

Aby Warburg's and Fritz Saxl's assessment of the 'Wiener Schule'

Dorothea McEwan

Both scholars, Warburg as well as Saxl, had been in contact with members of the 'Wiener Schule', either personally or by correspondence. What were the views of both scholars working in Hamburg, in a private specialized library, albeit open to selected members of the public, of an institution anchored at a prestigious old university, the University of Vienna, and more particularly, its institute of art history?

Starting from this question alone, the dilemma becomes clear: on the one hand two privately funded scholars with their clear research aims, free to experiment and pursue their own research agenda, on the other hand a group of scholars, employed by a public institution, less free to experiment and all following a new trend. This might be a coarse over-simplification, but for the discussion here it might be enough to signal the two positions.

The famous library, founded by Warburg, called Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg (KBW), doubled up as the seminar of the newly founded Institute of Art History at Hamburg University from 1920 onwards. The KBW was accessible to scholars who conducted research there, which was not possible to do in other public institutions. The fields of research, the triad of the history of art, literature, science, included disciplines, which, at this time, were not easily yoked together in other scholarly institutions. Art would encompass classical art to Renaissance art from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe and India and Africa; literature would embrace language, linguistics, literature, poetry, philosophy; science would present a rainbow of religious / scientific endeavours, from numerology to mathematics, from alchemy to chemistry, from astrology to astronomy etc. Thus, research problems in these disciplines could be approached from a broad, holistic point of view, much appreciated at a time of separation of disciplines. It was only logical that the KBW became a meeting point to discuss research going beyond traditional disciplines; it became a crystallisation point which attracted a number of experts keen to pursue their interpretative and analytical queries.

The KBW grew out of and was anchored in the Hamburg tradition of learned circles, loose federations of interest with names like 'conventiculus' and 'Kränzchen', private discussion circles with public ambitions. Out of these private initiatives and groupings arose Hamburg University in 1919, after a so-called Colonial Institute had been established before World War I to cater for the needs of Germany's colonial ambitions. Thus, proto-institute organisations became institutionalised in the new university. The KBW assisted in this development, even if it was not taken over lock, stock and barrel by the university, but kept in equidistance from and with it, that is, it was institutionally owned by the Warburg family, but opened its book and

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photographic collections for research to the interested public and held seminars and lectures in the library. It was a hybrid, but a hybrid with a social conscience, to further the academic reputation of Hamburg beyond its traditional entrepreneurial and business reputation.

As such, the KBW was not a 'school', a much more unified collective entity with the aim and method shared by its proponents. The organisational set-up distinguished it from the scope and aim of a 'school', as exemplified by the 'Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte'. The 'Wiener Schule', with its aim to balance art theory and art practice, was not so far removed from the concern of the KBW with its stress on 'image' and 'word', but the KBW went further, it pursued the 'Wanderstrassen der Kultur', which were Warburg's and Saxl's metaphor for breaking out of thinking in categories and schools.¹ Heinrich Dilly called Riegl's and Wölfflin's systems 'rigorous', whilst Warburg's was 'systemsprengend',² bursting out from narrow system-immanent limits, posing questions beyond aestheticism and attribution research: he and Saxl were interested in the principal questions of cultural theory, cultural science, 'the interpretation of the formal language of images'.³

The approach was a different one, the method very much so. Also, Warburg was not interested in aesthetics, he confessed that he would rather do without it than with the energy and courage required, when studying the 'documentary value of images'.⁴ In a famous statement, Warburg once called himself not so much art historian, but image historian, 'Bildhistoriker', who primarily was interested in an object and less so in the general discipline.⁵

Whilst Warburg grew out of the Hamburg tradition of private scholarship and private sponsorship for scholarly enterprises, his Viennese employee, collaborator and eventually successor as director of the library, Fritz Saxl, came out of a different tradition. Saxl has studied in Vienna and has learnt the method of the 'Wiener Schule', more, he has met important scholars pursuing this method, Max Dvořák, Julius von Schlosser and others. Saxl who has written his PhD on Rembrandt under the guidance of Max Dvořák and Josef Strzygowski, was from his early student days onwards interested not only in researching the great masters, but equally in topics which he read about in Vienna, late paganism and early Christian

¹ See Dorothea McEwan, *Wanderstrassen der Kultur. Die Aby Warburg - Fritz Saxl Korrespondenz von 1920 bis 1929*. Mit einem Vorwort von Martin Warnke. Kleine Schriften des Warburg Institute London und des Warburg Archivs im Warburg-Haus Hamburg, hsg. v. Nicholas Mann und Martin Warnke. Heft 2. München - Hamburg: Dölling und Galitz Verlag, 2004.

