wittkower, and Gertrud Bing to
Edgar Wind**

Telegram, May 21, 1940

In the common interest advise you to stay in the states awaiting further developments if necessary also next winter. Saxl Wittkower Bing. 1010AM.

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1).

December 24, 1940 | Lord Lee of Fareham to Edgar Wind

24th December 1940

Dear Dr. Wind,

As Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Warburg Institute I wish to thank you most sincerely for your efforts in the United States on behalf of the Institute. The Board have asked me to express their special appreciation of the part which you played in connection with the invitation to the Institute which reached us from Washington. They realise that it is largely due to your solicitude for the Institute that the offer was made, and to the reputation which you have achieved for yourself that American interest in the Institute's work found expression in the invitation. We therefore feel that we owe you an explanation for our refusal, which we had reluctantly to give. You will understand that we cannot shoulder the risk involved in sending our valuable collections across the ocean at the present time, and also that it would, as Sir Robert Witt pointed out, not be advisable to compromise the future, which we all hope the Institute will have in this country, by sending them abroad while the legal implications are not at all clear.

This, however, has nothing to do with the satisfaction which we feel at the establishment of such a valuable contact with American scholars and institutions which we hope will augur well for the future.

With good wishes and renewed thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Lee of Fareham

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1).

April 27, 1942 | Gertrud Bing to Edgar Wind

27th April 1942

My dear Edgar,

I have been wanting to write to you for a very long time, ever since we got your messages regarding your appointment at Chicago and your various letters following it. We read them all with one weeping and one laughing eye, the reasons for which I need not explain. It is, I feel, a very momentous development, and I hope it will all work out in the best possible manner. It is a great thing for us to have you on such a post, and I hope you will enjoy the large opportunities for research and teaching that Chicago affords. You hold out a very pleasant prospect for the Institute too, and if things work out as you now visualize it will be a great chance for Saxl and Wittkower and the students that the Institute might have after the war.

I do not know whether anybody has written to you about the arrangement with Sir Allen Mawer. He did not hesitate to say that he himself did not see the slightest objection to your remaining on the teaching staff of University College, but that he wanted to put the question before his Committee before he gave a definite and formal answer in writing. It seems, however, that there will be no difficulties in arranging this matter. On the other hand, you must allow me to say that I feel very very sorry that we shall have to forgo the constant and steady collaboration with you to which Saxl and I had been looking forward, and I may even say for which we had been longing to be re-established after the war. I cannot imagine the future of the Institute to be quite as satisfactory as we had all hoped, without your presence.

I personally feel your absence more than I care to tell you, and even when I try to realize all the advantages that will certainly grow out of a transatlantic collaboration, I feel deprived of a large bit of my personal happiness.

As it is, I try to do without all that our friendship had meant for me, just as one has to do without certain other amenities in war time, but it is very sad to think that it will not be easily re-established when peace comes. I cannot even quite explain to you why your absence from the Institute seems so particularly regrettable to me apart from the personal side,

because this has to do with certain developments here which do not seem very satisfactory to me, may be you will guess them, but you would have to see for yourself in order to understand the situation. It is no use my writing any more about it, because in the first place you could not help, and secondly you never know what the future may have in store and whether some of the things that worry me now may not be counter-acted later when things become normal again and more of our former collaborators will again be available for work at the Institute. In any case I am very pleased that we agree about the desirability of the Institute remaining in this country. I very hope that nothing will prevent this plan being realized.

The reason why I did not tell you all this when or shortly after the news of your appointment reached us, is that I have been trying to arrange your personal matters here in a way that would best serve your interests and those of the Institute, and at the same time not impose any hardships on your aunt and Miss Greenway. This took quite a long time, many ideas came up and were dropped, and it now seems that if I have as I hope, succeeded in the first part, I have not quite succeeded in avoiding to hurt the feelings of the two old ladies a little. If that is the case, I hope you will believe me that I tried my best and that any ill-feeling that may have risen is not entirely due to my lack of consideration of them, but also a little to their own entirely unrational behaviour. I will spare you the long tale of the conversations and correspondence which I had with them and with Mr. Lurion. The outcome was that although I had tried to avoid a panic, they in the end decided to leave the house at about a fortnight's notice which of course would not at all have been necessary. But I now hear that they are quite satisfactorily and I hope happily installed in the quarters which they left when they joined you, and that Heidi has taken 28, Westmoreland Road and found apparently very nice tenants for the ground-floor rooms. This means that from the 1st of May onwards the Institute will not be responsible for the expenses connected with it. It also means that Heidi will keep your furniture with the exception of the books, which, as you know, are partly stored at the Imperial Institute and partly in use at the Lea. It will, therefore, not be necessary either to move or to store your furniture, and it will be properly looked after.

There are only two of your liabilities on the continuation or discontinuation of which I should like to have your opinion, i.e. your life insurance and your commitment in respect of the Society for Protection of Science and Learning. These amount to £4.10.0 per month which up till now have automatically been paid by the Bank from out of your aunt's contribution to the household. Please tell me what you wish me to do about those two payments. I enclose two forms in respect of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning which you will have to sign and return. As regards last year's claim, you will see that I tried to sign for you, but the Collector of Income Tax would not acknowledge it. I also-enclose for your information-a statement of the expenses which the Institute paid for you during the last two and a half years; perhaps you do not want to be bothered with it, but perhaps you want to see it. I feel very annoyed that you should have had any difficulties with our friend Eric. I can imagine that you will be pleased to get rid of the necessity to have any financial dealings with him.

Your criticism of our Annual Report belongs, I am afraid, to those things which can only be dealt with by word of mouth. If I were less deeply convinced of its quality it would be quite easy for us to brush it aside in view of the impression which the Report made in this country, and I do think a little of the divergences between your attitude and ours may be put down to the fact that we have been living under abnormal conditions for two years and that during part of the time it has been extremely difficult to go on working at all. This certainly also explains the measure of success which the activities of the Institute have had over here; but I hope you know me well enough to believe that nothing frightens me more than the idea of easy success due to the lowering of our standards, and in that respect your criticism has certainly struck home with Saxl and me. I also feel that we may have made mistakes in what we said regarding our American connections. On the other hand, I am sorry that you did not give more particulars in your letter about what we should and should not have mentioned. The instances that you gave can, I feel, be argued away, and I am afraid that you omitted mentioning some of your more essential objections, probably out of consideration for our feelings. We had, moreover, some very kind letters regarding the Report from friends in America, and Krautheimer, whose opinion you mentioned in your later letter to Wittkower, is very often according to my experience a little apt to

agree with whom he talks at the time. But please do not think that we want to make things too easy for ourselves. Your letter, even if it hurt when we got it, has certainly had the effect of making both Saxl and me more alert and more wary of the mistakes which we may be liable to make under present conditions.

I am afraid this letter may sound very vague to you – it cannot be helped. If you still know us as you used to do you may be able to read between the lines. But the effect of such a protracted separation, without *much* correspondence, and the entire loss of personal contact with things as they happen and personalities as they develop is bound to result in misunderstandings (and long sentences such as this one are bound to fall out of gear).

Life at the moment is very much easier than it was last year. The weather is lovely, and our country residence is looking its best. We are all busy working in the garden in our spare time, and besides making us independent of green-grocers and nurserymen this had a very good effect on the team spirit and general temper of the community. The internal affairs of the Institute are not quite as neglected as you seemed to believe. An enormous amount of arrears are being brought up to date, and in the matter of cataloguing and pressmarking the thousands of books that were shelved over since 1933, Buchtal is the new broom that sweeps well. Time will show whether he will prove of the same durable [...] as Meier. I doubt it. I am now working on something entirely out of my line – illustrations of the Apocalypse, in connection with a paper on the Welcome ms. which Saxl is preparing for the journal. I happen to be quite successful at it, and am feeling quite amused of at taking a leaf out of Panofsky's book. I have also been working on Warburg's Atlas, and have arrived at a stage where I need much criticism and some help in fixing the material down to make sense as a book. This will be this summer's job for both Saxl and me, and I hope Saxl's collaboration will be a guarantee of its being done within a limited period. At any rate it is understood that the Atlas must have appeared by the time our present arrangement expires. The schedule was fixed before your letter arrived but your admonition helped to make Saxl realise that now was the time for him to take a hand in it. I do not dare suggesting the material should be sent to you when it nears its final shape – I cannot quite imagine that it will be possible for you to devote the necessary time

and concentration on it let alone the difficulties of communication. But if you think it can be done no one would be happier than I.

I also think that under the new understanding – that you will remain one of us while building up an existence quite apart from what will be happening to us – we should keep up a regular correspondence. But even this minimum is hard to reach. I promise to reply elaborately whenever you write, but I cannot promise to write without regard to the echo from your side. It is impossible to talk into a void without being able to visualize the probable reaction to what one says. This very letter proves how unsatisfactory it is. You will probably feel my diffidence in every word of it. Still – very much love and do not despair of us.

Yours as always,
Gertrud Bing

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1).

June 13, 1942 | Edgar Wind to Eric M. Warburg

13th June 1942

Dear Mr. Warburg,

Since I know heavy demands are being made on your time and since I myself am about to leave New York, I would like to put down in writing the conclusions we reached in our last conversation about the Warburg Institute.

In the first place, let me repeat that by the end of the year 1943 all commitments of the Warburg Family toward the Institute are concluded. It will be then for the English sponsor to show whether they are willing and able to take over the support of the Institute in its entirety. In case they do (and I personally believe they will make every effort), I shall try to persuade institutions in this country to establish a sister Institute on the same model so that the type of research initiated by your uncle will be as fully represented in America as in England.

In case the English fall, we shall have the choice between a number of institutions in this country, all of whom have expressed the desire to transfer the Warburg Institute to the United States and support it here. You will remember that Francis Taylor outlined a plan of this sort in your

presence; but when we left him, I took the occasion to tell you that, in addition to the Metropolitan Museum, the National Gallery in Washington and the University of Chicago each independently of the other, had expressed a similar interest. In fact, the National Gallery, in conjunction with the Library of Congress and the Bliss Collection at Dumbarton Oaks, had already issued a formal invitation to the Warburg Institute which, as they told me, they were prepared to repeat at any time. My own appointment in Chicago was also attended by very specific expressions of interest in this direction, since Richard McKeon, the dean of the Division of Humanities, who watched the development of the Institute for many years and is possibly better informed than any other scholar in America about the scope and method of our research.

In view of all of these facts, I can once again assure you that by the end of 1943 the unbelievable situation will arise that the Warburg Institute will cease to be a financial worry to your family. Unfortunately, until that date, close though it is, the worry remains, and to put it quite plainly (I know you will forgive my crudities), the worry amounts to 4000 or 5000 £, that is, between \$16,000 or \$20,000 at the present rate of exchange, I need not tell you that the Institute is struggling very hard at this moment, continuing its publications and exhibitions in spite of the rising costs of printing, etc. You know best how greatly this work is appreciated both in England and here, and you will feel with me that it would be a great tragedy if, because of the inability to raise the limited and final sum I have mentioned, the Institute would have to fall below its standards just before reaching its goal. I know that you will not want this to happen.

With many kind regards and all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

[EW]

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1).

March 19, 1943 | Fritz Saxl to Edgar Wind

19th March 1943

Dear Edgar,

I want to keep you informed about the things which are happening here to secure the future of the Institute.

The matter has been taken up by our Board, and particularly by Lord Lee and Clark (with the help of Mr. Courtauld). The President of the Board of Education has been approached, and the present plan is that we should be affiliated to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Maclagan is in favour of this plan. I was asked to see the President twice, once alone and once together with Maclagan and Clark; and we now have to wait for further developments.

There are many pros and contras in this plan, but as there is no hope of Mr. Courtauld continuing his contributions this seems to me to be a solution which, if offered, we could accept.

I have of course from the beginning made it clear that you are an essential part of the Institute, and Maclagan and Clark realize this. And you know from all the talks which we have had in the past how I personally feel about this. I remember so well the two of us pacing down the long corridor in the Imperial Institute. There is nobody except you (and perhaps Gombrich) who has ever been touched by Warburg's personality and understood what he meant by founding the Institute, what he meant by saying things like "dass der primitive Mensch den inneren Masstab beibringt für das was in der sog. höhen Kultur als scheinbar aesthetischer Vorgang dargestellt zu werden pfllegt".

Wittkower, Buchthal, Demus, Kurz, are excellent (Wittkower gave a lecture the other day on Michelangelo as architect which was the perfect model of history of art). But the Institute as a centre of Kulturwissenschaft in Warburg's sense will collapse without you. I think I need hardly say these things; you are as much aware of them as I am. But the form which your collaboration will take depends, of course, on you. I have also often told you in the past that I am burning to retire. I have been with the Institute for thirty years, and this is an unhealthy state of affairs. I am wearing out, and at the moment I am inclined to produce more and more outside activities; but I want to be able to concentrate on my old astrological stuff. In a few years' time I shall try to get a small pension for Bing and myself so that finance should not force us to retain our present positions very much longer - this is of course as little settled as the whole future of this Institute. But I felt I had to tell you all these things, and I hope I shall hear from you what you think about them.

Needless to say, I'm doing my best to preserve the autonomy of the Institute, and also its budget which I am trying to fix at £10,000. Would you mind addressing your letter (or letters) on this subject to 162, East Dulwich Grove, London, S.E. 22?

Yours ever,
Fritz

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

April 10, 1943 | Edgar Wind to Fritz Saxl

My dear Fritz,

Thank you very much for your letter. I was delighted to get it, especially as I am at present in the University Hospital trying to recover from some after-effects of pneumonia. Please don't be frightened by this news. I am definitely on the way to recovery.

The proposal to become affiliated with the V. and A. Mus. [Victoria and Albert Museum] and the B. of E. [Board of Education] sounds to me excellent. Naturally, there are pros and cons to every proposal and from the distance it is even more difficult to judge than from nearby. But it seems to me that this is the type of plan we had always hoped for. Will the funds come from the V. and A. and the B. of E. combined, or only from one of these agencies? The combined form would appear to me preferable. However, beggars cannot be choosers.

The words you said about me I can reciprocate in every line. That you know, and I do not need to stress it. I would like nothing better than to come back to the Institute which, in my personal opinion, I have never left. My entire work here has been done for the Institute and with the Institute in mind, even so obviously that some of our good friends (I need not mention them) periodically accused me of being a fool and jeopardizing my own chances. For this very reason it was very painful – when after three years of incessant travelling and propagating the faith, I felt it beyond my strength to continue in this particular form and found it also against the interests of the Institute to repeat the same pattern for too long – it was very painful when I changed the position and associated myself with an institution from where I could continue in work in safety, to receive letters from you, from Bing, and from Wittkower which gloomily suggested that

this was an act of desertion, and to be sent at the same time letters from the Warburgs in which both you and Bing bemoan “the loss of Wind”.

Well, that is past, and as you see, I am not lost. I would think our best method of procedure would be to see whether and how it will work out while I stand by and keep things ready on this side in case anything should go wrong. (One never can tell). As you know, I would think it far more advisable for the Institute to remain in London than to enter into any new adventures. But I don't think we should fear them if they become necessary.

As for myself, you know that I have always liked living in England, and liked it far better than anything else. Therefore I should be delighted if matters could be so arranged that I can stay with you during the whole year. On the other hand, I shall soon be (as you know) a man of 43; as you also know, though I have never spoken about it, I am married. This implies that my total upkeep might be a considerable burden to the Institute, and I don't want that for my sake anyone else should suffer. It might be necessary therefore to make such an arrangement that I stay half of the year or 3/4 of the year in London, and supplement my needs for the rest of the year over here. Again, you will understand that I should prefer it differently if the budget of the Institute permits; for it is not good to live persistently on too many continents at the same time. However, here too we should do what the situation demands and we had best decide this question when your budget is settled.

I have complete freedom on this side to stay, to leave, or to reduce the period of my activity to half a year. The Pres. of the University, Robert Hutchins, is a man of singular intelligence, imagination and daring, very young for his post (just 43), and for reasons which he declares he knows, one of the most loyal, enthusiastic and far-sighted supporters I have had in this country. He has acted in critical situations in an exemplary manner. I shall tell you the details when I see you for it is difficult to write about them. Without having seen me very often, he is convinced that I am one of the most valuable members of his faculty, and has been very vocal on the subject. There is another man here, this time a really close friend on whom I can rely and who is, at the same time, a friend of Hutchins. His name is John U. Nef and he is Professor of Economic History. As for McKeon,

through whom I thought I had been appointed here (which may or may not be true), he has been extremely ambiguous ever after my arrival here and our collaboration has not been too successful, a development which is of no great importance and which our friends at St. John's (Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan) predicted, though I would not believe them since I regarded them as biased. They think this is a great joke. In any case there are many strings ready on this side which need only to be pulled if you give me a signal. There are two main possibilities to be considered: either the whole Institute to be transferred which, I pray, will not be necessary, and in which case I would regard Chicago less suitable than New York or a place in or near Washington (all of which can be managed since we have more offers than we need, the Metropolitan Museum being the most recent bidder); or, it becomes advisable to retain on this side a sort of *pied-à-terre* to which I or sometimes you may return periodically. Again, this need not be Chicago.

I have seen a good deal of the Frankfurts and like him as much as ever, although I am sometimes distressed by her, particularly in relation to him.

Perhaps I am over-critical on that subject, as I find myself in the opposite situation and regaining my roots largely through marriage. I think you will like my wife. As I feel sure you have received numerous descriptions from other people, I shall refrain from giving my own.

Yours ever,

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

June 1st, 1943 | Gertrud Bing to Edgar Wind

My very dear Edgar, your air-mail letter to Saxl, dated 10th April arrived here to-day, and makes me feel I want to answer at once. I am very sorry to hear that you were ill, and pneumonia being a nasty word I could not help being worried – though I hope, after the event. I trust you are up and about, and not finding your teaching obligations too heavy at a time when you probably ought to have a thorough rest. Still, thinking of you, the advice to “take it easy” seems singularly inappropriate.

I also felt sorry and ashamed when I read that our letters made you feel hurt and misinterpreted. Nothing was less intended, dear, and it seems

that the last three years have given rise to a good deal of misunderstandings both ways. Perhaps you will find extenuating circumstances for us in certain small oddities of your own make-up – such as being constitutionally unable to write letters unless you are “roused”. No doubt we have given you reason enough for it, but we were separated from you not only by some thousand miles of ocean and slow transport, not only by the changed conditions of a country at war, but also by the absence of any news from you except when you were dissatisfied by something we had done. It is not at all easy to keep another person’s picture unblurred and undistorted before your mind’s eye under these circumstances. Your appointment at Chicago seemed so definite, and such a logical sequence to your preceding three years’ work that it was difficult not to feel the Institute would needs have to take second rank, at least in your performance, if not in your affections. Do you realise you told us so little about the conditions of your appointment, and of your life at Chicago, that we do not even know exactly what you are teaching?

Anyhow, this is all past history, and not even worth an explanation in retrospect. I am very relieved that you think the B.o.E. plans sound promising, and quite remarkably glad of what you write about remaining in England. Of details we know nothing more than we did when Saxl wrote to you. The matter is before the Treasury (from where incidentally all funds will be coming except those which we may be able to obtain ourselves from other sources to supplement the official income), and quoting Mr Churchill, God’s mills grind slowly. Still, the first stages of internal criticism and licking into shape at the Board itself are past, and we are told it is not likely that the plan should have gone even this far unless the Board felt they had a good case to submit, and a fair chance of its being approved. Of course there remains the uneasiness on the subject of the “Ausführungsbestimmungen”. Even if the plan as a whole should be approved there are traps and pitfalls galore, and none of us, including such devoted, unbiased and independent friends as we might command (and there are not too many if you come to look at it closely) is clever enough to match the experts of the Civil Service at their own game. Exchanging security for freedom means certainly also giving up a good deal of the fun and the adventure that it has been all along, in spite of adversities. But if it comes to choosing between a new start in yet another country, and an adjustment to conditions which after all we have almost

created ourselves, we should not be too squeamish. Should the plan turn out to spell survival by mummification Saxl can be trusted to revolt at the right point, and for this emergency it is good to know you are keeping things fluid over there. What you wrote about there being more offers than we can accept will be a tremendous moral support for him when detailed negotiations start. And as to freedom, its limits are in any case fairly soon reached, be they drawn by red tape, by the arbitrariness of private benefactors, or by the compromises which lack of funds, or insufficient funds, impose. We have had quite enough, of the latter variety during the last years, and it will be a relief when the possession of a fixed income will be dissociated from the necessity of proving one's worth. All told I feel that, other things being as evenly balanced as they are, the advantage of keeping the Institute in Europe should reconcile us with the concessions we shall have to make.

All this is said under one condition, Edgar dear, and what misgivings I may have felt on that account in moments of despondency, are dispelled by your letter. The condition is that you are going to take over when Saxl's term of office comes to an end. You know how fond I am of the Institute, and how much I hope it will go on to play its part. But I feel saving it now is not worth much trouble unless its inner meaning is ensured. You have never wanted to hear anything of this as long as you were here. You may feel differently about it now. For one, Saxl is getting older, and the last years have, for private as well as for general reasons, laid a very heavy burden on him. I should be very glad if he would not have to carry it very much longer once the future of the Institute is assured, and, let us hope, the war over. The other reason why I feel this may be discussed between us three is that, the last years, and also to a certain extent the particulars experiences of the common household have convinced me that the present team would be a hopelessly pedestrian and uninspired assemblage without somebody like you or Saxl to stir them up. I know everything there is to say against making such a sweeping statement at the present time, but believe me I am right. I was duly shocked and hurt whenever one of your furious letters came but I knew all the time what you objected to, and agree with you. The only difference is that I believe I also see why there is not very much to be done against it for the time being. When we meet again I think I can make you realise what material and psychological obstacles we are up against all the time. I am already getting quite light-

hearted at the thought that you will again be available in a comparatively short time to help pull all the dead weight out of the ruts in which it is in danger of getting stuck.

