

The Edgar Wind Journal



Volume 4

4/2023

ISSN 2785-2903

www.edgarwindjournal.eu

The Edgar Wind Journal

ISSN 2785-2903

Editors-in-Chief

Bernardino Branca and Fabio Tononi

Editorial Board

Jaynie Anderson (University of Melbourne) – Andrew Benjamin (University of Technology, Sydney; Monash University, Melbourne) – Guido Boffi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan) – Peter Burke (University of Cambridge) – Pia Carolla (Università di Genova) – Monica Centanni (Università Iuav di Venezia) – Gioachino Chiarini (Università degli Studi di Siena) – Claudia Cieri Via (Università degli Studi di Roma “La Sapienza”) – Stephen Clucas (Birkbeck, University of London) – Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (Princeton University) – Georges Didi-Huberman (École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris) – Roberto Diodato (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan) – Raphael Ebgi (Università Vita-Salute San Raffaele, Milan) – Astrid Erll (Goethe University Frankfurt) – Claire Farago (University of Colorado Boulder) – David Freedberg (Columbia University in the City of New York) – Robert Gaston (University of Melbourne) – Maurizio Ghelardi (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa; Università Vita-Salute San Raffaele, Milan) – Pascal Griener (University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland) – Martin Kemp (University of Oxford) – Martina Mazzotta (Curator and Independent Scholar) – W. J. T. Mitchell (University of Chicago) – C. Oliver O’Donnell (Bilderfahrzeuge Project, The Warburg Institute) – Arturo Carlo Ottaviano Quintavalle (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei) – Giulia Maria Paoletti (University of Oxford) – Spyros Papapetros (Princeton University) – Robert Pawlik (Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw) – Donald Preziosi (University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)) – Silvia Ronchey (Università degli Studi Roma Tre) – Pablo Schneider (University of Trier) – Elizabeth Sears (University of Michigan) – Salvatore Settis (Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa) – Carlo Severi (École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), Paris) – Daniel Sherer (Princeton University School of Architecture) – Larry A. Silver (University of Pennsylvania) – Michael P. Steinberg (Brown University, Providence) – Ianick Takaes de Oliveira (Columbia University in the City of New York) – Ben Thomas (University of Kent) – Stéphane Toussaint (Centre André Chastel, CNRS-Sorbonne Université, Paris) – Claudia Wedepohl (The Warburg Institute) – Sigrid Weigel (Leibniz-Zentrum für Literatur und Kulturforschung (ZfL), Berlin; Technical University of Berlin) – Christopher Wood (New York University) – Valentina Zaffino (Pontificia Università Lateranense, Stato Città del Vaticano, Rome)

Assistant Editor

Giulia Maria Paoletti

Contacts

info@edgarwindjournal.eu

submissions@edgarwindjournal.eu

The Edgar Wind Journal is a biannual, peer-reviewed and international journal, in open access format.

Authors are invited to follow the instructions on the website:

<https://www.edgarwindjournal.eu/submission/>

Publisher

Bernardino Branca

Contact: Corso Magenta 48, 20123, Milan, Italy

Phone: 0039 3483605940

Email: bernard.branca@gmail.com

Table of Contents

Bernardino Branca

Introduction

pp. 1-2

Jaynie Anderson

Ferdinando Ongania's Unpublished Monograph on Giorgione (1896)

pp. 3-31

Bernardino Branca

Edgar Wind in Hamburg, 1930–33: Searching for 'the Essential Forces of the Human Mind and Its History'

pp. 32-64

Giulia Maria Paoletti

**'Perhaps you who pronounce my sentence are in greater fear than I who receive it':
Orthodoxy vs Philosophy: Edgar Wind, Giordano Bruno and Michael Psellos**

pp. 65-81

Robert Pawlik

Animated Accessories or Poetical Trappings? Botticelli's *Primavera* Among Walter Pater, Aby Warburg and Edgar Wind

pp. 82-123

Edgar Wind in Hamburg, 1930–33: Searching for ‘the essential forces of the human mind and its history’

Bernardino Branca

Abstract

Edgar Wind never published a systematic treatise concerning his art theory. His theoretical writings—some still unpublished—are scattered through a series of papers written primarily during the crucial period of 1930–33. This essay tries to reconstruct and interpret such papers, which share a common feature: the interpretation of the Italian Renaissance as an attempt to find a *balance* or equilibrium between ‘the essential forces of the human mind and its history’. In striving to perceive these ‘essential forces’, Wind recognises the presence, in the ‘history of the European tradition’, of an irreducible coexistence between the Apollonian and the Dionysian forces which drive the human experience. To put it in Warburg’s words, the clash is between ‘Athens and Alexandria’, or ‘Logos’ and ‘Magic’. In Warburg’s footsteps, Wind continued the search for the ‘essential forces’ for the rest of his life.

Keywords

Nachleben der Antike; Renaissance; Symbols; Aby Warburg; Edgar Wind

Introduction

Wind never wrote a single, systematic treatise on his theoretical and methodological approach to the history of art and culture. His thoughts on this matter are scattered across a series of published and unpublished writings, primarily belonging to the first half of the 1930's, which will be discussed in this article. They were conceived before he abruptly left Hamburg in April 1933, following the introduction of Hitler’s racial laws, although some were published shortly after in 1934. However, *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie* has not been published so far, and the 1932 letter to Giovanni Gentile has been published only in its original version in Italian. Wind’s Hamburg writings had been initially stimulated by his short but intense experience as Aby Warburg’s *wissenschaftlicher Assistent* (research assistant), an experience which lasted from January 1928 until Warburg’s death in October 1929.¹ Although this experience lasted only 22 months, it played a

¹ See Bernardino Branca, *Edgar Wind, filosofo delle immagini: La biografia intellettuale di un discepolo di Aby Warburg* (Milan: Mimesis, 2019), pp. 47–69.

decisive part in his intellectual development and career.² To a lesser extent, such writings are also the result of Wind's dialogue—and confrontation—with his other mentor, Ernst Cassirer. Cassirer was the supervisor of Wind's 'Habilitationsschrift' at the University of Hamburg, which Wind defended in January 1930 and subsequently published in 1934.³

It must be noted that, in 1931, Wind published a study on 18th Century English portraits, which already takes into account the theoretical notions discussed in this paper.⁴ However, Wind's Renaissance studies could be said to have officially started with the 1936 writing of the manuscript *Die Bildsprache Michelangelos*, which was eventually published only in 2017.⁵ Since writing this manuscript in 1936, Wind continued for the rest of his life to study the Italian Renaissance, bearing clearly in mind the theoretical framework he developed in the first half of the Thirties. Hence, such studies on the Italian Renaissance can be properly understood only with this theoretical framework in mind, which I will now expound and clarify.

Wind's distinctive and original philosophical contribution is the notion of embodiment.⁶ However, the second notion to bear in mind—equally important—is Aby Warburg's concept of the Afterlife of Antiquity (*Nachleben der Antike*).⁷ Wind re-elaborated this notion in a series of studies which shall be examined here.

The third notion—closely connected to the previous two—is the one of symbol. This notion's explanation is scattered across the same papers which will be examined here, and could be said to be a synthesis of the previous two notions. The notion of Embodiment—the subject of his January 1930 *Habilitationsschrift*, is chronologically the first one to have been conceived.⁸ However, it is expedient to address the notion of Afterlife of Antiquity first, and the notions of Embodiment and Symbol subsequently, as all three are closely intermingled with each other in Wind's subsequent Renaissance studies.

² Hugh Lloyd Jones, 'A Biographical Memoir' in Edgar Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, ed. by J. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. xvi.

³ Edgar Wind, *Experiment and Metaphysics, towards a Resolution of the Cosmological Antinomies*, trans. by C. Edwards, introduced by M. Rampley (Oxford: Legenda, 2001). The 'Habilitationsschrift' is the scholarly text which, if approved, authorized teaching as 'Privatdozent' at German Universities.

⁴ See Wind, 'Humanitätsidee und heroisiertes Porträt in der englischen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *England und die Antike*, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg (1930–1931), ed. by Fritz Saxl (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1932), 156–229, Wind, *Hume and the Heroic Portrait: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Imagery*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

⁵ Wind, *Die Bildsprache Michelangelos*, ed. by Pablo Schneider (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).

⁶ For more on Edgar Wind vis a vis this notion, which he originally conceived as a philosophy of science one, see Fabio Tononi and Bernardino Branca, 'Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment', in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 2, (2022), 1-18; and Creighton Gilbert, 'Edgar Wind as Man and Thinker', in *New Criterion Reader*, 3(2) (1984), 36-41.

⁷ Aby Warburg, 'Dürer and Italian Antiquity' (1905), in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity. Contribution to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (1932), tr. by D. Britt (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute Publication Programs, 1999), pp. 553-558.

⁸ Wind, *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik: Zur Auflösung der kosmologischen Antinomien* (Tuebingen: J. Mohr, 1934). This work was published in 1934, but completed in 1930.

With these three notions in mind, Wind eventually focused his Renaissance studies on the search for ‘the essential forces of the human mind and its history’ on Warburg footsteps.⁹

1. The notion of ‘Afterlife of Antiquity’ in Wind’s 1934 *Einleitung* to the *Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*

The second conceptual pillar of Wind’s research on the Italian Renaissance’s imagery and culture, is what Aby Warburg eventually elaborated in a series of papers as *Nachleben der Antike* (the Afterlife of Antiquity).¹⁰ The *Nachleben der Antike* was, according to Warburg, the ‘Fundamental Issue’ which the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* in Hamburg (Fig. 1, Fig. 4) was trying to address through the research work of its team of scholars.¹¹

In a recent seminal study, the city of Hamburg from 1900 until 1933 has been described as a particularly experimental and innovative intellectual environment.¹² Probably also because of this, Warburg’s death in October 1929 did not prevent Wind continuing on the same research path started while his mentor was alive, as Hamburg’s intellectual *milieu* was particularly interested in the ‘Science without Name’, which eventually Erwin Panofsky will define as ‘Iconology’.¹³ As a matter of fact, during the summer semesters of the years 1931 and 1932, Wind was busy delivering several lectures at the University of Hamburg, whose titles exemplify the multifarious range of research topics he was involved with during this period.¹⁴ The following lecture list is important, because it exemplifies the polymathic nature of Wind’s cultural studies:

‘David Hume’s Religious and Moral Philosophy, Aesthetics, English and American Contemporary Philosophy, Philosophy of Culture and History,’ ‘Fundamental Concepts of Philosophy of Culture and History,’ ‘18th Century English Art and Art Criticism,’ ‘Introduction to American Philosophy of Law,’ ‘The Modern Skepsis in its Historical Development,’ ‘Introduction to Philosophy’.¹⁵

⁹ Fritz Saxl, ‘The History of the Warburg Library’, in Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg, an Intellectual Biography* (London: Phaidon 1970, 1986), p.327, my italics.