Dorothea McEwan, 'Aby Warburg's (1866-1929) Dots and Lines. Mapping the Diffusion of Astrological Motifs in Art History', in *German Studies Review*. XXIX, number 2, May 2006, 243-268.

² H. Dilly (ed.), *Altmeister moderner Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990, 13.

³ F. Saxl, 'Frühes Christentum und spätes Heidentum in ihren künstlerischen Ausdrucksformen', in: *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 2, 16, 1923, 63-121; quote on 63: 'Interpretation der Formensprache der Bildwerke'.

⁴ Warburg Institute Archive (=WIA), General Correspondence (=GC), A. Warburg to Jacques Dwelshauvers, later Mesnil, 31.12.1910; 'den dokumentarische[n] Wert der Bildschöpfung'.

⁵ In connection with a conversation with his son Max Adolf in the tramway in 1917, when discussing what should happen to his library after his death. WIA, III.10.7, Diary 1917, 885. Warburg told his son that he wished his library to be kept together, that he had thought to donate it to the state, but had changed his mind as a public building was much more prone to suffer enemy action in wartime than a private house. 'Sage zu ihm: ich sei Bildhistoriker, kein Kunsthistoriker.' See also WIA, GC, Kopierbuch VI, 289, A. Warburg to Carl Neumann, 20.3.1917.

art as well as oriental artistic influences on occidental art. The history of astrology, in particular, the representation of planets in the Orient and the Occident, Indo-European gods, astrology, natural sciences of the European Middle Ages, cosmology, symbolism, people's belief in stars juxtaposed to Christian view of wisdom and redemption were foci of research for Warburg and Saxl. All these topics would later be pursued by Saxl in major publications, notably 'Frühes Christentum' quoted above, three volumes of catalogues of astrological and mythological illuminated manuscripts,⁶ and the seminal research on Mithras.⁷ As a young student, Saxl worked in archives all over Europe to find illuminated medieval astrological manuscripts in libraries and during his one term in Berlin in 1910, he made it his task to visit Warburg in Hamburg, as he has heard of his interest in the history of astrology and his great collection of books on astrology.

Saxl understood himself as art historian, but like Warburg refuting narrow academic disciplines. He wanted to study an object in the context of its culture, historical processes should be interpreted by images and impressions transmitted by images. An aesthetic canon was not enough, true to Cassirer's understanding of astrology as the link between a mythical and a rational worldview, between the world of the symbol and the world of the image.⁸ Or more specifically, Warburg with Cassirer's research into symbols and symbolism, worked on the construction on what he called the bridge to map the mental and psychological development of humankind, from 'Greiftier', that is brute animal nature, to 'Begriffsmenschen', that is a human being using rational judgment.⁹ The mental space between simply reacting and complicated mental processes of assessing first and then acting, was the evolutionary path leading from archetypical fear to conquering fear. Or expressed differently: Warburg believed in a learning process, that actions, originally determined with the help of fetishes or belief systems, could eventually be scrutinized through thought processes, which demystified symbols and established rational logical causal links. What was termed in a pejorative way to be 'superstition' was for Warburg an eminently important manifestation of intellectual activity, an 'Erkenntnisrudiment'.¹⁰

⁶ *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters in römischen Bibliotheken*. In *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen* 6 – 7. Heidelberg: Carl Winters, Jg. 1915, 1915.

Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters. 2. Die Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen* 2. Heidelberg: Carl Winters, Jg. 1925/26, 1927.

Catalogue of astrological and mythological illuminated manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages = Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters. Vol. 3, Manuscripts in English libraries = Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken, mit Hans Meier, hsg. v. Harry Bober. London: Warburg Institute, 1953.

⁷ *Mithras. Typengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1931.

⁸ Ernst Cassirer, 'Microcosm and Memory', review of F. Saxl's *Lectures*. 1957, in *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, Supplement, 23 May 1958.

