



UNIVERSITY  
OF CENTRAL ASIA

# ART AS APPRECIATION



AGA KHAN HUMANITIES PROJECT





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OF CENTRAL ASIA

# **ART AS APPRECIATION**

**AGA KHAN HUMANITIES PROJECT**

**Bishkek - Dushanbe - Almaty**

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*Painting on cover: 'Echo and Narcissus' 1903, John William Waterhouse  
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## PREFACE

Central Asia is undergoing profound cultural changes with new foundations for identity emerging as the recently independent states face broader economic and political challenges. Central Asians are reaching into their past for inspiration and seek assistance in drawing upon the rich traditions of their societies to anchor a new system of values. Responding to a widely felt need by educationalists for initiatives to foster to a deeper understanding of ethical issues and the moral choices facing society, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture established the Aga Khan Humanities Project (AKHP) in 1997. In 2007 AKHP became part of the University of Central Asia (UCA). UCA was founded as an international educational organization in 2000 by the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Tajikistan, and His Highness the Aga Khan.

AKHP promotes pluralism in ideas, cultures, and peoples by initiating and supporting the creation and implementation of an interdisciplinary undergraduate humanities curriculum, pedagogical and professional development of faculty in Central Asian universities and community outreach projects. AKHP builds bridges across communities in the region and helps Central Asians explore and share their traditions and establish links with the outside world.

An appreciation and understanding of the breadth of their cultural heritage will enable the people of Central Asia to identify those aspects that can help them adjust to rapid change. Central Asia has interacted with many different cultures, including Buddhist, Chinese, Greek, Indian, Iranian, Islamic, Jewish, Mongol, Russian, Turkic and Zoroastrian. In addition, the impact of the more recent Soviet experience on shaping values and identities should not be underestimated. In all cases students are encouraged to develop the skills of critical thinking to help them understand the diversity within each culture and the similarities between different cultures.

Educators at partner universities in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have been trained to teach AKHP courses, assess curriculum materials, co-ordinate student projects, and conduct further teacher training. Students explore a variety of media and genres through divergent classroom techniques, designed to promote active learning, encouraging students to come to their own critical and insightful understanding of key issues.

The curriculum material has been developed, tested and revised over a period of ten years. Such piloting took place within Central Asian classrooms at AKHP's partner universities, where intensive training in student-centred learning was provided. The material was subsequently reviewed by two external committees of international scholars. Based on this input, final editorial revisions were completed in 2008.

The final version of the eight courses that comprise the AKHP curriculum will move beyond the AKHP partner universities and are flexible enough to be utilised in a variety of settings including secondary schools where the pilot testing has already commenced. Each institution has its own needs and expectations, and instructors are encouraged to adapt the materials contained within these courses to their own particular classrooms and the needs of their own students. Such creative adaptation to specific needs forms the basis of a critical education, and is a key step in encouraging Central Asian teachers and students to respond to the needs of their own region.

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# INTRODUCTION

Appreciating art is such a natural human activity that it seems strange to study it as a subject. Nevertheless, appreciating art in any depth requires us to examine some of the various commentaries and essays on it. One might well argue that there are as many ways of looking at art as there are beholders of art, and that would not be untrue. But insofar as we live in society, we share meanings, traditions, trends, and critiques of everything, including art.

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One of the first questions we need to raise is why do we appreciate art? Certainly, it gives us much pleasure, but so do many other human activities. Many of the texts in this book offer diverse reasons for appreciating art. We may accept some arguments, disagree with others, or come up with our own original reason for appreciating art. All of these are real possibilities. This text affords all these possibilities and more.

Looking deeper into the first question, we might well ask, what is appreciation? Why, when, and how do we appreciate anything? The answer might be as simple as appreciation is one means of connecting with the other. What about critiquing something? That would be another way of connecting with the other. Are these two ways of connecting different? Or, are they somehow linked? In what other ways can we understand appreciation, especially of art?

This book is divided into six chapters that address that very question. Each of the chapters regards art in subtly different forms: as sacred, as beauty, as intuition, as politics, as gendered, and as experience. For example, if we look upon art as beauty then we appreciate the human attraction to beauty, in which case appreciation is a means to the end of depicting beauty which is art. If we take up the notion of art as experience, then we celebrate human expression in its individuality. In celebrating the diversity of art, we unite in purpose to accept our humanity. Art becomes a means and appreciation the end. The readers are urged to think of other ways of appreciating art. Perhaps, we might want to consider art as aesthetic communication, representation, imagination or insight, etc.

As we read the chapters, we might want to consider the importance of appreciation in our daily lives. We express our appreciation in myriad forms. We thank someone for a kind deed, however small: thus, gratitude is one form of appreciation. We overhear an exchange of wit between friends and smile: pleasure is another form of appreciation. We see a pedestrian grab a child out of harm's way of a speeding vehicle and gasp: respect is yet another form of appreciation. A colleague explains away a puzzle: understanding another's insight can be appreciation, too. We bask in the light of a compliment from a friend: gratification is a form of appreciation just as complimenting another is a form of appreciation. Thus, we can endlessly reflect on the many kinds of appreciation we encounter, express and observe each day of our lives.

Conversely, not encountering any appreciation or expressing appreciation on any given day would make it quite a depressing day. Appreciation not only seems to bring us joy but seems to have an uplifting quality to it, too. It cheers us, gives us hope, engages our attention and connects us to the world. Can we then consider art as visual, tonal, verbal or tactile forms of appreciation?

Is art easy to define or does it have an ephemeral quality that escapes our attempts to pin it down? Perhaps it is this very quality of art that draws us to it? Much of art attracts us, some of it repels us, some puzzles us, and some makes the unpalatable palatable. Often art allows us to overcome our natural fears, distaste, and irritation and draw nearer to objects/subjects from which we distance ourselves. Consider Picasso's painting *Guernica*. War is a something we flee from, not draw nearer to. Yet Picasso's depiction of the war in *Guernica* attracts us and compels us to understand war. We appreciate the painting even as we deplore the subject matter of the painting. We grasp the content of the painting without flinching away from it.

Consequently, art not only connects us with the world but facilitates our experience and thereby our understanding of it. Consider a world without art or artistry. What would be the condition of human life in such a world? Would the quality of our lives be better or worse? Would our understanding of our world be better or worse? Would our experience of the world be better or worse? As each of us reflects on and responds to the questions above, we affirm distinct ways of experiencing life, connecting with the world, and understanding our circumstances. But by this act of appreciating, reflecting on and reaching an insight we also express our common humanity. The readers might want to reflect on the impact of art on our heritage, our humanity.



## CHAPTER ONE: ART AS SACRED

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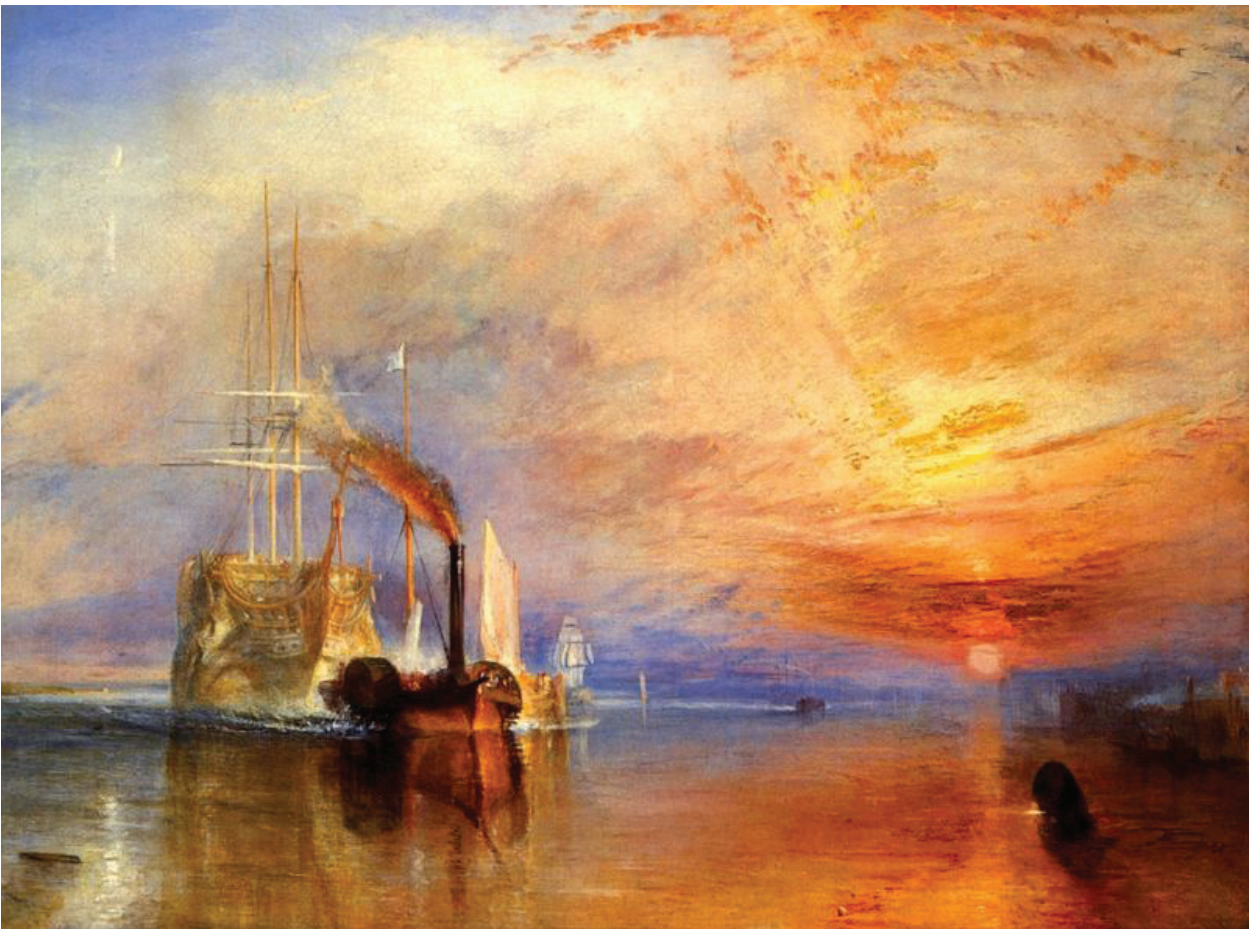
### INTRODUCTION

Chapter one explores the link between art and religion. The reader is invited to seek out the connection between them. Are all artists religious, even those who do not believe in God, as claimed by Clive Bell? The argument is that art doesn't have a materialistic goal but has a spiritual urge that expresses itself single-mindedly transcending history and geography. In other words, Bell offers a universalistic definition. Is that accurate? If artistry is defined as a spiritual experience then indeed all artists can be said to be religious. Can we find art that is devoid of spiritual content?

Conversely, some people would argue that art has no place in religion. Yet, all religious expression seems to have some aesthetic value. In this chapter, the reader will be introduced to Christian, Buddhist, and Islamic aesthetics as well as particular expressions of them. As you read the texts, ask yourself how religion would look without aesthetic content to it. How would such a religion appeal to people? What would its appeal be? Would that appeal be better than aesthetics? Why or why not?

Developing this theme further, Tazim Kassam presents the idea that even seeing the world appreciatively denotes humility and highlights our duty to nurture our world. Is this the reason that all nations build museums, cities seek great artists to embellish themselves with public art, such as paintings and sculpture, and ordinary people flock to see these exhibits? Does art engender a sense of collective and personal responsibility to the world we live in? Is that the real or proper response of the beholder of works of art?

The reader is further invited to examine a connection between the sacred, the aesthetic and geometry. Both Nitin Kumar's and Linda Komaroff's texts draw us to examine the esoteric meaning behind repeated patterns in art. How does sacred geometry persuade the beholder to find insight into scriptures? Why did geometry become so central to religious aesthetics? And finally, what makes art sacred?



**TURNER, J.M. THE FIGHTING TEMERAIRE TUGGED TO HER LAST BERTH TO BE BROKEN UP.**  
1839. Watercolour, 91 x 122cm. The National Gallery, London.

## CLIVE BELL ART AND LIFE

Arthur Clive Howard Bell (1881-1964) was an English art critic and philosopher. The extract below is taken from Bell's work *Art*, which was written in 1914. His other works are: *Since Cézanne* (1922), *Civilization* (1928), *Proust* (1929), *An Account of French Painting* (1931), *Enjoying Pictures* (1934), and *Old Friends* (1956)

### I. ART AND RELIGION

If in my first chapter I had been at pains to show that art owed nothing to life, the title of my second would invite a charge of inconsistency. The danger would be slight, however; for though art owed nothing to life, life might well owe something to art. The weather is admirably independent of human hopes and fears, yet few of us are so sublimely detached as to be indifferent to the weather. Art does affect the lives of men; it moves to ecstasy, thus giving colour and moment to what might be otherwise a rather grey and trivial affair. Art for some makes life worth living. Also, art is affected by life; for to create art there must be men with hands and a sense of form and colour and three-dimensional space and the power to feel and the passion to create. Therefore art has a great deal to do with life – with emotional life. That it is a means to a state of **exaltation** is unanimously agreed, and that it comes from the spiritual depths of man's nature is hardly contested. The appreciation of art is certainly a means to **ecstasy**, and the creation probably the expression of an ecstatic state of mind. Art is, in fact, a necessity to and a product of the spiritual life.

Those who do not part company with me till the last stage of my metaphysical excursion agree that the emotion expressed in a work of art springs from the depths of man's spiritual nature; and those even who will hear nothing of expression agree that the spiritual part is profoundly affected by works of art. Art, therefore, has to do with the spiritual life, to which it gives and from which, I feel sure, it takes. Indirectly, art has something to do with practical life, too; for those emotional experiences must be very faint and contemptible that leave quite untouched our characters. Through its influence on character and point of view, art may affect practical life. But practical life and human sentiment can affect art only in so far as they can affect the conditions in which artists work. Thus they may affect the production of works of art to some extent; to how great an extent I shall consider in another place.

Also a great many works of visual art are concerned with life, or rather with the physical universe of which life is a part, in that the men who created them were thrown into the creative mood by their surroundings. We have observed, as we could hardly fail to do, that, whatever the emotion that artists express may be, it comes to many of them through the contemplation of the familiar objects of life. The object of an artist's emotion seems to be more often than not either some particular scene or object, or a



PYXID OF AL-MUGHIRA

**exaltation** –  
happiness, emotional state,  
spirit, euphoric human  
condition

**ecstasy** –  
excessive joy or enthusiasm;  
rapture

synthesis of his whole visual experience. Art may be concerned with the physical universe, or with any part or parts of it, as a means to emotion – a means to that peculiar spiritual state that we call inspiration. But the value of these parts as means to anything but emotion art ignores – that is to say, it ignores their practical utility. Artists are often concerned with things, but never with the labels on things. These useful labels were invented by practical people for practical purposes. The misfortune is that, having acquired the habit of recognising labels, practical people tend to lose the power of feeling emotion; and, as the only way of getting at the thing in itself is by feeling its emotional significance, they soon begin to lose their sense of reality. Mr. Roger Fry has pointed out that few can hope ever to see a charging bull as an end in itself and yield themselves to the emotional significance of its forms, because no sooner is the label “Charging Bull” recognised than we begin to dispose ourselves for flight rather than contemplation.<sup>1</sup> This is where the habit of recognizing labels serves us well. It serves us ill, however, when, although there is no call for action or hurry, it comes between things and our emotional reaction to them. The label is nothing but a symbol that epitomises for busy humanity the significance of things regarded as “means.” A practical person goes into a room where there are chairs, tables, sofas, a hearth-rug and a mantel-piece. Of each he takes note intellectually, and if he wants to set himself down or set down a cup, he will know all he needs to know for his purpose. The label tells him just those facts that serve his practical ends; of the thing itself that lurks behind the label nothing is said. Artists, **qua** artists, are not concerned with labels. They are concerned with things only as means to a particular kind of emotion, which is the same as saying that they are only concerned with things perceived as ends in themselves; for it is only when things are perceived as ends that they become means to this emotion. It is only when we cease to regard the objects in a landscape as means to anything that we can feel the landscape artistically. But when we do succeed in regarding the parts of a landscape as ends in themselves – as pure forms, that is to say – the landscape becomes **ipso facto** a means to a peculiar, aesthetic state of mind. Artists are concerned only with this peculiar emotional significance of the physical universe: because they perceive things as “ends,” things become for them “means” to ecstasy.

The habit of recognising the label and overlooking the thing, of seeing intellectually instead of seeing emotionally, accounts for the amazing blindness, or rather visual shallowness, of most civilised adults. We do not forget what has moved us, but what we have merely recognised leaves no deep impression on the mind. A friend of mine, a man of taste, desired to make some clearance in his gardens, encumbered as they were with a multitude of trees; unfortunately most of his friends and all his family objected on sentimental or aesthetic grounds, declaring that the place would never be the same to them if the axe were laid to a single trunk. My friend was in despair, until, one day, I suggested to him that whenever his people were all away on visits or travels, as was pretty often the case, he should have as many trees cut down as could be completely and cleanly removed during their absence. Since then, several hundreds have been carted from his small park and pleasure grounds, and should the secret be betrayed to the family I am cheerfully confident that not one of them would believe it. I could cite innumerable instances of this insensibility to form. How often have I been one of a party in a room with which all were familiar, the decoration of which had lately been changed, and I the only one to notice it. For practical purposes the room



**THEOTOKOS OF VLADIMIR**  
(the holy protectress of Russia).  
12<sup>th</sup> century.  
Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

**qua** –

in the capacity or character of

**ipso facto** –

Latin: by that very fact

<sup>1</sup> “An Essay in Aesthetics,” by Roger Fry: *The New Quarterly*, No. 6, vol. ii.

remained unaltered; only its emotional significance was new. Question your friend as to the disposition of the furniture in his wife's drawing-room; ask him to sketch the street down which he passes daily; ten to one he goes hopelessly astray. Only artists and educated people of extraordinary sensibility and some savages and children feel the significance of form so acutely that they know how things look. These see, because they see emotionally; and no one forgets the things that have moved him. Those forget who have never felt the emotional significance of pure form; they are not stupid nor are they generally insensitive, but they use their eyes only to collect information, not to capture emotion. This habit of using the eyes exclusively to pick up facts is the barrier that stands between most people and an understanding of visual art. It is not a barrier that has stood unbreached always, nor need it stand so for all future time.

In ages of great spiritual exaltation the barrier crumbles and becomes, in places, less insuperable. Such ages are commonly called great religious ages: nor is the name ill-chosen. For, more often than not, religion is the whetstone on which men sharpen the spiritual sense. Religion, like art, is concerned with the world of emotional reality, and with material things only in so far as they are emotionally significant. For the mystic, as for the artist, the physical universe is a means to ecstasy. The mystic feels things as "ends" instead of seeing them as "means." He seeks within all things that ultimate reality which provokes emotional exaltation; and, if he does not come at it through pure form, there are, as I have said, more roads than one to that country. Religion, as I understand it, is an expression of the individual's sense of the emotional significance of the universe; I should not be surprised to find that art was an expression of the same thing. Anyway, both seem to express emotions different from and transcending the emotions of life. Certainly both have the power of transporting men to superhuman ecstasies; both are means to unearthly states of mind. Art and religion belong to the same world. Both are bodies in which men try to capture and keep alive their shyest and most ethereal conceptions. The kingdom of neither is of this world. Rightly, therefore, do we regard art and religion as twin manifestations of the spirit; wrongly do some speak of art as a manifestation of religion.

If it were said that art and religion were twin manifestations of something that, for convenience sake, may be called "the religious spirit," I should make no serious complaint. But I should insist on the distinction between "religion," in the ordinary acceptance of the word, and "the religious spirit" being stated beyond all possibility of **cavil**. I should insist that if we are to say that art is a manifestation of the religious spirit, we must say the same of every respectable religion that ever has existed or ever can exist. Above all, I should insist that whoever said it should bear in mind, whenever he said it, that "manifestation" is at least as different from "expression" as Monmouth is from Macedon.

The religious spirit is born of a conviction that some things matter more than others. To those possessed by it there is a sharp distinction between that which is unconditioned and universal and that which is limited and local. It is a consciousness of



#### MIRAJ

Persian miniature painting from 1550 CE, depicting the Prophet Muhammad ascending on the Buraq into the Heavens, a journey known as the Miraj. From *Khamsa* of Nizami of 1539-43, painted by Sultan Muhammad in Tabriz.

#### cavil –

to find fault without good reason



**GIAMBATTISTA, CIMA DA CONEGLIANO**  
 Sacra Conversazione. c. 1490.  
 National Gallery, London, UK.

**gilt** –

gold; money

**bigotry** –

intolerance, fanatic following

**Henri Matisse** –

(December 31, 1869–November 3, 1954) was a French artist, noted for his use of color and his fluid, brilliant and original draughtsmanship. Matisse is one of the best-known artists of the twentieth century

**astigmatism** –

a defect of the eye or a lens in which the rays derived from one point are not brought to a single focal point thus causing imperfect images or blurred vision

**persiflage** –

frivolous talk

**sally** –

a flight of fancy or wit

the unconditioned and universal that makes people religious; and it is this consciousness or, at least, a conviction that some things are unconditioned and universal, that makes their attitude towards the conditioned and local sometimes a little unsympathetic. It is this consciousness that makes them set justice above law, passion above principle, sensibility above culture, intelligence above knowledge, intuition above experience, the ideal above the tolerable. It is this consciousness that makes them the enemies of convention, compromise, and common-sense. In fact, the essence of religion is a conviction that because some things are of infinite value most are profoundly unimportant, that since the gingerbread is there one need not feel too strongly about the **gilt**.

It is useless for liberal divines to pretend that there is no antagonism between the religious nature and the scientific. There is no antagonism between religion and science, but that is a very different matter. In fact, the hypotheses of science begin only where religion ends: but both religion and science are born trespassers. The religious and the scientific both have their prejudices; but their prejudices are not the same. The scientific mind cannot free itself from a prejudice against the notion that effects may exist the causes of which it ignores. Not only do religious minds manage to believe that there may be effects of which they do not know, and may never know, the causes – they cannot even see the absolute necessity for supposing that everything is caused. Scientific people tend to trust their senses and disbelieve their emotions when they contradict them; religious people tend to trust emotion even though sensual experience be against it. On the whole, the religious are the more open-minded. Their assumption that the senses may mislead is less arrogant than the assumption that through them alone can we come at reality, for, as Dr. McTaggart has wittily said, “If a man is shut up in a house, the transparency of the windows is an essential condition of his seeing the sky. But it would not be prudent to infer that, if he walked out of the house, he could not see the sky, because there was no longer any glass through which he might see it.”<sup>2</sup>

Examples of scientific **bigotry** are as common as blackberries. The attitude of the profession towards unorthodox medicine is the classical instance. In the autumn of 1912 I was walking through the Grafton Galleries with a man who is certainly one of the ablest, and is reputed one of the most enlightened, of contemporary men of science. Looking at the picture of a young girl with a cat by **Henri Matisse**, he exclaimed – “I see how it is, the fellow’s **astigmatic**.” I should have let this bit of **persiflage** go unanswered, assuming it to be one of those witty **sallies** for which the princes of science are so justly famed and to which they often treat us even when they are not in the presence of works of art, had not the professor followed up his clue with the utmost gravity, assuring me at last that no picture in the gallery was beyond the reach of optical diagnostic. Still suspicious of his good faith, I suggested, tentatively, that perhaps the discrepancies between the normal man’s vision and the pictures on the wall were the result of intentional distortion on the part of the artists. At this the professor became passionately serious – “Do you mean to tell me,” he bawled, “that there has ever been a painter who did not try to make his objects as lifelike as possible? Dismiss such silly nonsense from your head.” It is the old story: “Clear your mind of cant,” that is to say, of anything which appears improbable or unpalatable to Dr. Johnson.

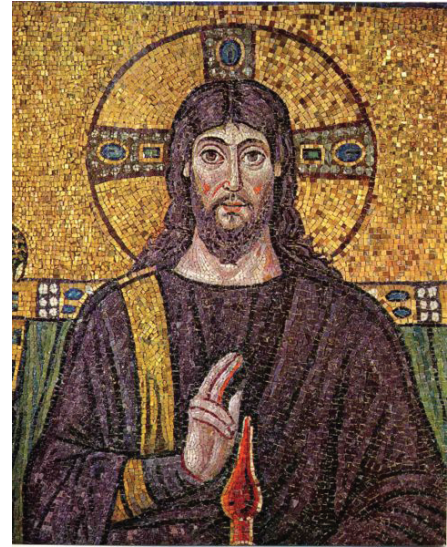
The religious, on the other hand, are apt to be a little prejudiced against common-sense; and, for my own part, I confess that I am often tempted to think that a

2 McTaggart: Some Dogmas of Religion.

common-sense view is necessarily a wrong one. It was common-sense to see that the world must be flat and that the sun must go round it; only when those fantastical people made themselves heard who thought that the solar system could not be quite so simple an affair as common-sense knew it must be were these opinions knocked on the head. Dr. Johnson, the great exemplar of British common-sense, observing in autumn the gathered swallows skimming over pools and rivers, pronounced it certain that these birds sleep all the winter –” A number of them conglobulate together, by flying round and round, and then all in a heap throw themselves under water, and lie in the bed of a river”: how sensibly, too, did he dispose of Berkeley’s Idealism – “striking his foot with mighty force against a large stone” – “I refute it thus.” Seriously, is the common-sense view ever the right one?

Lately, the men of sense and science have secured allies who have brought to their cause what most it lacked, a little fundamental thought. Those able and honest people, the Cambridge rationalists, headed by **Mr. G.E. Moore**, to whose *Principia Ethica* I owe so much, are, of course, profoundly religious and live by a passionate faith in the absolute value of certain states of mind; also they have fallen in love with the conclusions and methods of science. Being extremely intelligent, they perceive, however, that empirical arguments can avail nothing for or against a metaphysical theory, and that ultimately all the conclusions of science are based on a logic that precedes experience. Also they perceive that emotions are just as real as sensations. They find themselves confronted, therefore, by this difficulty; if someone steps forward to say that he has a direct, disinterested, **a priori**, conviction of the goodness of his emotions towards the Mass, he puts himself in the same position as Mr. Moore, who feels a similar conviction about the goodness of his towards the Truth. If Mr. Moore is to infer the goodness of one state of mind from his feelings, why should not someone else infer the goodness of another from his? The Cambridge rationalists have a short way with such dissenters. They simply assure them that they do not feel what they say they feel. Some of them have begun to apply their **cogent** methods to aesthetics; and when we tell them what we feel for pure form they assure us that, in fact, we feel nothing of the sort. This argument, however, has always struck me as lacking in subtlety.

Much as he dislikes mentioning the fact or hearing it mentioned, the common man of science recognises no other end in life than protracted and agreeable existence. That is where he joins issue with the religious; it is also his excuse for being a **eugenist**. He declines to believe in any reality other than that of the physical universe. On that reality he insists dogmatically.<sup>3</sup> Man, he says, is an animal who, like other animals, desires to live; he is provided with senses, and these, like other animals, he seeks to gratify: in these facts he bids us find an explanation of all human aspiration. Man wants to live



**CHRISTUS RAVENNA MOSAIC**

6<sup>th</sup> century. Church San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy.

**George Edward Moore –**

(November 4, 1873–October 24, 1958) a distinguished and influential English philosopher, University of Cambridge. He was, with Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, one of the founders of the Analytic tradition in philosophy

**a priori –**

knowledge is independent of experience, while posteriori knowledge is dependent on experience; used in philosophy to distinguish between two different types of propositional knowledge

**cogent –**

compelling; powerful; not easily resisted

**eugenics –**

social philosophy which advocates the improvement of human hereditary traits through various forms of intervention; Eugenics is the self-direction of human evolution. Derives from the Greek words eu (good) and gen (birth), and was coined by Francis Galton in 1883.

<sup>3</sup> I am aware that there are men of science who preserve an open mind as to the reality of the physical universe, and recognise that what is known as “the scientific hypothesis” leaves out of account just those things that seem to us most real. Doubtless these are the true men of science; they are not the common ones.

and he wants to have a good time; to compass these ends he has devised an elaborate machinery. All emotion, says the common man of science, must ultimately be traced to the senses. All moral, religious and aesthetic emotions are derived from physical needs, just as political ideas are based on that **gregarious** instinct which is simply the result of a desire to live long and to live in comfort. We obey the by-law that forbids us to ride a bicycle on the footpath, because we see that, in the long run, such a law is conducive to continued and agreeable existence, and for very similar reasons, says the man of science, we approve of magnanimous characters and sublime works of art.

“Not so,” reply saints, artists, Cambridge rationalists, and all the better sort; for they feel that their religious, aesthetic, or moral emotions are not conditioned, directly or indirectly, by physical needs, nor, indeed, by anything in the physical universe. Some things, they feel, are good, not because they are means to physical well-being, but because they are good in themselves. In nowise does the value of aesthetic or religious rapture depend upon the physical satisfaction it affords. There are things in life the worth of which cannot be related to the physical universe – things of which the worth is not relative but absolute. Of these matters I speak cautiously and without authority: for my immediate purpose – to present my conception of the religious character – I need say only that to some the materialistic conception of the universe does not seem to explain those emotions which they feel with supreme certainty and absolute disinterestedness. The fact is, men of science, having got us into the habit of attempting to justify all our feelings and states of mind by reference to the physical universe, have almost bullied some of us into believing that what cannot be so justified does not exist.

I call him a religious man who, feeling with conviction that some things are good in themselves, and that physical existence is not amongst them, pursues, at the expense of physical existence, that which appears to him good. All those who hold with uncompromising sincerity that spiritual is more important than material life, are, in my sense, religious. For instance, in Paris I have seen young painters, penniless, half-fed, unwarmed, ill-clothed, their women and children in no better case, working all day in feverish ecstasy at unsaleable pictures, and quite possibly they would have killed or wounded anyone who suggested a compromise with the market. When materials and credit failed altogether, they stole newspapers and boot-blackening that they might continue to serve their masterful passion. They were superbly religious. All artists are religious. All uncompromising belief is religious. A man who so cares for truth that he will go to prison, or death, rather than acknowledge a God in whose existence he does not believe, is as religious, and as much a martyr in the cause of religion, as Socrates or Jesus. He has set his criterion of values outside the physical universe.

In material things, half a loaf is said to be better than no bread. Not so in spiritual. If he thinks that it may do some good, a politician will support a bill which he considers inadequate. He states his objections and votes with the majority. He does well, perhaps. In spiritual matters such compromises are impossible. To please the public the artist cannot give of his second best. To do so would be to sacrifice that which makes life valuable. Were he to become a liar and express something different from what he feels, truth would no longer be in him. What would it profit him to gain the whole world and lose his own soul? He knows that there is that within him which is more important than physical existence – that to which physical existence is but a means. That he may feel and express it, it is good that he should be alive. But unless he may feel and express the best, he were better dead.

Art and Religion are, then, two roads by which men escape from circumstance to ecstasy. Between aesthetic and religious rapture there is a family alliance. Art and religion



**STANDING BUDDHA**  
Gandhara, 1<sup>st</sup> century CE



are means to similar states of mind. And if we are licensed to lay aside the science of aesthetics and, going behind our emotion and its object, consider what is in the mind of the artist, we may say, loosely enough, that art is a manifestation of the religious sense. If it be an expression of emotion – as I am persuaded that it is – it is an expression of that emotion which is the vital force in every religion, or, at any rate, it expresses an emotion felt for that which is the essence of all. We may say that both art and religion are manifestations of man's religious sense, if by "man's religious sense" we mean his sense of ultimate reality. What we may not say is, that art is the expression of any particular religion; for to do so is to confuse the religious spirit with the channels in which it has been made to flow. It is to confuse the wine with the bottle. Art may have much to do with that universal emotion that has found a corrupt and stuttering expression in a thousand different creeds: it has nothing to do with historical facts or metaphysical fancies. To be sure, many descriptive paintings are manifestos and expositions of religious dogmas: a very proper use for descriptive painting too. Certainly the blot on many good pictures is the descriptive element introduced for the sake of edification and instruction. But in so far as a picture is a work of art, it has no more to do with dogmas or doctrines, facts or theories, than with the interests and emotions of daily life.

## II. ART AND HISTORY

And yet there is a connection between art and religion, even in the common and limited sense of that word. There is an historical connection: or to be more exact, there is a fundamental connection between the history of art and the history of religion. Religions are vital and sincere only so long as they are animated by that which animates all great art – spiritual ferment. It is a mistake, by the way, to suppose that dogmatic religion cannot be vital and sincere. Religious emotions tend always to anchor themselves to earth by a chain of dogma. That tendency is the enemy within the gate of every movement. Dogmatic religion can be vital and sincere, and what is more, theology and ritual have before now been the trumpet and drum of spiritual revolutions. But dogmatic or intellectually free, religious ages, ages of spiritual turmoil, ages in which men set the spirit above the flesh and the emotions above the intellect, are the ages in which is felt the emotional significance of the universe. Then it is men live on the frontiers of reality and listen eagerly to travellers' tales. Thus it comes about that the great ages of religion are commonly the great ages of art. As the sense of reality grows dim, as men become more handy at manipulating labels and symbols, more mechanical, more disciplined, more specialised, less capable of feeling things directly, the power of escaping to the world of ecstasy decays, and art and religion begin to sink. When the majority lack, not only the emotion out of which art and religion are made, but even the sensibility to respond to what the few can still offer, art and religion founder. After that, nothing is left of art and religion but their names; illusion and prettiness are called art, politics and sentimentality religion.



### LENINGRAD CODEX

The manuscript was written around the year 1010 CE.

### THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



Now, if I am right in thinking that art is a manifestation – a manifestation, mark, and not an expression – of man’s spiritual state, then in the history of art we shall read the spiritual history of the race. I am not surprised that those who have devoted their lives to the study of history should take it ill when one who professes only to understand the nature of art hints that by understanding his own business he may become a judge of theirs. Let me be as conciliatory as possible. No one can have less right than I, or, indeed, less inclination to assume the proud title of “scientific historian”: no one can care less about historical small-talk or be more at a loss to understand what precisely is meant by “historical science.” Yet if history be anything more than a chronological catalogue of facts, if it be concerned with the movements of mind and spirit, then I submit that to read history aright we must know, not only the works of art that each age produced, but also their value as works of art. If the aesthetic significance or insignificance of works of art does, indeed, bear witness to a spiritual state, then he who can appreciate that significance should be in a position to form some opinion concerning the spiritual state of the men who produced those works and of those who appreciated them. If art be at all the sort of thing it is commonly supposed to be, the history of art must be an index to the spiritual history of the race. Only, the historian who wishes to use art as an index must possess not merely the nice observation of the scholar and the archaeologist, but also a fine sensibility. For it is the aesthetic significance of a work that gives a clue to the state of mind that produced it; so the ability to assign a particular work to a particular period avails nothing unaccompanied by the power of appreciating its aesthetic significance.

To understand completely the history of an age must we know and understand the history of its art? It seems so. And yet the idea is intolerable to scientific historians. What becomes of the great scientific principle of water-tight compartments? Again, it is unjust: for assuredly, to understand art we need know nothing whatever about history. It may be that from works of art we can draw inferences as to the sort of people who made them: but the longest and most intimate conversations with an artist will not tell us whether his pictures are good or bad. We must see them: then we shall know. I may be partial or dishonest about the work of my friend, but its aesthetic significance is not more obvious to me than that of a work that was finished five thousand years ago. To appreciate fully a work of art we require nothing but sensibility. To those that can hear art speaks for itself: facts and dates do not; to make bricks of such stuff one must glean the uplands and hollows for tags of auxiliary information and suggestion; and the history of art is no exception to the rule. To appreciate a man’s art I need know nothing whatever about the artist; I can say whether this picture is better than that without the help of history; but if I am trying to account for the deterioration of his art, I shall be helped by knowing that he has been seriously ill or that he has married a wife who insists on his boiling her pot. To mark the deterioration was to make a pure, aesthetic judgment: to account for it was to become an historian. To understand the history of art we must know something of other kinds of history. Perhaps, to understand thoroughly any kind of history we must understand every kind of history. Perhaps the history of an age or of a life is an indivisible whole. Another intolerable idea! What becomes of the specialist? What of those formidable compendiums in which the multitudinous activities of man are kept so jealously apart? The mind boggles at the monstrous vision of its own conclusions.

But, after all, does it matter to me? I am not an historian of art or of anything else. I care very little when things were made, or why they were made; I care about their emotional significance to us. To the historian everything is a means to some other



**VAN GOGH.**  
**THE POTATO EATERS**  
1885

means; to me everything that matters is a direct means to emotion. I am writing about art, not about history. With history I am concerned only in so far as history serves to illustrate my hypothesis: and whether history be true or false matters very little, since my hypothesis is not based on history but on personal experience, not on facts but on feelings. Historical fact and falsehood are of no consequence to people who try to deal with realities. They need not ask, "Did this happen?"; they need ask only, "Do I feel this?" Lucky for us that it is so: for if our judgments about real things had to wait upon historical certitude they might have to wait for ever. Nevertheless it is amusing to see how far that of which we are sure agrees with that which we should expect. My aesthetic hypothesis – that the essential quality in a work of art is significant form – was based on my aesthetic experience. Of my aesthetic experiences I am sure. About my second hypothesis, that significant form is the expression of a peculiar emotion felt for reality – I am far from confident. However, I assume it to be true, and go on to suggest that this sense of reality leads men to attach greater importance to the spiritual than to the material significance of the universe, that it disposes men to feel things as ends instead of merely recognising them as means, that a sense of reality is, in fact, the essence of spiritual health. If this be so, we shall expect to find that ages in which the creation of significant form is checked are ages in which the sense of reality is dim, and that these ages are ages of spiritual poverty. We shall expect to find the curves of art and spiritual fervour ascending and descending together. In my next chapter I shall glance at the history of a cycle of art with the intention of following the movement of art and discovering how far that movement keeps pace with changes in the spiritual state of society. My view of the rise, decline and fall of art in Christendom is based entirely on a series of independent aesthetic judgments in the rightness of which I have the arrogance to feel considerable confidence. I pretend to a power of distinguishing between significant and insignificant form, and it will interest me to see whether a decline in the significance of forms – a deterioration of art, that is to say – synchronises generally with a lowering of the religious sense. I shall expect to find that whenever artists have allowed themselves to be seduced from their proper business, the creation of form, by other and irrelevant interests, society has been spiritually decadent. Ages in which the sense of formal significance has been swamped utterly by preoccupation with the obvious, will turn out, I suspect, to have been ages of spiritual famine. Therefore, while following the fortunes of art across a period of fourteen hundred years, I shall try to keep an eye on that of which art may be a manifestation – man's sense of ultimate reality.

To criticise a work of art historically is to play the science-besotted fool. No more disastrous theory ever issued from the brain of a charlatan than that of evolution in art. **Giotto** did not creep, a grub, that Titian might flaunt, a butterfly. To think of a man's art as leading on to the art of someone else is to misunderstand it. To praise or abuse or be interested in a work of art because it leads or does not lead to another work of art is to treat it as though it were not a work of art. The connection of one work of art with another may have everything to do with history: it has nothing to do with appreciation.

**Giotto di Bondone –**

(Colle di Vespignano, near Florence 1267 - January 8, 1337), better known simply as Giotto, was a Florentine painter and architect. He is generally considered the first in a line of great artists who contributed to and developed the Italian Renaissance.

So soon as we begin to consider a work as anything else than an end in itself we leave the world of art. Though the development of painting from Giotto to Titian may be interesting historically, it cannot affect the value of any particular picture: aesthetically, it is of no consequence whatever. Every work of art must be judged on its own merits.

Therefore, be sure that, in my next chapter, I am not going to make aesthetic judgments in the light of history; I am going to read history in the light of aesthetic judgments. Having made my judgments, independently of any theory, aesthetic or non-aesthetic, I shall be amused to see how far the view of history that may be based on them agrees with accepted historical hypotheses. If my judgments and the dates furnished by historians be correct, it will follow that some ages have produced more good art than others: but, indeed, it is not disputed that the variety in the artistic significance of different ages is immense. I shall be curious to see what relation can be established between the art and the age that produced it. If my second hypothesis – that art is the expression of an emotion for ultimate reality – be correct, the relation between art and its age will be inevitable and intimate. In that case, an aesthetic judgment will imply some sort of judgment about the general state of mind of the artist and his admirers. In fact, anyone who accepts absolutely my second hypothesis with all its possible implications – which is more than I am willing to do – will not only see in the history of art the spiritual history of the race, but will be quite unable to think of one without thinking of the other.

If I do not go quite so far as that, I stop short only by a little. Certainly it is less absurd to see in art the key to history than to imagine that history can help us to an appreciation of art. In ages of spiritual fervour I look for great art. By ages of spiritual fervour I do not mean pleasant or romantic or humane or enlightened ages; I mean ages in which, for one reason or another, men have been unusually excited about their souls and unusually indifferent about their bodies. Such ages, as often as not, have been superstitious and cruel. Preoccupation with the soul may lead to superstition, indifference about the body to cruelty. I never said that ages of great art were sympathetic to the middle-classes. Art and a quiet life are incompatible I think; some stress and turmoil there must be. Need I add that in the snuggest age of materialism great artists may arise and flourish? Of course: but when the production of good art is at all widespread and continuous, near at hand I shall expect to find a restless generation. Also, having marked a period of spiritual stir, I shall look, not far off, for its manifestation in significant form. But the stir must be spiritual and genuine; a swirl of emotionalism or political frenzy will provoke nothing fine.<sup>4</sup> How far in any particular age the production of art is stimulated by general exaltation, or general exaltation by works of art, is a question hardly to be decided. Wisest, perhaps, is he who says that the two seem to have been interdependent. Just how dependent I believe them to have been, will appear when, in my next chapter, I attempt to sketch the rise, decline, and fall of the Christian slope.

### III. ART AND ETHICS

Between me and the pleasant places of history remains, however, one ugly barrier. I cannot dabble and paddle in the pools and shallows of the past until I have answered a question so absurd that the nicest people never tire of asking it: "What is the moral



**GIOTTO DI BONDONE,  
BASILIQUE ASSISE,  
LEGEND OF ST FRANCIS,  
ECSTASY OF ST FRANCIS**



**DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS.  
THE DEATH OF MARAT**  
Art Galerie

<sup>4</sup> I should not have expected the wars of so-called religion or the Puritan revolution to have awakened in men a sense of the emotional significance of the universe, and I should be a good deal surprised if Sir Edward Carson's agitation were to produce in the North-East of Ireland a crop of first-rate formal expression.

justification of art?” Of course they are right who insist that the creation of art must be justified on ethical grounds: all human activities must be so justified. It is the philosopher’s privilege to call upon the artist to show that what he is about is either good in itself or a means to good. It is the artist’s duty to reply: “Art is good because it exalts to a state of ecstasy better far than anything a benumbed moralist can even guess at; so shut up.” Philosophically he is quite right; only, philosophy is not so simple as that. Let us try to answer philosophically.

The moralist inquires whether art is either good in itself or a means to good. Before answering, we will ask what he means by the word “good,” not because it is in the least doubtful, but to make him think. In fact, Mr. G.E. Moore has shown pretty conclusively in his *Principia Ethica* that by “good” everyone means just good. We all know quite well what we mean though we cannot define it. “Good” can no more be defined than “Red”: no quality can be defined. Nevertheless we know perfectly well what we mean when we say that a thing is “good” or “red.” This is so obviously true that its statement has greatly disconcerted, not to say enraged, the orthodox philosophers.

Orthodox philosophers are by no means agreed as to what we do mean by “good,” only they are sure that we cannot mean what we say. They used to be fond of assuming that “good” meant pleasure; or, at any rate, that pleasure was the sole good as an end: two very different propositions.

That “good” means “pleasure” and that pleasure is the sole good was the opinion of the **Hedonists**, and is still the opinion of any Utilitarians who may have lingered on into the twentieth century. They enjoy the honour of being the only ethical fallacies worth the powder and shot of a writer on art. I can imagine no more delicate or convincing piece of logic than that by which Mr. G.E. Moore disposes of both. But it is none of my business to do clumsily what Mr. Moore has done exquisitely. I have no mind by attempting to reproduce his dialectic to incur the merited ridicule of those familiar with the *Principia Ethica* or to spoil the pleasure of those who will be wise enough to run out this very minute and order a masterpiece with which they happen to be unacquainted. For my immediate purpose it is necessary only to borrow one shaft from that well-stocked armoury.

To him who believes that pleasure is the sole good, I will put this question: Does he, like John Stuart Mill, and everyone else I ever heard of, speak of “higher and lower” or “better and worse” or “superior and inferior” pleasures? And, if so, does he not perceive that he has given away his case? For, when he says that one pleasure is “higher” or “better” than another, he does not mean that it is greater in *quantity* but superior in *quality*.

On page 7 of **Utilitarianism**, **J.S. Mill** says: –

*“If one of the two (pleasures) is, by those who are competently acquainted with both, placed so far above the other that they prefer it, even though knowing it to be attended with a greater*



**BOSCH, HIERONYMUS.**  
**HELL, PART OF THE**  
**GARDEN OF EARTHLY**  
**DELIGHTS**

**hedonism –**

(Greek: hēdonē (ἡδονή  
“pleasure” + -ism) a philosophy  
that focuses on increasing  
pleasure, usually has a sexual or  
libidinal connotation

**utilitarianism –**

the ethical doctrine that the  
moral worth of an action  
is solely determined by its  
contribution to overall utility.

**John Stuart Mill –**

(20<sup>th</sup> May 1806 - 8<sup>th</sup> May 1873),  
British philosopher and political  
economist. An influential  
liberal thinker of the 19<sup>th</sup>  
century. He was an advocate  
of utilitarianism, the ethical  
theory that was systemised by  
his godfather, Jeremy Bentham,  
but adapted to German  
romanticism

*amount of discontent, and would not resign it for any quantity of the other pleasure which their nature is capable of, we are justified in ascribing to the preferred enjoyment a superiority in quality, so far outweighing quantity as to render it, in comparison, of small account."*

But if pleasure be the sole good, the only possible criterion of pleasures is quantity of pleasure. "Higher" or "better" can only mean containing more pleasure. To speak of "better pleasures" in any other sense is to make the goodness of the sole good as an end depend upon something which, ex hypothesi, is not good as an end. Mill is as one who, having set up sweetness as the sole good quality in jam, prefers Tiptree to Crosse and Blackwell, not because it is sweeter, but because it possesses a better kind of sweetness. To do so is to discard sweetness as an ultimate criterion and to set up something else in its place. So, when Mill, like everyone else, speaks of "better" or "higher" or "superior" pleasures, he discards pleasure as an ultimate criterion, and thereby admits that pleasure is not the sole good. He feels that some pleasures are better than others, and determines their respective values by the degree in which they possess that quality which all recognise but none can define – goodness. By higher and lower, superior and inferior pleasures we mean simply more good and less good pleasures. There are, therefore, two different qualities: Pleasantness and Goodness. Pleasure, amongst other things, may be good; but pleasure cannot mean good. By "good" we cannot mean "pleasurable;" for, as we see, there is a quality, "goodness," so distinct from pleasure that we speak of pleasures that are more or less good without meaning pleasures that are more or less pleasant. By "good," then, we do not mean "pleasure," neither is pleasure the sole good.

Mr. Moore goes on to inquire what things are good in themselves, as ends that is to say. He comes to a conclusion with which we all agree, but for which few could have found convincing and logical arguments: "states of mind," he shows, alone are good as ends.<sup>5</sup> People who have very little taste for logic will find a simple and satisfactory proof of this conclusion afforded by what is called "the method of isolation."

That which is good as an end will retain some, at any rate, of its value in complete isolation: it will retain all its value as an end. That which is good as a means only will lose all its value in isolation. That which is good as an end will remain valuable even when deprived of all its consequences and left with nothing but bare existence. Therefore, we can discover whether honestly we feel some thing to be good as an end, if only we can conceive it in complete isolation, and be sure that so isolated it remains valuable. Bread is good. Is bread good as an end or as a means? Conceive a loaf existing in an uninhabited and uninhabitable planet. Does it seem to lose its value? That is a little too easy. The physical universe appears to most people immensely good, for towards nature they feel violently that emotional reaction which brings to the lips the epithet "good"; but if the physical universe were not related to mind, if it were never to provoke an emotional reaction, if no mind were ever to be affected by it, and if it had no mind of its own, would it still appear good? There are two stars: one is, and ever will be, void of life, on the other exists a fragment of just living protoplasm which will never develop, will never become conscious. Can we say honestly that we feel one to be



**ETTY, WILLIAM.  
YOUTH ON THE PROW,  
AND PLEASURE AT THE  
HELM**

<sup>5</sup> Formerly he held that inanimate beauty also was good in itself. But this tenet, I am glad to learn, he has discarded.

better than the other? Is life itself good as an end? A clear judgment is made difficult by the fact that one cannot conceive anything without feeling something for it; one's very conceptions provoke states of mind and thus acquire value as means. Let us ask ourselves, bluntly, can that which has no mind and affects no mind have value? Surely not. But anything which has a mind can have intrinsic value, and anything that affects a mind may become valuable as a means, since the state of mind produced may be valuable in itself. Isolate that mind. Isolate the state of mind of a man in love or rapt in contemplation; it does not seem to lose all its value. I do not say that its value is not decreased; obviously, it loses its value as a means to producing good states of mind in others. But a certain value does subsist – an intrinsic value. Populate the lone star with one human mind and every part of that star becomes potentially valuable as a means, because it may be a means to that which is good as an end – a good state of mind. The state of mind of a person in love or rapt in contemplation suffices in itself. We do not stay to inquire “What useful purpose does this serve, whom does it benefit, and how?” We say directly and with conviction – “This is good.”

When we are challenged to justify our opinion that anything, other than a state of mind, is good, we, feeling it to be a means only, do very properly seek its good effects, and our last justification is always that it produces good states of mind. Thus, when asked why we call a patent fertiliser good, we may, if we can find a listener, show that the fertiliser is a means to good crops, good crops a means to food, food a means to life, and life a necessary condition of good states of mind. Further we cannot go. When asked why we hold a particular state of mind to be good, the state of aesthetic contemplation for instance, we can but reply that to us its goodness is self-evident. Some states of mind appear to be good independently of their consequences. No other things appear to be good in this way. We conclude, therefore, that good states of mind are alone good as ends.

To justify ethically any human activity, we must inquire – “Is this a means to good states of mind?” In the case of art our answer will be prompt and emphatic. Art is not only a means to good states of mind, but, perhaps, the most direct and potent that we possess. Nothing is more direct, because nothing affects the mind more immediately; nothing is more potent, because there is no state of mind more excellent or more intense than the state of aesthetic contemplation. This being so, to seek any other moral justification for art, to seek in art a means to anything less than good states of mind, is an act of wrong-headedness to be committed only by a fool or a man of genius.

Many fools have committed it and one man of genius has made it notorious. Never was cart put more obstructively before horse than when Tolstoy announced that the justification of art was its power of promoting good actions. As if actions were ends in themselves! There is neither virtue nor vice in running; but to run with good tidings is commendable, to run away with an old lady's purse is not. There is no merit in shouting; but to speak up for truth and justice is well, to deafen the world with charlatanry is damnable. Always, it is the end in view that



**PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER:  
THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS  
OR THE SEVEN VICIES –  
ANGER**



**GÉRICAULT, THÉODORE.**  
**THE EPSOM DERBY**  
 1821, Musée du Louvre

gives value to action; and, ultimately, the end of all good actions must be to create or encourage or make possible good states of mind. Therefore, inciting people to good actions by means of edifying images is a respectable trade and a roundabout means to good. Creating works of art is as direct a means to good as a human being can practise. Just in this fact lies the tremendous importance of art: there is no more direct means to good.

To pronounce anything a work of art is, therefore, to make a momentous moral judgment. It is to credit an object with being so direct and powerful a means to good that we need not trouble ourselves about any other of its possible consequences. But even were this not the case, the habit of introducing moral considerations into judgments between particular works of art would be inexcusable. Let the moralist make a judgment about art as a whole, let him assign it what he considers its proper place amongst means to good, but in aesthetic judgments, in judgments between members of the same class, in judgments between works of art considered as art, let him hold his tongue. If he esteems art anything less than equal to the greatest means to good he mistakes. But granting, for the sake of peace, its inferiority to some, I will yet remind him that his moral judgments about the value of particular works of art have nothing to do with their artistic value. The judge at **Epsom** is not permitted to disqualify the winner of the **Derby** in favour of the horse that finished last but one on the ground that the latter is just the animal for the **Archbishop of Canterbury's** brougham.

Define art as you please, preferably in accordance with my ideas; assign it what place you will in the moral system; and then discriminate between works of art according to their excellence in that quality, or those qualities, that you have laid down in your definition as essential and peculiar to works of art. You may, of course, make ethical judgments about particular works, not as works of art, but as members of some other class, or as independent and unclassified parts of the universe. You may hold that a particular picture by the President of the Royal Academy is a greater means to good than one by the glory of the New English Art Club, and that a penny bun is better than either. In such a case you will be making a moral and not an aesthetic judgment. Therefore it will be right to take into account the area of the canvases, the thickness of the frames, and the potential value of each as fuel or shelter against the rigours of our climate. In casting up accounts you should not neglect their possible effects on the middle-aged people who visit Burlington House and the Suffolk Street Gallery; nor must you forget the consciences of those who handle the Chantry funds, or of those whom high prices provoke to emulation. You will be making a moral and not an aesthetic judgment; and if you have concluded that neither picture is a work of art, though you may be wasting your time, you will not be making yourself ridiculous. But when you treat a picture as a work of art, you have, unconsciously perhaps, made a far more important moral judgment. You have assigned it to a class of objects so powerful and direct as means to spiritual exaltation that all minor merits are inconsiderable. Paradoxical as it may seem, the only relevant qualities in a work of art, judged as art, are artistic qualities: judged as a means to good, no other qualities are worth considering; for there are no qualities of greater moral value than artistic qualities, since there is no greater means to good than art.

**Epsom –**

a town to the south of Greater London famous for its horseracing

**Derby –**

(pronounced “dar-bee” /da:bi/) annual horse race or other sporting event

**Archbishop –**

in Christianity, an archbishop is an elevated bishop. The word comes from the Greek ἀρχι, which means “first” or “chief”

**Canterbury –**

a cathedral city in east Kent in South East England. The seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury



**SOURCE:** Bell, Clive. "Art and Life". *Art*. 1914. Project Gutenberg.  
< <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16917/16917-8.txt> >

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**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. What is the relationship between art and life? How does art affect the life of people according to Bell's viewpoint? How is art affected by life?
2. Why is "form" so important in Clive Bell's point of view?
3. How does Bell understand religion? What does he compare religion with? Why? What do you think about this comparison?
4. According to Bell, what do we need to appreciate a work of art fully? Can history help us appreciate art in Bell's viewpoint?
5. How does Bell answer the question: "What is the moral justification of art?"



FIELDHOUSE, SIMON.  
ROYAL ACADEMY



## NITIN KUMAR THE MANDALA – SACRED GEOMETRY AND ART

Perhaps the most admired and discussed symbol of Buddhist religion and art is the **mandala**, a word which, like guru and yoga, has become part of the English language. Its popularity is underscored by the use of the word mandala as a synonym for sacred space in scholarship world over, and by its presence in English-language dictionaries and encyclopedias. Both broadly define mandalas as geometric designs intended to symbolize the universe, and reference is made to their use in Buddhist and Hindu practices.

