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## Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America

Warburg, Aby M., Steinberg, Michael P.

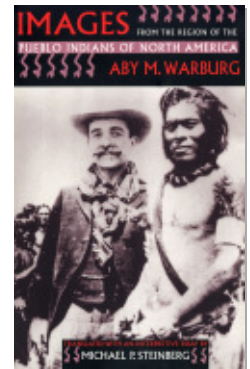
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## NOTES

1. The alliance had begun six months earlier with the marriage of Felix Warburg to Frieda Schiff, daughter of Kuhn-Loeb senior partner Jacob Schiff. Nina Loeb was in fact Frieda Schiff's maternal aunt, which made Paul the uncle of his brother. See David Farrer, *The Warburgs: The Story of a Family* (New York: 1975).
2. Claudia Naber, "Pompeji in Neu-Mexico: Aby Warburgs amerikanische Reise," *Freibeuter* 38 (1988): 89.
3. E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (1970; Chicago, 1986). Gombrich's translation of "der Wille zum Romantischen" is, curiously, "an urge towards the Romantic" (p. 88). Warburg's language clearly contains a Nietzsche parody which reinforces a certain wry distance from his youthful attitudes.
4. Gombrich, p. 89.
5. See Naber, pp. 90-91.
6. James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace (Chicago, 1965), p. 1.
7. Anthony F. C. Wallace, introduction to Mooney, p. ix.
8. Naber, pp. 88-97.
9. See Naber, pp. 89, 96.
10. See Naber, pp. 90-91.
11. 1923 lecture notes, Warburg Archive, Warburg Institute, London.
12. Naber, p. 91.
13. See Naber, p. 94.
14. This material is in file box no. 140, marked "Americana," Warburg Archive.
15. 1923 lecture notes.
16. For a bibliography of Voth's writings as well as other information, see Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson, 1988). Voth's photographs, as well as other materials, are in the Mennonite Library and Archives, Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. Whiteley argues, with considerable evidence, that Voth was reviled among the Hopi for "subjection of Hopi religion to open scrutiny [which] ran directly counter to Hopi practice" (p. 84). Whiteley quotes the Mennonite historian Alfred Siemens as follows: "The first Mennonite missionary to the Hopi, H. R. Voth, was an aggressive evangelist and anthropologist. He gathered many Hopi artifacts, made intensive study of their customs, vocabulary, and religion, and wrote carefully and voluminously about them. But he, as had the Catholic fathers before him, also antagonized them. The present missionaries feel they are still the objects of a resentment that was aroused by pioneer missionaries" (p. 85). Whiteley also cites Voth's daughter's description of him (in a 1982 interview) as "a harsh man, definitely not gemütlich." Whiteley writes nevertheless that "Voth made some friends in Oraibi. He was clearly in sympathy with some Hostile [i.e., antiassimilationist] views and occasionally served as intermediary with government agents. As the only resident white who could speak Hopi fluently, he was trusted by some to interpret government policies" (p. 85). This is significant in the light of Warburg's 1923 recollection: "Through years of contact with the Indians he won their trust, and he paid as little heed as possible to his own missionary tasks. He studied the Indians, bought up their products, and developed a hefty business

in the trading of these objects. As a result of the extraordinary measure of confidence he enjoyed, it was possible to photograph them during their dances, something that their fear of being photographed would otherwise never have allowed." Aby Warburg, "Notizen zum Kreuzlinger Vortrag" [1923], Warburg Archive. Warburg does not seem to have felt Hopi hostility to Voth, or, for that matter, to himself.

17. 1923 lecture notes.

18. Warburg wrote his version of the story onto a sheet of Indian School Service stationery provided by the Keams Canyon schoolteacher, F. Neel. Neel was apparently interested in Warburg's work and wrote to him about this 24 April exercise in November 1896 (Warburg Archive).

19. 1923 lecture notes.

20. Cited in A. M. Meyer, "Aby Warburg in His Early Correspondence," *American Scholar* 57 (Summer 1988): 450.

21. Gombrich, p. 215.

22. George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews beyond Judaism* (Bloomington, 1985), p. 52.

23. Gombrich, p. 214.

24. For a discussion of Binswanger, Heidegger, and the relation of phenomenology to psychoanalysis, see Gerald N. Izenberg, *The Existentialist Critique of Freud: The Crisis of Autonomy* (Princeton, N.J., 1976).

25. See Ludwig Binswanger, *Henrik Ibsen und das Problem der Selbstrealisation in der Kunst* (Heidelberg, 1949); Paul de Man, *Blindness and Insight* (Minneapolis, 1983), pp. 36–50.