As to the practical things which you mention, we have no very clear idea yet what our budget will look like in the most favorable circumstances, still less how big the staff will be, and what salaries will be paid, the latter question will anyhow want some special consideration because of the comparison with the opposite charges of the Civil Service with whom we shall be on an equal footing. It would therefore be futile to indulge in day-dreams at this stage. But I am quite sure that there can be no question of making "any one suffer for your sake" as you express it. If, as may be possible, the salaries offered are too small for what you need it may become expedient for you to spend part of the year regularly in America. But neither can there be the slightest doubt that your living here all the year round is what we should like best and that our negotiation must henceforth be conducted on that assumption. It should not be too difficult to pull through now that we know exactly where we are, and what we aiming at.

It is a good thing that you are free to curtail or extend your commitments at Chicago as you think fit. By the strangest of coincidences Annemarie Meyer brought me this morning, even before your letter had arrived, a pamphlet of a series called *The Changing World Publications*, which she had bought because of an article which she thought would interest Saxl. The article is called *Recent Changes in the Direction of American Education*, its author is John U. Nef, and its subject the reform in educational methods proposed by the President of Chicago University, Robert Hutchins. If that is not providential arrangement I do not know what is, especially as Annemarie had not seen what exactly the article was about, and the co-ordination was only brought about by your letter. The Committee on Social Thought sounds as if its aims were allied to Warburg methods; except for the fact that one has grown wary of attempts to integrate the results of researches which have not had a common denominator while they were being carried out. What interested me was that Dr. Hutchins is also responsible for the experiments in teaching made at St. John's, and I liked to read in your letter that you are still in contact with Scott Buchanan.

Saxl and I (especially he) have lately been reading a good deal on modern research in psychology, anthropology, and education. Partly because there is a great deal of discussion on future education going on in this country, and because the possibility of a direct affiliation with the Board of Education had turned Saxl's thoughts in that direction. And lately, because the old idea of a book on Warburg has taken a new shape. It might be the psychological moment for such a book. It might sum up and conclude the phase in the development of the Institute during which it existed under private tutelage, finance and administration; and it might also serve to state clearly for what type of history writing the Institute stands. The idea was started by several people asking Saxl to write a history of the Institute. I am not at all certain that it will come to anything. If not, it will bring us a step nearer to the completion and publication of the "Mnemosyne", which Saxl is finding increasingly difficult to do. We are hearing quite often from the Frankforts, and I am glad that you reciprocate the friendship which they feel for both of you. He is, I admit, the incomparably more likeable personality of the two. But do not be harsh on her. Life is so much easier for him than it is for her that she deserves a little more indulgence and a little more assistance from her friends than he. She would probably never talk to me again if she knew that I were writing this to you. But I am certain that she values the good opinion of both of you, and your company, more than anything else in Chicago. You were right to assume that we had some descriptions of your wife, but none was more welcome, and none more convincing than your own, that you were "regaining your roots through marriage". It could not be better. I wish you would give her my warmest love and tell her that I am already looking forward to seeing her.

All my love, dear, and thanks for your simple "confessio fidei" which your letter contained. Good wishes and all that, and is it too much to hope that you will write again in a measurable time?

Yours as always,
Gertrud

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

October 1st, 1943 | Fritz Saxl to Max Warburg

Dear Mr. Warburg,

Thank you for your letter. I am at last in a position to see more clearly in Institute matters. The old plan to incorporate the Institute in London University has now assumed a concrete shape. In consequence of the strong interest which Mr. Butler, President of the Board of Education, has taken in the matter of the Treasury seems willing to assume financial responsibility for the Institute's maintenance by means of an annual grant. You will remember that in the past the University was unwilling to incorporate the institute because no funds were available for this purpose. On the strength of the favourable attitude of the Treasury, however, the University Grants Committee declared themselves in favour of the project; and the academic authorities will now have to decide whether the Institute is a desirable asset to the University from the point of view of academic studies. As the financial question is settled I do not think we shall meet with any difficulties from that side. The project is to go through three more University committees which will meet in October and November. The annual sum for which we have asked is £10,000 which will include the purchase of books.

The Courtauld Institute will have a building of its own within the University precincts behind the British Museum; and Mr. Courtauld, Lord Lee, and the principal of London University are of opinion that the new building should have a separate wing for the Warburg Institute. This resolution has also gone before the University, and if it goes through – all the parties concerned are very keen that it should – the new institute will certainly be one of the best equipped in the world. The building would contain 1) the Warburg Institute (as an institute for *allgemeine Kulturgeschichte*) with its own collection of books and photographs, which would be run independently as a post-graduate research centre with a limited number of students. 2) The Courtauld Institute, for the training of undergraduates and some graduates in the field of history of art. 3) The great collection of photographs of Sir Robert Witt, to supplement ours and those of the Courtauld Institute. 4) A picture gallery of old and modern masters containing the pictures of Lord Lee and Mr. Courtauld.

As regards the question of property, you will remember the letter addressed by you to Lord Lee on 24th August 1936: "...There is agreement

within our family that the library is to remain in England after that period of sever years provided that adequate facilities will be available...". With the Government financing the Institute and the Institute becoming part of the London University, the conditions are as well fulfilled as could ever have been expected, and I think that the situation in which it was envisaged that the Institute should be transferred as a gift has now arisen. I do not believe that under these circumstances one can talk about a period covered by the contract: we shall become a regular part of the University, to enjoy any amenities and to suffer any disadvantages to which any part of the University may be exposed in the future.

As regards Point (5) of your letter, there would be no question of rent, as we should be a University institution housed in a University building. The Building Fund at present available for the Courtauld and Warburg Institute amounts to £90,000, and we are now experimenting how far this sum will go. It was originally destined for the Courtauld Institute only, but Mr. Courtauld is, as I have said, very eager to have the two Institutes under one roof. However, it is not expected that the building will be erected until five years after the war as in consequence of the Blitz so many other institutions will have priority. It is extremely difficult to speculate on how far the Building Fund will see us by then.

I have very great hopes for a combination with the United States, especially if the Institute has such standing and accommodation as the present plans seem to warrant. Wind has offered to come back if we want him. I very much desire to have him as soon as possible. I have always told you that of all my collaborators Wind is the most important. You will have seen from his success in America that my judgment in this case was right. What he is doing now for the Institute is invaluable; and we shall do our utmost to continue the collaboration between Chicago and London. Wind's plans were that one of us should regularly go to Chicago to lecture and a Chicago man come over here [...] that the personal contacts between the two institutes would be kept alive. Wind cannot make any more precise plans as long as things are so much in the balance, but I am sure that he will include the Institute and its standing in the United States in whatever plans he makes and that Anglo-American collaboration would find every support from the English side. As soon as things are settled – and if there is no unexpected hitch (I am an old pessimist, so I always expect one) the

mains issue will be decided by November or December – we could start making plans for the form which collaboration with America should take.

Personally I feel rather overwhelmed by this sudden boom and grandeur of the Institute, and I hope and pray that the inner work of the Institute will not be weakened by the outer ease which seems suddenly to dawn on us (Es wird schon nicht so glatt gehen).

As regards my personal position, I feel that I should not be too long in the way of my successors. I have been with the Institute for thirty years. I still remember with great pleasure how kind you were to me when I came in 1913 as the protégé of the Professor, but now I feel that it is very unhealthy that the same worn-out brain should go on directing the Institute for nearly forty years. Wind who has had experience in Germany, in France, in England, and in the United States is the ideal director for an international institution as ours has always been, and I know that he still regards the Institute as his spiritual home. Whatever happens, we must have him.

Dear Mr. Warburg, I hope you and the members of your family will feel as hopeful about these projects as I do – in spite of my deep-rooted pessimism. What could be done in these ten years of Hitler has I think been done. We have found a footing in America through Wind, and we have helped to build up an organization here which as regards its equipment has only very few competitors in the world.
Yours ever,

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 4).

October 27, 1943 | Max Warburg to Fritz Saxl

Dear Dr. Saxl,

I received your letter of October 1st, but did not answer until today as I wanted to discuss it with Eric.

In principle, as I wrote to Mawo on October 20th, I agree, and am happy, but I had so many ambitious plans for this child – the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes. I still have these plans in mind – really they are only

wishes – and as I wrote to Mawo, if the plans are carried out as sketched by you, I shall be happy.

I write too, to tell you that your idea to work less for the Institute than up to now is impossible and can never be carried out as long as I am living.. After having worked so wisely and courageously for the Institute, you must have the pleasure of working there when things will go more smoothly. Do not believe that because you get older, your power becomes less; on the contrary I believe that with age and experience, one becomes more valuable. So accept my view – it will be good for the Institute and good for you, as the very moment you give up even only a part of the work you have done hitherto, you begin to collapse like a frog who has lost his breath. As you have more or less always followed the advice of your old friend Max Warburg, you must do so now too. I am sure that all those who are concerned with the Institute feel as I do – that the Institute without Saxl is like a horse without legs! I hope you and the whole crowd are in good health.

Cordially Max Warburg.

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 4).

Edgar Wind, *Memorandum on Encyclopaedic Studies to be edited by the Committee on Social Thought*, 1943

The general public and the majority of scholars are equally unaware of the great tradition associated with the institution and the very name of Encyclopaedias. Contrary to the common belief that an encyclopaedia is nothing but a handy though somewhat bulky instrument of reference, consisting of articles alphabetically arranged and therefore without any connection between them, the word *encyclopedia* originally meant “education in a cycle (or circle)” and referred to a harmonious organization of knowledge in which the different disciplines, reflecting and utilizing one another, were grouped around a common center. From classical antiquity down to the early Nineteenth Century this encyclopaedic tradition (in the original sense of the word) underwent a great variety of transformations but persistently reasserted, throughout all its changes, the underlying principle of a common ‘universe of knowledge’.

It is only with the excessive growth of departmentalism in scholarship that the courage to pursue the encyclopaedic ideal abated and the ideal itself became suspect and was finally discarded as 'unscientific'. There are, however, strong signs in all the departments of scholarship today that the deadening effect of this intellectual self-mutilation is increasingly felt and regretted. Yet regret alone will not help to overcome the impasse. It is necessary to revive the knowledge of those intellectual procedures, too willingly abandoned in recent years, which have produced encyclopaedic results in the past. By re-appraising their historical function and philosophic value, it is possible to train the mind in encyclopaedic thinking, thus helping to reawaken what might be called the encyclopaedic imagination.

The association of the Encyclopaedia Britannica with the University of Chicago might be a suitable occasion for planning a series of monographs to be published under the title of *Encyclopaedic Studies*. Some of these studies ought to be frankly antiquarian and make accessible the more remote material which has been lost sight of. Others might be conceived in a lighter vein, showing that the encyclopaedic pursuit has not only burdens but also charms. The following list of subjects is merely meant to indicate the possible scope of such an enterprise. To some of the titles I have added the name of a scholar who might be suitable to handle the subject; and in several cases (no. 5, 10, 11) I happen to know the respective scholars are actually engaged in the work mentioned. In some instances (as in no. 8a), it might be advisable to re-edit in an English translation the forgotten work of a foreign author.

1. The Greek Symposium and its relation to the Encyclopaedic Tradition (Cornford)
2. Isidore of Seville and the origins of the Medieval Encyclopaedia (McKeon)
3. Theory and History of the Medieval *Summa* (Maritain, Adler)
4. Theory and History of the Medieval *Speculum*
5. The Pictorial Illustrations of Medieval Encyclopaedias (Saxl)
6. The Sculptured Encyclopaedias on French Cathedrals (Panofsky)
7. Iconography of the Seven Liberal Arts
8. Micro- and Macrocosm (in the philosophical, medical and pictorial tradition) (Temkin)

9. Plan, Use, and History of the *Ars Memorativa* (Artin)
10. Pico della Mirandola's *Nine Hundred Theses* and Politian's *Pan-opistemon* (Kristeller)
11. The Renaissance Encyclopaedia in Raphael's Frescoes (Wind)
12. The Academies of Henri III (Yates)
13. The 'School of Night' and other Elizabethan Academies (Chew)
13. Encyclopaedic Patterns in English Political Clubs (Kit Cat Club, Bolingbroke's Circle, etc.)
14. The Encyclopaedia of the Arts in the Circle of Samuel Johnson (Reynolds - Garrick - Goldsmith)
15. Archeological Research and Conviviality in the *Society of the Dilettanti*
16. Italian Academies and their Encyclopaedic Plans in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Crusca, Lincei, Virtuosi, etc.)
17. *Universal History* in the Seventeenth Century (Mommsen)
18. Leibnitz *Methesis Universalis* in its Relation to his Doctrine of Pre-established Harmony
19. The Magic Flute: Free-Masonry in the Eighteenth Century
20. Voltaire's *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, its Purpose and Historical Mission
21. Plan and History of Diderot's great *Encyclopédie*
22. Encyclopaedic Novels from *Wilhelm Meister* to *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (Seznec)
23. Humboldt's *Comos* (Nichols)
24. The Growth of Lexicography and the Decline of the Encyclopaedic Ideal
25. A History of Scientific Illustration (from Leonardo da Vinci to Darwin)

The majority of these studies would be illustrated. I would think that, if one were to publish two or three studies each year, the annual cost would be approximately \$12,000. It would be desirable to put aside this sum each year irrespective of the actual output; for it is certain that the number of studies finished in different years will vary considerably, and the more prolific seasons might profit from the money saved during the more barren periods.

In my opinion, a fixed author's fee of, say, \$600, doing away with royalties, should be paid for each book irrespective of length. I feel certain, from my experience as editor at the Warburg Institute, that the payment of

such a fee is essential for obtaining good manuscripts with a fair degree of punctuality.

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 136, file 2).

December 11, 1944 | Max Warburg to Fritz Saxl

My dear Professor Saxl,

I received your letter of November 27th and I thank you very much for all you wrote.

As you get older you can see by and by how much of the work you have done is pioneer work and how much is really constructive work, which could at least be partly finished. Much of what I tried to do in my lifetime has been destroyed; I am sorry, but I have no melancholy. If the pioneer work is not lost, it is at least a step in the right direction. As my predecessor Moses did not reach the Holy Land, but only saw it from a distance, I cannot ask more for myself! One of the few things where I really can say that there was success, where there would not have been success if I had not been behind it, is my brother Aby's library. But I was only able to help effectively because I had so many others, especially my brothers and Eric, and Aby's staff, in the forefront of which were you and Dr. Bing. I must say that I consider the result of the Warburg Library very great and I must always think of one of my brother's dicta: 'my library will live when your firm is no longer in existence'. He did not live to see what happened, but he was in fact right.

I hope you and Dr. Bing will quickly finish his biography which I admire so much, and that perhaps as soon as everything is in order in England, you can find a combination with America. You know my idea. There are really many friends here who could help us. By the way, you know that Ernst Cassirer is now at Columbia University. There [Princeton] are some men like Panofsky whom I really do not want to consider. Panofsky is egotistical and thinks only of his own interests and Wind is not reliable. He is what I call a *Windhund*. I do not say that they should be totally ignored, but anyhow they do not merit special consideration.

I am still working on my book and it causes me a lot of trouble. I do not do it again!

Be healthy and strong; do not lose faith, neither you nor Dr. Bing, in our work and continue as up to now. I am more than happy that you have help in Eric who is doing now – and will do longer than I – all that is necessary for the library.

Cordially

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 5).

December 11, 1944 | Max Warburg to Fritz Saxl

Dear Eric,

I do not know whether you know that Edgar Wind is no longer at the University of Chicago but at Smith College since September. I hear by chance that he has told others that he will go back to the Warburg Institute. Wind has miserable manners, we know that. Of course he ought to have told us about any change in activities and also when he thinks to pay back his debt. I know you have other things in mind, but I write you this only to be very careful that we do not give this man a position of influence in the Warburg Institute. His manners are really too bad and you cannot rely on him.

Cordially

In the same letter, Eric Warburg made additional handwritten comments addressed to Fritz Saxl:

Dear Dr. Saxl: –

Thank you very much for sending me the perfectly splendid paper clippings regarding Warburg Institute.

About Wind Father is – I am afraid – right and I am sending it to you so that you know how the “wind” is blowing.

Yours as ever,

Eric

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 5).

June 15, 1945 | Edgar Wind to Gertrud Bing

15h June 1945

Dear Gertrud,

This letter is very difficult to write, and I therefore best begin with the

weather. After an exceptionally cool spring, for which I thanked heaven in Saxl's name, the temperature has now risen to its accustomed tropical height of over ninety degrees, and the poor man is travelling somewhere between New York and Princeton. The worst part is that he seems to enjoy it. Or does he merely feign it?

He has changed remarkably little. I went to New York to meet him, and we spent a number of pleasant days together before he went off to Harvard, Washington, etc. etc. It seemed as if the intervening six years had not existed. I can't quite understand it, for these years must have changed both him and me immeasurably. I know that they have changed me and that I have grown very much older. But he looks to me not a day older than when I saw him last. It must be a delusion, what with all that has happened. The only trace that I could detect – and this in its turn may be a delusion – is that he seemed a tiny little bit deaf toward arguments which did not quite suit his preconceived plans, and changed the subject whenever they occurred; but this will not deter me from presenting them to him. We have arranged that he will come to us quietly for a rest after he is through visiting and conferring with the “stuffed shirts” (Bonzen), of whom he sees in my opinion far too much and far too many.

How he will react to my proposals I don't know; for I am not absolutely happy about the plans which he has set for himself and the Institute. The “Encyclopaedia” frightens me. There are too many encyclopaedias already. Instead of leading to the sources, they have a tendency to supplant them; and I dislike the idea that we should add to their number. Moreover, Pauly-Wissowa should be a warning rather than a model. Ever since this wonderful Instrument became available, classical studies have been on the decline. I have no authority to speak on medieval studies. Maybe they have reached the Alexandrian stage and are ready for a great funerary monument in the style of Pauly-Wissowa. I know that this is not the case with Renaissance studies. They are not yet ready for the embalmer.

Furthermore, assuming that the “stuffed shirts” agree with Saxl – and there is a good chance that they might, for the Medieval Academy, of which I have the questionable honour of being a member, is so utterly dead (witness *Speculum*) that it might welcome a proper memorial – assuming that they agree with Saxl and decide to carry out the plan together; who

are the people that will write the articles? You will know better than I how many or few there are in England. I can assure you that there are very few in America. To make the enterprise work at all, it would be necessary to mobilize all the forces available, with the result that the energies, particularly of the younger generation, which ought to be free for constructive research and produce new results, would be channelled into the unconstructive labour of compiling, and that for a period of at least two decades.

I should be more easily reconciled to the plan if I were convinced that it was a logical or imaginative expansion of Warburg's work and would serve the purpose for which the Institute was founded. I think it is the opposite – an expression of the centrifugal forces in Saxl and a flight into conventionality. Perhaps I should have been more insistent in dissuading him after his arrival. But he had written in advance to quite a number of people so as to interest them in his plan, and his gesture of consulting with me *ex post* turned out to be something of a fiction. Moreover, when I saw how much work and what excellent work of its kind had already been put into the preparation and how intensely he was preoccupied with the idea, I felt that I had no right to deprive him of what had certainly become to him a psychologically indispensable program. And I thought the thing ought to be given a fair chance even if I did not like it.

You know that I am the last to belittle the value of Saxl's urge to bring people together and make them work at a common task. But his missionary instincts sometimes mislead him, perhaps because he is too distrustful of the safety within and unduly yearns for safety from without. As a result, he has been repeatedly attracted by "projects" which were grand in plan but timid in invention. By timidity I mean that they followed a pre-existing pattern. Others had thought of producing an *Aristoteles Latinus* so we followed suit and proposed a *Plato Latinus*. Others had thought of producing a Pauly-Wissowa for classical antiquity so we follow suit and propose a Pauly-Wissowa for the middle ages and the Renaissance. I need not elaborate this with regard to Bartsch's *Peintre Graveur* or the *Klassiker der Kunst*, to which Saxl would now like to publish improved counterparts. There is a tendency in all of this toward the conventional – and away from the discomfort of being an intellectual outcast (which, I hope you will agree with me, is today the only honourable

position). If this tendency of Saxl's prevails, the moment may come when the Warburg Institute is no longer the most suitable place for developing Warburg's methods and ideas.

I have seen this danger approaching for many years, and you know that I have done my best to counteract it. I shall do so again if it is decided that I am to return to London. This "if" will shock you, and it shocks me too. But ever since my conversation with Saxl I have been in doubt whether it is right for me to return to London at this particular juncture. The decision to the contrary would be very hard for me, and no less for Margaret who has prepared everything for our departure for more than a year. Our furniture has been in storage in Chicago, and we have been living here in a single furnished room in anticipation of our leaving. Not only Margaret's sister in London but everyone here has been told of our impending departure, and you know best how much I like living in London. But nothing of this will deter me from making the reverse arrangements if necessary. Perhaps my doubts will be dispelled when Saxl is here and we discuss in detail the future organization of the Institute. Perhaps, when he hears my reasons, he will decide himself that it is better for me to stay here.

At the root of the problem is the old question which I put to Saxl some years ago when he visited me in Devon and which I have kept repeating ever since. Is the Warburg Institute to be run primarily as a charitable institution for relieving – by more or less small pittances – the plight of distressed scholars? Or is its primary aim the development of a particular scientific method by scholars committed to this form of research, whether distressed or not. Both aims are honourable if they are kept apart. My criticism has been that they were persistently mixed – to the detriment of the integrity of the Institute whose forces, as you know best from yourself, have been distracted from their assigned tasks, and to the detriment also of the so-called beneficiaries who felt abused by the expectation of high returns from absurdly small investments. Too many of them have felt – not unjustly – that the assistance given to them was not sufficiently disinterested. In the words of the old Fontane: "Deine Wohltätigkeit ist mir zu geschäftstüchtig". By your ambiguous and self-deceptive policy in these matters, both you and Saxl have substantially contributed to the increase of the intellectual proletariat. And in my opinion this is a crime.