⁹ Aby Warburg, 'Zum Vortrage von Karl Reinhardt über "Ovids Metamorphosen"', Preface. Lecture on 24 October 1924, in KBW, published in F. Saxl, (ed), *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1924-25*, Leipzig, 1930, loose leaf, unpaginated.

¹⁰ WIA, III, Personal Diary Aby Warburg, no.2, p. 60, entry for 13.8.1901. 'Veth portrairt, ich zähle; die primitiven Völker haben gegen beides abergläubische Abneigung; Aberglauben ist ein Erkenntnisrudiment: abgebildet werden wollen und gezählt werden ist ein Symptom des Bewußtseins

Warburg and Saxl therefore concentrated not on the question where a work of art came from, what it showed, what it represented, but why it was made. This new direction of research, approached meticulously and methodically, necessitated precise pluridisciplinary research. The KBW was conceived of as a laboratory,¹¹ in which instruments for precisely such research were forged. The group of scholars using this laboratory could concentrate on special issues, socio-psychological investigations, research in the theory and practice of developments and their metamorphoses; the tools were texts and images with which one could plot the 'Wanderstrassen der Ideen', the route maps of ideas, historical maps, which showed the emergence of thinkers and their impact on scholarship.

Another tool was the 'Mnemosyne atlas', a compendium of images sorted according to the scope of topics, filiations, metamorphoses of narratives. Three random examples of such thematic plates may suffice to convey the feeling for and breadth of one topic, the images put together on plate 42 under the overall topic of 'Pathos of Passion' or plate 55 of 'The Judgement of Paris' or plate 60 'Festivals'.¹² Warburg's working papers present a cornucopia of philosophical, psychological, scientific and art theoretical views, under the umbrella designation coined by Saxl, 'Das Nachleben der Antike'.¹³ This phrase is hard to render into English precisely, 'Nachleben' can be 'afterlife' as well as 'survival', both with different shades of meaning. What Saxl meant, when he used this phrase for the first time in 1913, was a comprehensive engagement with images and ideas having made their mark on European intellectual history from classical antiquity to modern times. Warburg, at that time, was not anchored in an academic institution in Hamburg, except for an honorary professorship, Saxl, however, was keen to see Warburg's library used by scholars, students, as an institute which would promote the investigation into the 'Nachleben'. It was Saxl, young and hungry, who knew that only becoming professional would deliver the results; in 1913, he became employed as Warburg's librarian in Hamburg, but had to return to Vienna in 1915 to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army. As a result of Warburg's nervous breakdown in 1918, Saxl was recalled to Hamburg by the Warburg family and now he went to work on setting up a proper research facility, a specialized library with a catalogue of book and photographic holdings, a venue for lectures, seminars, two publication series for articles and monographs. In short, he used his experience gained in the Viennese university setting to establish the structures, which helped develop the KBW from a private 'conventiculus' to morph into a fully-fledged centre for intellectual history. The choice of speakers and topics was entirely Warburg's and Saxl's choice, their topics had to be interesting to the KBW, so that top scholars in their disciplines were approached who were thought of as able to contribute to the overall points of discussion in the KBW, to wit: Hellmut Ritter spoke on Picatrix (*Vorträge 1921/22*), Hans Lietzmann on cultic subterranean spaces and Alfred Doren on Fortuna (both in

der Höhepunktüberschreitung.' Warburg referred here to the Dutch painter Jan Veth. Warburg drew up a statement of expenditure for Veth's expenses when painting Warburg's parents.

¹¹ WIA, GC, A. Warburg to F. Saxl, 24.9.1910.

¹² Aby Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften: Studienausgabe.2. Abt., Band 2.1. Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne*, ed. by Martin Warnke and Claudia Brink. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 2000.

¹³ WIA, GC, F. Saxl to A. Warburg, 13.9.1913.

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Vorträge 1922/23), Erwin Panofsky on perspective as symbolic form (*Vorträge 1924-25*), etc.