The mandala idea originated long ago before the idea of history itself. In the earliest level of India or even Indo-European religion, in the **Rig Veda** and its associated literature, mandala is the term for a chapter, a collection of mantras or verse hymns chanted in **Vedic** ceremonies, perhaps coming from the sense of round, as in a round of songs. The universe was believed to originate from these hymns, whose sacred sounds contained the genetic patterns of beings and things, so there is already a clear sense of mandala as a world-model.

The word mandala itself is derived from the root *manda*, which means essence, to which the suffix *la*, meaning container, has been added. Thus, one obvious connotation of mandala is that it is a container of essence. As an image, a mandala may symbolize both the mind and the body of the Buddha. In esoteric Buddhism the principle in the mandala is the presence of the Buddha in it, but images of deities are not necessary. They may be presented either as a wheel, a tree, or a jewel, or in any other symbolic manifestation.

### CREATION OF A MANDALA

The origin of the mandala is the center, a dot. It is a symbol apparently free of dimensions. It means a 'seed', 'sperm', 'drop', the salient starting point. It is the gathering center in which the outside energies are drawn, and in the act of drawing the forces, the devotee's own energies unfold and are also drawn. Thus it represents the outer and inner spaces. Its purpose is to remove the object-subject dichotomy. In the process, the mandala is consecrated to a deity.

In its creation, a line materializes out of a dot. Other lines are drawn until they intersect, creating triangular geometrical patterns. The circle drawn around stands for the dynamic consciousness of the initiated. The outlying square symbolizes the physical world bound in four directions, represented by the four gates; and the mid-most or central area is the residence of the deity. Thus the center is visualized as the

#### mandala –

(Sanskrit *maṇḍala* "circle", "completion") Hindu origin, also used in most Dharmic religions, such as Buddhism and Hinduism, to refer to various tangible objects. In practice, mandala has become a generic term for any plan, chart or geometric pattern which represents the cosmos metaphysically or symbolically, a microcosm of the universe from the human perspective

#### Rig-veda –

(Sanskrit *ṛgveda*, *ṛg* "praise, verse" and *veda* "knowledge") is an ancient Hindu religious book from the Indian subcontinent, that is a collection of Vedic Sanskrit hymns dedicated to Rigvedic deities. It is counted among the four Hindu sacred texts (shruti) known as the Vedas

#### Vedas –

(Sanskrit: knowledge) are the main scriptural texts of Hinduism, also known as the Sanatana Dharma, and are a large corpus of texts originating in Ancient India



#### Dalai Lama –

“Dalai” means “ocean” in Mongolian, and “Lama” (bla ma) is the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit word “guru”, and is commonly translated to mean “spiritual teacher”

essence and the circumference as grasping, thus in its complete picture a mandala means grasping the essence.

### CONSTRUCTION OF A MANDALA

Before a monk is permitted to work on constructing a mandala he must undergo a long period of technical artistic training and memorization, learning how to draw all the various symbols and studying related philosophical concepts. At the Namgyal monastery (the personal monastery of the **Dalai Lama**), for example, this period is three years.

In the early stages of painting, the monks sit on the outer part of the unpainted mandala base, always facing the center. For larger sized Mandalas, when the mandala is about halfway completed, the monks then stand on the floor, bending forward to apply the colors.

Traditionally, the mandala is divided into four quadrants and one monk is assigned to each. At the point where the monks stand to apply the colors, an assistant joins each of the four. Working co-operatively, the assistants help by filling in areas of color while the primary four monks outline the other details.

The monks memorize each detail of the mandala as part of their monastery’s training program. It is important to note that the mandala is explicitly based on the Scriptural texts. At the end of each work session, the monks dedicate any artistic or spiritual merit accumulated from this activity to the benefit of others. This practice prevails in the execution of all ritual arts.

There is good reason for the extreme degree of care and attention that the monks put into their work: they are actually imparting the Buddha’s teachings. Since the mandala contains instructions by the Buddha for attaining enlightenment, the purity of their motivation and the perfection of their work allows viewers the maximum benefit.

Each detail in all four quadrants of the mandala faces the center, so that it is facing the resident deity of the mandala. Thus, from the perspective of both the monks and the viewers standing around the mandala, the details in the quadrant closest to the viewer appear upside down, while those in the most distant quadrant appear right side up.

Generally, each monk keeps to his quadrant while painting the square palace. When they are painting the concentric circles, they work in tandem, moving all around the mandala. They wait until an entire cyclic phase or layer is completed before moving outward together.



This ensures that balance is maintained, and that no quadrant of the mandala grows faster than another.

The preparation of a mandala is an artistic endeavor, but at the same time it is an act of worship. In this form of worship concepts and form are created in which the deepest intuitions are crystallized and expressed as spiritual art. The design, which is usually meditated upon, is a continuum of spatial experiences, the essence of which precedes its existence, which means that the concept precedes the form.

In its most common form, the mandala appears as a series of concentric circles. Each mandala has its own resident deity housed in the square structure situated concentrically within these circles. Its perfect square shape indicates that the absolute space of wisdom is without aberration. This square structure has four elaborate gates. These four doors symbolize the bringing together of the four boundless thoughts namely – loving kindness, compassion, sympathy, and equanimity. Each of these gateways is adorned with bells, garlands and other decorative items. This square form defines the architecture of the mandala described as a four-sided palace or temple. A palace because it is the residence of the presiding deity of the mandala, a temple because it contains the essence of the Buddha.

The series of circles surrounding the central palace follow an intense symbolic structure. Beginning with the outer circles, one often finds a ring of fire, frequently depicted as a stylized scrollwork. This symbolizes the process of transformation which ordinary human beings have to undergo before entering the sacred territory within. This is followed by a ring of thunderbolt or diamond scepters (vajra), indicating the indestructibility and diamond-like brilliance of the mandala's spiritual realms.

In the next concentric circle, particularly those mandalas which feature wrathful deities, one finds eight cremation grounds arranged in a wide band. These represent the eight aggregates of human consciousness which tie man to the phenomenal world and to the cycle of birth and rebirth.

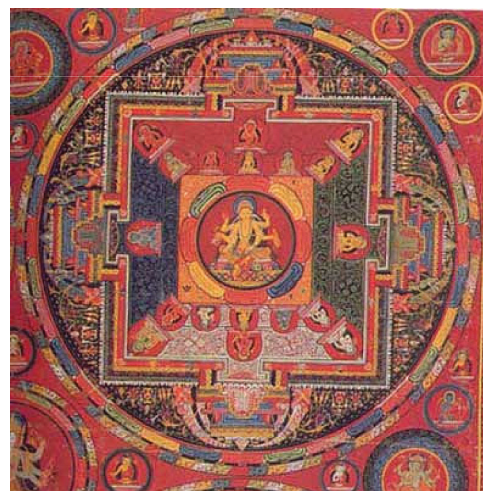
Finally, at the center of the mandala lies the deity, with whom the mandala is identified. It is the power of this deity that the mandala is said to be invested with. Most generally the central deity may be one of the following three:

### PEACEFUL DEITIES

A peaceful deity symbolizes its own particular existential and spiritual approach. For example, the image of Bodhisattva **Avalokiteshvara** symbolizes compassion as the central focus of the spiritual experience; that of Manjushri takes wisdom as the central focus; and that of Vajrapani emphasizes the need for courage and strength in the quest for sacred knowledge.

#### Avalokiteshvara –

(Sanskrit, lit. “Lord who looks down”) the bodhisattva who embodies the compassion of all Buddhas. He is the most widely-revered bodhisattva in Buddhism





## WRATHFUL DEITIES

Wrathful deities suggest the mighty struggle involved in overcoming one's alienation. They embody all the inner afflictions which darken our thoughts, our words, and our deeds and which prohibit attainment of the Buddhist goal of full enlightenment. Traditionally, wrathful deities are understood to be aspects of benevolent principles, fearful only to those who perceive them as alien forces. When recognized as aspects of one's self and tamed by spiritual practice, they assume a purely benevolent guise.



## SEXUAL IMAGERY

Sexual imagery suggests the integrative process which lies at the heart of the mandala. Male and female elements are nothing but symbols of the countless pairs of opposites (e.g. love and hate; good and evil etc.) which one experiences in mundane existence. The initiate seeks to curtail his or her alienation, by accepting and enjoying all things as a seamless, interconnected field of experience. Sexual imagery can also be understood as a metaphor for enlightenment, with its qualities of satisfaction, bliss, unity and completion.

## COLOR SYMBOLISM OF THE MANDALA

If form is crucial to the mandala, so too is color. The quadrants of the mandala-palace are typically divided into isosceles triangles of color, including four of the following five: white, yellow, red, green and dark blue. Each of these colors is associated with one of the five transcendental Buddhas, further associated with the five delusions of human nature. These delusions obscure our true nature, but through spiritual practice they can be transformed into the wisdom of these five respective Buddhas. Specifically:

sions obscure our true nature, but through spiritual practice they can be transformed into the wisdom of these five respective Buddhas. Specifically:

- **White – Vairocana:** The delusion of ignorance becomes the wisdom of reality.
- **Yellow – Ratnasambhava:** The delusion of pride becomes the wisdom of sameness.
- **Red – Amitabha:** The delusion of attachment becomes the wisdom of discernment.
- **Green – Amoghasiddhi:** The delusion of jealousy becomes the wisdom of accomplishment.
- **Blue – Akshobhya:** The delusion of anger becomes the mirror like wisdom.

## THE MANDALA AS A SACRED OFFERING

In addition to decorating and sanctifying temples and homes, in Tibetan life the mandala is traditionally offered to one's lama or guru when a request has been made for teachings or an initiation – where the entire offering of the universe (represented by the mandala) symbolizes the most appropriate payment for the preciousness of the teachings. Once in a desolate Indian landscape the Mahasiddha Tilopa requested a mandala offering from his disciple **Naropa**, and there being no readily available materials with which to construct a mandala, Naropa urinated on the sand and formed an offering of a wet-sand mandala. On another occasion Naropa used his blood, head, and limbs to create a mandala offering for his guru, who was delighted with these spontaneous offerings.

## CONCLUSION

The visualization and concretization of the mandala concept is one of the most significant contributions of Buddhism to religious psychology. Mandalas are seen as sacred places which, by their very presence in the world, remind a viewer of the immanence of sanctity in the universe and its potential in himself. In the context of the Buddhist path the purpose of a mandala is to put an end to human suffering, to attain enlightenment and to attain a correct view of reality. It is a means to discover divinity by the realization that it resides within one's own self.

**SOURCE:** Kumar, Nitin. "The Mandala – Sacred Geometry and Art". Sept. 2000  
<<http://www.exoticindia.com>>

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How do monks construct a mandala?
2. How are a mandala and Buddha's teachings connected? What qualities should monks possess to construct a mandala?
3. What do the colours of the mandala symbolize?
4. Can you name the five delusions of human nature? How do you understand the meaning of these delusions?
5. What is the purpose of mandalas? What do they remind the viewer of?

### Naropa –

(Tibetan; Sanskrit: Nadaprada, 1016-1100) an Indian Buddhist mystic and monk, the pupil of Tilopa and brother, or some sources say partner, of Niguma



**BUDDHIST MANDALA**



**CERAMIC TILE PRODUCED IN IZNIK**  
Turkey, second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Louvre, Paris.



## TEXT

### DR. TAZIM R. KASSAM ETHICS AND AESTHETICS IN ISLAMIC ARTS

Tazim R. Kassam is a historian of religions and teaches courses on Islamic civilization at Syracuse University. Her specialty includes the musical and devotional traditions of South Asia, particularly the ginans of Ismaili Muslims. She is co-editor with Françoise Mallison, of *Ginans: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford: forthcoming) and the chief editor of *Spotlight on Teaching*, a biannual published by the American Academy of Religions.



*What is this tent? Could one say thus:  
An ocean full of pearls?  
Candles, ten thousand, in a bowl  
Of enamel so bright?  
[Nasir Khusraw – 11<sup>th</sup> century]*

In this poem, Nasir Khusraw expresses a deep sense of awe before the beauty of creation. Taking to heart the Qur’anic verse, “And we shall show them our signs in the horizon and in themselves” (41:53), he looks upon the book of nature as replete with symbols intimating the presence of its Creator. Like a paintbrush of words in the poet’s hand, Khusraw’s moving description of the night sky brings near the loveliness and shine of the stars by comparing them to the smooth sensation of pearls and the warm glow of candles. At the same time, by invoking the image of the starlit sky as an ocean-sized tent, a huge glass bowl shimmering with points of light, Khusraw revels in the awesome magnificence of the universe. The arts rise above the limitations of language and texts to offer a window into other cultures. Captivating the ear and eye, they draw one more readily into unfamiliar worlds. In many cases, getting to know another culture through its visual and performing arts is more profound and moving than only through its writings and customs. The arts form a bridge between people who are distant from each other and have no connections save for trade. The beauty and aesthetics of arts can travel across time and place, and transcend cultural and ethnic boundaries. It can also create a shared ethos among those who do not have a common religion or race. In Andalusia, for instance, the **Mudéjar** arts were appreciated and cultivated not only by Muslims, but by Jews and Christians alike. In particular, decorative arts found in the ornamentation and design of textiles, ceramics, carpets, tiles, metalware, fountains, arches, and gardens lend themselves to wider use in a society. At the same time, while the appeal of artistic expression transcends cultures, the arts also reflect the values of a particular culture. Islamic arts mirror the timeless ideals of Islam expressed within a particular place and time. They manifest both perennial spiritual values as well as local notions of aesthetics and craftsmanship. Islamic arts play on the concept of the One and the many: the One as the bounteous Source of the many, and the felicitous return of the many to the One. They direct attention to God’s nearness, yet mystery, through aesthetic experiences mediated

#### **Mudéjar –**

the name given to the Moors, and native Andalusians practising Islam, who remained in the Iberian Peninsula after the Christian Reconquista but were not converted to Christianity. The word Mudéjar is a Medieval Spanish corruption of the Arabic word Mudajjan, meaning “those who accept submission”. Their distinctive style is still evident in architecture as well as the music, art, and crafts of the region

through the senses, experiences that evoke the wonder of creation. It is often said that art in Islamic cultures exists not just for the sake of art itself, but to act as a constant reminder of the beauty of God's presence. Both nature (God's creation) and the arts (human creations) are understood as intimations of Divine mercy. In Islamic arts, there is a connection between beauty and the sacred. The Qur'an is filled with verses exhorting human beings to witness the endless marvels of God's creativity. The word "ayat" refers not only to the verses of revelation in the Qur'an but also to creation itself. Divine creativity and wisdom are inexhaustible as expressed in the verse, "If all the trees on earth were pens, and if the sea eked out by seven seas more were ink, the Words of God could not be written out unto the end" (31:27). Not only is God's creation continuous and limitless, its very unfolding is purposeful: "Say: O God! Thou hast not created this in vain" (3:191). Islamic arts thus involve the thoughtful contemplation and remembrance (dhikr) of Creator, creation, and creativity.

The artist seeks to become like the pen in the Hand of God along with those who pledge allegiance to the prophet and are thus guided by God: "The Hand of God is upon their hands" (48:10). The calligrapher's prayer is to become an instrument in the Hand of God through perfect surrender, concentration, and devotion. As a symbol of creativity as well as intellect, the pen is mentioned in the first verse revealed to Prophet Muhammad: "Recite! And thy Lord is the Most Bounteous, He who teaches by the pen, teaches humanity what it knew not" (96:3). **Calligraphy**, the most distinctive and cultivated of Islamic arts, has aptly been described as the geometry of the spirit. Hazrat Ali, known as the founding patron of calligraphy and inventor of the Kufic style, reportedly said: "The whole Qur'an is contained in al-Fatiha (Opening surah); the Fatiha in the Basmalah, the Basmalah in the Ba, and the Ba in the dot below it." Originating with a single point from which are drawn an endless variety of lines, shapes and meanings, calligraphy demands exquisite control, balance, and proportion. The most handsome calligraphy is thus a sign of refinement and signals discipline of hand, mind and soul. Every human life, metaphorically, is also a script or work of art in progress; each person a pen writing and sketching his or her own life. In life as in art, the question is whether the individual, through repeated moments of surrender (islam), will write his or her life with God's hand guiding it.

In Islam, there is an intimate relationship between the search for beauty and the refinement of one's nature. The aesthetic pursuit of beauty has an ethical impulse since the artist cultivates a way of being in the world that intuits and senses minutely the inherent complexity and intricacy of the universe. In this respect, the artist shares the temperament of the scientist who pays close attention to things in order to appreciate their intrinsic nature. Both the search for beauty and the response to it is rooted in a disposition that cultivates a particular mood and discipline, one that is attentive to the signs of divine mysteries in the horizon and in the self. All the senses are enlisted in the search for beauty both during the process of its imaginative creation as well as at the moment of its perception and contemplation. In the Qur'anic verse that describes the soul's companions in the gardens of paradise, beauty and good are identified as one: "Wherein are found (companions) good and beautiful" (55:70). The role of the senses in perceiving beauty is crucial, and they must be made keen through piety and purity. The pursuit of beauty is thus tied to the perfection of desire and character. In Ismaili thought, this constitutes the transformation of the lower soul (nafs) into the higher spirit (ruh) of the self.

In his **Symposium**, Plato insists that training in the perception of beauty is indispensable for perfecting human life since it leads the self to a proper orientation within the universe. He argues, in fact, that those who possess the keenest ability to perceive

**calligraphy –**

(from Greek κάλλος kallos "beauty" + γραφή graphē "writing") the art of beautiful writing, "the art of giving form to signs in an expressive, harmonious and skillful manner". Islamic calligraphy is an aspect of Islamic art that has evolved alongside the religion of Islam and the Arabic language

**symposium –**

a dialogue by Plato, written soon after 385 BCE. It is a philosophical discussion on the nature of love, taking the form of a series of speeches, both satirical and serious, given by a group of men at a symposium or drinking party at the house of the tragedian Agathon at Athens

beauty come closest to touching immortality. This perception, however, is not merely the enjoyment of beautiful objects. More importantly, it refers to the discernment of beauty in thoughts, emotions, actions, and society. For Plato, the ultimate purpose of training a person to perceive beauty is to draw out true virtue. Similarly, in Islamic aesthetics the perception of beauty is considered to have moral implications and effects. Since responsiveness to beauty is simultaneously an expression of gratitude to the Source of all beauty, it endows one with a generosity of spirit that is essential to all moral responsibility. This is because, ultimately, all arts are borne out of acts of generosity, for the artist shares insights into reality that are often beyond the ken of the ordinary person. Just as books widen the reader's intellectual horizons, so too Islamic arts train the viewer's eye to extend its vision of life beyond the visible spectrum.

Artistic endeavor is thus a particular way of attending to the world. Any effort at artistic creation from the most ordinary of objects (a prayer cap) to the most sublime (the **Alhambra**) requires one to contemplate the nature of a thing, whether it is a flower, brick, rock crystal or snowflake. As we pass a flower, we may see it mindlessly, without really attending to its presence. An artist who passes the flower looks at it differently. Trained to perceive beauty and structure in the most ordinary of things, the artist's eye notices the flower's beautiful shape, the soft texture of its petals, the way they swirl around its center, the saturation and hues of its colors, and its delicious and soothing scent. By paying attention in this way to the flower, the artist has lost herself in it, and in those few moments as she surrenders herself to its exquisite beauty, she gratefully receives its mystery. This generosity that nature yields to the perceptive eye alters the inner world and articulates a relationship to God's creation that governs how one ought to treat all that is in it including the flower. Much is thus taught to us by the pages of nature which are as saturated with meaning as are the divine verses of revelation. Learning to perceive the world with an appreciative eye is thus also a path to profound humility and underscores the ethical imperative enjoined upon Adam and his descendants, (i.e., humanity) to care for God's creation. The central ethic of Islamic arts is to live as if "Whichsoever way you turn is the face of God" (2:115).

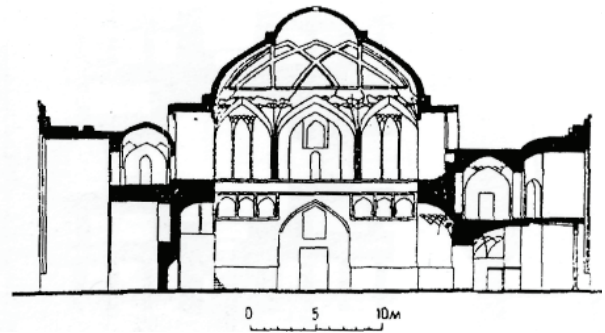
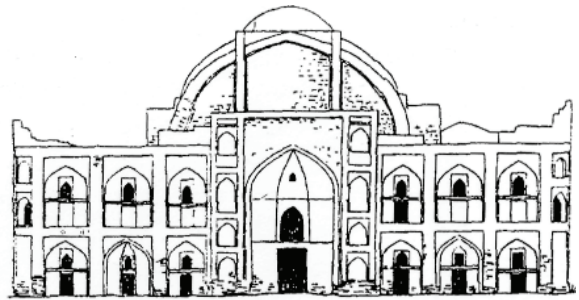
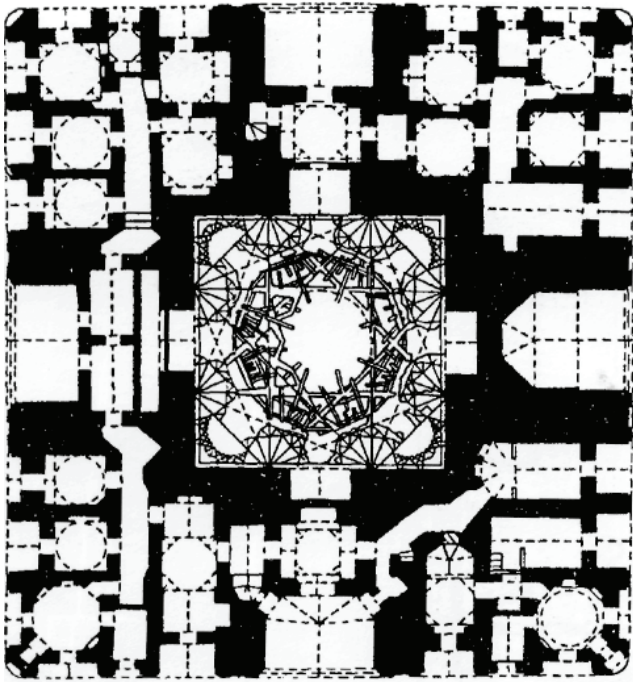
**Alhambra –**

(Arabic: Al Ḥamrā'; literally "the red") an ancient palace and fortress complex of the Moorish monarchs of Granada, in southern Spain (known as Al-Andalus when the fortress was constructed), occupying a hilly terrace on the south-eastern border of the city of Granada. It was the residence of the Muslim kings of Granada and their court

**SOURCE:** Kassam, Tazim R. "Ethics and Aesthetics in Islamic Arts". The Arts and Islam. The Ismaili. United States of America. 21 March 2006. 5-7.

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. How does art unite people who are distant from each other?
2. How can the arts reflect the values of a particular culture?
3. What is the purpose of art in Islamic cultures?
4. Why does Plato say that "those who possess the keenest ability to perceive beauty come closest to touching immortality?"
5. According to the text, how does an artist look at the flower?
6. What is the central ethic of the Islamic arts?



KHANCJAH OF BHAUDDIN BLISS BUKHARI, 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. PLAN AND SECTIONS.

## MAVLYUDA YUSUPOVA EVOLUTION OF ARCHITECTURE OF THE SUFI COMPLEXES IN BUKHARA

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Sufism (al-tasavvuf) is a mystic, **ascetic**, and philosophical school of thought within Islam. Sufi teaching aimed at the cognition of God under the supervision of an experienced teacher (shaykh, pir, murshid), who taught his followers the techniques and theory of Sufism. The architecture of the Sufi complexes of Maverannahr is represented most impressively and in the greatest variety in the post-Timurid capital of Bukhara. There were the rabats intended for the Sufis, khanqahs or zawiyas, and takiyyas which appeared at a later time. The genesis and nature of these establishments have not been properly studied. The research that has been carried out to define the functions and architecture of different types of construction has led to disputes between specialists and researchers (1, 2). Current research can be found in the publications of G. A. Pugachenkova (3, 4 and others), V. L. Voronina (5) and L. Yu. Mankovskaya (1). Here I will try to provide a more comprehensive and detailed view of all the types and kinds of Sufi prayer complexes. Some of the data not known earlier now allow us to add to our knowledge, or to clarify certain features, of these constructions in the context of the evolution of Sufism itself. It should be noted that the evolution of the architecture of the Sufi complexes is a complicated and **multi-faceted** process that has to be considered within the context of the time and the factors that transformed Sufism as an ideology. The development of Sufism had four phases, the first two of which coincide with the periods defined by J. S. Trimmingham (6). It should be also mentioned that in this proposed periodization the phases are not clearly **demarcated** chronologically, as each new period was generated by and developed within the previous one, and the periods themselves only provided the basic trends for the future development of the Sufi complexes.

Phase I: The first phase, which lasted from the eighth through the ninth century, was the time of the formation of Sufism and formulation of its basic postulates. The first Sufi complexes variously called rabat, zawiya, and khanqah, were constructed all over the Muslim world. Through different routes, by the end of the period they had

**ascetic –**

leading a life of self-discipline and self-denial, especially for spiritual improvement

**multi-faceted –**

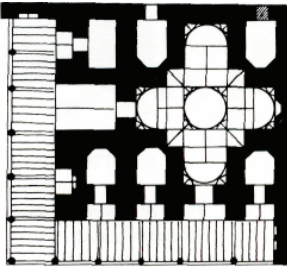
having many aspects

**demarcated –**

to determine or mark off the boundaries or limits of



**KHANQAH HAZRATI  
IMAM. 16TH CENTURY**



**KHANQAH HAZRATI  
IMAM. PLAN**

Sa'mani mentions several of them: Muazza ibn Ya'quba (834) in Nasaf, al-Amir (9th century) and al-Murabba (9th century, at the time of Ismail Samani) in Samarqand, and many others (7, pp. 85, 127-28). It is possible that rabats were built by the Samanids in their capital at Bukhara, but there is no evidence for it. Those constructions may have been of a courtyard type, as they were genetically connected with the military fortified rabats and caravanserais, which characteristically did have that type of construction.

Khanqahs were initially a type of building for wandering Sufis, a place for religious ceremonies, discussions, and sometimes training. Beginning in the tenth century, while still preserving their earlier functions, they became Sufi centers with the formation of a Sufi institution that followed a scheme instruction using a teacher-student (pir-murid) method.

During the first period of their development, the khanqahs varied in their construction and followed no specific type. The khanqahs of Maverannahr and Khurasan from the ninth and tenth centuries were of the monastery type, that is, rooms constructed around an inner court. They were often erected over the grave of a renowned Sufi, or a shaykh would start a khanqah in his own or somebody else's house and later be buried near it. The mausoleum of the Sufi Shaykh Hakim ibn Muhammad al-Zaymuni (d. 1025) on al-Sufa street (7, p. 61) in Bukhara, for example, belongs to that category - at least it is believed that his khanqah was once his private house. The domed mausoleum located on the opposite side of the street was a chillakhana, a place for meditation (8, p. 79). The names of the buildings and the quarter changed over time. In the fifteenth century, the grave of the Sufi saint ad-Demuni is mentioned as on Kui-Sufa street; by the beginning of the twentieth century the Sufi khanqah and opposite it the Mazar Khwajah Halim are located in the quarter with the same name, close to Taq-i Sarrafon at the beginning of the street leading to the Karshi Gates (8, pp. 78-79).

The zawiya is another type of Sufi complex that spread over Muslim countries. Initially the zawiya was a certain part of a mosque or a room placed close to it used for teaching the Koran and reading and writing. Later it referred to the residence for the Sufi priest who preached and taught the murids.

Phase 2: The second phase lasted from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. With the formation and spread of Sufi orders and the more active integration of pre-Muslim saints' cults into Islam, the graves of the Sufi shaykhs became places of pilgrimage, and gradually large Sufi complexes were formed around these burial sites.

This was the time when the rabat, khanqah, and in some muslim countries, zawiya became a complex of buildings that included a saint's tomb, a small mosque, a dwelling for the shaykh and his family, rooms for reading the Holy Koran and teaching pupils

acquired a similar structure and use everywhere. Rabats were initially a certain type of Arabic military fortified structure. In Central Asia over the course of time, they became trade and hostel complexes of the caravanserai type and sometimes were used as Sufi prayer centers. In the ninth century, special rabats were built for Sufi complexes of the caravanserai type and sometimes were used as Sufi prayer centers. In the ninth century, special rabats were built for Sufi followers.

(murid), cells for the pupils, and a free hostel for travelers and pilgrims. Often a cemetery was established nearby where members of the order or even ordinary people could be buried if they wished (11, p. 72).

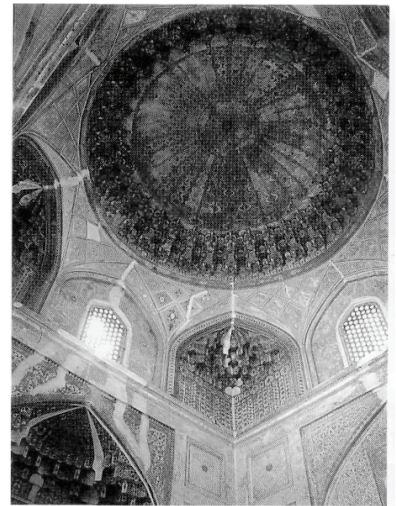
The functions and kinds of buildings called rabats, khanqahs, and zawiyas of the fourteenth century are so similar that it is nearly impossible to find any distinction between them in either use or architectural form. The only distinguishing feature is in the use of the terms themselves. A **waqf** document of 1326 in which Shaykh Yahya, a grandson of the renowned Sufi shaykh Saif ad-Din Bokharzi, states that he “donates to the memorial complex of his grandfather and the benefit of those who permanently live in this holy place and for the poor, his real estate numbering 11 villages.” In this document, a khanqah is mentioned as a structure standing next to the Bokharzi mausoleum to its south and is described as a complex spread along the perimeter of the courtyard (9, p. 167). The Moroccan traveler Ibn Battuta, who visited this khanqah complex in 1333 and witnessed the last years of Khwajah Yahya’s life (d. 1335-36) uses the term *zawiya* for exactly the same structure. He writes: “The *zawiya* which bears the name of Shaykh Saif ad-Din Bokharzi, where we stayed is very large and possesses huge waqfs; the income from these allows them to serve meals free to all arriving visitors” (10, p. 82). Like Ibn Battuta, other foreigners who visited the khanqahs of Central Asia called them *zawiyas*.

Based on the waqf documents (9, p. 167) and travelers’ descriptions (10, pp. 82, 92-93), the majority of Central Asian khanqahs of that period were constructed around a shaded courtyard with a pool. Examples are the khanqah of the Kusam ibn Abbas mausoleum in Samarqand, and the Khanqah Saif ad-Din Bokharzi in Bukhara, one of the largest and most highly praised among many others.

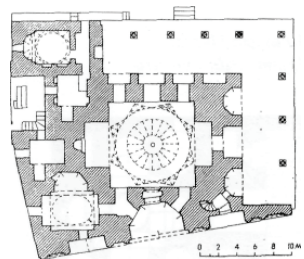
Phase 3: The third phase lasted from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. During this time, Sufism, ascetic and democratic at the beginning, underwent considerable change. The Sufi priests began an increasingly active cooperation with the authorities and were enriched by donations. Now the former mausoleum khanqahs of the courtyard type were transformed into memorial religious centers (often with dakhma burials). The notion of the khanqah now referred, not to the whole complex, but to a certain group of structures with ceremonial space. Those buildings were monumental and **sumptuous**, built with funds supplied by wealthy donors, often the ruler. By the end of the fourteenth century, Timur’s architects put many of the functions of the former khanqah courtyard complexes into one multichambered portal cupola construction.

The khanqah of Ahmad Yassavi in Turkestan can be cited as an example. This huge building erected with an archaic double dome was not suitable for the highly earthquake-prone zone of Maverannahr. It remained a grand experiment; its construction was never used again.

The most traditional buildings were the Sufi complexes with a small courtyard in which was a *hauz* (pool), trees, and flowers. A khanqah hall dominated the elements



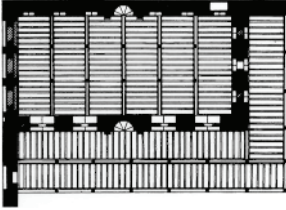
**THE DOME OF THE KHANQAH KHIOAJAH ZAINUDDIN.**



**PLAN OF KHANQAH KHWAJAH ZAINUDDIN.**

**waqf** – religious endowment (donation) in Islam, typically devoting a building or plot of land for Muslim religious or charitable purposes

**sumptuous** – luxuriously fine or large; lavish; splendid



**KHANQAH SOYANSI.  
INTERIOR VIEW AND  
PLAN.**

built along the perimeter of this courtyard. We can distinguish two types of hall and, within each type, two or three subtypes.

I. The first or early type khanqah was a building with hall in the center, often with hujras in the corners of the building or by the sides, surrounded on two or three sides by a terrace, with a roof supported by columns - an iwan. This type of khanqah is generically linked to the dwellings in which the Sufis established their cloisters in the earliest period of the development of their teaching. As a result of evolution, by the early fifteenth century khanqahs of this type came to have a more magnificent appearance. According to the waqf documents, the Muhammad Khwajah Porso khanqah, built in Bukhara between 1407 and 1408, included "a colonnaded iwan on the northern, eastern and southern sides. This khanqah is built of fired brick, ganch (a kind of gypsum), and rock (sangi-kuh)," and was in all probability a domed structure (12). It was the first time in the history of medieval Central Asian architecture that such a building was erected, but it became a widespread architectural form during the second period, and survived in Central Asia up to the twentieth century.

In the course of the third phase, khanqahs of the earlier type were used less frequently. However, one can distinguish two subtypes based on the type of roof that covered the hall:

I.1. Khanqahs with iwans surrounding a domed hall which is square in plan, like the Khwajah Porso khanqah in Bukhara, the Sufi Dehkon (15th century) in the Bukhara region, Khwajah Zain ad-Din, and Hazrati Imam (16th century) in Bukhara.

I.2. Buildings with iwans in a columned hall which is rectangular or square in plan, such as the Shoyahsi khanqah (16th century) and Mawlana Sharif (17th century) in Bukhara.

II. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, a new, more exuberant and magnificent second type of khanqah dominated the architecture of Sufi complexes. In the second half of the fifteenth century certain changes in the architecture of the khanqah were brought about by features in the development of Sufism. First, the strengthening of the saint's cult turned the khanqahs near mausoleums into shrines. That led to the change in application of the term khanqah that limited it to the ritual structure in the hall - a zikrkhana with cupola sometimes surrounded by cells (hujra). Second, the increasing strength of the Nakshbandi order in Central Asia had its influence. The pirs did not approve of the erection of mausoleums over their graves, and the towns did not provide a great number of dwellings and hostels with services. The pirs therefore encouraged the idea of giving up the pilgrimage for a low zikr more characteristic of the rich and respected murids in the society. Their slogan was "Hands are for labor, and hearts are with the God," or, in other words, be productive in life and retain the desire to recognize God. Among the followers of this movement were not only artisans and merchants but also wealthy citizens, the nobility, sometimes even rulers, and renowned poets and scholars. The members of the order were able to live with their families and only meet for prayer, sermons, evening prayer, and sometimes for training and ritual meals, for which purpose there was no need for a large building for housing and services. Some khanqahs served as cloisters for the Sufis. They were erected in the city's center as isolated buildings with no facilities for other functions and no other structures. One further innovation was in the plan and construction of the khanqah. A new type of earthquake-proof reinforcement was introduced at that time which involved crossing **pendentives**, which served as the basis for the cupola construction, and smaller shieldshaped pendants that added to the strength of the building. They were introduced during the Timurid period in the second half of the fifteenth century,

**pendentive –**

A triangular section of vaulting between the rim of a dome and each adjacent pair of the arches that support it



and afterwards were successfully developed in Bukhara constructions of the sixteenth century, especially in the domed khanqahs. According to the new system, four powerful arches overlapped the space, leaving some distance in the corners. They rested on eight massive buttresses located on the side of each axis of the construction. This made deep niches in the hall axes at the sides that gave the structure of the building its cross shape and enlarged its square. This new construction also allowed for additional cells or blocks of cells on two levels in the corners of the building in place of the massive walls and buttresses. The cupola soffit was crossed by four powerful load-bearing arches and the space between was covered by shield-shaped pendentives with a small, dome. As a result, the size of the dome was reduced, and the weight of the reinforcement was also reduced. Sometimes in the Bukhara khanqahs built in the sixteenth century, the four crossing arches are used as stiffening ribs reinforcing the dome (e.g., the Khanqah Baha ad-Din) or a dome of medium size was carried on a high and well-composed barrel vault (Khanqah Kasim Shaykh, Hazrati Imam, and the Char-Bakr).

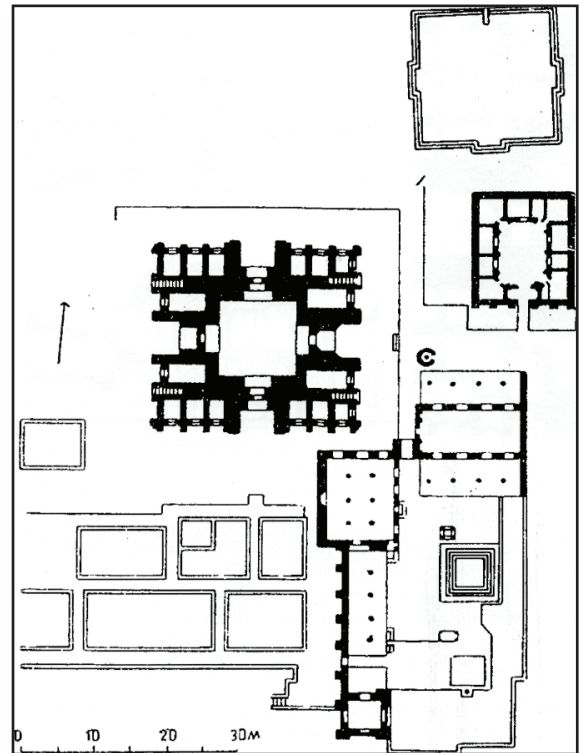
From the fifteenth to the seventeenth century in Central Asia, most khanqahs had this portal-cupola construction built with a large ceremonial hall, a domed zikrkhana with a square or cross-shaped plan in the center, and a cell or a group of cells on two levels in the massive corners. The stairs leading to hujras and to the roof also began in the corner of the main hall. This type of construction belongs to the khanqah of the second type. It was mainly used in Bukhara for structures with rich donors near the graves of Sufi saints. Examples dating from the sixteenth century are the khanqahs of Baha ad-Din Nakshband, Abu Bakr Sa'ad, and Hakim Mulla Mir, not far from Bukhara.

There are also some rare examples in Maverannahr where khanqahs of the second type were built in the central town square, like the khanqah of Ulugh Beg (15th century) in the Registan Square at Samarqand and the khanqah of Nadir Divan Begi (17th century) on Labi-Hauz Square in Bukhara.

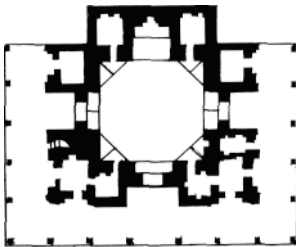
Among the khanqahs of the second type in the Bukhara region three main compositional variants can be identified: II. 1 One is based on a central plan composition: examples from the sixteenth century are the khanqah of Kasim Shaykh, in the seventeenth century, Baha ad-Din Nakshband (the second-phase construction), Yar-Muhammad Atalik and a khanqah in Peshku;

II.2 Another uses a longitudinal axial or deep-plan composition: examples from the sixteenth century are the Hakim Mulla Mir (Rometan, Bukhara oasis) and from the seventeenth Nadir Divan Begi in Bukhara;

II.3 –A third subtype is the khanqah with a frontal composition. Not far from Bukhara are two of these buildings: the sixteenth century khanqah in Faizabad, and



**KHANQAH OF  
BAHAUDDIN BLISS  
BUKHARI, 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.  
GENERAL PLAN OF THE  
COMPLEX.**



**KHANQAH OF PESHKU.**  
**16<sup>th</sup> CENTURY**

the first phase of construction of the khanqah of Baha ad-Din erected between 1540 and 1551 by Abdu'l Aziz Khan. In 1642-45, Nadir Khan surrounded this latter building with cells placed in two rows, turning the frontal composition into its final central composition. Another example of a khanqah with a frontal composition can be found in a drawing by an unknown sixteenth century Uzbek architect.

Phase 4: The fourth period lasted from the eighteenth century through the nineteenth. It was a period of decline in Sufism, and combined with economic development caused an equal decline in the construction of khanqah-hall.

In the Bukhara oasis, they were mainly small constructions with domed and sometimes flat-roofed (on a columns) hall and with one–three sided columned iwan, often combined the functions of the khanqah and the local mosque. This type of khanaqah-hall, together with one-storied hujras, darvazakhana, takharatkhana, and other construction built by the perimeter of the inner courtyard comprised the town khanqah type - a hostel for Sufis. The khanqah of Khalif Hudaidot, Khalif Niyazkul, Maulana Sharif, the mosque-khanqah of Kui, Shoyahsi, and others in Bukhara are examples of this type of construction. In the muslim world of the early thirteenth and the fourteenth century, a Turkish type of khanqah, the takiya or tekke appeared, which flourished in the sixteenth century, spreading through all the regions of the Arab East (11, p. 272). They were impressive Sufi complexes (2 pp. 277-78). Tekkes appeared in Central Asia later, were not so large as elsewhere, and had a different meaning and structure. In Bukhara in the nineteenth and early twentieth century tekkes had the same form as the courtyard hostels for Sufis and served not only as a shelter for pilgrims and paupers, but as hostels for traveling artisans seeking employment. These were built by the town's crafts guilds (1, p. 126). Each guild constructed its tekke in the quarter where that particular trade was located; its guests were considered to be members of the local guild and were obliged to participate in all kinds of religious ceremonies and civil events (weddings, funerals, etc.) of the mahalla where it was located (8, p. 116).

To sum up, the Sufi cloisters in Maverannahr and, in particular, in Bukhara were mainly complexes with a khanqah hall dominating the architectural elements around the perimeter of a courtyard. The khanqahs were principally of two types, each further divided into two or three subtypes. The heyday of the Sufi complexes in Bukhara was in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, when architects developed efficiency and compactness in plans and earthquake-proof constructions and schemes, expressive and well planned for the khanqah type that developed in the Timurid period.

The most rational features of the khanqah of the first type, with a columned iwan, were developed in the Bukhara khanqah built near the tombs of the renowned Sufi shaykhs Khwajah Zain ad-Din, Hazrati Imam, and others; the specific features of the second type, which was more monumental, were developed in Bukhara's khanqahs erected near the tombs of the renowned Sufis like Baha ad-Din Nakshband, Kasim Shaykh, Hakim Mulla Mir, and others.

It should also be stated that the khanqah of Khwajah Zain ad-Din, dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century, was considered to be the earliest construction of the columned type in Bukhara. Based on the waqf document for the Khwajah Porso khanqah in Bukhara, which has a three-sided iwan, it may be stated that type of khanaqah with iwan already existed in Central Asia a century earlier, by 1407, in the reign of the first Timurids. Later on, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the khanqahs of the first, earlier kind became dominant in Bukhara: they were domed khanqahs (Khalif Khudaydat) or columned khanqahs with a flat roof (Khalif Niyazkul) with iwans on two sides. These buildings frequently combined the functions of a khanqah and a local mosque or were a part of a Sufi courtyard complex.

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**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. What do you know about Sufism? What are the main phases of Sufism development?
2. What were the first Sufi complexes (Phase I)?
3. What are similarities and differences of Sufi complexes during Phase II?
4. What transformations did khanqah undergo during Phase III? What was the cause of these transformations?
5. What happened to the construction of khanqahs during Phase 4? What factors were in play? What innovations were brought into the plan and construction of the khanqah?
6. How does Sufi architecture evolve over time? What factors influence the development of Sufi prayer complexes?
7. What role did Sufi complexes play? What is the role of architecture in our life?

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**THE ARTICLES OF MAVLUDA YUSUPOVA CAN BE ACCESSED AT:**

<<http://www.sanat.orexca.com/search.php?orexsearch=Mavlyuda+Yusupova&action=search>>

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## W. G. ARCHER THE LOVES OF KRISHNA IN INDIAN PAINTING AND POETRY

### THE KRISHNA OF PAINTING

Indian pictures of Krishna confront us with a series of difficult problems. The most exalted expressions of the theme are mainly from Kangra, a large Hindu state within the Punjab Hills. It was here that Krishna, the cowherd lover, was most fully celebrated. Pictures were produced in large numbers and the Kangra style with its delicate refinement exactly mirrored the **enraptured** poetry of the later cult. This painting was due entirely to a particular Kangra ruler, Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) – his delight in painting causing him to spare no cost in re-creating the Krishna **idyll** in exquisite terms. Elsewhere, however, conditions varied. At the end of the sixteenth century, it was not a Hindu but a Muslim ruler who commissioned the greatest illustrations of the story. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Hindu patrons were the rule but in certain states it was junior members of the ruling family rather than the Raja himself who worshipped Krishna. Sometimes it was not the ruling family but members of the merchant community who sponsored the artists and, occasionally, it was even a **pious** lady or **devout** princess who served as patron. Such differences of stimulus had vital effects and, as a consequence, while the cult of Krishna came increasingly to **enthral** the northern half of India, its expression in art was the reverse of neat and orderly. Where a patron was so **imbued** with love for Krishna that adoration of the cowherd lover preceded all, the intensity of his feeling itself evoked a new style. There then resulted the Indian equivalent of pictures by El Greco, Grunewald or Altdorfer – paintings in which the artist's own religious emotions were the direct occasion of a new manner. In other cases, the patron might adhere to Krishna, pay him nominal respect or take a moderate pleasure in his story but not evince a burning enthusiasm. In such cases, paintings of Krishna would still be produced but the style would merely repeat existing conventions. The pictures which resulted would then resemble German paintings of the Danube or Cologne schools – pictures in which the artist applied an already mature style to a religious theme but did not originate a fresh mode of expression. Whether the greatest art resulted from the first or second method was problematical for the outcome depended as much on the nature of the styles as on the artist's powers. In considering Indian pictures of Krishna, then, we must be prepared for sudden **fluctuations** in expression and abrupt differences of style and quality. Adoration of Krishna was to prove one of the most vital elements in village and courtly life. It was to capture the imagination of Rajput princes and to lead to some of the most intimate revelations of the Indian mind. Yet in art its expression was to hover between the crude and the sensitive, the savage and the exquisite. It was

**enraptured –**

to fill with rapture or delight

**idyll –**

a scene or time of peace and happiness

**pious –**

having or showing a dutiful spirit of reverence for God or an earnest wish to fulfill religious obligations

**devout –**

devoted to divine worship or service; pious; religious

**enthral –**

to hold spellbound; captivate

**imbued –**

to impregnate or inspire, as with feelings, opinions, etc.

**fluctuations –**

to vary irregularly

to stimulate some of the most delicate Indian pictures ever painted and, at the same time, some of the most forceful.

The first pictures of Krishna to be painted in India fall within this second category. In about 1450, one version of the *Gita Govinda* and two of the *Balagopala Stuti* were produced in Western India. They were doubtless made for middle-class patrons and were executed in Western India for one important reason. Dwarka, the scene of Krishna's life as a prince, and Prabhasa, the scene of the final slaughter, were both in Western India. Both had already become centres of pilgrimage and although Jayadeva had written his great poem far to the East, on the other side of India, pilgrims had brought copies with them while journeying from Bengal on visits to the sites. The *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva had become in fact as much a Western Indian text as the *Balagopala Stuti* of Bilvamangala. With manuscript illustrations being already produced in Western India – but not, so far as we know, elsewhere – it was not unnatural that the first illustrated versions of these poems should be painted here. And it is these circumstances which determined their style. Until the fifteenth century the chief manuscripts illustrated in Western India were Jain scriptures commissioned by members of the merchant community. Jainism had originated in the sixth century B.C. as a parallel movement to Buddhism. It had proved more accommodating to Hinduism, and when Buddhism had collapsed in Western India in the ninth century A.D., Jainism had continued as a local variant of Hinduism proper. Jain manuscripts had at first consisted of long rectangular strips made of palm-leaves on which the scriptures were written in heavy black letters. Each slip was roughly three inches wide and ten long and into the text had been inserted lean diagrammatic paintings either portraying Mahavira, the founder of the cult, or illustrating episodes in his earthly career.

About 1400, palm-leaf was superseded by paper and from then onwards manuscripts were given slightly larger pages. Owing partly to their association with the same religious order and partly to their constant duplication, Jain manuscripts had early conformed to a certain rigid type. The painting was marked by lean and **wiry** outlines, brilliant red and blue and above all by an air of savage ferocity expressed through the idiom of faces shown three-quarter view with the farther eye detached and projecting into space. This style was exercised almost exclusively on Jain subjects and in the year 1400 it was the main style of painting in Western India and Rajasthan.

During the fifteenth century, this exclusive character gradually weakened. There arose the idea that besides Jain scriptures, secular poetry might also be illustrated and along with the growing devotion to Krishna as God came the demand for illustrated versions of Krishna texts. The three texts we have just mentioned are due to this tendency. All three are illustrated in the prevailing Jain style with its spiky angular idioms and all three have the same somewhat sinister air of barbarous **frenzy**. At the same time, all disclose a partial loosening of the rigid wiry convention, a more **boisterous** rhythm and a slightly softer treatment of trees and animals; and, although no very close correlation is possible, the theme itself may well have helped to precipitate these important changes.

Between 1450 and 1575, Western Indian painting continued to focus on Jain themes, adulterated to only a very slight extent by subjects drawn from poetry. It is possible that the Krishna story was also illustrated, but no examples have survived; and it is not until the very end of the sixteenth century that the Krishna theme again appears in painting and then in two distinct forms. The first is represented by a group of three manuscripts – two of them dated respectively 1598 and 1610 and consisting of the tenth book of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the third being yet another illustration of

**wiry –**

resembling wire, as in form, stiffness, etc.

**frenzy –**

violent or wild and uncontrollable behaviour

**boisterous –**

loud, noisy, and lacking in restraint or discipline

the *Gita Govinda*. All three sets of illustrations are in a closely similar style – a style which, while possessing roots in Jain painting is now considerably laxer and more sprawling. The faces are no longer shown three-quarter view, the detached obtruding eye has gone and in place of the early sharpness there is now a certain **slovenly** crudity. We do not know for whom these manuscripts were made nor even in what particular part of Western India or Rajasthan they were executed. They were clearly not produced in any great centre of painting and can hardly have been commissioned by a prince or merchant of much aesthetic sensibility. They prove, however, that a demand for illustrated versions of the Krishna story was persisting and suggest that even prosperous traders may perhaps have acted as patrons.

The second type is obviously the product of far more sophisticated influences. It is once again a copy of the *Gita Govinda* and was probably executed in about 1590 in or near Jaunpur in Eastern India. As early as 1465, a manuscript of the leading Jain scripture, the *Kalpasutra*, had been executed at Jaunpur for a wealthy merchant. Its style was basically Western Indian, yet being executed in an area so far to the east, it also possessed certain novelties of manner. The heads were more squarely shaped, the eyes larger in proportion to the face, the ladies' drapery fanning out in great angular swirls. The bodies' contours were also delineated with exquisitely sharp precision. The court at the time was that of Hussain Shah, a member of the marauding Muslim dynasties which since the twelfth century had enveloped Northern India; and it is possibly due to persistent Muslim influence that painting revived in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. Illustrated versions of passionate love poetry were executed and as part of the same vogue for poetic romance, the *Gita Govinda* may once again have been illustrated. Between the style of these later pictures and that of the Jain text of 1465, there are such clear affinities that the same local tradition is obviously responsible. Yet the new group of paintings has a distinctive elegance all its own. As in the previous group, the detached projecting eye has gone. Each situation is treated with a slashing boldness. There is no longer a sense of cramping detail and the flat red backgrounds of Western Indian painting infuse the settings with hot passion. But it is the treatment of the feminine form which charges the pictures with sophisticated charm. The large breasts, the sweeping dip in the back, the proud curve of the haunches, the agitated jutting-out of the skirts, all these convey an air of vivid sensual charm. That Radha and Krishna should be portrayed in so civilized a manner is evidence of the power which the Krishna story had come to exercise on courtly minds. Krishna is portrayed not as God but as the most elegant of lovers, Radha and the cowgirls as the very embodiment of fashionable women.

Jaunpur painting does not seem to have survived the sixteenth century and for our next illustrations of the theme, we must turn to the school of painting fostered by the Mughals. During the sixteenth century at least three Muslim states other than Jaunpur itself had possessed schools of painting – Malwa in Central India and Bijapur and Ahmadnagar in the Deccan. Their styles can best be regarded as Indian offshoots of a Persian mode of painting which was current in the Persian province of Shiraz in about the year

slovenly –

untidy or unclean in appearance  
or habits

1500. In this style, known as Turkman, the flat figures of previous Persian painting were set in landscapes of rich and glowing herbage, plants and trees being rendered with wild and primitive vigour. In each case the style was probably brought to India by Persian artists who communicated it to Indian painters or themselves adjusted it to local conditions. And it is this process which was repeated but on an altogether grander scale by the Muslim dynasty of the Mughals. Under the emperor Akbar (1556-1605), the Mughals absorbed the greater part of Northern India, concentrating in one imperial court more power and wealth than had probably been amassed at any previous time in India. Among Akbar's cultural institutions was a great imperial library for which a colony of artists was employed in illustrating manuscripts in Persian. The founders of this colony were Persian and it is once again a local style of Persian painting which forms the starting point. This style is no longer the Turkman style of Shiraz but a later style – a local version of Safavid painting as current in Khurasan. With its lively and delicate naturalism it not only corresponded to certain predilections of the emperor Akbar himself, but seems also to have appealed to Indian artists recruited to the colony. Its representational finesse made it an ideal medium for transcribing the Indian scene and the appearance at the court of European miniatures, themselves highly naturalistic, stimulated this character still further. The result was the sudden rise in India, between 1570 and 1605, of a huge new school of painting, exquisitely representational in manner and committed to a new kind of Indian naturalism. Such a school, the creation of an alien Muslim dynasty, would at first sight seem unlikely to produce illustrations of Hindu religion. Its main function was to illustrate works of literature, science and contemporary history – a function which resulted in such grandiose productions as the *Akbarnama* or Annals of Akbar, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum. None the less there are two ways in which Mughal painting, as developed under Akbar, contributed to the Krishna story. Akbar, although a Muslim by birth, was keenly interested in all religions and in his dealings with the Rajputs had shown himself markedly tolerant. He desired to minimise the hatred of Muslims for Hindus and believing it to arise from mutual ignorance, ordained that certain Hindu texts should be translated into Persian and thus rendered more accessible. The texts chosen were the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, and of these Persian abridgements were duly prepared. The abridgement of the *Mahabharata*, known as the *Razmnama*, was probably completed in 1588 but illustrated copies, including the great folios now in the palace library at Jaipur, were probably not completed before 1595. As part of the project, its appendix, the *Harivansa* was also summarized and a separate volume with fourteen illustrations all concerned with Krishna is part of the great version now at Jaipur. In these illustrations, it is Krishna the prince who is chiefly shown, all the pictures illustrating his career after he has left the cowherds. There is no attempt to stress his romantic qualities or to present him as a lover. He appears rather as the great fighter, the slayer of demons. Such a portrayal is what we might perhaps expect from a Mughal edition. None the less the paintings are remarkable interpretations, investing Krishna with an air of effortless composure, and exalting his princely grace. The style is notable for its use of smoothly-flowing outlines and gentle shading, and although there is no direct connection, it is these characteristics which were later to be embodied in the Hindu art of the Punjab Hills.