¹⁰ Warburg, ‘Duerer and Italian Antiquity’ (1905), pp. 553-558, and ‘Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther’ (1920), pp. 597-651. See also Georges Didi-Huberman, ‘Nachleben, ou l’anthropologie du temps: Warburg avec Tylor’, in G. Didi-Huberman, *L’Image Survivante, Histoire de l’Art et Temps de fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2002), pp. 51-59.

¹¹ Analytical Index, ‘Nachleben der Antike’, in Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2, (1932), p. 670.

¹² See Emily Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists, Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky and the Hamburg School* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 49-71.

¹³ See Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (1939), (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 3-31.

¹⁴ MS Wind 2, Folder 3, *Hamburgische Universität, Philosophische Fakultät, Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen Sommersemester 1931 – Sommersemester 1932*.

¹⁵ Ibid.; *Die Religions- und Moralphilosophie David Humes, Aesthetik, Die englische und amerikanische Philosophie der Gegenwart, Kultur- und Geschichtsphilosophie, Grundbegriffe der Kultur und Geschichtsphilosophie, Englische Kunst und Kunstschauung im 18. Jahrhundert, Einföhrung in die Amerikanische Rechtsphilosophie, Einföhrung in die Philosophie*. In these lectures Wind qualified himself as an ‘art historical methodologist’, ‘*kunsthistorischer Methodolog*’.

During the 1931-32 period, Wind wrote also the following reviews, which provide further evidence upon the polymathic nature of his research interests in cultural history: Troels-Lund, *Himmelsbild und Weltanschauung (Heavenly Image and World View)* 5th edn. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1929). Wind brought up to date and revised the notes of this edition.¹⁶ Friedrich Gundolf, *Anfänge deutscher Geschichtsschreibung (The Beginnings of German Historiography)*, edited by Elisabeth Gundolph and Edgar Wind, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1938). F. Gundolf died in 1931 before the book was finished. Since then, while in Hamburg, Wind and Gundolph's daughter Elizabeth edited the manuscript, although it was actually published only in 1938.¹⁷

Wind's intense lecturing and research activity was abruptly interrupted on the 5th of April 1933, when Wind was dismissed by the University of Hamburg following Hitler's racial discrimination laws, which forbade Jews to teach at schools and universities.¹⁸ In the same year Wind settled in London, where the Warburg Library had been transferred.¹⁹ In 1934, the Warburg Library published in German the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, co-edited by Edgar Wind, Hans Meier and Richard Newald.²⁰ The bibliography discussed in this work refers to the publications of the year 1931, and was probably written shortly after, but published only in 1934.

In the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike* Wind wrote a long *Einleitung* (Introduction), of which a shorter and more simplified version was published in English in the same year.²¹ The 1934 German longer version published in London, is the result of Wind's intense lecturing and research activity done during the previous years in Hamburg, which has been mentioned above. The *Einleitung* explains in detail the methodological approach and purpose of this bibliography, centred upon the concept of *Nachleben der Antike* elaborated by Warburg. This Introduction in German would remain Wind's most articulate definition of what he meant, and of the use he made throughout his subsequent studies, of the notion of *Nachleben der Antike*.

In this 1934 *Einleitung* Wind does not mention Warburg often, preferring to identify the development of the concept *Nachleben der Antike* as the product of the broader effort by German speaking academia, which, during the *Belle Epoque*, was struggling to build a 'universal science of cultural studies'.²² Wind identifies in Jacob Burckhardt and in Hermann Usener the founders of this discipline, upon which Heinrich Rickert and

¹⁶ MS Wind 2, Folder 3.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ April 5th 1933 *Reichsgesetz*.

¹⁹ See Branca, *Edgar Wind, filosofo delle immagini: La biografia intellettuale di un discepolo di Aby Warburg*, pp. 109-113.

²⁰ E. Wind, H. Meier, R. Newald, eds, 'Einleitung', in *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike. Erster Band: Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1931*, herausgegeben von der Bibliothek Warburg (Berlin/Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1934).

²¹ E. Wind, H. Meier, R. Newald (eds), *A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics, First Volume, The Publications of 1931* (London: Cassell & Co. and The Warburg Institute, 1934).

²² 'Einleitung', p. V, 'universelle Kulturwissenschaft' (the translations from German are by B. Branca, the author would like to thank Jonathan Blower for the advice received on this matter).

Wilhelm Dilthey built their own interpretations.²³ Rickert and Dilthey, according to Wind, elaborated Burckhardt's and Usener's concepts of 'culture', whose common features included the study of all kinds of cultural expressions of a given epoch. For example, Rickert and Dilthey connected their different conceptual frameworks to Usener's anthropological studies on Folklore and on Ancient Myths and Cults.²⁴ However, Wind notes that the nature of Rickert's and Dilthey's cultural studies was purely philosophical—they focused on the relationship between history and natural sciences—whereas the nature of Burckhardt's and Usener's was a thoroughly historical one. Hence, Wind says, it is important to examine Burckhardt and Usener first, in order to understand the meaning of what eventually became the concept of *Nachleben der Antike*.²⁵ In Wind's interpretation of Burckhardt and Usener, both of them focus their research on the *Nachleben der Antike*, but for the former this became the issue of 'Reawakening' of Ancient Culture.²⁶ Whereas for Usener, the research on the *Nachleben der Antike* meant the issue of 'continuing to act in an unconscious manner'.²⁷ Wind surmises that Burckhardt's and Usener's different interests within the study of the *Nachleben der Antike* are not antithetical, but complementary to each other.²⁸ Another common feature shared by Burckhardt and Usener is that, according to Wind, both conceive culture as a single and whole entity. When Burckhardt discusses an epoch's culture, he does so by comparing art production with family customs and festivities, and by comparing scientific culture with the one linked to magic and superstitions.²⁹ At the same time, Usener's anthropological research on folklore takes into account religion, festivities and games, as well as images related to both religion and sorcery, and vernacular linguistic expressions.

In the second section of the *Einleitung*, titled 'Kritik der Geistesgeschichte', Wind briefly mentions Warburg's role in the *Nachleben der Antike* debate, underscoring that he contributed to the elimination of 'border controls' between different disciplines.³⁰ Warburg's approach to art-history was in line with Burckhardt's, and against the Formalist one. Warburg advocated the need of an interdisciplinary approach in the studies of 'transition periods' such as the one of the *Quattrocento* in Florence, in order 'to supply a historical corrective to the narrowly aesthetic view'.³¹ Burckhardt—and subsequently

²³ Ibid., p.VI. Wind refers to the seminal studies of H. Rickert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (1899) and of W. Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften, Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: 1922).

²⁴ Ibid., p. VI. Wind refers to Hermann K. Usener, *Goetternahmen: Versuch einer Lehre von der Religioesen Begriffsbildung* (1896). In this book Usener introduced the concept of a 'Momentary God', to describe deities who seemed to exist only for a specific purpose, time and place.

²⁵ Ibid. p. VI. Wind refers to Jacob Burckhardt, 'The Revival of Antiquity' in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1858), tr. by S.G.C. Middlemore, (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 120-185.

²⁶ Ibid., 'Wiedererweckungsproblem'.

²⁷ Ibid., 'Unbewusstens Fortwirkens'.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ See Burckhardt, 'Society and Festivals' in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 230-270.

³⁰ Wind, 'Einleitung', p. VII, 'Grenzwächtertum'.

³¹ Warburg, 'Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons' (1907), in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, p. 249.

Warburg—advocated a ‘holistic’ approach to study of culture, which underscored the interrelation among different disciplines.³² But, Wind notes, paradoxically it was Dilthey which actively promoted the creation of borders between disciplines, in spite of the constant use of terminologies such as ‘structure’ and ‘whole’ in his studies.³³ Dilthey, provided the conceptual framework to the ‘narrowly aesthetic view’ of Formalist studies, which asserted the ‘Internal development of Styles’ and the autonomous nature of Art History as a discipline.³⁴ Wind’s critique of Formalism dates back as early as 1922, when he submitted his Doctoral Thesis, which has been recently published.³⁵ With this criticism of Formalism in mind, Wind ends the first part of the *Einleitung*, by asserting the contrary of the Formalist approach, that is, that the Bibliography’s methodological aim is to view Civilization as a whole, with a particular focus on the way that the Classical tradition functions and expresses its forms.³⁶

Wind’s 1934 *Einleitung* proceeds then with the discussion of the role played by the notion of the Symbol, within the studies of the ‘History of the European Tradition’ by the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*.³⁷ Already Burckhardt—and subsequently Warburg—advocated a ‘holistic’ approach to the study of culture, but it is Wind in the 1934 *Einleitung* which provides a more detailed conceptual explanation of this research approach. Wind’s *Einleitung* identifies ‘The symbol as the object of the scientific research of Cultural Studies’, the symbol being a specific feature of cultural production.³⁸ ‘The symbol, which is the specific element of all cultural production—be it a cultural, political, scientific or artistic symbol—thrives through the swings between these two poles’.³⁹

In the 1934 *Einleitung*, through a discussion which generates complexity and paradoxes, Wind connects the notion of *Nachleben der Antike* with a 1931 paper on the meaning of symbols.⁴⁰ This 1931 paper, titled ‘Warburg’s Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and its Meaning for Aesthetics’, has already been discussed in a previously published article in *The Edgar Wind Journal*.⁴¹ However, it must be noted that in this 1931 paper, Wind underscored what he thought was one of the most critical aspects of Warburg’s intellectual legacy vis-à-vis his own research: ‘It was one of Warburg’s basic convictions that any

³² Wind, ‘Einleitung’, p. IX.

³³ Wind, ‘Einleitung’, p. VIII.

³⁴ Ibid. p. VII. Wind refers also to Wölfflin’s call for an autonomous ‘History of Art without Names’, and to Windelband’s program of a ‘Pure History of the Problems of Philosophy’.

³⁵ Wind, *Aesthetischer und Kunstwissenschaftlicher Gegenstand. Ein Beitrag zur Methodologie der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Pablo Schneider, (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2011).

³⁶ Wind, ‘Einleitung’, p. VI.

³⁷ Ibid., p. X.

³⁸ Ibid., p. VIII, ‘Das Symbol als Gegenstand kulturwissenschaftlicher Forschung’.

³⁹ Wind, ‘Einleitung’, p. VIII-IX. ‘Gerade das Symbol, das Spezifikum aller Kulturleistung—sei es nun religiöses oder staatliches, wissenschaftliches oder künstlerisches Symbol—lebt von der Schwingung zwischen diesen beiden Polen.’

⁴⁰ Wind, ‘Warburg’s Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and its Meaning for Aesthetics’ (1931), in Edgar Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, ed. by J. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 21-35.