How do these two undisputed centres of art theoretical research relate to each other? Saxl was the link, if I may put it like this, between the second Institute of Art History in Vienna, led by Dvořák and after his death by von Schlosser, and the KBW in Hamburg. But if Saxl was a product of this Second Institute, he was not instrumental in order to develop the KBW into an institutional link with Vienna. Saxl, despite a number of approaches from Viennese colleagues, did not feel moved to respond to their requests to establish the KBW firmly within the art theoretical remit of the Second Institute. Warburg was not happy with the concept of a 'school', he wanted to stay aloof, no doubt, because of early rebukes and because he wanted to pursue his research fields independently of trends. One example: when Hans Tietze published his book *Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte: ein Versuch* (Leipzig 1913), Carl Neumann, professor of art history in Heidelberg university, wrote a somewhat critical review, spiked with passages like 'the phantom of alleged immanent art development', 'the barbed wire of method' and 'the narrowness of his concept of scholarship'.¹⁴ He sent it to Warburg, who enjoyed the way Neumann ticked off the 'Wiener Schule', and commented acerbically, 'Tietze's book is one of those books which I buy, leave through and stop reading. I as well do not believe in the discovery of general laws in art on such small foundations and limited outlook'.¹⁵

He also took up the topic with Tietze himself; he confessed his disappointment that the 'Wiener Schule', which came nearest to Warburg's own method of research, in contrast to others in Germany, has never found it worthwhile to judge Warburg's methods more thoroughly. 'My library is designed to discover life itself as style-forming power. Let us hope that we live to see that art history will help to come up with the still missing history of the culture of European man in modern times'.¹⁶ He saw both centres related in their principle aim, but divergent in their methods. He did not believe in the validity and conclusiveness of the methods of the 'Wiener Schule', he believed rather in 'the conditionality of all human knowledge and experience'.¹⁷ Despite this demarcation, Warburg was happy that Saxl has created a personal link between Hamburg and Vienna and Warburg therefore extended an invitation to Hans Tietze and his wife, Erica Tietze-Conrat, to come to Hamburg and work in the library.¹⁸ Tietze thanked him for the invitation, which he could not meet during the war, but later on he was in frequent correspondence contact with Warburg and Saxl and visited the library. But in response to Warburg's comments, Tietze accepted the important role the KBW

¹⁴ Carl Neumann, 'Zur Theorie der Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte: Hans Tietze, *Die Methode der Kunstgeschichte. Ein Versuch*', in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 116, 1917 (=3. F., 20, 1917),

¹⁵ WIA, GC, Kopierbuch VI, 289. A. Warburg to C. Neumann, 20.3.1917. 'Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für die Übersendung Ihrer Heimleuchtung der "Wiener Schule". Tietzes Buch gehört zu denen die ich kaufe, umblättere und nicht mehr lese. Ich glaube auch nicht an die Entdeckung allgemeiner Kunstgesetze auf so schmalen Grundlagen und auf begrenzten Sehflächen.'

¹⁶ WIA, GC, Warburg to H. Tietze, 15.6.1917. 'Meine Bibliothek ist darauf angelegt, das Leben selbst als stilbildende Macht zu entdecken. Hoffentlich erleben wir es noch, daß die Kunstgeschichte die noch fehlende Kulturgeschichte des europäischen Menschen der Neuzeit erfinden hilft.'

¹⁷ Warburg's views were thus paraphrased in an article in *Vossische Zeitung*, signed by 'ch', no. 536, 18.11.1933.

¹⁸ WIA, GC, A. Warburg to H. Tietze, 15.6.1917.

played. He called the library an 'external - internal symbol'¹⁹ and placed great hopes in an organism, which he greatly regretted not having known when writing his book. Tietze had underestimated cultural contexts and conditions for artistic development, but hoped that after the war he would be able to cooperate with Warburg and conceded that Warburg's charge of 'lack of logic' within the 'Wiener Schule' was justified.²⁰

After the war, a number of attempts were made to provide more than personal contacts between Hamburg and Vienna. Saxl, in order to redress the situation that not even colleagues like Dvořák were ignorant of Warburg's writings, published an article 'Das Nachleben der Antike: zur Einführung in die Bibliothek Warburg'²¹ and gave the inaugural lecture of the lecture series in 1921.²² He sent a copy of the published lecture to Strzygowski with a covering letter, 'I would be happy if you would find material in the article, which is of value to you as well. In many instances Warburg and I pursue ways different from you and your school, but I do believe, that in many of our results we are not so far removed from each other'.²³ Sadly, there is no reply from Strzygowski extant, if ever one was written.