Such interest by the Emperor may well have spurred Hindu members of the court to have other texts illustrated for, ten to fifteen years later, in perhaps 1615, a manuscript of the *Gita Govinda* was produced, its illustrations possessing a certain fairy-like refinement. Krishna in a flowing dhoti wanders in meadows gay with feathered trees while Radha and her confidante appear in Mughal garb. Romance is hardly evident for it is the



scene itself with its rustic prettiness which is chiefly stressed. Yet the patron by whom this version was commissioned may well have felt that it was sensitively rendered and within its minor compass expressed to some extent the magical enchantment distilled by the verses. That the Emperor's stimulus survived his death is plain; for in about the year 1620, two manuscripts of the *Bhagavata Purana* appeared – both in a style of awkward crudity in which the idioms of Akbar's school of artists were consciously aped. The manuscripts in question are at Bikaner and it is possible that one or two inferior Mughal artists, deprived of work at the central court, travelled out to this northerly Rajput state, daring the desert, and there produced these vapid works. It is likely that in the early years of the seventeenth century, many areas of India possessed no artists whatsoever and if a Hindu ruler was to copy Mughal fashion, the only artists available to him might be those of an inferior rank. And although exact data are wanting, such circumstances may well explain another document of Krishna, the first illustrated version of Keshav Das's *Rasika Priya*. As we have seen, this poem was composed at Orchha in Bundelkhand in 1591, at a time when both poet and court were in close association with Akbar. Yet the version in question shows the same poverty-stricken manner with its crude aping of imperial idioms and utter lack of sensitive expression. There is no evidence that at this time Bundelkhand possessed its own school of painting and in consequence the most likely explanation is that yet another inferior artist trained in the early Mughal manner, migrated to the court and there produced this crude prosaic version. In none of these provincial Mughal pictures is there any feeling for Krishna as God or even as a character. The figures have a wooden doll-like stiffness, parodying by their evident jerkiness the exquisite emotions intended by the poet and we can only assume that impressed by the imperial example minor rulers or nobles encouraged struggling practitioners but in an atmosphere far removed from that of the great emperor.

During the twentieth century, the modern movement in Indian art has produced at least four major artists – Rabindranath Tagore, Amrita Sher-Gil, Jamini Roy and George Keyt. Of these four, the first two did not illustrate the Krishna theme. Jamini Roy, on the other hand, has often painted Krishna as flute-player and dancer. It would be unrealistic to suggest that these pictures spring from a lively sense of Krishna as God – Jamini Roy has, in fact, resorted to themes of Christ with equal, if not greater, frequency but has shown no signs of becoming a Christian. It is rather that in painting these pictures, he has treated Krishna as a symbol of rural vitality, a figure whose boisterous career among the cowherds is an exact reflection of his own attitudes and enthusiasms. To Jamini Roy, the Bengali village with its sense of rude health is infinitely to be preferred to a city such as Calcutta with its artificiality and disease and in a style of bold simplifications, he has constantly celebrated the natural vigour and inherent dignity of simple unsophisticated men.

Such pictures stress a comparatively unimportant side of Krishna's character and it is rather in the paintings of George Keyt that Krishna the lover is proudly portrayed. Born in Ceylon of mixed ancestry, Keyt has, for many years, been acutely responsive

**brusque –**

abrupt and curt in manner or speech; discourteously blunt

**fervour –**

great warmth and earnestness of feeling

to Indian poetry. In 1947, he published the translation of the *Gita Govinda*, excerpts from which have been quoted in the text, and throughout his career his work has been distinguished by a poet's delight in feminine form and sensuous rapture. To Keyt such a delight is a vital component of adult minds and in the romance of Radha and Krishna he found a subject subtly expressive of his own most intimate beliefs. His paintings and line-drawings of Radha, Krishna and the cowgirls – at once modern yet vitally Indian in spirit – have the same qualities as those in the *Gita Govinda*. Radha and Krishna are shown luxuriating in each other's elegance, a certain ineffable tenderness characterizing their gestures and movements. Their love is gentle rather than **brusque**, an air of glamorous wonder broods above them and we meet once more that blend of romantic sensuality and loving innocence which is perhaps the chief Indian contribution to cultured living. It is this quality which gives to Indian paintings of Krishna and his loves their incomparable **fervour**, and makes them enduring expressions of Indian religion.

**SOURCE:** Archer, W.G. "The Krishna of Painting". *The Loves of Krishna in Indian PAINTING and Poetry*. Gutenberg Project.  
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/11924/11924-8.txt>

## REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. What similarities or differences can you find in the views of Bell and Kassam on the relations between art and religion?
2. What does Bell say about Tolstoy? Whose ideas will Dr. Tazim R.Kassam support more: Tolstoy's or Bell's?

## ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. What is sacred art? Who decides what art is sacred? How do they decide what art is sacred?
2. How can art be a mirror of a culture and its worldview?
3. What can we learn about people by examining their art?
4. What is the relationship between art and life? It is often said that art reflects life: is it really possible for us to understand ourselves and our lives better through art?
5. What are the connections between art and ethics?
6. In *Confessions of a Young Man*, George Moore wrote, "What care I that some millions of wretched Israelites died under Pharaoh's lash or Egypt's sun? It was well that they died that I might have the pyramids to look on, or to fill a musing hour with wonderment? Is there one among us who would exchange them for the lives of the ignominious slaves that died?..." What do you think about this passage? Do you ever see any conflict between art and ethics? Illustrate your argument.
7. What is the relationship between art and religion? Can artists draw caricatures of God, Prophets, and saints? Why?

## WRITING AN EXHIBITION REVIEW

An **exhibition review** is a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the artist's display. An exhibition review may not be a description, but must have a thesis and an argument supporting the thesis.

### **Kinds of exhibition reviews:**

1. of one artist;
2. of two or more artists or group shows;
3. of a large period of art history.

### **An Exhibition Review Structure**

Title of the Review

Title of the Exhibition

Address – place where the exhibition was held, City, State, Tel., email

Date of the exhibition, Hours of the exhibition

By First Name, Last Name of the Author of the Review

Date of Review Writing

Fee-based/entrance free

#### *Introduction*

- 1) Include information on the exhibition title, organizers, dates.
- 2) Put the exhibition into context by mentioning the background of the subject.
- 3) Why has the exhibition been organized?
- 4) What is the focus of the exhibition?

*Thesis Statement* (main idea of the exhibition review)

#### *Body*

**Detailed description** (How big is the exhibition? Describe what some of the works look like)

Describe one detail that especially struck you.

**Evaluation** (strengths and weaknesses)

How are the works displayed? Is there enough space for each artwork? Was there enough light?

Include your observations and impressions (How many people came? How did they react to the art? What was the effect on you as the viewer?)

What is special about this exhibition? How well is the exhibition done? Is it worth seeing?

#### *Conclusion*

Would you recommend other people to attend this exhibition?

**Tips for writing a review of an exhibition:**

Read the brochure (if it is available).

Take notes while you are observing the exhibition.

Make photos of the artworks and viewers if possible.

Visit the exhibition a second time after writing the first draft of the review.

Create an interesting title for your review.

Think about your audience. Are they familiar with the topic? How well do they know the theme? If you are writing for the general public, you will certainly have to give more background information about the theme.

Use specific words and expressions to state your opinion and share your impressions and feelings about the exhibition and its exhibits. For example, “it was a flawless display” or “powerful artworks by...,” “the highlight of the show”, “strike the eye”, “I was delighted..”. However, do not forget to support your judgments with evidence. For instance, why do you think the display was flawless? What exactly was flawless at this exhibition?

Relate some of the exhibited works to other art you have seen. Compare the manner in which works have been made with the styles of other artists.

**SUGGESTED BOOK:**

Barnet, Sylvan. *A Short Guide to Writing About Art*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Longman, 2003.

**ASSIGNMENT DESCRIPTION:**

View an exhibition and write a one page review. This paper should show not only your observation of an exhibition, but your understanding and appreciation of this event. Be prepared to discuss the exhibitions and your impressions in class.

## CHAPTER TWO: ART AS BEAUTY

49

### INTRODUCTION

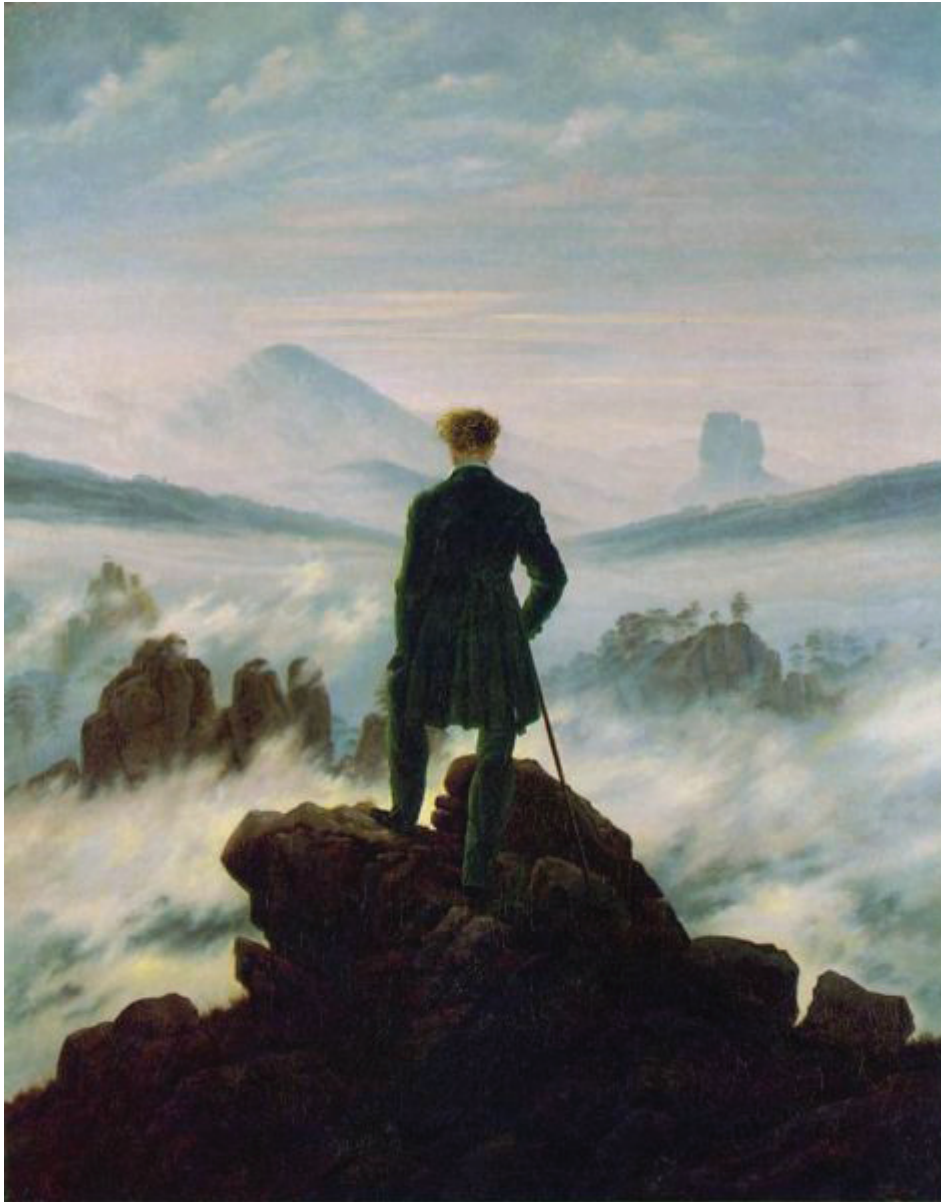
In this chapter, ideas, definitions and theories of beauty are examined through diverse perspectives and across time. The readers are encouraged to clarify their own definitions of beauty and develop their own theories of beauty even as they critically examine the various notions of beauty presented in this chapter. For instance, can art be considered a synonym of beauty?

What makes art beautiful? Monroe Beardsley notes the various definitions of beauty. Some folks equate beauty to symmetry and harmony, others to unity in variety, and yet others to an expressive quality that invokes pleasure. Can beauty be defined universally for all times? Or, are notions of beauty conditioned by culture, time, and communities? Who gets to decide what beauty is? Are there leaders of aesthetics in every society that dictate standards of beauty? How do we come to agreement on what constitutes beauty?

Ethel Puffer's essay should be a good guide to answering some of the questions raised above. She looks at visual form to understand beauty and identifies light and colour as essential elements of visual experience since they have an impact on our eyes. How does the combination of light and colour make something beautiful or ugly? What role does the human eye play in identifying something as beautiful? Examine the idea of beauty from the point of a visually-challenged person. Do they have a notion of beauty? What do they base it on: for instance, the sense of touch? Can we touch beauty? Do some textures repel us and others attract us?

Julia de Wolf Addison finds beauty not just in arts but also in crafts. The beauty of craftsmanship is not in embellishing an object but by magnifying the natural quality of it. In other words, nature is beautiful and when a craftsman reveals that beauty to the beholder, then she or he is an artist. Can we then say that an artist is one who brings out the quality of beauty in an object that makes us admire it? Surely, then art is beauty?

However, human beings exhibit cruelty towards beauty just as Okakura points out. People treat flowers with cruelty: they cut, wrench, and "tear asunder." For Okakura acquisition and appropriation are not appreciation of beauty. Appreciation requires an act of humility on the part of the beholder. That act of humility defines appreciation of art/beauty.



**FRIEDRICH, CASPAR DAVID.  
DER WANDERER ÜBER DEM NEBELMEER, C.1818**

## EDMUND BURKE A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS OF THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was an Anglo-Irish statesman, orator, political theorist and philosopher, who served for many years in the British House of Commons as a member of the Whig party. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* is a 1757 treatise on aesthetics. His other works are: *A Vindication of Natural Society: A View of the Miseries and Evils Arising to Mankind* (1756) and *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790).



### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Burke's eminence in the field of aesthetic theory is not comparable to the distinction he achieved as a statesman, orator, and political thinker; yet it is probable that, in England especially, his political writings have **unduly overshadowed** his contributions to the theory of the beautiful.

His "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the **Sublime** and Beautiful: with an Introductory Discourse concerning Taste" was published in its first form in 1756, and in its enlarged form in 1757; but it is understood that it was composed some years earlier. "It was a **vigorous** enlargement of the principle", says Morley, "which Addison had not long before timidly illustrated, that critics of art seek its principles in the wrong place, so long as they limit their search to poems, pictures, engravings, statues, and buildings, instead of first arranging the sentiments and faculties in man to which art makes its appeal. Addison's treatment was slight and merely literary; Burke dealt boldly with his subject on the basis of the most scientific psychology that was then within his reach. To approach it on the psychological side at all, was to make a distinct and remarkable advance in the method of the inquiry which he had taken in hand."

The influence of the treatise outside of England was considerable and important. **Lessing** undertook to translate it, and many instances have been pointed out in which his "Laocoön" is indebted to Burke; so that Burke ranks among the sources of that fertilising contribution to the mind of the great German thinker which he was always eager to acknowledge.

### THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL COMPARED

On closing this general view of beauty, it naturally occurs, that we should compare it with the sublime; and in this comparison there appears a remarkable contrast. For sublime objects are vast in their dimensions, beautiful ones comparatively small: beauty should be smooth and polished; the great, rugged and negligent; beauty should shun the right line, yet **deviate** from it insensibly; the great in many cases loves the right line, and when it deviates it often makes a strong deviation: beauty should not be obscure; the great ought to be dark and gloomy: beauty should be light and delicate; the great

#### unduly –

improperly, unrightfully

#### overshadow –

exceed in importance; outweigh

#### sublime –

from the Latin *sublimis* (under the lintel, high, exalted) is the quality of transcendent greatness, whether physical, moral, intellectual, metaphysical or artistic

#### vigour –

strength of thought, opinion, expression

#### Gotthold Ephraim Lessing –

(22 January 1729 - 15 February 1781) German writer, philosopher, publicist, and art critic, and one of the most outstanding representatives of the Enlightenment era

#### deviate –

to do something which is different from the usual or common way of behaving

ought to be solid, and even massive. They are indeed ideas of a very different nature, one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure; and however they may vary afterwards from the direct nature of their causes, yet these causes keep up an eternal distinction between them, a distinction never to be forgotten by any whose business it is to affect the passions. In the infinite variety of natural combinations, we must expect to find the qualities of things the most remote imaginable from each other united in the same object. We must expect also to find combinations of the same kind in the works of art. But when we consider the power of an object upon our passions, we must know that when anything is intended to affect the mind by the force of some predominant property, the affection produced is like to be the more uniform and perfect, if all the other properties or qualities of the object be of the same nature, and tending to the same design, as the principal.

*If black and white blend, soften, and unite  
A thousand ways, are there no black and white?*

If the qualities of the sublime and beautiful are sometimes found united, does this prove that they are the same; does it prove that they are any way allied; does it prove even that they are not opposite and contradictory? Black and white may soften, may blend; but they are not therefore the same. Nor, when they are so softened and blended with each other, or with different colours, is the power of black as black, or of white as white, so strong as when each stands uniform and distinguished.

#### OF THE EFFICIENT CAUSE OF THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL

When I say I intend to inquire into the efficient cause of Sublimity and Beauty, I would not be understood to say, that I can come to the ultimate cause. I do not pretend that I shall ever be able to explain, why certain affections of the body produce such a distinct emotion of mind, and no other; or why the body is at all affected by the mind, or the mind by the body. A little thought will show this to be impossible. But I conceive, if we can discover what affections of the mind produce certain emotions of the body, and what distinct feelings and qualities of body shall produce certain determinate passions in the mind, and no others, I fancy a great deal will be done; something not unuseful towards a distinct knowledge of our passions, so far at least as we have them at present under our consideration. This is all, I believe, we can do. If we could advance a step farther, difficulties would still remain, as we should be still equally distant from the first cause. When Newton first discovered the property of attraction, and settled its laws, he found it served very well to explain several of the most remarkable phenomena in nature; but yet, with reference to the general system of things, he could consider attraction but as an effect, whose cause at that time he did not attempt to trace. But when he afterwards began to account for it by a subtle elastic ether, this great man (if in so great a man it be not impious to discover anything like a **blemish**) seemed to have quitted his usual cautious manner of philosophizing; since, perhaps, allowing all that has been advanced on this subject to be sufficiently proved, I think it leaves us with as many difficulties as it found us. The great chain of causes, which links one to another, even to the throne of God himself, can never be unravelled by any industry of ours. When we go but one step beyond the immediate sensible qualities of things, we go out of our depth. All we do after is but a **faint** struggle, that shows



**TURNER, J.M.W.**  
**RAIN, STEAM AND SPEED**  
**– THE GREAT WESTERN**  
**RAILWAY.**

1844, oil on canvas  
National Gallery, London

**blemish –**  
a minor imperfection. Normally  
the imperfection only affects  
the appearance, not function

**faint –**  
feeble or slight



we are in an element which does not belong to us. So that when I speak of cause, and efficient cause, I only mean certain affections of the mind, that cause certain changes in the body; or certain powers and properties in bodies, that work a change in the mind. As if I were to explain the motion of a body falling to the ground, I would say it was caused by gravity; and I would endeavour to show after what manner this power operated, without attempting to show why it operated in this manner: or if I were to explain the effects of bodies striking one another by the common laws of percussio, I should not endeavour to explain how motion itself is communicated.

### HOW THE SUBLIME IS PRODUCED

Having considered terror as producing an unnatural tension and certain violent emotions of the nerves; it easily follows, from what we have just said, that whatever is fitted to produce such a tension must be productive of a passion similar to terror, and consequently must be a source of the sublime, though it should have no idea of danger connected with it. So that little remains towards showing the cause of the sublime, but to show that the instances we have given of it in the second part relate to such things as are fitted by nature to produce this sort of tension, either by the primary operation of the mind or the body. With regard to such things as effect by the associated idea of danger, there can be no doubt but that they produce terror, and act by some modification of that passion; and that terror, when sufficiently violent, raises the emotions of the body just mentioned, can as little be doubted. But if the sublime is built on terror, or some passion like it, which has pain for its object, it is previously proper to inquire how any species of delight can be derived from a cause so apparently contrary to it. I say delight, because, as I have often remarked, it is very evidently different in its cause, and in its own nature, from actual and positive pleasure.

### WHY VISUAL OBJECTS OF GREAT DIMENSIONS ARE SUBLIME

Vision is performed by having a picture, formed by the rays of light which are reflected from the object, painted in one piece, instantaneously, on the **retina**, or last nervous part of the eye. Or, according to others, there is but one point of any object painted on the eye in such a manner as to be perceived at once; but by moving the eye, we gather up, with great celerity, the several parts of the object, so as to form one uniform piece. If the former opinion be allowed, it will be considered, that though all the light reflected from a large body should strike the eye in one instant; yet we must suppose that the body itself is formed of a vast number of distinct points, every one of which, or the ray from every one, makes an impression on the retina. So that, though the image of one point should cause but a small tension of this **membrane**, another



DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS. 1800.  
NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AT  
THE ST. BERNARD PASS.

Art History Museum, Vienna

#### retina –

a delicate, multilayered, light-sensitive membrane lining the inner eyeball and connected by the optic nerve to the brain

#### membrane –

a thin layer that separates various cellular structures or organs



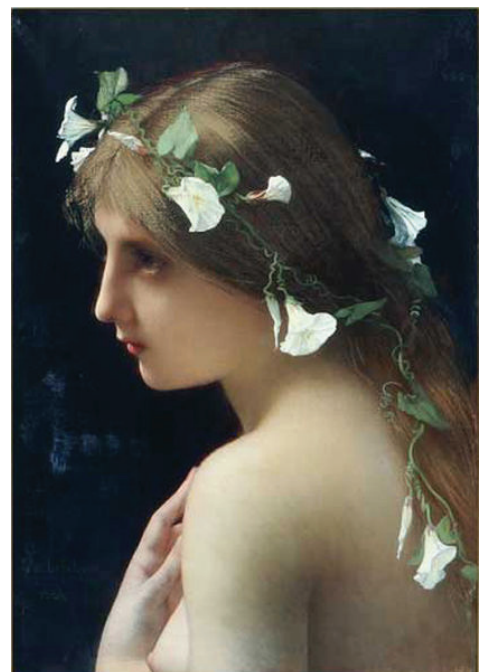
**BOTTICELLI, SANDRO.  
THE BIRTH OF VENUS.  
1445**

and another, and another stroke, must in their progress cause a very great one, until it arrives at last to the highest degree; and the whole capacity of the eye, vibrating in all its parts, must approach near to the nature of what causes pain, and consequently must produce an idea of the sublime. Again, if we take it, that one point only of an object is distinguishable at once, the matter will amount nearly to the same thing, or rather it will make the origin of the sublime from greatness of dimension yet clearer. For if but one point is observed at once, the eye must traverse the vast space of such bodies with great quickness, and consequently the fine nerves and muscles destined to the motion of that part must be very much strained; and their great sensibility must make them highly affected by this straining. Besides, it signifies just nothing to the effect produced, whether a body has its parts connected and makes its impression at once; or, making but one impression of a point at a time, causes a succession of the same or others so quickly as to make them seem united; as is evident from the common effect of whirling about a lighted torch or piece of wood: which, if done with celerity, seems a circle of fire.

**SOURCE:** Bartleby. URL: <http://www.bartleby.com/24/2>. New York. 2001. Burke, Edmund. A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of The Sublime and Beautiful. "On the Sublime and Beautiful." Harvard Classics, Vol. 24, Part 2 New York: P.F. Collier & Son Company, 1909–14.

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. According to Burke, what is "Sublime" and what is "Beautiful"? What are the sources of "Sublime" and "Beautiful"? Can you give your own examples of "Sublime" and "Beautiful"?
2. What does Burke say about "the efficient cause"?
3. What does Burke say about "Sublime" and dimension?
4. Why is Burke important? What is his contribution to the philosophy of art?



**LEFEBVRE, JULES JOSEPH.  
NYMPH WITH MORNING  
GLORY FLOWERS**

## KAKUZO OKAKURA THE BOOK OF TEA

Okakura Kakuzō (more commonly known as Tenshin, 1862-1913) was a Japanese scholar who contributed to the development of arts in Japan. In 1884 he and Ernest Fenollosa, an American scholar, founded the Painting Appreciation Society (Kanga-kai) which was dedicated to Nihonga (Japanese-style paintings). His main works are: *The Ideals of the East* (1903), *The Awakening of Japan* (1904); and *The Book of Tea* (1906).

### V. ART APPRECIATION

Have you heard the Taoist tale of the Taming of the Harp?

Once in the **hoary** ages in the Ravine of Lungmen stood a Kiri tree, a **veritable** king of the forest. It **reared** its head to talk to the stars; its roots struck deep into the earth, mingling their bronzed coils with those of the silver dragon that slept beneath. And it came to pass that a mighty wizard made of this tree a wondrous harp, whose stubborn spirit should be tamed but by the greatest of musicians. For long the instrument was treasured by the Emperor of China, but all in vain were the efforts of those who in turn tried to draw melody from its strings. In response to their utmost strivings there came from the harp but harsh notes of disdain, ill-according with the songs they fain would sing. The harp refused to recognise a master.

At last came Peiwoh, the prince of harpists. With tender hand he caressed the harp as one might seek to soothe an unruly horse, and softly touched the chords. He sang of nature and the seasons, of high mountains and flowing waters, and all the memories of the tree awoke! Once more the sweet breath of spring played amidst its branches. The young **cataracts**, as they danced down the ravine, laughed to the budding flowers. Anon were heard the dreamy voices of summer with its myriad insects, the gentle pattering of rain, the wail of the cuckoo. Hark! a tiger roars – the valley answers again. It is autumn; in the desert night, sharp like a sword gleams the moon upon the frosted grass. Now winter reigns, and through the snow-filled air swirl flocks of swans and rattling hailstones beat upon the boughs with fierce delight.

Then Peiwoh changed the key and sang of love. The forest swayed like an ardent swain deep lost in thought. On high, like a haughty maiden, swept a cloud bright and fair; but passing, trailed long shadows on the ground, black like despair. Again the mode was changed; Peiwoh sang of war, of clashing steel and trampling steeds. And in the harp arose the tempest of Lungmen, the dragon rode the lightning, the thundering **avalanche** crashed through the hills. In ecstasy the Celestial monarch asked Peiwoh wherein lay the secret of his victory. “**Sire**”, he replied, “others have failed because they sang but of themselves. I left the harp to choose its theme, and knew not truly whether the harp had been Peiwoh or Peiwoh were the harp.”



UTAMARO, KITAGAWA.  
FLOWERS OF EDO:  
YOUNG WOMAN'S  
NARRATIVE CHANTING  
TO THE SAMISEN

Woodblock print;  
35.8 x 25.2cm; c.1800

**hoary** –

ancient

**veritable** –

authentic; true; genuine

**rear** –

to rise

**cataract** –

a large waterfall; violent rush of water over a precipice

**avalanche** –

a slide of large masses of snow and ice and mud down a mountain

**Sire** –

a title of address formerly used for a man of rank and authority



**EITOKU, KANO,  
FLOWERS AND BIRDS OF  
THE FOUR SEASONS**

16<sup>th</sup> century. Hakutsuru Fine  
Art Museum, Kobe, Japan

This story well illustrates the mystery of art appreciation. The masterpiece is a symphony played upon our finest feelings. True art is Peiwoh, and we the harp of Lungmen. At the magic touch of the beautiful the secret chords of our being are awakened, we vibrate and thrill in response to its call. Mind speaks to mind. We listen to the unspoken, we gaze upon the unseen. The master calls forth notes we know not of. Memories long forgotten all come back to us with a new significance. Hopes stifled by fear, yearnings that we dare not recognise, stand forth in new glory. Our mind is the canvas on which the artists lay their colour; their pigments are our emotions; their **chiaroscuro** the light of joy, the shadow of sadness. The masterpiece is of ourselves, as we are of the masterpiece.

The sympathetic communion of minds necessary for art appreciation must be based on mutual concession. The spectator must cultivate the proper attitude for receiving the message, as the artist must know how to impart it. The tea-master, Kobori-Enshiu, himself a **daimyo**, has left to us these memorable words: "Approach a great painting as thou wouldst approach a great prince." In order to understand a masterpiece, you must lay yourself low before it and await with **bated breath** its least utterance. An eminent Sung critic once made a charming confession. Said he: "In my young days I praised the master whose pictures I liked, but as my judgement matured I praised myself for liking what the masters had chosen to have me like." It is to be deplored that so few of us really take pains to study the moods of the masters. In our stubborn ignorance we refuse to render them this simple courtesy, and thus often miss the rich repast of beauty spread before our very eyes. A master has always something to offer, while we go hungry solely because of our own lack of appreciation.

To the sympathetic a masterpiece becomes a living reality towards which we feel drawn in bonds of comradeship. The masters are immortal, for their loves and fears live in us over and over again. It is rather the soul than the hand, the man than the technique, which appeals to us – the more human the call, the deeper is our response. It is because of this secret understanding between the master and ourselves that in poetry or romance we suffer and rejoice with the hero and heroine. **Chikamatsu**, our Japanese Shakespeare, has laid down as one of the first principles of dramatic composition the importance of taking the audience into the confidence of the author. Several of his pupils submitted plays for his approval, but only one of the pieces appealed to him. It was a play somewhat resembling the Comedy of Errors, in which twin brethren suffer through mistaken identity. "This", said Chikamatsu, "has the proper spirit of the

**chiaroscuro –**

(Italian for light/dark),  
an element in art, is defined as  
a very high contrast between  
light and dark.

**Daimyo –**

(in Japanese "great name")  
the most powerful feudal rulers  
from the 12<sup>th</sup> century to the  
19<sup>th</sup> century in Japan.

**bated breath –**

the condition of waiting for  
something to happen; subdued  
breathing due to high emotions

**Chikamatsu Monzaemon –**

(real name Sugimori Nobumori,  
1653-1725) a Japanese  
dramatist of jōruri, the form of  
puppet theater that later came  
to be known as bunraku, and  
the live-actor drama, kabuki.

drama, for it takes the audience into consideration. The public is permitted to know more than the actors. It knows where the mistake lies, and pities the poor figures on the board who innocently rush to their fate.”

The great masters both of the East and the West never forgot the value of suggestion as a means for taking the spectator into their confidence. Who can contemplate a masterpiece without being awed by the immense **vista** of thought presented to our consideration? How familiar and sympathetic are they all; how cold in contrast the modern commonplaces! In the former we feel the warm outpouring of a man’s heart; in the latter only a formal salute. Engrossed in his technique, the modern rarely rises above himself. Like the musicians who vainly invoked the Lungmen harp, he sings only of himself. His works may be nearer science, but are further from humanity. We have an old saying in Japan that a woman cannot love a man who is truly vain, for there is no **crevice** in his heart for love to enter and fill up. In art vanity is equally fatal to sympathetic feeling, whether on the part of the artist or the public.

Nothing is more hallowing than the union of kindred spirits in art. At the moment of meeting, the art lover transcends himself. At once he is and is not. He catches a glimpse of Infinity, but words cannot voice his delight, for the eye has no tongue. Freed from the fetters of matter, his spirit moves in the rhythm of things. It is thus that art becomes akin to religion and ennobles mankind. It is this which makes a masterpiece something sacred. In the old days the **reverence** in which the Japanese held the work of the great artist was intense. The tea-masters guarded their treasures with religious secrecy, and it was often necessary to open a whole series of boxes, one within another, before reaching the shrine itself – the silken wrapping within whose soft folds lay the holy of holies. Rarely was the object exposed to view, and then only to the initiated.

At the time when Teism was in the **ascendancy** the Taiko’s generals would be better satisfied with the present of a rare work of art than a large grant of territory as a reward of victory. Many of our favourite dramas are based on the loss and recovery of a noted masterpiece. For instance, in one play the palace of Lord Hosokawa, in which was preserved the celebrated painting of Dharuma by Sesson, suddenly takes fire through the negligence of the samurai in charge. Resolved at all hazards to rescue the precious painting, he rushes into the burning building and seizes the **kakemono**, only to find all means of exit cut off by the flames. Thinking only of the picture, he slashes open his body with his sword, wraps his torn sleeve about the Sesson and plunges it into the gaping wound. The fire is at last extinguished. Among the smoking embers is found a half-consumed corpse, within which reposes the treasure uninjured by the fire. Horrible as such tales are, they illustrate the great value that we set upon a masterpiece, as well as the devotion of a trusted samurai.

We must remember, however, that art is of value only to the extent that it speaks to us. It might be a universal language if we ourselves were universal in our sympathies. Our finite nature, the power of tradition and conventionality, as well as our



**EITOKU, KANO.**  
**DETAIL OF THE FOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

One of six folding screens: ink on paper. Shows people playing Go. Japan, Momoyama period, 16<sup>th</sup> century



**HOKUSAI, KATSUSHIKA.**  
**THE GREAT WAVE OFF KANAGAWA**

Created between 1823-1829. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

**vista** –  
view; prospect

**crevice** –  
crack; a long narrow opening

**reverence** –  
respect; worship

**ascendancy** –  
dominance: the state that exists when one person or group has power over another

**kakemono** –  
is a Japanese scroll painting, an ink-and-brush painting that hangs in a recess in a traditional Japanese house.



**TÔHAKU, HASEGAWA.**  
**PORTRAIT OF SEN NO RIKYŪ**

Sen no Rikyū is the founder of the three main schools of Japanese tea ceremony. Hanging scroll. Ink and color on silk.



**SEIKI, KURODA. LAKESIDE**

1897. Oil on canvas.  
Kuroda Memorial Hall, Tokyo

**idiosyncrasy –**

a behavioral attribute that is distinctive and peculiar to an individual

**clamor –**

utter or proclaim insistently and noisily

**unscathed –**

unharmd; not troubled

**rhapsody –**

an epic poem adapted for recitation; a free style instrumental piece characterized by dramatic changes in mood.

hereditary instincts, restrict the scope of our capacity for artistic enjoyment. Our very individuality establishes in one sense a limit to our understanding; and our aesthetic personality seeks its own affinities in the creations of the past. It is true that with cultivation our sense of art appreciation broadens, and we become able to enjoy many hitherto unrecognised expressions of beauty. But, after all, we see only our own image in the universe; our particular **idiosyncracies** dictate the mode of our perceptions. The tea-masters collected only objects which fell strictly within the measure of their individual appreciation.

One is reminded in this connection of a story concerning Kobori-Enshiu. Enshiu was complimented by his disciples on the admirable taste he had displayed in the choice of his collection. Said they, “Each piece is such that no one could help admiring. It shows that you had better taste than had Rikiu, for his collection could only be appreciated by one beholder in a thousand.” Sorrowfully Enshiu replied: “This only proves how commonplace I am. The great Rikiu dared to love only those objects which personally appealed to him, whereas I unconsciously cater to the taste of the majority. Verily, Rikiu was one in a thousand among tea-masters.”

It is much to be regretted that so much of the apparent enthusiasm for art at the present day has no foundation in real feeling. In this democratic age of ours men **clamour** for what is popularly considered the best, regardless of their feelings. They want the costly, not the refined; the fashionable, not the beautiful. To the masses, contemplation of illustrated periodicals, the worthy product of their own industrialism, would give more digestible food for artistic enjoyment than the early Italians or the Ashikaga masters, whom they pretend to admire. The name of the artist is more important to them than the quality of the work. As a Chinese critic complained many centuries ago, “People criticise a picture by their ear.” It is this lack of genuine appreciation that is responsible for the pseudo-classic horrors that today greet us wherever we turn.

Another common mistake is that of confusing art with archaeology. The veneration born of antiquity is one of the best traits in the human character, and fain would we have it cultivated to a greater extent. The old masters are rightly to be honoured for opening the path to future enlightenment. The mere fact that they have passed **unscathed** through centuries of criticism and come down to us still covered with glory commands our respect. But we should be foolish indeed if we valued their achievement simply on the score of age. Yet we allow our historical sympathy to override our aesthetic discrimination. We offer flowers of approbation when the artist is safely laid in his grave. The nineteenth century, pregnant with the theory of evolution, has moreover created in us the habit of losing sight of the individual in the species. A collector is anxious to acquire specimens to illustrate a period or a school, and forgets that a single masterpiece can teach us more than any number of the mediocre products of a given period or school. We classify too much and enjoy too little. The sacrifice of the aesthetic to the so-called scientific method of exhibition has been the bane of many museums.

The claims of contemporary art cannot be ignored in any vital scheme of life. The art of today is that which really belongs to us: it is our own reflection. In condemning it we but condemn ourselves. We say that the present age possesses no art. Who is responsible for this? It is indeed a shame that despite all our **rhapsodies** about the ancients we pay so little attention to our own possibilities. Struggling artists, weary souls lingering in the shadow of cold disdain! In our self-centered century, what inspiration do we offer them? The past may well look with pity at the poverty of our

civilisation; the future will laugh at the barrenness of our art. We are destroying the beautiful in life. Would that some great wizard might from the stem of society shape a mighty harp whose strings would resound to the touch of genius.

## VI. FLOWERS

In the trembling grey of a spring dawn, when the birds were whispering in mysterious **cadence** among the trees, have you not felt that they were talking to their mates about the flowers? Surely with mankind the appreciation of flowers must have been **coeval** with the poetry of love. Where better than in a flower, sweet in its unconsciousness, fragrant because of its silence, can we image the unfolding of a virgin soul? The **primeval** man in offering the first garland to his maiden thereby **transcended** the brute. He became human in thus rising above the crude necessities of nature. He entered the realm of art when he perceived the subtle use of the useless.

In joy or sadness, flowers are our constant friends. We eat, drink, sing, dance, and flirt with them. We wed and christen with flowers. We dare not die without them. We have worshipped with the lily, we have meditated with the lotus, we have charged in battle array with the rose and the chrysanthemum. We have even attempted to speak in the language of flowers. How could we live without them? It frightens on to conceive of a world bereft of their presence. What solace do they not bring to the bedside of the sick, what a light of bliss to the darkness of weary spirits? Their serene tenderness restores to us our waning confidence in the universe even as the intent gaze of a beautiful child recalls our lost hopes. When we are laid low in the dust it is they who linger in sorrow over our graves.

Sad as it is, we cannot conceal the fact that in spite of our companionship with flowers we have not risen very far above the brute. Scratch the sheepskin and the wolf within us will soon show his teeth. It has been said that a man at ten is an animal, at twenty a lunatic, at thirty a failure, at forty a fraud, and at fifty a criminal. Perhaps he becomes a criminal because he has never ceased to be an animal. Nothing is real to us but hunger, nothing sacred except our own desires. Shrine after shrine has crumbled before our eyes; but one altar is forever preserved, that whereon we burn incense to the supreme idol – ourselves. Our god is great, and money is his Prophet! We devastate nature in order to make sacrifice to him. We boast that we have conquered Matter and forget that it is Matter that has enslaved us. What atrocities do we not perpetrate in the name of culture and refinement!

Tell me, gentle flowers, teardrops of the stars, standing in the garden, nodding your heads to the bees as they sing of the dews and the sunbeams, are you aware of the fearful doom that awaits you? Dream on, sway and **frollic** while you may in the gentle breezes of summer. Tomorrow a ruthless hand will close around your throats. You will be wrenched, torn asunder limb by limb, and borne away from your quiet homes.



IKEBANA ARRANGEMENT

**cadence** –  
the rhythmic flow of a song,  
melody, poem, etc.

**coeval** –  
of the same or equal age,  
antiquity, or duration

**primeval** –  
aboriginal: having existed from  
the beginning

**transcend** –  
exceed: go beyond

**frollic** –  
play boisterously

The wretch, she may be passing fair. She may say how lovely you are while her fingers are still moist with your blood. Tell me, will this be kindness? It may be your fate to be imprisoned in the hair of one whom you know to be heartless or to be thrust into the buttonhole of one who would not dare to look you in the face were you a man. It may even be your lot to be confined in some narrow vessel with only stagnant water to quench the maddening thirst that warns of **ebbing** life.

Flowers, if you were in the land of the **Mikado**, you might some time meet a dread personage armed with scissors and a tiny saw. He would call himself a Master of Flowers. He would claim the rights of a doctor and you would instinctively hate him, for you know a doctor always seeks to prolong the troubles of his victims. He would cut, bend, and twist you into those impossible positions which he thinks it proper that you should assume. He would **contort** your muscles and dislocate your bones like any **osteopath**. He would burn you with red-hot coals to stop your bleeding, and thrust wires into you to assist your circulation. He would diet you with salt, vinegar, **alum**, and sometimes, **vitriol**. Boiling water would be poured on your feet when you seemed ready to faint. It would be his boast that he could keep life within you for two or more weeks longer than would have been possible without his treatment. Would you not have preferred to have been killed at once when you were first captured? What were the crimes you must have committed during your past incarnation to warrant such punishment in this?

The **wanton** waste of flowers among Western communities is even more **appalling** than the way they are treated by Eastern Flower Masters. The number of flowers cut daily to adorn the ballrooms and banquet-tables of Europe and America, to be thrown away on the morrow, must be something enormous; if strung together they might garland a continent. Beside this utter carelessness of life, the guilt of the Flower-Master becomes insignificant. He, at least, respects the economy of nature, selects his victims with careful foresight, and after death does honour to their remains. In the West the display of flowers seems to be a part of the pageantry of wealth – the fancy of a moment. Whither do they all go, these flowers, when the revelry is over? Nothing is more pitiful than to see a faded flower remorselessly flung upon a dung **heap**.

Why were the flowers born so beautiful and yet so **hapless**? Insects can sting, and even the meekest of beasts will fight when brought to bay. The birds whose plumage is sought to deck some bonnet can fly from its pursuer, the furred animal whose coat you **covet** for your own may hide at your approach. Alas! The only flower known to have wings is the butterfly; all others stand helpless before the destroyer. If they shriek in their death agony their cry never reaches our hardened ears. We are ever brutal to those who love and serve us in silence, but the time may come when, for our cruelty, we shall be deserted by these best friends of ours. Have you not noticed that the wild flowers are becoming scarcer every year? It may be that their wise men have told them to depart till man becomes more human. Perhaps they have migrated to heaven.

Much may be said in favor of him who cultivates plants. The man of the pot is far more humane than he of the scissors. We watch with delight his concern about water and sunshine, his feuds with parasites, his horror of frosts, his anxiety when the buds come slowly, his rapturing when the leaves attain their lustre. In the East the art of floriculture is a very ancient one, and the loves of a poet and his favorite plant have often been recorded in story and song. With the development of ceramics during the Tang and Sung dynasties we hear of wonderful receptacles made to hold plants, not pots, but jewelled palaces. A special attendant was detailed to wait upon each flower and to wash its leaves with soft brushes made of rabbit hair. It has been written [“Pingtse”, by

- ebb** –  
a gradual decline
- Mikado** –  
the title of the emperor of Japan.
- contort** –  
twist and press out of shape
- osteopath** –  
a specialist with knowledge of the muscular and skeletal systems.
- alum** –  
a white crystalline double sulfate of aluminum: used in medicine as an astringent and styptic, in dyeing and tanning, and in many technical processes
- vitriol** –  
sulfuric acid
- wanton** –  
causing harm or damage deliberately and for no acceptable reason
- appalling** –  
shocking or disgusting
- heap** –  
pile: a collection of objects laid on top of each other
- hapless** –  
deserving or inciting pity
- covet** –  
wish, long, or crave for



Yuenchunlang] that the peony should be bathed by a handsome maiden in full costume, that a winter-plum should be watered by a pale, slender monk. In Japan, one of the most popular of the No-dances, the Hachinoki, composed during the Ashikaga period, is based upon the story of an impoverished knight, who, on a freezing night, in lack of fuel for a fire, cuts his cherished plants in order to entertain a wandering **friar**. The friar is in reality no other than **Hojo-Tokiyori**, the Haroun-Al-Raschid of our tales, and the sacrifice is not without its reward. This opera never fails to draw tears from a Tokio audience even to-day.

Great precautions were taken for the preservation of delicate blossoms. Emperor Huensung, of the Tang Dynasty, hung tiny golden bells on the branches in his garden to keep off the birds. He it was who went off in the springtime with his court musicians to gladden the flowers with soft music. A quaint **tablet**, which tradition ascribes to Yoshitsune, the hero of our Arthurian legends, is still **extant** in one of the Japanese monasteries [Sumadera, near Kobe]. It is a notice put up for the protection of a certain wonderful plum-tree, and appeals to us with the grim humour of a warlike age. After referring to the beauty of the blossoms, the inscription says: "Whoever cuts a single branch of this tree shall forfeit a finger therefore." Would that such laws could be enforced nowadays against those who wantonly destroy flowers and mutilate objects of art!

Yet even in the case of pot flowers we are inclined to suspect the selfishness of man. Why take the plants from their homes and ask them to bloom mid strange surroundings? Is it not like asking the birds to sing and mate **cooped up** in cages? Who knows but that the orchids feel stifled by the artificial heat in your conservatories and hopelessly long for a glimpse of their own Southern skies?

The ideal lover of flowers is he who visits them in their native haunts, like Taoyuen-ming [all celebrated Chinese poets and philosophers], who sat before a broken bamboo fence in converse with the wild chrysanthemum, or Linwosing, losing himself amid mysterious fragrance as he wandered in the twilight among the plum-blossoms of the Western Lake. 'Tis said that Chowmushih slept in a boat so that his dreams might mingle with those of the lotus. It was the same spirit which moved the Empress Komio, one of our most renowned Nara sovereigns, as she sang: "If I pluck thee, my hand will **defile** thee, O flower! Standing in the meadows as thou art, I offer thee to the Buddhas of the past, of the present, of the future."

However, let us not be too sentimental. Let us be less luxurious but more magnificent. Said Laotse: "Heaven and earth are pitiless." Said Kobodaishi: "Flow, flow, flow, flow, the current of life is ever onward. Die, die, die, die, death comes to all." Destruction faces us wherever we turn. Destruction below and above, destruction behind and before. Change is the only Eternal – why not as welcome Death as Life? They are but counterparts one of the other – The Night and Day of Brahma. Through the disintegration of the old, re-creation becomes possible. We have worshipped Death, the relentless goddess of mercy, under many different names. It was the shadow



**SHERMATOVA, DILOROM.  
HAT-SELLER**

Dilorom Shermatova is a Tajik artist. Instead of oil she uses dried pressed rose petals to create magically beautiful paintings. She also makes her artworks with semi-precious stones (Florentine mosaics).

**friar –**

a male member of a religious order that originally relied solely on alms

**Hojo-Tokiyori –**

the fifth shikken (regent) of the Kamakura shogunate (a feudal military dictatorship) in Japan.

**tablet –**

a slab of stone or wood suitable for bearing an inscription

**extant –**

in existence

**cooped up –**

confine

**defile –**

desecrate, profane

of the All-devouring that the Gheburs greeted in the fire. It is the icy purism of the sword-soul before which Shinto-Japan prostrates herself even to-day. The mystic fire consumes our weakness, the sacred sword **cleaves** the bondage of desire. From our ashes springs the phoenix of **celestial** hope, out of the freedom comes a higher realisation of manhood.

Why not destroy flowers if thereby we can evolve new forms ennobling the world idea? We only ask them to join in our sacrifice to the beautiful. We shall atone for the deed by **consecrating** ourselves to Purity and Simplicity. Thus reasoned the tea-masters when they established the Cult of Flowers.

Anyone acquainted with the ways of our tea- and flower-masters must have noticed the religious veneration with which they regard flowers. They do not cull at random, but carefully select each branch or spray with an eye to the artistic composition they have in mind. They would be ashamed should they chance to cut more than were absolutely necessary. It may be remarked in this connection that they always associate the leaves, if there be any, with the flower, for the object is to present the whole beauty of plant life. In this respect, as in many others, their method differs from that pursued in Western countries. Here we are apt to see only the flower stems, heads as it were, without body, stuck **promiscuously** into a vase.

When a tea-master has arranged a flower to his satisfaction he will place it on the **tokonoma**, the place of honour in a Japanese room. Nothing else will be placed near it which might interfere with its effect, not even a painting, unless there be some special aesthetic reason for the combination. It rests there like an enthroned prince, and the guests or disciples, on entering the room, will salute it with a profound bow before making their addresses to the host. Drawings from masterpieces are made and published for the **edification** of amateurs. The amount of literature on the subject is quite **voluminous**. When the flower fades, the master tenderly **consigns** it to the river or carefully buries it in the ground. Monuments are sometimes erected to their memory.

The birth of the Art of Flower Arrangement seems to be simultaneous with that of Teism in the fifteenth century. Our legends ascribe the first flower arrangement to those early Buddhist saints who gathered the flowers strewn by the storm and, in their infinite solicitude for all living things, placed them in vessels of water. It is said that Soami, the great painter and connoisseur of the court of Ashikaga, Yoshimasa, was one of the earliest adepts at it. Juko, the tea-master, was one of his pupils, as was also Senno, the founder of the house of Ikenobo, a family as illustrious in the annals of flowers as was that of the Kanos in painting. With the perfecting of the tea-ritual under Rikiu, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, flower arrangement also attains its full growth. Rikiu and his successors, the celebrated Ota-wuraka, Furuka-Oribe, Koyetsu, Kobori-Enshiu, Katagiri-Sekishiu, vied with each other in forming new combinations. We must remember, however, that the flower-worship of the tea-masters formed only a part of their aesthetic ritual, and was not a distinct religion by itself. A flower arrangement, like the other works of art in the tea-room, was subordinated to the total scheme of decoration. Thus Sekishiu ordained that white plum blossoms should not be made use of when snow lay in the garden. "Noisy" flowers were relentlessly banished from the tea-room. A flower arrangement by a tea-master loses its significance if removed from the place for which it was originally intended, for its lines and proportions have been specially worked out with a view to its surroundings.

The adoration of the flower for its own sake begins with the rise of "Flower-Masters", toward the middle of the seventeenth century. It now becomes independent of the tea-room and knows no law save that the vase imposes on it. New conceptions



**SHERMATOVA, DILOROM.**  
**FLY AWAY**

- cleave** –  
separate or cut with a tool,
- celestial** –  
of heaven or the spirit
- consecrate** –  
to devote entirely to, dedicate to
- promiscuously** –  
in an indiscriminate manner
- tokonoma** –  
in a traditional Japanese house,  
a niche decorated to reflect the  
changing seasons
- edification** –  
uplifting enlightenment;  
improve spiritually or morally  
by instruction or example.
- voluminous** –  
large in volume or bulk
- consign** –  
commit forever; commit  
irrevocably

and methods of execution now become possible, and many were the principles and schools resulting therefrom. A writer in the middle of the last century said he could count over one hundred different schools of flower arrangement. Broadly speaking, these divide themselves into two main branches, the Formalistic and the Naturalesque. The Formalistic schools, led by the Ikenobos, aimed at a classic idealism corresponding to that of the Kano-academics. We possess records of arrangements by the early masters of the school which almost reproduce the flower paintings of Sansetsu and Tsunenobu. The Naturalesque school, on the other hand, accepted nature as its model, only imposing such modifications of form as conduced to the expression of artistic unity. Thus we recognise in its works the same impulses which formed the Ukiyoe and Shijo schools of painting.

It would be interesting, had we time, to enter more fully than it is now possible into the laws of composition and detail formulated by the various flower-masters of this period, showing, as they would, the fundamental theories which governed Tokugawa decoration. We find them referring to the Leading Principle (Heaven), the Subordinate Principle (Earth), the Reconciling Principle (Man), and any flower arrangement which did not embody these principles was considered barren and dead. They also dwelt much on the importance of treating a flower in its three different aspects, the Formal, the Semi-Formal, and the Informal. The first might be said to represent flowers in the stately costume of the ballroom, the second in the easy elegance of afternoon dress, the third in the charming **dishabille** of the boudoir.

Our personal sympathies are with the flower-arrangements of the tea-master rather than with those of the flower-master. The former is art in its proper setting and appeals to us on account of its true intimacy with life. We should like to call this school the Natural in contradistinction to the Naturalesque and Formalistic schools. The tea-master deems his duty ended with the selection of the flowers, and leaves them to tell their own story. Entering a tea-room in late winter, you may see a slender spray of wild cherries in combination with a budding camellia; it is an echo of departing winter coupled with the prophecy of spring. Again, if you go into a noon-tea on some irritatingly hot summer day, you may discover in the darkened coolness of the tokonoma a single lily in a hanging vase; dripping with dew, it seems to smile at the foolishness of life.

A solo of flowers is interesting, but in a concerto with painting and sculpture the combination becomes entrancing. Sekishiu once placed some water-plants in a flat **receptacle** to suggest the vegetation of lakes and **marshes**, and on the wall above he hung a painting by Soami of wild ducks flying in the air. Shoha, another tea-master, combined a poem on the Beauty of Solitude by the Sea with a bronze **incense** burner in the form of a fisherman's hut and some wild flowers of the beach. One of the guests has recorded that he felt in the whole composition the breath of waning autumn.

Flower stories are endless. We shall recount but one more. In the sixteenth century the morning-glory was as yet a rare plant with us. Rikiu had an entire garden

**dishabille** –  
the state of being carelessly or partially dressed

**receptacle** –  
a container that is used to put or keep things in

**marsh** –  
low-lying wet land with grassy vegetation

**incense** –  
a substance that produces a fragrant odor when burned

**convolvulus –**

a genus of flowering plants of the family Convolvulaceae, native to Turkey and nearby areas of the Middle East

**vestige –**

trace: an indication that something has been present



**SHERMATOVA, DILOROM.  
FLAMINGO**

planted with it, which he cultivated with assiduous care. The fame of his **convolvuli** reached the ear of the Taiko, and he expressed a desire to see them, in consequence of which Rikiu invited him to a morning tea at his house. On the appointed day Taiko walked through the garden, but nowhere could he see any **vestige** of the convolvulus. The ground had been leveled and strewn with fine pebbles and sand. With sullen anger the despot entered the tea-room, but a sight waited him there which completely restored his humour. On the tokonoma, in a rare bronze of Sung workmanship, lay a single morning-glory – the queen of the whole garden!

In such instances we see the full significance of the Flower Sacrifice. Perhaps the flowers appreciate the full significance of it. They are not cowards, like men. Some flowers glory in death – certainly the Japanese cherry blossoms do, as they freely surrender themselves to the winds. Anyone who has stood before the fragrant avalanche at Yoshino or Arashiyama must have realized this. For a moment they hover like bejewelled clouds and dance above the crystal streams; then, as they sail away on the laughing waters, they seem to say: “Farewell, O Spring! We are on to eternity.”