⁴¹ See Fabio Tononi and Bernardino Branca, *The Edgar Wind Journal*, (2, 2022), pp. 1-8.

attempt to detach the image from its relation to religion and poetry, cult and drama, is like cutting off its lifeblood'.⁴² In other words, Wind agrees with Warburg's—and Burckhardt's—assertions that artistic images are always indissolubly bound with culture as a whole. Wind also accepts Warburg's definition of a symbol as a connection between a physical image and its conceptual meaning.⁴³ Wind surmises that in Warburg's theory of the 'polarity of the symbol', there is a coexistence of 'logos' with 'magic', that is, of 'rational' *forces* intermingled with 'irrational' ones, such as beliefs and emotions.⁴⁴ To put it into Warburg's terminology, this is an aspect of the *polarity of antiquity*, which resurfaced again during the early Italian Renaissance and lasted until Bruno.⁴⁵ The 'logos' of a symbol is wrapped in a 'magic' veil, which provides an element of haze and disguise. In the first draft of the rejected *TLS* review of Ernst Gombrich biography on Warburg, Wind reiterates Warburg's argument that a symbol, when revealing its mystery, should use some measure of disguise, because 'in a good symbol, as in a good costume, concealment and revelation are combined'.⁴⁶

In the 1934 *Einleitung*, the symbol, he says, is an expression of a 'spiritual force' (*seelische Kraft*).⁴⁷ When this force withers away and becomes a mere residual, then the symbol is 'alienated' (*entäußert*) from this 'spiritual force'; the symbol is no longer at one extreme end of the poles, the magical one, and is moving towards the abstract and rational, or 'Logos' one.⁴⁸ However, even when a symbol has become abstract and alienated from its 'spiritual force', there still remains in it a residual of his original magical force. The tension between the two poles or 'forces', the 'Magic' and 'Logos' one, should not be considered as a radical antithesis. An abstract and alienated symbol always preserves a relationship—albeit a distant and 'safe' one—with the original 'spiritual force' from which it originates. Three decades later, in order to provide an example of the changing nature of symbols through history, Wind stated the following: '[Hegel in his *Aesthetik*] explained that when art is removed to a zone of safety, it may still remain very good art indeed, and also very popular art, but its effect upon our existence will vanish.'⁴⁹

According to Wind's symbolic approach to the interpretation of culture, intellectual production cannot be understood unless it is interpreted in relation to the diverse and multifarious spiritual and psychological forces which produce images, as well as to religious

⁴² 'Warburg's Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft* and its Meaning for Aesthetics', p. 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27–30.

⁴⁵ Aby Warburg, *Astrologica, Saggi e Appunti 1908-1929*, (Turin: Einaudi, 2019), p. 432. See also Aby Warburg, 'Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoja, Ferrara' (1912), in *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, trans. by David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 1999), pp. 563–91.

⁴⁶ Wind, 'First Draft of the Rejected *TLS* Review of Gombrich's Biography on Warburg' (1971), in J. Anderson 'Wind on Gombrich on Warburg', in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 3 (2022), p. 35.

⁴⁷ Within this context, 'seelisch' could be translated also as 'psychological', rather than 'spiritual'.

⁴⁸ Wind, 'Einleitung', p. IX.

⁴⁹ Wind, *Art and Anarchy* (New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, 1964), p. 7.

and social action. In other words, according to Wind's symbolic interpretation of culture, the creative process of images cannot be understood unless the religious and intellectual meanings of images (*Bildungsinhalte*) are understood beforehand.⁵⁰ For example, this will be the core statement in Wind's 1965 paper on Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling.⁵¹ The complex balance of the opposing spiritual and psychological forces embodied in the sequences of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (that is, the seven prophets) and the five gifts to the Gentiles (that is, the five sibyls) is the 'symbolic function' of the Sistine Ceiling (Fig.2).⁵² In this respect, Wind's symbolic interpretation of the Sistine Ceiling shares the same research aim of Aby Warburg and his Library, which was the one of perceiving 'the essential forces of the human mind and its history'.⁵³

According to the wholistic and symbolic approach to culture, Wind reiterates, the 'self-development of styles' of the formalist approach to art-history is untenable. Wind's symbolic approach to culture focuses upon the tensions generated between 'the essential forces of the human mind and its history'. Because of the clash between such opposing forces, the history of culture is not linear; it develops through crisis. It is through crises that 'Memory' enters the scene. For the historian of symbols, 'memory' (*Erinnerung*) becomes the key historical-philosophical question.⁵⁴ 'Memory' is the primary instrument of historical knowledge, but also because it is through symbols that 'Memory', according to Wind, keeps the reservoir of its forces. Symbols are the vehicle through which memory stores, I would say, encapsulates, its opposing forces, 'which, during given situations, eventually discharge themselves in an historical way'.⁵⁵

However, Wind recognizes that in order to investigate the 'Memory' function, it is necessary to apply a double limitation; the object of what will be remembered must be fixed, and also the subject, the entity which does the act of remembering must be stated. From this point of view, the *Nacheleben der Antike* problem achieves the status of an historical Paradigma. Without specifically mentioning Warburg's term *Pathosformeln*, Wind refers to it as 'the modes of experience formed during Antiquity'.⁵⁶ Such 'modes of experience formed during Antiquity' are, according to Wind's symbolic approach to culture, the basis of the 'phenomenon of the history of the European tradition'.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. X. 'Die Bildgestaltung gilt ihr als unverständlich oder nur halbverstanden, wenn die religiösen und intellektuellen Bildungsinhalte, die sich in ihr verkörpern oder von denen sich löst, nicht in die Betrachtung miteinbezogen werden.'

⁵¹ Wind, 'Michelangelo's Prophets and Sibyls' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 51 (1965), 47–84.

⁵² See Branca, 'Edgar Wind: Metaphysics Embodied in Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling' in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by J. Anderson, B. Branca and F. Tononi (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).

⁵³ Fritz Saxl, 'The History of the Warburg Library', in Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg, an Intellectual Biography* (London: Phaidon 1970, 1986), p. 327.

⁵⁴ Wind, 'Einleitung', p. x.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. X, 'die sich in einer gegebenen Situation, geschichtlich entladen'.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. X 'in der Antike vorgeformten Erlebnisweisen'.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 'Phaenomen der europäischen Traditionsgeschichte'.

However, the symbolic approach to the study of the History of the European Tradition does not choose ‘the modes of experience formed during Antiquity’ in an arbitrary way. Such paradigmatic experiences (that is, the *Pathosformeln*) should be regarded, Wind says, as individual ‘experiments.’ Our interest towards Antiquity should be neither a ‘morphologic’, nor a ‘normative’ one. Wind’s approach to cultural studies—as opposed to Cassirer’s ‘transcendental’ one—is a symbolic and ‘naturalist’ one.⁵⁸ He implies that *Pathosformeln* are symbols, because classical forms created by the ancients are significant for us only as symbols:

symbols cannot be successfully dealt with through total identification or total dissociation, but only through doing the one thing appropriate to symbols: interacting with them. With every such interaction, the *Nachleben der Antike* enters a new historical phase. The basic aspiration of this [symbolic] approach is not only to experience and be affected by these phases, but also to recognize and understand them retrospectively.⁵⁹

The *Einleitung*’s dense and complex prose associates Warburg’s *Nachleben der Antike* with Wind’s own elaboration of Warburg’s concept of the Symbol. With the one of Embodiment, these three concepts are the art-theoretical guidelines of his interpretations of the great masters of the Italian Renaissance, which are part of his cultural studies of the ‘History of European Tradition’. In particular, Wind underscores that ‘The study of symbols holds that the dynamics of historical progress stem only from the tensions between cultural functions and from the equilibrium which also, from time to time, holds between them.’⁶⁰ The notion of ‘equilibrium’ or balance’ between opposing forces is a constantly recurring theme in Wind’s Renaissance studies; this is particularly evident across his Raphael and Michelangelo studies⁶¹ For example, Wind explained that Origen’s biblical hermeneutics, with its search of balance and ‘concordance’, was at the very core of the Sistine Ceiling’s mystical allegories.⁶² Moreover, Wind saw in *The School of Athens* (Fig.3), the opposing spiritual and psychological forces which produce images, with ‘Magic’ and ‘Logos’ held in equilibrium by Raphael’s great ability to ‘think through images’:

In *The School of Athens*, [Raphael] succeeded in painting what a less intelligent and less sensitive artist might have found to be an utterly unpaintable subject: an abstract

⁵⁸ See Tullio Viola ‘Philosophy of Culture: Naturalistic or Transcendental? A Dialogue between Edgar Wind and Cassirer’ in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by J. Anderson, F. Tononi and B. Branca, (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).

⁵⁹ Wind, *Einleitung*, p. X, ‘Erst aus den Spannungen zwischen den verschiedenen Kulturfunktionen und dem jeweils zwischen ihnen gefundenen Ausgleich entsteht für sie überhaupt erst die Dynamik des geschichtlichen Fortgangs.’

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. IX. ‘Für diese Symbolforschung bildet die Wechselwirkung zwischen den verschiedenen Kulturfunktionen die selbstverständliche Voraussetzung.’

⁶¹ See Branca, *Edgar Wind’s Raphael Papers* (Wrocław: Amazon Fulfillment, 2020), and Bernardino Branca, ‘Edgar Wind: Metaphysics Embodied in Michelangelo’s Sistine Ceiling’ in *Edgar Wind Art and Embodiment*, ed. by F. Tononi, J. Anderson and B. Branca, (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).

⁶² Wind, ‘Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling. A Note on Michelangelo’s Use of the Malermi Bible’, in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. by E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 324.

philosophical speculation of weird intricacy but rigorous logic. In the philosophical circle to which Raphael belonged, a doctrine was current that any proposition in Plato could be translated in a proposition in Aristotle, provided that one took into account that Plato's language was that of poetic enthusiasm, and whereas Aristotle spoke in the cool tone of rational analysis. Raphael placed the two contending philosophers, 'who agree in substance but disagree in words', in a hall dominated by the two statues of Apollo and Minerva: the god of poetry and the goddess of reason preside over the amicable disputation which, concentrated in Plato and Aristotle, is enlarged and particularized in a succession of sciences; these answer each other in the same discords and concords in which Plato and Aristotle converse.⁶³

In the *Einleitung*, Wind concludes that Memory is the key word needed to understand the role which the Symbol plays in the History of European Tradition: 'Memory [...] is thus the central philosophical problem for the historian of symbols: not only because she herself is the organ of historical cognition, but because she represents, as it were, the reservoir of those powers which are released in a given historical situation'.⁶⁴

The 1934 publication of the *Bibliographie* was heavily criticized and misunderstood in Germany. In the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi Party's official daily newspaper edited by Joseph Goebbels, Martin Rasch wrote an article sarcastically titled 'Jews and Emigrants as German Scholars', in which Wind's *Einleitung* is attacked as an example of *entartete Wissenschaft*, 'degenerate science'.⁶⁵

In the writings of the Hamburg period examined so far, the notion of *force* recurs frequently; 'spiritual' or 'psychological' forces mutually balancing each other. This notion does recur also in the other writings of the first half of the Thirties, which will now be examined. These writings too need to be taken into consideration, in order to understand the key points discussed by Wind in the *Einleitung* to the *Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*.