There were more contacts with Dagobert Frey. The art historian, curator of monuments and friend from Saxl's time in Vienna, was invited to Hamburg to give a lecture on 'Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Kunst der Renaissance' on 23 June 1923; he was bowled over with the conditions he found in Hamburg and congratulated Saxl on his 'successful work': 'You have built up, based on a given fundament, an intellectual centre, full of energy for work, which undoubtedly is of the greatest importance for the German intellectual research. I believe that a vibrant contact between the 'Wiener Schule', whose tradition you represent yourself, and the Warburg-Institut – and that is what you have turned the library into – would be enormously valuable and fertile. Without wishing to represent the 'Wiener Schule', a presumption, which I do not want to make, I would count myself very happy to contribute something towards it. In any case, you can be certain, that I am totally at your disposal'.²⁴ However, Saxl did not call upon him, which prompted Frey to undertake a second approach. He asked him for articles for the *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, for, 'I do not have to tell you that I place great value on your collaboration, because, after all, you belong to the "Wiener Schule"'. If necessary, Frey

¹⁹ 'äußerlich-innerliches Symbol'.

²⁰ WIA, GC, H. Tietze to A. Warburg, 23.6.1917.

²¹ F. Saxl, in *Hamburger Universitäts-Zeitung*, II, Hamburg, 1920-21, 244-247.

²² Published as 'Die Bibliothek Warburg und ihr Ziel', in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1921-22*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1923, 1-10.

²³ WIA, GC, F. Saxl to J. Strzygowski, 11.7.1922; 'Ich würde mich freuen, wenn auch Sie darin Material finden könnten, das für Sie von Wert ist. Warburg und ich gehen zwar in vielem andere Wege als Sie und Ihre Schule, doch glaube ich, dass wir in unseren Resultaten uns in vielem berühren'.

²⁴ WIA, GC, D. Frey to F. Saxl, 29.6.1923. 'Sie haben auf vorgegebener Grundlage weiterbauend ein geistiges Zentrum geschaffen voll lebendiger Arbeitsenergie, das sicherlich von der größten Bedeutung für die deutsche geistesgeschichtliche Forschung ist. Ich glaube dass gerade zwischen der Wiener Schule, deren Tradition Sie selbst ja vertreten, und dem Warburg-Institut, und zu dem haben Sie die Bibliothek gemacht, ein lebendiger Kontakt überaus wertvoll und fruchtbringend wäre. Ohne die Anmaßung, die mir ganz ferne liegt, die Wiener Schule repräsentieren zu wollen, möchte es mich freuen hiezu einiges beitragen zu können. Jedenfalls mögen Sie überzeugt sein, dass ich Ihnen ganz zur Verfügung stehe'.

would 'solicit the Hamburgers [i.e. Saxl and Panofsky] like Jacob for seven years'.²⁵ Saxl had published the important piece of research 'Frühes Christentum'²⁶ in Vienna, but nothing further in Vienna, although, after a visit in 1926, he conceded that there were many points of contact between the two centres.²⁷ However, despite this statement and recognition, despite Frey's appeal to Saxl nor Saxl's promise of a very long wait for more articles, there was no intensification of contacts or collaboration or the desired institutional connection. Saxl kept up his friendship with colleagues in Vienna, not so much because he wanted to be part of the 'Wiener Schule', but rather because he felt an affinity with which problems were treated in Vienna as well as in Hamburg. When the question of editing Dvořák's literary estate was mooted, he professed that he would, as a matter of fact, collaborate.²⁸ He was not called upon to do so, but this promise serves as marker of his conviction that the Dvořák papers had to be published.

Warburg and Saxl had invited Julius von Schlosser to give a lecture in Hamburg, 'Vom modernen Denkmalkultus'.²⁹ According to an entry in the so-called *Bibliothekstagebuch*,³⁰ the verdicts about Schlosser's lecture were 'critical to derogative'. The Hamburg audience was spoilt, 'demanding idiots'.³¹ But Warburg valued the lecture by Schlosser, the 'revered older brother',³² with the excellent quality of his train of thought.³³ As Saxl could not attend the lecture, due to his research trip to Spain, Schlosser asked Bing to remind Saxl to visit Vienna again, calling him 'the most faithful of the faithful',³⁴ after Saxl had contributed to Schlosser's *Festschrift*.³⁵