**SOURCE:** Okakura, Kakuzo. The Book of Tea. The Project Gutenberg.  
<<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext97/tboftl1.txt>>

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. What have you learnt about art appreciation from the legend? What is mysterious about it? What does the author say about the inability to appreciate art?
2. What does the author say about “the spectator” and “the artist”? Would you agree with the tea-master, Kobori-Enshui that “one should approach a great painting as thou wouldst approach a great prince”?
3. How do you understand the expression “...art is of value only to the extent that it speaks to us”?
4. What is the author’s position about modern art? Would you support his ideas about this issue?
5. How does the author describe flowers? What is the purpose of flowers? What is special about his understanding of flowers?
6. Who is the master of flowers? What is scary about him?
7. How do people treat flowers? How should people treat flowers in the author’s view and your opinion? Who is the ideal lover of flowers?
8. What principles should any flower arrangement embody? Why?

**REVIEW QUESTIONS:**

1. Would Bell agree with Okakura that “art becomes akin to religion and ennobles mankind”?
2. How is Bell’s understanding of art appreciation different from Okakura’s view? Bring examples.
3. What are we seeking in works of art? How would Okakura reply to this question?

## TEXT

### MONROE C. BEARDSLEY THEORIES OF BEAUTY SINCE THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Monroe Curtis Beardsley (1915-1985) was an American philosopher of art. He is best known for his work in aesthetics as a champion of the instrumentalist theory of art and the concept of aesthetic experience. Beardsley was elected president of the American Society for Aesthetics in 1956. He also wrote an introductory text on aesthetics and edited a well-regarded anthological survey of philosophy. Beardsley is known for two essays written with W. K. Wimsatt, “The Intentional Fallacy” and “The Affective Fallacy.” His works also include: *Practical Logic* (1950), *Aesthetics* (1958), and *Aesthetics: A Short History* (1966)

DESCENDANTS of nearly every older theory about beauty can be traced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and due notice of these will be taken below. The main purpose of this article, however, is to give an account of new ideas or emphases that have emerged.

#### I. BEAUTY IN DECLINE

The difficulty of discerning conceptual similarities and differences underneath terminological differences and similarities can be pointed up by an interesting contrast. Like other Hegelian idealists of the nineteenth century, **Bernard Bosanquet**, in his *History of Aesthetic* (London and New York, 1892), defined “Aesthetic” as the “philosophy of the beautiful.” He also defined “the beautiful” as “that which has characteristic or individual expressiveness for sense-perception or imagination, subject to the conditions of general or abstract expressiveness in the same medium” (Ch. I). Bosanquet noted that he was proposing a broader concept of beauty than that sanctioned in ordinary usage, or even in typical philosophical usage, but he claimed that his formula embodied the most profound insight into beauty that the “aesthetic consciousness” of man had yet reached. For he saw the whole history of aesthetics as a progressive intellectual development, from the first classical view of beauty as harmony and symmetry, or as unity in variety, to the recognition, first of the **sublime** and later of other qualities as having aesthetic significance, such as the grotesque, the graceful, the violent (Ch. 15). Thus we might say that in Bosanquet’s view beauty swallows up the whole of aesthetic value; and that few later aestheticians have given such centrality and generality to beauty.

On the other hand, Frank Sibley’s significant and highly influential essay on “Aesthetic Concepts” (*Philosophical Review*, 68 [1959]) – though it discusses a variety of qualities, such as grace, elegance, delicacy, garishness – refers to beauty only in a final footnote, as merely one (perhaps not the most interesting or important) of those qualities. And in his later Inaugural Lecture at the University of Lancaster (1966), in which he calls upon



**TURNER, J.M.**  
**ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.**  
1817. Oil on canvas.  
Yale Center for British Art,  
New Haven, CT

**Bernard Bosanquet –**  
(July 14, 1848, Alnwick, Northumberland, England - February 8, 1923, London)  
English philosopher and political theorist and an influential figure on matters of political and social policy in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain

**sublime –**  
from the Latin *sublimis* (under the lintel, high, exalted) is the quality of transcendent greatness, whether physical, moral, intellectual, metaphysical or artistic



**ROSSETTI, DANTE  
GABRIEL. JANE MORRIS  
(THE BLUE SILK DRESS).**

Oil on canvas, dated 1868. The Society of Antiquaries of London (Kelmscott Manor)

**transcendentalists –**

Transcendentalism was a group of new ideas in literature, religion, culture, and philosophy that emerged in New England in the early- to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It is sometimes called American Transcendentalism to distinguish it from other uses of the word transcendental.

**Robert Seymour Bridges –**

(October 23, 1844 - April 21, 1930) English poet, holder of the honour of poet laureate from 1913

**unequivocal –**

clearly defined

philosophers to undertake far more extensive analyses of the varied terms in the critic's rich vocabulary, he suggests that too much effort has centered on a very few terms, including "beautiful." Here we might note an extreme compression of the scope of beauty, as contrasted with its expansion by Bosanquet, and say that in the intervening half-century beauty has itself been swallowed up by the broader concept of expressive quality.

Yet would this contrast be more than a verbal one? If Bosanquet simply defines "beautiful" so that it includes all aesthetic qualities, and Sibley defines it so that "beautiful", "powerful", "elegant", and "gay", for example, now mark coordinate species, it might be argued that they are in fact saying nearly the same thing in different words. Of course, it is still of historical interest that the word is being used in a different sense, but perhaps that fact belongs to philology, not philosophy – the history of words, not the history of doctrines.

The contrast between Bosanquet and Sibley is indeed less significant, historically, than their similarity, for Bosanquet marks a turning point. In the nineteenth century, the Romantic and Victorian poets, the **Transcendentalists**, those who cultivated art for art's sake, ascribed to beauty the highest value, even a kind of divinity; and they would feel that beauty has not fared well in the twentieth century – even if they agreed that **Robert Bridges'** *Testament of Beauty* (Oxford, 1929) is one of its greatest poetic monuments.

First, beauty – the central topic in aesthetic theory from the Greeks through the German idealists – was displaced by the concept of expression. Benedetto Croce's *Estetica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale* (Milan, 1902) developed a new view of artistic creation and aesthetic experience based on the double formula that "art equals expression equals intuition", and ended by defining beauty as simply "successful expression" – or rather "expression and nothing more, because expression when it is not successful is not expression." "Expression and beauty are not two concepts, but a single concept", he remarks in his *Breviario di estetica* (Bari, 1913), Lecture II. Croce's system was the dominant influence in aesthetics for three decades, and has left its mark even on the thinking of those who repudiate his basic doctrines. Not that the implications of his highly paradoxical statements have been found to be **unequivocal**: if art is identical to expression, and beauty is also identical to expression, then, it might be argued, beauty is the essence of art. But expression and intuition are for Croce the basic concepts in terms of which the aesthetic is to be understood. One consequence was that the way opened for recognizing a much wider range of aesthetic qualities than had ever been recognized before. It is noteworthy that the two most influential twentieth-century writers on the fine arts, Clive Bell (*Art*, London [1914]; New York [1958], pp. 20ff.) and Roger Fry (*Vision and Design*, London [1920]; Middlesex [1937], pp. 236ff.) contrasted beauty, at least in its ordinary senses, with "significant form", which was for them the important feature of visual art.

Second, the twentieth century has seen the most violent repudiation of beauty by some creative artists themselves – not merely by Dada, black theater, the "theater of cruelty", "op art", and similar minor movements, but by more serious artists, such as expressionist painters and ideological playwrights who have felt that the achievement of beauty is not the most important aim of art, and may interfere with the intensification of experience or the radicalizing of the perceiver. This conflict first appeared sharply among the French nineteenth-century realists and naturalists – Flaubert and Zola felt it, in their very different ways, and were prepared to dispense with beauty to achieve their visions of truth. The twentieth-century avant garde is more likely to speak in the voice of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (Paris [1934]; New York [1961], pp. 1-2): "This is not

a book, in the ordinary sense of the word. No, this is a prolonged insult, a gob of spit in the face of Art, a kick in the pants to God, Man, Destiny, Time, Love, Beauty.”

Third, the twentieth century is perhaps the first century in which the very existence of beauty has been categorically denied. “Terms such as Beauty are used in discussion for the sake of their emotive value”, said one of the earliest manifestoes of the modern linguistic movement in philosophy, C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards’ *Meaning of Meaning* (London and New York, 1923). According to their early version of what later came to be developed – notably by Charles L. Stevenson in *Ethics and Language* (New Haven, 1944) – into a much more sophisticated one, genuine empirical statements, whether objective (“This is red”) or subjective (“I feel sad”), are couched in “referential language”, but the statement “That is beautiful” (like other value judgments) is “emotive language”, and amounts to no more than an exclamation of approval (“Oh, ah!” “Mmmmm!”) in the presence of an object. On this view, the noun “beauty”, though deceptively like the noun “booty”, refers to nothing, since there is nothing for it to refer to, and hence all statements about beauty or about things being beautiful are, strictly speaking, meaningless.

## II. CONCEPTS OF BEAUTY

The history of beauty is probably best conceived not as the history of a single concept selected and favored by the historian because of his own aesthetic theory, but as the history of a *term* (or set of more or less synonymous terms in different languages) designating a **cluster** of concepts whose distinctions and connections are of equal philosophic interest. Though not dominant in recent and contemporary aesthetics, the term “beautiful” has figured in a variety of theories and in a variety of inquiries, and these can best be understood if we first sort out the main senses in which the term has been, and is being, used.

It is safe to say that throughout its history “beautiful” has always embodied both descriptive and appraisive elements: it has been used both to characterize works of art or nature and to judge them. Aestheticians have often commingled the two senses, or weaved back and forth between them, without being very clear about the distinction. In recent years these hazards have somewhat diminished (though not disappeared), largely owing to the influence of analytic or linguistic philosophers, whose high standards of rigor both in definition and in argument, and whose concern to keep clear the distinction between normative and nonnormative discourse, have led many aestheticians to adopt one or the other sense, either by stipulation or by an appeal to what they take to be ordinary (i.e., established nonphilosophical) usage. A fundamental difference among recent philosophers is between those who use “beautiful” appraisively as the most general term of aesthetic approbation and those who use it descriptively as a *ground* of aesthetic approbation.

In the first sense, “beauty” becomes synonymous with another widely-used term, “aesthetic value”: to say that an object is beautiful is not to report any facts about it,



GOYO, HASHIGUCHI.  
KAMISUKI.

(Combing the hair), Japan,  
AD 1920.

The British Museum Images

**cluster** –  
a small group or bunch of  
something



**GODWARD, JOHN WILLIAM.  
NERISSA**

but simply to praise it from the aesthetic point of view. This usage is not uncommon; it is, for example, that of Harold Osborne in his *Theory of Beauty* (London [1952], Ch. 1), where he defines “beauty” as “the proper or characteristic excellence of a work of art”, though he also acknowledges that “beauty” is widely used as a “descriptive” term. Stephen Pepper (*Aesthetic Quality...*, New York [1937], Intro.) equates beauty with “positive aesthetic value”; Bosanquet’s *Three Lectures on Aesthetics* (London, 1915) insists that to equate beauty with “aesthetic excellence” is “not merely convenient but right.” Most aestheticians now avoid this use, since in effect it wastes a word that is needed for more specific purposes, and tends to add to the existing confusion in the use of “beauty.”

In the second sense, beauty becomes a *ground* of aesthetic approbation, that is, a property that may properly be cited in a reason to justify that approbation. We may then say the music is good *because* it is beautiful; its beauty makes, or helps to make, it good. This is the usage chosen for the present article.

It is useful to distinguish between the **monists**, who hold that beauty is the sole ground of aesthetic value, and the **pluralists**, who allow that other properties may also count in favor of an object, when considered from the aesthetic point of view.

Those who treat beauty as a ground of aesthetic value, whether monists or pluralists, divide further into two groups, according to the sort of property they single out as legitimate grounds and describe as beauty. The term “beauty” is used affectively and attributively.

In the Affective use, to say “X is beautiful” means the same as to say “X gives (or is capable of giving) a certain sort of pleasure or satisfaction” (call it “kalistic satisfaction”). In Chapters 3 and 4 of *What is Art?* (1896), Tolstoy, after reviewing a large number of statements about beauty (some definitions, some descriptions, some theories), concluded that when the “objective-mystical” ones are set aside, the rest amount to defining beauty as pleasurable. Occasionally the word “disinterested” is added, though, as Tolstoy remarked, this is redundant. The distinctively aesthetic feature of kalistic pleasure has been found in its immediacy or sensuousness or its relative stability and permanence (Harry Rutgers Marshall, *The Beautiful*, London [1924]). Ethel Puffer (Howes) argued that to be beautiful is to possess the “permanent possibility” of giving an experience characterized by a “union of stimulation and repose” or “**equilibrium**” of “**antagonistic** impulses” (*The Psychology of Beauty*, Boston [1905], Ch. 2). C. K. Ogden, I. A. Richards, and James Wood called this equilibrium “synaesthesia” (*Foundations of Aesthetics*, London [1922]). Perhaps the bestknown suggestion is that of **George Santayana** in *The Sense of Beauty* (New York [1896], Part I): that “Beauty is pleasure regarded [that is, experienced] as the quality of a thing”, or “pleasure objectified.”

A more fundamental difference among Affective uses is that between relativistic and nonrelativistic ones. Beauty may be defined *nonrelativistically* as the capacity to provide kalistic satisfaction. **John Ruskin**, for example (*Modern Painters*, London [1846], I, i, 6), says, “Any material object which can give us pleasure in the simple contemplation of its outward qualities without any direct and definite exertion of the intellect, I call in some way or in some degree, beautiful.” Again, W. D. Ross in *The Right and the Good* (Oxford [1930], Ch. 4) states clearly and defends ably a view “which identifies beauty with the *power* of producing a certain sort of experience in minds, the sort of experience which we are familiar with under such names as aesthetic enjoyment or aesthetic thrill” (p. 127). It is in this sense that he holds beauty to be objective, for it is a property of (a capacity in) the object. On this view, the question whether a particular painting is beautiful is a straightforward question, whether someone can be found who derives kalistic pleasure from it, or whether there is reason to believe

**monism** –  
a metaphysical/theological  
view that believes in a universal  
underlying principle in nature

**pluralism** –  
in the general sense, the  
affirmation and acceptance of  
diversity

**equilibrium** –  
the sense of balance present in  
humans and animals.

**antagonistic** –  
indicating opposition or  
resistance

**George Santayana** –  
(December 16, 1863, Madrid  
- September 26, 1952, Rome),  
philosopher, essayist, poet, and  
novelist

**John Ruskin** –  
(February 8, 1819 - January 20,  
1900) best known for his work  
as an art critic and social critic,  
but remembered as an author,  
poet and artist as well.



that in time such a person will appear. The nonrelativist position has been defended by Stephen Pepper, *The Work of Art* (Bloomington, Ind. [1955], Ch. 2).

The alternative view is that when a particular person, A, says “X is beautiful”, he is to be understood as saying that X actually does give, or has given, pleasure to him (whether or not among others); and of course when B says “X is beautiful” he is saying that X gives pleasure to him. Thus if A and B enter into a dispute about the beauty of X, one affirming and the other denying that X is beautiful, it may turn out that they are not in fact contradicting one another, for A is saying that X pleases A and B is saying that X does not please B. A *relativistic* definition of beauty is one that permits such a situation to arise, i.e., one according to which two persons who verbally disagree about the beauty of an object can both be speaking the truth.

The view of beauty proposed by **Samuel Alexander** in *Beauty and Other Forms of Value* (London [1933], Ch. 10) is relativistic in this sense. Though Alexander initially proposes a capacity-definition – “Beauty... is that which satisfies... the constructive impulse used contemplatively, and is beautiful or has value because it pleases us after the manner so described” (pp. 179-80) – he allows beauty to have value only when it “satisfies a standard mind”, or those who “possess the standard **aesthetic** sentiment”, and since the standard varies with the society, “It follows that there is no fixed or eternal standard of the beautiful but that it is relative to age and people” (pp. 175-77). Another notable defense of relativism is that in C. J. Ducasse, *Philosophy of Art* (New York and Toronto [1929]; rev. ed. [1966], Ch. 15, §§10-16).

The questions whether there is a peculiar species of satisfaction or pleasure properly called “aesthetic”, and whether works of art provide such satisfaction, and whether the provision of such satisfaction is a legitimate ground of aesthetic value, are all important questions. But there seems little warrant for introducing the term “beauty” into such discussions. Beauty of course can be enjoyed, can give us pleasure; but when we say that it is the beauty that pleases us we cannot be understood to mean anything so empty as that what pleases us is what pleases us. Therefore many aestheticians avoid the Affective use of the term “beauty.”

The alternative is to regard beauty as a property of perceived things (of sunsets and precious stones as well as of sonnets and landscape paintings). To hold this Attributive view is not necessarily to be committed to any far-reaching **metaphysical** or **epistemological** position – but only to say that when a painting is seen, its seen beauty is a phenomenally objective character of it, in the same way its colors and shapes are, and that beauty can be heard in sound – though whether it can also be tasted and smelt is a question that goes back a long way in the history of aesthetics, and is still subject to dispute (see, for example, Francis J. Coleman, “Can a Smell or a Taste or a Touch be Beautiful?” *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 2 [1965]).

The position of G. E. Moore (*Principia Ethica*, Cambridge [1903], Ch. 6) may be cited as an example of the Attributive view. For though he thinks it best to define beauty as “that of which the admiring contemplation is good in itself” (p. 201), he holds that



**WILLIAM, HOGARTH.**  
**MARRIAGE A LA MODE.**

Second scene from a series of six. National Gallery, London

**Samuel Alexander –**

(January 6, 1859 - September 13, 1938) Australian-born British philosopher. He was the first Jewish fellow of an Oxbridge college

**aesthetic relativism –**

philosophical view that the judgement of beauty is relative to individuals, cultures, time periods and contexts, and that there are no universal criteria of beauty

**metaphysics –**

branch of philosophy dealing with the ultimate nature of reality

**epistemology –**

branch of philosophy that investigates the origin, nature, methods, and limits of human knowledge



**THE CHARIOTEER OF DELPHI**  
c.470 B.C. Delphi Archaeological  
Museum.

the “beautiful qualities” of objects – “that is to say any or all of those elements in the object which possess any positive beauty” – is such that their mere existence has some intrinsic value, though it is the *enjoyment* of beautiful objects and the pleasure of personal relationships that are “by far the most valuable things, which we know or can imagine” (pp. 188-92). (See also a very good defense of this view by T. E. Jessop, “The Definition of Beauty”, *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 1933.)

Those who regard beauty as a property divide on the question whether it is a natural property, explainable in psychophysical terms, or a nonnatural property, supervening upon the object, but having a transcendent status, like a Platonic Idea. The nonnatural view, despite its ancient tradition, has practically disappeared from the scene, outside the schools of Neo-Scholasticism (for example, Jacques Maritain, *Art et scolastique*, Paris [1920]; trans. J. F. Scanlan, New York [1930], and also by Joseph Evans, New York [1962]; and Étienne Gilson, *The Arts of the Beautiful*, New York [1965]). The naturalist view is defended by D. W. Prall, *Aesthetic Judgment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929). He holds that beauty may be called a “tertiary quality” of objects, but strictly speaking it occurs only in “transactions” between objects and human organisms, its occurrence being dependent on both organic and external processes.

Naturalists and nonnaturalists alike also divide on the further question whether beauty is complex or simple.

What may be called the Definist view is that beauty is a complex property, capable of analysis into more elementary features of a formal kind. This view, coming down from Platonists, **Neo-Platonists**, Stoics, Augustinians, and others, makes a key use of various pregnant terms: harmony, measure, proportion, symmetry, order. Traditional philosophers who searched for a definition of beauty were presumably sometimes searching for a successful formula of this sort, but such proposals have seldom stood long against the proper tests to determine whether the proposed properties are both necessary and sufficient for beauty.

The Nondefinist may argue that very simple things (single colors or tones) can be beautiful, though they have no harmony, symmetry, etc. He may argue that even if all well-proportioned things are beautiful, well-proportionedness cannot be identified with beauty, for one causes, or explains, the other. For him, beauty is a simple quality, like yellow or the taste of sugar, and it is incapable of being analyzed into simpler constituents. Many inquiries that are described, perhaps even by the inquirer, as a search for the “definition of beauty” are better understood as a search for the *conditions* of beauty: i.e., those features of objects whose presence insures (or aids) the presence of beauty. Among those modern aestheticians who have concerned themselves much with problems about beauty, the Nondefinist view has generally prevailed.

But Nondefinists themselves divide on what is evidently the next question: What are the conditions of beauty? Broadly speaking, there are those who hold that the conditions of beauty are internal properties of the object that is beautiful (we may call them Objectivists) and those who hold that the conditions of beauty lie, *at least in part*, outside the object itself.

Objectivism may be characterized in general as commitment to a principle defended by **G. E. Moore**: that given two objects with the same “intrinsic” properties, if one is beautiful, the other must be equally so. But Objectivism can be formulated in two different ways, and it is important not to lose sight of the distinction, though for convenience we can discuss them together. Affective Objectivism is the position that adopts an Affective definition of beauty and proceeds to inquire into the perceptual conditions of kalistic satisfaction; Qualitative Objectivism regards beauty as a quality and inquires into its perceptual conditions. A proposed

neo--

(used as a combining form)  
recent or new

**George Edward Moore** --

(November 4, 1873 - October  
24, 1958) distinguished and  
influential English philosopher  
who studied and later taught at  
the University of Cambridge

answer to the question, “What are the objective conditions of beauty (considered as either kalistic satisfaction or as a quality)?” is a genuine *theory* of beauty, i.e., a theory about what makes an object beautiful. Two types of theory have figured largely in the history of aesthetics, and are still alive today. Each makes the old and much-disputed distinction between the form and the content of an object; each selects one of these aspects as the exclusive (or at least primary) determinant of beauty. Let us call them **Formalism** and **Intellectualism**.

Formalism is the theory that the beauty of an object (or the kalistic satisfaction it provides) is a function solely of its formal features. For example, “Any formal organization or pattern which is intrinsically satisfying may be said to possess beauty” (T. M. Greene, *The Arts and the Art of Criticism*, Princeton [1940], Intro.). Here measure, proportion, order, etc., may be invoked again; or the theorist may attempt to work out more refined conditions, such as the good *Gestalt*, the Golden Section, Hogarth’s “line of beauty”, “dynamic symmetry.” Some contemporary theorists have proposed to apply information theory to art and calculate optimum levels of redundancy that can explain the beauty of a melody or a visual design.

Intellectualism is the view that beauty (or kalistic satisfaction) is a function of cognitive content: a concept, or an idea (in the Hegelian sense), embodied in sensuous form, shines in appearance and gives a thing its beauty. Philosophers have been won to this view by reflecting that certain great beauties are difficult to account for by formal perfection alone, and also by its systematic suitability to their other metaphysical and epistemological positions. (See, for example, W. T. Stace, *The Meaning of Beauty*, London [1929]. For a sustained and interesting defense of the view that beauty is “that in which we see life as we understand and desire it, as it gives us joy”, see N. G. Chernyshevsky, *The Aesthetic Relation of Art to Reality* [1855], trans. in *Selected Philosophical Essays*, Moscow [1953]; cf. A. G. Kharchev, “On the Problem of the Essence and Specifics of the Beautiful”, trans. in *Soviet Studies in Philosophy* [1962-63].)

Formal and Intellectualist elements have been combined in various ways. For example, Friedrich Kainz – *Vorlesungen über Ästhetik* (Vienna, 1948), trans. H. M. Schueller, *Aesthetics the Science* (Detroit, 1962) – who treats beauty Affectively, holds that it depends on both content and form (though sometimes he speaks of “beauty of form” and “beauty of content” as distinct). He discusses at length various formal and cognitive features that contribute to the production of beauty (see Ch. 4, §3; Ch. 2, §8): for example (on the side of content), conformity to type and Idea, “perceptual perfection”, “plenitude of life”, “animation”; and (on the side of form) symmetry, proportion, “agreeable rhythmic structure”, “eusynopsis and complexibility” (which seem to constitute organic unity).

Other aestheticians, while often agreeing that the beauty of an object has something to do with its formal features (and perhaps sometimes agreeing that it has something to do with its cognitive content), have come to doubt that beauty can be fully accounted for in these terms alone. They have been struck by, and have sharply called attention to, the enormous apparent variability of taste in beauty, from person to person, age to age, culture to culture. What one person finds beautiful in women, in clothes, in



**KUNISADA,  
PORTRAIT OF KABUKI ACTOR  
KAWARAZAKI GONJURO I. 1861**

**formalism –**

an emphasis on form over content or meaning in the arts, literature, or philosophy

**intellectualism –**

doctrine about the possibility of deriving knowledge from reason alone, intellectualism can stand for a general approach emphasising the importance of learning and logical thinking



**SARGENT, JOHN SINGER. MADAME X (MADAME PIERRE GAUTREAU).** 1884. Oil on canvas. 234.95 x 109.86cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Manhattan.

**emphatic –**

done or said in a strong way and without any doubt

**the Ubangi River –**

major tributary of the Congo River in Central Africa. the Ubangi defines the boundary between the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

**ostentatious –**

given to excessive outward display, showy implies an imposing or ... by the thing's value or the person's standing

**divergence –**

departure from a norm; deviation; difference, as of opinion

**Edmund Burke –**

(12 January 1729 - 9 July 1797) Anglo-Irish statesman, author, orator, political theorist, and philosopher.

buildings, in sculpture, in music, may not appear beautiful at all to another who is older or younger or is from a different ethnic group or “subculture.” This fact (often incorrectly called “relativism”) has been stated very frequently and very **emphatically** in recent decades, and its recognition has done much to undermine confidence in the Objective Theory. Nonobjectivism is widely maintained.

Objectivists have pointed out that variability does not necessarily disprove objectivism. Certainly the variability of taste must be accounted for, insofar as it exists. If the **Ubangi** bride appears beautiful to her husband, but not to a Miss America judge, then the capacity to perceive beauty, at least under certain conditions, must depend on subjective factors. But it does not follow that the beauty is not there merely because it can be overlooked by those who are culturally deprived in some relevant way; a Westerner may not be able to hear the beauty of Chinese music simply because he has not yet learned the musical system. Moreover, variability of taste may have been exaggerated. Do we really know what the Ubangi husband sees in his wife? Just because he chooses her and cherishes her, we cannot infer that she looks beautiful to him; he may be interested in something besides beauty, just as many architects who design ugly buildings know that their clients care less for beauty than for **ostentatious** display of wealth or a fashionably “modern” look.

Although a piece of cloth looks red to some and gray to others, we do not hesitate to say that it is “really” red, even though a person who is color-blind cannot perceive its redness. We regard the redness of the object as a function of its physical properties (wavelength of reflected light), even though the *experience* of redness is a function of both the object and certain necessary conditions in the perceiving organism. Similarly, the Objectivist wants to regard beauty as a function of objective features. But the Nonobjectivist asks whether, in this case, the functional relationship is so obscure and the variability of perception so great that the analogy with color cannot be maintained. This problem has proved to be a continuing cause of puzzlement and dispute.

A number of factors, both personal and social, have been investigated to explain **divergencies** in the perception of beauty. For one example, the modern movement of functionalism, a descendant of the old view that beauty depends in some way on utility, has sometimes been interpreted as holding that what makes an object beautiful is its being designed to fulfill a purpose in the simplest and most efficient way. Many plausible examples, of course, can be given, and functionalists have taught us to be willing to see beauties to which we had been blind or indifferent – in machines and tools. But **Edmund Burke** pointed out long ago that the snout of a pig may be just as efficient for its purpose as the body of a racehorse – which does not make it beautiful. Thus functionalists generally fall back on a qualification: the object must not only fulfill its function well, but “express” its function; however, this may not lead to beauty but to some other desirable aesthetic quality.

### III. STUDIES OF BEAUTY

The main work that has been done in the twentieth century on the concepts of beauty may conveniently be sorted into four lines of inquiry: (1) the philosophical analysis of beauty, (2) the phenomenology of beauty, (3) the psychology of beauty, (4) the sociology and anthropology of beauty. These will be described briefly.

**I. Philosophical Analysis.** The distinctions made in Part II of this article are the product of philosophical analysis by many mid-twentieth-century thinkers, a number of

whom have already been referred to. Philosophical analysis consists of various procedures designed to elicit and make explicit the nature of a concept: e.g., is it simple or complex? If complex, what are its constituents? Does it have necessary and sufficient constituents, or is it really a family of concepts with overlapping sets of criteria? Analytic methods have contributed to progress in every branch of philosophy, including aesthetics. It is safe to say that, at the very least, the distinct issues involving beauty and the reasonable defensible resolutions are better understood today than in any previous period.

**2. Phenomenology.** The phenomenologist is concerned with the characteristics of experience itself, including its “intentional objects.” His aim is to remain wholly faithful to what is given, without importing **extraneous** presuppositions or illegitimate **inferences** – to discriminate and expose the subtle differences between closely allied experiences, and fix their essential natures. To ask what is the difference in experience between beauty and grace or prettiness, for example, is a phenomenological question. What distinguishes contemporary phenomenology as a particular school or movement is the systematic formulation of its program (despite many differences among its practitioners) and the immense sensitivity and thoroughness with which inquiries have been carried out.

Phenomenologists (including those sometimes referred to as existential phenomenologists) have contributed to several branches of aesthetics. Some understanding of their methods and results can be provided by a brief account of two phenomenological essays, among the few that deal directly and in detail with concepts of beauty. The first is “Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes”, by Martin Heidegger (Holzwege [1950]; trans. by Albert Hofstadter, as “The Origin of the Work of Art”, in Hofstadter and Richard Kuhn, eds., *Philosophies of Art and Beauty*, New York [1964]). Seeking for the essential “workly” character of the art-work (in contrast to the “thingly” character of mere things and the “equipmental” character of useful objects), Heidegger finds it in “the setting-itself-into-work of the truth of what is.” Thus in Van Gogh’s picture of the peasant shoes (i.e., of certain pieces of equipment), the being of the shoes (their “truth”) is “unconcealed.” In its capacity to suggest something of the life of the peasant – his toil, poverty, toughness – this painting “discloses a world”; as a physical object, exploiting and exhibiting the qualities of a medium, it “sets forth the *earth*.” The art-work is a field of conflict between world, which strives for openness, and earth, which has a tendency to withdraw and hide; in this conflict, the truth of being is laid open, and this happening is beauty: “Beauty is one way in which truth occurs as unconcealment.”

The second essay is *Truth and Art*, by Albert Hofstadter (New York, 1965). According to Hofstadter, beauty, “the central aesthetic phenomenon”, is “a union of power and measure, a dynamic or living harmony” that is “the appearance of truth – not of any truth at random, but of truth of *being*” – which is the kind of truth that “comes about when a being projects and realizes its own being.” In certain natural phenomena – the snowflake, the color gold, the form of the horse – Hofstadter discerns this self-realization; e.g., “the horse’s visual appearance makes it *look* like life-will – energy, vitality, mobility – come to perfect realization” (Ch. 7). In the experience of beauty we



GOGH, VINCENT VAN.  
A PAIR OF SHOES. 1885  
OIL PAINTING

**extraneous** –  
not directly connected with or related to something

**inference** –  
the process of arriving at some conclusion that, though it is not logically derivable from the assumed premises, possesses some degree of probability relative to the premises

are seized by the “rightness” or “validity” of the object, which appears in its highest form in works of art (Ch. 8).

**3. Experimental Psychology.** The systematic experimental study of aesthetic responses is generally regarded as having been initiated by Gustav Fechner, in his *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Leipzig, 1876). He has been followed by a large number of investigators, among whom Richard Müller-Freienfels and Max Dessoir are especially noteworthy. Psychological aestheticians have studied reactions to elements of visual, musical, and verbal design (colors, lines, sounds of words), and to combinations of elements (rhythm, meter, pictorial balance); they have used the “method of paired comparisons” to discover what kinds of object certain people call beautiful, and what kinds of people call certain objects beautiful – and why. They have learned a great deal about preferences in these matters, e.g., that it is not the **Golden Rectangle**, but proportions close to it, that are preferred in playing cards, etc.; that the popularity of red among American children declines after age six; that British children find beauty in nature before they become aware – about age ten – of beauty in art; that when photographs of several men or women are superimposed to produce a “profile-picture”, it is judged more beautiful than the originals. Much of this work is reviewed in A. R. Chandler, *Beauty and Human Nature* (New York and London, 1934), and C. W. Valentine, *The Experimental Psychology of Beauty* (London, 1962).

It is not always clear at what point psychological aesthetics casts light on the nature of beauty. Valentine holds – and offers experimental evidence (in Chs. 7 and 13) to show – that the appreciation of beauty is not the same as the enjoyment of pleasure, though typically accompanied by it; yet “It has been found more convenient in such psychological experiments to ask persons the question, ‘Do you like this, and if so, why?’ or ‘Do you find this pleasing?’ rather than ‘Do you think this beautiful, and why?’” (p. 6). But different questions, however convenient, are likely to evoke different answers (cf. H. J. Eysenck, *Sense and Nonsense in Psychology*, Baltimore [1957], Ch. 8).

The problem of explaining our perception of beauty (or our experience of kalistic pleasure) has tempted few psychologists, and is generally thought to remain unsolved. During the first decades of this century, the Empathy Theory was widely accepted. First expounded by **Theodor Lipps** in his *Aesthetik* (2 vols., Hamburg and Leipzig, 1903-06), the theory was developed and popularized by Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), in *The Beautiful* (Cambridge and New York, 1913) and Herbert S. Langfeld, *The Aesthetic Attitude* (New York, 1920). The primary purpose of the Empathy Theory was to explain the expressiveness of visual forms in terms of the unconscious transference of the perceiver’s activities to the object (something in the mountain as seen activates our tendency to rise, and so we see mountain as “rising”); when the empathic response is highly unified and quite uninhibited and unchecked, beauty is experienced. The hypothesis was never verified, and serious difficulties were raised as a result of some experiments. The satisfaction taken in perceiving ordered patterns of visual stimuli has been explained by the Gestalt psychologists in terms of phenomenal “requiredness” and “good gestalts” (see, for example, Kurt Koffka, “Problems in the Psychology of Art”, in *Art: A Bryn Mawr Symposium*, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1940); but Gestalt psychologists have generally not given special attention to beauty.

**4. Social Science.** When beauty is considered in the context of a whole society or culture, a number of significant questions suggest themselves: What are the social causes and effects of people’s ideas of beauty or experience of beauty? How is the capacity to appreciate a certain kind of beauty, or the preference for it, associated with other cultural traits, or with social class, role, or status? Though the pioneering sociological thinkers of the nineteenth century, for example, Jean-Marie Guyau, *L’Art*

**golden rectangle –**

rectangle whose side lengths are in the golden ratio,  $1:\phi$ , that is, approximately 1:1.618

**Theodor Lipps –**

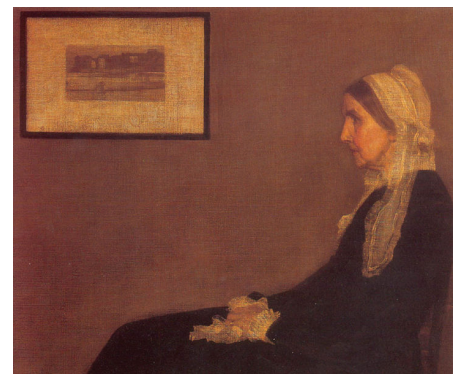
(1851-1914) German philosopher concerned with concepts of art & the aesthetic, focusing much of his philosophy around such issues

*au point de vue sociologique* (Paris, 1889), began to consider such questions, even today it cannot be said that we have obtained very conclusive answers. This is partly because the specific questions about beauty have been sunk into more general questions; there are many studies of the variability of taste, of **connoisseurship**, of artistic reputations, etc., but it is not clear in many cases what light they shed on the social aspects of beauty. Adolf S. Tomars, for example, begins his *Introduction to the Sociology of Art* (Mexico City, 1940) by marking out the “phenomena of art” as those referred to in making the judgment “this is beautiful” (Ch. 1). And he defends a relativistic account of beauty, which he holds to be required by the scientific character of his investigation (Ch. 12). But for the most part, beauty drops out of his inquiry into relations between characteristics of art (“styles”) and types of community, social class, or institution. Vytautas Kavolis (*Artistic Expression; A Sociological Analysis*, Ithaca, N.Y. [1968]) discusses many discoveries about preference: for example, according to the Lynds’ study of “Middletown”, homes of lower middle-class urban families in the 1920s “were more likely than those of other class levels” to have Whistler’s portrait of his mother (Chs. 3, 7); and highly ethnocentric people prefer regular, balanced designs (B. G. Rosenberg and C. N. Zimet, 1957). But Kavolis himself does not use the term “beauty” at all.

Cultural anthropologists have made a beginning in the investigation of beauty (again almost always approached through aesthetic preference, especially in view of the linguistic difficulties), with cross-cultural comparative studies, and intercultural functional studies. There is evidence to support two generalizations.

First, “the appeal of what a people consider surpassingly pleasing, beauty as an abstraction, that is, is broadly spread over the earth, and lies deep in human experience – so wide, and so deep, that it is to be classed as a cultural universal” (Melville J. Herskovits, in *Aspects of Primitive Art* [1959], p. 43). This is seen, for example, in the Pakot (Kenya) distinction between the “good” milk pot and the “beautiful” lip of the pot’s rim or the severely critical attitude of the **Tlingit** audience toward their dancers, and in the artistic activities of Australian **aborigines**: “aboriginal art is predominantly nonmagical, i.e., used in the secular and ceremonial life by men, women, and children, to satisfy an aesthetic urge or to portray their beliefs” (Charles P. Mountford, in Marian W. Smith, ed., *The Artist in Tribal Society*, New York [1961], p. 8). Herbert Read, commenting on this paper, however, suggested that “tribal art in general is vital rather than beautiful” (ibid. p. 17).

Second, there is a significant cross-cultural convergence in standards of beauty, despite evidence that some standards of judgment applied by experts in one culture are not applied in others. “I believe that there are universal standards of aesthetic quality, just as there are universal standards of technical efficiency”, wrote Raymond Firth (*Elements of Social Organization*, London [1951]; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Boston [1963], p. 161). Irvin L. Child and various collaborators in a number of studies have provided evidence against the earlier prevalent view among ethnologists that taste is completely variable. They found, for example, significant correlations between BaKwele and **New Haven** judgments of beauty (or aesthetic likeability) in BaKwele masks (I. L. Child and Leon Siroto, 1965).



**WHISTLER, JAMES MCNEILL. PORTRAIT OF HIS MOTHER. (SECTION)**

**connoisseur –**

person of informed and discriminating taste

**Tlingit –**

a matrilineal society who developed a complex hunter-gatherer culture in the temperate rainforest of the southeast Alaska coast and the Alexander Archipelago

**aborigines –**

Indigenous peoples, peoples with a prior or historical association with a land, and who maintain (at least in part) their distinct traditions and association with the land, and are differentiated in some way from the surrounding populations and dominant nation-state culture and governance

**New Haven –**

second-largest city in Connecticut, after Bridgeport

## SUMMARY

Though displaced from their central or dominant position in the aesthetician's field of concern, the concepts of beauty have continued to be of interest, and indeed have been the subject of numerous books and smaller studies, especially in English, French, German, and Italian. Philosophers have carefully explicated the distinctions, and the logical connections, among these concepts, and have proposed solutions to the philosophical problems about beauty. To a lesser extent, other researchers have investigated the empirical problems about beauty. But it has not lost its capacity, evident from the beginning of aesthetic inquiry, to tease and puzzle thought.

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**SOURCE:** Beardsley, Monroe C. "Theory of Beauty Since the Mid-Nineteenth Century". *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. <<http://etext.virginia.edu/cgi-local/DHI/dhi.cgi?id=dvl-29>>

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Is "beauty" "the term" or "the concept"? Why so? What have you learnt about views on beauty from the text?
2. Is "the variability of taste" important for our understanding of beauty? Why? What do Child and various collaborators' studies show about "the variability of taste"?
3. What is the function of "beauty"?
4. What work has been done in the 20th century on the concepts of beauty?
5. How can beauty be considered in the context of a whole society or culture? Give examples.
6. What does the Lynds' study of "Middletown" tell you about preference? How can you interpret this example? Do you know any other similar studies on preference?



**BUST OF QUEEN  
NEFERTITI IN THE ALTES  
MUSEUM, BERLIN**



## ETHEL D. PUFFER THE BEAUTY OF VISUAL FORM

Ethel D. Puffer (Howes) (1872-1950) was born in Framingham, Massachusetts. She was a psychologist and first director of the Institute for the Coordination of Women's Interests at Smith College. Puffer received her Ph.D. from Radcliffe College in 1902. She wrote her first book, "The Psychology of Beauty" in 1905. Her other works are: "Accepting the Universe", *Atlantic Monthly* (1922), "Continuity for Women", *Atlantic Monthly* (1922), "True and Substantial Happiness", *Women's Home Companion* (1923), "The Meaning of Progress in the Women Movement", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (1929) and "The Golden Age", *Radcliffe Quarterly* (1937).

I

IN what consists the Beauty of Visual Form? The older writers on what we now know as the science of art did not ask themselves this question. Although we are accustomed to hear that order, symmetry, unity in variety, was the Greek, and in particular the Platonic, formula for beauty, we observe, on examining the passages cited in evidence, that it is rather the moral quality appertaining to these characteristics that determines them as beautiful; symmetry is beautiful, because harmonious, and inducing order and self-restraint. Aristotle's single pronouncement in the sense of our question is the dictum: there is no beauty without a certain magnitude. Lessing, in his "Laocoon", really the first modern treatise in aesthetics, discusses the excellences of painting and poetry, but deals with visible beauty as if it were a fixed quality, understood when referred to, like color. This is undoubtedly due to his unconscious reference of beauty to the human form alone; a reference which he would have denied, but which influences his whole aesthetic theory. In speaking of a beautiful picture, for instance, he would have meant first of all the representation of beautiful persons in it, hardly at all that essential beauty of the picture as painting, to which every inch of the canvas is alike precious. It is clear to us now, however, that the beauty of the human form is the most obscure of all possible cases, complex in itself, and overlaid and involved as it is with innumerable interests and motives of extra-aesthetic character. Beauty in simple forms must be our first study; and great credit is due to **Hogarth** for having propounded in his "Analysis of Beauty" the simple question – what makes the quality of beauty to the eye?

But in visible beauty, the aesthetic value of pure form is not the only element involved: or at least it must be settled whether or not it is the only element involved. If in a work of art, as we believe, what belongs to its excellence belongs to its beauty, we may not applaud one painter, for instance, for his marvelous color-schemes, another for his expression of emotion, another for his delineation of character, without acknowledging that expression of character and emotion come within our concept of visible beauty. **Franz von Lenbach** was once asked what he thought likely to be the



**LENBACH, FRANZ VON.**  
**YOUNG SHEPHERD.**

1860. Neue Pinakothek,  
München

**William Hogarth –**

(November 10, 1697 - October 26, 1764), major English painter, printmaker, pictorial satirist, and editorial cartoonist who has been credited as a pioneer in western sequential art.

**Franz von Lenbach –**

(December 13, 1836 - May 6, 1904) German painter born in Schrobenuhnen, Bavaria



MALEVICH, KAZIMIR

fate of his own work. “As for that”, he replied, “I think I may possibly have a chance of living; but ONLY if Individualization or Characterization be deemed to constitute a quality of permanent value in a picture. This, however, I shall never know, for it can only be adjudged by posterity. If that verdict should prove unfavorable, then my work, too, will **perish** with the rest – for it cannot compare on their lines with the great masters of the past.” That this is indeed an issue is shown by the contrasting opinion of the critic who exclaimed before a portrait, “Think away the head and face, and you will have a wonderful effect of color!” The analysis of visible beauty accordingly resolves itself into the explanation of the beauty of form (including shape and color) and the fixing in relation thereto of other factors.

The most difficult part of our task is indeed behind us. We have already defined Beauty in general: we have outlined in a preceding essay the abstract aesthetic demands, and we have now only to ask through what psychological means these demands can be and are in fact met. In other words we have to show that what we intensely feel as Beauty can and does **exemplify** these principles, and through them is explained and accounted for. Beauty has been defined as that combination of qualities in the object which brings about a union of stimulation and repose in the enjoyer. How must this be interpreted with reference to the particular facts of visual form?

The most immediate reference is naturally to the sense organ itself; and the first question is therefore as to the favorable stimulations of the eye. What, in general, does the eye demand of its object?

## II

The simplest element of visual experience is of course found in light and color, the sensation of the eye as such. Yet there is no branch of aesthetic which is so incomplete. We know that the sensation of light or color, if not too weak or too violent, is in itself pleasing. The bright, the glittering, shining object, so long as it is not painful, is pleasantly stimulating. Gems, tinsel, lacquer, polish, testify to this taste, from the most primitive to the most civilized man. Color, too, if distinct, not over-bright, nor too much extended in field, is in itself pleasing. The single colors have been the object of comparatively little study. Experiment seems to show that the colors containing most brightness – white, red, and yellow – are preferred. **Baldwin**, in his “dynamogenic” experiments,<sup>1</sup> based on “the view that the infant’s hand movements in reaching or grasping are the best index of the kind and intensity of its sensory experiences”, finds that the colors range themselves in order of attractiveness, blue, white, red, green, brown. Further corrections lay more emphasis upon the white. Yellow was not included in the experiments. **Cohn’s** results, which show a relative dislike of yellow, are contradicted by other observers, notably Major and Baker,<sup>2</sup> and (unpublished) experiments of my own, including the aesthetic preferences of seven or eight different sets of students at Radcliffe and Wellesley colleges. Experiments of this kind are particularly difficult, inasmuch as the material, usually colored paper, varies considerably from the spectral color, and differences in saturation, **hue**, and brightness make great differences in the results, while the feeling-tone of association, individual or racial, very often **intrudes**. But other things being equal, the bright, the clear, the saturated color is relatively more pleasing, and white, red, and yellow seem especially preferred.

### perish –

to die; to be destroyed

### exemplify –

to be or give a typical example of something

### James Mark Baldwin –

(Columbia, South Carolina, 1861-1934) American philosopher and psychologist educated at Princeton. He made important contributions to early psychology, psychiatry, and to the theory of evolution

### Edwin Joseph Cohn –

(17 December 1892 - 1 October 1953) early protein scientist. He made important advances in the physical chemistry of proteins, and was responsible for the blood fractionation project that saved thousands of lives in World War II

### hue –

a degree of lightness, darkness, strength, etc. of a colour

### intrude –

to go into a place or situation in which you are not wanted or not expected to be

<sup>1</sup> Mental Development in the Child and the Race, 1895, pp. 39, 50, ff

<sup>2</sup> E. S. Baker, Univ. of Toronto Studies, Psychol. Series, No. 4; J. Cohn, Philos. Studien, vol. X; Major, Amer. Jour. of Psychol., vol. vii.

Now, according to the Hering theory of color, white, red, and yellow are the so-called “dissimilating” colors in the three pairs, white-black, red-green, and yellow-blue, corresponding to three hypothetical visual substances in the retina. These substances, that is, in undergoing a kind of chemical disintegration under the action of light-rays, are supposed to give the sensations white, red, or yellow respectively, and in renewing themselves again to give the sensations of black, green, and blue. The dissimilating process seems to bring about stronger reactions on the physiological side, as if it were a more exciting process. Thus it is found<sup>3</sup> that as measured by the increase in strength of the hand grip under the stimulation of the respective colors, red has particularly exciting qualities, but the other colors have an analogous effect, lessening, however, with the descent from red to violet. The pleasure in bright red, or yellow, for instance, may thus well be the feeling-tone arising in the purely physiological effect of the color. If red works like a trumpet call, while blue calms and cools, and if red is preferred to blue, it is because a sharp stimulation is so felt, and so preferred.

The question of the demands of the eye in color combination is still more complicated. It has been traditional to consider the complementaries black-white, red-green, blue-yellow, and the other pairs resulting from the mixtures of these as the best combinations. The physiological explanation is of course found in the relief and refreshment to the organs in successive alternation of the processes of assimilation and dissimilation, and objectively in the reinforcement, through this stronger functioning of the retina, of the complementary colors themselves. This tendency to mutual aid is shown in the familiar experiment of fixating for some moments a colored object, say red, and then transferring the gaze to a white or gray expanse. The image of the object appears thereon in the complementary green. Per contra, the most complete lack of contrast makes the most displeasing combination, because instead of a refreshing alternation of processes in the retina, a fatiguing repetition results. Red and orange (red-yellow), or red and purple (red-blue), successively stimulate the red-process with most evil effect.

This contrast theory should, however, not be interpreted too narrowly. There are pairs of so-called complementaries which make a very crude, harsh, even painful impression. The theory is happily supplemented by showing<sup>4</sup> that the ideal combination involves all three contrast factors, hue, saturation, and brightness. Contrast of saturation or brightness within the same hue is also pleasant. For any two qualities of the color circle, in fact, there can be found degrees of saturation and brightness in which they will form an agreeable combination, and this pleasing effect will be based on some form of contrast. But the absolute and relative extension and the space-form of the components have also a great influence on the pleasurable combination.



**REMBRANDT,  
HARMENSZ. VAN RIJN.  
THE ABDUCTION OF  
EUROPA.**

1632. Oil on panel

3 Ch. Fere, *Sensation et Mouvement*, 1887, p. 80.

4 A. Kirschmann, “Die psychol.-aesthet. Bedeutung des Licht und Farbencontrastes”, *Philos. Studien*, vol. vii.



**VERMEER VAN DELFT, JAN. THE GUITAR PLAYER.**  
1670. Kenwood House, Lord Iveagh Bequest, London



**PERUGINO, PIETRO. CHRIST HANDING THE KEYS TO ST. PETER.**  
(1481-82) Fresco, 335 x 550cm  
Cappella Sistina, Vatican

**juxtapose –**

to put things which are not similar next to each other

**impressionism –**

style of painting, originating in France in the 1860s, in which the artist tries to represent the effects of light on an object, person, area of countryside, etc.

**Pietro Perugino –**

(1446-1524) well-known painter of the Umbrian school who developed some of the qualities that found classic expression in the High Renaissance.

**Johannes Vermeer –**

Jan Vermeer (baptized October 31, 1632, died December 15, 1675) Dutch painter who specialized in domestic interior scenes of ordinary bourgeois life.

Further rules can hardly be given; but the results of various observers<sup>5</sup> seem to show that the best combinations lie, as already said, among the complementaries, or among those pairs nearer together in the color circle than complementaries, which are “warmer.” The reason for this last is that, in Chevreul’s phraseology, combinations of cold colors change each other’s peculiar hue the most, and of warm colors the least; because the complementaries of these cold colors are “warm”, i.e. bright, and each, appearing on the field of the neighboring cold color, seems to fade it out; while the complementaries of the **juxtaposed** warm colors are not bright, and do not have sufficient strength to affect their neighbors at all. With a combination of blue and green for instance, a yellow shade would appear in the green and a red in the blue. Such a result fails to satisfy the demand, already touched on, for purity and homogeneity of color – that is, for unimpeded seeing of color.

What significance have these abstract principles of beauty in the combination of colors for representative art? In the choice of objects with a definite local color, of course, these laws will be found operative. A scheme of blues and yellows is likely to be more effective than one of reds and violets. If we analyze the masterpiece of coloring, we shall find that what we at first supposed to be the wonderful single effects of color is really the result of juxtapositions which bring out each color to its highest power.

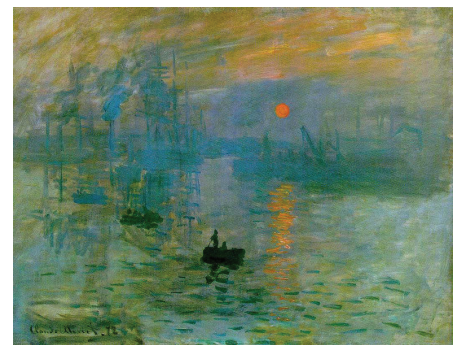
**III**

While all this may be true, however, the most important question has not yet been asked. Is truth of color in representative art the same thing as beauty of color? It might be said that the whole procedure of the so-called **Impressionist** school, in fact the whole trend of the modern treatment of color, took their identity for granted. Yet we must discriminate. Truth of color may be truth to the local color of the given objects, alone or together; in this case we should have to say that beauty did or did not exist in the picture, according as it did or did not exist in the original combination. A red hat on a purple chair would set one’s teeth on edge, in model or picture. Secondly, truth of color may be truth to the modifications of the enveloping light, and in this case truth would make for beauty. For the colors of any given scene are in general not colors which the objects themselves, if isolated, would have, but the colors which the eye itself is forced to see. The bluish shadow of an object in bright sunlight (yellowish light) is only an expression of the law that in the neighborhood of a colored object we see its complementary color. If such an effect is reproduced in a picture, it gives the same relief to the eye which the original effect showed the need of. The eye fatigued with yellow sees blue; so if the blue is really supplied in the picture, it is not only true, but on the road to beauty, because meeting the eye’s demand. The older methods of painting gave the local color of an object, with an admixture of white for the lights, and a warm dark for the shadows; the modern – which had been touched on, indeed, sporadically, by **Perugino** and **Vermeer**, for instance – gives in the shadow the complementary color of the object combined with that of the light falling upon it – all conditions of favorable stimulation.

Further favorable stimulation of the eye is given in the method of the Impressionists in treating “values”, that is, comparative relations of light and shade. The real tones of objects including the sky, light, etc., can never be reproduced. The older schools,

5 Chevreul, De la Loi du Contraste Simultane des Couleurs. E.S. Banker, op. Cit.

conscious of this, were satisfied to paint in a scale of correspondence, in which the relative values were fairly kept. But even by that means, the great differences of intensity could not be given, for the brightest spot of any painting is never more than sixty-six times brighter than the darkest, while the gray sky on a dull rainy day is four hundred and twenty times brighter than a white painted cross-bar of a window seen against the sky as background.<sup>6</sup> There were various ways of combating this difficulty. **Rembrandt**, for instance, as Kirschmann tells us, chose the sombre brown tone, “not out of caprice or an inclination for mystic dreaming (Fromentin), but because the yellow and orange side of the color-manifold admits of the greatest number of intervals between full saturation and the darkest shade.” The precursors of the Impressionists, on the other hand, succeeded in painting absolute values, confining themselves to a very limited gamut; for this reason the first landscapes of the school were all gray-green, dull, cloudy. But **Monet** did not stop there. He painted the ABSOLUTE VALUES of objects IN SHADE on a sunny day, which of course demands the brightest possibilities of the palette, and got the lighted objects themselves as nearly as he could, thus destroying the relative values, but getting an extraordinary joyous and glowing effect; and one, too, of unexpected verisimilitude, for it would seem that in a sunlit scene we are really attentive to the shaded objects alone, and what becomes of the others does not so much matter. This effect was made still more possible by the so-called dissociation of colors – i.e. the juxtaposing of tints, the blending of which by the eye gives the desired color, without the loss of brightness which a mixing of pigments would involve. Thus by putting touches of black and white side by side, for instance, a gray results much brighter than could have been otherwise reached by mixing; or blue and red spots are blended by the eye to an extraordinarily vivid purple. Thus, by these methods, using the truth of color in the sense of following the nature of retinal functioning, Monet and his followers raised the color scale many degrees in brightness. Now we have seen that the eye loves light, warmth, strong color-effects, related to each other in the way that the eye must see them. Impressionism, as the name of the method just described, makes it more possible than it had been before to meet the demands of the eye for light and color, to recover “the innocence of the eye”, in Ruskin’s phrase. Truth to the local color of objects is relatively indifferent, unless that color is beautiful in itself; truth to the reciprocal relations and changes of hue is beauty, because it allows for the eye’s own adaptations of its surroundings in the interest of its own functioning. Thus in this case, and to sum up, truth is synonymous with beauty, in so far as beauty is constituted by favorable stimulation of an organ. The further question, how far this vivid treatment of light is of importance for the realization of depth and distance, is not here entered on.