⁶³ Wind, *Art and Anarchy*, p. 62.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. X. "Erinnerung" ist daher für den Historiker des Symbols das zentrale geschichtsphilosophische Problem: nicht nur weil sie selbst das Organ geschichtlicher Erkenntnis ist, sondern weil sie—in ihren Symbolen—gleichsam das Reservoir der Kräfte schafft, die sich in einer gegebenen Situation geschichtlich entladen.'

⁶⁵ Martin Rasch, 'Juden und Emigranten machen deutsche Wissenschaft', in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 5 January 1935. MS Wind 64, Folder 2.

2. A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics

The first paper to be taken into consideration, is the English version of the Introduction to the *Bibliographie*, titled *A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics*.⁶⁶ In 1976, Wind's wife, Margaret, reminisced that:

The English version was a preface with an intention, written in shortened form under duress, and specifically directed toward English readers unfamiliar with the Warburg method to make it more palatable to them, during the first years of the Institute's settlement in London, when it was struggling along for its existence, whereas the German text is the original reasoned argument and characteristic of Edgar's German work. The first edition is also one of the most referred to in literature. [...] The character of the English version is quite different, as if it had thrown off the weight of the original milieu, and I admit it breathes a bit of fresh air.⁶⁷

In a 1968 letter to Ernst Gombrich Wind stated his preference for the German version:

'...I got a letter from Dr Klopstock, asking on behalf of the industrious Kraus whether the German or the English introduction to the *Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics* would be suitable for reprinting. I emphatically opted for the German one because I never liked the English, which was done under pressure and shows it. I hope you don't mind.'⁶⁸

Gombrich's replied:

'...I am glad that you opted for the reprint of your German introduction to the Bibliography of Survival of the Classics. I always regretted that your *Kritik der Geistesgeschichte* was not available in English, and I wish it could also appear in translation.'⁶⁹

Gombrich refers to a short section in Wind's *Einleitung* which criticizes the 'Immanent development of Styles' asserted by the Formalist art-historian Heinrich Wölfflin.⁷⁰ However, Wind's disdain for his English version of the *Bibliography* was not entirely justified, for the following reasons.

First, the English version was written with the purpose to introduce to the English audience the main features of the German approach to Cultural History, which during the 1930's in England was still perceived with great scepticism and suspicion, as Gombrich

⁶⁶ Wind, 'Introduction', in *A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics* (London: Cassel & Co., 1934), MS Wind 64, Folder 2.

⁶⁷ See note of Margaret Wind, in MS Wind 62, folder 2.

⁶⁸ Wind to Gombrich, 5 June 1968, MS Wind 64, Folder 2.

⁶⁹ Gombrich to Wind, 10 June 1968, MS Wind 64, Folder 2.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History* (1915), trans. by Jonathan Blower (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2015).

explained at the 1967 Denecke Lecture in Oxford.⁷¹ The English public could not be expected to understand, let alone be sympathetic to, the philosophically dense structure of the German *Einleitung*, which generated complexity and paradoxes to be understood by German scholars alone. Paradoxically, the Vienna born Gombrich cites Wind's complex *Einleitung*, in order to explain to his audience that "The study of metaphors and symbols in language, literature and art provides no doubt a convenient point of entry into the study of cultural interactions".⁷²

Moreover, in 1934 Wind had to choose a more simplistic approach, which nevertheless provided the advantage of underscoring the role played by Warburg, the founder of the Warburg Library, in the development of the *Nachleben der Antike* concept (translated as 'Survival of the Classics').⁷³ The Warburg Library had just been moved from Hamburg to London, and was struggling for its existence. ⁷⁴The English 'Introduction' provides also a helpful discussion of the British forerunners of Warburg's 'Survival of the Classics' concept, which Wind identifies in as diverse thinkers and scientists as Carlyle, Darwin, Butler and Tyler, the latter being the one who first used the term 'Survival of the Classics', and the notion of 'psychological force' related to it.⁷⁵ In spite of these efforts, several years after the publication of the English edition, Wind reminisced his disappointment concerning the reception of this book in Britain.⁷⁶

3. The Warburg Institute's Classification Scheme

The second paper to bear in mind in order to understand the 1934 *Einleitung* is 'The Warburg Institute's Classification Scheme'.⁷⁷ This 1934 paper by Wind could be regarded the 'Manifesto' of the Warburg Library's mission, which its founder had initially conceived decades before. Fritz Saxl, the director of the Warburg Library from Warburg's death in 1929 until his own death in 1948, reminisced that:

Warburg spoke of 'the law of the "Good Neighbour"'. The book of which one knew was in most cases not the book which one needed. The unknown neighbour on the shelf contained the vital information, although from its title one may not have guessed this. The overriding idea was that the books together—each containing its larger or smaller bit

⁷¹ See Ernst Gombrich, *In Search for Cultural History, the P.M. Denecke Lecture* (1967) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 2.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁷³ Wind, 'Introduction', pp. V, VI.

⁷⁴ See Branca, *Edgar Wind, Filosofo delle Immagini*, p. 109-113.

⁷⁵ Wind, 'Introduction', p. IX.

⁷⁶ See note of Margaret Wind in MS Wind 62, folder 2.

⁷⁷ Wind, 'The Warburg Institute Classification Scheme', in *The Library Association Record* (London: May 1935), pp. 43-45.

of information and being supplemented by its neighbours—should by their titles guide the student to ‘*perceive the essential forces of the human mind and its history*’.⁷⁸

Hence, Warburg’s ‘interdisciplinary’ and ‘wholistic’ approach to culture, was somehow already embedded in the library’s classification structure since its early years. However, Saxl noted that making sense of Warburg’s constantly evolving classification structure was a daunting task, because, ‘To combine the office of a patriarchal librarian with that of a scholar, as Warburg did, was a hard undertaking’.⁷⁹ When the Warburg Library was eventually moved to London in 1933, it was necessary to continue the reclassification work of the library left behind by Warburg; Wind took over this task, with Warburg’s mission in his mind. The result of Wind’s sharp philosophical mind was condensed in a three pages article, which explains in detail the unique rationale behind the Warburg Library’s books classification system.⁸⁰ Wind underscores that:

Two traits, in particular, will have to be remembered: i) within that specialized field of cultural history and psychology, which is circumscribed by the “*Survival of the Classics*”, the library endeavours to be encyclopaedic; i.e., it interconnects such seemingly independent subjects as the history of art, of science, of superstition, of literature, of religion, etc. ii) it is meant to be used like a reference library, the users having open access to the shelves.⁸¹

Accordingly, Wind underscores that ‘the system which follows is calculated to satisfy a further need: *to make interconnections easily visible*’.⁸² It should be noted that, when Wind met Warburg for the first time during a short trip to Hamburg in the Summer of 1927, Warburg said ‘I always forget that you are a trained art-historian, you are so familiar with philosophical thinking’.⁸³ Following this meeting, Warburg hired him as *wissenschaftlicher Assistent*. Warburg proved right to do so. Wind eventually managed to *embody* in the Warburg Library itself Warburg’s *Nachleben der Antike*—Survival of the Classics principle, along with Warburg’s holistic approach to culture, and Warburg’s mission to *perceive the essential forces of the human mind and its history*.⁸⁴

4. *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie*

Throughout the intense research activity of the first half of the Thirties, Wind continued elaborating the conceptual tools of *Nachleben der Antike* and of Symbol, which he would

⁷⁸ Fritz Saxl, ‘The History of the Warburg Library’, in Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg, an Intellectual Biography* (London: Phaidon 1970, 1986), p. 327, my italics.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Wind, ‘The Warburg Institute Classification Scheme’, pp. 43-45.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 43.

⁸² Ibid., my italics.

⁸³ Lloyd Jones, ‘A Biographical Memoir’ in Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, p. xvi. ‘Ich vergesse immer, daß Sie ein geschulter Kunsthistoriker sind; Sie haben es so nett mit dem Denken’.

⁸⁴ Saxl, ‘The History of the Warburg Library’, p. 327, my italics.

subsequently use in his cultural and art-historical research on the Italian Renaissance written since 1936. The 1932-33 *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie* is the result of Wind's intense lecturing and research activity done during these years in Hamburg, which has been mentioned above. This manuscript is the last of the purely 'theoretical' series of documents of this period. It is a yet unpublished text, subtitled 'an outline of Edgar Wind's last course of lectures as Privatdozent in Hamburg, 4 November 1932-24 February 1933'.⁸⁵ This manuscript could be said to be the tentative first draft of a 'Summa'—albeit a very sketchy one—of the theoretical works Wind produced during the first half of the thirties, which have just been discussed.

Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie is a 25 pages typescript of very cryptic lecture notes, which Wind used as a help during the delivery of the sixteen lectures. In spite of this, the general content of these lectures seems to immediately follow the train of thought which started with *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik*, continued with 'Warburg's Concept of *Kulturwissenschaft*' and reached its climax in the *Einleitung* and its discussion of the role of symbols in history. In *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie* there are a number of statements which I would like to isolate and underscore, because they are particularly meaningful for the overall understanding of the notions of 'psychological force', symbol and *Nachleben der Antike*, which Wind addressed during the first half of the thirties.

The first series of statements connects the concept of symbol with the one of time. For example, Wind says that 'Concept of the symbol essential for definition of culture (cultural and natural phenomenon). The entire problem adheres to this concept.'⁸⁶ And that 'From the fact of symbolism it follows that the concept of time must be configural'.⁸⁷ Hence, according to Wind, the very nature of the symbol is in contradiction with the linear conception of time and points to the configural one. The configural conception of time, according to Wind, is non-deterministic; 'What the physicist defines as "chance", the historian calls: "freedom". The entire problem of freedom and causality is associated with the concept of time'.⁸⁸

This is true also in the case of what Wind broadly defines as the 'history of ideas', in which 'immanent' theories of historical development are ultimately related to the linear conception of time. 'The concept of "New", of originality, has no place in this view of the world'.⁸⁹ Moreover, 'the configural concept of time gives sense of periodicity. [...] Linear

⁸⁵ MS Wind 2, folder 3.

⁸⁶ Ibid., lecture dated 4 Nov. 1932, 'Wesentlich für Kulturbestimmung (Kultur- und Naturphänomen): Symbolbegriff. An diesem Begriff das ganze Problem haftend.'