You see, I am still ranting in the old style. The reason is a somewhat humorous one. Saxl has already found – on these richly endowed shores – a sufficient number of distressed people to whom he has made promises which he shall probably not be able to keep. I foresee the usual sequences: (1) Resentment by these people because Saxl does not keep his promises; (2) Resentment by Saxl because these people are ungrateful; (3) Resentment by Gertrud Bing because people are so indecent as to induce Saxl to make irresponsible promises; (4) Attempts by Edgar Wind to silence the resentful people of the first mentioned group; (5) Outcry of these people in combination with Saxl against the brutality of Edgar Wind; (6) Ineffective protest against this outcry by Gertrude Bing; (7) Pele-Mele. Am I exaggerating?

The tragedy is that some of the opportunities for thoroughly strengthening the staff of the Institute might be missed by these sentimental distractions. There is a good chance – and Saxl discovered it – that Seznec might join the Warburg Institute. He would be a superb addition, the most valuable that could be conceived; for Rudi, he, and I would supplement each other to perfection. But he has a good position at Harvard, and Saxl regrets any generous expenditure on the permanent staff because he would like to reserve sufficient funds for the support of a “floating population”. It is an old song, and you know what I think of it. Given the choice, I am not sure that he will not rather sacrifice Seznec.

My own case – and I feel certain, that of Rudi also – is of exactly the same order. I was dumbfounded to learn that we are to be put into academic pigeon-holes and classified as “professors”, “readers”, and God knows what. Saxl never mentioned a word of this in his letters, and neither did you. I think it is a very regrettable development since it impairs the collegiate character of the Institute. If we have to be called names, it should be “Fellows”. On the other hand, I can understand that the officers of London University might insist on applying their categories, if merely for the sake of estimating the appropriate salaries. In that case, Saxl should have made it clear that a research Institute of this caliber, in order to be effective, requires either several professorships or none. The officers of London University, I am sure, would be the first to understand that people of professorial status (that is their term, if I am not mistaken) will not accept appointments if they are demoted, and their esteem for the

Warburg Institute will only be heightened if several people of that status are prepared to join it.

Now Saxl knew that I have held in short succession two professorships in this country, the one in Chicago, which was a full professorship in the Art Department, and the other that I am now holding here, which is the William Allan Neilson Professorship, formerly held by G. E. Moore, Carl Becker, D. Wilson, etc., and happens to be the highest paid in the College. It carries an annual stipend of \$8000. I know that the Warburg Institute cannot pay me the equivalent, and I think I have always made it clear that I do not expect it. But the financial sacrifice should be reasonable. A reduction by one-half or more, which Saxl seems to regard as equitable, will not be so regarded by any impartial judge. Moreover, if academic classifications have to be made, which I would regret, I must remain in the same class in which I am here. Anything else would be interpreted as a public disavowal on your part of the recognition I have received here. Moreover, I have no intention of playing the role of an ungrateful fool; and I would deserve this appellation, and offend the sensibilities of those to whom I am indebted here, if I rewarded their generosity by preferring an inadequate appointment in London.

I regret that I have to explain these things to you and Saxl. I think it is the kind of argument which should have come from Saxl's side, not from mine. But I have found on former occasions that he waits for people, even if he claims they are his friends, to demand the things which he should have offered.

I enclose the text of a report which Saxl asked me to write about the last six years. I hope it will amuse you.

Yours,

30th June 1945

P.S.: I have delayed sending off this letter. In the meantime, Saxl has visited us for a week. I think he has enjoyed his stay and had a good rest. However, my doubts have only been deepened by our conversations, and I have decided not to return to England. There is no intention on Saxl's part to give up his old habit of playing the benefactor at the expense of the permanent staff of the Institute. Though he knows my views, he has no

scruples in speaking to outsiders in my own presence of the Institute as a charitable "institution". He is adamant in his refusal to strengthen the permanent staff both scientifically and financially so as to give the Institute a healthy constitution. The old policy of minimum salaries for those who work, little pittances here and there for those who suffer, and lucrative gifts for those who visit, is to be continued in the old style. Under these conditions, Saxl's complete concession of my own demands has no attraction for me. Nor was the process very engaging by which he tried to test my resistance. While he began by declaring that the budget could not possibly provide for me more than 950 pounds and that the post of a reader would be the maximum that the University would concede, he ended by assuring me that I would get a full professorship but turned a deaf ear to my suggestion that all such titles, including his own, should be abolished in favour of a community of fellows.

I must also confess that I was shocked by the disclosure, as unexpected as the academic pigeon-holes, that the post of Deputy Director has been abolished without telling me a word, and that you have resumed your old role under a new name. This proves to me that you are both incorrigible. I shall not waste another word on this matter, but you might as well know that you have substantially contributed to my decision not to return.

Other reasons are of a more secondary kind. The many 'mistakes' which Saxl has made on this trip – errors of fact, lack of patience, servility alternating with overbearing, but above all ambiguities and supposedly shrewd double-dealings – have convinced me that I should not relinquish prematurely the things which I have carefully built up in these years, and abandon all this work to the kind of foolish predatory raid which Saxl has undertaken so irresponsibly. My function here is perhaps more important, or at any rate more personal, than I myself had assumed; and I shall therefore not relinquish it until I find that it is sensible and safe to do so. While I cannot expect these arguments to have your assent, I know that they would have Warburg's.

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

June 30, 1945 | Edgar Wind to Rudolph Wittkower

Dear Rudi,

I am sending you this letter through Mr Halpern because it contains rather private matters.

Saxl asked me to write a report which he may, or may not, present to the Board. You will find a copy enclosed. Another copy is being sent to Bing. About this, there is no particular secret. My sending it to you separately is a mere act of precaution. Saxl is displeased with some of the phrasing, particularly the humorous passages about Chicago, and has asked me to make alterations. But I think I must retain the right to express myself in my own way on matters which concern me rather personally. I have no objection if Saxl refrains from showing this paper to the board. But I must insist that, if it is shown, the wording remains unchanged and uncut. Furthermore, this report is not intended for public circulation. I have strong objections against its being mimeographed and distributed for propaganda purposes either in extracts or in its entirety. I should be very grateful if you would watch that no such misuse is made of it.

The second enclosure is the copy of a letter I wrote to Bing. This is a secret, and I should prefer if neither you nor Margot mentioned to anyone that you received it. My reason for sending it is that you are entitled to know the full truth; and Bing is not likely to inform you candidly. A copy of my letter seemed to me the simplest and most reliable way of letting you know the facts. Please make full use of that knowledge as you see fit, as long as you do not mention the particular form in which I conveyed it to you. Assume that I wrote you all of this in a completely separate letter. That will save embarrassment on all sides. You understand, I am sure, that I could not write this deplorable story twice.

The major part of the letter was written a few days after I met Saxl in New York, and you will see that I expressed my apprehensions in as conciliatory a form as possible. The postscript was added after Saxl had visited us in Northampton. I saw no reason to veil the severity of my conclusions. Contrary to all the plans I had made before Saxl's arrival, I have decided not to return to London. What this means to me – and to Margaret also, who has a sister in London and to whom I had described the prospect in the most glowing terms – you and Margot will best judge by yourselves. If

you are shocked and hurt and saddened, I assure you that you could not be more so than we. But nobody will understand the reasons better than you, particularly if you read them in full. False reports about my reasons for staying here are certain to be circulated, for example, that I was not willing to renounce the comforts of so-called good living. These are sly and very dangerous lies, and I know that you will protect me against them. Perhaps it will be useful for you to know that our furniture has been stored in Chicago for a year, that we have been living in a single furnished room in the anticipation of leaving, and that I accepted the appointment at Smith College with the understanding that I would leave as soon as we could get to England. All this has now to be changed.

You probably know that Saxl's trip to America was announced to me as a *fait accompli*. I was given no chance to prepare it; it was all arranged behind my back. When I warned him not to come in the worst possible season and rather let me arrange for the autumn a tour in which he could quietly explore the country, he would not take the advice and cabled that he would come according to his own plans. So he arrived with a suit case full of ready-made samples which he tried to sell in six weeks to a country he had never seen before. A very effective and polite way of visiting a new continent. My own role was to be that of a stepping stone. Following a pattern with which you are only too familiar, he tried to both utilize and by-pass the work that had been done before him. I let him do as he pleased. The result is that none of his great projects have materialized. In meeting resistance, he has offended three-quarters of the people he has seen, and made friends with only three or four, one of whom is a notorious anti-semitic and can make good use of a Renommierjude, particularly one who does not live in this country. The more modest plans which I suggested he should take up, he has dismissed as not sufficiently spectacular and therefore not worthy of his attention. He could have received financial help from New York University for the next volumes of the Poussin drawings; the National Gallery would have published together with the Warburg Institute a study on Bellini's Feast of the Gods which they will now publish alone. Harvard offered to publish together with us a study by Hofer, Seznek, and Cohen on scientific illustration in the Eighteenth Century. But Saxl did not even have the politeness to discuss these proposals with the people who were interested in them. *Aut Caesar, aut nihil*. So the result is *nihil*. The British-American exchange of scholars

which he was supposed to foster, has been confined by him to German refugees. So far, not a single American has been invited. When I pointed this out, he replied that the British would not mind; and when I told him that the Americans might, this did not impress him.

When he leaves, there will be an incredible mess which it will be my pleasant duty to clean up. The damage to the Institute may be considerable; for I am afraid there will be a tendency to say that I am the exception and Saxl the rule. It may therefore prove of Importance that you come for a quiet and extended visit to this country so that they realize that Saxl is the exception.

His negotiations with me concerning my personal settlement in London were incredible; and I shudder at the thought of them. Although he has known me for twenty-five years and claims to be my friend, he proceeded like an old-clothes dealer who tries to find out what is the cheapest price at which I will sell him my suit. I have therefore forced him to make the one decent offer which he should have made from the beginning, and then told him that I was too disgusted to accept it. You will see in the letter to Bing the more detailed reasons why I refuse to come. I will not play governess of policeman to two people whose instincts are rotten. If I were to return, there would be incessant friction and since I do not have your patience, it would lead to a row of such proportions that it would be damaging to all of us. I want neither a row, nor do I want to be an accomplice. So there is no choice but to stay out; which is the only decent form of protest that I happen to have at my disposal.

I hope that you do not interpret this as "letting you down". I think, on the contrary, that my action strengthens your hand. Saxl cannot afford to lose you also. You have therefore greater power to dictate your own terms. It is of course difficult for me to advise you from such a distance. You will judge better than I can whether the whole structure of the Institute is so corrupted that there is no chance of salvaging it within our generation. In that case, nobody can blame you for leaving - or quietly looking for a place in which you can work with people of integrity. But perhaps you can weather the decay that surrounds you better than I could. That is a question of constitution. If you think you can, you should stay by all means and secure for yourself the position which you deserve and which

alone might save the institution. But if you do this, be merciless. If you are in the least mild, you will be abused, and your strength will be wasted. But you know this anyhow, and I need not write about it. And you also know that whatever decision you make, you can reckon on my help and on my friendship.

My love to Margaret and Mario, in which Margaret joins me.

Yours always,

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

July 9, 1945 | Edgar Wind to Fritz Saxl

Dear Fritz,

I sent the letter to Gertrud of which I spoke to you. You probably guessed that the decision would be negative.; for you must have felt that there is an incompatibility between your ways and mine, which is far more fundamental than you care to admit. I think it is better to face it.

When you leave this country, you will have produce, in some of the regions through which you passed, an atmosphere of intrigue and distrust which it will not quite easy to dispel. If only you could be persuaded to desist from meddling with other peoples' affairs, and from believing that you can profit with impunity from their distress or confusion. You seem to regard me as an ideal agent for mitigating the effects of what you optimistically call your "mistakes", and you have admitted with unflattering candour that that would be one of my functions in London; but you seem unable to understand that there is a great difference between an intellectual error, which anybody is ready to forgive, and the miscarriage of a human stratagem which is morally suspect. Forgive me for being so frank in return. The matter is basic to our differences of method and opinion, all other differences follow from this one, and I have no hope of straightening it out, for I am convinced that you are subjectively quite honest in believing that you are straightforward. This does not mean that I give up all hope for the future development of the Institute. It has survived so many confusion that it may survive them forever, and this is what I pray should happen. But I know that my own function is somewhere else.

All this sounds too dramatic for my taste. It was intended as a simple statement, and I hope you will take it as such.

Edgar Wind

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 4).

July 27, 1945 | Rudolph Wittkower to Edgar Wind

Dear Edgar,

I got your letter with the various enclosures only to-day and hasten to answer it. Let me first say that I regret immensely your decision although I fully appreciate your motives. I had been looking forward to the old collaboration and to an exchange of views with you which, I need hardly mention, I missed very much all these years. Our newcomers – Yates, Mitchell – seem to me quite promising; they are people to your taste and it is a very sad thought that you will be missing to complete the team.

I do not want to discuss with you at length any disputable points such as the Encyclopaedia. All your arguments against it may be right. And yet I have always been of the opinion that an institute of this kind, after its private and very personal juvenilia, must settle down to more permanent tasks, if you don't want the haphazard output of the post-Hitler period. With this point of view in mind I had suggested as a possible task the "illustrated Bartsch". What I had been thinking of was, of course, a solid contribution to the iconography of the 16th and 17th centuries. As you know the whole material needs revision and think of the importance of a proper Marc Anton! In fact, Mitchell wanted to start work on him after his release from the Navy. But I think we agree that these things are at present debatable side-issues.

The crucial point is, what you call, Saxl's and Bing's questionable integrity. We lived under one roof together for more than four years and I had plenty of opportunities of studying the inmates of the place. Saxl is, in spite of his often peculiar handling of people and situations, not as morally debased as he appears to you now. Through his fatal handling of your affairs all your old bitterness has come back and I can quite understand that you feel sick at the thought of working with him again. However, I will drop Saxl for a moment and turn to Bing who seems to me the real crux. It begins with that she regards the Institute as a nice sinecure. Unless she is

pushed by Saxl or me she does not do a stroke of work. Add to this laziness a highly developed egoism and the jealousy for Saxl which makes discussion or criticism in her presence almost impossible – and you have the perfect deputy director. The prehistory of our incorporation into the University was, of course, punctuated by many common discussions. But at a certain point the curtain was drawn and when it was raised again, Bing emerged in her present position. I became aware of this catastrophe just before Saxl's journey and a short discussion I had with him before he left ended with a few niceties. Of course, I was never prepared to let the matter rest at that. Quite apart from you and myself we have at present in the Institute three people who are good and serious scholars and would have more right to the deputizing than Bing has. You know that I am the last who is interested in titles and degrees but if such things have to be (maybe the board wanted it, may be that it is the rule), this appointment throws an entirely wrong light on me and also on the three others. The consequences are only too obvious – when Saxl goes the direction of the Institute will be taken out of our hands. So far the position of the Institute.

Now to myself. Meanwhile I have seen what Margot has written to you and I think she put my case better than I can do it. You must not forget that I am not in a very strong position for at present I have no alternative and Saxl knows it as well as I do. But quite apart from this, I was and am by no means unhappy, and I wonder whether I could ever find a post in America where I can work as undisturbed as in my present position. In addition, my collaboration with Saxl during these years was quite harmonious and I wouldn't bear him a grudge without these latest idiocies.

At the end I want to say a word about you. I interrupted the writing of this letter mainly because I raked my brain whether a way could not be found for you to keep a link with the Institute. After all, the Institute has a kind of objective existence and function quite apart from Saxl and Bing and you cannot step aside and contemplate about its possible decay. Perhaps you could officially remain a member of the Institute and come over here as a regular "Visiting Professor". For the present I shall try to prevent any drastic steps before the Board.

I was, of course, duly impressed by your memorandum (on which I shall keep watch), and as we won't meet for some time, I thought I might one

day answer it by a similar report for you; but I fear it would make a poor show beside yours.

I expect Saxl back in a few days and I shall keep you informed about further events.

Give my regards to Margaret.

Yours ever,

Rudi

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

November 5, 1945 | Edna Purdie to Edgar Wind

Dear Professor Wind,

The Committee of Management of the Warburg Institute have learned with deep regret of your decision to sever your connection with the Institute.

My Committee wishes me to express to you their sense of the great loss which the Institute has suffered, and their grateful appreciation of the services which you have rendered to the Institute in Germany, in this country, and in America. We realize that it is largely due to your efforts that the Institute is now in England and a part of this University; what you achieved while on the staff of the Institute will remain as a permanent influence on its future development.

Yours sincerely,

Edna Purdie

Chairman

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

December 11, 1945 | Edgar Wind to Edna Purdie

Dear Professor Purdie,

I was very much touched by your letter of November 5th and should be grateful if you would convey to your Committee my sense of their kindness and generosity. The decision to give up my connection with the Warburg Institute, and relinquish my hope of returning to England, was extremely painful for me to reach. Very much against Mr. Saxl's and my own will, it became apparent during his recent visit to the United States that our views concerning the function of the Institute could no longer be reconciled. We found that we held opposite opinions on such important questions as whether or not the Warburg Institute should be primarily a charitable

institution, and whether it should become an agency for the kind of cumulative research that results in encyclopaedias, manuals, etc. I felt that if I returned to London I would either have to obstruct Mr. Saxl's plans, which in fairness I could not do, or assist him in carrying out a program in which I personally disbelieve. Under these circumstances, it seemed to me that I had no choice but to step aside. I shall continue to take the greatest interest in the progress of the Institute which, I feel could not possibly have found a better place for its work than within the liberal setting of London University; and I should be happy if your Committee would not regard me as a stranger but make use of my services whenever they think I might be of assistance.

Yours sincerely,
Edgar Wind

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

January 9, 1946 | Edgar Wind to Eric Warburg

Dear Mr. Warburg:

Thank you very much for your letter of January fifth, concerning \$700. that are booked to my debit. On his recent visit to the United States, Saxl gave me the impression that he had settled this settled with your father, and I should be very sorry if this were not the case.

In writing your letter, you probably did not remember that I have worked for the last six years in the Interest of the Warburg Institute without presenting them any account whatsoever of my expenses. The only contribution I received were the \$180. monthly which you paid for a fraction of that period and which were intended as a substitute for my salary. The frequent travels and negotiations that I undertook on behalf of the Warburg Institute (not to speak of my work as co-editor of their Journal) entailed expenses which far exceed the sum which you were so kind as to advance to me when I was ill in the hospital. If you think that the remainder of this sum should be repaid, I shall put in my claim with the Warburg Institute, from which I shall easily be able to refund you. Such a settlement would be to my advantage, but I fear it would further drain the slender resources of the Institute and I hope we can agree to regard the matter as settled.

There has been a good deal of confusion in the financial policy of the Warburg Institute towards its members. Ever since the period of the German inflation, the financial plight of European scholars has been so great that the Warburg Institute has been able to employ fully-trained scholars on grounds of charity with salaries that lay below the existential minimum. It might be argued that this helped the scholars to survive, but there can be no doubt that the Warburg Institute has greatly profited from their plight; and the number actually employed by the Institute was never large enough to make up for the obvious disadvantages of this method. My chief reason for not returning to London is that Saxl is determined to carry on this policy of benevolent exploitation. I enclose the copy of a letter which I wrote to the chairman of the Board at the time of my resignation. Though I, naturally, did not state the case as plainly as I do to you, you will be able to read between the lines.

It is with some amusement (in retrospect) that I recall that in April 1933 – when, after five years of service at the Warburg Institute, I received a monthly salary of 300 marks – I went at my own expense to London to negotiate the transfer of the Institute. This seemed a natural thing for me to do, considering the immense Intellectual debt that I owed to your uncle, from whose example alas, during only little [...].

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

Edgar Wind, Report 1939-1945

My first visit to the United States began in the spring of 1924 and lasted four years, the major part of which I spent at the University of North Carolina as an Instructor and Assistant Professor in Philosophy. A group of young scholars whose acquaintance I made in these years, were later entrusted with the re-organization of St John's College In Annapolis, Maryland, and made an attempt to transform the college into a school for the study of the humanities. In 1939 Mr Barr and Mr Buchanan invited me to return to America as a guest of St. John's. When I sailed in August of that year, I intended to stay for five months. By the outbreak of the war, this period was prolonged to six years.

When it became evident that I would have to remain longer than I had planned, it was my intention to travel as much as possible and, therefore,

avoid becoming affiliated with an institution. As the lectures which I had delivered had met with a response that went far beyond my expectations, and as these lectures were regarded as expositions of the method to which the Warburg Institute in London was committed, I inferred that it would be in the interest of the Warburg Institute if I made this method known in as many parts of the United States as possible. I lectured at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, New York University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Dumbarton Oaks, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the Carnegie Corporation in New York, the Fritz Collection, the Morgan Library, and the Medieval Academy. I also spoke at the universities in the South: the University of Virginia, the University of North Carolina, and Duke University; in the Midwestern States, at the University of Chicago, the University of Iowa, and the Cleveland Museum of Art; and in the Far West at the University of California at Berkeley, Mills College, the San Francisco Museum, the Seattle Art Museum, and the Huntington Library. I made a particular point of visiting the more provincial institutions, the Museums in Worcester, Hartford, Providence, and Buffalo; the colleges of the Connecticut Valley; and of recent years I have been occasionally a guest at Groton School.

I had the satisfaction that less than a year after my arrival, in the summer of 1940, the Library of Congress, the National Gallery, and the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library issued a joint invitation to the staff of the Warburg Institute to settle in the United States for the duration of the war.

To give a full account of these years would be impossible as well as tedious. In planning the lectures, it was my aim to discuss either a work of art of universal interest (for example, Raphael's School of Athens), or to adjust the theme of the lecture to the objects of art preserved in the region where I was speaking. The appended list which comprises series of lectures only, will show that in several instances the lectures were accompanied by specially arranged exhibitions. I have not listed single lectures because, to my horror, they number seventy-three and their subjects, with only a few exceptions, were either variants or parts of the larger series. A lecture on Bellini's Feast of the Gods will be published by the National Gallery, and a study on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* by the Houghton Library at Harvard University.

After three years of this kind of activity, and with the knowledge that the war was far from ending, I felt that my strength would not permit me to continue the same course indefinitely. I therefore accepted in the autumn of 1942 an appointment by the University of Chicago as a full professor in the department of Art, an appointment which entailed the rights of permanent tenure, old age insurance, and a seat in the University Senate. Although my colleagues at the Warburg Institute expressed severe disappointment at my accepting this post, I feel certain that if they had been present, they would have recognized this development as inevitable.