Saxl was also sought out by another of his friends, Friedrich Antal, who had moved to Berlin and worked for a newly founded periodical *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*. He requested book reviews from Saxl and more, he beseeched him not to abandon the new periodical at a moment when it was touch and go, 'whether we can establish the position of the "Wiener Schule" in Germany or whether the hopeless situation of art historical anarchy should remain here for ever'.³⁶ Saxl showed his good will by sending him a review of August Mayer's book *Dominico*

²⁵ WIA, GC, D. Frey to F. Saxl, 23.3.1925. Genesis, 1 Moses, 29, 20a. Jacob served seven years for Rachel and they seemed to him but a few days because of his love for her. 'Ich brauche Ihnen nicht zu sagen, welch großen Wert ich auf Ihre Mitarbeit lege, denn Sie gehören ja doch zur "Wiener Schule". ... Jedenfalls wird mich kein Refüs von Ihrer oder Panofskys Seite daran hinder, immer wieder meine Bitte zu erneuern, sollte ich auch wie Jakob 7 Jahre um die Hamburger werben müssen'.

²⁶ In this article Saxl investigated the relationship between Christianity and paganism in classical antiquity on the one hand and Christianity and the mystery religions on the other. An analysis of images issued into a detailed reflection on the history of religions. The topics of the dialogue in Christian art, the representation of the apostles, Mithras, Orpheus, the idea of the king of the world ('Weltkönigssee') opened the discussion whether the kings understood their rule as cosmic.

²⁷ WIA, GC, F. Saxl to Emil Klein, 5.2.1926.

²⁸ WIA, GC, F. Saxl to Erica Tietze, 23.3.1921.

²⁹ published in *Vorträge 1926-27*, ed. by F. Saxl, Leipzig-und Berlin: Teubner, 1930, 1-21.

³⁰ Karen Michels and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (eds), *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg. Aby Warburg, mit Einträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2001.

³¹ *Tagebuch*, 88, entry for 3.5.1927, 'kritisch bis abfällig; and 'anspruchsvolle Idioten'.

³² WIA, GC, A. Warburg to F. Saxl, 11.12.1927; 'der verehrte ältere Bruder'.

³³ *Tagebuch*, 98, entry for 9.6.1927; 'excellente Qualität von Schlossers Vortrag'.

³⁴ WIA, GC, G. Bing to F. and L. Saxl, 4.5.1927; 'der Treueste der Treuen'.

³⁵ 'Aller Tugenden und Laster Abbildung', in Arpad Weixlgärtner and Leo Planiscig (eds.), *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*. Zürich: Amalthea Verlag, c. 1927, 104-121.

³⁶ WIA, GC, Fr. Antal to F. Saxl, 30.11.1926.

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Theotocopuli El Greco,³⁷ but nothing else. He had no time and he was not convinced by Antal's request, to establish the 'Wiener Schule' in Germany. He stayed in touch with him, Saxl secured funding for Antal to do research in Florence in 1928, but Warburg was not impressed by Antal's autocratic tendencies.³⁸

Of course, there were academics, like Rudolf Kautzsch, professor of art history in Frankfurt am Main, and friend of Warburg's for many years, who felt in his approach in the research into medieval intellectual history validated by Max Dvořák's approaches.³⁹

Finally, in particular in the 1930s, when the political situation in Germany forced the KBW to move to England and Saxl, yet again, set up an academic institute, many Viennese colleagues fleeing from Nazi persecution sought him out. He was asked to help and in many cases was able to do so.⁴⁰ The will to help on a personal level was one thing, the institutional linkage, however, remained just a pipe dream despite the serious work, conducted in both centres.

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³⁷ *Kritische Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur*, vol. 1-2, Leipzig 1927/28, 86-96.

³⁸ WIA, GC, A. Warburg to Fr. Antal, 14.1.1928.

³⁹ WIA, GC, R. Kautzsch to A. Warburg, 21.9.1921.

⁴⁰ Dorothea McEwan, 'A Tale of One Institute and Two Cities: The Warburg Institute', in *German-Speaking Exiles in Great Britain. The Yearbook of the Research Centre for German and Austrian Exile Studies*, ed. by Ian Wallace, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999, vol. 1, 25-42.