⁸⁷ Ibid., 4 Nov. 1932: 'Aus dem Faktum der Symbolik ergibt sich, daß der Zeitbegriff konfigural sein muss'.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 8 Nov. 1932, 'Was der Physiker Zufall nennt, nennt der Historiker: Freiheit. Das ganze Freiheits- und Kausalitätsproblem zusammenhängend mit Zeitbegriff'.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 15 Nov. 1932, 'Der Begriff des "Neuen", der Originalität hat in dieser Weltauffassung keinen Platz'.

view of time: ultimately a kind of theological view from outside⁹⁰ Wind notes that the theories of historical development based upon the laws of logic, provide univocity to the meaning of symbols, and a purely logical view of the development of history. Wind points to Hegel's Historicism—which believes that history proceeds through the movements of concepts, and that antithesis produce new phases— and to A. Riegl's "Law of immanent development" of artistic styles. These are examples, he says, of the linear and theological view of historical development.⁹¹

The second series of statements I would like to isolate and underscore, are the ones concerning the relationship of symbols with memory and culture. For this purpose, Wind mentions Warburg: 'Astrology separates the heavenly and the magical meaning of an act. Empirical observation and calculus finally prevail over the magical meaning.'⁹² Moreover, he adds that each symbol is in an intermediate position between magic and logos, and provides a double meaning:

Signs are laden with original emotional character even in language, such as any translation is a transformation. Mathematicians, on the contrary, are as extreme as magicians. Pause for reflection virtually absent. [...] Symbols seen through the medium of memory! This act of memory is foreign to mathematicians and magicians. [...] Middle ground is possible! (Memory!). Act of sudden return to original meaning. The duplicity of symbols has its psychological basis in the problem of the Renaissance. Interaction!⁹³

The term *Auseinandersetzung*, that is 'interaction', will eventually become the subject of a paper titled 'Humanities 292a Experimental', the result of a series of lectures Wind held at Smith College in 1953, on European history of culture and philosophy.⁹⁴ *Auseinandersetzung* is a leitmotif in Wind's studies, which will be discussed in a separate paper.

Through this sequel of cryptic and apparently disconnected lecture notes, it is possible to draw two tentative conclusions. The first is related with Wind's understanding of the relationship of symbols with the configural conception of time; Wind's stand concerning 'Free Will' becomes evident, as his approach to the study of cultural history

⁹⁰ Ibid., 18 Nov. 1932, 'Konfiguraler Zeitbegriff gibt Gefühl für Periodizität. [...] Lineare Zeitauffassung: letzten Endes Art theologischer Betrachtung von Aussen.'

⁹¹ Ibid., 6 Dec. 1932. 'Eindeutigkeit der Symbolen gegeben (Hegel: aus Bewegung der Begriffe Geschichte entwickelt, durch Antithetik neue Phasen deduziert) in absolut logischer Entwicklung; so in der Kunstgeschichte A. Riegl: "Gesetz der immanenten Entwicklung".'

⁹² Ibid., 2 Dec. 1932, 'Warburg. Astrologie. Sonderung der Himmelsbedeutung von einer magischen Aktion. Zwischen Erregungen – neutrale Zonen?.'

⁹³ Ibid., 9 Dec. 1932, 'Schon in der Sprache Zeichen mit ursprünglichem Emotionscharakter geladen, so dass jede Übersetzung Verwandlung ist. Mathematiker im Gegensinn ebenso extrem wie die Magiker. Pause der Besinnung fast ausgeschaltet. [...] Symbol durch das Medium der Erinnerung gesehen! Dieser Akt der Erinnerung fehlt beim Mathematiker und Magiker. [...] Mittelstellung möglich! (Erinnerung!). Akt des plötzlichen Zurückgehens auf die ursprüngliche Bedeutung. Der Doppelheit der Symbole liegt psychologisch das Problem der Renaissance zu Grunde. Auseinandersetzung!'

⁹⁴ Wind, '292a Experimental', in *Smith College Bulletin* (1953), MS Wind 9, Folder 2.

and art history is non-deterministic, that is, very distant to any form of Historicist interpretation.

The second has to do with the relationship of symbols with memory and culture. Memory, and the return towards the original ‘emotional force’ embodied, encapsulated in a symbol, are the key elements for the understanding of the ‘Renaissance problem’, and the duplicity of the meaning of symbols during the Renaissance.⁹⁵

Wind’s notes of the sixteen lectures he delivered in 1932-33 on *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie*, are the very first sketch of the theoretical treatise at the basis of his studies on the Italian Renaissance, a treatise which, unfortunately, he never managed to complete.

One can only guess why he never managed to do so. One reasonable hypothesis could be related to the trauma, psychological and existential, which Wind experienced as an *émigré* after he was forced to leave Hamburg in April 1933.⁹⁶ The other is related to the challenges in adapting his *Kulturwissenschaft* studies to the research approach of the English-speaking world of his times. Concerning this issue, Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) provided a useful explanation. Panofsky was among Wind’s most important mentors and colleagues in Hamburg, he was also a fellow member of the Warburg Circle and, like Wind, an ‘émigré’ since 1933.⁹⁷ In 1953, Panofsky explained the scepticism towards his research as the result of ‘the contact of the German-born “iconological” approach to art history with Anglo-Saxon Positivism, which, by principle, was wary of any kind of abstract speculation.’⁹⁸

Wind too was well aware of this prejudice, and since 1936 he took great care to hide his own ‘abstract speculation’ in the footnotes of his works. The footnotes of *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* and of *Art and Anarchy* are an example of this, as some of them are micro-essays on their own. However sketchy, Wind’s first and only attempt to lay out the draft of a theoretical treatise, merges his own notion of Symbol with the one of Warburg’s *Nachleben der Antike*. This synthesis is of the essence for the understanding of his subsequent studies on the Italian Renaissance and ‘The Renaissance Problem’, that is, the notion of ‘equilibrium’ or balance’ between opposing forces.

⁹⁵ Wind’s identification of the ‘Renaissance Problem’ is discussed in Bernardino Branca ‘The Giordano Bruno Problem: Edgar Wind’s 1938 Letter to Frances Yates’, in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 2021, 1, pp. 12-38.

⁹⁶ Concerning Wind’s perception of the status of exile, see Ben Thomas, ‘Freedom and Exile: Edgar Wind and the Congress for Cultural Freedom’ in *The Edgar Wind Journal* 1: 67-85, 2021.

⁹⁷ Branca, *Edgar Wind, Filosofo delle Immagini* p. 13–15, 54–57.

⁹⁸ Erwin Panofsky, ‘The History of Art’, in *The Cultural Migration: The European Scholar in America*, ed. by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1953), p. 82.

5. Embodiments and Symbolic Functions

Wind's mission was not to produce yet another connoisseur or formalist series of studies in art history; instead, he sought to explain *die Geistige Welt* — the spiritual world and the 'psychological forces' related with it— to which an artwork belonged. The notion of *Geistige Welt* was acquired by Wind from Max Dvořák.⁹⁹ This connection of metaphysics with art would enhance our aesthetic appreciation: "The eye focuses differently when it is intellectually guided."¹⁰⁰ 'Embodiment', *Nachleben der Antike* and 'symbolic function' are the key concepts through which Wind understood the spiritual world of the great masters of the Italian Renaissance.

Wind initially laid out the two related concepts of 'embodiment' and 'symbolic Function'— referring exclusively to the natural sciences — in *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik*.¹⁰¹ In a 1934 review of *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik*, Ernest Nagel underscored Wind's core argument:

It is Dr Wind's larger aim to show that metaphysical questions (those dealing with totalities) can be settled experimentally. For anyone reared in the Kantian tradition this is revolutionary. More than half of the book is therefore devoted to showing that Kant's antinomies can be settled scientifically. Dr Wind argues that Kant's rejection of the possibility of metaphysics is based on his failure to employ the method of "internal determination" (hypothesis about totalities must have empirically verifiable consequences in the parts), and on his taking that basic physical ideas are no longer tenable. Thus, metaphysics is once more possible if we recognize that we must survey the world from within it, because we and its instruments are subject to its laws.¹⁰²

As mentioned, *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik* refers exclusively to the natural sciences. However, this treatise is instrumental for the understanding of Wind's theoretical framework in his studies on the great masters and the culture of the Italian Renaissance. How can this be possible? Wind argues that scientific instruments are empirical symbols or 'embodiments' of mathematical—that is, metaphysical concepts—asserting that such physical embodiments are 'symbolic representations.'¹⁰³ Matthew Rampley explains that what Wind meant is that such instruments have a 'symbolic function'; a definition which this paper will use for heuristic purposes.¹⁰⁴ In *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik* Wind anticipated that:

⁹⁹ See Max Dvořák, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (Munich: Piper & Co, 1928). Dvořák (1874–1921) taught Wind in Vienna in 1920.

¹⁰⁰ Wind, *Art and Anarchy* (New York: A. Knopf, 1964), p. 63.

¹⁰¹ Wind, *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik: Zur Auflösung der kosmologischen Antinomien* (Tuebingen: J. Mohr, 1934); *Experiment and Metaphysics, towards a Resolution of the Cosmological Antinomies*, trans. by C. Edwards, introduced by M. Rampley (Oxford: Legenda, 2001).

¹⁰² Ernest Nagel, (Columbia University), 'Review of Edgar Wind *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik*', in *The Journal of Philosophy*, 31 (1934).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 17, 30, 60.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 'Introduction', p. xvi.

However ‘unreasonable’ this assumption may seem, it is possessed in common by those two branches of enquiry the method of which are usually considered as diametrically opposed: namely, physics and history. What has proved to be true of the physical instrument can be shown to be true of the historical document.¹⁰⁵

Moreover, in a short essay, published in 1936, Wind states that the concept of ‘embodiment’ is the very point where history and the natural sciences meet.¹⁰⁶ Thus, Wind connects metaphysics with imagery. He achieves this through an ‘experiment’, whose ‘test’ is the following: ‘there is one – and only one – test for the artistic relevance of an interpretation: it must heighten our perception of the object, and thereby increase our aesthetic delight’.¹⁰⁷

Wind important step was to connect the philosophy of science notions of ‘embodiment’ and of ‘symbolic function’ with the ‘historical documents’ of image-making. The actual symbols (*Pathosformeln* etc), part of the *Nachleben der Antike*, are what allows the notions of embodiment and symbolic function to be applied to the interpretation of images. In Wind’s *Einleitung*, the *Nachleben der Antike* problem achieves the status of an historical paradigm. Without specifically mentioning Warburg’s term *Pathosformeln*, Wind refers to it as ‘the modes of experience formed during Antiquity’.¹⁰⁸ Such paradigmatic ‘modes of experience formed during Antiquity’ are, according to Wind’s symbolic approach to culture, the basis of the ‘phenomenon of the history of the European tradition’.¹⁰⁹ Such paradigmatic experiences (that is, the *Pathosformeln*) should be regarded, Wind says, as individual ‘experiments.’ As mentioned, Wind’s approach to cultural studies—as opposed to Cassirer’s ‘transcendental’ one—is a symbolic and ‘naturalist’ one.¹¹⁰ He implies that *Pathosformeln* are symbols, because classical forms created by the ancients are significant for us only as symbols. In a 1958 letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*, Wind clarified this point, by reminiscing the ‘confrontation’ he had decades before with Cassirer, his mentor and ‘Habilitationsschrift’ supervisor, concerning the nature of symbols:

Sir, the memory of an anti-Kantian book which I published twenty-five years ago under the inauspicious title *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik* was unexpectedly revived on your front-page article of May 23. The honour is undeserved, as the book fell dead borne from the press. One of the few persons who read it was the late Ernst Cassirer; and I am sorry to say that it made that amiable man extremely angry. In honour of his memory, I must protest against the suggestion that we held the same view about the nature of symbols. My thesis was that symbols are “real” only to the extent in which they can be

¹⁰⁵ Wind, *Experiment and Metaphysics*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Wind, ‘Some Points of Contact between History and Science’, in *Philosophy and History: Essays*, presented to Ernst Cassirer, ed. by R. Klibansky and H. Paton (1936) (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), pp. 255–276.