At the time when I accepted the appointment in Chicago, two other Institutions had approached me with tentative suggestions that I join them. The Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Columbia University inquired whether I would join in order to conduct general undergraduate courses in the humanities and an advanced seminar of Renaissance Studies in which several members of the faculty would take part. The program appealed to me very much, but when we began to discuss details, it became apparent that the amount of teaching would be so large as to prevent me from continuing my research.

Also, Professor Sachs, then Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Harvard University, and Mr John Thacher, acting director of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Institute, which had become part of Harvard University in the autumn of 1940, discussed with me informally whether I would consider joining even though I was not a Byzantinist. I remember with gratitude the zest and gallantry with which both Mr Sachs and Mr Thacher fought for the inclusion of what they generously called a "humanist" in the research staff of the new Institute. It was certainly not due to any reticence or omission on their part that the "departmental mind" won out on that occasion.

My work in Chicago coincided with one of the great upheavals by which that institution has been visited at fairly regular intervals. When I arrived, the cleavage between President Hutchins and the majority of his faculty had been complete for some time. The University was split into two hostile camps, both bristling with plans to outwit their opponents, and the newcomer found himself surrounded by an atmosphere of martial violence.

I thought at first that I could quietly work as a member of the Department of Art to which I had been appointed, and keep out of the range of the Homeric battles that were raging pleasantly around me. Being averse to the type of historical thinking which traces a motif *à travers les ages* and ends by becoming lost in the mazes of its own relativism, my interest lay in giving monographic courses which would bring the student face to face with a few great objects and a few great men. I gave a course on Michelangelo, a course on Raphael, a seminar on Leonardo da Vinci, another course on Eighteenth Century England, a seminar on the Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds. However, it was soon discovered that my method of approach was apt to cut through departmental boundaries, and before I knew it I was regarded as a dangerous man – “a menace” was the official designation – and publicly branded as an “obscurantist”. To make matters worse, Mr Hutchins invited me to serve on a special committee which he had formed for the fostering of inter-departmental studies and of which he himself was a member. The other members were Mr Redfield (anthropology), Mr Nef (economics), Mr Knight (political theory), Mr Schwab (biology), Mr Katz (Jurisprudence), Mr Wilder (theology). I remember the regular meetings of this committee as my most pleasant experience in Chicago. Discussion was as sharp, and division of opinion as relentless, within this committee as without. My only regret was that a series of public lectures that I gave under the auspices of the committee on such inoffensive subjects as Michelangelo’s Sistine Ceiling and Titian’s Sacred and Profane Love, aroused such violent resentment on the part of “the enemy”, that the latter made an organized attempt, under the cover of a “committee on policy”, to prohibit me from speaking in public on subjects relating to the humanities. The succeeding debates in the University Senate, in which Mr Hutchins was attacked as a “revolutionary”, have given me an idea of the extremes to which unbridled passion can drive the misuse of intelligence; and while in retrospect it strikes me as humorous that the debate had to be carried on under police protection, I am happy to say that this particular struggle ended with a victory, however narrow, on the side of academic freedom.

I was not displeased to leave Chicago, though a limited number of my colleagues regretted it.

Smith College, which appointed me to the William Allen Neilson Research Professorship in the autumn of 1944, has proved refreshingly undramatic. The terms of the professorship are so liberal as to relieve the incumbent from any teaching obligation, although occasional lectures and seminars as well as consultation by students and faculty are admitted, though not required. President Davis was charmingly outspoken at my arrival and positively requested me not to assume any tacit obligations which were explicitly excluded by the terms of my appointment. As a result I have been as free as I have hardly ever been in recent years to pursue my own studies and to work at the completion of two books begun long ago, *The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo and Philosophical Iconography of the Renaissance*, and also a group of long delayed studies on the English Eighteenth Century.

The little lecturing that I have done in the last year – a series on English Art in the Eighteenth Century, a small group of lectures on Pico della Mirandola, an occasional seminar on Michelangelo, a single seminar at Harvard University on the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and a lecture at Dumbarton Oaks on *The Return of the Palaeologi* – has stimulated rather than interfered with my research; but I have made it a rule to decline more ambitious assignments of this kind, such as the Lowell Lectures in Boston which I was invited to give in the autumn.

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2).

August 28, 1948 | Edgar Wind to Kenneth Clark

[...] I was very much touched by what you wrote about the Warburg Institute and wish I could have heard your broadcast. Your anxieties correspond very closely to mine: I also see the writing on the wall – ‘an ordinary learned body’. Attempts on my part to resist this development proved so unsuccessful and Quixotic that in the end it became impossible for me to return, although I longed to be in England again and had, in fact, made all preparations for coming back. I left the University of Chicago with that intention. But when I saw Saxl here it became apparent that our views about the Institute’s function had become quite incompatible. He was then full of plans for an “Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance”, and seemed unfrightened by the prospect that, if the plan were to succeed, it would reduce a whole generation of scholars into compilers. As

other projects have revealed the same tendency, I sometimes fear the Institute has never quite rid itself of certain vestiges of the German Inflation – the period in which it was born. In the present calamity, perhaps nothing would help it more to overcome the effects of bed growing pains than a director bred in the humane tradition of English letters.

Warburg himself used to feel that certain phases of his work might not be at their best if they became codified in an orthodox fashion. Though you may not like this suggestion, I am certain that the proof of this will one day be seen, *ex contrario*, in the sequel to “The Gothic Revival”.
With kindest regards to you and Lady Clark,
yours sincerely

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3).

August 12, 1954 | Edgar Wind to Gertrud Bing

Dear Gertrud,

I heard, from a stranger, that Frankfort died, and am so appalled by his death, and by this series of calamities which have been assailing the Warburg Institute, that I am afraid my letter will make little sense. Yet at this particular moment, sense is perhaps more in need than sympathy (of which mine is not lessened by the fact that I have deliberately made myself a stranger). My first impulse after momentarily being numbed by the shock, was a feeling that I ought to put my name on the list of candidates; and perhaps one should trust these impulses. At any rate, on cooler reflexion, I think that this may be right, and that I ought to do it. As you know, I do not covet this office; but my name might possibly help (I say this without conceit) to drive the list upward; that is, to find a man who is better than I, or at least no worse and with more palatable failings, and to exclude the kind of makeshift solution which sheer tiredness might otherwise impose.

Please let me know in case I should do anything “formal” about this matter. I do not know whether the University invites applications, whether there are Boards, Committees, etc. to decide, or whether you possibly have already found a director to tide you over, or to take over for good. In that case, you must take this letter as a sign that the ghost of Warburg still

rumours in me, and I know you will take this as a good sign.
Yours,

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3).

August 12, 1954 | Gertrud Bing to Edgar Wind

Dear Edgar,

Thank you for your letter. I am sure that the news of Frankfort's death must have appalled you. It was a thunderbolt out of a blue sky, and it will take us all some time to pull ourselves together.

As to your wishing to be considered a candidate for the succession, there is no reason why you should not write to Professor Purdie (Bedford College) who is still the Chairman of our Committee of Management. The vacations have given us a breathing space, but at the beginning of October the machinery will be set in motion with, I presume, the establishment of a subcommittee appointed to survey the field.

I do take your letter, as you suggest, as a good sign; but I am wondering whether or not there are such things as irreversible processes.

Yours, with kind regards,
Gertrud

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3).

August 25, 1954 | Edgar Wind to Jean Seznec, letter draft

Cher Jean:

Vous nous manquez beaucoup. Non seulement que votre visite était bien trop courte, elle était incomplète parce que vous étiez seul. En [...], vous viendrez avec Simone, et je vous prie de nous annoncer la date de votre visite aussi tôt que possible, pour que, cette fois ça, nous soyons sûrs que vous ne nous échappiez pas! ~~Peut-être retournerons nous de l'Angleterre ensemble, car mon bateau, le [blank space], part de [...]. je dois partir vers le décembre. J'étais bien furieux envers vous~~

Quand j'ai appris que vous étiez venu en Amérique sans me le dire, que vous vous étiez marié sans me l'annoncer, que vous avez cru pouvois retourner en Europe sans me donner signe, [...], et j'avais commencé [...] de vous écrire, de [...], la lettre suivante:

Scélérat, Malin, Malicieux, Homme Fatale, Assassin, Créature, – en deux mots: cher Ami! nous avons au de vos nouvelles par la source la plus disgracieuse abominable – Philippe Hofer!

La raison que je n'ai pas continué, était l'arrivée d'un visiteur (le jeune [...], du Metropolitan Museum), qui m'a parlé de la mort de Frankfort, dont personne ne m'a pas averti. Comme je vous l'ai dit, il y a des moments où vous m'apparaissez trop "occasionaliste", trop [...] faut est aussi la mienne, puisque j'ai appris de notre conversation que vous ne connaissiez pas l'*essentiel* de mes relations avec l'Institute Warburg. C'est une histoire macabre, dans laquelle il y a un sort de revenant, et cher ami, peut-être vous pouvez m'aider de me débarrasser de cette présence équivoque.

J'ai connu Warburg [de] *très près* pendant les dernières années de sa vie. J'enseignais alors [*instead of*] j'étais "docent" à l'Université de Hambourg, et il m'avait demandé de devenir un membre de sa petite équipe. Je le voyais presque tous les jours, ~~il me traitait non seulement comme élève mais comme fils~~ et je dois dire que cet homme, qui avait la renommée d'un tyran, m'est toujours apparu l'homme le plus aimable que j'ai jamais connu. Dans nos conversations régulières et très étendues il m'a fait voir et comprendre des phénomènes étranges dont aucun autre de mes maîtres n'a jamais parlé. Peut-être le fait qu'il avait passé par une maladie mentale, lui avait ~~donné une don~~ *spéciale* une sensibilité accrue ~~ouvert certaines perspectives~~ par laquelle il faisait peur aux [...] gens qui le comprenaient mal, mais en laquelle il possédait un instrument unique pour interpréter [...] ~~des phénomènes étranges~~ un historien de l'imagination humaine.

Un soir, en 1929, quand j'étais dans une petite chambre qu'il m'avait donné à la bibliothèque pour ~~étudier travailler~~, la porte s'ouvrit et je vis le valet de Warburg entrer pour une seconde et se retirer très vite. J'étais en train d'écrire, et il me faisait signe qu'il ne voulait pas me déranger. Mais j'insistai, et il me dit avec quelque embarras: 'Eh bien. Monsieur Warburg m'a envoyé; il voudrait vous parler; mais il m'a spécialement chargé de ~~ne pas voir d'abord si vous travaillez~~ ne pas vous interrompre si vous êtes à votre travail" (Je me disais: 'Voilà le type d'un tyran!'), et je descendis.

C'était une heure très avancée du soir, et j'étais étonné de trouver Warburg encore à son bureau. Il était dans un état de lucidité extraordinaire, [...] et d'une bonne humeur presque enfantine. ~~En me rappelant les bonmots qu'il produisait~~ Après 25 ans, il m'est difficile de supprimer un rire en me rappelant les bon mots qu'il produisait à cette occasion. Mais puisqu'il était un homme malade (dyspepsie et maladie de coeur), j'étais un peu inquiet; et enfin je lui dis en riant: 'Je sais que vous ne m'avez pas appelé ici pour bavarder. Qu'aviez-vous à me dire?' Il me répondit: 'C'est ~~excessivement~~ simple. J'avais toujours peur de mourir, et vous savez pourquoi, mais je ~~n'ai pas plus peur.~~ Depuis depuis que vous êtes dans cette bibliothèque, je ~~sais que~~ n'ai plus peur; je sais que tout ira bien quand je serai parti.' Il est mort un mois plus tard. – dans un lit. Les histoires dramatiques qu'on raconte de sa mort, et dont Heise ne s'est pas gêné d'imprimer la plus ~~dégoutante~~ sont ~~complètement~~ légendaires. Il avait l'habitude de se coucher l'après-midi (les médecins le voulait); et un ~~de ces~~ après-midi, il ne s'est pas réveillé. C'est tout.

~~Vous savez (et il faut m'excuser de vous en parler)~~
~~Je ne vous parlerais pas de certains~~

J'aimerais ne pas parler des mes relations entre Saxl e Mlle. Bing [...], mais il est nécessaire d'éclairer un seul point: Warburg savait ce qu'il se passait entre eux, et il m'en a parlé. Il a fait tout son possible pour le bien de la bibliothèque et pour leur propre bien, de leur faire voir leur manque de goût et de tacte [...], mais il n'a pas réussi. Quant à moi, [...] je n'ai jamais compris comment tous les deux ~~gens qui se croyaient~~ pourraient être tellement endurcis et [...] insensible, que de se permettre [...] à la dépense d'une institution qu'ils ~~prétendaient~~ croyaient servir, et devant le nez d'un vieillard dont la santé mentale était toujours en depression dans une maladie nerveuse. ~~Étant plus jeune qu'eux, je n'ai jamais essayé de les éclaircir,~~

Je vous avoue que j'ai trouvé très difficile de supporter le fardeau que Warburg a mis sur mes épaules. ~~De 1929 à 1933 et~~ J'ai essayé, de ma façon, de trouver un *modus vivendi*, en évitant le contact personnel avec Saxl et Mlle. Bing autant que possible, sans sacrifier mes devoirs envers la bibliothèque. Vous vous rappelez peut-être de vos visites à Hambourg et à Londres que au-dehors de la bibliothèque, vous m'avez vu rarement (~~peut-~~

~~être jamais~~) dans leur compagnie. J'ai préféré être seul. J'ai aussi [...] toujours à retenir une position qui me [...] indépendant d'eux trouver moyens que garantirait mon indépendance. À Hambourg, j'étais attaché à l'Université; à Londres, j'appartenais à University College, qui payait (par la grace de les Rockefeller Foundation) la moitié de mon salaire.

Néanmoins, l'arrivée de Hitler, en 1933, m'a forcé de m'occuper de la bibliothèque de leur avenir d'une façon très active. Il était clair à tout le monde (excepté à la famille des Warburg, qui, étant banquiers, avaient des informations spéciales que [...] cauchemar que de quatre mois) qu'il fallait sauver la bibliothèque en l'exportant. Saxl fit un "voyage officiel" en Hollande, pour parler à Huizinga et voir si on pourrait trouver une place pour la bibliothèque là-bas. Moi, j'avais des amis en Angleterre, et j'y mis allé (à mes propres frais, sans aide de la part de la bibliothèque ou de la famille Warburg) en avril 1933. Puisque personne ne savait d'avance que les Allemands [...] un jour occuper envahir l'Hollande, c'est un accident bien heureux je le considère comme une providence du ciel que Saxl a mal réussi en Hollande, et que j'ai bien réussi en Angleterre. [...] ces négociations, vers la fin desquelles j'ai télégraphié à Saxl de venir me rejoindre en Angleterre à Londres. Quelques-uns ont survécu la guerre et connaissent des faits. Et cela explique peut-être pourquoi Mlle. Purdie, que je n'ai jamais vu que je ne connais pas, a trouvé bien, comme 'Chairman of the Board', de m'écrire une lettre de remerciement, en novembre 1945, quand je me suis décidé de ne plus retourner à l'institute, dont je cite: "We realize that it is largely due to your efforts that the Institute is now in England and a part of this University".

~~La seconde~~ En effet, le refuge de l'institut en Angleterre n'était pas le seul refuge que je lui avait procuré. L'institut Financé par des sources privées Anglaises, le premier contrat faisait provision pour trois ans, le second pour sept ans de plus; mais cette la fin de cette période approchait, sans aucune université Anglaise ayant offert d'adopter l'Institut. C'était pendant la guerre; le danger d'une invasion Allemande était grande, et les Anglais avaient d'autres soucis que de s'occuper de la ~~préservation~~ survivance d'un institut semi-étranger. J'étais en Amérique, où je recevais de Saxl des lettres extrêmement pessimistes. C'est alors que je lui ai indiqué que j'essayerais de persuader un groupe d'institutions américaines d'inviter l'Institut Warburg en Amérique, de garantir les dépenses de transport, de

recevoir et les salaires des employés, et de lui offrir une place permanente ici – en cas que les Anglais n'en voulaient plus. J'ai parlé à Archibald MacLeish qui était alors "Librarian of Congress", aux Bliss qui possédaient encore venaient de commencer avec Dumbarton Oaks, et à Finley, qui était le directeur de la Nat. Gallery à Washington. Ces trois institutions ce sont réunies, et pour démontrer qu'on était sérieux, on a demandé l'ambassadeur Anglais, Lord Lothian, de transmettre cette invitation à Lord Lee, qui étaient alors le "Chairman le prédécesseur de Mlle. Purdie comme "Chairman of the Board". L'effet était immédiat. Les Anglais découvrirent leur désir de retenir l'Institut; et c'est alors sur cette base que l'incorporation dans l'Université de Londres eu lieu. Lord Lee m'écrivit une lettre, dont je cite:

The Board have asked me to express their special appreciation of the part which you played in connection with the invitation to the institutes which reached us from Washington. They realize that it is largely due to your solicitude for the institute that the offer was made.

Je me rappelle assez vivement le jour où Mr. Forster, premier secrétaire de l'Ambassade Anglaise, me demanda les détails qu'il et-la devait introduire dans la lettre, qu'il dicta en ma présence.

Et pour vous amuser, je vous cite aussi d'une note de Max Warburg, l'aîné des quatre frères de Aby; mais pour vous épargner son Allemand, je traduis: 'C'était une entreprise très hardie, qu'en temps de guerre, seulement des gens enthousiasmés comme vous aurait osé essayer. Je vous remercie au nom de la famille'. – Quand un banquier dit 'enthousiasmés', il veut dire 'fou'. Il me reste de vous rappeler les façons un peu drôles par lesquelles Saxl et Mlle. Bing ont exprimé leur gratitude. L'institut ayant été incorporé dans l'université, Saxl m'informa que mon poste de 'Deputy Director' serait aboli, que Mlle. Bing prendrait ma place comme 'Assistant Director', que meilleure position qu'on pouvait m'offrir 'sous eux', serait celle d'un 'Reader' avec un salaire de 950 livres, mais qu'on serait très content de me voir 'diriger les étudiants', et que je pouvais toujours compter succéder Saxl après sa mort ou son 'retirement'. Je m'en suis remercie.

[...] Après cela, négociations interminables, dans lesquelles j'ai dû employer l'aide d'un avocat Anglais, pour regagner mes biens papiers et matériaux déposés à l'institut. Et ~~pour comble~~, j'ai eu le choc et le chagrin, dont vous étiez témoin, de voir apparaître dans les publications de l'Institut Warburg, fourmillantes de citations et de références [...], certains résultats inconnus de mes propres recherches sans indications de leur auteur! [...]

Vous connaissez le fin. Saxl est mort; et Mlle. Bing, comme "Assistant Director", appartenait au comité pour choisir son successeur. Elle a menti en disant qu'elle m'avait demandé d'accepter le poste et que j'avais refusé; et elle a inventé le même mensonge au sujet de Wormald (qui me l'a confirmé lui-même). À sa recommandation, on a nommé un homme qui dépendait d'elle parce ~~qu'il connaissait pas le sujet~~ que la matière de l'institut n'était pas de son métier. La justification primaire de ce choix était que lui et sa femme avaient été amis intimes de Saxl e Mlle. Bing. Pauvre Frankfort! Je suis sûr qu'il a bien regretté sa faiblesse de prendre un poste sous des conditions pareilles. Et maintenant il est mort aussi; et son successeur sera proposé par Mlle. Bing! Vous comprenez (elle ne m'a [...] écrit un mot) bien pourquoi je lui écrit que je me proposerai moi-même comme successeur!!

Mais ne vous inquiétez pas! Je n'ai plus l'intention de rentrer en relation avec des caractères pareils; et je suis sûr que Warburg lui-même ne voudrait plus que je le fasse.

Cher Jean: Excusez-moi de ce long récit. ~~Mais je vous dois~~ Mais il était nécessaire pour vous répondre à la question qui nous troublait l'autre jour: 'Quelles sont mes relations avec l'Institut Warburg?' ~~La réponse est simple:~~ Vous connaissez la réponse: Je n'en ai aucunes. L'idée de appartenir à une institution, au centre de laquelle se perpétuait une corruption profonde, était une ~~Don Quichotterie~~ folie. Du moins, c'était au-dessus de mes forces, et Warburg s'est ~~profondément~~ trompé en croyant que tout serait bien ~~parce que j'étais là~~. Il me reste de vous demander de faire *tout ce que vous pouvez* pour trouver un directeur pour cet institut délaissé qui se rapprochera du *style Warburg*, et non du *style Bing*. Du moment qu'un homme vraiment bien, un homme qui connaît le sujet, et qui a un esprit indépendant, se chargera de diriger l'institut, je sais que ce

“revenant” cessera de me troubler, et l’esprit de Warburg lui-même sera en paix. Évitez Méfiez-vous des Allemands, et méfiez-vous surtout des Autrichiens (ils trichent), mais tâchez de trouver un Anglais, parmi lesquels il y a bien des bons classicistes et médiévalistes. Et n’oubliez pas que, si vous pouvez aider à résoudre ce problème, vous me rendriez un service d’ami, en me délivrant de ce cauchemar. Toujours votre, Edgar.

(Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wind 7, file 5).

September 25, 1954 | Jean Seznec to Edgar Wind

Le 25 septembre 1954

Cher Edgar,

Je réponds bien tard à votre longue et bonne lettre. Pardonnez-moi. J’attendais de pouvoir vous répondre à loisir [...] dans une paix relative de l’esprit. Mais j’ai été bouleversé par le départ de Simone – qui est retrouvé mardi aux États Unis; et maintenant [...] en Bretagne, près de mon père très gravement malade, et que je crains de ne pas revoir vivant.