26. De Man, pp. 39–40.

27. The quotation, from the "Wahn monologue" in Act 3 of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, translates as "Now let's see how Hans Sachs will be able to mold the irrational into a noble work." I might add here that it would be impertinent of me to reproach Gombrich and Mosse for their "for-ress rationality" reading of Warburg. Their firsthand experience of European fascism perhaps led them to abjure negotiation with cultural demons by adopting this strict posture. It is their faith in the epistemological soundness of the posture which distances them, in my view, from Warburg.

28. My paraphrase is taken from the account in Max's privately published memoir "Dieser Vertrag war wohl der leichtsinnigste meines Lebens," in Max Warburg, *Aus meinen Aufzeichnungen* (1952). Gombrich (p. 22) quotes and translates Max's remarks of 5 December 1929 as follows: "When he was thirteen, Aby made me an offer of his birthright ("sein Erstgeborenenrecht"). . . . It was not a pottage of lentils, however, which he demanded, but a promise that I would always buy him all the books he wanted. After a very brief pause for reflection, I consented. I told myself that when I was in the business I could, after all, always find the money to pay for the works of Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, and perhaps also Klopstock, and so, unsuspecting, I gave him what I must now admit was a very large blank cheque."

29. Meyer, p. 452.

30. Meyer, p. 445.

31. Lecture notes, 16 March 1923, Warburg Archive.

32. Lecture notes, 16 March 1923; see also Gombrich, pp. 19–20.

33. Gombrich, pp. 23–24.

34. Meyer, p. 447.

35. Meyer, p. 452.

36. Meyer, p. 451.

37. Meyer, pp. 451–52.

38. See Dieter Wuttke's appendix on the distribution of materials in the Warburg Archive, "Abteilung B: Archivmaterial," in *Aby M. Warburg: Ausgewählte Schriften und Würdigungen*, ed. Wuttke (Baden-Baden, 1980), p. 585.

39. 1923 lecture notes.

40. 1923 lecture notes.

41. Aby Warburg, "Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum" (1902); "Francesco Sassettis letztwillige Verfügung" (1907), and "Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten" (1920), all in Wuttke, pp. 103–24, 137–64, and 199–304, respectively.

42. The anachronistic title is Eve Borsook's; see Borsook and Johannes Offerhaus, *Francesco Sassetti and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinita, Florence: History and Legend in a Renaissance Chapel* (Doornspijk, 1981).

43. See Gombrich, p. 174.

44. "Bildniskunst," in Wuttke, p. 25.

45. Borsook and Offerhaus, p. 34.

46. Gombrich, p. 136; see also pp. 165, 175, 178. Presumably, Gombrich's point is that Flanders was, for Warburg, also modern. Perhaps the inverse was true: that, for Warburg, Florence was still primitive.

47. See Gombrich, pp. 271–72.

48. Wuttke, p. 201.

49. Wuttke, p. 201.

50. Wuttke, p. 202.

51. Wuttke, p. 203.

52. Benjamin knew Warburg's essay when he wrote the *Ursprung*. He also knew the subsequent work of Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, *Dürers 'Melencolia I': Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923). As is well known, Benjamin submitted the work as his *Habilitationsschrift* at the University of Frankfurt in 1925, and it was rejected. He published it in book form in 1928, at which point Warburg acquired a copy and gave it to Saxl. I owe this last information to J. B. Trapp.

53. Wuttke, pp. 214–15.

54. Wuttke, p. 218.

55. Wuttke, pp. 231–32.

56. Wuttke, p. 237. The serpentine flow of the garment in the image is a function of Warburg's viewing. Its referents are just as likely to be the Hopi snakes as the more relevant antecedent of Lucifer.

57. Wuttke, p. 238.

58. Gombrich, p. 213.

59. Gombrich, p. 215.

60. The four letters are written in German (Fewkes had studied in Leipzig). I read copies of them in the Warburg Archive. The originals are held by the Smithsonian. The Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg holds 74 objects, from an original number of 136, which Warburg collected himself; another 19 are in Dresden; and 43 were destroyed by fire—this according to Wuttke, pp. 583–84. Warburg also corresponded, between January and March 1905, with Emil Bibo of the Cubero Trading Company, which specialized in Acoma pottery. Bibo sent Warburg films of matachin dances as well as still photographs. In one of Bibo's letters, he mentions his brother, Solomon, by this time residing in San Francisco. This is a figure of considerable interest. A German Jew, Solomon Bibo arrived in Santa Fe in 1869, founded the trad-

ing company atop the Acoma mesa in 1882, married an Acoma woman, and in 1885 became the only non-Indian to be elected governor of Acoma. The United States authorities, and finally the Acoma themselves, grew suspicious of Bibo's motives, and he ultimately fled to California. One wonders what Warburg's reaction might have been to this German Jewish predecessor in the Southwest. See Gordon Bronitsky, "Solomon Bibo," *New Mexico* 68:8 (August 1990): 98–102. Emil Bibo's letters are in file box no. 140, marked "Americana," Warburg Archive.