¹⁰⁷ Wind, *Art and Anarchy*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Einleitung’, p. X ‘in der Antike vorgeformten Erlebnisweisen’.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, ‘Phänomen der europäischen Traditionsgeschichte’.

¹¹⁰ See also Pablo Schneider, ‘Edgar Wind: a Mind Naturalized in Antiquity’ in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by J. Anderson, B. Branca, F. Tononi (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).

embodied in an *experimentum crucis* whose outcome is directly observable—in his view a deplorable lapse into “empiricism”.¹¹¹

From 1936 Wind dedicated the rest of his life to the ‘experimental’ application of these notions to the ‘historical documents’ he studied.¹¹² Wind conceived these notions through a synthesis of pragmatist philosophy, which he studied during his 1924–27 stay in the United States, and through his mentors Aby Warburg studies on *Nachleben der Antike* and Ernst Cassirer’s on symbolic forms. Wind never succeeded to transform the cryptic 1932-33 lecture notes of *Grundrisse der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie*—the result of his intense research activity during the early 1930’s in Hamburg— in one single broader and systematic treatise. Had *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie* been transformed into a proper treatise, this would have clarified in detail the theoretical relationships between texts and images, and the issues involved in applying the notions of ‘embodiment’, symbolic representations and *Nachleben der Antike* to the interpretation of images. However, what we are left with is a significant number of ‘Fragments’, dating back to Wind’s searing experiences during his Hamburg years, which, once put together, can help us to reconstruct his art theory. The fragmentary nature of such papers and manuscripts – some still unpublished – may have contributed to the unwarranted criticism and misunderstandings levelled at his works on the ‘Renaissance Problem’, which Wind produced since 1936. Moreover, the notion of ‘embodiment’, as he applied it to art-historical research, distinguishes Wind as an independent thinker, distinct from Warburg. As early as 1939, Panofsky already understood this clearly: ‘Edgar Wind is 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’.¹¹³ In order to complete the reconstruction of Wind’s art theory developed during the Hamburg years, there are two more documents which is necessary to examine.

6. *Theios Phobos*, or the notion of ‘equilibrium’ of ‘opposing forces’ in life and in art

‘Theios Phobos (Laws, II, 67ID). On Plato’s Philosophy of Art’ (1932), written during Wind’s Hamburg years of intellectual production, focuses on Plato’s philosophy of art, particularly on the *purpose* of art and the need to achieve balance and equilibrium between the opposing psychological forces which coexist in artistic expression.¹¹⁴ The article is instrumental for understanding Wind’s other texts of the same period, such as *Einleitung*

¹¹¹ ‘Microcosm and Memory’, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 30 May 1958, p. 297.

¹¹² See Branca, *Edgar Wind, Filosofo delle Immagini*, pp. 109–137.

¹¹³ Letter from Erwin Panofsky to George Boas, 5 October 1939. See P. Schneider, ‘Nachwort’, in Edgar Wind, *Die Bildsprache Michelangelos*, ed. by P. Schneider (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), p. 126.

¹¹⁴ ‘Theios Phobos (Laws, II, 67ID). On Plato’s Philosophy of Art’ (1932), in Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, ed. by J. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 1–19. This article was based on Wind’s inaugural lecture as *Privatdozent* in Hamburg; further references and illustrations were added.

‘Einleitung’, in *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike*, and *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie*. Its notion of balance and equilibrium is key to Wind’s subsequent works on the embodiment of Platonist philosophy in the art and culture of the Italian Renaissance. Unlike *Einleitung* and *Grundbegriffe*, however, *Theios Phobos* is an exercise in the history of ideas on the purpose of art rather than a theoretical exercise outright. Specifically, the relationships of art and the state and of aesthetics and politics, a theme of the German philosophical tradition dating back at least to Friedrich Schiller’s 1795 letters *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*,¹¹⁵ are discussed. In a letter written to his friend Werner Oechslin, Wind subsequently regretted not having made the political significance of *Theios Phobos* more evident, as its historical background was the political implosion of the Weimar Republic.¹¹⁶ Nonetheless, the notions of balance and equilibrium explained in it, are of the essence in the understanding of Wind’s subsequent works on the embodiment of Platonist philosophy in the art and culture of the Italian Renaissance.

In his *Theios Phobos* article, Wind discusses several authors who wrote about the purpose of artistic expression, from Plato to Lessing, from Goethe and Schiller to Kant and Hegel. That said, his discussion of Plato’s *Laws* is the most relevant to his subsequent studies of Renaissance art and culture because of the use of allegorical imagery utilised by Plato, which was re-discovered during the Italian Renaissance. Wind reckons that

In [Plato’s] *Laws* the theory of art is developed from the start on the basis of considerations about the nature of man, whose first sensations are pleasure and pain, and who must consequently be educated by means of his responses to them.¹¹⁷

Wind is fond to discuss Plato’s use of allegorical images to explain philosophical concepts. For example, Wind cites as an example the well-known image in the *Phaedrus*, where Plato compares the soul to a chariot, which has *Nous*, the intelligent element in us, as its driver, controlling, or *balancing*, the force of an evil black horse, *Epizumia* (that is, ‘desire’) and the force of a noble white horse, *Zumos* (that is, ‘pride or spirit’). In *Phaedrus*, the chariot is in danger of being thrown off course if the chariot fails to keep equilibrium between the two horses’ opposing forces.

In the *Laws*, however, Wind finds a quite different picture:

Here the soul is compared with a puppet made by the gods; we do not know whether they have made it as a mere plaything or for a serious purpose. This puppet is moved by wires, rigid wires of different substances and colours which jerk it in every conceivable direction, so that it falls from one posture to another. But there is one simple wire of gold, flexible yet immutable, to which the soul must respond if it wishes to attain its equilibrium (*Eudaimonein*, enjoy happiness).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Ben Thomas, *Edgar Wind and Modern Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), p. 34.

¹¹⁶ MS Wind 49, Folder 1, circa 1950.

¹¹⁷ Wind, ‘Theios Phobos’, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4. Wind refers to *Leges*, I, 644D-645C.

Wind believes that, in contrast to the *Phaedrus*, Plato's later dialogue, *Laws*, provides a pessimistic view of the power of *Nous* to keep the puppet—that is, the soul—in equilibrium. But despite the different emphases expressed by two allegorical images, there is a constant: the soul is held in tension between two opposing forces.¹¹⁹

Plato provides yet another metaphor of how these opposing forces, if held together, will promote the equilibrium and wellbeing of the soul—and if not, promote its downfall—in the discussion of drunkenness in the first two books of the *Laws*.¹²⁰ Wind says that it gradually becomes clear that, for Plato, the use of wine is neither a bad nor a good thing *per se*, provided that its consumption is regulated rationally. This can be achieved through musical education, that is, the development of the senses of rhythm and harmony in poetical expression and dance movements.¹²¹ According to Plato, all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty should take part in these exercises, so that through 'guided' exposure to the perils of drunkenness, they may learn to be afraid of the harm it can do to them. By acquiring the 'Divine Fear' (*Theios Phobos*) of the pitfalls of unrestrained joy, the young men will be able to enjoy the pleasure of wine without enduring its pain. By contrast, older men, especially those over sixty, are so dominated by the 'Divine Fear' that they never venture to dance and sing; they ought to follow Dionysus and drink wine in order to find the courage to dance and sing, and overcome their excessive reluctance to pleasure and the pitfalls of a 'limping virtue'.

In sum, Wind underscores that Plato saw a transformative power in art and, therefore, felt that the state should regulate this power by providing a form of musical education in 'practical morality'.¹²²

'Divine Fear' is needed to balance the opposing forces of pleasure on one hand, and of pain on the other. Only 'Divine Fear' can teach the limits within which the soul can surrender itself to either of these forces.¹²³ This is why the platonic legislator 'must regard pleasure and pain as a matter which he has to shape, the substance he has to mould'.¹²⁴ For younger men this means the practice of music in order to balance the painful excesses of the pleasure of wine drinking, for older ones, the drinking of wine in order to balance their painful reluctance to the pleasure of dancing and singing.¹²⁵

The platonic notion of balancing opposing forces appears frequently in the allegorical symbols of Renaissance imagery. One example is Raphael's School of Athens fresco in the Vatican (Fig. 3), the subject of Wind's 1950 manuscript titled 'The School of

¹¹⁹ Wind, 'Theios Phobos', p. 4.

¹²⁰ Wind, 'Theios Phobos', p. 5. Wind refers to *Leges*, I, 638D.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Thomas, *Edgar Wind and Modern Art*, p. 35.