Je vous remercie de m’avoir écrit, en détail, l’histoire de vos relations avec l’Institut Warburg; vous avez pleinement répondu à la question que je vous posais à Northampton, et qui me tourmentait depuis longtemps. Vous m’avez appris beaucoup de choses que j’ignorais, et je vois le problème dans sa vraie perspective. Si la direction de l’Institute – sa direction totale, effective – vous avait été offerte (comme je l’avais cru) au lendemain de la mort de Saxl, tout aurait pris un cours très différent – et l’âme de Warburg eut été consolée. Mais c’est Frankfort qui s’est fourvoyé à l’Institut – et sa mort rouvre la question dans tout son acuité.

Je voudrais savoir, avant toute chose, si vous avez reçu de Mlle. Bing une réponse à la lettre où vous vous mettiez à la disposition de l’Institut – la lettre que vous dictait le souvenir de Warburg et votre fidélité à son esprit. J’ignore, par ma part, ce qui va se passer, et je ne crois pas, mon cher Edgar, pouvoir influencer les événements, ni les décisions: vous me prêtez généreusement une autorité que je n’ai pas auprès d’un comité dont je ne fais pas partie. Ce que je puis vous dire c’est que le comité sera [...] divisé, comme je vous l’ai rapporté à Northampton: les uns [...] un directeur choisi dans le “inner circle” de l’Institut; les autres (tel Tom Boas, par

exemple) réclameront un anglais: et il ne manque pas en effet, en Angleterre, d'excellents "classicistes", parmi lesquels ils pourraient choisir. Ce n'est qu'au hasard des conversations que je pourrai moi-même (si on me la demande!) formuler une opinion.

Ce qui je veux, en tout cas, c'est vous revoir en Angleterre – et vous garder. A cela je travaillerai, de cela nous parlerons bientôt à All Souls. Si j'entendes à mon retour à Oxford des nouvelles intéressantes, je vous en ferai part, soyez-en sûr; et ne m'accusez jamais, mon ami, d'être ambitieux ou "politique". Nous avons été, l'un et l'autre, coupables de silence dans les dernières années; mais je crois que nous ne sommes, ni l'un ni l'autre, coupables de désaffection. Laissez moi vous [...], à Margaret et à vous, la joie profonde que j'ai éprouvée à vous retrouver tous les deux; et toutes les joies qui je me [...] dans le prochain avenir, de ces réunions où Simone aussi sera présente. Il y aura encore de beaux jours – les plus beaux, les plus riches – pour notre amitié.

Votre
Jean

(Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Wind 7, file 5).

March 22, 1969 | Edgar Wind to G.J. Grange

Dear Mr. Grange,

Please forgive me for being so late in saying how pleasant it was to see you here and how much I hope that you have followed your wife's excellent advice.

I am a little embarrassed by the funny book which you kindly sent me because I normally do not read that sort of literature. A glance at what is said about the Warburg family, whose members in Hamburg and in New York I have known for two generations, was sufficient to convince me that the writer is unreliable in the extreme. Max Warburg did not negotiate with the allies in 1918; this is a confusion with Dr. Melchior, who was a member of the Warburg firm. Ingrid Warburg was not born in Stockholm but in Hamburg; she was the daughter of Fritz, whose Swedish wife gave her that Nordic name. Aby Warburg did not believe in astrology but, on the contrary, exposed the fallacies of that superstition and of many others, as part of a great campaign which he humorously called *Kritik der Reinen*

Vernunft. Neither the amiable Mary Warburg (Aby's widow) nor the detestable Eric Warburg (Max's son) had any share whatsoever in initiating the very precarious negotiations for the transfer of the Warburg Institute from Hamburg to London in 1933. As I was rather deeply involved in this affair, I know the facts. Unquestionably Max Warburg, whom I disliked profoundly (almost as profoundly as I respected Aby) was foolish and vain and misjudged the German situation completely, but to claim that he tried to become Hitler's personal Jew is coarse defamation. The book is sprinkled all over with shabby remarks against dead men, who cannot answer, among them James Loeb and Howard Goodhart, whose genuine scholarly attainments have completely escaped the compiler of all this rubbish. You really should not distribute such stuff.

This is surely a most unconventional way of thanking for a present!
With best wishes to you both,
Yours sincerely

(Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 3, file 2).

Cfr. E. Wind, Carta 22 mar. 1969, S.I. para G.J. Grange, S.I., 2 f., in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 3, file 2.

Notes

[1] For Wind's introduction, see *Einleitung*, Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike, Erster Band: Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1931, ed. H. Meier, R. Newald, and E. Wind (Leipzig-Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1934), V-XVII. For the Nazi review, see M. Rasch, *Juden und Emigranten machen deutsche Wissenschaft*, "Völkischer Beobachter", 5 January 1935. A specific mention to Wind is made on p. 5: "Herr Edgar Wind in seiner Einleitung fühlt sich selbst dabei etwas ungemütlich und ergeht sich in langatmigen und fremdwortgespickten Ausführungen über die Berechtigung dieser neuer Bibliographie".

[2] In a note, Margaret Wind speculates three reasons for Wind's inclusion in the SS black list: (1) Wind's signing of the protest against the arrest of leftist editor Carl von Ossietzky in 1931; (2) Wind's role in the relocation of KBW in 1933; (3) Wind's introduction to the *Kulturwissenschaft Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike* and his critique of the *Hygienikers* (i.e., Nazis). Cfr. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 6, file 2.

[3] There are many letters from Saxl and Bing hinting that Wind's succession as the director of the Warburg Institute was an assured development. In a letter from June 1st, 1943, for example, Bing states: "All this is said under one condition, Edgar dear, and what misgivings I may have felt on that account in moments of

despondency, are dispelled by your letter. The condition is that you are going to take over when Saxl's term of office comes to an end. You know how fond I am of the Institute, and how much I hope it will go on to play its part. But I feel saving it now is not worth much trouble unless its inner meaning is ensured. You have never wanted to hear anything of this as long as you were here. You may feel differently about it now. For one, Saxl is getting older, and the last years have, for private as well as for general reasons, laid a very heavy burden on him. I should be very glad if he would not have to carry it very much longer once the future of the Institute is assured, and, let us hope, the war over. The other reason why I feel this may be discussed between us three is that, the last years, and also to a certain extent the particulars experiences of the common household have convinced me that the present team would be a hopelessly pedestrian and uninspired assemblage without somebody like you or Saxl to stir then up. I know everything there is to say against making such a sweeping statement at the present time, but believe me I am right. I was duly shocked and hurt whenever one of your furious letters came but I knew all the time what you objected to, and agree with you". Gertrud Bing to Edgar Wind, June 1st, 1943. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

[4] Wind's review was first published anonymously as *On a recent Biography of Warburg*, "The Times Literary Supplement", 25 June 1971, 735-736. It was republished ten years later in *Eloquence of the Symbols* (cfr. ed. 1993, 106-113).

References

Berlin, Nabokov 1971

I. Berlin to N. Nabokov, September 21, 1971, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Berlin 271, fol. 76.

Bing, Wind 1942

G. Bing to E. Wind, April 27, 1942, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1.

Bing, Wind 1943

G. Bing to E. Wind, June 1st, 1943, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Bing, Wind 1954

G. Bing to E. Wind, August 12, 1954, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3.

Gilbert 1988

C. Gilbert, *Edgar Wind as man and thinker*, in *The New Criterion Reader: The First Five Years*, ed. H. Kramer, New York 1988.

Hutchins, Wind 1943

R.M. Hutchins to E. Wind, telegram, October 9, 1943, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 8, file 2.

Lee, Wind 1940

Lee of Fareham to E. Wind, December 24, 1940, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1.

Liberthsen, Wind 1942

L. Liberthsen to E. Wind, April 10, 1942, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 162, file 1.

McGuire 1989

W. McGuire, *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past*, Princeton 1989.

Panofsky, Boas 1939

E. Panofsky to G. Boas, October 5, 1939, in E. Panofsky, *Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1968*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden 2001-2011.

Ramsey 2001

M. Ramsey, *Introduction*, in E. Wind, *Experiment and Metaphysics. Towards a Resolution of the Cosmological Antinomies [Das Experiment und die Metaphysik: Zur Auflosung der kosmologischen Antinomien*, Tübingen 1934], Eng. trans. by C. Edwards, Oxford 2001.

Saxl et al. 1940

F. Saxl, R. Wittkower, and G. Bing to E. Wind, telegram, May 21, 1940, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1.

Saxl, Wind 1943a

F. Saxl to E. Wind, March 19, 1943, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Saxl, Wind 1943b

F. Saxl to E. Wind, October 1, 1943, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 4.

Saxl, Wind 1944

F. Saxl to E. Wind, telegram, December 16, 1944, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Warburg, Bing 1946

E.M. Warburg to G. Bing, January 10, 1946, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 5.

Warburg, Bing, Saxl 2001

A. Warburg, G. Bing and F. Saxl, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg*, ed. K. Michels and C. Schoell-Glass, Berlin 2001.

Warburg Institute Report 1939-1940

Warburg Institute Report: September 1939-June 1940, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Warburg Institute Report 1940-1941

Warburg Institute Report, June 1940-September 1941, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1.

Warburg, Warburg 1944

M.M. Warburg to E.M. Warburg, December 11, 1944, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 5.

Warburg, Wind 1944

M.M. Warburg to E. Wind, December 11, 1944, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 5.

Wescott, Wind 1942

G. Wescott to E. Wind, April 9, 1942, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 162, file 1.

Wind 1931

E. Wind, *Warburgs Begriff der Kulturwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Ästhetik*, "Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft" XXV (1931).

Wind 1939-1945

E. Wind, "Report 1939-1945", Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Wind 1942-1944

E. Wind, "Supplementary Report", Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 8, file 2, 1942-1944.

Wind 1943

E. Wind, *Memorandum on Encyclopedic Studies to be edited by the Committee on Social Thought*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 136, file 2, 1943.

Wind 1943-1944

E. Wind, *Renaissance Studies*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 8, file 2, 1943-1944.

Wind 1950

E. Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, "The Burlington Magazine" XCII (1950).

Wind 1954

E. Wind, *Art and Scholarship under Julius II*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 216, file 4, 1954.

Wind [1963] 1985

E. Wind, *Art and Anarchy* [London 1963], Evanston 1985.

Wind, Bing 1945

E. Wind to G. Bing, June 15, 1945, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Wind, Bing 1954

E. Wind to G. Bing, August 12, 1954, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3.

Wind, Breidecker 1995

M. Wind to V. Breidecker, September 6, 1995, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 46, file 7.

Wind, Clark 1948

E. Wind to K. Clark, August 28, 1948, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 3.

Wind, Harvey 1995

M. Wind to B. Harvey, April 10, 1995, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 23, file 1.

Wind, Hutchins 1944

E. Wind to R.M. Hutchins, October 19, 1944, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 8, file 2.

Wind, Grange 1969

E. Wind to G.J. Grange, March 22, 1969, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 3, file 2.

Wind, McKeon 1942

E. Wind to R. McKeon, October 12, 1942, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 8, file 2.

Wind, Redford 1995

M. Wind to B. Redford, September 19, 1995, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 50, file 1.

Wind, Simmons 1986

M. Wind to J.S.G. Simmons, February 12, 1986, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 12, file 1.

Wind, Saxl 1943

E. Wind to F. Saxl, April 10, 1943, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Wind, Saxl 1945

E. Wind to F. Saxl, July 9, 1945, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 241, file 4.

Wind, Seznec 1954

E. Wind to J. Seznec, letter draft, August 25, 1954, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 5.

Wind, Warburg 1942

E. Wind to E.M. Warburg, June 13, 1942, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 1.

Wind, Warburg 1946

E. Wind to E.M. Warburg, January 9, 1946, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Wind, Wittkower 1945

E. Wind to R. Wittkower, June 30, 1945, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wind 7, file 2.

Zorach 2007

R. Zorach, *Love, truth, orthodoxy, reticence; or, what Edgar Wind didn't see on Botticelli's Primavera*, "Critical Inquiry" 34/1 (2007).

English abstract

In August 1939, Edgar Wind (1900-1971) – then Deputy Director of the Warburg Institute – departed from London towards the United States, intending to stay for five months. Due to the outbreak of the Second World War, this journey would last sixteen years. Wind's transatlantic career spanned lectures across the United States and employment in prominent academic institutions, at times acting as an ambassador to the Warburg Institute and as an overseas herald to Aby Warburg's intellectual legacy. However, while Wind's North American status flourished, his relationship to the Warburg Institute foundered, leading to a series of disagreements that would ultimately result in a falling-out; a watershed, both for Wind's late career and for the subsequent heuristic goals of the Warburg-Kreis.

This article aims to portray Wind's activities in the United States from 1939 to 1945 and elaborate on the reasons behind Wind's severance of ties with the Warburg Institute in 1945, the background to such a decision and the consequences it entailed. As a complement, an extensive appendix of letters follows, detailing the transatlantic discussion between Wind, Saxl, Bing, Wittkower, and members of the Warburg family.

A Review of Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970

Edgar Wind

Edgar Wind's review of E.H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (1970), was published in "The Times Literary Supplement", 25 June 1971, 735-736. An edition with Notes and References, added from Wind's papers, was published later, as an "Appendix" in E. Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols: Studies in Humanist Art*, ed. Jaynie Anderson, Oxford 1983, 106-113 (It. trans. *L'eloquenza dei simboli*, Milano 1992, 161-173). The review, published a few months after the publication of Gombrich's *Intellectual Biography* in the "The Times Literary Supplement", and republished in the essay collection *The Eloquence of Symbols* (Oxford 1983), paradoxically is not so well known among English scholars as it is among Italian scholars, thanks to the successful Italian edition, *L'eloquenza dei simboli*, published by Adelphi in 1992. This issue of Engramma publishes the first digital edition of Wind's review in order to put it into circulation alongside the reconstruction that Ernst Gombrich proposes of Warburg's life and thought.

Bibliographical Note: Edgar Wind is the author of one of the most brilliant writings on Warburg's method: s. *Warburgs Begriff der Kunstwissenschaft und seine Bedeutung für die Aesthetik*, included, as is Gombrich's review, in *The Eloquence of Symbols: Studies in Humanist Art*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1993.

On the relationship between Gombrich's portrait of Warburg and those of others, see in Engramma: M. Centanni, G. Pasini, *Aby Warburg and his biographers. An intellectual portrait in the words of Giorgio Pasquali (1930), Gertrud Bing (1958), Edgar Wind (1970)*.

On the conflict between Wind and the team of the Warburg Institute in London under the direction of Ernst Gombrich, see in this issue of Engramma, the contribution by Ianick Takaes de Oliveira.

On a recent Biography of Warburg

The cultural significance of pagan revivals, as sources both of light and of superstition, may roughly be said to have been the theme of Aby Warburg's bold researches. A seemingly threadbare academic subject, the so-called 'survival of the classics', was here freshly attacked from such unexpected angles, and with such a wealth of new documentary evidence on the underlying social, moral, and religious forces, that it could justly be said by a famous German art historian, availing himself of a phrase of Dürer's, that Warburg had opened up 'a new kingdom' to the study of art [E. Panofsky, 'Professor A. Warburg †', obituary notice in "Hamburger Fremdenblatt", 28 October 1929].

Today that kingdom is associated less with Warburg's own writings, which are virtually unknown in England, than with the great library which he built up in preparing them, and which is now the property of the University of London. A biography of the man could well have helped to redress the balance, on the assumption that it would introduce the reader to the large number and wide range of Warburg's factual discoveries and to his new method of compact demonstration, in which divergent disciplines are fused together as instruments for solving a particular historical problem. However, as the author of *Aby Warburg* explains at some length in the introduction, this book was conceived under an ill-omened star. The work was forced on E.H. Gombrich by circumstances beyond his control, and it is clear from the depressing tone of much of the writing that he found himself faced with an uncongenial task. It might well be asked whether it would not have been better to leave a book on such a difficult subject unwritten rather than to write it against the grain. But Professor Gombrich has made his choice, and one must discard one's sympathy, and say what has gone wrong.

Some of the weaknesses of the book are foreshadowed in its plan. It sets out to be three things at once and, consequently, never does full justice to any of them: first, a presentation of some of Warburg's unpublished notes and drafts in what purports to be a usable edition; second, a biographical history, to serve as a 'scaffolding' for the notes in place of regular annotation; and third, a conspectus of Warburg's research and of his growth as a scholar. That these three aims, although supposedly

dovetailed, constantly get in each other's way may account, at least in part, for the dragging pace of the book. The claim that in this sluggish progress one of the most alert of historical explorers speaks in his own words' is absurd. The fragments quoted from unpublished notes, drafts, diaries., and letters, and indiscriminately mixed with pieces torn from finished works as if they were fragments, are drowned in a slow-moving mass of circumlocution which determines the tone and tempo of the book.

The following is a fair example of Professor Gombrich's attitude towards Warburg: "He was like a man lost in a maze and the reader who attempts the next chapter should perhaps be warned that he, too, will have to enter the maze". Strange to say, this inauspicious invitation refers to the years 1904-7, one of Warburg's great productive periods, in which he published the exquisitely fresh *Imprese amorose* (1905), the now classic discourse on Dürer's *Death of Orpheus* (1906), and the masterly treatise *Francesco Sassetti* (1907), perhaps his finest essay on Renaissance psychology. To Professor Gombrich the process of discovery underlying these works, which are exemplary in their union of new archival evidence with psychological demonstration, spells confusion, agony, and frustration: "It might seem an impertinence to attempt to trace Warburg's wanderings through the maze, but it is possible at least to indicate why he found it so agonizingly hard to map it out". This is the author's way of building up what he considers to be his subject's persona.

It is from his reading of the unpublished papers that Professor Gombrich has abstracted this tortured figure. However, 'the inside view', as he hopefully calls it, is not necessarily the most authentic. Rummaging in fragments, drafts, and other unfinished business easily gives a compiler, unless he is on his guard against that error, a disproportionate sense of tentative gropings, particularly if, as in the case of Warburg, too many preparatory scribbles have survived.

No doubt, there was some obsessional quirk in Warburg's over-extravagant habit of preserving all his superseded drafts and notes, thus swelling his personal files to gargantuan proportions, with comic side-effects that did not escape him. And yet this living tomb of superannuated memoranda was as indispensable to the exercise of his genius as, say, the smell of rotting apples was to Schiller's inspiration – not to speak of the

inexhaustible battery of pills assembled and labelled by Stravinsky. As mechanical props in the operation of the spirit, such personal rituals, however odd, certainly merit the historian's attention; but when they protrude too far into the foreground of his narrative they are likely to falsify the picture. This is what has happened in the present book. The economy and elegance of Warburg's finished work, which mark it as that of a master-craftsman, are not seen here as an integral part of his personal character. The incisive style of the man is lost in the pullulating swarm of ephemeral notations, from which he emerges, like a spectre, in the now fashionable guise of a tormented mollusc: shapeless, flustered, and jejune, incessantly preoccupied with his inner conflicts and driven in vain to aggrandize them by some unconquerable itch for the Absolute.

Considering what Warburg thought of people who had *ein geräuschvolles Innerleben* "a noisy inner life" [*ein geräuschvolles Innenleben*], the fact that he himself is here portrayed in that fatiguing character, without any respite from its vulgarity, suggests some obtuseness in the author's outlook. After referring, as a matter of hearsay, to Warburg's reputation for 'epigrammatic wit', Professor Gombrich proceeds to disregard 'this more volatile side of Warburg's personality' because 'in the nature of things' it 'has left few traces in his notes'. But the distinction is much too facile, and the notes themselves do not bear it out, since they inevitably include examples of the aphoristic felicity which also illumines Warburg's published writings. To begin an 'intellectual biography' of this particular scholar by ruling the Comic Muse out of court is to lose sight of an important phase of his historical imagination. Unfailingly responsive to human incongruities, which he would re-enact in his own person with a disconcerting degree of verisimilitude, Warburg used his wit as an ideal instrument for refining and deepening his historical discernment.

Despite a strong strain of melancholy in his temperament which rendered him susceptible, from early years, to its of dejection and nervous apprehension, Warburg was not a splenetic introvert but very much a citizen of the world, in which, knowing himself favoured by intellectual and economic wealth, he played his part with expansive zest and with a glorious sense of humour, not to forget a substantial dose of personal conceit which always marked his bearing. Admired in his youth as 'a ravishing dancer', he became notorious, while he was studying at Bonn, as

one of the most ebullient among the revelling students who took part in the carnival at Cologne. His animal vitality (which illness never quite managed to subdue) was at the root of his marvelously exact comprehension of folk festivals, whether in Renaissance Florence or among the Pueblo Indians. Even his pursuit of far-fetched allegories had an ingredient of festive participation. A phrase that he enjoyed using in speech and writing, "das bewegte Leben", defines what Pope would have called his ruling passion.

Given Warburg's pleasure in miming, and the important role it played in his conception of art, it is understandable that he seized with delight on the theory of *Einfühlung* (empathy), introduced into psychology and aesthetics by Robert Vischer, who had coined the term in his revolutionary little treatise *Über das optische Formgefühl* (1873) [reprinted in *Drei Schriften zum ästhetischen Formproblem* (1927), 1-44], directed against "die Herbartische Schule". Warburg referred to this book in the preface to his first work, the dissertation on Botticelli, listing it as the principal source for the study of *Einfühlung*, which he said had some bearing on his own method. In describing Botticelli's peculiar trick of animating his firmly-set figures with the help of flamboyant accessories, such as fluttering draperies and flying hair, reminiscent of ancient Bacchantes, Warburg thought he could show in what devious ways empathy became a force in the formation of style. In later years, when he studied the link between Olympian and demonic deities in the transmission of pagan imagery, he noticed a similar bifurcation to that which he had first traced in Botticelli's art: an 'idealistic' firmness of outline offset by a 'manneristic' agitation in the accessories.