**MONET, CLAUDE.**  
**IMPRESSION, SOLEIL**  
**LEVANT.**

1872. Oil on canvas, 48 x 63cm  
Musée Marmottan, Paris

**Rembrandt, Harmenszoon van Rijn** –  
(July 15, 1606 - October 4, 1669) is generally considered one of the greatest painters and printmakers in European art history and the most important in Dutch history.

**Claude Monet** –  
also known as Oscar-Claude Monet (November 14, 1840 - December 5, 1926) a founder of French Impressionist painting, and the most consistent and prolific practitioner of the movement’s philosophy of expressing one’s perceptions before nature, especially as applied to plein-air landscape painting

6 Kirschmann, Univ. of Toronto Studies, Psychol. Series No. 4, p. 20.

## IV

The moment we touch upon line-form we are already, in strictness, beyond the elements. For with form enters the motor factor, which cannot be separated from the motor innervations of the whole body. It is possible, however, to abstract for the moment from the form as a unit, and to consider here only what may be called the quality of line. A line may be straight or broken, and if **curved**, curving continuously or brokenly, etc. That this quality of line is distinct from form may be shown by the simple experiment of turning a spiral – a logarithmic spiral, let us say – in different ways about its focus. The aesthetic effect of the figure is absolutely different in the different positions, and yet the feeling about the character of the line itself seems to remain the same. In what sense, and for what reasons, does this curved line satisfy the demands of the eye? The discussion of this question precipitates us at once into one of the burning controversies of aesthetics, which may perhaps best be dealt with at this point.

An early answer to the question would have been, that the eye is so hung in its muscles as to move most easily in curved lines, and this easy action in following the curve is felt as favorable stimulation. But recent experiment<sup>7</sup> has shown that the eye in fact moves by most irregular, angular leaps from point to point of the figure. The theory is therefore remodeled by substituting for the movement sensations of the eye, the tendencies corresponding to those early movements of touching imitative of the form, by which we learned to know a form for what it is, and the reproduction of feeling-tones belonging to the character of such movement. The movements of touching and feeling for a smooth continuous curved object are themselves pleasant. This complex of psychical factors makes a pleasurable stimulating experience. The greater the tendency to complete reproduction of these movements, that is, the stronger the “bodily resonance”, the more vivid the pleasure. Whether we (with Groos) designate this as sympathetic reproduction, or (with Lipps) attribute to the figure the movements and the feelings which resound in us after this fashion, or even (with Witasek) insist on the purely ideal character of the reproduction, seems to me not essential to the explanation of the pleasing character of the experience, and hence of the beauty of the object. Not THAT we sympathetically reproduce (“Miterleben”), or “feel ourselves into” a form (“Einfühlen”), but HOW we do so, is the question.

All that Hogarth says of the beauty of the serpentine line, as “leading the eye a kind of chase”, is fully in harmony with this view, if we add to the exploiting movements of the eyes those other more important motor innervations of the body. But we should still have to ask, WHAT kind of chase? Sharp, broken, starting lines might be the basis of a much more vivid experience, but it would be aesthetically negative. “The complete sensuous experience of the spatial” is not enough, unless that experience is positively, that is, favorably toned. Clear or vivid seeing made possible by the form of the object is not enough. Only as FAVORABLY stimulating, that is, only as calling up ideal reproductions, or physical imitations, of movements which in themselves were suited to the functions of the organs involved, can forms be found positively aesthetic, that is, beautiful.

Moreover, we have to note here, and to emphasize, that the organs involved are more than the eye, as has already been made plain. We cannot separate eye innerva-



**MONET, CLAUDE**  
**RUE MONTORGUEIL,**  
**PARIS**  
**FESTIVAL OF JUNE 30**  
 1878. Oil on canvas.  
 Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France

**curve –**  
 line which bends continuously  
 and has no straight parts

7 G.M. Stratton, *Philos. Studies*, xx.

tions from bodily innervations in general. And therefore “the demands of the eye” can never alone decide the question of the beauty of visual form. If it were not so, the favorable stimulation combined with repose of the eye would alone make the conditions of beauty. The “demands of the eye” must be interpreted as the demands of the eye plus the demands of the motor system – the whole psychophysical personality, in short.

It is in these two principles – “bodily resonance”, and favorable as opposed to energetic functioning – and these alone, that we have a complete refutation of the claim made by many artists today, that the phrase “demands of the eye” embodies a complete aesthetic theory. The sculptor **Adolph Hildebrand**, in his “Problem of Form in the Plastic Art” first set it forth as the task of the artist “to find a form which appears to have arisen only from the demands of the eye;”<sup>8</sup> and this doctrine is today so widely held, that it must here be considered at some length.

It is the space-form, all that is seen, and not the object itself, that is the object of vision. Now in viewing a plastic object near at hand, the focus of the eye must be constantly changed between the nearer and further points. In a more distant view, on the other hand (Hildebrand’s “Fernbild”), the contour is denoted by differences of light and shadow, but it is nevertheless perceived in a single act of accommodation. Moreover, being distant, the muscles of accommodation are relaxed; the eye acts at rest. The “Fernbild” thus gives the only unified picture of the three-dimensional complex, and hence the only unity of space-values. In the perception of this unity, the author holds, consists the essential pleasure which the work of art gives us. Hildebrand’s treatment is difficult, and lends itself to varying interpretations, which have laid stress now on unity as the essential of art,<sup>9</sup> now on “the joy in the complete sensuous experience of the spatial.” The latter seems in harmony with the passage in which Hildebrand says “all pleasure in Form is pleasure in our not being obliged to create this clearness for ourselves, in its being created for us, nay, even forced upon us, by the form itself.”

But supposing the first interpretation correct: supposing space-unity, conditioned by the unified and reposeful act of seeing, to be the beauty we seek – it is at once clear that the reduction of three dimensions to two does not constitute unity even for the eye alone; how much less for the motor system of the whole body, which we have seen must be involved. Hildebrand’s “demands of the eye” resolves itself into the stimulation plus repose of the ciliary muscle – the organ of accommodation. A real unity even for the eye alone would have to include not only space relations in the third dimension, but relations of line and mass and color in the flat. As for the “complete sensuous experience of the spatial” (which would seem to be equivalent to **Berenson’s** “tactile values”), the “clearness” of Hildebrand’s sentence above quoted, it is evident that completeness of the experience does not necessarily involve the positive

**Adolf von Hildebrand –**

(October 6, 1847 Marburg, Switzerland - January 18, 1921 Munich) sculptor, the son of Marburg economics professor Bruno Hildebrand

**Bernard Berenson –**

(born June 26, 1865 Butrimonys (now Vilna), Lithuania - October 6, 1959 Florence Italy) American art historian specializing in the Renaissance

8 Das Problem der form in d. bildenden Kunst, 1897.

9 A. Riehl, Vierteljahrschr. f. wissenschaftl. Philos., xxi, xxii. <2> K. Groos, Der Aesthetische Genuss, 1902, p. 17.

or pleasurable toning of the experience. The distinction is that between a beautiful and a completely realistic picture.

A further extension or restatement of this theory, in a recent article,<sup>10</sup> seems to me to express it in the most favorable way. Beauty is again connected with the functioning of our organs of perception (Auffassungorgane). "We wish to be put into a fresh, lively, energetic and yet at the same time effortless activity.... The pleasure in form is a pleasure in this, that the conformation of the object makes possible or rather compels a natural, purposeful functioning of our apprehending organs." But purposeful for what? For visual form, evidently to the end of seeing clearly. The element of repose, of unity, hinted at in the "effortless" of the first sentence, disappears in the second. The organs of apprehension are evidently limited to the eye alone. It is not the perfect moment of stimulation and repose for the whole organism which is aimed at, but the complete sensuous experience of the spatial, again.

Hildebrand, to return to the more famous theorist, was writing primarily of sculpture, and would naturally confine himself to consideration of the plastic, which is an additional reason against making this interesting brochure, as some have done, the foundation of an aesthetics. It is rather the foundation of the sculptor's, perhaps even of the painter's technique, with reference to plastic elements alone. What it contains of universal significance, the demand for space-unity, based on the state of the eye in a union of rest and action, ignores all but one of the possible sources of rest and action for the eye, that of accommodation, and all the allied activities completely.

On the basis of the favorable stimulations of all these activities taken together, must we judge as pleasing the so-called quality of line. But it is clear that we cannot really separate the question of quality of line from that of form, figure, and arrangement in space. The motor innervations enter with the first, and the moment we have form at all, we have space-composition also. But space-composition means unity, and unity is the objective quality which must be translated, in our investigations, into aesthetic repose. It is thus with the study of composition that we pass from the study of the elements as favorably stimulating, to the study of the beauty of visual form.

## V

We may begin by asking what, as a matter of fact, has been the arrangement of spaces to give aesthetic pleasure. The primitive art of all nations shows that it has taken the direction of symmetry about a vertical line. It might be said that this is the result of non-aesthetic influences, such as convenience of construction, technique, etc.<sup>11</sup> It is clear that much of the symmetry appearing in primitive art is due (1) to the conditions of construction, as in the form of dwellings, binding patterns, weaving and textile patterns generally; (2) to convenience in use, as in the shapes of spears, arrows, knives, two-handled baskets or jars; (3) to the imitation of animal forms, as in the shapes of **pottery**, etc. On the other hand, (1) a very great deal of symmetrical ornament maintains itself AGAINST the suggestions of the shape to which it is applied, as the ornaments of baskets, pottery, and all rounded objects; and (2) all distortion, disintegration, degradation of pattern-motives, often so marked as all but to destroy their meaning, is in the direction of geometrical symmetry. The early art of all civilized

### pottery –

objects that are made out of  
clay by hand

<sup>10</sup> Th. A. Meyer, "Das Formprinzip des Schouen", Archiv. f. Phil., Bd. x.

<sup>11</sup> The following is adapted from the author's *Studies in Symmetry*, Harvard Psych. Studies, vol i, 1902.

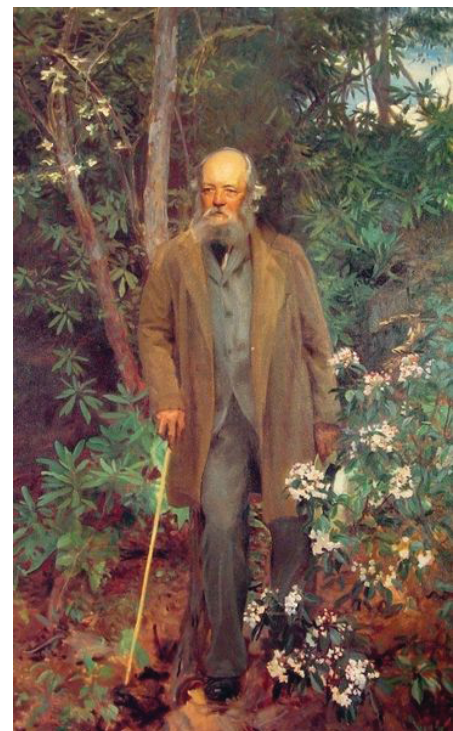


nations shows the same characteristic. Now it might be said that, as there exists an instinctive tendency to imitate visual forms by motor impulses, the impulses suggested by the symmetrical form are in harmony with the system of energies of our bilateral organism, which is a system of double motor innervations, and thus fulfill our demand for a set of reactions corresponding to the organism as a whole. But we should then expect that all space arrangements which deviate from complete symmetry, and thus suggest motor impulses which do not correspond to the natural bilateral type, would fail to give aesthetic pleasure. Such, however, is not the case. Non-symmetrical arrangements of space are often extremely pleasing.

This contradiction disappears if we are able to show that the apparently non-symmetrical arrangement contains a hidden symmetry, and that all the elements of that arrangement contribute to bring about just that bilateral type of motor impulses which is characteristic of geometrical symmetry.

A series of experiments was arranged, in which one of two unequal lines of white on a black background being fixed in an upright position a certain distance from the centre, the other was shifted until the arrangement was felt to be pleasing. It was found that when two lines of different sizes were opposed, their relative positions corresponded to the relation of the arms of a balance, that is, a small line far from the centre was opposed by a large one near the centre. A line pointing out from the centre fitted this formula if taken as “heavy”, and pointing in, if taken as “light.” Similarly, objects of intrinsic interest and objects suggesting depth in the third dimension were “heavy” in the same interpretation. All this, however, did not go beyond the proof that all pleasing space-arrangements can be described in terms of mechanical balance. But what was this mechanical balance? A metaphor explains nothing, and no one will maintain that the visual representation of a long line weights more than a short one. Moreover, the elements in the balance were so far **heterogeneous**. The movement suggested by an idea had been treated as if equivalent to the movement actually made by the eye in following a long line; the intrinsic interest – that is, the ideal interest – of an object insignificant in form was equated to the attractive power of a perspective, which has, presumably, a merely physiological effect on the visual mechanism.

I believe, however, that the justification of this apparent heterogeneity, and the basis for explanation, is given in the reduction of all elements to their lowest term – as objects for the expenditure of attention. A large object and an “interesting” object are “heavy” for the same reason, because they call out the attention. And expenditure of effort is expenditure of attention; thus, if an object on the outskirts of the field of vision requires a wide sweep of the eye to take it in, it demands the expenditure of attention, and so is felt as “heavy.” But what is “the expenditure of attention” in physiological terms? It is nothing more than the measure of the motor impulses directed to the object of attention. And whether the motor impulse appears as the tendency to follow out the suggestions of motion in the object, all reduces to the same physiological basis.



**SARGENT, JOHN SINGER.**  
**PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK**  
**LAW OLMSTED.**

1895. Painted at the Biltmore Estate. Oil on canvas  
91 x 61¼ in.

**heterogeneous –**  
consisting of parts or things  
that are very different from  
each other



**MILLET, JEAN-FRANÇOIS.**  
**EVENING PRAYER**  
 1857-1859. Musée d'Orsay. Paris



**RODIN, AUGUSTE.**  
**A CATEDRAL**  
 Musée Rodin, Paris

**Jean-Marie Souriau** –  
 mathematician, known for  
 works in symplectic geometry,  
 in which he is one of the  
 pioneers.

**bewildering** –  
 confusing and difficult to  
 understand

It may here be objected that our motor impulses are, nevertheless, still heterogeneous, inasmuch as some are toward the object of interest, and some along the line of movement. But it must be said, first, that these are not felt in the body, but transferred as values of weight to points in the picture – it is the amount and not the direction of excitement that is counted; and secondly, that even if it were not so, the suggested movement along a line is felt as “weight” at a particular point.

From this point of view the justification of the metaphor of mechanical balance is quite clear. Given two lines, the most pleasing arrangement makes the larger nearer the centre, and the smaller far from it. This is balanced because the spontaneous impulse of attention to the near, large line equals in amount the involuntary expenditure to apprehend the small, farther one.

We may thus think of a space to be composed as a kind of target, in which certain spots or territories count more or less, both according to their distance from the centre and according to what fills them. Every element of a picture, in whatever way it gains power to excite motor impulses, is felt as expressing that power in the flat pattern. A noble vista is understood and enjoyed as a vista, but it is COUNTED in the motor equation, our “balance”, as a spot of so much intrinsic value at such and such a distance from the centre. The skillful artist will fill his target in the way to give the maximum of motor impulses with the perfection of balance between them.

It is thus in a kind of substitutional symmetry, or balance, that we have the objective condition or counterpart of aesthetic repose, or unity. From this point of view it is clearly seen in what respect the unity of Hildebrand fails. He demands in the statue, especially, but also in the picture, the flat surface as a unity for the three dimensions. But it is only with the flat space, won, if you will, by Hildebrand’s method, that the problem begins. Every point in the third dimension counts, as has been said, in the flat. The Fernbild is the beginning of beauty, but within the Fernbild favorable stimulation and repose must still be sought. And repose or unity is given by symmetry, subjectively the balance of attention, inasmuch as this balance is a tension of antagonistic impulses, an equilibrium, and thus an inhibition of movement.

From this point of view, we are in a position to refute **Souriau’s** interesting analysis<sup>12</sup> of form as the condition for the appreciation of content. He says that form, in a picture for instance, has its value in its power to produce (through its fixation and concentration of the eye) a mild hypnosis, in which, as is well known, all suggestions come to us with **bewildering** vividness. This is, then, just the state in which the contents of the picture can most vividly impress themselves. Form, then, as the means to content, by giving the conditions for suggestion, is Sourieau’s account of it. In so far as form – in the sense of unity – gives, through balance and equilibrium of impulses, the arrest of the personality, it may indeed be compared with hypnotism. But this arrest is not only a means, but an end in itself; that aesthetic repose, which, as the unity of the personality, is an essential element of the aesthetic emotion as we have described it.

## VI

There is no point of light or color, no contour, no line, no depth, that does not contribute to the infinite complex which gives the maximum of experience with the minimum of effort and which we call beauty of form. But yet there is another way of

<sup>12</sup> La Suggestion en l’Art.

viewing the beautiful object, on which we touched in the introduction to this chapter. So far, what we see is only another name for HOW we see; and the way of seeing has proved to contain enough to bring to stimulation and repose the psychophysical mechanism. But now we must ask, what relation has meaning to beauty? Is it an element, coordinate with others, or something superposed? or is it an end in itself, the supreme end? What relation to the beauty of form has that quality of their works by virtue of which Rembrandt is called a dreamer, and **Rodin** a poet in stone? What do we mean when we speak of **Sargent** as a psychologist? Is it a virtue to be a poet in stone? If it is, we must somehow include in our concept of Beauty the element of expression, by showing how it serves the infinite complex. Or is it not an aesthetic virtue, and Rodin is great artist and poet combined, and not great artist become poet, as some would say? What is the relation of the objective content to beauty of form? In short, what place has the idea in Beauty?

In the preceding the place of separate objects which have only an ideal importance has been made clear. The gold-embroidered gauntlet in a picture counts as a patch of light, a trend of line, in a certain spot; but it counts more there, because it is of interest for itself, and by thus counting more, the idea has entered into the spatial balance – the idea has become itself form. Now it is the question whether all “idea”, which seems so heterogeneous in its relation to form, does not undergo this **transmutation**. It is at least of interest to see whether the facts can be so interpreted.

We have spoken of ideas as parts of an aesthetic whole. What of the idea of the whole? **Corot** used to say he painted a dream, and it is the dream of an autumn morning we see in his pictures. **Millet** portrays the sad majesty and sweetness of the life near the soil. How must we relate these facts to the views already won?

It has often been said that the view which makes the element of form for the eye alone, in the strictest sense, is **erroneous**, because there is no form for the eye alone. The very process of apprehending a line involves not only motor memories and impulses, but numberless ideal associations, and these associations constitute the line as truly as do the others. The impression of the line involves expression, a meaning which we cannot escape. The forms of things constitute a kind of dialect of life – and thus it is that the theory of *Einfühlung* in its deepest sense is grounded. The Doric column causes in us, no doubt, motor impulses, but it means, and must mean, to us, the expression of internal energy through those very impulses it causes. “We ourselves are contracting our muscles, but we feel as if the lines were pulling and piercing, bending and lifting, pressing down and pushing up; in short, as soon as the visual impression is really isolated, and all other ideas really excluded, then the motor impulses do not awake actions which are taken as actions of ourselves, but feelings of energy which are taken as energies of the visual forms and lines.”<sup>13</sup> So the idea belonging to the object, and the psychophysical effect of

**Auguste Rodin –**

(November 12, 1840 - November 17, 1917) French sculptor, and one of the preeminent sculptors of the modern era

**John Singer Sargent –**

(January 12, 1856 - April 14, 1925) the most successful portrait painter of his era, as well as a gifted landscape painter and watercolorist

**transmute –**

to change something completely, especially into something different and better

**Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot –**

(July 26, 1796 - February 22, 1875) French landscape painter. Corot was the leading painter of the Barbizon school of France in the mid-nineteenth century

**Jean-François Millet –**

(October 4, 1814 - January 20, 1875) painter and one of the founders of the Barbizon school in rural France. He is noted for his scenes of peasant farmers. He can be categorized as part of the “naturalism” and “realism” movements.

**erroneous –**

wrong or false

13 H. Munsterberg, *The Principles of Art Education*, p. 87.



**COROT, JEAN-BAPTISTE-CAMILLE.**  
**FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU.**

1830. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., USA

the object are only obverse and inverse of the same phenomenon. And our pleasure in the form of the column is rather our appreciation of energy than our feeling of favorable stimulation. Admitting this reasoning, the meaning of a picture would be the same as its beauty, it is said. The heroic art of J.-F. Millet, for example, would be beautiful because it is the perfect expression of the simplicity and suffering of labor.

Let us examine this apparently reasonable theory. It is true that every visual element is understood as expression too. It is not true, however, that expression and impression are parallel and mutually corresponding beyond the elements. Suppose a concourse of columns covered by a roof – the Parthenon. Those psychophysical changes induced by the sight now mutually check and modify each other. Can we say that there is a “meaning”, like the energy of the column, corresponding to that complex? It is at least not energy itself. Ask the same as regards the lines and masses of a picture by Corot. In the sense in which we have taken “meaning”, the only psychologically possible one, our reactions could be interpreted only by some mood. If the column means energy because it makes us tower, then the picture must mean what it makes us do. That is, a combination of feathery fronds and horizontal lines of water, bathed in a gray-green silvery mist, can “mean” only a repose lightened by a grave yet cheerful spirit. In short, this theory of expressiveness cannot go beyond the mood or moral quality. In the sense of INFORMATION, the theory of Einfühlung contributes nothing. Now, in this limited sense, we have indeed no reason to contradict it, but simply to point out that it holds only in this extremely limited sense. When we see broad sweeping lines we interpret them by sympathetic reproduction as strength, energy. When those sweeping lines are made part of a Titan’s frame, we get the same effect plus the associations which belong to distinctively muscular energy. Those same lines might define the sweep of a drapery, or the curve of an infant’s limbs. Now all that part of the meaning which belongs to the lines themselves remains constant under whatever circumstances; and it is quite true that a certain feeling-tone, a certain moral quality, as it were, belongs, say, to **Raphael’s** pictures, in which this kind of outline is to be found. But as belonging to a Titan, the additional elements of understanding are not due to sympathetic reproduction. They are not parallel with the motor suggestions; they are simply an associational addition, due to our information about the power of men with muscles like that. That there are secondary motor elements as a **reverberation** of these ideal elements need not be denied. But they are not directly due to the form. Now such part of our response to a picture as is directly induced by the form, we have a right to include in the aesthetic experience. It will, however, in every work of art of even the least complexity, be expressible only as a mood, very indefinite, often indescribable. To make this “meaning”, then, the essential aim of a picture seems unreasonable.

It is evident that in experience we do not, as a matter of fact, separate the mood which is due to sympathy from the ideal content of the picture. Corot paints a summer dawn. We cannot separate our pleasure in the sight from our pleasure in the understanding; yet it is the visual complex that gives us the mood, and the meaning of the scene is due to factors of association. The “serene and happy dream”, the “conviction of a solemn and radiant Arcadia”, are not “expression” in that inevitable sense in which we agreed to take it, but the result of a most extended upbuilding of ideal (that is, associational) elements.

The “idea”, then, as we have propounded it, is not, as was thought possible, an integral and essential part, but an addition to the visual form, and we have still to ask what is its value. But in so far as it is an addition, its effect may be in conflict with what we may call the feeling-tone produced by sympathetic reproduction. In that case, one must yield to

**Raphael –**  
(April 6, 1483 - April 6, 1520)  
Italian master painter and architect of the Florentine school in High Renaissance.

**reverberation –**  
having an effect on everyone or everything in a place or group



### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE GRAIL (1891-4)

Tapestry by Edward Burne-Jones, Museum and Art Gallery of Birmingham. Galahad, Bors and Percival achieve the Grail

the other. Now it is not probable that even the most convinced adherents of the expression theory would hold that if expression or beauty **MUST** go, expression should be kept. They only say that expression **IS** beauty. But the moment it is admitted that there is a beauty of form independent of the ideal element, this theory can no longer stand. If there is a conflict, the palm must be given to the direct, rather than the indirect, factor. Indeed, when there is such a conflict, the primacy must always be with the medium suited to the organ, the sensuous factor. For if it were not so, and expression **WERE** beauty, then that would have to be most beautiful which was most expressive. And even if we disregard the extraordinary conclusions to which this would lead – the story pictures preferred to those without a story, the photographic reproductions preferred to the symphonies of color and form – we should be obliged to admit something still more incendiary. Expression is always of an ideal content, is of something to express; and it is unquestioned that in words, and in words alone, can we get nearest to the inexpressible. Then literature, as being the most expressive, would be the highest art, and we should be confronted with a hierarchy of arts, from that down.

Now, in truth, the real lover of beauty knows that no one art is superior to another. “Each in his separate star”, they reign alone. In order to be equal, they must depend on their material, not on that common quality of imaginative thought which each has in a differing degree, and all less than literature.

The idea, we conclude, is then indeed subordinate – a by-product, unless by chance it can enter into, melt into, the form. This case we have clearest in the example, already referred to, of the gold-embroidered gauntlet, or the jeweled **chalice** – say, the **Holy Grail** in Abbey’s pictures – which counts more or less, in the spatial balance, according to its intrinsic interest.

We have seen that through sympathetic reproduction a certain mood is produced, which becomes a kind of emotional envelope for the picture – a favorable stimulation of the whole, a raising of the whole harmony one tone, as it were. Now the further ideal content of the picture may so closely belong to this basis that it helps it along. Thus all that we know about dawn – not only of a summer morning – helps us to see, and seeing to rejoice, in Corot’s silvery mist or Monet’s iridescent shimmers. All that we know and feel about the patient majesty of labor in the fields, next the earth, helps us to get the slow, large rhythm, the rich gloom of Millet’s pictures. But it is the rhythm and the gloom that are the beauty, and the idea reinforces our consciousness thereof. The idea is a sounding-board for the beauty, and so can be truly said to enter into the form.

But there are still some lions in the path of our theory. The greatest of modern sculptors is reputed to have reached his present altitude by the passionate pursuance of Nature, and of the expressions of Nature. And few can see Rodin’s work without being at once in the grip of the emotion or fact he has chosen to depict. A great deal

#### chalice –

in Christian ceremonies, a large, decorative, gold or silver cup from which wine is drunk

#### Holy Grail –

in Christian mythology, the Holy Grail was the dish, plate, or cup used by Jesus at the Last Supper



**MILLET, JEAN-FRANÇOIS.**  
**PORTRÄT EINES**  
**MARINEOFFIZIERS.**  
 2<sup>nd</sup> third of 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
 Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

of contemporary criticism on modern tendencies in art rests on the intention of expression, and expression alone, attributed to him. It is said of him: “The solicitude for ardent expression overmasters every aesthetic consideration.... He is a poet with stone as his instrument of expression. He makes it express emotions that are never found save in music or in psychological and lyric literature.”<sup>14</sup>

Now while the last is undoubtedly true, I believe that the first is not only not true, but that it is proved to be so by Rodin’s own procedure and utterances, and that, if we understand his case aright, it is for beauty alone that he lives. He has related his search for the secret of **Michael Angelo’s** design, and how he found it in the rhythm of two planes rather than four, the Greek composition. This system of tormented form is one way of referring the body to the geometry of an imagined rectangular block enclosing the whole.

“The ordinary Greek composition of the body, he puts it, depends on a rhythm of four lines, four volumes, four planes. If the line of the shoulders and pectorals slopes from right to left (the man resting on his right leg) the line across the hips takes the reverse slope, and is followed by that of the knees, while the line of the first echoes that of the shoulders. Thus we get the rhythm ABBA, and the balancing volumes set up a corresponding play of planes. Michael Angelo so turns the body on itself that he reduces the four to two big planes, one facing, the other swept round to the side of the block.”<sup>15</sup> That is, he gets geometrical enveloping lines for his design. And, in fact, there is no sculpture which is more wonderful in design than Rodin’s. I quote Mr. MacColl again. “It has been said that the ‘Bourgeois de Calais’ is a group of single figures, possessing no unity of design, or at best affording only a single point of view. Those who say so have never examined it with attention. The way in which these figures move among themselves, as the spectator walks round, so as to produce from every fresh angle sweeping commanding lines, each of them thus playing a dozen parts at once, is surely one of the most astounding feats of the genius of design. Nothing in the history of art is exactly comparable with it.”

In short, it is the design, for all his words, that Rodin cares for. He calls it Nature, because he sees, and can see Nature only that way. But as he said to someone who suggested that there might be a danger in too close devotion to Nature, “Yes, for a mediocre artist!” It is for the sake of the strange new beauty, “the unedited poses”, “the odd beautiful huddle<sup>16</sup> of lines”, in a stopping or squatting form, that all these wild and subtle moments are portrayed. The limbs must be adjusted or surprised in some pattern beyond their own. The ideas are the occasion and the excuse for new outlines – that is all.

This is all scarcely less true of Millet, whom we have known above all as the painter who has shown the simple common lot of labor as divine. But he, too, is artist for the sake of beauty first. He sees two peasant women, one laden with grass, the other with fagots. “From far off, they are superb, they balance their shoulders under the weight of fatigue, the twilight swallows their forms. It is beautiful, it is great as a master.”<sup>17</sup>

The idea is, as I said, from this point of view, a means to new beauty; and the stranger and subtler the idea, the more original the forms. The more unrestrained the expression of emotion in the figures, the more chance to surprise them in some new lovely pattern. It is thus, I believe, that we may interpret the seeming trend of

**Michelangelo di Lodovico**  
**Buonarroti Simoni** –  
 (March 6, 1475 - February 18,  
 1564), commonly known as  
 Michelangelo, was an Italian  
 Renaissance painter, sculptor,  
 architect, poet and engineer

<sup>14</sup> C. Mauclair, “The Decorative Sculpture of August Rodin”, *International Monthly*, vol iii.  
<sup>15</sup> D. S. MacColl, *Nineteenth Century Art*, 1902, p. 101.  
<sup>16</sup> Said of Degas. MacColl.  
<sup>17</sup> Sensier, *Vie et Oeuvre de J.-F. Millet*.

modern sculpture, and so much, indeed, of all modern art, to the “expressive beauty” path. “The mediocre artist” will lose beauty in seeking expression, the great artist will pursue his idea for the sake of the new beauty it will yield.

Thus it seems that the stumbling blocks in the way of our theory are not **insurmountable** after all. From every point of view, it is seen to be possible to transmute the idea into a helpmeet to the form. Visual beauty is first beauty to the eye and to the frame, and the mind cherishes and enriches this beauty with all its own stored treasures. The stimulation and repose of the psychophysical organism alone can make one thrill to visual form; but the thrill is deeper and more satisfying if it engage the whole man, and be reinforced from all sources.

## VII

But we ought to note a borderland in which the concern is professedly not with beauty, but with ideas of life. Aristotle’s lover of knowledge, who rejoiced to say of a picture “This is that man”, is the inspirer of drawing as opposed to the art of visual form.

It is not beauty we seek from the Rembrandt and **Durer** of the etchings and woodcuts, from Hogarth, **Goya**, **Klinger**, down to Leech and Keene and **Du Maurier**; it is not beauty, but ideas – information, irony, satire, life-philosophy. Where there is a conflict, beauty, as we have defined it, goes to the wall. We may trace, perhaps, the ground of this in the highly increased amount of symbolic, associative power given, and required, in the black and white. Even to understand such a picture demands such an enormous amount of unconscious mental supplementation that it is natural to find the aesthetic centre of gravity in that element.

The first conditions of the work, that is, determine its trend and aim. The part played by imagination in our vision of an etching is and must be so important, that it is, after all, the imaginative part which outweighs the given. Nor do we desire the given to infringe upon the ideal field. Thus do we understand that for most drawings a background vague and formless is the desideratum. “Such a tone is the foil for psychological moments, as they are handled by Goya, for instance, with barbarically magnificent nakedness. On a background which is scarcely indicated, with few strokes, which barely suggest space, he impales like a butterfly the human type, mostly in a moment of folly or wickedness.... The least definition of surrounding would blunt his (the artist’s) keenness, and make his **vehemence** absurd.”<sup>18</sup>

This theory of the aim of black and white is confirmed by the fact that while a painting is composed for the size in which it is painted, and becomes another picture if reproduced in another measure, the size of drawings is relatively indifferent; reduced or enlarged, the effect is approximately the same, because what is given to the eye



**HOGARTH, WILLIAM.**  
**FOUR STAGES OF**  
**CRUELTY – FIRST STAGE.**  
**FIRST OF A SERIES OF**  
**ENGRAVINGS. 1751**

### **insurmountable –**

(especially of a problem or a difficulty) so great that it cannot be dealt with successfully

### **Albrecht Dürer –**

(May 21, 1471 - April 6, 1528)  
German painter, printmaker and mathematician

### **Francisco José de Goya y**

#### **Lucientes –**

(March 30, 1746 - April 16, 1828) Spanish painter and printmaker. Goya was a court painter to the Spanish Crown and a chronicler of history

### **Friedrich Maximilian von**

#### **Klinger –**

(February 17, 1752 - February 25, 1831) German dramatist and novelist

### **George Louis Palmella Busson**

#### **du Maurier –**

(6 March 1834 - 8 October 1896) British author born in Paris, France.

### **vehemence –**

expressing strong feelings, or characterized by strong feelings or great energy or force

18 Max Klinger, Malerei u. Zeichnung, 1903, p. 42.

is such a small proportion of the whole experience. The picture is only the cue for a complete structure of ideas.

Here is a true case of Anders-Streben, that “partial alienation from its own limitations, by which the arts are able, not indeed to supply the place of each other, but reciprocally to lend each other new forces.”<sup>19</sup> It is by its success as representation that the art of the burin and needle – Griffelkunst, as Klinger names it – ought first to be judged. This is not saying that it may not also possess beauty of form to a high degree – only that this beauty of form is not its characteristic excellence.

In what consists the beauty of visual form? If this question could be answered in a sentence our whole discussion of the abstract formula for beauty would have been unnecessary. But since we know what the elements of visual form must do to bring about the aesthetic experience, it has been the aim of the preceding pages to show how those elements must be determined and related. The eye, the psychophysical organism, must be favorably stimulated; these, and such colors, combinations, lines as we have described, are fitted to do it. It must be brought to repose; these, and such relations between lines and colors as we have set forth, are fitted to do it, for reasons we have given. It is to the eye and all that waits upon it that the first and the last appeal of fine art must be made; and in so far as the emotion or the idea belonging to a picture or a statue waits upon the eye, in so far does it enter into the characteristic excellence, that is, the beauty of visual form.

**SOURCE:** Puffer, Ethel D. “The Beauty of the Visual Form.” *The Beauty of Fine Art*. Chapter 4. *The Psychology of Beauty*. Project Gutenberg.  
< <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext03/psbty10.txt> >

#### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What do we know about colors from experiments? What does the eye like in terms of colors? What role do colors play in creating a beautiful object? What role do colors have in our life? Can you give examples?
2. In what cases is truth synonymous with beauty?
3. What forms can be found positively aesthetic, i.e. beautiful?
4. What place has the idea in Beauty?
5. What does Puffer say about the theory of expressiveness? What does the author think about expression and beauty?
6. What is the difference between “the mediocre” and the great artists in Puffer’s view?



**DURER, ALBRECHT.  
SELF-PORTRAIT. 1500.  
ALTE PINAKOTHEK,  
MÜNCHEN**

<sup>19</sup> W. Pater, *The Renaissance: Essay on Giorgione*.



## ANDREW BUTTERFIELD THE HEIGHTS OF PLEASURE

Andrew Butterfield is Executive Vice President of Salander-O'Reilly Galleries in New York. He was a curator of the recent exhibition "Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and the Renaissance in Florence" at the National Gallery of Canada (September 2006). On September 21, 2006 he wrote the review, "The Heights of Pleasure" for the New York Review of Books. He also wrote of Giambologna: Gods and Heroes: Genesis and Fortune of a European Style in Sculpture, Catalog of the exhibition, and Giambologna: Triumph of the Body Catalog of the exhibition.

### REVIEW

#### **Giambologna: Gods and Heroes: Genesis and Fortune of a European Style in Sculpture**

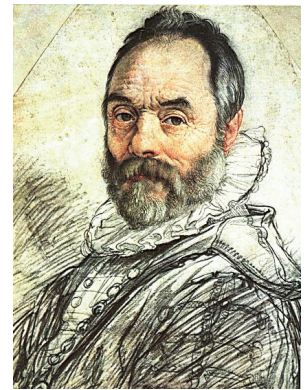
Catalog of the exhibition edited by Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos an exhibition at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, March 1, 2006–June 15, 2006. Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello/Milan: Giunti, 383pp. (paper; in Italian only)

#### **Giambologna: Triumph of the Body**

Catalog of the exhibition edited by Wilfried Seipel an exhibition at the **Kunsthistorisches Museum**, Vienna, in collaboration with the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, June 27, 2006 - September 17, 2006. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum/Milan: Skira, 311pp. (paper; in German only)

During the second half of the sixteenth century, one man dominated the making of sculpture in Europe. Known chiefly by his nickname, Giambologna, he was a Flemish artist who worked for the Medici court in Florence. A figure of remarkable creativity and unflagging industry, for nearly fifty years he ceaselessly produced sculpture in every medium, from wax and clay to marble and bronze, and on every scale, from the miniature to the gigantic. Although originally conceived to meet the needs of the **Medici** and the refined literati of their circle, Giambologna's sculptures soon had a degree of popularity without precedence in the history of post-classical art. Every king and connoisseur sought work by his hand and his bronzes were exported throughout Italy and the continent. Such was the appetite for his sculpture that his workshop remained open for business long after his death, and some of his models stayed in production for one hundred years or more. Nothing like this had ever happened before.

Giambologna was the first artist since antiquity whose success lay primarily in making sculptures that depicted secular rather than sacred figures and stories. Most celebrated works of earlier Florentine sculpture show heroes from Judeo-Christian history, for example Donatello's *Saint George* or Michelangelo's *David*. By contrast, Giambologna's



**HENDRICK GOLTZIUS (1558-1617). PORTRAIT OF GIOVANNI BOLOGNA**

**Kunsthistorisches Museum –**  
(English: "Museum of Art History"), Vienna, housed in its festive palatial building on Ringstraße, crowned with an octagonal dome, is one of the premier museums of fine arts and decorative arts in the world

**Medici family –**  
powerful and influential Florentine family from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> century. The family produced three popes (Leo X, Clement VII, and Leo XI), numerous rulers of Florence (notably Lorenzo il Magnifico, patron of some of the most famous works of renaissance art), and later members of the French and English royalty. The family also helped to spur the beginning of the Italian Renaissance

most popular subjects were drawn from classical mythology – Hercules, Venus, Apollo, and the like. This change in subject matter was related to profound changes in basic assumptions about the nature of art. Giambologna and his patrons had new ideas of what works of sculpture could represent, where they should be placed, how they should be viewed, and what they should be used for – in short, they created a new sense of how sculpture and the other visual arts could be part of one's life.

Despite Giambologna's importance, modern scholars have often treated him as an artist too rarefied to be of interest for a wide audience. When a major exhibition of his work was held in Europe in 1978, no American museum was willing to show it; and although there are many specialist studies, the standard account of the artist was written in Flemish fifty years ago, and there is only one biography available in English. To remedy the oversight, a pair of related exhibitions have been mounted this year: one show that recently closed at the Bargello in Florence, and another exhibition now on view at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; an excellent short book in Italian has also just been published.<sup>1</sup> The two shows display many of the same works, and the catalogs share some of the same essays, yet they were organized independently by different curators and they bring to the foreground very different aspects of the artist's work and career.

Giambologna was born in Douai in Flanders around 1529, and his initial training was in the workshop of Jacques Dubroecq, the sculptor to Mary of Hungary, Charles V's sister. Around 1550, when he was about twenty-one years old, Giambologna, like many a northern artist, went on pilgrimage to Rome, where he stayed for two years studying and copying masterpieces of classical sculpture. These works formed one of the standards he aspired to match for the rest of his life. The violent power of the *Laocoön*, the sophisticated elegance of the Apollo Belvedere, and the formal complexity of the Farnese Bull are elements that can be found again and again in Giambologna's own sculptures.

After his years in Rome, Giambologna traveled to Florence to study works by Renaissance masters. According to contemporary accounts, he felt "a burning ambition to equal Michelangelo." One portrait shows Giambologna holding a model by Michelangelo in his hands, and such models could never have been far from his thoughts, for they were a source of continual stimulation and challenge for the younger artist. Giambologna even was to conceive several of his greatest sculptures as ambitious reworkings of Michelangelo's designs.

Legend has it that the two met only once when the young artist arranged to have an interview with the great man, then nearly eighty years old. Giambologna dared to show him one of his own models, which, hoping to impress the master, he had finished with the highest degree of precision in every detail. In a fit of critical fury, Michelangelo smashed the clay statue and immediately reworked it in a completely different manner, saying, "Now go and first learn how to design a composition before you bother with its finish." For the remainder of his life Giambologna put his greatest artistic effort into designing and making the models for his sculptures, often leaving much of the execution and finishing to assistants.

Giambologna was an unknown foreigner when he arrived in Florence, but he was soon discovered by Bernardo Vecchiotti, a rich merchant and banker. Vecchiotti was a financial adviser to the Medici family, and one of the most influential voices on art and culture in the city. Perhaps more than any other Florentine citizen, he was in a position to help a young artist, and help he did. Vecchiotti provided the sculptor with

<sup>1</sup> Davide Gasparotto, *Giambologna* (Rome: L'Espresso, 2005).

room and board for many years, used his influence to help him win some important early commissions, and arranged for him to be placed on the Medici payroll. Vecchi etti did still more for the sculptor. Well known as a connoisseur of art and jewels, and an artisan in his own right, Vecchi etti was a man of considerable refinement; and the taste, knowledge, and imagination of Vecchi etti and his friends were to be fundamental for the direction and development of Giambologna's art. This may have been especially important since the sculptor seems to have had a limited education beyond his artistic training.

Giambologna's big break came around 1562 when he won the commission to make a colossal bronze statue of Neptune for a fountain in the central piazza of Bologna. Nearly twelve feet tall, this statue was among the largest sculptures made up to that point in the Renaissance. It shows the Olympian god standing in an energetic pose as he majestically raises and extends his left arm to calm the seas before him; his face beautifully expresses both authority and reserve. By comparison, the contemporaneous marble statue of Neptune by **Bartolomeo Ammanati** in the Piazza della Signoria in Florence seems inert, flaccid, and dim-witted.

Giambologna soon had a further chance to prove his preeminence. In 1565 he was asked to sculpt for the Medici a large marble group showing an allegory of the Victory of Florence over Pisa. The particular challenge of the commission was that, from the first, the statue was intended to be placed near a large marble sculpture of the Genius of Victory by Michelangelo. In direct competition with the artist universally agreed to have been the greatest sculptor of all time, Giambologna had to tackle a similar theme, and on the same scale. Michelangelo's statue shows a heroic male youth kneeling on top of a bound and crouching bearded man; the youth appears to rise and turn with a violent corkscrew motion that drives the elder figure further into the ground. For his sculpture, Giambologna replaced the youth of Michelangelo's statue with a robust Hellenistic goddess, representing Florence, but he otherwise closely imitated the major components of Michelangelo's design, only reversing the direction in which the figures twist and turn so that the two statues would appear to mirror one another. No other artist in Italy at that time was up to matching the master. From this point until his death in 1608, Giambologna was the most highly regarded sculptor in Florence; indeed, Francesco I de' Medici called him his favorite artist and said that he might be even better than Michelangelo.

With the blessing of both the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, the Medici had become the dukes of Florence in 1537 and then the grand dukes of all Tuscany in 1569. To affirm and celebrate their rule, they sponsored an ambitious campaign of art and architecture that completely transformed the physical character of the city. They made the Palazzo della Signoria, the former seat of republican government at the center of Florence, into the official ducal residence, and decorated it with statues and pictures championing their reign. In the small neighborhood next to the palace, they demolished every building, including one of the oldest churches in Florence, and erected new administrative headquarters of their government, still known today as the Uffizi (offices). Across the river in the southern half of the city, they acquired the Pitti Palace, made it into another family residence, and constructed the beautiful Boboli



**GIAMBOLOGNA.**  
**HERCULES BEATING**  
**THE CENTAUR. LOGGIA**  
**DEI LANZI, FLORENCE**

**Bartolomeo Ammanati** –  
(June 18, 1511 - April 13,  
1592) Florentine architect and  
sculptor

gardens behind it. In the surrounding countryside, they built new villas, most notably those at Castello and Pratolino, famous for the wonder of their grounds. And on the streets of Florence and in the centers of other Tuscan cities, including Arezzo, Pisa, and Livorno, they put up statues of themselves.

To make and decorate all the new buildings and gardens, the Medici hired a small army of painters, sculptors, jewelers, tapestry weavers, engineers, masons, and architects, sometimes even importing specialists from abroad. Giambologna was a recognized leader in this army and in 1566 was given both an apartment and a workshop in the ducal palace. As sculptor to the Medici court, he was asked to supply the widest array of statuary. The paintings made for the Medici by **Giorgio Vasari** and others were often formulaic and uninspired; but Giambologna approached his assignments with extraordinary energy and creativity. Making bronzes and marbles for the gardens of their villas, he virtually invented the fountain statue as a subject for high art. These works range in character from a figure of Ocean as a beautiful Greek god to a humorous statue of an old man of the mountain, Appennino, as a kind of awkward and shaggy giant. Giambologna also made the bronze image of Mercury as a graceful flying youth – one of the most famous of all European sculptures – for a fountain in Ferdinando I's garden at the Villa Medici in Rome.

Among his other projects, for the grotto at the villa in Castello, he cast life-size bronzes of birds, including turkeys, eagles, and owls, and each he charmingly imagined as an individual character. He put up temporary decorations for state weddings and funerals, including a wax effigy of Cosimo I. He designed glittering silver statues of the Labors of Hercules for the Tribuna, an art treasure room in the Uffizi, and a sleek bronze Apollo for Francesco I's private chamber. He was even entrusted with the task of erecting two of the most important symbols of Medici rule in all of Florence, the commanding bronze equestrian sculpture of Cosimo I in the Piazza della Signoria and an equally impressive monument of Ferdinando I in the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata. Writing in 1564, Vincenzo Borghini, a humanist art adviser to the Medici, stated that sculpture was "more lordly, richer, and more magnificent" than painting, in part because the costs were beyond the means of a private citizen. The Medici's desire for princely splendor and awesome magnificence lay behind much of what they sought from Giambologna.

At the same time that he was engaged in creating grand public statuary for the Medici, the artist was also active designing small bronze statuettes for private viewing and interior display. Before Giambologna, statuettes were all but unknown in Florence; maybe as few as two dozen had been made during the previous one hundred years, and these tended to be fairly rudimentary in character, with simple poses and rough and irregular surfaces. Only in northern Italy, especially Venice and Padua, were bronzes a common form of domestic decoration, but often these were utilitarian items such as inkwells and incense burners, not major works of art conceived for a small scale. It is true that the sculptor Antico working for Isabella d'Este and the ruling family of Mantua at the beginning of the sixteenth century had extensively explored a more refined ideal for bronze statuettes, but such experiments in elegance were all but unknown beyond the confines of the Mantuan court.

Giambologna's statuettes were an immediate popular success. According to one critic writing in the 1580s, there were thousands of bronzes by him in Florentine collections. Surely the writer was exaggerating, but the market for them must have been large and enthusiastic. Starting in the early 1560s, the artist created some ninety or so models for small bronzes; he made numerous casts of the most popular models and had to employ three or four full-time assistants just to help in executing and finishing them all.



**GIAMBOLOGNA.  
COSIMO MEDICI'S  
STATUE ON THE PIAZZA  
DELLA SIGNORIA.  
FLORENCE, ITALY**

**Giorgio Vasari –**  
(July 30, 1511 - June 27, 1574)  
Italian painter and architect,  
known for his famous  
biographies of Italian artists

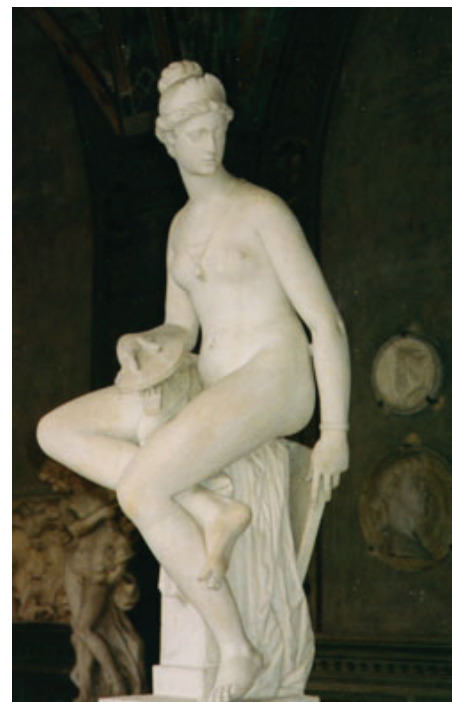
Giambologna's statuettes even came to be seen as a distinctive product of Florence; the Medici would commission especially finely wrought versions as diplomatic gifts for other rulers of Europe, including the Holy Roman Emperor and the Elector of Saxony.

One look at Giambologna's early bronze figure of *Venus After Her Bath* is enough to see the reasons for his acclaim (see illustration on page 47). A small statuette that fits comfortably in the palm of the hand, it shows a young voluptuous woman kneeling on her right leg, as she raises her left arm and dries her left breast with a cloth held in her right hand. The sculpture is immediate and sensuous and yet remote and ideal, as if something remembered from a dream. Unmistakably, the appeal of the bronze is partly erotic. The viewer is meant to examine, and to imagine caressing, the firm buttocks, the ripe hips, the supple back, and the soft, full breasts of the figure. At the same time, however, some proportions and shapes of her body have geometric qualities that make her appear almost alien: her neck is unnaturally long and columnar and her nose is almost a pure rectangle. Similarly, the look on her face – inward, still, and passionless – seems from another world. She is a goddess, and for all her loveliness, she remains immaculate and inaccessible.

The bronzes of male figures have a very different character – they depict gods or heroes in vigorous action rather than in dreamy repose – and yet they too were made to be examined with a kind of rapt concentration normally reserved only for things we love. Almost invariably they show the entire body tense with movement and near the climax of action. In *Hercules with a Club*, for instance, one sees the hero at the very midpoint in the swing of his weapon; preparing to strike, he has raised his right arm high over his head and he is about to bring it down with supreme violence. One can feel the surge of power that will be released: a sense of urgency and excitement courses around the entire figure. This impression is intensified by both the outline of the body – all the limbs are extended, creating a pinwheel of motion – and the surface of the bronze, rippling and scintillating with life.

Giambologna's bronzes are masterpieces of virtuosity. Every muscle, ligament, vein, and curl is rendered with astonishing immediacy and convincing veracity. The vividness of the details is so dazzling that the viewer cannot help but marvel at their artistry: they compel admiration for the remarkable skill and exhaustive care with which Giambologna and his assistants have wrought them. Artfulness is on display as well in the composition of the poses. The female bronzes are made up of curves that interconnect with heavenly grace; likewise the bronzes of the male figures seem planned more to show off bold movements, naturalistic anatomy, and finely-crafted details than to illustrate a story or depict a figure's psychological state or moral character.

We can be sure that Giambologna thought of his work primarily in aesthetic terms. In 1579 he made for Duke Ottavio Farnese a large bronze statuette of a young man holding aloft a beautiful nude woman. Discussing the piece in a famous letter to the duke, Giambologna stated, "Regarding the two figures, they can be interpreted as the Abduction of Helen, or perhaps that of Proserpina, or that of the **Sabines**: I chose them [only] to



**"L'ARCHITETTURA" BY GIAMBOLGNA IN THE BARGELLO, FIRENZE**

**The Rape of the Sabines –** the legend says that Romans abducted Sabine women to populate the newly built town, resulting in conflict ended only by the women throwing themselves and their children between the armies of their fathers and their husbands. The kidnapping is a common motif in art; the women ending the war is a less frequent but still reappearing motif



**GIAMBOLIGNA. RAPE OF THE SABINE WOMEN. LOGGIA DEI LANZI, FLORENCE**

give expression to my knowledge and study of art.” More remarkable still, immediately afterward he began a colossal marble group in which he added a third figure to the composition of the statuette. The sculpture was judged to be so beautiful that Francesco I had it erected in the Loggia dei Lanzi next to the ducal palace on the Piazza della Signoria, and a competition was held to come up with a myth or legend that the statue might represent. The Rape of **Andromeda** was initially suggested but the Rape of the Sabines finally was deemed to fit the sculpture best and Giambologna made a bronze narrative relief for the pedestal to help identify it as such. As has been rightly noted before, this was the first occasion that a monumental work of art was erected in a public setting solely for its beauty and visual appeal. What makes this especially notable is that up to that point, all the sculptures on the square, including Donatello’s *Judith* and Michelangelo’s *David*, were works of great symbolic significance, representing the strength and the good government of Florence and God’s protection of the city.

Throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, the justification for art was said to be its usefulness for moral instruction. Religious images were conceived as an aid in the remembrance of the saints or as the Bible of the poor; and secular images were defended as illustrations of exemplary heroes and deeds that instilled the desire for virtue in the viewer. Borrowing language from **Cicero**, **Horace**, and **Quintilian**, humanists in the early Renaissance agreed that the visual arts, just like rhetoric and poetry, should delight, move, and instruct. In the time of Giambologna critics still believed in the moral value of the visual arts, especially of religious images; but they put new emphasis on the primacy of delight. For example, in 1564 Vincenzo Borghini wrote an essay on painting and sculpture in which he stated that “pleasure is the essence of art, utility is an accident.”

When Giambologna and his friends spoke of the pleasure of art, surely they had in mind the sensual gratification that came from looking at beautiful things. But they also thought of such pleasure as the satisfaction and the fulfillment that arises from the use of one’s faculties as a human being. We can be relatively certain of this because of the book *Il Riposo*, written by Raffaello Borghini in 1584. Raffaello was Vincenzo’s grandnephew and an important humanist; and it was Raffaello who gave Giambologna’s colossal marble of the Rape of the Sabines its name. *Il Riposo* is a dialogue in which Giambologna’s patron, Bernardo Vecchietti, and three other men discuss their opinions of the visual arts. Vecchietti is the leading figure in the text: indeed, the title of the book is taken from the name of his villa, which lay in the hills outside of Florence.