¹²³ Wind, 'Theios Phobos', p. 5.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

Athens'.¹²⁶ Wind's first exercise in interpreting Plato's philosophy of art, written during his Hamburg years, along with the other papers of the same period discussed here, laid the ground to his subsequent interpretations of the great masters of the Italian Renaissance. Such interpretations were based upon the embodiment of platonic philosophy in the symbols of Renaissance art. In this article, Wind's focus on Plato's advice to balance the opposing psychological forces in human nature, can be seen as part of the Warburg Library's mission to search for 'the essential forces of the human mind and its history'. For Warburg, such forces were 'the symptoms of a unified psychic process within the constant oscillations between far flung poles: from cultic practice to mathematical contemplation, and back again.'¹²⁷

7. Wind's 1932 letter to Giovanni Gentile: 'The conflict and exchange process between art and the other forces of spiritual life'

Already in April 1932, Wind was concerned by the political implosion of the Weimar Republic, and decided to take steps in order to explore alternative plans for the Warburg Library.¹²⁸ Through the German Embassy in Rome, Wind sent a letter in Italian to Professor Giovanni Gentile, former Minister of Education for the Fascist government and director of Pisa's Scuola Normale, proposing a series of initiatives, which included exchanges of scholars, students, and books between the Warburg Library and Italian universities.¹²⁹

Wind's choice of writing to Gentile was not a casual one. Gentile (1875–1944) was an Italian neo-Hegelian philosopher, who wrote extensively on Renaissance philosophy.¹³⁰ Gentile played an instrumental part in Fascism's 1923 reforms of public education, for instance enhancing the role played by the study of the Classics in higher education.¹³¹ This focus on Classical education was in line with the *Risorgimento's* ideology, as well as Fascist propaganda on Roman history and mythology.¹³²

¹²⁶ Wind, *The School of Athens* (1950), in Branca, *Edgar Wind's Raphael Papers: The School of Athens* (Wrocław: Amazon Fulfilment, 2020), pp. 1-105. See also MS Wind 216, Folder 4.

¹²⁷ Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, p. 702.

¹²⁸ Wind, Letter to Werner Oechslin, MS Wind 49, Folder 1, circa 1950.

¹²⁹ Wind, Letter dated 13 April 1932, Warburg Archive, Edgar Wind Folder 1933. The letter is titled, '1.11. 7., International Collaboration, Denkschrift fuer Italien. E. Wind on the cooperation between Italian Universities and the Warburg Institute.' See *Aby Warburg e la Cultura Italiana*, ed. by Claudia Ceri Via and Micol Forti (Milan: Mondadori Education, 2009), pp. 159–165.

¹³⁰ See Giovanni Gentile, *Giordano Bruno e il Pensiero del Rinascimento* (1920), *Studi sul Rinascimento* (1923), *Il Pensiero Italiano del Rinascimento* (1939).

¹³¹ See Myra. E. Moss, *Mussolini's Fascist Philosopher: Giovanni Gentile Reconsidered* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017).

¹³² Renzo de Felice, *Breve Storia del Fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi 1997), p. 130–31.

Wind strongly rejected the manipulative and ‘irrational’ use of antiquity by Nazism and Fascism; this is evident in the ‘Theios Phobos’ article discussed above.¹³³ It is also evident in the *Einleitung*, where he discusses ‘the history of European tradition’.¹³⁴ In writing to Gentile on the eve of Hitler’s ascent to power, Wind was seeking to underscore the German humanist ideal of engaging with tradition without lapsing into uncritical worship. To put it in Fritz Saxl’s words, the Warburg Library needed to ‘create outside Germany a centre of learning where the old tradition of German humanism could be preserved’.¹³⁵

Moreover, it should be noted that Wind sent this letter six years before Mussolini issued the racial discriminatory laws against Jews in 1938.¹³⁶ Compared to Germany, Mussolini’s Italy of 1932 may have appeared to Wind as a safer location for the Warburg Library, given that Fritz Saxl and Gertrud Bing had several institutional contacts there.¹³⁷

Although there is no documentary evidence that Gentile ever replied to Wind, the latter’s letter is important because it provides yet another insight into Wind’s conception of the scope of the Warburg Library’s research mission. In the letter, Wind underscores the two cornerstones of the Warburg Library’s approach to the study of the ‘rebirth of antiquity’ during the Italian Renaissance:

- 1) The first guideline is that the understanding of the culture of antiquity cannot be sound unless we emancipate ourselves from the approach of Eighteenth-Century Classicism, that is, by realizing the very close affinity between ancient culture and religious cults. The liberating force of the symbols of ancient religious cults has provided an exciting *force* to the development of cultural history thereafter.
- 2) The second guideline in the study of European cultural history is based upon the relationship of northern European nations with Italy. Such relationships will allow us to study, in the best possible way and as a geographical and historical process, the reception of the Greek and Roman classical tradition. The problem of the ‘Survival of the Classics’ will hence be defined as an ‘exchange’ problem between Northern European culture and Mediterranean culture. The formation of European culture took place under the influence of the Classical tradition through the international exchange between the Romanic world and the Germanic one. Hence, it is important that the approach to the retrospective study of the classical tradition must be

¹³³ See letter to Werner Oechslin, MS Wind MS Wind 49, Folder 1.

¹³⁴ Wind, *Einleitung*, p. IX–X.

¹³⁵ Saxl, ‘The History of the Warburg Library’, p. 336.

¹³⁶ Renzo de Felice, *Mussolini e il Fascismo, Vol. 9, Storia degli Ebrei Italiani sotto il Fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi 1993), pp. 235–343.

¹³⁷ *Aby Warburg e la Cultura Italiana*, p. 165.

international. Only the collaboration of scholars belonging to different nationalities will ensure the best way to study the Classical tradition.¹³⁸

It is important to note the strong emphasis which, in this letter, Wind places on the close relationship of the Warburg Library's research mission with Italy, and this may also explain why, in 1932, he considered Italy as a possible new home for the Warburg Library. Wind sees Italy as the starting point of the diffusion of the classical tradition into Northern Europe. Because of this, Wind stresses the importance of an international approach to the study of the classical tradition in Europe, and the collaboration of scholars of different nationalities.

Finally, Wind underscores that the Warburg Library's notion of the science of cultural history is based upon 'the study of the conflict and exchanges between science and religion, and upon the study of the conflict and exchange process between art and the other forces of spiritual life.'¹³⁹

In this conflict and exchange between 'art and the other forces of spiritual life', Wind sees the central role as being played by the symbol, which is interpreted as nothing other than a religious expression.¹⁴⁰ Symbols in art, science, and religion are, according to Wind, 'historical documents' which embody and encapsulate the polarity of the opposing forces present in the spiritual and psychological life of the human mind.¹⁴¹ Wind twice underscores the notion of 'opposing forces' in his letter, relating it to the symbol and thereby summing up the Warburg Library's core research mission, which was, in Aby Warburg's words 'to perceive the essential forces of the human mind and its history'.¹⁴² A mission which Wind would continue to pursue, for the rest of his life, in Warburg's footsteps.

The classical scholar Arnaldo Momigliano, in his 1948 obituary of Fritz Saxl, declared that 'Aby Warburg [was] Friedrich Nietzsche's most brilliant disciple.' Wind and the Warburg Library's strive to 'perceive the essential forces of the human mind and its history' recognised the presence, in the history of the 'European tradition', of an

¹³⁸ Original: 1) *La prima è che l'intendimento della cultura (sic!) antica non sarà autentico se non emancipandosi dal punto di vista del classicismo settecentesco, riconoscendo cioè l'intima affinità che collega i pensieri estetici antichi col culto della religione, la forza liberatrice, vigente nei loro simboli, colla forza eccitatrice altrettanto manifesta nel corso della storia.* 2) *La seconda massima è: che il problema centrale per la storia della cultura europea consiste nei rapporti delle nazioni settentrionali con l'Italia, questi rapporti permettendoci in modo perfetto di studiare, come processo storico geografico di scambio e di distacco, la tradizione e il digerimento spirituale della cultura greca e romana.* Edgar Wind, Letter dated 13 April 1932 to Giovanni Gentile, p. 4. Translation by Bernardino Branca. The underscores are Wind's. See also *Aby Warburg e la Cultura Italiana*, p. 161.

¹³⁹ Original: *[...] sostiene che lo stesso fatto della scienza non si può spiegare se non con i suoi rapporti continui, per quanto tesi, colla religione, che lo sviluppo artistico non si comprende se non come risultato d'un processo di scambio e di contrasto colle altre potenze della vita spirituale.* Edgar Wind, Letter dated 13 April 1932 to Giovanni Gentile, p. 2. Translation by Bernardino Branca. The underscores are Wind's. See *Aby Warburg e la Cultura Italiana*, p. 160.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴² Saxl, 'The History of the Warburg Library', p. 327.

irreducible coexistence between the Apollonian and the Dionysian forces which drive the human experience. In Warburg's words, this clash between the essential forces of 'Logos' and 'Magic' is the same as that between 'Athens and Alexandria':

And so, as we have seen the spiritual world of antiquity was brought back to life by a kind of polar functioning of empathic pictorial memory. This was the age of Faust, in which the modern scientist—caught between magic practice and cosmic mathematics—was trying to insert the conceptual space of rationality between himself and the object. Athens has constantly to be won back from Alexandria.¹⁴³

8. An overview of the notions conceived by Wind in his 1930-33 writings

In this paper, Wind's re-elaboration of Warburg's notions of *Nachleben der Antike* and of the holistic approach to the study of culture, have been compared to Wind's own notions of Embodiment and Symbolic Function. The symbol is the key through which Wind approaches the study of culture and its imagery. Symbols have a dual nature, as they embody the opposing 'spiritual forces' of 'Magic' and 'Logos', the 'Impure Soil' upon which the art and culture of the Renaissance will flourish. To put it in the words of Wind's 1932 letter to Gentile, the study of the symbol 'is the study of the conflict and exchange process between art and the other forces of spiritual life'. Symbols are linked to the Configural conception of time, not the Linear one. Wind's conception of time in historical interpretations is configural, in sharp contrast to Hegel's, Dilthey's, Riegl's and Wölfflin's linear ones; in the history of culture and art there is no 'Immanent' development of ideas and artistic styles. Symbols, through 'Memory' and 'The Survival of Antiquity', use 'paradigmatic' forms of expression (that is, *Pathosformel*) to encapsulate, embody their psychological forces, which may change in meaning throughout time. Ideas cannot be studied on their own, nor images can; ideas and images must be interconnected with each other, as they are part of the same culture of a given epoch. In this respect, Wind endorses the holistic interpretation of culture initiated by Burckhardt and Usener, and developed by Warburg through the construction of the KBW, the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg*. Warburg's and Wind's approach to the study of culture is in sharp contrast to Dilthey's one, who actively promoted the creation of borders between disciplines. Warburg's approach—fully accepted by Wind—asserts the elimination of boundaries among disciplines and an 'Encyclopaedic' approach to the study of culture. On this basis, Wind perfected the classification method of the Warburg Institute Library, whose aim was to study the 'the essential forces of the human mind and its history'. However, the notion of 'embodiment', as he applied it to art-historical research, distinguishes Wind as an independent thinker, distinct from Warburg. Finally, in the 1932 letter to Gentile, Wind reiterates the notion of Renaissance culture as the result of the clash of opposing spiritual and psychological

¹⁴³ Warburg, 'Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther' (1920), in Warburg, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*, p. 650.

forces. In this letter, Wind identifies Italy as the starting point of the diffusion of the Classical tradition into Northern Europe, and the natural first choice for relocating the Warburg Library's domicile. Put together, these notions form Wind's theoretical arsenal, which he consistently used since 1936 in order to address the 'history of the European tradition' and the 'Renaissance Problem' in particular. A philosophical 'Problem' which he formulated in the *Grundbegriffe der Geschichte und Kulturphilosophie* 1932-33 Lectures, in the *Einleitung* to the *Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike* and the other writings discussed in this paper.