It is a measure of Professor Gombrich's imperfect rapport with some of Warburg's chief sources of inspiration that he has taken no account at all of Vischer's work or of the reference to it in Warburg's dissertation. *Einfühlung* is a term regularly used by Warburg, and the word 'empathy' occurs quite often in Professor Gombrich's book. But he gives no indication that this term, so important in Warburg's thought, was a new coinage of the 1870s. A closer study of Warburg's method, with an exact analysis of his debt to Vischer and of the constructive ideas that grew out of it, might have led Professor Gombrich to revise his opinion, pronounced several times with an air of finality which would have been ill-judged even

if the evidence had been less faulty, that Warburg's psychological concepts make no allowance for the creative imagination and are therefore of little use for an understanding of artistic traditions. He repeatedly asserts that Warburg based his conception of the human mind on an outmoded mechanistic psychology that only 'talked in terms of sense impressions and the association of ideas' – the very doctrine against which Vischer had written *Über das optische Formgefühl* [The lively debates on the nature of *Einfühlung* arising from Robert Vischer's spirited treatise still survive in Croce's diatribe *L'estetica della 'Einfühlung' e Robert Vischer* (1934)].

One phase of Warburg's psychological thinking embarrasses Professor Gombrich particularly: like Vischer, Warburg believed that the physiology of the brain would one day offer the means of giving a scientifically exact account of the workings of empathy and its ramifications. Professor Gombrich has looked with some despair on the 'increasing' number of notes devoted by Warburg to these reflections. Unfortunately none is quoted. It is to be hoped that this interesting phase of Warburg's thought will eventually be studied by a historian who has mastered the physiological psychology of that period. The interest is more than antiquarian: for in Warburg's concern with empathy and its operation lies the key to his later and more famous researches into magic and demonology, which led, for example, to his epochal discovery of oriental star-demons in the frescoes of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, or of traces of pagan augury in Luther's anti-papal policy of advertising animal monstrosities as authentic portents, illustrated in broadsheets. Indeed, some perhaps over-refined distinctions introduced by Vischer into the study of empathy – 'Einfühlung, Anfehlung, Zufühlung' [R. Vischer, *op. cit.*, 26] – recur in one of Warburg's earliest attempts to distinguish between various kinds of magical appropriation ('Einverleibung, Anverleibung, Zuverleibung') [Warburg in a note written at Santa Fé in 1896 quoted by Gombrich, 91].

On Warburg's skill in revising his drafts and refining his formulations, often with the help of astringent exercises in permutation, by which he liked to test the range and density of his terms, Professor Gombrich's opinion is unfavourable: "The result was often paralysis". It is open to doubt whether the term 'blockage', also used by Professor Gombrich, is much too coarse to designate the uneven rhythm that Warburg noticed in

the progress of his work. In a delightful autobiographical note on his *Trüffelschweindienste* (services as a pig for rooting out truffles) Warburg observed that, so far as his conscious awareness was concerned, his general ideas on historical psychology and his discoveries about particular historical situations had resisted the disclosure of their 'intimate connection' until he was forty [Warburg's Diary, 8 April 1907, quoted by Gombrich, 140]. To a reader of the important works that Warburg had published between 1902 and 1906, this would suggest that at the age of forty (1906), when he began composing *Francesco Sassetti*, Warburg suddenly felt a new freedom and clarity in his application of principles that had governed his previous writings in a more instinctive way. But despite the truffles, Professor Gombrich insists that this note, which has a good deal of self-parody in it, must be accepted as positive proof that Warburg had suffered in the years before 1906 from a protracted and very severe 'blockage' of his mental faculties of co-ordination. Given the humorous tone of the note, and considering the publications of 1902-6 (beginning with *Bildniskunst and florentinisches Bürgertum*, immediately followed in the same year, 1902, by *Flandrische Kunst and florentinische Frührenaissance*, both packed with new heraldic and iconographic discoveries of the widest psychological import), the inference seems a little hasty; but it adds to the splenetic gloom that Professor Gombrich has spread over his canvas.

In the biographical narrative, the impression that Warburg must have suffered from intense intellectual isolation is strengthened by an important source for his intellectual history being left untapped – his scholarly friendships. Time and again a name flits across these pages – 'his friend Mesnil', 'his friend Jolles', 'his Florentine friend Giovanni Poggi', 'his friend, the Hamburg art historian Pauli' but beyond the bare fact that Mesnil was 'a Belgian art historian' or Jolles 'a Dutch author-philosopher', no attempt is made anywhere to characterize these men or to give even the slightest idea of their scholarly preoccupations or personal idiosyncrasies – particularly attractive in the benign anarchist Mesnil, author of Baedeker's Italian volumes, who worked concentratedly, as did Warburg, on Botticelli and on artistic exchanges between Flanders and Italy.

Even Jolles, who appears as Warburg's co-author in a *jeu d'esprit* (whose title, *Ninfa fiorentina*, derives almost certainly from Boccaccio's *Ninfa fiesolana*), remains a mere shadow in this book; not to speak of the famous Poggi, to whom Warburg paid the odd compliment that while he himself was working through the dark tunnel of the Medicean *vita amorosa*, he heard 'friend Poggi knocking at the other end'. As for Pauli, it is a memorable fact, here unremembered, that the intimate friendship that united him and Warburg could hardly have been foretold from a scathing review of Warburg's dissertation, in which Pauli declared it absurd that this novice should apply to Botticelli a mass of learning that was much larger and weightier than Botticelli's own [G. Pauli, *Antike Einflüsse in der italienischen Frürenaissance*, a review of A. Warburg, *Sandro Botticellis 'Geburt der Venus' und 'Frühling'* (1893) in "Kunstchronik" N.F. 5 (1894), 174-7]. This brilliantly written critique, in which a well-worn paradox was stated for the first time, is not listed in the bibliography of 'Writings about Warburg' which Professor Gombrich has appended to his book. For no apparent reason this bibliography begins only with the year 1917 and so omits all that was written about, against, and in favour of Warburg at the time when his major discoveries first appeared in print.

Considering that Warburg never assumed that he could understand a historical character unless he had meticulously related him to his intellectual surroundings, it seems extraordinary that he himself should have been made the subject of a monograph which ignores that fundamental principle in dealing with his mature years. It may indeed be doubted whether a biography which omits such an important part of a scholar's life as his intellectual friendships can itself be called 'an intellectual biography' at all. No reference is made, for example, either in the text or in the bibliography, to the long and eloquent tribute to Warburg, composed in the name of the community of learning that had found its centre in Warburg's library and person, which Ernst Cassirer prefixed as a sort of collective dedication to his book *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (1926).

By the time the biography reaches that final period in Hamburg (after 1924), when Warburg became deeply involved in the affairs of the new university, even names become scarce and tend to disappear in a shadowy phrase - 'the *entourage*' - rather ill-suited for a group of scholars except

perhaps in a satirical sense, which is not intended here. Warburg's frequent confabulations with Cassirer, marked by a vivid contrast of personalities – Cassirer always impeccably Olympian in the face of Warburg's demonic intensity – are not even mentioned by Professor Gombrich, although Cassirer was among the first scholars to visit Warburg during his convalescence from a long mental illness. In memory of a clarifying exchange of ideas that they had at that time about Kepler, Warburg ordered the reading-room in his new library to be built in the shape of an ellipse.

Some five years later, reflecting on his association with Warburg and on the impression he had received at their first meeting, Cassirer wrote: "In the first conversation that I had with Warburg, he remarked that the demons, whose sway in the history of mankind he had tried to explore, had taken their revenge by seizing him" [From Cassirer's address at Warburg's funeral, in *Aby M. Warburg zum Gedächtnis* (privately printed, Darmstadt 1929)]. Professor Gombrich, who has looked at the diaries that Warburg kept during his illness, has reached a different conclusion: "Written in pencil in states of obvious excitement and anxiety, they are both hard to decipher and uninformative to the non-psychiatrist. They hardly sustain the legend which has grown up that the patient's main preoccupations at that time were connected with his past researches into demonology and superstition". It is not quite clear how a script which Professor Gombrich found hard to decipher and uninformative enabled him to dispose of an existing account as legendary. In any case, 'the legend' did not 'grow up' at random but was apparently started by Warburg himself. It could of course be argued that this may well have been Warburg's way of looking back on his illness after he had recovered from it, and that during the illness itself he would have had other and perhaps less elevated preoccupations; but two facts speak against taking Warburg's retrospective judgement too lightly. It is generally agreed, and Professor Gombrich admits, that Warburg's astounding insight into the nature of his obsessions contributed to his cure; and it is known that the crucial test he proposed to his doctor, by which he hoped to show that he had freed himself of the terrors that beset him, was that he could manage to give a coherent lecture on 'Pueblo Serpent Rituals' – and he delivered it to the patients of the hospital. By a strange irony, it is the only work of his that

has appeared in English (translated by W.F. Mainland). He, of course, never published it himself.

In an essay "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für das Leben", Nietzsche remarked that an apt cultivation of forgetfulness is indispensable to mental health. It is certain that Warburg was never mentally healthy in that respect. Although he knew the dangers of excessive empathy and of all-too-passionate recollection, he exercised these powers without thrift. Having entered deeply, as a witness of contemporary political history, into the spirit of a whole cluster of quite calamitous decisions that left the comity of nations in a shambles, this good European went out of his mind in 1918. and it took him six years to recover. During his illness Warburg wrote more or less constantly. In the hands of an experienced physician these papers ought to be an extremely valuable source for studying the progress and recovery of an exceptionally gifted psychotic. Professor Gombrich decided to leave those six years untouched, on the ground that he was not competent to deal with them. Warburg would not have favoured that decision: for he held, and always vigorously insisted, that whenever a scholar runs up against a problem which he has not the professional competence to handle, he must call in the help of an expert and make the work a joint investigation. It is fair to say that if those six years had been studied as they deserve to be, the darkness which has spread over the whole of Professor Gombrich's presentation would have been concentrated in the right place.

Understandably, Professor Gombrich was unable to close his eyes and mind completely to some of those papers that he did not feel qualified to interpret. In a casual way he has even made some use of them. Thus his account of Warburg's childhood rests in part on notes written by Warburg during his illness: that is, written some fifty years after the events on which they reflect, and under decidedly abnormal circumstances. As they stand, they impart to the chapter entitled 'Prelude' a psychopathic ingredient that somehow sets the tone of the book. Professor Gombrich says, in the introduction, that "the precarious balance of Warburg's mental health" has enabled "the biographer often to discern the reasons for his personal involvements more clearly than would be the case with more extrovert scholars". To judge from this remark, and indeed from the book itself, the biographer's terms of reference have not been kept free from

medical connotations, and this makes it all the more regrettable that this province was not surrendered to more competent hands.

A few words must be said about the workmanship of *Aby Warburg*. The bibliographies are careless, even with regard to Warburg's own writings (*Gesammelte Schriften*, for example, is listed without its title, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*, and without the names of the editors: G. Bing assisted by F. Rougemont). Works published in periodicals are given without pagination, so that it is impossible to distinguish between major studies and short notes. The bibliography of writings about Warburg, besides omitting everything written before 1917, is also incomplete after that date. If a selective bibliography was intended here, a good deal could have been left out to make room for Boll-Bezold, *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung*, Ernst Robert Curtius's *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Mesnil's *Botticelli*, or Pauli's reminiscences, to mention only a few works. The extracts from Warburg's unpublished papers are printed without annotations. Thus, when Warburg reflects on "contemporary artists such as Philipp, Niels, Veth", these obscure names are left unexplained. Where it is said that Warburg's brothers bought "two paintings by Consul Weber", it is more likely that they brought them *from* Consul Weber, who was a well-known collector in Hamburg. In one of the fragments from the *Ninfa fiorentina*, Warburg quotes a poetic phrase by Jean Paul ("auf Einem Stamme geimpfet blühte"); but no reference is here given to the text (*Vorschule der Aesthetik*, II, IX, 50) or to the important role it played in Warburg's later reflections on the nature of metaphor. The index not only fails to list this early quotation under the name of Jean Paul, but is altogether an uneven instrument, apparently omitting names on which the editorial work has been deficient. The illustrations at the end of the book are coarsely arranged. A plate on which a portrait of Warburg is juxtaposed to Max Liebermann's painting of old-age pensioners in Amsterdam is unintentionally hilarious. Captions are often incomplete and occasionally incorrect: 'Death of Alcestis' is inscribed under an image actually representing 'The Death of Meleager'.

Professor Gombrich is content to cite Edmund Wilson, *To the Finland Station*, as his sole source for a ranting letter by Michelet, from which he quotes, inaccurately and lengthily, on the ground that it "might have been written by Warburg". Fortunately it was not. An old and so far unverified

supposition that Warburg's famous adage, 'Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail', might be a translation from Flaubert is repeated here without any reference to an authentic sentence in Flaubert, whose writings are not inaccessible. Furthermore, while Professor Gombrich never misses an opportunity to inveigh against the notion of *Zeitgeist*, he continues to use the concept in the guise 'period flavour'. Thus the aura of Isadora Duncan is supposed to be discernible in Warburg's *Ninfa fiorentina*, an analogy so completely off-key that it is not surprising to learn from a footnote that Warburg found Isadora Duncan ludicrous; but this fact has not induced Professor Gombrich to question the pertinence of his construction. Indeed, the author's certainties appear at times excessive. The truculent Karl Lamprecht, for example, whose historical courses Warburg attended for three terms in Bonn, is confidently declared to be the "one man who may be called Warburg's real teacher"; but unlike Usener and Justi, whose lectures Warburg had likewise heard in Bonn, Lamprecht is not mentioned in any of Warburg's publications. Can this fact be left out of the reckoning?

Misjudgements of scale occur quite regularly when analysis of personal motivations is attempted. Sentences like "he wanted to prove to himself, to his family, and to his in-laws that he had something to offer" belong, on the evidence of their vocabulary alone, to a mentality and a milieu that are smaller than Warburg's; not to speak of the touch of humour in the Lilliputian statement that Warburg "never failed to attend congresses to counteract his isolation in the academic world" – a sentence that has the undeniable quality of 'period flavour'. Warburg was in fact extremely proud of exercising the "adventurous prerogatives of the independent private scholar". To suggest, as Professor Gombrich does twice without producing any evidence, that a momentary dissatisfaction with the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, on whose board Warburg worked most energetically, would have "increased his eagerness to demonstrate through a rival institution how he saw matters" is not only out of character but objectively absurd, since Warburg never conceived of his own library and that of the Florentine institute as comparable, let alone as "rival undertakings".

Another unfounded speculation, which turns historical order upside down, is that Warburg's style was "probably influenced" by Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, a book Warburg cherished because its 'Philosophy of Clothes'

contained some penetrating remarks on the nature of symbols: for example, that in a good symbol, as in a good costume, concealment and revelation are combined. As for style, Warburg's language, with its sharp twists and cumulative periods, belongs to a familiar tradition of German prose which Carlyle parodied in *Sartor Resartus*, drawing on his intimate knowledge of Jean Paul, "that vast World-Mahlstrom of Humour, with its heaven-kissing coruscations, which is now, alas, all congealed in the frost of death" [*Sartor Resartus*, I, IV]. As a parody this sort of language has its merits, but it is hardly a source of Warburg's style. He was never tempted to imitate, even as a spoof, Carlyle's brusque Germanic mannerisms. They are, indeed, notably absent from a cunningly phrased draft for a mock dedication, in which Warburg meant, with proper irony, to express his sense of affinity with the absurd professor of the philosophy of clothes: "Dem Andenken Thomas Carlyles in Ehrfurcht ein Weihgeschenk von Teufelsdröckh dem Jungeren". Professor Gombrich, in discussing Warburg's affection for *Sartor Resartus*, has made no use of this priceless piece, perhaps because it belongs to the "more volatile side of Warburg's personality".

There is a danger that, despite its shortcomings, the book will be used and quoted as a surrogate for Warburg's own publications, which are still unavailable in English. A translation of those incomparable papers, lucid, solid, and concise, which Warburg himself committed to print, would have formed, if not a lighter, most certainly a shorter volume than the book under review. It appears, however, that among Warburg's followers it has become a tradition to regard his literary formulations as a sort of arcanum, as an exceedingly fine but all too highly concentrated elixir of learning which should not be served to British consumers without an ample admixture of barley water. Though the chances of an English translation may now seem diminished by the sheer bulk of Professor Gombrich's inadequate treatment, the set-back is not likely to be permanent. Since an authorized Italian translation has been published [*La Rinascita del Paganesimo antico*, ed. G. Bing and trans. by E. Cantimori (1966)] the justified desire to read Warburg undiluted in English cannot be ignored in perpetuity.

A Laboratory of the Science of Culture

Aby Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften*,
Leipzig, Teubner, 1932 (in "De Gids" 97,
1933, pp. 363-367)

Review by Johan Huizinga. Translation by Monica Centanni, Sergio Polano,
and Elizabeth Thomson

We present here the Dutch edition and the first English and Italian translations of Johan Huizinga's review of Aby Warburg's work published in the periodical "De Gids" in 1933, a few months after the German edition of *Gesammelte Schriften, I. II. Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike* (see the digital edition published by Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren) – an important text to measure the timely reception of Warburgian thinking, and the intelligent and brilliant synthesis of Warburg's method that Huizinga proposes. In closing, his anxious note "Men moet levendig hopen, dat deze fijne plant in de stormen van onzen ruwen tijd niet moge vergaan" ("We must strongly hope that this beautiful plant does not perish in the storms of our difficult time") denotes an early understanding of the real storm that would soon be hitting the Kunsthistorische Institut Warburg in Hamburg with the coming into power of the National Socialist Party.

Een cultuurwetenschappelijk laboratorium

A. Warburg (die hem kenden spraken altijd van Aby Warburg) werd in 1866 te Hamburg geboren. Hij studeerde kunstgeschiedenis. Zijn dissertatie *Sandro Botticellis 'Geburt der Venus' und 'Frühling'*, geeft de richting van zijn geheele latere werk aan. Hij toonde aan, hoe de schilder tot in bijzonderheden de voorstelling weergeeft, die Poliziano in zijn gedichten aan de homerische hymne en aan Ovidius ontleende.

Om bewegend leven voor te stellen heeft de vroege Renaissance de hulp en aanwijzing nodig van antieke voorbeelden. Met dit zoeken naar de reden der ontleening was Warburg's blik reeds van het strikt kunsthistorische op de grondslagen der kunst in de cultuur overgegaan. De psychologische factoren, die het proces van zulke ontleeningen en vervormingen bepalen, de verandering der beteekenis van zulke motieven, de verhouding van het kunstwerk tot het litteraire document, de betrekkingen tusschen opdrachtgever en kunstenaar, de bestemming en

de zin van het kunstwerk in het maatschappelijke leven, op dit alles is voortaan zijn belangstelling gericht.

Na zijn inzicht door psychologische studiën en door eenige ethnologische ervaring te hebben uitgebreid (reeds door Usener in Bonn was hij op het verstaan van godsdienstwetenschappelijke vragen voorbereid), werkte hij in Florence verscheiden jaren in het onuitputtelijk rijke materiaal, dat hem hier geboden werd. Florence en Hamburg hebben op zijn leven en werk hun stempel gedrukt.

Van 1901 af heeft Warburg weer in zijn geboortestad gewoond, maar in voortdurend contact met Italië. In Hamburg vormde zich zijn bibliotheek, die reeds bij zijn leven, in 1921, tot een 'Forschungsinstitut' werd uitgebreid, waar beoefenaars van verschillende takken van wetenschap tezamen konden voortwerken aan de problemen door hem aangewezen.

Toen hij in 1929 stierf, had de 'Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg' reeds lang haar plaats als een van de merkwaardigste en vruchtbaarste werkplaatsen der cultuurwetenschap verworven. Tweeëntwintig zelfstandig uitgegeven 'Studien', negen deelen jaarlijksche 'Vorträge', thans deze statige banden van Warburg's eigen geschriften getuigen ervan; het eerste deel eener jaarlijksche bibliographie 'zum Problem des Nachlebens der Antike' is binnenkort te verwachten. Op een hoogst uitzonderlijke wijze is hier de geest van een opmerkelijk denker en werker duurzaam vastgelegd en levend gehouden in een fijn bewerktuigd wetenschappelijk instituut.

Misschien zal de belangrijkheid van het onderwerp, waaraan Warburg zijn krachten heeft gewijd, niet onmiddellijk tot den algemeenen lezer spreken. Het is daarom van gewicht, over zijn denkbeelden en geschriften, en over de inrichting van zijn bibliotheek, iets meer te zeggen.

De cultuurwetenschap concentreert zich voor Warburg in 'Ausdruckskunde', 'historische Psychologie des menschlichen Ausdrucks', het naspeuren en kennen van de wijze, waarop de menschheid haar diepst-bewegende denkbeelden in bepaalde vormen heeft vastgelegd, en hoe deze vormen traditie worden van een ongeloofelijke levenskracht,

somtjds schijnbaar geheel afgestorven, grotesk verschoven en ontaard, en dan opeens vatbaar om tot nieuwe betekenis te worden gewekt.

De aandacht is dus in de eerste plaats gericht op motieven, formules, teekens, symbolen, daarachter op stijl. In dit proces van overlevering en opneming der uitdrukkingsvormen is er geen scheiding tusschen Oudheid, Middeleeuwen en Renaissance. De vormende periode, die der Oudheid, blijft met een geweldige kracht en taaheid naverken. Maar achter de Grieksch-Romeinsche voorstellingswereld ligt weer de oude Oostersche, die op sommige gebieden, met name in alles wat met astrologie samenhangt, zich tot in de moderne beschaving manifesteert.

Met dit alles geheel afgewend van de louter aesthetischformale of technisch-historische kunstgeschiedenis, wordt het dus voor Warburg van bijkomstige betekenis, of hij die uitdrukkingskunde nagaat aan een eeuwig kunstwerk in beeld of woord, dan wel aan curiosa van oude vlugschriften, aan de verwarrende afbeeldingen der astrologie, aan monsterachtige verbeeldingen van het bijgeloof.

De telkens terugkeerende termen, waarmee hij de leidende motieven aanduidt, zijn 'Pathosformel' en 'Energiesymbol'. De heidensche cultuur heeft aan bepaalde elementaire bewogenheden (Erregungen) der menschelijke ziel in haar cultus en in haar kunst een maximum van uitdrukking weten te geven, dat aan de eens gevormde motieven of symbolen hun voortdurende levenkracht geeft.