Near the beginning of the book Borghini gives a long description of the place. He recounts the physical beauty of the grounds, the abundance of its orchards, the purity of its waters. He praises the delicacy of the cuisine and the excellence of the wines. He marvels at the wealth of the collections: porcelain, silver, crystal, prints, paintings, drawings – including sheets by Michelangelo and Leonardo – and most of all “the many figures in wax, clay and bronze” by Giambologna. “In short”, he concludes, “at the villa you can find everything you need to give pleasure to the body and nourishment to the mind.”

In the early Renaissance, art collecting had been a restricted activity, chiefly confined to princes of church and state, and done in no small part as an expression of political power. It was virtually an obligation of office, and for the Medici and other rulers in the later Renaissance, it remained so. Yet in the sixteenth century collecting became a far more common passion, pursued by all manner of rich private citizens, for whom it may have been an emblem of nobility, but not of state power. Freed from political function, collecting could serve other ends of a more personal scope. For Bernardo Vecchietti and the other men in the circle of Giambologna, art was one of the worldly

**Andromeda –**

Greek mythological figure who was chained to a rock to be eaten by a sea monster and was saved by Perseus, whom she later married

**Marcus Tullius Cicero –**

(January 3, 106 BC - December 7, 43 BC) orator, statesman, political theorist, lawyer and philosopher of Ancient Rome

**Quintus Horatius Flaccus –**

(December 8, 65 BC - November 27, 8 BC), known in the English-speaking world as Horace; the leading Roman lyric poet during the time of Augustus

**Marcus Fabius Quintilianus –**

(c.35-95) Roman rhetorician, widely referred to in medieval schools of rhetoric and in Renaissance writing

goods whose possession and enjoyment help a cultivated person to achieve a measure of happiness on earth. Perhaps for the first time in European history, art was seen as a component of the ideal life.

During the sixteenth century the fundamental text on the relation of pleasure and happiness was Book X of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Aristotle states,

One is led to believe that all men have a desire for pleasure, because all strive to live. Life is an activity, and each man actively exercises his favorite faculties upon the objects he loves most. A man who is musical, for example, exercises his hearing upon tunes, an intellectual his thinking upon the subjects of his study, and so forth. But pleasure completes the activities, and consequently life, which they desire.... Those pleasures, therefore, which complete the activities of a perfect or complete and supremely happy man...can be called in the true sense the pleasures proper to man.<sup>1</sup>

That Giambologna's sculpture was a landmark in the secularization of art has been said often before, and so it was. But the new attitude that he and his patrons espoused should not be seen merely as an early instance of the ideal of art for art's sake. Rather, they saw his sculpture as an exalted experience that would engage the mind and stimulate the senses and thereby help viewers to understand better their own humanity.

**SOURCE:** Butterfield, Andrew. "The Heights of Pleasure". *The New York Review of Books*. VOLUME 53, NUMBER 14, SEPTEMBER 21, 2006.

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What are the peculiarities of Giambologna's sculptures? How are his works different from earlier Florentine sculpture?
2. What was Giambologna's contribution to the development of statuettes in Florence? How did Giambologna's statuettes come to be seen? How did the Medici use Giambologna's statuettes?
3. Can you describe Giambologna's early bronze figure of Venus after her Bath? What emotions does this sculpture arise?
4. What can you say about the character of Giambologna's bronze male figures? What are the similarities and differences between Giambologna's bronze female and male figures?
5. What was the justification for art throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance? Demonstrate some examples? What did the humanists say about the purpose of the visual arts in the early Renaissance?
6. According to the author, how should we appreciate Giambologna's sculptures? Why?



**BRONZE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF PHILIP III OF SPAIN (1578-1621).**

Started by Giambologna and finished in 1616 by Pietro Tacca. It is part of the monument in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid (Spain) inaugurated in 1848

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by Martin Ostwald (Bobbs-Merrill, 1962), pp. 281–286. According to Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 38, at least twenty-five editions of the *Ethics* were published between 1538 and 1600.

## REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Compare and contrast two or more definitions of beauty from the text “Theories of Beauty Since the Mid-nineteenth Century”.
2. What are the differences in Croce and Puffer’s views on Beauty?
3. Are there any connections between beauty and the sacred? How would Kassam, Kumar and Puffer respond to this question?

## ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. What is beauty? Is there one definition of beauty?
2. “Are there objective standards of beauty? Or is beauty in the eye of the beholder? Must art be beautiful to be great art?”<sup>1</sup>
3. “Is natural beauty ever better than constructed beauty, like in art or music? Do beauty and happiness go together?”<sup>2</sup>
4. “What is the relation between beauty and the sublime?”<sup>3</sup>
5. “What can we learn about ourselves from what we find beautiful?”<sup>4</sup>
6. How do we judge what is beautiful and what is ugly?
7. How are beautiful things composed?
8. Should pleasure be a criterion of beauty? Why?
9. How are beauty and taste related?
10. What is the sense of beauty?
11. What power does beauty have?

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1 Nehamas, Alexander. “What is Beauty?” < <http://philosophytalk.org/pastShows/WhatIsBeauty.htm>>.

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*

4 *ibid.*



## APPRECIATION AND ART APPRECIATION

Let us look at the dictionary definitions of the term “appreciation”.

The word *appreciation* means:

- A) The pleasure you experience “when you recognize and enjoy the good qualities of somebody/something”;
- B) “A full or sympathetic understanding of something”;
- C) “The feeling of being grateful for something”;
- D) “A piece of writing in which the strengths or weaknesses of somebody/something, especially an artist or an artwork, are discussed and judged “(Hornby 49).

### Elements of Art Appreciation

Art Appreciation consists of several stages:

**Description** - State what you see. Do not add your opinions.

**Analysis** means separation of a whole into its elements and examination of their relationship in making up the whole. Analyze the following components:

**A. Composition** means the selection and arrangement of appropriate elements within a frame to express ideas, feelings and imagination. It consists of the following elements:

Colour is the visual perception of light. Colours can be:

Primary colours are those colours from which most other colours are made: blue, red and yellow.

Secondary colors can be obtained through mixing two or more primary colors”: orange, green, and violet.

The two characteristics of colour are hue and value. Value (tone) means relative darkness or lightness of a color. It can be used to create a sense of light or dark. Colour value is used to produce different moods. For instance, dark colors can often convey a sense of mystery or menace (“Elements of Art”).

Hue is a shade of colour. For instance, hues of red colour are tomato red, deep red, maroon, blush, brick, etc.

2. Line is a point moving in space. Lines can be straight or curved.

Line Directions are visual routes that can be diagonal, horizontal or vertical.

Lines lead viewer’s eyes around the composition and convey information through their character and direction. For example, horizontal lines suggest a feeling of rest, while vertical lines often communicate a sense of height. Combination of horizontal and vertical lines communicates stability and solidity (“Elements of Art”). Diagonal lines convey a feeling of movement. Curved lines can convey energy.

Shape is an outline of an object. Shapes can be naturalistic (organic like landscape or trees appear most often in nature) and geometric (man-made like houses).

Size means how big or how small something is.

5. Texture is the surface quality of an object. Textures can be rough, smooth, flat, prickly, feathery, sharp, and bumpy.

## B. Principles of Design

Principles of Design (Composition) are related to the organization of a work of art. Each principle shows how artists use elements of art to express their feelings and ideas. These principles of design are:

1. Repetition in geometrical patterns adds interest to a work of art.

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2. Dynamism in visual arts happens when the artist is able to guide and draw the viewer's eye in definite directions.

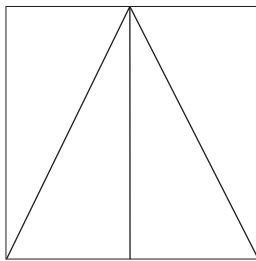
3. Balance: symmetry/asymmetry

Symmetry means a composition with "identical or nearly identical form on opposite sides of a dividing line" ("Symmetry").

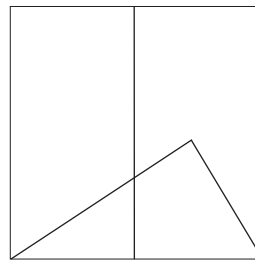
**Symmetrical compositions** convey a sense of stability.

Asymmetry is the absence of symmetry or the depiction of two not identical sides in a work of art.

**Asymmetrical compositions** often convey a sense of movement.



Symmetry



Assymetry

Proportion is the size of one thing relative to another.

Contrast is the juxtaposition of opposing elements in a work of art to attract attention of the viewer. Contrast can be in colour: white-black; in tone: light-dark or in direction: horizontal-vertical.

Emphasis is highlighting a particular object for the viewers to notice.

**Note:** Not every element of art will be present in any painting. Some elements will be emphasized and others will be deemphasized in particular works of art.

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## CHAPTER THREE: ART AS INTUITION

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### INTRODUCTION

Many people consider art to be intuitive knowledge and therefore requiring our attention and critical understanding. The philosophical and literary texts offered in this chapter focus on intuition as key to great art. Definitions of intuition range from gut feeling to direct cognition without the use of rational thought or inference. The readers are advised to seek out the meaning of intuition used by all the authors of the texts in this chapter. This would aid the reader in understanding the perspective of this chapter that art is intuitive knowledge.

The first text in this chapter by **Benedetto Croce** offers the idea that art as intuitive knowledge is an “expression of impressions.” The reader is asked to consider if art as intuition is non-rational. Then at what stage of art does reason enter into it? Or is art a product of only the irrational with no aid from reason? How then do artists deal with practical obstacles to producing art? If reason aids the creation of art, is this reason of a different sort? How does the artist communicate his or her knowledge to us? Do we share in the artists’ inherent intuition? What distinguishes an artist from a “non-artist?”

**Nathaniel Hawthorne’s** story of the Prophetic Pictures offers several perspectives on art as intuition. The characters in the story suggest that art is magical, prophetic and psychologically insightful. Examine these various concepts: which of them seem to be sound and valid, which of these seem fanciful, and which of them seem plausible?

Another well-known story, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by **Oscar Wilde**, offers the idea that art is amoral or above morality. Yet the story seems to offer a compelling moral conclusion, and thus becomes a parable. Additionally, the author presents the idea that “all art is at once surface and symbol.” Surely then, any meaning that the spectator attributes to a work of art must be the spectators own addition to the work: a kind of varnish to the surface of a work of art, in which case, the artist’s task is to draw the spectators to reveal their own viewpoint to themselves. In other words, the artist draws out the subconscious idea, thought or feeling to the conscious mind and thus reveals the spectators to themselves.

The last text in the chapter focuses on an enigmatic smile depicted in a painting, the impact it has on its viewers, and the popularity of the portrait. The readers are urged to consider the search for meaning, understanding, and admiration that is both generated by the painting and also urged upon the viewers by massive commercialization of the piece of art. Does commercial value erase intuitive knowledge of art as well as that of the spectator? Is intuitive knowledge ephemeral? Can art that is a physical product be an expression of ephemeral intuitive knowledge?

**Benedetto Croce** –  
(February 25, 1866 - November 20, 1952), Italian critic, idealist philosopher, and politician

**Nathaniel Hawthorne** –  
(born Nathaniel Hathorne; July 4, 1804 - May 19, 1864), 19<sup>th</sup> century American novelist and short story writer

**Oscar Fingal O’Flahertie Wills Wilde** –  
(October 16, 1854 - November 30, 1900) Irish playwright, novelist, poet, short story writer



POLLOCK, JACKSON. COMPOSITION NO. 16.

## BENEDETTO CROCE INTUITION AND ART

**Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) was an Italian critic, idealist philosopher and politician. He wrote on numerous topics, including philosophy of history and aesthetics. The text given below is taken from the book *Aesthetics as Science of Expression and General Linguistics (1902)*. His other works are: *Historical Materialism and the Economics of Karl Marx (1900)*, *Logic as the Science of Pure Concept (1909)* and *The Philosophy of Giambattista Vico (1911)*.**

### COROLLARIES AND EXPLANATIONS

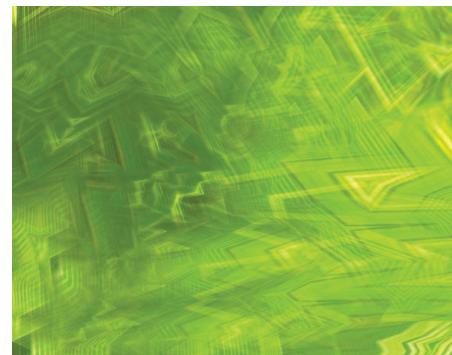
Before proceeding further, it seems opportune to draw certain consequences from what has been established and to add some explanation.

### IDENTITY OF ART AND INTUITIVE KNOWLEDGE

We have frankly identified intuitive or expressive knowledge with the aesthetic or artistic fact, taking works of art as examples of intuitive knowledge and attributing to them the characteristics of intuition, and vice versa. But our identification is combated by the view, held even by many philosophers, who consider art to be an intuition of an altogether special sort. "Let us admit" (they say) "that art is intuition; but intuition is not always art: artistic intuition is of a distinct species differing from intuition in general by something more."

### NO SPECIFIC DIFFERENCE

But no one has ever been able to indicate of what this something more consists. It has sometimes been thought that art is not a simple intuition, but an intuition of an intuition, in the same way as the concept of science has been defined, not as the ordinary concept, but as the concept of a concept. Thus man should attain to art, by objectifying, not his sensations, as happens with ordinary intuition, but intuition itself. But this process of raising to a second power does not exist; and the comparison of it with the ordinary and scientific concept does not imply what is wished, for the good reason that it is not true that the scientific concept is the concept of a concept. If this comparison implies anything, it implies just the opposite. The ordinary concept, if it be really a concept and not a simple representation, is a perfect concept, however poor and limited. Science substitutes concepts for representations; it adds and substitutes other concepts larger and more comprehensive for those that are poor and limited. It is ever discovering new



Abstract created in Helicon Filter from a photograph of a palm leaf.

relations. But its method does not differ from that by which is formed the smallest universal in the brain of the humblest of men. What is generally called art, by *antonomasia*, collects intuitions that are wider and more complex than those which we generally experience, but these intuitions are always of sensations and impressions.

Art is the expression of impressions, not the expression of expressions.

### NO DIFFERENCE OF INTENSITY

For the same reason, it cannot be admitted that intuition, which is generally called artistic, differs from ordinary intuition as to intensity. This would be the case if it were to operate differently on the same matter. But since artistic function is more widely distributed in different fields, but yet does not differ in method from ordinary intuition, the difference between the one and the other is not intensive but extensive. The intuition of the simplest popular love-song, which says the same thing, or very nearly, as a declaration of love such as issues at every moment from the lips of thousands of ordinary men, may be intensively perfect in its poor simplicity, although it be extensively so much more limited than the complex intuition of a love-song by Leopardi.

### THE DIFFERENCE IS EXTENSIVE AND EMPIRICAL

The whole difference, then, is quantitative, and as such, indifferent to philosophy, *scientia qualitatum*. Certain men have a greater aptitude, a more frequent inclination fully to express certain complex states of the soul. These men are known in ordinary language as artists. Some very complicated and difficult expressions are more rarely achieved and these are called works of art. The limits of the expressions and intuitions that are called art, as opposed to those that are vulgarly called not-art, are empirical and impossible to define. If an epigram be art, why not a single word? If a story; why not the occasional note of the journalist? If a landscape, why not a topographical sketch? The teacher of philosophy in Moliere's comedy was right: "whenever we speak we create prose." But there will always be scholars like Monsieur Jourdain, astonished at having created prose for forty years without knowing it, and who will have difficulty in persuading themselves that when they call their servant John to bring their slippers, they have spoken nothing less than prose.

We must hold firmly to our identification, because among the principal reasons which have prevented Aesthetic, the science of art, from revealing the true nature of art, its real roots in human nature, has been its separation from the general spiritual life, the having made of it a sort of special function or aristocratic circle. No one is astonished when he learns from physiology that every cellule is an organism and every organism a cellule or synthesis of cellules. No one is astonished at finding in a lofty mountain the same chemical elements that compose a small stone or fragment. There is not one physiology of small animals and one of large animals; nor is there a special chemical theory of stones as distinct from mountains. In the same way, there is not a science of lesser intuition distinct from a science of greater intuition, nor one of ordinary intuition distinct from artistic intuition. There is but one Aesthetic, the science of intuitive or expressive knowledge, which is the aesthetic or artistic fact. And this Aesthetic is the true analogy of Logic. Logic includes, as facts of the same nature, the formation of the smallest and most ordinary concept and the most complicated scientific and philosophical system.



**MALEVICH, KAZIMIR.**  
**THE BLACK SQUARE**  
1913. State Russian Museum,  
St. Petersburg.

## ARTISTIC GENIUS

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Nor can we admit that the word *genius* or artistic genius, as distinct from the non-genius of the ordinary man, possesses more than a quantitative signification. Great artists are said to reveal us to ourselves. But how could this be possible, unless there be identity of nature between their imagination and ours, and unless the difference be only one of quantity? It were well to change *poeta nascitur* into *homo nascitur poeta*: some men are born great poets, some small. The cult and superstition of the genius has arisen from this quantitative difference having been taken as a difference of quality. It has been forgotten that genius is not something that has fallen from heaven, but humanity itself. The man of genius, who poses or is represented as distant from humanity, finds his punishment in becoming or appearing somewhat ridiculous. Examples of this are the *genius* of the romantic period and the *superman* of our time.

But it is well to note here, that those who claim unconsciousness as the chief quality of an artistic genius, hurl him from an eminence far above humanity to a position far below it. Intuitive or artistic genius, like every form of human activity, is always conscious; otherwise it would be blind mechanism. The only thing that may be wanting to the artistic genius is the *reflective* consciousness, the superadded consciousness of the historian or critic, which is not essential to artistic genius.

## CONTENT AND FORM IN AESTHETIC

The relation between matter and form, or between *content and form*, as it is generally called, is one of the most disputed questions in Aesthetic. Does the aesthetic fact consist of content alone, or of form alone, or of both together? This question has taken on various meanings, which we shall mention, each in its place. But when these words are taken as signifying what we have above defined, and matter is understood as emotivity not aesthetically elaborated, that is to say, impressions, and form elaboration, intellectual activity and expression, then our meaning cannot be doubtful. We must, therefore, reject the thesis that makes the aesthetic fact to consist of the content alone (that is, of the simple impressions), in like manner with that other thesis, which makes it to consist of a junction between form and content, that is, of impressions plus expressions. In the aesthetic fact, the aesthetic activity is not added to the fact of the impressions, but these latter are formed and elaborated by it. The impressions reappear as it were in expression, like water put into a filter, which reappears the same and yet different on the other side. The aesthetic fact, therefore, is form, and nothing but form.

From this it results, not that the content is something superfluous (it is, on the contrary, the necessary point of departure for the expressive fact); but that "there is no passage" between the quality of the content and that of the form. It has sometimes been thought that the content, in order to be aesthetic, that is to say, transformable

into form, should possess some determinate or determinable quality. But were that so, then form and content, expression and impression, would be the same thing. It is true that the content is that which is convertible into form, but it has no determinable qualities until this transformation takes place. We know nothing of its nature. It does not become aesthetic content at once, but only when it has been effectively transformed. Aesthetic content has also been defined as what is “interesting”. That is not an untrue statement; it is merely void of meaning. What, then, is interesting? Expressive activity? Certainly the expressive activity would not have raised the content to the dignity of form, had it not been interested. The fact of its having been interested is precisely the fact of its raising the content to the dignity of form. But the word “interesting” has also been employed in another not illegitimate sense, which we shall explain further on.

### **CRITIQUE OF THE IMITATION OF NATURE AND OF THE ARTISTIC ILLUSION**

The proposition that art is “imitation of nature” has also several meanings. Now truth has been maintained or at least shadowed with these words, now error. More frequently, nothing definite has been thought. One of the legitimate scientific meanings occurs when imitation is understood as representation or intuition of nature, a form of knowledge. And when this meaning has been understood, by placing in greater relief the spiritual character of the process, the other proposition becomes also legitimate: namely, that art is the “idealization” or “idealizing” imitation of nature. But if by imitation of nature be understood that art gives mechanical reproductions, more or less perfect duplicates of natural objects, before which the same tumult of impressions caused by natural objects begins over again, then the proposition is evidently false. The painted wax figures that seem to be alive, and before which we stand astonished in the museums where such things are shown, do not give aesthetic intuitions. Illusion and hallucination have nothing to do with the calm domain of artistic intuition. If an artist paint the interior of a wax-work museum, or if an actor give a burlesque portrait of a man-statue on the stage, we again have spiritual labour and artistic intuition. Finally, if photography have anything in it of artistic, it will be to the extent that it transmits the intuition of the photographer, his point of view, the pose and the grouping which he has striven to attain. And if it be not altogether art, that is precisely because the element of nature in it remains more or less insubordinate and ineradicable. Do we ever, indeed, feel complete satisfaction before even the best of photographs?

Would not an artist vary and touch up much or little, remove or add something to any of them?

### **CRITIQUE OF ART CONCEIVED AS A SENTIMENTAL NOT A THEORETICAL FACT. AESTHETIC APPEARANCE AND FEELING**

The statements repeated so often, with others similar, that art is not knowledge, that it does not tell the truth, that it does not belong to the world of theory, but to the world of feeling, arise from the failure to realize exactly the theoretic character of the simple intuition. This simple intuition is quite distinct from intellectual knowledge, as it is distinct from the perception of the real. The belief that only the intellective is



**WAX FIGURES**



knowledge, or at the most also the perception of the real, also arises from the failure to grasp the theoretic character of the simple intuition. We have seen that intuition is knowledge, free of concepts and more simple than the so-called perception of the real. Since art is knowledge and form, it does not belong to the world of feeling and of psychic material. The reason why so many aestheticians have so often insisted that art is “appearance” (“schein”), is precisely because they have felt the necessity of distinguishing it from the more complex fact of perception by maintaining its pure intuitivity. For the same reason it has been claimed that art is “sentiment”. In fact, if the concept as content of art, and historical reality as such, be excluded, there remains no other content than reality apprehended in all its ingenuousness and immediateness in the vital effort, in “sentiment”, that is to say, pure intuition.

### CRITIQUE OF THEORY OF AESTHETIC SENSES

The theory of the “aesthetic senses” has also arisen from the failure to establish, or from having lost to view the character of the expression as distinct from the impression, of the form as distinct from the matter.

As has just been pointed out, this reduces itself to the error of wishing to seek a passage from the quality of the content to that of the form. To ask, in fact, what the aesthetic senses may be, implies asking what sensible impressions may be able to enter into aesthetic expressions, and what must of necessity do so. To this we must at once reply, that all impressions can enter into aesthetic expressions or formations, but that none are bound to do so. Dante raised to the dignity of form not only the “sweet colour of the oriental sapphire” (visual impression), but also tactile or thermic impressions, such as the “thick air” and the “fresh rivulets” which “parch all the more” the throat of the thirsty. The belief that a picture yields only visual impressions is a curious illusion. The bloom of a cheek, the warmth of a youthful body, the sweetness and freshness of a fruit, the cutting of a sharpened blade, are not these, also, impressions that we have from a picture? Maybe they are visual? What would a picture be for a hypothetical man, deprived of all or many of his senses, who should in an instant acquire the sole organ of sight? The picture we are standing opposite and believe we see only with our eyes, would appear to his eyes as little more than the paint-smear palette of a painter.

Some who hold firmly to the aesthetic character of given groups of impressions (for example, the visual, the auditive), and exclude others, admit, however, that if visual and auditive impressions enter “directly” into the aesthetic fact, those of the other senses also enter into it, but only as “associated”. But this distinction is altogether arbitrary. Aesthetic expression is a synthesis, in which it is impossible to distinguish direct and indirect. All impressions are by it placed on a level, in so far as they are aestheticised. He who takes into himself the image of a picture or of a poem does not experience, as it were, a series of impressions as to this image, some of which have a prerogative



**PROKUDIN-GORSKII,  
SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH.  
EARLY COLOUR  
PHOTOGRAPH FROM  
RUSSIA.**

or precedence over others. And nothing is known of what happens prior to having received it, for the distinctions made after reflexion have nothing to do with art.

The theory of the aesthetic senses has also been presented in another way; that is to say, as the attempt to establish what physiological organs are necessary for the aesthetic fact. The physiological organ or apparatus is nothing but a complex of cellules, thus and thus constituted, thus and thus disposed; that is to say, it is merely physical and natural fact or concept. But expression does not recognize physiological facts. Expression has its point of departure in the impressions, and the physiological path by which these have found their way to the mind is to it altogether indifferent. One way or another amounts to the same thing: it suffices that they are impressions.

It is true that the want of given organs, that is, of given complexes of cells, produces an absence of given impressions (when these are not obtained by another path by a kind of organic compensation). The man born blind cannot express or have the intuition of light. But the impressions are not conditioned solely by the organ, but also by the stimuli which operate upon the organ. Thus, he who has never had the impression of the sea will never be able to express it, in the same way as he who has never had the impression of the great world or of political conflict will never express the one or the other. This, however, does not establish a dependence of the expressive function on the stimulus or on the organ. It is the repetition of what we know already: expression presupposes impression. Therefore, given expressions imply given impressions. Besides, every impression excludes other impressions during the moment in which it dominates; and so does every expression.

### **UNITY AND INDIVISIBILITY OF THE WORK OF ART**

Another corollary of the conception of expression as activity is the "indivisibility" of the work of art. Every expression is a unique expression. Activity is a fusion of the impressions in an organic whole. A desire to express this has always prompted the affirmation that the world of art should have "unity", or, what amounts to the same thing, "unity in variety". Expression is a synthesis of the various, the multiple, in the one.

The fact that we divide a work of art into parts, as a poem into scenes, episodes, similes, sentences, or a picture into single figures and objects, background, foreground, etc., may seem to be an objection to this affirmation. But such division annihilates the work, as dividing the organism into heart, brain, nerves, muscles and so on, turns the living being into a corpse. It is true that there exist organisms in which the division gives place to more living things, but in such a case, and if we transfer the analogy to the aesthetic fact, we must conclude for a multiplicity of germs of life, that is to say, for a speedy re-elaboration of the single parts into new single expressions.

It will be observed that expression is sometimes based on other expressions. There are simple and there are "compound" expressions. One must admit some difference between the "eureka", with which Archimedes expressed all his joy after his discovery, and the expressive act (indeed all the five acts) of a regular tragedy. Not in the least: expression is always directly based on impressions. He who conceives a tragedy puts into a crucible a great quantity, so to say, of impressions: the expressions themselves, conceived on other occasions, are fused together with the new in a single mass, in the same way as we can cast into a smelting furnace formless pieces of bronze and most precious statuettes. Those most precious statuettes must be melted in the same way as the formless bits of bronze, before there can be a new statue. The old expressions must descend again to the level of impressions, in order to be synthesized in a new single expression.

**ART AS THE DELIVERER**

III

By elaborating his impressions, man “frees” himself from them. By objectifying them, he removes them from him and makes himself their superior. The liberating and purifying function of art is another aspect and another formula of its character of activity. Activity is the deliverer, just because it drives away passivity.

This also explains why it is customary to attribute to artists alike the maximum of sensibility or “passion”, and the maximum insensibility or Olympic “serenity”. Both qualifications agree, for they do not refer to the same object. The sensibility or passion relates to the rich material which the artist absorbs into his psychic organism; the insensibility or serenity to the form with which he subjugates and dominates the tumult of the feelings and of the passions.

**SOURCE:** Croce, Benedetto. “Intuition and Art”. *Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*. 1902. Trans. Douglas Ainslie B.A.(Oxon). 1909. Project Gutenberg < <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext05/7asth10.txt> >

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. How does Croce understand art?
2. What kind of person is not able to express an impression of the sea? Why?
3. Do you agree with Croce that division of a work of art into parts annihilates it?
4. How can art be a deliverer?



**AIWASOWSKIJ, IWAN /  
KONSTANTINOWITSCH.  
NINTH WAVE**



**VASNETSOV, VIKTOR MIKHAILOVICH. GAMAUN, THE PROPHETIC BIRD,**  
1897. Oil on canvas, 200x150cm, The Daghestan Museum of Fine Arts.

## NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE THE PROPHETIC PICTURES

**Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864)** was a 19<sup>th</sup> century American novelist and short story writer. He is a key figure in the development of American literature for his tales of its colonial history. *Prophetic Pictures* is a part of *Twice-Told Tales*, a short story collection in two volumes by Nathaniel Hawthorne first published in the spring of 1837. Hawthorne is best-known today for his many short stories and his four major romances written between 1850 and 1860: *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851), *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and *The Marble Faun* (1860). Another novel-length romance, *Fanshawe*, was published anonymously in 1828.



“BUT THIS PAINTER!” cried Walter Ludlow, with animation. “He not only excels in his peculiar art, but possesses vast acquirements in all other learning and science. He talks **Hebrew** with Dr. Mather, and gives lectures in anatomy to Dr. Boylston. In a word, he will meet the best instructed man among us on his own ground. Moreover, he is a polished gentleman, a citizen of the world—yes, a true cosmopolite; for he will speak like a native of each clime and country of the globe except our own forests, whither he is now going. Nor is all this what I most admire in him.”

“Indeed!” said Elinor, who had listened with a woman’s interest to the description of such a man. “Yet this is admirable enough.”

“Surely it is,” replied her lover, “but far less so than his natural gift of adapting himself to every variety of character, insomuch that all men - and all women too, Elinor - shall find a mirror of themselves in this wonderful painter. But the greatest wonder is yet to be told.”

“Nay, if he have more wonderful attributes than these,” said Elinor, laughing, “Boston is a perilous abode for the poor gentleman. Are you telling me of a painter or a wizard?”

“In truth,” answered he, that question might be asked much more seriously than you suppose. They say that he paints not merely a man’s features, but his mind and heart. He catches the secret sentiments and passions, and throws them upon the canvas, like sunshine, or perhaps, in the portraits of dark-souled men, like a gleam of infernal fire. It is an awful gift,” added Walter, lowering his voice from its tone of enthusiasm. “I shall be almost afraid to sit to him.”

“Walter, are you in earnest?” exclaimed Elinor.

“For Heaven’s sake, dearest Elinor, do not let him paint the look which you now wear,” said her lover, smiling, though rather perplexed. “There: it is passing away now, but when you spoke you seemed frightened to death, and very sad besides. What were you thinking of?”

“Nothing, nothing,” answered Elinor hastily. “You paint my face with your own fantasies. Well, come for me tomorrow, and we will visit this wonderful artist.”

### Hebrew –

a Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic language family spoken by more than seven million people in Israel and Jewish communities around the world

But when the young man had departed, it cannot be denied that a remarkable expression was again visible on the fair and youthful face of his mistress. It was a sad and anxious look, little in accordance with what should have been the feelings of a maiden on the eve of wedlock. Yet Walter Ludlow was the chosen of her heart.

“A look!” said Elinor to herself. “No wonder that it startled him, if it expressed what I sometimes feel. I know, by my own experience, how frightful a look may be. But it was all fancy. I thought nothing of it at the time; I have seen nothing of it since; I did but dream it;” And she busied herself about the embroidery of a ruff, in which she meant that her portrait should be taken.

The painter, of whom they had been speaking, was not one of those native artists who, at a later period than this, borrowed their colors from the Indians, and manufactured their pencils of the furs of wild beasts. Perhaps, if he could have revoked his life and prearranged his destiny, he might have chosen to belong to that school without a master, in the hope of being at least original, since there were no works of art to imitate nor rules to follow. But he had been born and educated in Europe. People said that he had studied the grandeur or beauty of conception, and every touch of the master hand, in all the most famous pictures, in cabinets and galleries, and on the walls of churches, till there was nothing more for his powerful mind to learn. Art could add nothing to its lessons, but Nature might. He had therefore visited a world whither none of his professional brethren had preceded him, to feast his eyes on visible images that were noble and picturesque, yet had never been transferred to canvas. America was too poor to afford other temptations to an artist of eminence, though many of the colonial gentry, on the painter’s arrival, had expressed a wish to transmit their lineaments to posterity by means of his skill. Whenever such proposals were made, he fixed his piercing eyes on the applicant, and seemed to look him through and through. If he beheld only a sleek and comfortable visage, though there were a gold-laced coat to adorn the picture and golden guineas to pay for it, he civilly rejected the task and the reward. But if the face were the index of any thing uncommon, in thought, sentiment, or experience; or if he met a beggar in the street, with a white beard and a furrowed brow; or if sometimes a child happened to look up and smile, he would exhaust all the art on them that he denied to wealth.

Pictorial skill being so rare in the colonies, the painter became an object of general curiosity. If few or none could appreciate the technical merit of his productions, yet there were points, in regard to which the opinion of the crowd was as valuable as the refined judgment of the amateur. He watched the effect that each picture produced on such untutored beholders, and derived profit from their remarks, while they would as soon have thought of instructing Nature herself as him who seemed to rival her. Their admiration, it must be owned, was tintured with the prejudices of the age and country. Some deemed it an offence against the Mosaic law, and even a presumptuous mockery of the Creator, to bring into existence such lively images of his creatures. Others, frightened at the art which could raise phantoms, at will, and keep the form of the dead among the living, were inclined to consider the painter as a magician, or perhaps the famous Black Man, of old witch times, plotting mischief in a new guise. These foolish fancies were more than half believed among the mob. Even in superior circles his character was invested with a vague awe, partly rising like smoke wreaths from the popular superstitions, but chiefly caused by the varied knowledge and talents which he made subservient to his profession.

Being on the eve of marriage, Walter Ludlow and Elinor were eager to obtain their portraits, as the first of what, they doubtless hoped, would be a long series of family pictures. The day after the conversation above recorded they visited the painter’s rooms. A servant ushered them into an apartment, where, though the



**VRUBEL, MIKHAIL.**  
**SWAN PRINCESS.**  
1900. Oil on canvas. 142x83cm  
Tretyakov Gallery

artist himself was not visible, there were personages whom they could hardly forbear greeting with reverence. They knew, indeed, that the whole assembly were but pictures, yet felt it impossible to separate the idea of life and intellect from such striking counterfeits. Several of the portraits were known to them, either as distinguished characters of the day or their private acquaintances. There was Governor **Burnett**, looking as if he had just received an undutiful communication from the House of Representatives, and were inditing a most sharp response. Mr. Cooke hung beside the ruler whom he opposed, sturdy, and somewhat puritanical, as befitted a popular leader. The ancient lady of **Sir William Phipps** eyed them from the wall, in ruff and farthingale, an imperious old dame, not unsuspected of witchcraft. John Winslow, then a very young man, wore the expression of war-like enterprise, which long afterwards made him a distinguished general. Their personal friends were recognized at a glance. In most of the pictures, the whole mind and character were brought out on the countenance, and concentrated into a single look, so that, to speak paradoxically, the originals hardly resembled themselves so strikingly as the portraits did.

Among these modern worthies there were two old bearded Saints, who had almost vanished into the darkening canvas. There was also a pale, but unfaded Madonna, who had perhaps been worshipped in Rome, and now regarded the lovers with such a mild and holy look that they longed to worship too.

“How singular a thought,” observed Walter Ludlow, “that this beautiful face has been beautiful for above two hundred years! Oh, if all beauty would endure so well! Do you not envy her, Elinor?”

“If earth were heaven, I might,” she replied. “But where all things fade, how miserable to be the one that could not fade!”

“This dark old **St. Peter** has a fierce and ugly scowl, saint though he be,” continued Walter. “He troubles me. But the Virgin looks kindly at us.”

“Yes; but very sorrowfully, methinks,” said Elinor.

The easel stood beneath these three old pictures, sustaining one that had been recently commenced. After a little inspection, they began to recognize the features of their own minister, the Rev. Dr. Colman, growing into shape and life, as it were, out of a cloud.

“Kind old man!” exclaimed Elinor. “He gazes at me as if he were about to utter a word of paternal advice.”

“And at me,” said Walter, “as if he were about to shake his head and rebuke me for some suspected iniquity. But so does the original. I shall never feel quite comfortable under his eye till we stand before him to be married.”

They now heard a footstep on the floor, and turning, beheld the painter, who had been some moments in the room, and had listened to a few of their remarks. He was a middle-aged man, with a countenance well worthy of his own pencil. Indeed, by the picturesque, though careless arrangement of his rich dress, and, perhaps, because



**ARCIMBOLDO, GUISEPPE.**  
**PORTRAIT OF RUDOLF II**  
(Holy Roman Emperor), from  
“Vertemnus”, 1590

**William Burnett –**  
(March 1688 - September 7, 1729) British civil servant and colonial administrator who served as governor of New York and New Jersey (1720-1728) and Massachusetts (1728)

**William Phipps Blake –**  
(1826-1910), American scientist. Born in New York City

**Saint Peter –**  
one of the Twelve Apostles whom Jesus chose as his original disciples

his soul dwelt always among painted shapes, he looked somewhat like a portrait himself. His visitors were sensible of a kindred between the artist and his works, and felt as if one of the pictures had stepped from the canvas to salute them.

Walter Ludlow, who was slightly known to the painter, explained the object of their visit. While he spoke, a sunbeam was falling athwart his figure and Elinor's, with so happy an effect that they also seemed living pictures of youth and beauty, gladdened by bright fortune. The artist was evidently struck.

"My easel is occupied for several ensuing days, and my stay in Boston must be brief," said he, thoughtfully; then, after an observant glance, he added: "but your wishes shall be gratified, though I disappoint the Chief Justice and Madam Oliver. I must not lose this opportunity, for the sake of painting a few ells of broadcloth and brocade."

The painter expressed a desire to introduce both their portraits into one picture, and represent them engaged in some appropriate action. This plan would have delighted the lovers, but was necessarily rejected, because so large a space of canvas would have been unfit for the room which it was intended to decorate. Two half-length portraits were therefore fixed upon. After they had taken leave, Walter Ludlow asked Elinor, with a smile, whether she knew what an influence over their fates the painter was about to acquire.

"The old women of Boston affirm," continued he, "that after he has once got possession of a person's face and figure, he may paint him in any act or situation whatever, and the picture will be prophetic. Do you believe it?"

"Not quite," said Elinor, smiling. "Yet if he has such magic, there is something so gentle in his manner that I am sure he will use it well."

It was the painter's choice to proceed with both the portraits at the same time, assigning as a reason, in the mystical language which he sometimes used, that the faces threw light upon each other. Accordingly he gave now a touch to Walter, and now to Elinor, and the features of one and the other began to start forth so vividly that it appeared as if his triumphant art would actually disengage them from the canvas. Amid the rich light and deep shade, they beheld their phantom selves. But, though the likeness promised to be perfect, they were not quite satisfied with the expression; it seemed more vague than in most of the painter's works. He, however, was satisfied with the prospect of success, and being much interested in the lovers, employed his leisure moments, unknown to them, in making a crayon sketch of their two figures. During their sittings, he engaged them in conversation, and kindled up their faces with characteristic traits, which, though continually varying, it was his purpose to combine and fix. At length he announced that at their next visit both the portraits would be ready for delivery.

"If my pencil will but be true to my conception, in the few last touches which I meditate," observed he, "these two pictures will be my very best performances. Seldom, indeed, has an artist such subjects."

While speaking, he still bent his penetrative eye upon them, nor withdrew it till they had reached the bottom of the stairs.

Nothing, in the whole circle of human vanities, takes stronger hold of the imagination than this affair of having a portrait painted. Yet why should it be so? The looking-glass, the polished globes of the andirons, the mirror like water, and all other reflecting surfaces, continually present us with portraits, or rather ghosts, of ourselves, which we glance at, and straightway forget them. But we forget them only because they vanish. It is the idea of duration - of earthly immortality - that gives such a mysterious interest to our own portraits. Walter and Elinor were not



**WATERHOUSE, JOHN  
WILLIAM.  
MAGIC CIRCLE. 1886**



insensible to this feeling, and hastened to the painter's room, punctually at the appointed hour, to meet those pictured shapes which were to be their representatives with posterity. The sunshine flashed after them into the apartment, but left it somewhat gloomy as they closed the door.

Their eyes were immediately attracted to their portraits, which rested against the farthest wall of the room. At the first glance, through the dim light and the distance, seeing themselves in precisely their natural attitudes, and with all the air that they recognized so well, they uttered a simultaneous exclamation of delight.

"There we stand," cried Walter, enthusiastically, "fixed in sunshine forever! No dark passions can gather on our faces!"

"No," said Elinor, more calmly; "no dreary change can sadden us."

This was said while they were approaching, and had yet gained only an imperfect view of the pictures. The painter, after saluting them, busied himself at a table in completing a crayon sketch, leaving his visitors to form their own judgment as to his perfected labors. At intervals, he sent a glance from beneath his deep eyebrows, watching their countenances in profile, with his pencil suspended over the sketch. They had now stood some moments, each in front of the other's picture, contemplating it with entranced attention, but without uttering a word. At length, Walter stepped forward, then back, viewing Elinor's portrait in various lights, and finally spoke.

"Is there not a change?" said he, in a doubtful and meditative tone. "Yes; the perception of it grows more vivid the longer I look. It is certainly the same picture that I saw yesterday; the dress; the features; all are the same; and yet something is altered."

"Is then the picture less like than it was yesterday?" inquired the painter, now drawing near, with irrepressible interest.

"The features are perfect, Elinor," answered Walter, "and, at the first glance, the expression seemed also hers. But, I could fancy that the portrait has changed countenance, while I have been looking at it. The eyes are fixed on mine with a strangely sad and anxious expression. Nay, it is grief and terror! Is this like Elinor?"

"Compare the living face with the pictured one," said the painter.

Walter glanced sidelong at his mistress, and started. Motionless and absorbed, fascinated, as it were, in contemplation of Walter's portrait, Elinor's face had assumed precisely the expression of which he had just been complaining. Had she practised for whole hours before a mirror, she could not have caught the look so successfully. Had the picture itself been a mirror, it could not have thrown back her present aspect with stronger and more melancholy truth. She appeared quite unconscious of the dialogue between the artist and her lover.

"Elinor," exclaimed Walter, in amazement, "what change has come over you?"

She did not hear him, nor desist from her fixed gaze, till he seized her hand, and thus attracted her notice; then, with a sudden tremor, she looked from the picture to the face of the original.



VAN LOO, CHARLES.  
ELIZABETH PETROVNA

“Do you see no change in your portrait?” asked she.

“In mine? None!” replied Walter, examining it. “But let me see! Yes; there is a slight change-an improvement, I think, in the picture, though none in the likeness. It has a livelier expression than yesterday, as if some bright thought were flashing from the eyes, and about to be uttered from the lips. Now that I have caught the look, it becomes very decided.”

While he was intent on these observations, Elinor turned to the painter. She regarded him with grief and awe, and felt that he repaid her with sympathy and commiseration, though wherefore, she could but vaguely guess.

“That look!” whispered she, and shuddered. “How came it there?”

“Madam,” said the painter, sadly, taking her hand, and leading her apart, “in both these pictures, I have painted what I saw. The artist - the true artist - must look beneath the exterior. It is his gift - his proudest, but often a melancholy one - to see the inmost soul, and, by a power indefinable even to himself, to make it glow or darken upon the canvas, in glances that express the thought and sentiment of years. Would that I might convince myself of error in the present instance!”

They had now approached the table, on which were heads in chalk, hands almost as expressive as ordinary faces, ivied church towers, thatched cottages, old thunder-stricken trees, Oriental and antique costume, and all such picturesque vagaries of an artist’s idle moments. Turning them over, with seeming carelessness, a crayon sketch of two figures was disclosed.

“If I have failed,” continued he, “if your heart does not see itself reflected in your own portrait, if you have no secret cause to trust my delineation of the other - it is not yet too late to alter them. I might change the action of these figures too. But would it influence the event?” He directed her notice to the sketch.

A thrill ran through Elinor’s frame; a shriek was upon her lips; but she stifled it, with the self-command that becomes habitual to all who hide thoughts of fear and anguish within their bosoms. Turning from the table, she perceived that Walter had advanced near enough to have seen the sketch, though she could not determine whether it had caught his eye.

“We will not have the pictures altered,” said she, hastily. “If mine is sad, I shall but look the gayer for the contrast.”

“Be it so,” answered the painter, bowing. “May your griefs be such fanciful ones that only your picture may mourn for them! For your joys - may they be true and deep, and paint themselves upon this lovely face till it quite belie my art!”

After the marriage of Walter and Elinor, the pictures formed the two most splendid ornaments of their abode. They hung side by side, separated by a narrow panel, appearing to eye each other constantly, yet always returning the gaze of the spectator. Travelled gentlemen, who professed a knowledge of such subjects, reckoned these among the most admirable specimens of modern portraiture; while common observers compared them with the originals, feature by feature, and were rapturous in praise of the likeness. But it was on a third class - neither travelled connoisseurs nor common observers, but people of natural sensibility - that the pictures wrought their strongest effect. Such persons might gaze carelessly at first, but, becoming interested, would return day after day, and study these painted faces like the pages of a mystic volume. Walter Ludlow’s portrait attracted their earliest notice. In the absence of himself and his bride, they sometimes disputed as to the expression which the painter had intended to throw upon the features; all agreeing that there was a look of earnest import, though no two explained it alike. There was less diversity of opinion in regard to Elinor’s

picture. They differed, indeed, in their attempts to estimate the nature and depth of the gloom that dwelt upon her face, but agreed that it was gloom, and alien from the natural temperament of their youthful friend. A certain fanciful person announced, as the result of much scrutiny, that both these pictures were parts of one design, and that the melancholy strength of feeling, in Elinor's countenance, bore reference to the more vivid emotion, or, as he termed it, the wild passion, in that of Walter. Though unskilled in the art, he even began a sketch, in which the action of the two figures was to correspond with their mutual expression.

It was whispered among friends that, day by day, Elinor's face was assuming a deeper shade of pensiveness, which threatened soon to render her too true a counterpart of her melancholy picture. Walter, on the other hand, instead of acquiring the vivid look which the painter had given him on the canvas, became reserved and downcast, with no outward flashes of emotion, however it might be smouldering within. In course of time, Elinor hung a gorgeous curtain of purple silk, wrought with flowers and fringed with heavy golden tassels, before the pictures, under pretence that the dust would tarnish their hues, or the light dim them. It was enough. Her visitors felt, that the massive folds of the silk must never be withdrawn, nor the portraits mentioned in her presence.

Time wore on; and the painter came again. He had been far enough to the north to see the silver cascade of the Crystal Hills, and to look over the vast round of cloud and forest from the summit of New England's loftiest mountain. But he did not profane that scene by the mockery of his art. He had also lain in a canoe on the bosom of Lake George, making his soul the mirror of its loveliness and grandeur, till not a picture in the Vatican was more vivid than his recollection. He had gone with the Indian hunters to Niagara, and there, again, had flung his hopeless pencil down the precipice, feeling that he could as soon paint the roar, as aught else that goes to make up the wondrous cataract. In truth, it was seldom his impulse to copy natural scenery, except as a framework for the delineations of the human form and face, instinct with thought, passion, or suffering. With store of such his adventurous ramble had enriched him: the stern dignity of Indian chiefs; the dusky loveliness of Indian girls; the domestic life of wigwams; the stealthy march; the battle beneath gloomy pine-trees; the frontier fortress with its garrison; the anomaly of the old French partisan, bred in courts, but grown gray in shaggy deserts; such were the scenes and portraits that he had sketched. The glow of perilous moments; flashes of wild feeling; struggles of fierce power-love, hate, grief, frenzy; in a word, all the worn-out heart of the old earth had been revealed to him under a new form. His portfolio was filled with graphic illustrations of the volume of his memory, which genius would transmute into its own substance, and imbue with immortality. He felt that the deep wisdom in his art, which he had sought so far, was found.

But amid stern or lovely nature, in the perils of the forest or its overwhelming peacefulness, still there had been two phantoms, the companions of his way. Like all other men around whom an engrossing purpose wreathes itself, he was insulated from the mass of human kind. He had no aim - no pleasure - no sympathies - but what were ultimately con-



**INGRES, JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE.**  
**NAPOLÉON ON HIS IMPERIAL THRONE. 1806**



**BOROVIKOVSKY, VLADIMIR LUKICH. PORTRAIT OF MARIA LOPUKHINA, 1797**

nected with his art. Though gentle in manner and upright in intent and action, he did not possess kindly feelings; his heart was cold; no living creature could be brought near enough to keep him warm. For these two beings, however, he had felt, in its greatest intensity, the sort of interest which always allied him to the subjects of his pencil. He had pried into their souls with his keenest insight, and pictured the result upon their features with his utmost skill, so as barely to fall short of that standard which no genius ever reached, his own severe conception. He had caught from the duskiness of the future - at least, so he fancied - a fearful secret, and had obscurely revealed it on the portraits. So much of himself - of his imagination and all other powers - had been lavished on the study of Walter and Elinor, that he almost regarded them as creations of his own, like the thousands with which he had peopled the realms of Picture. Therefore did they flit through the twilight of the woods, hover on the mist of waterfalls, look forth from the mirror of the lake, nor melt away in the noontide sun. They haunted his pictorial fancy, not as mockeries of life, nor pale goblins of the dead, but in the guise of portraits, each with the unalterable expression which his magic had evoked from the caverns of the soul. He could not recross the Atlantic till he had again beheld the originals of those airy pictures.

“O glorious Art!” thus mused the enthusiastic painter as he trod the street, “thou art the image of the Creator’s own. The innumerable forms, that wander in nothingness, start into being at thy beck. The dead live again. Thou recallest them to their old scenes, and givest their gray shadows the lustre of a better life, at once earthly and immortal. Thou snatchest back the fleeting moments of History. With thee there is no Past, for, at thy touch, all that is great becomes forever present; and illustrious men live through long ages, in the visible performance of the very deeds which made them what they are. O potent Art! as thou bringest the faintly revealed Past to stand in that narrow strip of sunlight, which we call Now, canst thou summon the shrouded Future to meet her there? Have I not achieved it? Am I not thy Prophet?”

Thus, with a proud, yet melancholy fervor, did he almost cry aloud, as he passed through the toilsome street, among people that knew not of his reveries, nor could understand nor care for them. It is not good for man to cherish a solitary ambition. Unless there be those around him by whose example he may regulate himself, his thoughts, desires, and hopes will become extravagant, and he the semblance, perhaps the reality, of a madman. Reading other bosoms with an acuteness almost preternatural, the painter failed to see the disorder of his own.

“And this should be the house,” said he, looking up and down the front, before he knocked. “Heaven help my brains! That picture! Methinks it will never vanish. Whether I look at the windows or the door, there it is framed within them, painted strongly, and glowing in the richest tints - the faces of the portraits - the figures and action of the sketch!”

He knocked.

“The Portraits! Are they within?” inquired he of the domestic; then, recollecting himself, “your master and mistress! Are they at home?”

“They are, sir,” said the servant, adding, as he noticed that picturesque aspect of which the painter could never divest himself, “and the Portraits too!”

The guest was admitted into a parlor, communicating by a central door with an interior room of the same size. As the first apartment was empty, he passed to the entrance of the second, within which his eyes were greeted by those living personages, as well as their pictured representatives, who had long been the objects of so singular an interest. He involuntarily paused on the threshold.

They had not perceived his approach. Walter and Elinor were standing before the portraits, whence the former had just flung back the rich and voluminous folds of the silken



**VASNETSOV, VIKTOR. TSAR IVAN THE TERRIBLE 1897. Oil on canvass 247x132cm Tretyakov Gallery. Moscow.**

curtain, holding its golden tassel with one hand, while the other grasped that of his bride. The pictures, concealed for months, gleamed forth again in undiminished splendor, appearing to throw a sombre light across the room, rather than to be disclosed by a borrowed radiance. That of Elinor had been almost prophetic. A pensiveness, and next a gentle sorrow, had successively dwelt upon her countenance, deepening, with the lapse of time, into a quiet anguish. A mixture of affright would now have made it the very expression of the portrait. Walter's face was moody and dull, or animated only by fitful flashes, which left a heavier darkness for their momentary illumination. He looked from Elinor to her portrait, and thence to his own, in the contemplation of which he finally stood absorbed.

The painter seemed to hear the step of Destiny approaching behind him, on its progress towards its victims. A strange thought darted into his mind. Was not his own the form in which that destiny had embodied itself, and he a chief agent of the coming evil which he had foreshadowed?

Still, Walter remained silent before the picture, communing with it as with his own heart, and abandoning himself to the spell of evil influence that the painter had cast upon the features. Gradually his eyes kindled; while as Elinor watched the increasing wildness of his face, her own assumed a look of terror; and when at last he turned upon her, the resemblance of both to their portraits was complete.

"Our fate is upon us!" howled Walter. "Die!"

Drawing a knife, he sustained her, as she was sinking to the ground, and aimed it at her bosom. In the action, and in the look and attitude of each, the painter beheld the figures of his sketch. The picture, with all its tremendous coloring, was finished.

"Hold, madman!" cried he, sternly.

He had advanced from the door, and interposed himself between the wretched beings, with the same sense of power to regulate their destiny as to alter a scene upon the canvas. He stood like a magician, controlling the phantoms which he had evoked.

"What!" muttered Walter Ludlow, as he relapsed from fierce excitement into silent gloom. "Does Fate impede its own decree?"

"Wretched lady!" said the painter, "did I not warn you?"

"You did," replied Elinor, calmly, as her terror gave place to the quiet grief which it had disturbed. "But - I loved him!"

Is there not a deep moral in the tale? Could the result of one, or all our deeds, be shadowed forth and set before us, some would call it Fate, and hurry onward, others be swept along by their passionate desires, and none be turned aside by the

THE END

**SOURCE:** Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *Prophetic Pictures*. Project Gutenberg. < <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/9204> >



ÉDOUARD MANET,  
SELF PORTRAIT WITH  
A PALETTE

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Do you believe in the existence of such an artist who “paints not merely a man’s features, but his mind and heart; who catches the secret sentiments and passions, and throws them upon the canvas?” Why does Walter consider it to be “an awful gift”?
2. What did Elinor and Walter see in the portrait of the Rev. Dr. Colman? Why did the same portrait cause different feelings?
3. Do you believe that a picture can be prophetic? Can art predict?
4. Do you agree that “The artist - the true artist - must look beneath the exterior. It is his gift - his proudest, but often a melancholy one - to see the inmost soul...”?
5. What role did the artist play in this story? Why does this artist not have a name in this story?

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CHASSÉRIAU,  
THÉODORE.  
OTHELLO AND  
DESDEMONA  
IN VENICE

## OSCAR WILDE THE PICTURE OF DORIAN GRAY

Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde (1854–1900) was an Irish playwright, novelist, poet, and short story writer. Known for his barbed wit, he was one of the most successful playwrights of late Victorian London, and one of the greatest celebrities of his day. He wrote poetry: *Ravenna* (1878), *The Sphinx* (1894), *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (1898); plays: *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895), *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895); and prose: *The Canterville Ghost* (1887), *The Happy Prince and Other Stories* (1888), *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), *The Soul of Man under Socialism* (1891); and others.

### THE PREFACE

The artist is the creator of beautiful things. To reveal art and conceal the artist is art's aim. The critic is he who can translate into another manner or a new material his impression of beautiful things.

The highest as the lowest form of criticism is a mode of autobiography. Those who find ugly meanings in beautiful things are corrupt without being charming. This is a fault.