Conclusion

However fragmentary and diverse the writings of the Hamburg years may appear, they share a common feature which is key to understanding Wind's subsequent works: the interpretation of the Italian Renaissance's art and culture as an attempt in finding a *balance*, an equilibrium between 'the essential forces of the human mind and its history'. Wind's lifelong effort to perceive such 'essential forces'—the opposing forces of 'Logos' and 'Magic'—recognises the presence, in the 'history of the European tradition', of an irreducible coexistence between the Apollonian and the Dionysian forces, or between 'Athens and Alexandria' (to put it in Warburg's words), which drive the human experience.

Bibliography

- Anderson, Jaynie, 'Wind on Gombrich on Warburg', in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 3 (2022).
- Anderson, Jaynie, Branca, Bernardino and Tononi, Fabio, eds, *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment* (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).
- Branca, Bernardino, *Edgar Wind, filosofo delle immagini: La biografia intellettuale di un discepolo di Aby Warburg* (Milan: Mimesis, 2019).
- *Edgar Wind's Raphael Papers*, (Wroclaw: Amazon Fulfillment, 2020).
- 'The Giordano Bruno Problem: Edgar Wind's 1938 Letter to Frances Yates', in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 2021.
- 'Edgar Wind: Metaphysics Embodied in Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling' in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by J. Anderson, B. Branca and F. Tononi (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).
- Burckhardt, Jacob, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1858), tr. by S.G.C. Middlemore, (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

- Ceri-Via, Claudia and Forti, Micol, (edited) *Aby Warburg e la Cultura Italiana*, (Milan: Mondadori Education, 2009).
- De Felice, Renzo, *Breve Storia del Fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi 1997).
- *Mussolini e il Fascismo, Vol. 9, Storia degli Ebrei Italiani sotto il Fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi 1993).
- Didi-Huberman, Georges, *L'Image Survivante, Histoire de l'Art et Temps de fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 2002).
- Dilthey, W., *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften, Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig: 1922).
- Dvořák, Max, *Kunstgeschichte als Geistesgeschichte* (Munich: Piper & Co, 1928).
- Gentile, Giovanni, *Giordano Bruno e il Pensiero del Rinascimento* (1920).
- *Studi sul Rinascimento* (1923).
- *Il Pensiero Italiano del Rinascimento* (1939).
- Gilbert, Creighton, 'Edgar Wind as Man and Thinker', in *New Criterion Reader*, 3(2) (1984).
- Gombrich, Ernst, *Aby Warburg, an Intellectual Biography* (London: Phaidon 1970, 1986).
- *In Search for Cultural History, the P.M. Denecke Lecture*, (1967) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- Levine, Emily, *Dreamland of Humanists, Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky and the Hamburg School* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).
- Moss, Myra E., *Mussolini's Fascist Philosopher: Giovanni Gentile Reconsidered* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017).
- Nagel, Ernest (Columbia University), 'Review of Edgar Wind *Das Experiment und die Metaphysik*', in *The Journal of Philosophy*, 31 (1934).
- Panofsky, Erwin, *Studies in Iconology* (1939) (New York: Routledge, 2018).
- Panofsky, Erwin, 'The History of Art', in *The Cultural Migration: The European Scholar in America*, ed. by Erwin Panofsky (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1953).
- Rasch, Martin, 'Juden und Emigranten machen deutsche Wissenschaft', in *Völkischer Beobachter*, 5 January 1935.
- Rickert, H., *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (1899).
- Saxl, Fritz, 'The History of the Warburg Library', in Ernst Gombrich, *Aby Warburg, an Intellectual Biography* (London: Phaidon 1970, 1986).

- Schneider, Pablo, 'Edgar Wind: a Mind Naturalized in Antiquity' in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by Anderson, J. Branca, B., Tononi, F. (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).
- Thomas, Ben, *Edgar Wind and Modern Art* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).
- 'Freedom and Exile: Edgar Wind and the Congress for Cultural Freedom' in *The Edgar Wind Journal* 1: 67-85, 2021.
- Tononi, Fabio and Branca, Bernardino, 'Introduction: Edgar Wind and a New Journal', in *The Edgar Wind Journal*, 1 (2021).
- Viola, Tullio, 'Philosophy of Culture: Naturalistic or Transcendental? A Dialogue between Edgar Wind and Cassirer' in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, ed. by Anderson, J., Branca B., and Tononi, F. (Oxford: Peter Lang, forthcoming in 2023).
- Warburg, Aby, *Astrologica, Saggi e Appunti 1908-1929*, (Turin: Einaudi, 2019).
- Warburg, Aby, *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity. Contribution to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance* (1932), tr. by D. Britt (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute Publication Programs, 1999).
- *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 (1932).
- Wind, Edgar, '292a Experimental', in *Smith College Bulletin* (1953).
- *Ästhetischer und kunstwissenschaftlicher Gegenstand. Ein Beitrag zur Methodologie der Kunstgeschichte*, ed. by Pablo Schneider (Hamburg: Philo Fine Arts, 2011).
- *Art and Anarchy* (New York: Alfred. A. Knopf, 1964).
- *A Bibliography of the Survival of the Classics* (London: Cassel&CO, 1934).
- *Die Bildsprache Michelangelos*, ed. by Pablo Schneider (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).
- *The Eloquence of Symbols*, ed. by J. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
- *Experiment and Metaphysics, towards a Resolution of the Cosmological Antinomies*, trans. by C. Edwards, introduced by M. Rampley (Oxford: Legenda, 2001).
- 'Humanitätsidee und heroisiertes Porträt in der englischen Kultur des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *England und die Antike*, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg (1930–1931), ed. by Fritz Saxl (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1932).
- *Hume and the Heroic Portrait: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Imagery*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

- ‘Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling. A Note on Michelangelo’s Use of the Malermi Bible’, in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. by E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960).
- ‘Michelangelo’s Prophets and Sibyls’ in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 51 (1965).
- ‘Microcosm and Memory’, *The Times Literary Supplement* (30 May 1958).
- *The School of Athens* (1950), in Bernardino Branca, *Edgar Wind’s Raphael Papers: The School of Athens* (Wrocław: Amazon Fulfilment, 2020).
- ‘Some Points of Contact between History and Science’, in *Philosophy and History: Essays*, presented to Ernst Cassirer, ed. by R. Klibansky and H. Paton (1936) (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963).
- ‘Theios Phobos (Laws, II, 671D). On Plato’s Philosophy of Art’ (1932), in Wind, *The Eloquence of Symbols*, ed. by J. Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).
- ‘The Warburg Institute Classification Scheme’, in *The Library Association Record* (London: May 1935).
- Wind, Edgar, Meier, H., Newald, R., eds, ‘Einleitung’, in *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliographie zum Nachleben der Antike. Erster Band: Die Erscheinungen des Jahres 1931*, herausgegeben von der Bibliothek Warburg (Berlin/Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1934).
- *A Bibliography on the Survival of the Classics*, First Volume, The Publications of 1931 (London: Cassel & Co. and The Warburg Institute, 1934).
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, *Principles of Art History* (1915), trans. by Jonathan Blower (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2015).

Archival Sources

Edgar Wind files, Warburg Institute Archive, London.

MS Wind, Edgar Wind Archive, Special Collections, Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Figure 1. The Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg at Heilwigstrasse 114 in Hamburg. (photo by Bernardino Branca)



Figure 2. Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Sistine Ceiling*, 1508–1512, Fresco. Vatican, Rome. (artwork in public domain)

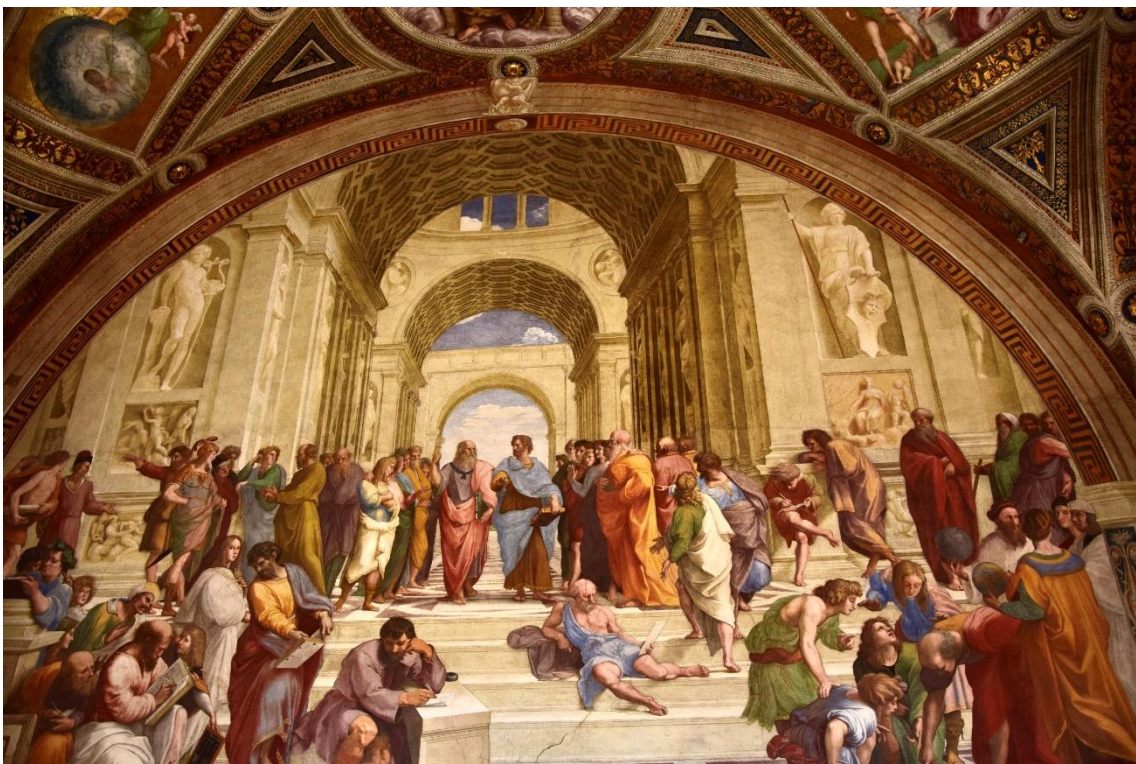


Figure 3. Raphael, *The School of Athens*, 1509-11, Fresco (500 x 770 cm). Vatican, Rome. (artwork in public domain)



Figure 4. The 1926 Reading Room at the KBW, courtesy of Warburg Haus, Hamburg. (photo by Bernardino Branca)