Warburg ziet de cultuurhouding van elk tijdperk als een polaire spanning, waarbij, naar het woord van Goethe, 'das unauflösliche Problem in der Mitte' blijft.

Al deze zienswijzen en inzichten heeft de schrijver niet in cultuurphilosophische abstractie uitgedrukt, maar ze in uiterst exacte, strikt historisch-philologische onderzoekingen over zeer bepaalde samenhangen om zoo te zeggen illustratief voorgelegd.

In tijdsvolgorde beschouwd, vertoont Warburg's werk zijn gang van het nog grootendeels formeel kunsthistorische motief naar de diepste grondvragen. Eerst brengt zijn studie van het Florentijnsche quattrocento

hem op de merkwaardige tegenstelling en strijd tusschen de Oudheid in Bourgondisch gewaad, *maniera antica alla francese*, en de nieuw gevonden ideale voorstelling der Florentijnsche renaissance, en daarmee zoowel op de uitwisseling tusschen de Bourgondische Nederlanden en Florence, als op het vruchtbare gebied der feestdecoratie. Het Fortuna-motief brengt hem vervolgens op de astrologische figuren, en daarmee steeds verder van de eigenlijke kunstgeschiedenis af naar cultuur- en godsdiensthistorische problemen. Nu vond hij de ware benaming voor Botticelli's beroemde schilderij, niet *Primavera* maar *Venere Pianeta*.

Voor de Middeleeuwen, en nog voor het Bourgondische Noorden, fungeerde de Oudheid niet in de eerste plaats als bron en model van vormschoonheid maar tevens als een onderlaag van nog levende, praktische cultuur, verwezen naar het domein van het louter daemonische. De goden leefden er een clandestien leven als kosmische daemonen. De antieke verbeeldingen lagen in den ban van 'illustrativer Hörigkeit und astrologischer Praktik', de olympische figuren waren gedost in het gewaad van den tijd, en droegen grotesk-monsterachtige trekken. Uit deze verworping heeft Florence de antieke voorstellingswereld bevrijd. Maar tegelijk met de restitutie van een 'höheren antikisierenden Idealstil' werd de zin der Oudheid louter litterair-aesthetisch, althans op het niveau der hoogere cultuur, want de astrologie met haar bonte en bijstere figurenkraam stierf ook toen niet af.

Warburg geeft u dit alles in de nauwkeurigst nagespeurde bijzonderheden, zonder eenigen toeleeg tot bondige synthese. Hij brengt u voortdurend temidden van de rijkdommen der cultuur, hij laat juweelen schitteren op zijn hand, hij brengt u voor vergezichten, hij leidt u langs ongekende achterkanten.

Het is alles levend, doorvoeld en doordacht, of hij het zakenleven der Portinari nagaat, met een paar citaten het familieleven der Strozzi voor u oproept, of even wijst op Pico's nauwe verwantschap met de sterrewichelende Este's, of de houding van Luther en Melanchthon tegenover de astrologie beschrijft: Melanchthon de bijgeloovige, Luther die zegt: "es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst".

Ondanks al het bewonderenswaardige van zijn geest en het voortreffelijke van zijn diep en wijd gaanden arbeid blijft er aan Warburg's figuur iets tragisch, iets van niet bereikte ontplooiing.

Een van zijn medewerkers spreekt van Warburg's "vom Dämon des Gestaltens besessenen Sinn". En inderdaad, hij heeft de groote vormen en samenhangen gezien, de gedaanten opgeroepen, maar waarlijk 'Gestalten' gelukt hem niet, hij poogt het ook nauwelijks.

Het werk, dat hij naliet, is niet een groot beeldend en vormgevend geheel, als dat van den meester, die de paden wees, waarop hij verder ging: Jacob Burckhardt. Het blijft bij 'Bohrarbeiten', zooals hij het zelf ergens noemt. Het is een liefdevol en uiterst conscientieus hanteeren van de kleinodiën der cultuur, waarbij de diepe samenhangen en achtergronden voortdurend worden aangeduid, doch scheppen is het niet. Af en toe kan men de qualificatie precieus niet weerhouden. Kortom Warburg heeft geen stijl. Wreekte zich aan hem in dit omgaan met de schatten van kunst en beschaving als een verfijnd kenner het voorrecht, dat hij aan tijd en middelen voor zijn onderzoek geen beperking behoefde op te leggen?

Ditzelfde voorrecht evenwel heeft hem veroorloofd, zijn geest te doen voortleven en zijn arbeid te doen voortzetten in de instelling, die zijn naam draagt. De Bibliothek Warburg is een laboratorium van cultuurwetenschap met een omschreven probleem en program. De leidende gedachte is nog altijd die, waarvan Warburg zelf uitging: de invloed der heidensche Oudheid op de vorming van Europa's geest. Op dat thema meent men het voornaamste hoofdstuk van de 'historischpsychologische Ausdruckskunde' der menschheid te kunnen opbouwen. De boekerij, die daartoe dient, omvat echter veel meer dan hetgeen dat onderwerp rechtsstreeks betreft.

Systematisch verdeeld over vier afdeelingen behelst zij een rijke verzameling over godsdienstwetenschap, magie, volksgeneeskunde, waarzeggerij, kosmologie, filosofie, dan kunstgeschiedenis in den ruimsten zin des woords, litteratuurgeschiedenis en cultuurgeschiedenis, met een uitgebreide verzameling afbeeldingen, die daaraan aansluit.

Wie de werkzaamheid van het instituut gedurende de ruim tien jaren van zijn bestaan overziet, kan aan het gewicht en de vruchtbaarheid van Warburg's schepping niet twijfelen. Men moet levendig hopen, dat deze fijne plant in de stormen van onzen ruwen tijd niet moge vergaan, maar blijve bloeien en vrucht dragen in het belang van de oude en hoge cultuur zelve, wier ontwikkeling hier naar nieuwe richtlijnen wordt nagespeurd.

A Laboratory of the Science of Culture

Born in Hamburg in 1866, A. Warburg (Aby Warburg, to those who knew him) studied the history of art. His dissertation, *Sandro Botticelli's "Geburt der Venus" und "Frühling"*, defined the direction of all his subsequent work: Warburg demonstrates how Botticelli depicted in detail the image that Poliziano in his verses had drawn from the Homeric hymn [to Aphrodite] and from Ovid.

To portray life in movement, the early Renaissance drew the support and guidance it needed from ancient models. With this search for borrowed motifs [from ancient models], Warburg's gaze had already moved from the strictly art-historical sphere to the foundations of art in culture. The psychological factors that determined the evolution of these borrowings and deformations, the change in the meaning of these motifs, the relationship of the work of art with literary texts and between client and artist, and the purpose and meaning of art in social life - all this later became the focus of his concerns.

After developing his intuition with studies in psychology and ethnology (he had already learned from Usener in Bonn how to comprehend problems relating to the science of religion), Warburg worked for several years in Florence with the inexhaustible wealth of material on offer to him there. Both Florence and Hamburg left their mark on his life and work.

From 1901, Warburg again returned to live in his hometown while remaining in constant contact with Italy. In Hamburg, the library that he had set up during his lifetime was transformed in 1921 into a 'research institute', where scholars of various scientific disciplines could work together on the problems he had identified.

When he died in 1929, the 'Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg' had long since earned its place as one of the most remarkable and fruitful workshops of cultural science. Twenty-two volumes of 'Studien', nine annually published editions of 'Vorträge', and now this imposing collection of Warburg's writings are evidence of this. The first part of an annual bibliography 'zum Problem des Nachlebens der Antike' ('On the problem of survival of antiquity') is also expected soon. In the most extraordinary

way, the spirit of a remarkable thinker and valued scholar has given birth to a permanent project and has been kept alive in a magnificently conceived scientific institute.

Perhaps the importance of the subject to which Warburg devoted his energies will not be immediately meaningful to the common reader. It is important, therefore, to say something more about his ideas, his writings, and the structure of his library.

For Warburg, the Science of Culture focuses on 'Ausdruckskunde', the 'historical psychology of human expressions', and the search for and recognition of the way in which Mankind has captured and recorded ideas and intimate emotions in certain forms, and how these forms became traditions of an incredible life force that sometimes are seemingly dead, grotesquely transformed and degenerated, suddenly revealing themselves susceptible to being reawakened to new meaning.

His focus is, therefore, primarily on the motifs, formulas, signs, and symbols that lie behind style. In this process of restitution and inclusion of forms of expression, there is no separation between antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance. The formative period, which is that of antiquity, continued to function with great force and rigour. But behind the Greco-Roman world of the imagination lay the Ancient East, which in some areas, especially everything associated with astrology, manifests itself in modern civilisation.

Detaching himself completely from a history of the art that was purely aesthetic and formalistic, and historical and technical, Warburg considered it of secondary importance, in relation to the eternal nature of a work of art, whether it was made up of images or words, a curious ancient pamphlet, confusing astrological figures, or monstrous images of superstition.

The recurring terms with which Warburg refers to the guiding motifs are 'Pathosformel' and 'Energiesymbol'. In its own religion and art, pagan culture succeeded in achieving the utmost expression for certain elementary emotions (Erregungen) of the human soul, endowing with a lasting vital force the motifs and symbols that were formed at the time.

Warburg sees the cultural attitude of every era as a polar tension in which, in the words of Goethe, “the problem, impossible to resolve”, lies “in between” (“das unauflöslliche Problem in der Mitte”).

All these visions and intuitions were not presented by the scholar in terms of cultural and philosophical abstraction, but in very precise, strictly historical philological studies conducted on very specific links and associations.

Considered in a timeline, Warburg’s work shows a path that goes from art-historical motifs still largely formal to deeper questions. Initially, his study of fifteenth-century Florence led him to investigate the remarkable contradiction between antiquity in Burgundian garments, the *maniera antica alla franzese*, and the newly found ideal depiction of the Florentine Renaissance, and consequently the exchanges between the Burgundian Netherlands and Florence in the lush area of festive adornment. Later, the theme of Fortuna led him to astrological figures and, therefore, further and further from the history of art in the strictest sense, towards problems of cultural and religious history. This was the route that led him to find the true title of Botticelli’s famous painting: not *Primavera*, but *The Planet Venus*.

Previously, in the Middle Ages, and even in the Burgundian culture of the North, antiquity did not function as a primary source and model of formal beauty, but as the background for a culture that was still alive and practical, connected to the domain of what was purely daemonic. The gods lived clandestine lives as cosmic daemons. Their ancient depictions were recorded as “Illustrativer Hörigkeit und astrologischer Praktik” (“Illustrative apparatuses and astrological practices”), while the Olympians were dressed in contemporary clothing, revealing grotesque and monstrous traits. Florence freed the imagination of the ancient world from this degeneration. But while there was a return to a “Höheren Antikisierenden Idealstil” (“Elevated antiquicising ideal style”), the sense of antiquity was purely aesthetic and literary, at least at the level of high culture, because astrology with its networks of colourful figures did not die out abruptly.

Warburg proposes all this in precise detail, without making concessions to the succinctness of synthesis. He constantly leads readers to wander

among the riches of culture: allowing the jewels to shine in their hands, he guides them to different perspectives and directs them to unpredictable reversals.

All this always in a passionate, sincere and intelligent way, whether he is examining the Portinari's business activities, with some quotations from the domestic life of the Strozzi family, reflecting on the close relationship between Pico and a Member of the Este family clinging to the stars, or describing the attitude of Luther and Melanchthon towards astrology – the superstitious Melanchthon, with Luther exclaiming: “Es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst” (“Your [astrological] art is garbage”).

Despite all his admirable intelligence and the brilliance of his deep and wide-ranging studies, the figure of Warburg remains somewhat tragic and unresolved.

One of Warburg's collaborators mentions Warburg's “Vom Dämon des Gestaltens besessenen Sinn”, his “sense of obsession with the daemon of form”. He did, indeed, know about great forms and connections, and evoked their guises, but he failed at true ‘Gestalten’ – perhaps he did not even try.

The work he has bequeathed us is not a great visual and formative whole like that of the master, Jacob Burckhardt, who indicated the paths that Warburg then travelled. It remains a sort of ‘Bohrarbeiten’, a drilling into the core, as he himself somewhere described it. It is a loving and extremely conscientious handling of small-scale culture, where deep connections and backstories are continually shown, but it is not a creative work. A comprehensive appraisal is unstable and should be made case by case. In a nutshell, Warburg had no style of his own. In dealing with the treasures of art and civilisation, he became a privileged connoisseur. Was it perhaps his privilege of not having limited time and resources for his studies?

That very privilege, however, made it possible for him to give continuity to his inspiration and further his work in the institution that bears his name. The Bibliothek Warburg is a laboratory of cultural science with a defined problem and program. The guiding thought is still the one Warburg

himself envisioned: the influence of pagan antiquity on the formation of the European spirit. It is believed that the main chapter of the "Historischpsychologische Ausdruckskunde" (the study of the historical and psychological expressions of Mankind) was created around that very topic. The library, which serves to this end, does, however, include much more than what directly concerns that specific topic.

Systematically divided into four sections, the Library includes a rich collection of religious studies, magic, folk medicine, chiromancy, cosmology, philosophy, as well as art history in the broadest sense of the term, the history of literature, and cultural history, with a vast collection of images related to these topics.

Those who have overseen the effective functioning of the Institute during its ten years of existence cannot doubt the importance and fertility of Warburg's creation. We must sincerely hope that this beautiful plant will not perish in the storms of our difficult times but that it will continue to bloom and bear fruit in the interest of antiquity and high culture itself, for whose development new guidelines are being sought.

Un laboratorio di scienza della cultura

Nato ad Amburgo nel 1866, Aby Moritz Warburg (Aby Warburg, per chi lo conosceva) studia storia dell'arte. La sua tesi di laurea *Sandro Botticellis 'Geburt der Venus' und 'Frühling'* segna la direzione di tutto il suo lavoro successivo: Warburg vi dimostra come Botticelli avesse rappresentato in dettaglio l'immagine che Poliziano nei suoi versi aveva tratto dall'Inno omerico [ad Afrodite] e da Ovidio.

Per presentare la vita in movimento, il primo Rinascimento ha bisogno del supporto e delle indicazioni tratte da esempi antichi. Con questa ricerca del motivo dei prestiti [dai modelli antichi], lo sguardo di Warburg era già passato dall'ambito strettamente storico-artistico ai fondamenti dell'arte nella cultura. I fattori psicologici che determinano il procedimento di tali prestiti e deformazioni, il cambiamento di significato di tali motivi, il rapporto dell'opera d'arte con i documenti letterari, le relazioni tra committente e artista, la destinazione e il significato dell'arte nella vita sociale - tutto ciò è stato da allora al centro dei suoi interessi.

Dopo aver approfondito quell'intuizione grazie a studi di psicologia e ad esperienze etnologiche (aveva già imparato da Usener a Bonn come affrontare la problematica religiosa), Warburg lavora per diversi anni a Firenze con i materiali d'inesauribile ricchezza che là gli si offrivano. Sia Firenze che Amburgo lasciano il loro segno nella sua vita e nella sua opera.

Dal 1901, Warburg torna di nuovo a vivere nella città natale, pur restando in costante contatto con l'Italia. Ad Amburgo, la Biblioteca che Warburg aveva costituito nel corso della sua vita si trasformò nel 1921 in un 'Istituto di ricerca', dove studiosi di diverse discipline scientifiche potevano lavorare insieme ai problemi che lui aveva individuato.

Quando scomparve Warburg nel 1929, già da tempo la 'Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg' aveva conseguito il rango di uno dei più notevoli e fecondi laboratori di scienze della cultura. Prova ne sono ventidue volumi di *Studien*, nove edizioni di *Vorträge*, pubblicati con cadenza annuale, ed ora questa imponente raccolta degli scritti di Warburg; a breve si attende anche la prima parte di una bibliografia

annuale 'zum Problem des Nachlebens der Antike' ('Sul problema della sopravvivenza dell'antico'). In un modo assolutamente eccezionale, la mente di un pensatore e di uno studioso di valore ha dato vita a un progetto permanente ed è stata mantenuta in vita in un istituto scientifico di squisita competenza.

Forse l'importanza dell'argomento a cui Warburg ha dedicato le sue energie non sarà immediatamente perspicua per il lettore comune. Perciò è importante dire qualcosa di più sulle sue idee, i suoi scritti e la struttura della sua Biblioteca.

Per Warburg la scienza della cultura si incentra sulla 'Ausdruckskunde' [lo studio delle espressioni]: è una 'psicologia storica delle espressioni umane'; si tratta di riconoscere e tracciare il modo in cui l'umanità ha registrato le sue idee e le sue intime emozioni in determinate forme, e come queste forme divengano tradizioni di un'incredibile forza vitale, che talora è, apparentemente, del tutto morta, declinata in modo grottesco e degenerato, e poi all'improvviso si rivela suscettibile di essere risvegliata a un nuovo significato.

L'attenzione è quindi focalizzata in primo luogo su motivi, formule, segni, simboli che stanno dietro lo stile. In questo processo di restituzione e inclusione delle espressioni non c'è soluzione di continuità tra Antichità, Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il periodo di formazione, che è quello dell'Antichità, continua a funzionare con gran forza e rigore. Ma dietro al mondo immaginario greco-romano si trova l'antico Oriente, che in alcuni ambiti, soprattutto in tutto quanto è associato all'astrologia, torna a manifestarsi fino alla civiltà moderna.

Distaccandosi completamente da una storia dell'arte puramente estetico-formalistica o storico-tecnica, per Warburg diventa di secondaria importanza, rispetto all'eternità di un'opera, se essa sia fatta di immagini o di parole, e se sia presente in curiosi vecchi opuscoli o sia rappresentata in confuse figure astrologiche o in mostruose immagini della superstizione.

I termini ricorrenti con cui Warburg fa riferimento ai motivi-guida sono 'Pathosformel' e 'Energiesymbol'. Nella propria religione e arte, la cultura

pagana è riuscita a dare il massimo dell'espressione a certi moti elementari (*Erregungen*) dell'animo umano, conferendo una perdurante forza vitale ai motivi e ai simboli che si erano allora formati.

Warburg vede l'atteggiamento culturale di ogni epoca come una tensione polare, tale per cui, per dirla con Goethe, "il problema, impossibile da risolvere", sta "nel mezzo".

Tutte queste visioni e intuizioni non sono state presentate dallo studioso in una chiave di astrazione cultural-filosofica, ma in ricerche accuratissime, strettamente storico-filologiche, condotte su nessi molto specifici.

Considerato nella sequenza temporale, il lavoro di Warburg mostra un percorso che va da motivi storico-artistici ancora in larga parte formali a più profondi interrogativi di fondo. Agli inizi, il suo studio sul Quattrocento fiorentino lo porta a indagare il notevole contrasto conflittuale tra l'antichità in abiti borgognoni, la *maniera alla francese* e la rappresentazione ideale appena riscoperta del Rinascimento fiorentino, e quindi sia lo scambio tra i borgognoni Paesi bassi e Firenze, sia il fertile ambito degli apparati per le feste. In seguito, il tema della Fortuna lo porta verso le figure astrologiche e, quindi, sempre più lontano dalla storia dell'arte in senso stretto, verso problemi di storia culturale e religiosa. In questo modo trova il vero titolo per il famoso dipinto di Botticelli: non la *Primavera* ma il *Pianeta di Venere*.

In precedenza, nel Medioevo, e persino nella cultura borgognona del Nord, l'antichità non fungeva tanto da fonte primaria e modello di bellezza formale, quanto come sottofondo di una cultura ancora viva e pratica, collegata all'ambito di quanto è puramente demoniaco. Gli dei vivevano una vita clandestina, *sub specie* di demoni cosmici. Le figurazioni antiche erano derubricate a "illustrativer Hörigkeit und astrologischer Praktik" ["apparati illustrativi e pratiche astrologiche"], mentre le figure dell'Olimpo erano vestite in abiti contemporanei, esibendo tratti grotteschi e mostruosi. Firenze liberò l'antico mondo dell'immaginazione da tale degenerazione. Ma contemporaneamente al ritorno di un "höheren antikisierenden Idealstil" ("elevato stile ideale anticheggiante"), il sentimento dell'antichità era puramente estetico-letterario, quantomeno a

livello della cultura più elevata, perché l'astrologia con il suo spaccio di figurine colorate e allegre non morì subitaneamente.

Warburg propone tutto ciò con i più accurati dettagli, senza nulla concedere alla concisione delle sintesi. Egli guida costantemente il lettore a vagare tra le ricchezze della cultura: lasciando che i gioielli gli brillino in mano, lo conduce a prospettive diverse e lo indirizza a imprevedibili ribaltamenti.

Il tutto sempre in modo appassionato, sincero e intelligente, tanto che stia esaminando l'attività dei Portinari, con alcune citazioni della vita familiare degli Strozzi, o che stia riflettendo sullo stretto rapporto tra Pico e l'Este aggrappato alle stelle, o stia descrivendo l'atteggiamento di Lutero e Melantone nei confronti dell'astrologia - il superstizioso Melantone, con Lutero che esclama: "es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst" ("la tua arte [astrologica] è spazzatura").

Nonostante tutta la mirabile intelligenza e l'eccellenza del suo profondo e ampio lavoro, la figura di Warburg ha qualcosa di tragico, qualcosa di irrisolto.

Uno dei suoi collaboratori scrive "vom Dämon des Gestaltens besessenen Sinn" ["del senso di ossessione del demone della Forma"] di Warburg. E in effetti, ha saputo vedere grandi forme e connessioni, ha evocato le forme, ma veramente nelle 'Gestalten' non riesce bene - e forse neanche ci prova.

L'opera che ci ha lasciato non è un grande complesso visivo e formativo, come quello del maestro Jacob Burckhardt, che aveva indicato le vie che poi Warburg percorre. Resta una sorta di 'Bohrarbeiten' ['carotaggio'], come lo definisce lui stesso da qualche parte. È un approccio amorevole ed estremamente coscienzioso alla cultura su piccola scala, in cui sono costantemente indicate le connessioni profonde e i retroscena - ma non è un lavoro creativo. La qualificazione precisa non è uniforme ma va valutata di caso in caso. In breve, Warburg non ha uno stile suo proprio. Nel trattare i tesori dell'arte e della civiltà, diventa via via un intenditore privilegiato; è forse il privilegio di non aver avuto limitazioni di tempo e di risorse per la sua ricerca?