61. Warburg, "Bericht für die photographische Gesellschaft: Eine Reise durch das Gebiet der Pueblo Indianer in Nordamerika," Warburg Archive. Warburg's French phrase, true to his characteristic love for mottoes, derives from Emile Zola: "J'exprimerai toute ma pensée en disant qu'un oeuvre d'art est un coin de la création vu à travers un tempérament" ("All my thinking can be described by the definition of a work of art as a corner of creation seen through a certain temperament." Zola, "M. H. Taine, artiste," in *Mes Haines* [1866], *Oeuvres complètes d'Emile Zola* [Paris, 1928], p. 176). Assuming that Warburg was aware of his source in deriving his own phrase, we might speculate about the replacement of "temperament" with "Kodak": the substitution of technology and the technical eye for sensibility.

62. Warburg Archive.

63. "Bilder aus dem Leben der Pueblo-Indianer in Nordamerika," Warburg Archive; cited by Naber, pp. 92–93; 96. This lecture was published in the *Photographische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für Freunde der Photographie*, ed. R. Neuhass, 11 Jahrgang 1897, Vereinsnachrichten 61.

64. Fritz Saxl, "Warburgs Besuch in Neu-Mexico" (1929/30–1957), in Wuttke, pp. 317–26; 318.

65. The diaries from the Kreuzlingen years are in the Warburg Archive. They were identified already by Ludwig Binswanger as strictly clinical material; Gombrich chose not to cite them and Wuttke did not catalog them.

66. Warburg's (published) words are "als Symptom eines ganz zurückgebliebenen Menschentums" (*Schlangenritual*, p. 10.) The earlier version (with the omitted words in small capitals) would have rendered the sentence as "als Symptom eines ganz zurückgebliebenen LEBENSUNFÄHIGEN Menschentums DAS EIN FINSTERER ABERGLAUBE LÄHMT" (Lecture manuscript, Warburg Archive). The published German lecture text of 1988 contains additional such examples. In Warburg's description of the solo dancers accompanying the humiskachina dance at Oraibi, the phrase "extremely coarse [überaus derbe]" had at one point read as "plain indecent [direkt unanständige]" (*Schlangenritual*, p. 40 as opposed to 1938 manuscript, Warburg Archive). The following paragraph was first restored in the 1988 edition: "The simulated pantomimic animal dance is thus a cultic act of the highest devotion and self-abandon to an alien being. The masked dance of so-called primitive peoples is in its original essence a document of social piety" (*Schlangenritual*, p. 27). I have noted earlier that the "fortress rationality" position, which Warburg so clearly turns away from in the writing of the lecture, has continued to control the reception of his thinking, especially that of Gombrich. For an illuminating application of this tendency toward interpretive shifts in general among Warburg Institute scholars of several generations, see Carlo Ginzburg, "From Aby Warburg to E. H. Gombrich: A Problem of Method," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 17–59.

67. *Schlangenritual*, p. 10.

68. "Schicksalsmächte im Spiegel antikisierender Symbolik," April 1924, Warburg Archive.

69. Notes to the 1927–28 Seminar on Method, Warburg Archive.

70. The German for "elective affinity" is the (now) Goethean "Wahlverwandtschaft." Warburg has, by this point in the essay, begun to preface "primitive" with "so-called." Walter Benjamin also relied on the concept of elective affinities to discuss transhistorical parallels. See Michael Löwy, "Sur le concept d'affinité élective," in *Rédemption et Utopie* (Paris, 1988), pp. 13–21 and passim.

71. See n. 3.

72. Warburg was aware of the Greek tradition of serpent symbolism as a symbolism of ambivalence, and he refers to the serpent's trait of shedding its skin as a symbol of rebirth. He also cites Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 3rd ed. (1922).

73. The letters from Warburg to Sachs, as well as some carbon copies of Sachs's letters, are in the archive of the William Hayes Fogg Museum, Harvard University Art Museums. I am grateful to Abby Smith for her assistance in the archive and to James Cuno, Director of the Harvard University Art Museums, for permission to cite the documents.

74. Unpublished memorandum, Warburg Archive.

75. Paul Sachs file, archive of the Fogg Museum.

76. Arnaldo Momigliano, "How Roman Emperors Became Gods," *American Scholar* 55 (Spring 1986): 181; reprinted in the *Ottavo Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico* (Rome, 1987), p. 297; also in *On Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Middletown, Conn., 1987), p. 92.