Those who find beautiful meanings in beautiful things are the cultivated. For these there is hope. They are the elect to whom beautiful things mean only beauty.

There is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written, or badly written. That is all.

The nineteenth century dislike of realism is the rage of **Caliban** seeing his own face in a glass.

The nineteenth century dislike of romanticism is the rage of Caliban not seeing his own face in a glass. The moral life of man forms part of the subject matter of the artist, but the morality of art consists in the perfect use of an imperfect medium. No artist desires to prove anything. Even things that are true can be proved. No artist has ethical sympathies. An ethical sympathy in an artist is an unpardonable mannerism of style. No artist is ever morbid. The artist can express everything. Thought and language are to the artist instruments of an art. Vice and virtue are to the artist materials for an art. From the point of view of form, the type of all the arts is the art of the musician. From the point of view of feeling, the actor's craft is the type. All art is at once surface and symbol. Those who go beneath the surface do so at their peril. Those who read the symbol do so at their peril. It is the spectator, and not life, that art really mirrors. Diversity of opinion about a work of art shows that the work is new, complex, and vital. When critics disagree, the artist is in accord with himself. We can forgive a man for making a useful thing as long as he does not admire it. The only excuse for making a useless thing is that one admires it intensely.

All art is quite useless.



**SARONY, NAPOLEON.**  
**OSCAR WILDE IN HIS**  
**FAVOURITE COAT**

New York.1882

#### Caliban –

a fictional character in William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, a deformed monster

## CHAPTER I

The studio was filled with the rich odour of roses, and when the light summer wind stirred amidst the trees of the garden, there came through the open door the heavy scent of the lilac, or the more delicate perfume of the pink-flowering thorn.

From the corner of the divan of Persian saddle-bags on which he was lying, smoking, as was his custom, innumerable cigarettes, Lord Henry Wotton could just catch the gleam of the honey-sweet and honey-coloured blossoms of a laburnum, whose tremulous branches seemed hardly able to bear the burden of a beauty so flamelike as theirs; and now and then the fantastic shadows of birds in flight flitted across the long tussore-silk curtains that were stretched in front of the huge window, producing a kind of momentary Japanese effect, and making him think of those pallid, jade-faced painters of Tokyo who, through the medium of an art that is necessarily immobile, seek to convey the sense of swiftness and motion. The sullen murmur of the bees shouldering their way through the long unmown grass, or circling with monotonous insistence round the dusty gilt horns of the straggling woodbine, seemed to make the stillness more oppressive. The dim roar of London was like the bourdon note of a distant organ.

In the centre of the room, clamped to an upright easel, stood the full-length portrait of a young man of extraordinary personal beauty, and in front of it, some little distance away, was sitting the artist himself, Basil Hallward, whose sudden disappearance some years ago caused, at the time, such public excitement and gave rise to so many strange conjectures.

As the painter looked at the gracious and comely form he had so skilfully mirrored in his art, a smile of pleasure passed across his face, and seemed about to linger there. But he suddenly started up, and closing his eyes, placed his fingers upon the lids, as though he sought to imprison within his brain some curious dream from which he feared he might awake.

"It is your best work, Basil, the best thing you have ever done," said Lord Henry languidly. "You must certainly send it next year to the Grosvenor. The Academy is too large and too vulgar. Whenever I have gone there, there have been either so many people that I have not been able to see the pictures, which was dreadful, or so many pictures that I have not been able to see the people, which was worse. The Grosvenor is really the only place."

"I don't think I shall send it anywhere," he answered, tossing his head back in that odd way that used to make his friends laugh at him at Oxford. "No, I won't send it anywhere."

Lord Henry elevated his eyebrows and looked at him in amazement through the thin blue wreaths of smoke that curled up in such fanciful whorls from his heavy, opium-tainted cigarette. "Not send it anywhere? My dear fellow, why? Have you any reason? What odd chaps you painters are! You do anything in the world to gain a reputation. As soon as you have one, you seem to want to throw it away. It is silly of you, for there is only one thing in the world worse than being talked about, and that is not being talked about. A portrait like this would set you far above all the young men in England, and make the old men quite jealous, if old men are ever capable of any emotion."

"I know you will laugh at me," he replied, "but I really can't exhibit it. I have put too much of myself into it."

Lord Henry stretched himself out on the divan and laughed.



“Yes, I knew you would; but it is quite true, all the same.”

“Too much of yourself in it! Upon my word, Basil, I didn’t know you were so vain; and I really can’t see any resemblance between you, with your rugged strong face and your coal-black hair, and this young Adonis, who looks as if he was made out of ivory and rose-leaves. Why, my dear Basil, he is a Narcissus, and you - well, of course you have an intellectual expression and all that. But beauty, real beauty, ends where an intellectual expression begins. Intellect is in itself a mode of exaggeration, and destroys the harmony of any face. The moment one sits down to think, one becomes all nose, or all forehead, or something horrid. Look at the successful men in any of the learned professions. How perfectly hideous they are! Except, of course, in the Church. But then in the Church they don’t think. A bishop keeps on saying at the age of eighty what he was told to say when he was a boy of eighteen, and as a natural consequence he always looks absolutely delightful. Your mysterious young friend, whose name you have never told me, but whose picture really fascinates me, never thinks. I feel quite sure of that. He is some brainless beautiful creature who should be always here in winter when we have no flowers to look at, and always here in summer when we want something to chill our intelligence. Don’t flatter yourself, Basil: you are not in the least like him.”

“You don’t understand me, Harry,” answered the artist. “Of course I am not like him. I know that perfectly well. Indeed, I should be sorry to look like him. You shrug your shoulders? I am telling you the truth. There is a fatality about all physical and intellectual distinction, the sort of fatality that seems to dog through history the faltering steps of kings. It is better not to be different from one’s fellows. The ugly and the stupid have the best of it in this world. They can sit at their ease and gape at the play. If they know nothing of victory, they are at least spared the knowledge of defeat. They live as we all should live - undisturbed, indifferent, and without disquiet. They neither bring ruin upon others, nor ever receive it from alien hands. Your rank and wealth, Harry; my brains, such as they are - my art, whatever it may be worth; Dorian Gray’s good looks - we shall all suffer for what the gods have given us, suffer terribly.”

“Dorian Gray? Is that his name?” asked Lord Henry, walking across the studio towards Basil Hallward.

“Yes, that is his name. I didn’t intend to tell it to you.”

“But why not?”

“Oh, I can’t explain. When I like people immensely, I never tell their names to any one. It is like surrendering a part of them. I have grown to love secrecy. It seems to be the one thing that can make modern life mysterious or marvellous to us. The commonest thing is delightful if one only hides it. When I leave town now I never tell my people where I am going. If I did, I would lose all my pleasure. It is a silly habit, I dare say, but somehow it seems to bring a great deal of romance into one’s life. I suppose you think me awfully foolish about it?”



**WATERHOUSE, JOHN WILLIAM.**  
**OPHELIA.**

Oil on canvas, size: 49 x 29in.  
1894

“Not at all,” answered Lord Henry, “not at all, my dear Basil. You seem to forget that I am married, and the one charm of marriage is that it makes a life of deception absolutely necessary for both parties. I never know where my wife is, and my wife never knows what I am doing. When we meet - we do meet occasionally, when we dine out together, or go down to the Duke’s - we tell each other the most absurd stories with the most serious faces. My wife is very good at it - much better, in fact, than I am. She never gets confused over her dates, and I always do. But when she does find me out, she makes no row at all. I sometimes wish she would; but she merely laughs at me.”

“I hate the way you talk about your married life, Harry,” said Basil Hallward, strolling towards the door that led into the garden. “I believe that you are really a very good husband, but that you are thoroughly ashamed of your own virtues. You are an extraordinary fellow. You never say a moral thing, and you never do a wrong thing. Your cynicism is simply a pose.”

“Being natural is simply a pose, and the most irritating pose I know,” cried Lord Henry, laughing; and the two young men went out into the garden together and ensconced themselves on a long bamboo seat that stood in the shade of a tall laurel bush. The sunlight slipped over the polished leaves. In the grass, white daisies were tremulous.

After a pause, Lord Henry pulled out his watch. “I am afraid I must be going, Basil,” he murmured, “and before I go, I insist on your answering a question I put to you some time ago.”

“What is that?” said the painter, keeping his eyes fixed on the ground.

“You know quite well.”

“I do not, Harry.”

“Well, I will tell you what it is. I want you to explain to me why you won’t exhibit Dorian Gray’s picture. I want the real reason.”

“I told you the real reason.”

“No, you did not. You said it was because there was too much of yourself in it. Now, that is childish.”

“Harry,” said Basil Hallward, looking him straight in the face, “every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter. The sitter is merely the accident, the occasion. It is not he who is revealed by the painter; it is rather the painter who, on the coloured canvas, reveals himself. The reason I will not exhibit this picture is that I am afraid that I have shown in it the secret of my own soul.”

Lord Henry laughed. “And what is that?” he asked.

“I will tell you,” said Hallward; but an expression of perplexity came over his face.

“I am all expectation, Basil,” continued his companion, glancing at him.

“Oh, there is really very little to tell, Harry,” answered the painter; “and I am afraid you will hardly understand it. Perhaps you will hardly believe it.”

Lord Henry smiled, and leaning down, plucked a pink-petalled daisy from the grass and examined it. “I am quite sure I shall understand it,” he replied, gazing intently at the little golden, white-feathered disk, “and as for believing things, I can believe anything, provided that it is quite incredible.”

The wind shook some blossoms from the trees, and the heavy lilac-blooms, with their clustering stars, moved to and fro in the languid air. A grasshopper began to chirrup by the wall, and like a blue thread a long thin dragon-fly floated past on its brown gauze wings. Lord Henry felt as if he could hear Basil Hallward’s heart beating, and wondered what was coming.



**BOUCHER, FRANÇOIS.**  
**THE PAINTER IN HIS**  
**STUDIO. c.1720**

“The story is simply this,” said the painter after some time. “Two months ago I went to a crush at **Lady Brandon’s**. You know we poor artists have to show ourselves in society from time to time, just to remind the public that we are not savages. With an evening coat and a white tie, as you told me once, anybody, even a stock-broker, can gain a reputation for being civilized. Well, after I had been in the room about ten minutes, talking to huge overdressed dowagers and tedious academicians, I suddenly became conscious that someone was looking at me. I turned half-way round and saw Dorian Gray for the first time. When our eyes met, I felt that I was growing pale. A curious sensation of terror came over me. I knew that I had come face to face with some one whose mere personality was so fascinating that, if I allowed it to do so, it would absorb my whole nature, my whole soul, my very art itself. I did not want any external influence in my life. You know yourself, Harry, how independent I am by nature. I have always been my own master; had at least always been so, till I met Dorian Gray. Then - but I don’t know how to explain it to you. Something seemed to tell me that I was on the verge of a terrible crisis in my life. I had a strange feeling that fate had in store for me exquisite joys and exquisite sorrows. I grew afraid and turned to quit the room. It was not conscience that made me do so: it was a sort of cowardice. I take no credit to myself for trying to escape.”

“Conscience and cowardice are really the same things, Basil. Conscience is the trade-name of the firm. That is all.”

“I don’t believe that, Harry, and I don’t believe you do either. However, whatever was my motive - and it may have been pride, for I used to be very proud - I certainly struggled to the door. There, of course, I stumbled against Lady Brandon. ‘You are not going to run away so soon, Mr. Hallward?’ she screamed out. You know her curiously shrill voice?”

“Yes; she is a peacock in everything but beauty,” said Lord Henry, pulling the daisy to bits with his long nervous fingers.

“I could not get rid of her. She brought me up to royalties, and people with stars and garters, and elderly ladies with gigantic tiaras and parrot noses. She spoke of me as her dearest friend. I had only met her once before, but she took it into her head to lionize me. I believe some picture of mine had made a great success at the time, at least had been chattered about in the penny newspapers, which is the nineteenth-century standard of immortality. Suddenly I found myself face to face with the young man whose personality had so strangely stirred me. We were quite close, almost touching. Our eyes met again. It was reckless of me, but I asked Lady Brandon to introduce me to him. Perhaps it was not so reckless, after all. It was simply inevitable. We would have spoken to each other without any introduction. I am sure of that. Dorian told me so afterwards. He, too, felt that we were destined to know each other.”

“And how did Lady Brandon describe this wonderful young man?” asked his companion. “I know she goes in for giving a rapid precis of all her guests. I remember

**Lady Frances Brandon** –  
(July 16, 1517 - November 20, 1559), second child and eldest daughter of Charles Brandon

her bringing me up to a truculent and red-faced old gentleman covered all over with orders and ribbons, and hissing into my ear, in a tragic whisper which must have been perfectly audible to everybody in the room, the most astounding details. I simply fled. I like to find out people for myself. But Lady Brandon treats her guests exactly as an auctioneer treats his goods. She either explains them entirely away, or tells one everything about them except what one wants to know."

"Poor Lady Brandon! You are hard on her, Harry!" said Hallward listlessly.

"My dear fellow, she tried to found a salon, and only succeeded in opening a restaurant. How could I admire her? But tell me, what did she say about Mr. Dorian Gray?"

"Oh, something like, 'Charming boy - poor dear mother and I absolutely inseparable. Quite forget what he does - afraid he - doesn't do anything - oh, yes, plays the piano - or is it the violin, dear Mr. Gray?' Neither of us could help laughing, and we became friends at once."

"Laughter is not at all a bad beginning for a friendship, and it is far the best ending for one," said the young lord, plucking another daisy.

Hallward shook his head. "You don't understand what friendship is, Harry," he murmured - "or what enmity is, for that matter. You like everyone; that is to say, you are indifferent to everyone."

"How horribly unjust of you!" cried Lord Henry, tilting his hat back and looking up at the little clouds that, like ravelled skeins of glossy white silk, were drifting across the hollowed turquoise of the summer sky. "Yes; horribly unjust of you. I make a great difference between people. I choose my friends for their good looks, my acquaintances for their good characters, and my enemies for their good intellects. A man cannot be too careful in the choice of his enemies. I have not got one who is a fool. They are all men of some intellectual power, and consequently they all appreciate me. Is that very vain of me? I think it is rather vain."

"I should think it was, Harry. But according to your category I must be merely an acquaintance."

"My dear old Basil, you are much more than an acquaintance."

"And much less than a friend. A sort of brother, I suppose?"

"Oh, brothers! I don't care for brothers. My elder brother won't die, and my younger brothers seem never to do anything else."

"Harry!" exclaimed Hallward, frowning.

"My dear fellow, I am not quite serious. But I can't help detesting my relations. I suppose it comes from the fact that none of us can stand other people having the same faults as ourselves. I quite sympathize with the rage of the English democracy against what they call the vices of the upper orders. The masses feel that drunkenness, stupidity, and immorality should be their own special property, and that if any one of us makes an ass of himself, he is poaching on their preserves. When poor Southwark got into the divorce court, their indignation was quite magnificent. And yet I don't suppose that ten per cent of the proletariat live correctly."

"I don't agree with a single word that you have said, and, what is more, Harry, I feel sure you don't either."

Lord Henry stroked his pointed brown beard and tapped the toe of his patent-leather boot with a tasselled ebony cane. "How English you are Basil! That is the second time you have made that observation. If one puts forward an idea to a true Englishman - always a rash thing to do - he never dreams of considering whether the idea is right or wrong. The only thing he considers of any importance is whether one

believes it oneself. Now, the value of an idea has nothing whatsoever to do with the sincerity of the man who expresses it. Indeed, the probabilities are that the more insincere the man is, the more purely intellectual will the idea be, as in that case it will not be coloured by either his wants, his desires, or his prejudices. However, I don't propose to discuss politics, sociology, or metaphysics with you. I like persons better than principles, and I like persons with no principles better than anything else in the world. Tell me more about Mr. Dorian Gray. How often do you see him?"

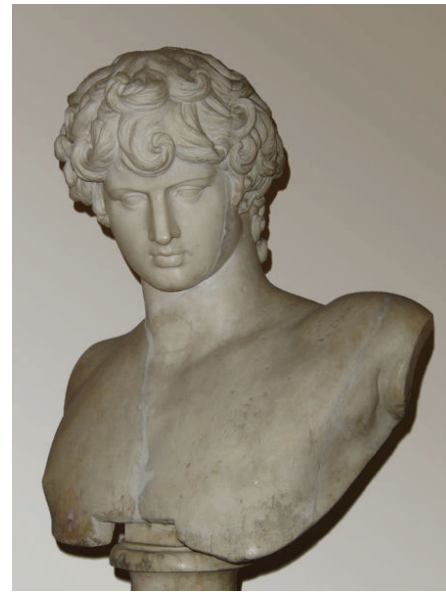
"Every day. I couldn't be happy if I didn't see him every day. He is absolutely necessary to me."

"How extraordinary! I thought you would never care for anything but your art."

"He is all my art to me now," said the painter gravely. "I sometimes think, Harry, that there are only two eras of any importance in the world's history. The first is the appearance of a new medium for art, and the second is the appearance of a new personality for art also. What the invention of oil-painting was to the Venetians, the face of **Antinous** was to late Greek sculpture, and the face of Dorian Gray will some day be to me. It is not merely that I paint from him, draw from him, sketch from him. Of course, I have done all that. But he is much more to me than a model or a sitter. I won't tell you that I am dissatisfied with what I have done of him, or that his beauty is such that art cannot express it. There is nothing that art cannot express, and I know that the work I have done, since I met Dorian Gray, is good work, is the best work of my life. But in some curious way - I wonder will you understand me? - his personality has suggested to me an entirely new manner in art, an entirely new mode of style. I see things differently, I think of them differently. I can now recreate life in a way that was hidden from me before. 'A dream of form in days of thought' - who is it who says that? I forget; but it is what Dorian Gray has been to me. The merely visible presence of this lad - for he seems to me little more than a lad, though he is really over twenty - his merely visible presence - ah! I wonder can you realize all that that means? Unconsciously he defines for me the lines of a fresh school, a school that is to have in it all the passion of the romantic spirit, all the perfection of the spirit that is Greek. The harmony of soul and body - how much that is! We in our madness have separated the two, and have invented a realism that is vulgar, an ideality that is void. Harry! if you only knew what Dorian Gray is to me! You remember that landscape of mine, for which Agnew offered me such a huge price but which I would not part with? It is one of the best things I have ever done. And why is it so? Because, while I was painting it, Dorian Gray sat beside me. Some subtle influence passed from him to me, and for the first time in my life I saw in the plain woodland the wonder I had always looked for and always missed."

"Basil, this is extraordinary! I must see Dorian Gray."

Hallward got up from the seat and walked up and down the garden. After some time he came back. "Harry," he said, "Dorian Gray is to me simply a motive in art. You might see nothing in him. I see everything in him. He is never more present



**BUST OF ANTINOUS,  
FROM THE PALAZZO  
ALTEMPS IN ROME, ITALY**

**Antinous or Antinoös –**  
(born 110/111 CE, died 130  
CE), lover of the Roman  
Emperor Hadrian

in my work than when no image of him is there. He is a suggestion, as I have said, of a new manner. I find him in the curves of certain lines, in the loveliness and subtleties of certain colours. That is all."

"Then why won't you exhibit his portrait?" asked Lord Henry.

"Because, without intending it, I have put into it some expression of all this curious artistic idolatry, of which, of course, I have never cared to speak to him. He knows nothing about it. He shall never know anything about it. But the world might guess it, and I will not bare my soul to their shallow prying eyes. My heart shall never be put under their microscope. There is too much of myself in the thing, Harry - too much of myself!"

"Poets are not so scrupulous as you are. They know how useful passion is for publication. Nowadays a broken heart will run to many editions."

"I hate them for it," cried Hallward. "An artist should create beautiful things, but should put nothing of his own life into them. We live in an age when men treat art as if it were meant to be a form of autobiography. We have lost the abstract sense of beauty. Some day I will show the world what it is; and for that reason the world shall never see my portrait of Dorian Gray."

"I think you are wrong, Basil, but I won't argue with you. It is only the intellectually lost who ever argue. Tell me, is Dorian Gray very fond of you?"

The painter considered for a few moments. "He likes me," he answered after a pause; "I know he likes me. Of course I flatter him dreadfully. I find a strange pleasure in saying things to him that I know I shall be sorry for having said. As a rule, he is charming to me, and we sit in the studio and talk of a thousand things. Now and then, however, he is horribly thoughtless, and seems to take a real delight in giving me pain. Then I feel, Harry, that I have given away my whole soul to some one who treats it as if it were a flower to put in his coat, a bit of decoration to charm his vanity, an ornament for a summer's day."

"Days in summer, Basil, are apt to linger," murmured Lord Henry. "Perhaps you will tire sooner than he will. It is a sad thing to think of, but there is no doubt that genius lasts longer than beauty. That accounts for the fact that we all take such pains to over-educate ourselves. In the wild struggle for existence, we want to have something that endures, and so we fill our minds with rubbish and facts, in the silly hope of keeping our place. The thoroughly well-informed man - that is the modern ideal. And the mind of the thoroughly well-informed man is a dreadful thing. It is like a bric-a-brac shop, all monsters and dust, with everything priced above its proper value. I think you will tire first, all the same. Some day you will look at your friend, and he will seem to you to be a little out of drawing, or you won't like his tone of colour, or something. You will bitterly reproach him in your own heart, and seriously think that he has behaved very badly to you. The next time he calls, you will be perfectly cold and indifferent. It will be a great pity, for it will alter you. What you have told me is quite a romance, a romance of art one might call it, and the worst of having a romance of any kind is that it leaves one so unromantic."

"Harry, don't talk like that. As long as I live, the personality of Dorian Gray will dominate me. You can't feel what I feel. You change too often."

"Ah, my dear Basil, that is exactly why I can feel it. Those who are faithful know only the trivial side of love: it is the faithless who know love's tragedies." And Lord Henry struck a light on a dainty silver case and began to smoke a cigarette with a self-conscious and satisfied air, as if he had summed up the world in a phrase. There was a rustle of chirruping sparrows in the green lacquer leaves of the ivy, and the blue cloud-shadows chased themselves across the grass like swallows. How

pleasant it was in the garden! And how delightful other people's emotions were! - much more delightful than their ideas, it seemed to him. One's own soul, and the passions of one's friends - those were the fascinating things in life. He pictured to himself with silent amusement the tedious luncheon that he had missed by staying so long with Basil Hallward. Had he gone to his aunt's, he would have been sure to have met Lord Goodbody there, and the whole conversation would have been about the feeding of the poor and the necessity for model lodging-houses. Each class would have preached the importance of those virtues, for whose exercise there was no necessity in their own lives. The rich would have spoken on the value of thrift, and the idle grown eloquent over the dignity of labour. It was charming to have escaped all that! As he thought of his aunt, an idea seemed to strike him. He turned to Hallward and said, "My dear fellow, I have just remembered."

"Remembered what, Harry?"

"Where I heard the name of Dorian Gray."

"Where was it?" asked Hallward, with a slight frown.

"Don't look so angry, Basil. It was at my aunt, Lady Agatha's. She told me she had discovered a wonderful young man who was going to help her in the East End, and that his name was Dorian Gray. I am bound to state that she never told me he was good-looking. Women have no appreciation of good looks; at least, good women have not. She said that he was very earnest and had a beautiful nature. I at once pictured to myself a creature with spectacles and lank hair, horribly freckled, and tramping about on huge feet. I wish I had known it was your friend."

"I am very glad you didn't, Harry."

"Why?"

"I don't want you to meet him."

"You don't want me to meet him?"

"No."

"Mr. Dorian Gray is in the studio, sir," said the butler, coming into the garden.

"You must introduce me now," cried Lord Henry, laughing.

The painter turned to his servant, who stood blinking in the sunlight. "Ask Mr. Gray to wait, Parker: I shall be in in a few moments." The man bowed and went up the walk.

Then he looked at Lord Henry. "Dorian Gray is my dearest friend," he said. "He has a simple and a beautiful nature. Your aunt was quite right in what she said of him. Don't spoil him. Don't try to influence him. Your influence would be bad. The world is wide, and has many marvellous people in it. Don't take away from me the one person who gives to my art whatever charm it possesses: my life as an artist depends on him. Mind, Harry, I trust you." He spoke very slowly, and the words seemed wrung out of him almost against his will.

"What nonsense you talk!" said Lord Henry, smiling, and taking Hallward by the arm, he almost led him into the house.

## CHAPTER 2

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It was a lovely night, so warm that he threw his coat over his arm and did not even put his silk scarf round his throat. As he strolled home, smoking his cigarette, two young men in evening dress passed him. He heard one of them whisper to the other, "That is Dorian Gray." He remembered how pleased he used to be when he was pointed out, or stared at, or talked about. He was tired of hearing his own name now. Half the charm of the little village where he had been so often lately was that no one knew who he was. He had often told the girl whom he had lured to love him that he was poor, and she had believed him. He had told her once that he was wicked, and she had laughed at him and answered that wicked people were always very old and very ugly. What a laugh she had! - just like a thrush singing. And how pretty she had been in her cotton dresses and her large hats! She knew nothing, but she had everything that he had lost.

When he reached home, he found his servant waiting up for him. He sent him to bed, and threw himself down on the sofa in the library, and began to think over some of the things that Lord Henry had said to him.

Was it really true that one could never change? He felt a wild longing for the unstained purity of his boyhood - his rose-white boyhood, as Lord Henry had once called it. He knew that he had tarnished himself, filled his mind with corruption and given horror to his fancy; that he had been an evil influence to others, and had experienced a terrible joy in being so; and that of the lives that had crossed his own, it had been the fairest and the most full of promise that he had brought to shame. But was it all irretrievable? Was there no hope for him?

Ah! in what a monstrous moment of pride and passion he had prayed that the portrait should bear the burden of his days, and he keep the unsullied splendour of eternal youth! All his failure had been due to that. Better for him that each sin of his life had brought its sure swift penalty along with it. There was purification in punishment. Not "Forgive us our sins" but "Smite us for our iniquities" should be the prayer of man to a most just God.

The curiously-carved mirror that Lord Henry had given to him, so many years ago now, was standing on the table, and the white-limbed Cupids laughed round it as of old. He took it up, as he had done on that night of horror when he had first noted the change in the fatal picture, and with wild, tear-dimmed eyes looked into its polished shield. Once, someone who had terribly loved him had written to him a mad letter, ending with these idolatrous words: "The world is changed because you are made of ivory and gold. The curves of your lips rewrite history." The phrases came back to his memory, and he repeated them over and over to himself. Then he loathed his own beauty, and flinging the mirror on the floor, crushed it into silver splinters beneath his heel. It was his beauty that had ruined him, his beauty and the youth that he had prayed for. But for those two things, his life might have been free from stain. His beauty had been to him but a mask, his youth but a mockery. What was youth at best? A green, an unripe time, a time of shallow moods, and sickly thoughts. Why had he worn its livery? Youth had spoiled him.

It was better not to think of the past. Nothing could alter that. It was of himself, and of his own future, that he had to think. James Vane was hidden in a nameless grave in **Selby** churchyard. Alan Campbell had shot himself one night in his laboratory, but had not revealed the secret that he had been forced to know. The excitement, such as it was, over Basil Hallward's disappearance would soon pass away. It



was already waning. He was perfectly safe there. Nor, indeed, was it the death of Basil Hallward that weighed most upon his mind. It was the living death of his own soul that troubled him. Basil had painted the portrait that had marred his life. He could not forgive him that. It was the portrait that had done everything. Basil had said things to him that were unbearable, and that he had yet borne with patience. The murder had been simply the madness of a moment. As for Alan Campbell, his suicide had been his own act. He had chosen to do it. It was nothing to him.

A new life! That was what he wanted. That was what he was waiting for. Surely he had begun it already. He had spared one innocent thing, at any rate. He would never again tempt innocence. He would be good.

As he thought of Hetty Merton, he began to wonder if the portrait in the locked room had changed. Surely it was not still so horrible as it had been? Perhaps if his life became pure, he would be able to expel every sign of evil passion from the face. Perhaps the signs of evil had already gone away. He would go and look.

He took the lamp from the table and crept upstairs. As he unbarred the door, a smile of joy flitted across his strangely young-looking face and lingered for a moment about his lips. Yes, he would be good, and the hideous thing that he had hidden away would no longer be a terror to him. He felt as if the load had been lifted from him already.

He went in quietly, locking the door behind him, as was his custom, and dragged the purple hanging from the portrait. A cry of pain and indignation broke from him. He could see no change, save that in the eyes there was a look of cunning and in the mouth the curved wrinkle of the hypocrite. The thing was still loathsome - more loathsome, if possible, than before - and the scarlet dew that spotted the hand seemed brighter, and more like blood newly spilled. Then he trembled. Had it been merely vanity that had made him do his one good deed? Or the desire for a new sensation, as Lord Henry had hinted, with his mocking laugh? Or that passion to act a part that sometimes makes us do things finer than we are ourselves? Or, perhaps, all these? And why was the red stain larger than it had been? It seemed to have crept like a horrible disease over the wrinkled fingers. There was blood on the painted feet, as though the thing had dripped - blood even on the hand that had not held the knife. Confess? Did it mean that he was to confess? To give himself up and be put to death? He laughed. He felt that the idea was monstrous. Besides, even if he did confess, who would believe him? There was no trace of the murdered man anywhere. Everything belonging to him had been destroyed. He himself had burned what had been below-stairs. The world would simply say that he was mad. They would shut him up if he persisted in his story. . . . Yet it was his duty to confess, to suffer public shame, and to make public atonement. There was a God who called upon men to tell their sins to earth as well as to heaven. Nothing that he could do would cleanse him till he had told his own sin. His sin? He shrugged his shoulders. The death of Basil Hallward seemed very little to him.

He was thinking of Hetty Merton. For it was an unjust mirror, this mirror of his soul that he was looking at. Vanity? Curiosity? Hypocrisy? Had there been nothing more in his renunciation than that? There had been something more. At least he thought so. But who could tell? . . . No. There had been nothing more. Through vanity he had spared her. In hypocrisy he had worn the mask of goodness. For curiosity's sake he had tried the denial of self. He recognized that now.

But this murder - was it to dog him all his life? Was he always to be burdened by his past? Was he really to confess? Never. There was only one bit of evidence left against him. The picture itself - that was evidence. He would destroy it. Why had he kept it so long? Once it had given him pleasure to watch it changing and growing old. Of late he had felt no such pleasure. It had kept him awake at night. When he had been away, he had been filled with terror lest other eyes should look upon it. It had brought melancholy across his passions. Its mere memory had marred many moments of joy. It had been like conscience to him. Yes, it had been conscience. He would destroy it.

He looked round and saw the knife that had stabbed Basil Hallward. He had cleaned it many times, till there was no stain left upon it. It was bright, and glistened. As it had killed the painter, so it would kill the painter's work, and all that that meant. It would kill the past, and when that was dead, he would be free. It would kill this monstrous soul-life, and without its hideous warnings, he would be at peace. He seized the thing, and stabbed the picture with it.

There was a cry heard, and a crash. The cry was so horrible in its agony that the frightened servants woke and crept out of their rooms. Two gentlemen, who were passing in the square below, stopped and looked up at the great house. They walked on till they met a policeman and brought him back. The man rang the bell several times, but there was no answer. Except for a light in one of the top windows, the house was all dark. After a time, he went away and stood in an adjoining portico and watched.

"Whose house is that, Constable?" asked the elder of the two gentlemen.

"Mr. Dorian Gray's, sir," answered the policeman.

They looked at each other, as they walked away, and sneered. One of them was Sir Henry Ashton's uncle.

Inside, in the servants' part of the house, the half-clad domestics were talking in low whispers to each other. Old Mrs. Leaf was crying and wringing her hands. Francis was as pale as death.

After about a quarter of an hour, he got the coachman and one of the footmen and crept upstairs. They knocked, but there was no reply. They called out. Everything was still. Finally, after vainly trying to force the door, they got on the roof and dropped down on to the balcony. The windows yielded easily - their bolts were old.

When they entered, they found hanging upon the wall a splendid portrait of their master as they had last seen him, in all the wonder of his exquisite youth and beauty. Lying on the floor was a dead man, in evening dress, with a knife in his heart. He was withered, wrinkled, and loathsome of visage. It was not till they had examined the rings that they recognized who it was.

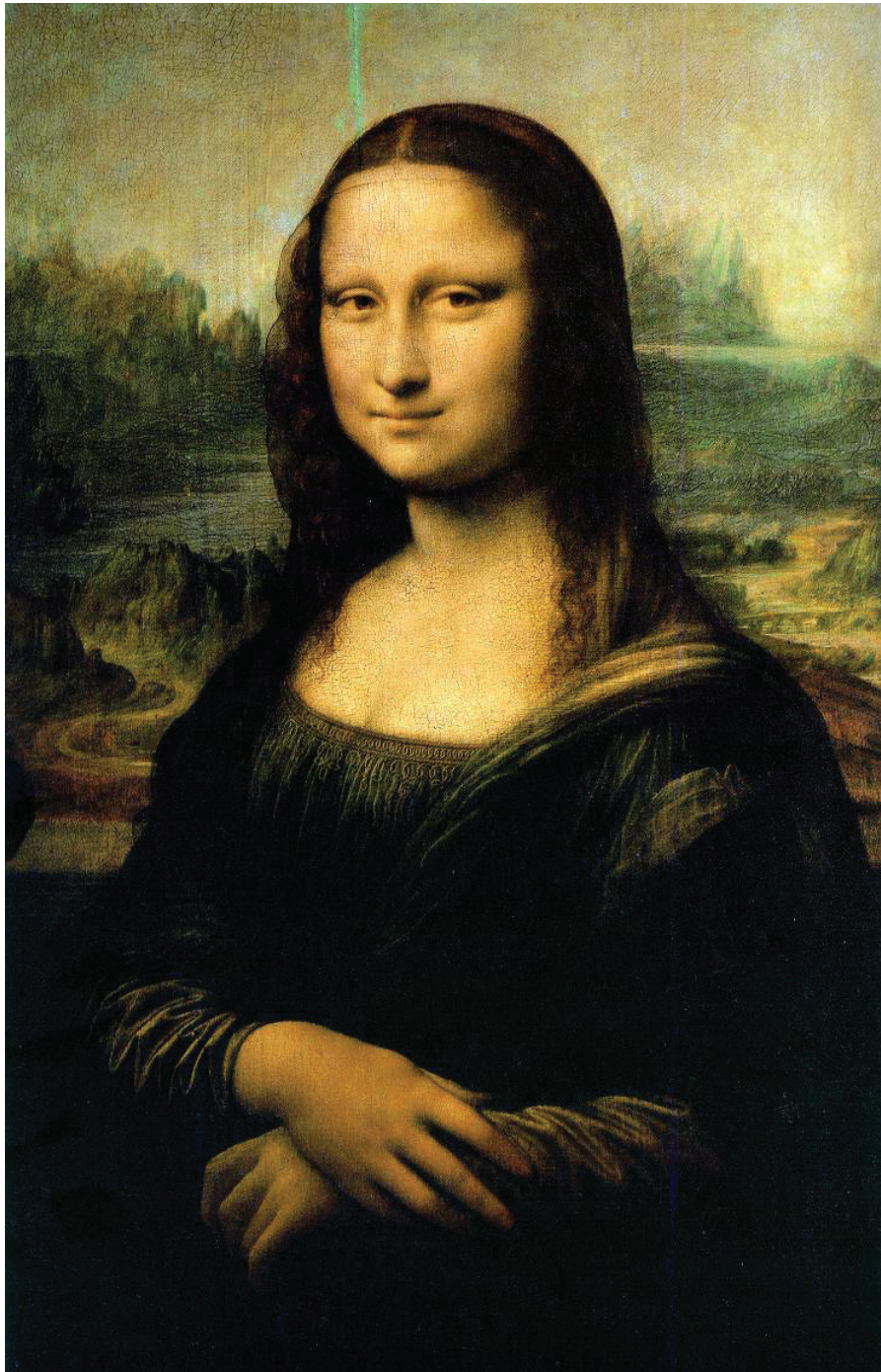
**SOURCE:** Wilde, Oscar. *The Picture of Dorian Grey*.

Project Gutenberg. < <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/174> >

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

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1. According to Wilde, what is an artist's aim?
2. Do you agree that "It is the spectator, and not life, that art really mirrors."? Can you bring examples?
3. In your view, why does Oscar Wilde say "All art is quite useless"? Do you agree or disagree with Wilde? Why?
4. What is "The Picture of Dorian Grey" about? What impressed you most of all in this story?
5. How do you understand Basil Hallward's words: "I know you will laugh at me," he replied, "but I really can't exhibit it. I have put too much of myself into it"?



DA VINCI, LEONARDO. MONA LISA

## ROCHELLE GURSTEIN THE MYSTIC SMILE

In **Bernard Berenson's** reappraisal of Leonardo in 1916, we have a firsthand account of the connoisseur's reckoning with **Pater's Mona Lisa**. The essay begins with what had by then become a set piece, in which Berenson recounts how, as "a youthful aspirant for artificial paradises," he spent "the hours of long summer days trying to match what I really was seeing and feeling with the famous passage of Walter Pater, that, like so many of my contemporaries, I had learned by heart." It is significant that he describes Pater's influence in terms of the "powers of a shaman" - "an affair of mesmerism, hypnotism, and suggestion" - for it sets the stage for his eventual disenchantment that came with sustained looking at the picture: "What I really saw in the figure of 'Mona Lisa' was the estranging image of a woman beyond the reach of my sympathies or the ken of my interests, distastefully unlike the women I had hitherto known or dreamt of, a foreigner with a look I could not fathom, watchful, sly, secure, with a smile of anticipated satisfaction and a pervading air of hostile superiority."

Berenson confessed that at first he tried to quell his doubts by forcing himself to appreciate the many excellent formal qualities of the painting. But in the end the very layering up of thoughts and feelings, of mythological and symbolic associations introduced by Pater - what Berenson called the "over-meanings" - led him to depreciate the *Mona Lisa*. The many beautiful intimations that for Wilde had made the portrait breathe again had a stifling effect upon Berenson, who felt overwhelmed and distracted by them. All the overcivilized hyperbole made the sought-after experience of "ecstasy" - that "immediate, instantaneous, and unearned act of grace" which he held to be the essence of "the aesthetic moment" - impossible for Berenson. He had made his name as a connoisseur of Italian "primitives," and had little sympathy with Leonardo, whose paintings appeared excessively intellectual and mechanical to him.

What is more, Berenson had come to appreciate art from other traditions, with unexpected consequences: his aesthetic horizon was enormously expanded at the same time that the enigmatic and bewitching qualities of the *Mona Lisa* began to seem less and less unique. So when Berenson gazed at Leonardo's masterpiece, he saw "nothing in her expression that is not far more satisfactorily rendered in Buddhist art," just as he could find "nothing in the landscape that is not even more evocative and more magical in **Ma Yuan**, in Li-Long-Men, in Hsai Kwei." A gap now opened up between the new-style connoisseurs and the nineteenth-century aesthetes that was almost as wide as the one that had separated Pater's world from **Vasari's** world.



**DA VINCI, LEONARDO.**  
**SELF-PORTRAIT**

**Bernard Berenson** –  
(born June 26, 1865 Butrimonys  
(now Vilna), Lithuania -  
October 6, 1959 Florence,  
Italy) American art historian  
specializing in the Renaissance

**Walter Horatio Pater** –  
(August 4, 1839 - July 30,  
1894), English essayist and art  
and literary critic

**Mona Lisa, or La Gioconda** –  
(La Joconde) 16<sup>th</sup> century oil  
painting on poplar wood by  
Leonardo da Vinci, arguably  
the most famous painting in  
the world

**Ma Yuan** –  
(Traditional Chinese pinyin)  
Chinese general who served  
during the Eastern Han  
Dynasty

**Giorgio Vasari** –  
(July 30, 1511 - June 27, 1574)  
Italian painter and architect,  
known for his famous  
biographies of Italian artists



**KHNOPFF, FERNAND.**  
**THE CARESS.**

1887. Brussels Royal Museum  
of Fine Arts

Whereas Pater's sensibility was literary and associative in the extreme, Berenson's sensibility was more visually acute and exacting, for he was entranced with the sheer experience of looking. Berenson knew that "the aesthetic moment" was the fruit of "a long and severe training," but he thought it was "unaware of what preceded it" and was "completely isolated, not to be modified and not to be qualified." (Today, following Kant, we call this autonomous aesthetic experience.) Yet Berenson's sensibility, because it disdained flights of imagination and reverie, did not exercise the same powerful hold over art lovers as Pater's, and it remained confined, at least initially, to a coterie of connoisseurs and art historians. Still, that Berenson could, as he put it, "expose and bring down" what had come to be known as "the greatest achievement of artistic genius" reveals the fragile nature of artistic fame, and especially of fame wrought from the hypnotic effusions of an influential writer. The status of any work of art, it turns out, is secure only to the extent that it continues to speak directly to later viewers.

The *Mona Lisa* has somehow managed to do this. Even Freud was intrigued by the famous smile, and tried to interpret it in his *Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality* (1910), which added yet another associative dimension, this time having to do with the unconscious longings of the artist: the *Mona Lisa's* smile was actually the mysterious smile possessed by Leonardo's own mother. Throughout the twentieth century, the portrait continued to fascinate art historians, writers, poets, artists, and spectators. Indeed, by 1950, the *Mona Lisa* had been reproduced so often and had acquired so many interpretive layers that **E.H. Gombrich** worried aloud in *The Story of Art* whether anyone could still see it with "fresh eyes." Gombrich advised his readers "to forget what we know or believe we know about the picture and look at it as if we were the first people ever to set eyes on it."

And if this were possible, what would we see? Gombrich presented the painting through Vasari's eyes (without ever naming him): "What strikes us first is the amazing degree to which Lisa looks alive." But when it came to the smile, it was still Pater's vision that reverberated: "Sometimes she seems to mock us, and then again we seem to catch something like sadness in her smile." Except for a few such remarks, however, Gombrich had no interest in evoking lyrical associations. His account was concerned with formal analysis and Leonardo's place in art history, the knowledge of which would overcome the distance that separated works of the Italian Renaissance from the uninformed modern viewer. But even Gombrich could not resist closing with a tribute to the portrait's aesthetic power: Leonardo "knew the spell which would infuse life into the colors spread by his magic brush."

Fifty years later, in a world flooded with ever more reproductions of the *Mona Lisa* but sorely lacking in aesthetic sensibility - whether of the Vasari, Pater, or Berenson kind - one wonders what the tourists streaming into the **Louvre** need to forget in order to see the painting with "fresh eyes." Perhaps something about the smile or about

**Sir Ernst Hans Josef Gombrich** -  
born in Vienna, Austria-  
Hungary (30 March 1909 - 3  
November 2001) art historian,  
who spent most of his working  
life in the United Kingdom

**The Louvre Museum** -  
(French: Musée du Louvre)  
Paris, France. The most visited  
and one of the oldest, largest  
and most famous art galleries  
and museums in the world

the artist's repressed longings; but if Donald Sassoon is right, they come to the painting not with any particular aesthetic aspirations or expectations but rather to gawk at a "celebrity" whose status is based exclusively on the fact of its being well-known. After all, this is the painting that traveled to the National Gallery in Washington and then to the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 1963 and was mobbed by more than 1.6 million people in two months, and made another triumphal tour in 1974, first to the Tokyo National Museum and then to the Pushkin Museum in Moscow, and was mobbed again by an astounding two million more people. (In Tokyo, it was estimated that each viewer got about ten seconds before the painting.)

Thus Sassoon is not exaggerating when he describes the scene at the Louvre - crowds of fans, flashing camera lights - as the kind of "commotion" typically associated with "a renowned personality from the world of cinema, television, fashion, or music, or a member of a major royal household." It is the aim of his book to understand this phenomenon. And the beginnings of this distinctly modern way of seeing a work of art as a celebrity can be traced back to 1911, when the *Mona Lisa* was stolen from the Louvre. Sassoon finds this event so significant that he devotes an entire chapter to it.

While the theft is largely forgotten today, it generated enormous publicity at the time, since mass-circulation newspapers, which were also a new phenomenon of the early twentieth century, were always hungry for sensational events and printed story after story about it. People who ordinarily cared little for art were inundated both with countless images of the painting and tales of its many legends, the enigmatic smile always occupying center stage. The publicity so excited curiosity that when the Louvre re-opened after a week-long investigation, thousands of people - many of whom had never before set foot in a museum - stood in line to view the vacant space previously filled by the *Mona Lisa*. For the first time in its career, the painting left the rarefied air of royal collections, fine-art engravings, and the refined imagination of aesthetes and entered the world of entertainment: commemorative postcards, photographs, cartoons, ballads, waltzes, silent films, music halls, and theaters all took up, often with a good deal of humor, the *Mona Lisa's* disappearance.

The painting's fame was further enhanced two years later, when Leonardo Vincenza, a decorator-painter and self-avowed Italian patriot, attempted to sell it to a Florentine antique dealer, leading to his arrest and the painting's recovery. Vincenza confessed that he had walked out of the Louvre unnoticed with the small portrait hidden under his workman's smock because he had briefly worked at the museum. For a fleeting moment, there was the question of whether the Italians would surrender their patrimony to the French. As compensation to the Italian people for their impending loss, the painting was exhibited in Florence, in Rome, and then, for two days, in Milan, where an estimated sixty thousand Italians desperately vied for a final glimpse of "their" painting. Upon its triumphal return to Paris, it was mobbed. And so the *Mona Lisa* once again began appearing in popular songs, postcards, cartoons, and even greeting cards, and the mass-circulation press excited public curiosity with endlessly detailed reports of all the events, the painting's now-famous image prominently displayed on front pages everywhere.



VIEW OF MUSÉE DU  
LOUVRE FROM JARDIN  
DES TUILERES

For Sassoon, the “kidnapping,” as he calls it, and the innumerable ways in which the *Mona Lisa* has subsequently been exploited by popular novels, poems, children’s books, songs, satirical postcards, avant-garde art, movies, television, and most significantly advertising and merchandising, provide the key to understanding its celebrity status. His aim is to “examine how a product of ‘high culture’ became an object of popular consumption”; and this project first occurred to him, as he explains in the preface, when he was “researching the history of cultural markets.” That Sassoon came to this complicated and vexing episode in the history of taste and sensibility by chance, and that he thinks of it primarily in socio-economic terms, is what distinguishes his study from the many others that have come before it. As a social historian whose earlier books include *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, he believes that such an undertaking does not require “special insights into the Meaning of Art or the Soul of Man” or, for that matter, “a particular artistic sensibility”.

Sassoon might mock such “special insights” and “artistic sensibility,” but without them he is lost. When he reviews the well-known historical sources of the painting’s fame - its **aesthetic** innovations and provenance, along with the myth of Leonardo the genius and the cult of the *Mona Lisa* as femme fatale - his account neither revises nor deepens the thoughtful accounts already provided by George Boas’s *The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste* (1940), Roy McMullen’s *Mona Lisa: The Picture and the Myth* (1975), or A. Richard Turner’s *Inventing Leonardo* (1993), to name only a few. Instead, Sassoon’s accumulation of pointless details and digressions turns what was a historically sound and intellectually compelling narrative into a muddle. And without a deep grounding in aesthetics or intellectual history, his account fares no better when trying to explain the portrait’s shifting fortunes. Sassoon is thus reduced to saying of the *Mona Lisa*’s transfiguration into a femme fatale: “Threatening women are so much more interesting than tranquil housewives”; or of Gautier’s influence: “He was in the right place at the right time”; or of Pater’s: “This Oxford aesthete, in love with the past, was at one with the **Zeitgeist**”; or referring to Berenson’s devaluation of Leonardo not in aesthetic terms as a harbinger of modern, formalist connoisseurship and art history, but instead as one response to the painting’s theft from the Louvre.

When it comes to what is original in Sassoon’s account - how the painting has become “a global icon” - his method of endlessly amassing information, the only criterion being some connection to the *Mona Lisa*, no matter how insignificant, tangential, or tenuous, sheds very little light on this pernicious and destructive strain in modern life. If we are to understand the means and the consequences of the merciless **commodification** of art, we will need interpretation and criticism, taste and judgment. Instead Sassoon provides boring plot summaries of novels, short stories, movies, and plays, as well as countless lists: lists of artists who have used the image; lists of singers who have performed songs referring to her smile; lists of merchandise, of advertisements, of every last thing that bears the name or the image of the *Mona Lisa*. Sassoon demonstrates in tedious detail that we live in a world where what avant-garde artists once dared to do as an act of iconoclasm - use the *Mona Lisa* as an object like any other - is now routinely accomplished by advertising and merchandising. But he is silent about the consequences: not only is there something callous and even cruel, aesthetically and morally, about using exquisite objects meant for higher purposes as marketing ploys, there is also something world-destroying in it, for neither the work of art nor aesthetic feeling can survive such brash treatment unscathed.

And Sassoon himself contributes to the painting’s further trivialization by repeatedly calling it an “icon of popular culture,” as if there were no difference between the “divine” Leonardo’s “marvel of art” and real icons of popular culture such as Mickey Mouse. His end “product” is a collection of all manner of *Mona Lisa* memorabilia: Vasari and Pater and Duchamp and Warhol are here, but so are **Nat King Cole**, a letter from a sixteen-



#### HORDE OF TOURISTS IN FRONT OF MONA LISA.

Own work, taken on 20<sup>th</sup> November, 2004

#### socialism –

a broad array of doctrines or political movements that envisage a socio-economic system in which property and the distribution of wealth are subject to social control

#### aesthetics –

branch of philosophy called value theory or axiology, which is the study of sensory or sensori-emotional values, sometimes called judgments of sentiment or taste

#### zeitgeist –

originally a German expression that means “the spirit (Geist) of the time (Zeit)”. It denotes the intellectual and cultural climate of an era

#### commodification –

the transformation of what is normally a non-commodity into a commodity, or, in other words, to assign value

#### Nathaniel Adams Coles –

known professionally as Nat King Cole (March 17, 1919 - February 15, 1965) popular American singer, songwriter, and jazz pianist.



year-old girl to the Louvre, Erico Baj's *The Revenge of Mona Lisa*, computer mouse pads, and "Mona Lisa-Cu375" (an intra-uterine device). All too often the book has the suffocating feel of a matron's living room stuffed to the gunwales with her "collection" of knickknacks based on her love of bumblebees or frogs - that is, when it does not simply read like a print-out from a computer search under "Mona Lisa." (Sassoon informs us that as of October 2000, there were 93,800 Web pages on "Mona Lisa" and another 2,110 on "Joconde." What sort of learning is this?) And after 275 pages of undigested facts culled from a twenty-page bibliography, Sassoon delivers the stunning historical news that "nothing has a single cause," "nothing is static." That is his last word on the puzzle of the *Mona Lisa's* unparalleled fame.

The *Mona Lisa* has survived periods of neglect. Yet, over and over again particular aesthetic qualities have captivated art lovers who have dreamed of being transported by the painting of a woman who smiles. In those times when taste and sensibility (and, later, imagination) have been cultivated and valued, the extraordinary beauty of the *Mona Lisa* has closed the temporal and spatial gap that might otherwise have alienated later viewers from it. Today, when museumgoers are as accustomed to looking at flat, lifeless, mediated images of art on television and computer screens as they are to looking at animal corpses submerged in formaldehyde by **Damien Hirst**, the anticipation - let alone the experience - of the manifold pleasures of beauty has receded into the distance. In these changed circumstances, it is celebrity and commercialism that keep the *Mona Lisa* alive, but only by running saline solution rather than blood through her veins. The *Mona Lisa* may be the most "popular" painting in the world today, but it remains to be seen whether it can survive such popularity, or whether, like other mass-marketed celebrities of the twentieth century, the portrait that stunned generations of art lovers will eventually lose its place to the next new thing.

**SOURCE:** Gurstein, Rochelle. "The Mystic Smile". *The New Republic*. 15 June 2002. 2006. < <http://www.tnr.com/doc.mhtml?i=20020722&s=gurstein072202&c=2> >

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. How does Freud interpret Mona Lisa's smile? Why so? What is your interpretation of Mona Lisa's smile?
2. What was Gombrich's concern about the Mona Lisa's popularity? What advice has he given on this issue?
3. What key does Sassoon give to understand the celebrity status of the Mona Lisa? How does the author assess Sassoon's account of the Mona Lisa?
4. What are the well-known historical sources of the painting's fame? What is your theory on the Mona Lisa's fame?
5. Do you have anything against reprinting the Mona Lisa on postcards and in cartoons? How would the author of this article respond to this question? Would you support him?



**VASARI, GIORGIO.**  
**SELF PORTRAIT**

**Damien Hirst** –  
(born June 7, 1965) English  
artist and the leading artist of  
the group that has been dubbed  
"Young British Artists"

**TYPES OF ART:****I. Medium**

Medium is the material which is used to create artworks. Medium can be of different kinds: oils, watercolours, ink, lithographs, graphics, photographs.

**II. Genre** is a kind of artistic work. There are different kinds of genres in art: history painting, genre painting, portrait painting, landscape art, still life, etc.

**History painting** is the painting of historical events or mythological scenes.

**Genre painting** portrays scenes of everyday life or “ordinary people engaged in common activities”. “These depictions can be realistic, imagined, or romanticized by the artist” (“Genre Works”).

**Portrait painting** is a genre of painting where mostly a person is depicted. The purpose of the portrait painting is to reveal the character of the person. If an artist portrays him- or herself, such painting is called a self-portrait”.

**Landscape art** depicts scenes of nature such as: forests, valleys, plains, mountains, trees, rivers, and waterfalls.

**Still life** art portrays inanimate objects which may be either natural (plants, food) or man-made (jugs, vases, etc.).

**III. An Art Movement** is a tendency or style in art that has “a specific, common philosophy or goal, followed by a group of artists” during a certain period of time (“Art Movement”).

There are different kinds of art movements: realism, symbolism, abstract art, romanticism and many others.

**Romanticism** is an artistic movement that puts much emphasis on the emotion over reason and of the senses over intellect and idealizes nature and culture. It also tends to create an aura of mystery.

**Realism** is a style of painting that depicts objects and figures as they exist and act in life. Realism is strictly representational.

**Symbolism** is the regular use of symbols to express an allegorical meaning.

**Abstract art** is non-representational and non-symbolic; a play of colours.

**Purpose of Art Appreciation**

Art appreciation gives us not only knowledge and new ideas, but it fills us with emotions - joy, pleasure, admiration, gratitude. An artwork is not completed without the viewer’s response and reaction. When we appreciate art we extend this artwork. We contribute something new and personal with our appreciation of art.

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**INTRODUCTION**

Art has been politicized in modern times. The texts in this chapter show the diverse ways in which art has been made political. Imperialism made the acquisition of art under duress a legal act. The cold war politics made art a weapon in the arsenal of international propaganda. International agreements, organizations and treaties tried to restore the balance by helping “preserve” the cultural artefacts of nations, peoples, and communities. Each text seeks to identify the political dimension that impacts art and the world in which it exists.

The reader is advised to identify the various ways in which politics plays a part in the production of art, the development of an artistic trend, the use of it as a tool of propaganda, and the ownership of art and artefacts. Do you have examples of such control in history? Examine Orhan Pamuk’s fictional text on how the State or Sultan exerted control over artistic expression. Currently, how does politics constrain art and artistic expression? Conversely, how do artists react to, succumb to, or subvert political control?