Ebbene, proprio quello stesso privilegio ha permesso di dare continuità alla sua ispirazione e di continuarne il lavoro nell'istituzione che porta il suo nome. La Bibliothek Warburg è un laboratorio di scienze culturali con un problema e un programma ben definiti. L'idea-guida resta quella a cui era giunto Warburg stesso: l'influenza dell'antichità pagana sulla formazione dello spirito europeo. Su quel tema si pensa che si possa costruire il capitolo principale della "historischpsychologische Ausdruckskunde" [studio delle espressioni storico-psicologiche] dell'umanità. La Biblioteca funzionale a questo scopo include, tuttavia, molto più di ciò che riguarda direttamente l'argomento.

Suddivisa sistematicamente in quattro sezioni, la Biblioteca comprende una ricca collezione di studi religiosi, magia, medicina popolare, chiromanzia, cosmologia, filosofia, nonché storia dell'arte nel senso più ampio del termine, storia della letteratura e storia culturale, con una vasta collezione di immagini collegate a questi temi.

Chi ha sovrinteso al funzionamento dell'Istituto durante gli oltre dieci anni della sua esistenza non può dubitare del peso e della fertilità della creazione di Warburg. Dobbiamo vivamente sperare che questa bella pianta non perisca nelle tempeste del nostro difficile tempo, ma continui a fiorire e dar frutti nell'interesse dell'alta cultura antica, per la quale ivi si ricercano sviluppi su nuove linee-guida.

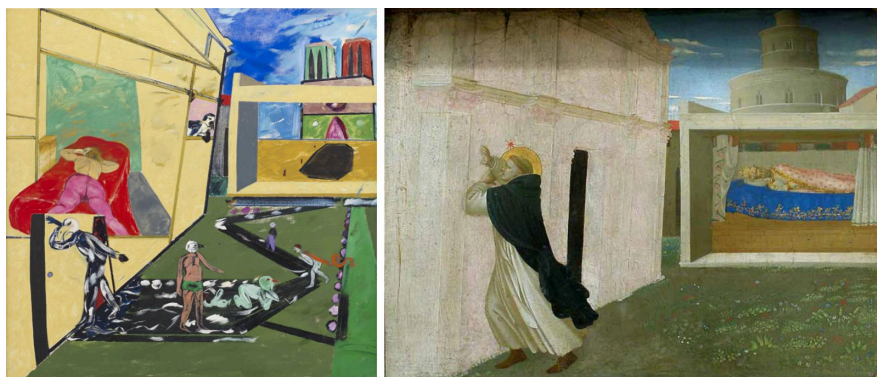
Ronald B. Kitaj, Autobiography of a Warburgian Artist

Review of: Ronald B. Kitaj, *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter*, Edited by Eckhart J. Gillen, Schirmer/Mosel, München 2017

Matias J. Nativo, and Alessia Prati

Picture *Notre dame de Paris* (1984-1986)

In *Notre Dame de Paris*, the architecture of the Cathedral is segregated to the background, put aside to leave space for *Gewesen: The dream of Innocent III* by Beato Angelico [Fig. 1 and 2]. The painting, which belongs to the *predella* placed at the base of the *Incoronazione della Vergine*, chronicles some of the miracles of St. Dominic in a sort of interlocking narrative or montage *ante litteram*. Kitaj probably had the opportunity to observe the work located in the Louvre during his stay in Paris.



1 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *Notre Dame de Paris*, oil on canvas, 152,4x152,4 cm, 1984-1986, UBS Art Collection, New York.

2 | Beato Angelico, *Il sogno di Innocenzo III*, tempera on panel, 213x211 cm, ca.1434-1435, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The clear reference calls for a religiosity that appears devoided of its Christian references: its mysterious inhabitants, the “Birds Head” [Fig. 3] miniatures of the *Haggadah* – a genre of narration used in the Talmud and in some parts of the Jewish liturgy and Midrash of the fourteenth century –

interact in the painting, inhabit it, walking along it through its obscure central walkway in the same way in which the painter travelled the city a few years before the creation of the work. Jewish depictions or bird-women by Max Ernst? [Fig. 4] Both and neither. The montage in *Notre Dame de Paris* presented as a *Dialektisches Bild* opens up slowly and lets itself be discovered as one becomes aware of some details of the painter's life: from his admiration towards Jewish intellectuals to his obsessive associations with the Parisian prostitutes in *Rue St. Denis*, from the knowledge of fifteenth-century Italian Art up to the European Avant-gardes.



3 | *Bird's head Haggadah*, 14th Century, details of an Illuminated Manuscript, ink and tempera on parchment.

4 | Max Ernst, *The Robbing of the Bride*, oil on canvas, 130x96 cm, 1940-1941, Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venezia.

The Bird Heads of the Jewish *Kabbalah* cross Rue St Denis from the cathedral to the large opening on the left side of the painting, where Karine – one of the painter's favourite prostitutes – lies on a huge red bed. A new level of interlocking, a framework within a framework. The red bed, which recalls *The Room (Rue St-Denis)* [Fig. 5], frames the assembly mechanism, preventing the viewer from permanently stopping in a limited time and space. *Notre Dame* becomes the meeting point between the path

of redemption and one that leads directly to lovers, between present and past, Christianity and Judaism, between Beato Angelico and Max Ernst, between the painter himself and Walter Benjamin: each detail seems to contribute to creating that anachronistic space so typical of the *Paris Passage*.



5 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *The Room (rue St Denis)*, oil on canvas, 121,9x91,5 cm, 1982-1983, Marlborough Fine Art, London.

6 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *A Visit to London (Robert Creeley and Robert Duncan)*, oil and charcoal on canvas, 182,9x61 cm, 1977, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter together with a *The Human Clay*, An exhibition selected by R.B. Kitaj (Kitaj 1976), the introduction to *The Artist's Eye. An Exhibition selected by R.B. Kitaj at the National Gallery London* (Kitaj 1980), *Jewish Art - Indictment & Defence: A Personal Testimony* by R.B. Kitaj (Kitaj 1984), *Kitaj, Brief aus London* (Kitaj 1988), *First Diasporist Manifesto* (Kitaj 1989), *Drancy* (Kitaj 1989), *Second*

Diasporist Manifesto (A New Kind of Long Poem in 615 Free Verses) (Kitaj 2007), and lots of commentaries that Ronald Brooks Kitaj used to hang next to his paintings constitute the textual corpus the painter directly delivered to us on his work, his analysis, and his own interpretation of issues related to history of art.

According to his Los Angeles assistant Tracey Bratley, *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter* was written by the artist in his favourite café, "Coffee Bean", with red ink on yellow-lined paper every morning between six and ten o'clock from 2001 to 2003. In 325 pages divided into 35 chapters, it examines his life from his childhood in Cleveland to his exhibition "Los Angeles Pictures" (May 21-July 5, 2003) in the L.A. Louver Gallery.

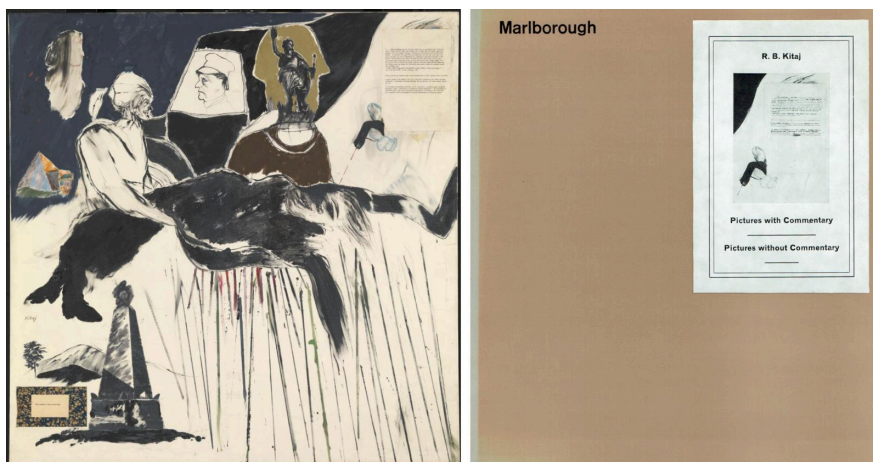
On his work as a sailor and his trips to South America, his studies in New York (Cooper Union Institute), in Wien (Academy of Fine Arts), London (Ruskin School of Drawing and Fine Art, Oxford), Paris, Catalana, Hamburg, Madrid, Oslo, Hannover, his participation in Documenta 3 (1964) and The Venice Biennale (1964), his first marriage to Elsi Roessler (1953), second marriage to Sandra Fisher (1983), his retrospective at London's Tate Gallery (1994), the so-called Tate War, Sandra's death (1994), his Golden Lion at the Venice Biennale (1995), his years in Los Angeles, and on the many prostitutes, books, artists, essays, friends [Fig. 6] and works, Kitaj does not spare details, commenting on what has been an intense life full of recognitions and criticism, a polar oscillation where "Magic and Logic grow on the same stem".

The unfinished and unpublished typescript titled *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter* was found by his future editor Eckhart J. Gillen in the so-called "Kitaj Papers", the literary estate of the artist stored in the Center for Jewish Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) among the thousands of letters, postcards, newspaper cuttings, visual sources, and manuscripts to his painting. In addition, another sixty-two pages, discovered in the unpublished archive of Kitaj Papers, recreate the rest of his life, from November 2003 to March 1, 2007, eight months before his suicide with this conclusion: "Failure, Failure as always! Desperation. My Jewish profile still life may be going to my usual nowhere".

The amount of archive material, not only pictorial or graphic but also textual, as well as his huge interest in different kinds of literature, reveal an eclectic personality where word and image blend, weaving plots that are difficult to disentangle:

Books are for me what trees are for landscape painters... I do love books more than trees, flowers, lily-ponds, ballet, stripes, metal boxes, monochrome, fluorescent light, video trips, assorted junk, and so on and on...-.

The word enters the image as a figural element, e.g. *Murder of Rosa Luxemburg* [Fig. 7], or as an inseparable critique, e.g. *Warburg Journal* extract in the Catalogue *Pictures with Commentary, Pictures without Commentary* [Fig. 8], for his first Marlborough Gallery exhibition, London 1963.



7 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *The Murder of Rosa Luxemburg*, oil and collage on canvas, 153x152,4 cm, 1960, Tate Gallery, London.

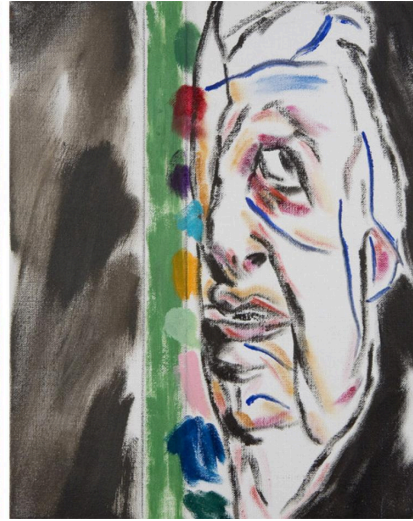
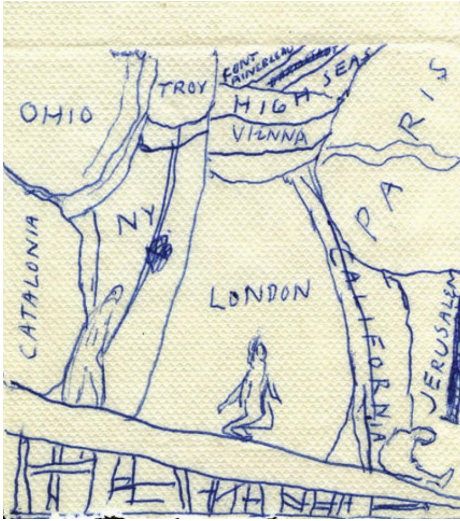
8 | Ronald B. Kitaj, Cover of the first Marlborough Gallery exhibition catalogue, London 1963.

By emphasising the use of side notes, the painting acquires a different value to what we generally associate with common captions: they become a part that belongs to the picture by being simultaneously outside (physically) and inside (conceptually). More cryptic than explanatory, they articulate and complicate the image's interpretation rather than dissolving

and opening it. This assembling of heterogeneous elements, from whose juxtaposition the sense of the work opens up to a wider range of interpretations, calls for a strong reference to the method of production of sense at the base of Aby Warburg's *Bilderatlas*. The painter himself counts Aby Warburg among his favourite masters and scholars. The change in the function generally associated with the caption is explicitly associated by the painter with the Jewish tradition of the commentary.

... and the Jewish tradition of attaching commentaries in the very margins of holy pages of *their* masterpiece got me excited to do the same thing right on my unholy paintings... I supposed no painter had ever included notes onto or beside paintings before...

At the same time, the image becomes the main tool for his thoughts. In this regard, it is sufficient to observe the sketch made on a paper handkerchief at the table of a bar in order to describe the spatial movements carried out throughout a lifetime [Fig. 9]: the size and position of the area associated with the name of a city are directly proportional to the qualitative and quantitative influence it has had on the life of the painter. The reciprocity and the interchange between image and word, moreover, aroused much criticism from the art world, above all modernist, which singled him out as being a 'bookish' and 'literary artist', describing his work as 'Hemingway-Gauguin bullshit'. This perspective allows us to consider his two types of artistic production, the written and the mainly pictorial, as two aspects of the same 'artistic Thought' which is structured into two different media. *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter* could be considered a good example of that. The contribution of the image - here used only as a document or illustration - is less visible than the examples above; however, if we delve into a more specific analysis of the book it is possible to find a strong analogy with the paintings.



9 | Ronald B. Kitaj, sketch for *My cities (An Experimental Drama)* on a paper napkin in "Kitaj Papers", University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

10 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem*, oil on canvas, 35,6x27,9 cm, 2006, Collection of R.B. Kitaj Estate.

***Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter* is a book of confession**

According to the editor, 'Confessions' could be interpreted as an allusion to the *Confessions* of the Church Father Aurelius Augustinus, St. Augustine, (354-430), who used the word for his autobiographical work about his path of redemption, from his sinful youth to his conversion to Christianity.

I was born on a Norwegian cargo ship called *Corona* slipping out of New York harbour at night, bound for Havana and Mexican ports in the summer of 1950... I would be born again and again as a Jew later on.

Just like St. Augustine, Kitaj describes his own tortuous path, full of errors and misunderstandings, towards the discovery of his own identity: a Diasporist Jew and a Diasporist Jewish artist. The Jewish question and the consequent search for what the editor calls a secular Judaism turns out to be one of the main topics of the text, structured as an actual path to redemption. It was triggered by Hannah Arendt's report on the trial of Eichmann in Jerusalem [Fig. 10]. As he points out himself, his art shows what his mind did not understand from the very start: his Jewish being, an international fact that becomes the reason for his awareness. Although

deeply spiritual, his Jewishness also embraces his choices in the field of art through the triangulation of terms DIASPORA – JEWISHNESS – ART.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a Jewish confession

According to the editor, “the proud confessions of his ‘sin’, his passions and drives that he recollects without shame” could be connected to the Jewish understanding of sin as defined by Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz: not a moment of repentance and atonement but a dispute with God, an act of rebellion:

The sinner is one who will not obey, one who, on account of external or internal factors, refuses to accept the ‘sovereignty of heaven’ and prefers a different kind of rule, whether it be that of other men, other gods, or his own appetites.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a diary

Although it was entirely written between 2001 and 2003, the diary form has been called into question. The facts are reinterpreted, not simply annotated but reconstructed after many years. Despite its chronological dimension, the way in which it was written (every morning at six o’clock), references to the present, the repetitions of events through the same phrases, and the colloquial register allows the text to be read as though it belongs to the aforementioned genre.

7 September 2002: like many Jews, I’ve read a hell of a lot of Holocaust stuff, but today I read something I’d not heard before. In an old copy of Midstream... [or] Today, October 2002, I became 70! And I’m still a crazy old Jewish book guy...

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a Bildungsroman

The development of the main character (R.B. Kitaj), his determination to evolve and embrace his Jewish heritage and his search for a state of equilibrium with the surrounding reality through the dialectical overcoming of a series of crises (the deaths of Elsi and Sandra, the “Tate War”), and his substantial questioning of the possibility of this reconciliation, make Kitaj’s autobiography a *Bildungsroman*:

Failure, Failure as always! Desperation. My Jewish profile still life may be going to my usual nowhere.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a manifesto

One of the threads that runs through the entire text obviously concerns the painter's artistic *corpus*, his passion and retrieval of drawing as artistic practice, his search for a personal style that is at the same time also concretely and truly Jewish. The Jewish Question was for him closely connected to the artistic one:

The preposterous idea of a New Jewish Art excites, confounds, and seduces me and makes me feel as modern as each new day... if you prefer a shorter Answer to my Jewish Question/Jewish Art, the Answer is Mad Love (164-165).

The description of everyday life, meetings, readings, discussions with other artists thus contribute to defining his artistic practice, understood not as an expression of a style but as the definition of a new form of art, a Diasporist art, born from a "feeling of not-belonging, of being an outsider". It is no coincidence that the figures that most define the model of the Diasporist artist are Aby Warburg and Walter Benjamin, whose names are continuously repeated like an anaphora. It is possible to see this text as a detailed MANIFESTO OF DIASPORIST ART.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a response to the "Tate War"

The criticisms triggered by his retrospective at London's Tate Gallery in 1994, which was, otherwise, a public success, were so cruel and heinous according to Kitaj that the experience dubbed the "Tate War" became an obsession for him [Fig. 11].



11 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *The Killer-Critic Assassinated By His Widower, Even*, oil and collage on canvas, 152,4x152,4 cm, 1997, Astrup Fearnley Museum for Modern Art, Oslo.

***Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter* is a testament to the Art of the late twentieth century**

Last but not least, the text turns out to be a testament, a useful tool for a study of the art of the second half of the twentieth century, with particular attention to the central twenty years, the 60s-80s. An insight from the inside. The School of London and the London of the swinging 60s, the sexual revolution and feminist movement, the revival of figurative painting within pop art and the outsiders of London, Freud, Bacon [Fig. 12], Hamilton, Hockney [Fig. 13], the modernist *dogma* of *art for art's sake*, Clement Greenberg, Rosalind Krauss, Arthur Danto, Alloway, the Warhol Factory, the quarrel with Jim Dine, the Eichmann case and the terrorist

acts, the Israel-Palestine struggle and the Vietnam war. The personal relationships that Kitaj weaves into environments and personalities of the art and literature world give us glimpses of very personal and unique perspectives on the history of Western art.



12 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *Synchrony with F.B. General of Hot Desire*, oil on canvas (diptych, left panel), each panel 152,4x91,4 cm, 1968-1969, private collection, London.

13 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *The Neo-Cubist*, oil on canvas, 177,8x132,1 cm, 1976-1987, Astrup Fearnley Museum for Modern Art, Oslo.

Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter is a diary, a manifesto, a *Bildungsroman*, a testament. No genre, no form prevails over the other. Genre and form are articulated and intertwined without cancelling each other, in a polar coexistence that finds no definitive solution. Juxtaposition and coexistence generate potential; the montage opens new ways of interpretation. So, as we reconnect to *Notre Dame de Paris*, we can see different materials, the montage-technique, and Kitaj's tendency to combine heterogeneous features that create a productive tension – a *passage* through which Walter Benjamin meets Aby Warburg.



14 | Ronald B. Kitaj, *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter. Autobiography*, Edited by Eckhart J. Gillen, Introduction by David Hockney, Schirmer/Mosel, München 2017.

On Kitaj as 'Warburgian Artist', see E. Chaney, *R.B. Kitaj (1932-2007): Warburgian Artist*, "emaj art journal" 7/1 (November 2013). See also, M.J. Nativo, A. Prati, *Ronald Brooks Kitaj: Aby Warburg e Ernst Gombrich, due ritratti a confronto*, "La Rivista di Engramma" 151 (November/December 2017).

English abstract

A diary, a manifesto, a *Bildungsroman*, a testament to the art of the Twentieth Century: *Confessions of an Old Jewish Painter*, Ronald B. Kitaj's autobiography, left unfinished when the artist took his own life in 2007 in Los Angeles, describes the vices and sufferings of the artist. The book, a new form of biography, on the life of Kitaj, edited by E.J. Gillen follows the tradition of St. Augustine's *Confessions*; different materials, the montage-technique, a tendency to combine heterogeneous features that create a productive tension, a passage through which Walter Benjamin meets Aby Warburg. The book, published for the first time in Germany in November 2017, is an *opus mirabile* from both a literary and artistic point of view.



pdf realizzato da Associazione Engramma
e da Centro studi classicA luav
Venezia • gennaio 2020

www.engramma.org



la rivista di **engramma**

febbraio **2018**

153 • Mnemosyne Challenged

Editorial paper

Monica Centanni, Anna Fressola, Elizabeth Thomson

Ernst H. Gombrich's *Geburtstagsatlas*: An Index of materials published in Engramma

Seminario Mnemosyne

Ernst H. Gombrich, *Geburtstagsatlas für Max M. Warburg (5 June 1937)*

Seminario Mnemosyne

Ernst H. Gombrich, *To Mnemosyne: An Introduction to *Geburtstagsatlas* (1937)*

Seminario Mnemosyne

Zwischenraum/Denkraum

Victoria Cirlot, David Carrillo-Rangel

“L'esprit de Warburg lui-même sera en paix”. A survey of Edgar Wind's quarrel with the Warburg Institute

Ianick Takaes de Oliveira

A Review of Ernst H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London 1970

Edgar Wind

A Laboratory of the Science of Culture

Johan Huizinga. Translation by Monica Centanni, Sergio Polano, Elizabeth Thomson

Ronald B. Kitaj, *Autobiography of a Warburgian Artist*

Matias J. Nativo, Alessia Prati