The popularization of art has added another dimension to the politicization of art, too. The reader can find references in the texts to this new development. How and why do citizens react to art and artists so strongly? How did this development take place? What is the connection between democracy, free expression, and artistry?

The popularization of art has led to the commercialization of art in democratic societies. How do current ideologies, trends, and movements undermine or increase the value of art? When or how has free expression become inalienable from artistic expression? Has art become any better because of the guarantee of free expression that it now enjoys in many countries of the world?

The commercialization of art also requires us to examine the idea of ownership of art, which some people, organizations, and even countries think of in terms of cultural heritage of nations or humanity itself as noted by Kwame Anthony Appiah. How can we justify the private ownership of art given the internationally accepted value of patrimony or cultural heritage of nations or humanity?

Given the development and worldwide acceptance of agreements and treaties on the protection and preservation of cultural art and artefacts, can art ever become truly free from politics? Should we even be concerned that art is not free from political control?



MUSAWIR, MU'IN . TIGER ATTACKING A YOUTH. PERSIAN, SAFAVID.  
8 FEB. 1672. ISFAHAN, IRAN.  
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

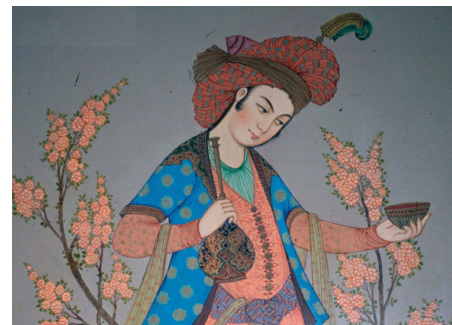
## MASSUMEH FARHAD AN ARTIST'S IMPRESSION: MU'IN MUSAWIR'S *TIGER ATTACKING A YOUTH*

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Few seventeenth-century **Safavid** drawings have created as much interest and discussion as Mu'in Musawir's so-called *Lion Attacking a Youth*, dated 1082 (1672) (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Executed during the last quarter of Mu'in's long artistic career (ca. 1635-ca. 1697), the single-page composition stands out for its unusual subject matter – a helpless youth being devoured by a wild beast – and its long, detailed inscription. Although Mu'in's tendency to inscribe his oeuvre is evident in many other examples,<sup>2</sup> the annotation on the Boston drawing not only includes a precise explanation of its iconography, but also the artist's remarks on additional events that profoundly affected him at the time. The content of Mu'in's inscription is all the more significant when compared to other contemporary Persian accounts of the period, which consist primarily of official historical chronicles. With the king and his ruling elite as their subject, these histories provide little information on the everyday existence of ordinary people. Quite apart from its artistic value, therefore, Mu'in's drawing serves as an important document, offering a rare personal glimpse of life in **Isfahan** during the reign of **Shah Suleiman** (1666-92).

The drawing (13.7cm. x 20cm.) shows a group of men trying to restrain a massive feline creature from mangling a youth who has fallen on the ground. It is executed in light-brown ink with a rose-colored wash reserved for the body of the animal and the hats of some of the figures. The inscription, written in twenty-three lines in the same colored ink as the drawing, occupies the upper edge of the page and is perpendicular to the composition itself.

A look at the secondary literature on the so-called *Lion Attacking a Youth* reveals both the importance attached to Mu'in's inscription and the various interpretations it



Safavid era Miniature painting kept at Shah Abbas Hotel in Isfahan



**JABBADOR, ALI QOLI.**  
**SHAH SULEIMAN I AND HIS**  
**COURTIERS, ISFAHAN.1670**

**Safavids –**  
considered the greatest Iranian Empire

**Isfahan –**  
city located about 340km south of Tehran,

**Shah –**  
Persian word for King

1 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 14.634. As the title of this article suggests, I will propose a different identification for the animal. Before presenting the arguments, however, I will refer to the work by its original title

2 The most celebrated of these compositions is the portrait of Reza 'Abbasi (Princeton University Library, Garrett Collection, 96 G). See Anthony Welch, *Shah 'Abbas and the Arts of Isfahan* (New York, 1974), no. 76.

## Transcription

The first transcription of Mu'in's inscription. I am grateful to Chahryar Adle and Muhammad Jacfar Mahjub for their help in reading some of the passages, particularly towards the end of the inscription.

- ۱- روز دوشنبه عید رمضان المبارک  
۲- سنه ۱۰۸۲ بود که ببری که ایلچی بخارا  
۳- با کرگدن بجهت نواب اشرف اعلی  
۴- شاه سلیمان پیشکش آورده بود  
۵- در دروازه دولت شاگرد بقالی در سن  
۶- بانزده یا شانزده ناغافل بیر مذکور  
۷- جستن کرده نصفی طرف روی او را  
۸- کنده و در همان ساعت جان تسلیم  
۹- کرده بقال شنیدیم و ندیدیم بیادگار رقم گردید  
۱۰- و در آن سال از ابتداء نیمه شهر شعبان المعظم  
۱۱- تا روز هشتم شهر شوال تا حال هجده  
۱۲- برف عظیم آمده و نوعی بود که مردم  
۱۳- از درد برف رویی به تنگ آمده بودند  
۱۴- و نرخ اکثر جنسها  
۱۵- بالا رفته و هیمه یکمن  
۱۶- چهار بیستی و پوشال یکمن  
۱۷- شش بیستی بدست نمی آمد  
۱۸- و سرما نوعی بود که نه شیشه ماند  
۱۹- و نه غرایه گلاب و غیره خدا ...  
۲۰- بخیر بگذراند روز دوشنبه هشتم  
۲۱- شهر شوال سنه ۱۰۸۲ برف عظیم می آید  
۲۲- در خانه مانده بودیم بخاطر سرما  
۲۳- رقم شد مشقه معین مصور

## Translation

The bracketed numbers refer to the lines of text in the original inscription and its transcription in this article.

[1] It was Monday, the day of the Feast of the blessed Rama-dan, [2, 3, 4] of the year 1082, when the ambassador of Bukhara had brought a tiger with a rhinoceros as gifts for His most exalted Majesty, Shah Sulayman. [5, 6, 7, 8, 9] At the Darvaza-Dawlat, the above-mentioned tiger jumped up suddenly and tore off half the face of a grocer's assistant, fifteen or sixteen years of age. And he died within the hour. We heard about the grocer but did not see him. [This] was drawn in memory of it. [10] And in that year, from the beginning of the second half of the honorable month of Shacban [11] until the 8th day of Shawwal until now, there have been eighteen [12, 13] heavy snowfalls of such magnitude that the trouble of shoveling snow had exasperated people. [14] And the price of most goods [15] went up, and firewood, one man [16] at four bisti, and kindling, one man [17] at six bisti, were still unobtainable. [18] And the cold was such that there were no glass bottles [19] or rosewater botdes, etc., left. May God [20] end it well. [It is] Monday, the 8th [21] of the month of Shawwal, the year 1082; heavy snow is falling; [22] we stayed at home because of the cold. [23] It was drawn, the work of Mu'in Musawir.

has engendered.<sup>3</sup> For instance, a number of scholars have argued that the composition was done in Bukhara; others have suggested that it was executed at a stove-maker's shop (*bukhari-saz*), presumably in Isfahan, the city with which Mu'in has been associ-

3 The work was mentioned by Philipp Walter Schulz, (*Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei: Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Irans* [Leipzig, 1914], p. 191), as "Lowe eines bocharischen Gesandten fällt einen Mann an" (a lion of the ambassador of Bukhara attacks a man). Ananda K. Coomaraswamy published the first translation of the inscription in French ("Les miniatures orientales de la collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston" in *Ars Asiatica* 13 [Paris and Brussels, 1929], no. 84). Coomaraswamy suggested that Mu'in executed the composition on Saturday, 3 Shawwal 1082 (2 February 1672) in Bukhara to distract himself. These conclusions also appeared in Ernst Kuhnel's "Der Maler Mu'in," *Pantheon* 29 (1942), p.109. In the same year, Eric Schroeder proposed a different origin for the drawing. He argued that the final word of the inscription was not "Bukhara" but "bukhari-saz" (stove-maker), and therefore Mu'in's composition was done at a stovemaker's shop (*Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* [Cambridge, Mass., 1942], p. 149). The first English translation of the inscription was published by Ernst J. Grube in 1962. It closely follows Coomaraswamy's French version with the exception that Grube substituted the word "stove-maker" for "Bukhara" as the drawing's place of production (*Muslim Miniature Painting from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century from Collections in the United States and Canada* [Venice, 1962], no. 117). In his *Les peintures des manuscrits de Shah 'Abbas Ier a la fin de Safavis'* (Paris, 1964), Ivan Stchoukine only provided a summary of the inscription, but questioned Schroeder's earlier assumption that the drawing was executed at a stove-maker's shop. Three slightly different translations appeared in 1974: Anthony Welch, *Shah 'Abbas*, no. 75; Oleg Grabar, "Introduction," *Studies on Isfahan in Iranian Studies*, vol. 7, part 1, nos. 1-2 (Winter-Spring 1974), p. 12; and Richard Ettinghausen, "Stylistic Tendencies at the Time of Shah 'Abbas," *ibid.*, part 2, nos. 3-4 (Summer-Autumn, 1974), p. 607. This last translation offered the greatest number of revisions and corrections, including the alternative date of 20 Shawwal 1082 (19 February 1672) for the completion of the drawing.

ated. The exact date of the drawing has also been debated and certain parts of the inscription have defied deciphering altogether.

Disagreement on the correct reading of some of the words and passages in the inscription clearly stems in part from Mu'in's hurried, nearly illegible writing, particularly towards the end of the text, where lack of space forced him to compress his words and lines.<sup>4</sup> The reading is further complicated by the fact that the annotation is written in naskh with a tendency towards the shikasta script. This is visible in the formation of certain letters such as the final *ye* in *ilchi* (line 2), the final *nun* in *yik man* (lines 15,16), or the combination of letters as shown by the ligature of the letters *alif* and *lam* in *baggal* (line 9). Mu'in also does not distinguish between the letters *be* and *pe* as in *panzda* (line 6) and *che* and *jim* as in *ilchi* (line 2) or *chahar* (line 16), but such orthographic irregularities were not unusual for the period.

Since the publication of the drawing, the feline beast in Mu'in's composition has been generally identified as a lion.<sup>5</sup> In lines 2 and 6 of the inscription, however, a stroke can be seen below the word referring to the animal. As this must stand for two joined dots, it confirms that the first two letters of the word are the letter *be*. Therefore, the word is most probably **babr** (tiger) and not **sher** (lion) as previously suggested. The stylized pairs of undulating stripes, at times terminating in a playful curl and evident in other representations of tigers,<sup>6</sup> also attest to the identity of this animal as a tiger.

The representation of the large tiger may appear somewhat stylized and fantastic, but it was probably inspired by a particular species. At least three different types of tiger – the Indian, the Caspian, and the Siberian – were known in the Iranian, Indian, and Turkic worlds. The Siberian tiger is the largest and most impressive of them and can attain three meters in length. It is invariably described as having a long and dense winter coat, large cheek ruffs, big forequarters, an enormous head, and a mane. The stripes of the Siberian tiger are also thinner and less numerous than those of other types.<sup>7</sup>

Mu'in's powerful carnivore is strikingly similar to the description of the Siberian tiger and suggests the artist's familiarity with this particular species.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, as Iran was



**SIBERIAN TIGER**  
(*PANTHERA TIGRIS ALTAICA*),  
AALBORG ZOO, DENMARK

4 The drawing has also been cropped, and the endings of the words on lines 2, 19, 21, and 22 are missing. On line 19, an entire word is lost but this does not affect the meaning of the sentence.

5 Oleg Grabar was first to propose, albeit rather tentatively, that the animal may represent a tiger; see "Introduction," p. 12. In Ingeborg Luschej-Schmeisser's "Reiter aus Isfahan, Safavidische Kachelbilder" (*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n.s., vol.8 [1975], p. 288), the author has also remarked on the similarity of the animal to a tiger but still refers to it as a lion or lion-k'ilin.

6 See Stuart Gary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting 1501-1576* (Cambridge, Mass. 1979), no. 62 and detail.

7 The Siberian tiger still exists in southeastern Siberia and Manchuria. Previously, its habitat extended westward at least as far as Lake Baikal. See R.M. Nowak and J.L. Paradiso, *Walker's Mammals of the World*, 2 vols., 4th ed. (Baltimore and London, 1983), 2: 1087-89; E. Osmond, *Habits and Habitats of Wild Cats* (Manchester, 1979), p. 58. On the Caspian tiger, see Nowak and Paradiso, *Mammals*, 2: 1087; F. A. Harrington, Jr., *A Guide to the Mammals of Iran* (Tehran, 1977), p. 72. I am also grateful to Eskandar Firouz for his information (personal communication) on the habitats of tigers in Central Asia.

8 Given the fascination of Safavid rulers for wild cats (see below), Mu'in probably had ample opportunity to see such animals in Isfahan.

**babr** –  
Persian word for tiger

**sher** –  
Persian word for lion



**MAP OF SAFAVID TERRITORIES.**

the natural habitat of the Caspian tiger, considered more impressive than the Indian, it would seem all the more likely that the ambassador of Bukhara should choose the more highly valued Siberian tiger as a gift to the Shah on the feast of Ramadan.

As for the male figures in Mu'in's drawing, they are shown as the generalized types, recognizable from many of his other compositions.<sup>9</sup> Six of the seven men have bushy moustaches and are dressed alike: all but one have tucked the ends of their robes into their belts and each member of the group wears either a traditional turban or a high brimmed cap. While facial expressions are frozen and emotionless, the various poses and gestures suggest the immense effort necessary to rescue the youth from the tiger's jaws.

That the tiger's attack is the absolute focus of the composition is evident from the sketchy treatment of the setting. A low, awkwardly-drawn gateway stands half-open to the left, and hurried strokes, probably representing a tree line, extend across the rest of the page.<sup>10</sup>

The composition of *Tiger Attacking a Youth* is noteworthy on several accounts. Most of Mu'in's discrete drawings and paintings represent single figures or small groups engaged in restful, leisurely activities. The figures are shown either reading,

<sup>9</sup> One of Mu'in's later paintings done for an album (*muraqqa'*) and dated Monday, 2 Dhu'l Hijja 1086 (17 February 1676) represents another moustachioed, turbaned-type holding a lion by a chain; see Sotheby's Catalogue (New York), October 12, 1981, lot 138; see also Stchoukine, *Peintures de manuscrits*, p. 66.

<sup>10</sup> In his inscription, on the other hand, Mu'in provides the exact location of the accident. He claims that the incident took place at the Darvaza Dawlat or Imperial Gate. This was the western entrance to the Dawlat district, the residence of the ruling elite since the reign of 'Abbas I, and situated to the south of Chahar-bagh (Muhammad Mahdi b. Muhammad Riza al-Isfahani, *Nisf-i jahan fi ta'rif al-Isfahan*, ed. Manuchihr Sutudeh [Tehran, 1960], pp. 40-41).



drinking, smoking, or in deep contemplation.<sup>11</sup> The subject of *Tiger Attacking a Youth*, on the other hand, depicts a gruesome accident that departs significantly from Mu'in's "lighter" works. Moreover, unlike the artist's other drawings, a crowded scene fills the entire page, and the inherent action and drama, albeit distilled and abstracted, recalls manuscript illustrations rather than single-page compositions. Finally, instead of relying on a written text, direct observation or his own lively imagination, Mu'in has based *Tiger Attacking a Youth* on a verbal account, as he attests in the inscription. Although he has allowed himself a certain degree of artistic license, the almost journalistic account of the accident confirms that the drawing was meant as a faithful re-creation of a specific incident. Mu'in's commentary not only explains the drawing, but also offers background information, such as the youth's identity and age, the location of the accident, the reasons for the presence of the tiger in Isfahan, and so on. Thus, like an illustration, word and image complement each other to provide a full and precise picture of the accident.

The interest of Safavid rulers in wild and exotic animals was by no means new or unusual and finds confirmation in both European and Persian sources. According to Engelbert **Kampfer**, who visited Iran in 1684-85, the royal household included a lion tamer in charge of lions, tigers, panthers, lynxes, and other wild cats. There was also an elephant house supervised by the elephant warden who also looked after rhinoceroses, zebras, and other "thick-skinned" animals.<sup>12</sup> Kampfer maintains that these unusual species were paraded and exhibited at royal receptions and functions in order to impress and astonish foreign visitors and dignitaries. In 1684, Kampfer himself was present at one of Shah Sulayman's royal gatherings, where he saw three elephants from Ceylon, a chained and oiled rhinoceros, two lions, and a leopard.<sup>13</sup> An engraving of this royal reception included in Kampfer's *Amoenitatum Exoticarum* shows some of these animals in the foreground (fig. 2).

In addition to their ceremonial functions, felines were also used in lavishly staged royal hunting expeditions. Muhammad Ma'sum, Shah Safi's court historian, mentions several royal hunts held at the **bogh-i vahsh** (game park), located outside Isfahan in the Linjan district.<sup>14</sup> In 1652-53, 'Abbas II used elephants to transport a number of lions to the Caspian region, one of his favorite hunting grounds.<sup>15</sup>

None of the contemporary sources refer to the gifts of the ambassador of Bukhara



**SHAH ABBAS I OF  
SAFAVID**

11 For examples, see Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits*, pp. 76, 79a; Anthony Welch and Stuart Cary Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), cat. nos. 39-41; *Treasures of Islam*, ed. T. Falk (London, 1985), cat. nos. 90-91, 95-97. His other animal scenes tend to be playful and humorous; see Anthony Welch, *Isfahan*, cat. nos. 77, 78.

12 Engelbert Kampfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskonigs (1684-85)*, ed. Walter Hinz (Tubingen, 1977), p. 123.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

14 Muhammad Ma'sum b. Khwajagi Isfahani, *Khulasat as-siyar, tarikhi-i ruzgar-i Shah Safi*, ed. Iraj Afshar (Tehran, 1368/1989), pp. 145, 294.

15 Muhammad Tahir Vahid Qazvini, *'Abbasnoma* (Tehran, 1339/1951), pp. 154-55; Paul Luft, "Iran under Shah 'Abbas II (1642-1666)," Ph.D. diss., George August Universitat, Gottingen, 1968, p. 157.

**Engelbert Kampfer** –  
German surgeon-naturalist

**bogh-i vahsh** –  
Persian-game park

nor to the tragic accident recorded in Mu'in's drawing. Other similar incidents and mishaps, however, did occur during the Safavid period. Kampfer, for example, claims that at Shah Sulayman's royal reception the animals had to be chained and guarded, for a leopard had recently attacked a youth and was put down.<sup>16</sup> According to Tunukabuni's *Qisas al-'ulamā*, during the reign of 'Abbas I a lion escaped from the game park and appeared at a gathering attended by Mir Abu-I Qasim Findariski and **Shaykh Baha al-Din Muhammad al-'Amili**, two renowned scholars.<sup>17</sup> Although the incident did not end in tragedy, Tunukabuni states that it was commemorated in a wall painting in the shrine (*takiya*) of Mir Findariski in Isfahan's Takht-i Fulad district and in another scene at the **Hasht Bihisht** palace.<sup>18</sup>

The exact dates and chronology of events in Mu'in's inscription, like the identification of the tiger, have led to some confusion in past scholarship. Mu'in Musawir writes that the incident occurred on the feast of Ramadan in 1082, which was a Monday. He does not give the actual date, but as this holiday falls officially on 1 Shawwal, its corresponding Christian date would be 31 January 1672. In the various calendar-conversion tables, however, 1 Shawwal 1082 was a Sunday and not a Monday.<sup>19</sup> This apparent inconsistency is explained as follows: the end of Ramadan, marked by the day of the feast (*'id-i fitr*) is fixed to the day following the actual observation of the new moon, which usually occurred in the evening. Thus, the actual day of the feast of Ramadan was Monday, 2 Shawwal 1082 (1 February 1672) on the official calendar, but the Isfahanis considered it the first day of Shawwal. The French traveler Jean Chardin also confirms this fact:

Pour venir a present a la fete de *Fetre*, c'est une fête immobile, comme toutes les autres de la religion *Mahometane*, tombant toujours au second jour du mois de *Chaval*, que est le mois qui suit celui du Jeûne. Il faut observer qu'au compte de la Lune le second jour du mois est réellement le premier jour du mois; mais c'est qu'ils attendent à compter le mois qu'ils ayent vû la Lune, et comme on ne le voit que le soir, ils comptent le jour qui le suit pour le premier jour du mois, parce que le premier jour est le jour qu'elle a paru.<sup>20</sup>

According to Coomaraswamy and most subsequent scholars, Mu'in completed his drawing on Saturday, 3 Shawwal 1082 (2 February 1672). As Coomaraswamy also claimed that it snowed continuously from the beginning of Sha'ban (December [*sic*]) until 8 Shawwal (7 February),<sup>21</sup> this invalidates his proposed date for the work. For if Mu'in had executed his composition on 3 Shawwal (2 February), he could not have known that it did not stop snowing until 8 Shawwal (7 February). **Ettinghausen** proposed an alternative date for the drawing. He argued that it was executed on



**IMAGE OF SHAH OF IRAN, ISMAILI; THE BATTLE BETWEEN SHAH ISMAIL AND ABUL-KHAYR KHAN FROM THE TARIKH-I ALAM-ARAY-I SHAH ISMAIL**

**Baha al-Din al-Amili** – an important religious authority in the Safavid Empire

**hasht bihisht** – Persian “Eight Paradises”

**Richard Ettinghausen** – (1906-1979) historian of Islamic art and chief curator of the Freer Gallery

<sup>16</sup> Kampfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskonigs*, p. 202.

<sup>17</sup> Mirza Muhammad Tunukabuni, *Qisas al-'ulama* (Tehran, r.i.d.), pp. 236-37; R.D. McChesney, “Four Sources on the Building of Isfahan,” *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 120.

<sup>18</sup> The painting in the *takiya* of Takht-i Fulad is also mentioned in Lutfallah Hunarfar, *Ganjina-yi athar-i ta-rikhi-yi Isfahan* (Isfahan, 1344/1965), pp. 545-6. Lushey-Schmeisser has recently published fragments of a tiled arch, presumably from Isfahan, that show a lion attacking a moustachioed man holding a dagger; see “Reiter,” pp. 63.2. She argues that this design was executed by Mu'in and represents another version of the drawing, *Tiger Attacking a Youth*. Given the formal and iconographic differences of the two works, as well as the lack of evidence supporting Mu'in's involvement in tile design, this hypothesis is open to question.

<sup>19</sup> See E. Mahler, *Wustenfild-Mahlerscke Vergleichungs-Tabellen zur muslimischen und iranischen Zeitrechnung mit Tafeln zur Umrechnung orient-christlichen Aren* 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1961); G. S. P. Free man-Granville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London, 1963).

<sup>20</sup> Jean Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1811), 7: 256.

<sup>21</sup> Coomaraswamy, *Miniatures orientales*, no. 84.

20 Shawwal 1082 (19 February 1672), but admitted that this date falls on a Tuesday instead of a Monday, as stated in the inscription.

A close look at the inscription suggests that *Tiger Attacking a Youth* was completed neither on 3 Shawwal nor 20 Shawwal but rather on 8 Shawwal.<sup>22</sup> Like the Feast of Ramadan, the calendar conversion tables show that 8 Shawwal 1082 was a Sunday instead of a Monday. Once again, when allowances have been made for the observation of the new moon, it becomes evident that Mu'in actually finished his drawing on Monday, 9 Shawwal on the official calendar. This date corresponds to Monday, 8 February 1672, but for contemporary Isfahanis, it was the 8th day of Shawwal. Thus, it would appear that Mu'in executed *Tiger Attacking a Youth* a week after the tragic death of the grocer's assistant to commemorate the event.

Inscriptions found on seventeenth-century Safavid single-page drawings and paintings tend to be quite uniform and standardized. In addition to the artist's name and the date, they may also mention the patron's name, the place of execution, and, in the case of portraiture, the identity of the sitter. In other words, these inscriptions provide the viewer with some basic facts pertaining to the creation and production of the composition. In some of Mu'in's later work, such as his portraits of Reza 'Abbasi and his double portrait of Mirza Muhammad Taqi, the inscriptions supply additional biographical information on the sitter.<sup>23</sup> In general, however, Safavid inscriptions tend to be primarily factual rather than descriptive. The inscription of *Tiger Attacking a Youth* includes not only the date and place of production, but also describes the work, and finally narrates events that bear no obvious relation to the composition itself. In fact, it represents the first known instance of a Persian painter commenting on conditions and events of his everyday life.

Mu'in's description of the harsh winter conditions may not represent the main subject of the composition, but the personal tone and carefully recorded details suggest the great importance of this passage. Mu'in must have considered the youth's harrowing fate as yet another tragedy at a time when most Isfahanis, including himself, were under great duress. The accident appears to have provided him with an opportunity to describe his plight and that of the people of Isfahan in general.

With short, hurried, and at times almost unintelligible sentences, Mu'in reports how eighteen snow storms had paralyzed the capital for almost seven weeks. Even at the very moment he was annotating his drawing, snow was still falling and he was confined to his house. To illustrate the extent of the cold, Mu'in makes a rather interesting observation on lines 18 and 19: he remarks that the temperature was such that no glass bottles (*shisha*) or rosewater bottles (*garraba-i gulab*) were left,



**ABBASI, REZA. SAKI.**

The Moraqqa'e Golshan. 1609.  
Golestan Palace

22 Ettinghausen, "Stylistic Tendencies," p. 607. Ettinghausen's misreading of the date stems from the orthographical similarity of the words "twentieth" (*bistum*) and "eighth" (*hashtum*).

23 For the portrait of Reza 'Abbasi, see n. 2; for the double portrait of Mirza Muhammad Taqi, see *Treasures of Islam*, cat. nos. 96, 97.



**ABBASI, REZA.**  
**PRINCE MUHAMMAD-**  
**BEIK OF GEORGIA. 1620**

**Jean-Baptiste Tavernier** –  
 (1605-1689) French traveller  
 and pioneer of trade with India

**Fr. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin,**  
**S.J.** –  
 (1881-1955) French Jesuit priest  
 trained as a paleontologist and  
 a philosopher

meaning that all liquid had frozen, cracking and shattering their containers, even those kept indoors. Given such difficult and trying conditions, it seems entirely natural that the artist should use the cost of firewood and kindling as another illustration of Isfahan's severe winter.

The monetary denomination Mu'in refers to is the *bisti*, "the twenty [dinar coin]."<sup>24</sup> According to J. Benn Simmon, "the coin designated as *bisti* in the seventeenth century had a weight which suited the ghost value of 20 dinars."<sup>25</sup> **Jean Baptiste Tavernier** claims that the *bisti* was an oval-shape silver coin but quite rare.<sup>26</sup> Mu'in's inscription suggests, however, that even if the coins themselves were no longer widely in circulation, the term *bisti* was still used as a form of currency denomination.

It is difficult to ascertain how high the cost of firewood and kindling had actually risen during the winter of 1672, but some other price references help to illustrate the relative monetary values in this period.<sup>27</sup> **Chardin**, for instance, maintains that in 1669 his servant paid 1½ *dinar* for one pound of barley, 4 *dinar* for bread, 1 *shahi* (50 *dinar*) for high-quality lamb's meat, 2 *shahi* and 6 *dinar* (106 *dinar*) for chicken, and finally, 4 *shahi* (200 *dinar*) for a hen.<sup>28</sup> In comparison, the price of 1 *man* (5.874kg.)<sup>29</sup> of firewood at 4 *bisti* (80 *dinar*) and that of 1 *man* of kindling at 6 *bisti* (120 *dinar*) do seem significant.

The high cost of goods in the later Safavid period becomes even clearer when selected contemporary wages are taken into consideration. According to Tavernier, a musketeer (*tufangchi*) earned four to five *tuman* annually (40,000-50,000 *dinar*), while a cavalryman (*gurchi*) earned between 9 and 15 *tuman* (90,000-150,000 *dinar*). These figures show that the daily earnings of a musketeer was about 125 *dinar* and that of a cavalryman averaged about 230 *dinar*. Thus, a musketeer would have to pay roughly a whole day's salary to buy about six kilos of kindling for heating.<sup>30</sup>

Difficult living conditions were not uncommon during the first years of Shah Sulayman's reign. According to Kampfer, for two years after the shah's accession to the throne in 1666, the country was ravaged by the plague and severe food shortages.<sup>31</sup> Chardin also comments on Iran's serious economic problems in 1667. He states that as a result of a bad harvest, the price of wheat rose sharply in Isfahan and led to acute bread shortages. As the next harvest was also projected to be poor, wheat merchants held on to their supplies in order to sell them later at an even greater

24 Only Ettinghausen has referred to Mu'in's discussion of prices in his translation; see "Stylistic Tendencies," p. 607. He translated the currency as *shay* (*shahij*), but this is a different denomination than the *bisti* mentioned in the inscription. For a discussion of Safavid currency, see n. 28.

25 J. Benn Simmons, "The Evolution of Persia's Monetary System between Safavid Power's Consolidation in 1502 and the Employing of Belgian Mint Management Experts in 1901," Ph.D. diss., King's College, Cambridge, 1977, p. 252. I am grateful to Chahryar Adle for consulting on my behalf with Venetia Porter, Steven Album, and Alexander Morton on the subject of Safavid coins.

26 Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Monsieur Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Escuyer Baron d'Aubonne, en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes, racontés par lui-même* 6 vols. (Paris, 1713), I: 167. An earlier edition of Tavernier's travels (Paris 1678), 2 vols., includes a reproduction of the *bisticoin*; see vol. 2, between pp. 626-27. During the Safavid period, other types of silver coins were also known. These were the *tuman*, the 'abbasi, the *muhammadi*, the *shahi*, and the *bisti*. One *tuman* was equivalent to 10,000 dinars, one 'abbasi was equivalent to 200 dinars or 4 *shahi*, 2 *shahi* equaled 100 dinars or one-half an 'abbasi, 1 *shahi* was the same as 50 *dinar* piece and, finally, 1 *bisti* equaled a 20-*dinar* piece. Two copper double *gazbak* or 5 simple ones made up 1 *bisti*. See H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, Medals, and Seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941* (Hertford, 1945), pp. 15, 17.

27 It should be noted that the prices and wages given below are only approximate.

28 Chardin, *Voyages*, 3: 293. The passage is also quoted in Muhammad Ibrahim Bastani-Parizl, *Siyasat va iqtisad-i 'asr-i Safavi*, 3rd ed. (Tehran, 1362/1983), p. 188, where Chardin's prices, given according to contemporary French currency, have been converted back into Safavid denominations.

29 For the conversion of weights, see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), p. 20.

30 Cornelis le Bruyn, who visited Iran in the early years of the eighteenth century, claimed that Isfahanis also used turf made from various types of dung for cooking purposes; otherwise, "the fire would cost more than the victuals." *Travels into Muscovy, Persia, and Part of the East-Indies*, 2 vols. (London, 1737), p. 228.

31 Kampfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskonigs*, p. 45.

profit. This crisis, coupled with the corruption, inefficiency, and the inability of government officials to control the situation, meant that famine was inevitable.<sup>32</sup> With regards to the execution of *Tiger Attacking a Youth*, Mu'in maintains that, as a result of the cold and snow, he was forced to stay at home where he completed the composition. By identifying his own house as the location where the drawing was carried out, Mu'in suggests that the independence of seventeenth-century painters from royal patronage and the royal *naqqash-khana*, or painting atelier, was growing. As none of Mu'in's extant oeuvre bears any direct reference to a *naqqash-khana* or library (*kitab-khana*), it is tempting to suggest that his other works may have also been executed at home, or at least outside the royal painting atelier. Only a few days later, on Saturday night, 14 Shawwal 1082 (13 February 1672), he completed another animal drawing – this time a resting lion, its right paw crossed over the left.<sup>33</sup> Was this tinted composition also done at home during the continuous spell of bad weather?

Mu'in was not the only painter to use his residence as a studio. According to the inscription on the *Reclining Man* (Freer Gallery of Art, 53.30), the drawing was completed at “the house of my brotherly protector, Aqa Mu'in.” Thus, Mu'in's house also served as the meeting place for colleagues and friends, where they probably gathered to exchange views, compare their latest designs, and work on new compositions.<sup>34</sup> Such meetings must have been fairly common in the latter part of the seventeenth century, for Chardin points out that, as a result of a decrease in royal commissions, artists and artisans of the royal household were granted permission to work elsewhere, including their own homes.<sup>35</sup> This artistic independence, acknowledged in drawings such as *Reclining Man* and *Tiger Attacking a Youth*, helps to explain, in part, the more informal themes and subject matter that became a characteristic feature of most later Safavid drawings and paintings.

Finally, Mu'in's otherwise carefully documented inscription does not mention for whom *Tiger Attacking a Youth* was created. Did Mu'in, in fact, execute the drawing for a specific patron or individual? Like Muhammad Qasim's *Youth Holding a Letter*<sup>36</sup> a drawing-cum-petition, Mu'in may have intended the composition as an “unofficial” petition for work during a particularly trying period. The drawing not only illustrated his artistic skills but also alluded to his difficult existence and his need for support.<sup>37</sup> The personal tone of the inscription, however, strongly suggests that Mu'in executed the drawing first and foremost for himself, even if he sold it at a



CHARDIN, JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON.  
SELF-PORTRAIT

32 Chardin, *Voyages*, 10: 2-3.

33 Anthony Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art: Prince Sadruddin Ago Khan*, 4 vols. (Geneva, 1972-78), 3:153.

34 See Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C., 1978), no. 37 bottom.

35 Chardin, *Voyages*, 7: 328-29.

36 Badri Atabay, *Fihrist-i muraqqa'at-i kitabkhana-yi saltanati* (Tehran, 1353/1974), album no 1629. For a discussion of this work, see M. Farhad, “Safavid Single-Page Painting 1642-1666,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987, cat. no. 29, pp. 124-27.

37 I am indebted to Gulru Necipoglu for suggesting this idea.

later date.<sup>38</sup> Much like an illustrated diary entry, *Tiger Attacking a Youth* represents a visual and written record of certain immediate events and personal preoccupations that became all the more poignant as a result of the artist's forced confinement. Thus, by using the youth's tragic death as a point of departure to describe the harsh winter and his own plight, Mu'in has left behind a most, unusual personal testimony as well as an important historical document on the later Safavid period.<sup>39</sup>

**SOURCE:** Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Washington, D, C,

#### Author's note

I am most grateful to Vishaka Desai (formerly of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), for allowing me to study and publish the drawing. I would also like to thank Marianna Shreve Simpson (Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art), Julia Bailey, and Giiiru Necipoglu (Harvard University) for all their help and suggestions.

#### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What function does Mu'in's painting fulfill?
2. Is there any confusion that surrounds Mu'in's painting?
3. Where did Mu'in compose his paintings? Why there?
4. For whom did Mu'in's create "Tiger Attacking a Youth"?
5. Do you see any political message in this art?

**A PERSIAN RUG  
DEPICTING AN OLD  
SCENE FROM THE  
TURQUOISE BLUE  
MOSQUE OF ISFAHAN**



<sup>38</sup> In fact, Coomaraswamy's translation of the inscription (no.84) concludes with the phrase, "*je vais dessiner pour ceta POUT medistraire*" (I will draw to distract myself), but the text does not actually corroborate this reading.

<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, none of Mu'in's contemporaries appear to have followed suit in writing similar personal accounts of their times. Some two hundred years later, however, the Qajar ruler Nasir al-Din Shah inscribed one of his photographs in a manner that recalls Mu'in's inscription. The similarity of the two inscriptions further supports the argument that Mu'in executed *Tiger Attacking a Youth* for himself. For a discussion of this photograph, see Chahryar Adle, "The Three 'Abbas Mirzas," *Ayandeh*, 13, nos. 1-3 (1987): 38.

## MICHAEL KIMMELMAN THE COLD WAR OVER THE ARTS

Michael Kimmelman is chief art critic of *The New York Times* and the author, most recently, of *The Accidental Masterpiece: On the Art of Life and Vice-Versa* (2006). On May 27, 2004, he wrote the review of David Caute's book *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War* and called his article "The Cold War over the Arts."

### Review

*The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War*  
by David Caute  
Oxford University Press, 788 pp.

In May 1961, the **Kirov Ballet** arrived in Paris. Its star was a peculiar, vain, and willful young dancer whom the company almost did not take with it on tour because Soviet officials could not be sure what he might do once he reached the West.

They had good reason to worry. **Rudolf Nureyev** stole the show at the Palais Garnier ("the strangest, and uncontestedly the most influential, personality – as well as the greatest technician – since **Nijinsky**, to whom he is the first ever to be so compared," reported **Janet Flanner**). Then, to the consternation of his Soviet minders, he made the rounds of Paris, befriending Clara Saint, fiancée of the late Vincent Malraux, visiting the **Louvre** with the English painter Michael Wishart, Francis Bacon's friend, and generally staying out until all hours. When the Soviet troupe was bussed to **Le Bourget** airport in June to continue the tour in London, Nureyev was informed that his mother had become ill (she hadn't) and that he must return home. A **Tupolev** aircraft was waiting for him.

He threatened suicide and somehow got word of his predicament to Clara Saint, who contacted the French police, who in turn instructed her that Nureyev would have to approach them. Authorities dispatched two plainclothes officers to linger at an airport bar. They were sipping coffee when Nureyev ran to them, demanding asylum. An official from the Soviet embassy arrived to protest, to no avail.

The West had its first front-page Soviet **defector**. Nine years later it was the ballerina Natalia Makarova who fled Russia. Then **Mikhail Baryshnikov** skipped out on the Kirov in Toronto in 1974, dashing from a company bus into a waiting car – the same year that Valery Panov, who in March 1972 had made the terrible mistake of officially applying for permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union to Israel, only to be banished from the Kirov and denounced by fellow dancers, was finally permitted to leave the country with his wife, Galina, in grudging response to a vigorous publicity campaign by Western politicians and artists.

### **Kirov Ballet** –

classical ballet company based at the Mariinsky Theatre in Saint Petersburg, Russia

### **Rudolf Nureyev** –

(1938-1993) Tatar-born dancer, regarded as one of the greatest male dancers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

### **Vaslav Fomich Nijinsky** –

(1890-1950) Russian ballet dancer and choreographer of Polish origin

### **Janet Flanner** –

(1892-1978) American writer and journalist who served as the Paris correspondent of *The New Yorker* magazine

### **Louvre** –

Paris, France. The most visited and one of the oldest, largest and most famous art galleries and museums in the world

### **Le Bourget** –

commune in the northeastern suburbs of Paris, France

### **Tupolev** –

Soviet passenger aircraft

### **defector** –

person who gives up allegiance to one state or political entity in exchange for allegiance to another

### **Mikhail Baryshnikov** –

Russian dancer, choreographer, and actor

- Georges Balanchine** – (1904-1983) one of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's foremost choreographers, and one of the founders of American ballet
- nostalgic** – a longing for the past, often idealized
- germane** – related in an important way
- Ludwig van Beethoven** – (1770-1827) German composer
- Schubert** – (1797-1828) Austrian composer
- Tchaikovsky** – (1840-1893) Russian composer of the Romantic era
- Caute** – (1936) British author, journalist and historian
- Communism** – ideology that seeks to establish a classless, stateless social organization, based upon common ownership
- Konstantin Simonov** – (1915-1979) Soviet/Russian author
- diatribe** – the name of a weekly column by Greek-Australian journalist
- James Alan McPherson** – American short story writer and essayist, and a recipient of the Guggenheim Fellowship in 1973
- Le Monde** – French daily evening newspaper
- Joseph Stalin** – (1878-1953) General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union's Central Committee from 1922 until 1953
- Adolf Hitler** – (1889-1945) chancellor of Germany from 1933, and Führer (Leader) of Germany from 1934 until his death
- Paul Joseph Goebbels** – (1897-1945) Nazi German politician, was Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda throughout the regime of Adolf Hitler from 1933 to 1945

Half a century before Panov emigrated, **Georges Balanchine** departed Bolshevik Russia. The word “defector” did not yet exist. He returned, reluctantly, in 1972 with the New York City Ballet. (“The audiences for most of the performances,” he rightly complained, “were party functionaries.”) Balanchine and his company arrived in the midst of the Panov furor. Fearing Soviet reprisals, including against Panov, Balanchine advised his troupe to avoid the outcast Soviet. Several dancers from the New York company visited Panov anyway. Their visits, said Panov, who revered Balanchine, “made Balanchine’s unwillingness to listen to my despair even harder to accept.” Such was the morass of personal politics, betrayal, and disappointment that was always behind the headlines during the cultural cold war.

David Caute’s excellent *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War*, which covers not just dance but music, art, theater, and film, evokes the extraordinary power that the arts were believed to have had in shaping politics and society in the postwar years. It is almost possible to feel **nostalgic** for this dangerous time when the high arts were treated as **germane** to world affairs and celebrated as nationalist propaganda. I recall traveling around the Soviet Union as a child during the 1960s and early 1970s; music and ballet were constantly touted as exemplifying the virtues of Communist life. As the son of a privileged guest, I was, if memory serves, ten when I was made an honorary Young Pioneer and received my little red kerchief and medal in a solemn ceremony with various other children in starched white shirts and dark trousers waving red flags on a warm May day in Moscow, after which everyone was treated to songs and chamber music by Pioneers, all of them around my age.

**Beethoven, Schubert, and Tchaikovsky** were part of these Pioneers’ everyday life. On later occasions, when I was old enough to be horrified by the Soviet system, I was still struck by the ubiquity of classical music on car radios and by the mobs of young Soviets at piano and dance recitals in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Tashkent. These are incidental recollections, perhaps slightly distorted by time, and meaningless except that, as **Caute** reminds us, high art was power once, and that era has passed.

I mean that the Soviet–US conflict framed aesthetic debates as it framed nuclear arms debates and debates about the virtues of the free market versus **communism**: it gave an urgency to matters of taste and style that frequently transcended the quality of the plays and movies and paintings and music being debated, much of which was absurdly bad. **Konstantin Simonov’s** *The Russian Question*, a Soviet play that premièred in 1947 and was staged in six hundred theaters, including in Berlin, became a focal point for early cold war tensions. Simonov was an apparatchik who wrote a vile **diatribe** in *Pravda* against the “anti-patriots” in Soviet theater, listing names, mostly of Jews. He campaigned for an “active and relentless ideological offensive” against the United States, of which *The Russian Question* was his model.

Its main character was a down-on-his-luck fictional American journalist named Harry Smith, a political progressive who once wrote a friendly book about Russia. MacPherson was the name Simonov gave to his tyrannical American newspaper publisher, a kind of **William Randolph Hearst**. Taking advantage of Smith’s need for money, MacPherson commissioned him to write a negative report about life in Moscow, but once in Russia, Smith could not betray his principles. “Have you noticed that more and more often the word ‘red’ is coming to mean the same thing as ‘honest’?” was a typical line.

Caute recounts how this drama, after receiving bad notices from Western journalists – an exception was **Le Monde** (“*une pièce vivante*”) – helped to win for Simonov the **Stalin Prize** and caused a ruckus in Berlin, where its staging was regarded by the US and Western European officials as an unprecedented act of outright cultural aggression by a



previous ally. “Politics have returned to the Berlin stage in as crude and crass a form as in the heyday of **Hitler** and **Goebbels**,” was *The Times* of London’s assessment.

In fact, the **Nazis** had been generally more adept propagandists, and in retrospect what’s significant about *The Russian Question*, of course, is that something so banal could have been taken at all seriously as propaganda – as were its American equivalents, execrable Hollywood red-baiting films of the 1940s and 1950s like Republic’s *The Red Menace* or RKO’s *I Married a Communist* or Warner Brothers’ *Big Jim McLain* starring John Wayne as a HUAC investigator hunting Communists on the Honolulu waterfront (“Operation Pineapple” was the hunt’s code name).

Obviously many good artists during the cold war were also inspired by the fact that what they did might matter to world affairs. **Solzhenitsyn**, **Prokofiev**, **Shostakovich**, **Ilya Kabakov** in the Soviet Union, and **Arthur Miller** and **Elia Kazan** in the United States were just a few examples of those who worked from very different perspectives but who, out of suffering or inner necessity or both, made memorable art from the circumstances of the conflict. For its part, the press gave the kind of attention to these works, and to other plays, books, films, symphonies, and tours by classical pianists and ballet companies, that today would be reserved only for a few commercial films, pop music acts, and reality television shows.

Caute’s book reminds us of the stupidity of some of the Soviet and American propagandists. Senator Jack B. Tenney on the Anti-American Activities Committee in California gravely announced in 1948 that investigators had “unmasked an irrefutable fact, that the Theatre Laboratories” – Tenney meant the Actors’ Laboratory Theatre – “accomplished two productions of some Russian guy called **Anton Chekhov**.” On the Soviet side, there were Party lackeys like the critic I. Kulikova, who lamented the preponderance in American college theaters of “detective and criminal plays” like *Murder in the Cathedral*. Caute also has an amusing chapter on the duels between national exhibitions of the 1950s, those **Potemkin villages** of Soviet and American life set up like vast trade fairs, with tractors and refrigerators replacing plays and books as instruments of propaganda. It was at one of these, in Moscow, that Vice President Nixon and **Khrushchev** famously debated in the kitchen of a model American ranch house, the same fair at which the benign offer to provide exhibition visitors with new toilets by the American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corporation was rejected by the Soviets, apparently fearful that masses of people might become infatuated with American plumbing and contemplate revolution.

Of course the struggle for cultural dominance was far more tragedy than farce. As **James Reston** put it, Soviet arts policy was a kind of **Victorianism**, but it was Victorianism enforced by a police state. **Pasternak** once told **Isaiah Berlin** about the time that the actor **Livanov** was scheduled to perform *Hamlet*. At a Kremlin reception, Livanov asked Stalin about how to play the part. “*Hamlet* is a decadent play and should not be performed at all,” said Stalin. So *Hamlet* was canceled in Russia. After Stalin died, Shakespeare was widely produced (in a way that, incidentally, he has not

#### **Nazism –**

officially called National Socialism – refers primarily to the ideology of the National Socialist German Workers Party, under Adolf Hitler

#### **Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn –**

Russian novelist, dramatist and historian

#### **Sergei Sergeyevich Prokofiev –**

(1891-1953) Russian composer who mastered numerous musical genres

#### **Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich –**

(1906-1975) Russian composer of the Soviet period

#### **Ilya Kabakov –**

Russian conceptual artist

#### **Arthur Asher Miller –**

(1915-2005) American playwright, essayist and author

#### **Elia Kazan –**

(1909-2003) Greek-American film and theatre director and producer

#### **Anton Chekhov –**

(1860-1904) Russian physician, short story writer, and playwright

#### **Potemkin villages –**

something that seems impressive but lacks substance

#### **Khrushchev –**

(1894-1971) leader of the Soviet Union after the death of Joseph Stalin

#### **James Barrett Reston –**

(1909-1995) prominent American journalist whose career spanned the mid 1930s to the early 1990

#### **Victorianism –**

name given to the attitudes, art, and culture of the later two-thirds of the 19<sup>th</sup> century

#### **Boris Leonidovich Pasternak –**

(1890-1960) Russian poet and writer

#### **Isaiah Berlin –**

(1909-1997) political philosopher and historian of ideas

#### **Vasily Borisovich Livanov –**

one of the most easily recognizable Russian film actors



**KLEE, PAUL.**  
**SELF-PORTRAIT**  
**ENTITLED**  
**“SENECIO”. 1922**

**Peter Hall –**

English theatre and film director

**anachronism –**

anything that is temporally incongruous

**Tennessee Williams –**

(1911-1983) major American playwright and one of the prominent playwrights of the twentieth century

**Jean Anouilh –**

(1910-1987) French dramatist

**Samuel Barclay Beckett –**

(1906-1989) Irish dramatist, novelist and poet

**Vsevolod Emilevich Meyerhold –**

(1874-1940) Russian theatrical producer and director

**Paul Klee –**

(1879-1940) Swiss painter of German nationality

**Marc Chagall –**

(1887-1985) Russian–Jewish painter

**Kazimir Severinovich Malevich –**

(1879-1935) painter and art theoretician, pioneer of geometric abstract art

**Emerson, Lake & Palmer –**

English progressive rock group

**Bob Dylan –**

American singer-songwriter, author, musician, and poet

**Arlo Guthrie –**

American folk singer

**Pablo Ruiz Picasso –**

(1881-1973) Spanish painter and sculptor

been in the United States arguably since the nineteenth century, when his works pervaded the repertory of popular theaters). But the young British director **Peter Hall**, upon returning from a hugely successful Shakespeare Memorial Theatre tour to the Soviet Union in 1958, expressed shock at the persistent **anachronisms** in the Soviet theater world and the lack of knowledge about the theater elsewhere. Chekhov’s *Three Sisters* used décor from 1905, he noted. He found educated Russians who had heard of Arthur Miller but not **Tennessee Williams, Jean Anouilh, or Samuel Beckett**. New plays seemed to Hall “unbelievably crude, sentimental and political.”

Sentimentality and a lack of awareness of modern developments in the arts were among the most commonplace complaints by Westerners attending Soviet cultural events. The paradox was implicit: change in the arts seemed a threat to a Marxist regime based on a doctrine of historical progress. Hélène Bellew, the Danish-born dancer, although admiring of the financial resources at the Bolshoi’s disposal when she visited Moscow in 1956, wondered how the spirit of twentieth-century experimentation and invention could have passed by the many choreographers and producers of this huge organization.... All the ballets performed are like perfectly kept period pieces, jealously preserved within their heavy, lavishly ornamented, nineteenth-century frames.

This was Balanchine’s observation, too. The same might also be said of official Soviet painting and sculpture, with its doctrinaire adherence to nineteenth-century styles.

As Cate describes it, there was, in fact, incremental change in the Soviet arts, but it could be instantly reversed. **Meyerhold**, Stanislavsky’s follower, was partly to be redeemed after Stalin’s death, notwithstanding the Soviet Union’s continuing ban on any mention of his arrest and torture, and his execution after being forced to denounce other artists as subversive. Something of the same could be said about the revival of Mayakovsky, “the *enfant terrible* of Bolshevik poetry and dramaturgy,” as Cate calls him, who became integral to the revival of expressionist drama in the Soviet theater in the 1950s.

By the early 1960s, a new era of cautious experimentalism, the result of the stirrings of a briefly tolerated dissident culture, dovetailed with avant-garde trends in the American arts – until this trend was derailed by the Brezhnev regime in 1968, with its violent purges of dissident artists. Cate recounts familiar stories of open-air exhibitions of unofficial paintings raided by police dressed in mufti, disguised as workers, who burned the art on bonfires and crushed it with bulldozers. Some artists were sent to mental hospitals. Aleksandr Kalugin, a dissident championed in the West, who said that he was inspired by **Klee, Chagall, and Malevich** – and who listened to recordings of **Emerson, Lake and Palmer, Bob Dylan, and Arlo Guthrie** while he worked – was ordered to stop painting abstractions. He lost his studio and was briefly confined in a psychiatric institution.

As diktats shifted, observing official Soviet standards became notoriously tricky: one day a play might be deemed insufficiently critical of bourgeois life; then, revised to be more negative, it would be judged insufficiently uplifting. “Formalism” was the usual Soviet charge against foreign artists and also against disgraced Soviet artists and critics, although it was often the content rather than the form of a work that caused trouble. It was the story of *Doctor Zhivago*, not Pasternak’s Russian prose, that got the book banned. **Picasso’s** art had, of course, been the model of formal decadence until he joined the French Communist Party, which caused, in Sartre’s splendid phrase, “the nausea of the Communist boa constrictor, unable to keep down or vomit up the



VLADIMIRSKI, BORIS. ROSES FOR STALIN.

1949. Oil on canvas, 100.5 x 141cm

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enormous Picasso.” Picasso was a Communist roughly in the sense that **Napoleon** was a democrat or Caesar a republican. Joining the Communist Party, as **Cocteau** put it, was Picasso’s first anti-revolutionary gesture, but he stuck dumbly with the Party even after Khrushchev’s speech in 1956 revealing Stalin’s crimes, which apparently appalled him. The Soviets rewarded him with an exhibition that drew enormous crowds in Moscow and Leningrad, modern art for the masses. The **hypocrisy** all around was stunning.

The US government reluctantly and fitfully became willing to endorse **formalism**, or modernist experimentation, as a metaphor for freedom of expression – cultural officials made a point of saying that American artists were free to make art that most Americans frankly couldn’t understand and didn’t like. This policy troubled conservatives like the outspoken Representative **George A. Dondero** of Michigan, who, in line with his counterparts at the Kremlin, considered abstraction something foreign, shady, and dangerously radical. In a sense, precisely because it played poorly with both the masses and people like Dondero, **modernism** was a credible propaganda weapon against the Soviets, for whom mass popular appeal and state approval were prerequisites for artists.

As for mass appeal, Cate has little to say about the American popular arts during the cold war. He sensibly devotes sections to Camus, Havel, Ionesco, and **Joseph Losey**, but he could have mentioned James Bond films, Rocky and Bullwinkle cartoons, and Grandma Moses. At one point he wonders whether, had the Soviets accepted and promoted, rather than rejected, Russian avant-gardists like Meyerhold and Malevich, the CIA, to be contrary, might have “resorted to cultural road-shows featuring **Andrew Wyeth**, Norman Rockwell, Sinclair Lewis, and *The Grapes of Wrath*.” In fact, Americans did export Grandma Moses and James Bond and Bullwinkle. Those cultural products got huge attention both at home and abroad during the cold war.

So too did the exhibitions of Soviet art treasures in the United States, a subject of much political intrigue, about which Cate, exhaustive in other ways, oddly says little. He leaves aside the battles between the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the Metropolitan Museum in New York, starting in the 1960s and 1970s over the loan to the US of Soviet and East European paintings and other objects. Here the power brokers **Armand Hammer** and **J. Carter Brown** were pitted against the roguish **Thomas Hoving** and then his successor, Philippe de Montebello. Those loan shows

**Napoléon Bonaparte –**

(1769-1821) dictatorial general during the French Revolution, the ruler of France as First Consul

**Jean Maurice Eugène Clément Cocteau –**

(1889-1963) French poet, novelist, dramatist, designer, boxing manager and filmmaker

**hypocrisy –**

the act of pretending or claiming to have beliefs, feelings, morals or virtues

**formalism –**

an emphasis on form over content or meaning in the arts, literature, or philosophy

**George A. Dondero –**

(1883-1968) Representative to the U.S. House of Representatives from the state of Michigan

**Modernism –**

a trend of thought that affirms the power of human beings to make, improve, deconstruct and reshape their built and designed environment, with the aid of scientific knowledge, technology and practical experimentation

**Joseph Losey –**

(1909-1984) American theater and film director

**Andrew Newell Wyeth –**

American realist painter, one of the best-known of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

**Armand Hammer –**

(1898-1990) American industrialist and art collector

**John Carter Brown –**

(1934-2002) director of the U.S. National Gallery of Art

**Thomas P.F. Hoving –**

American museum executive and consultant and the former director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



AGITPROP POSTER BY  
VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY

**criticism –**

judgement over the suitability of a subject for the intended purposes

**Stalinism –**

the political and economic system named after Joseph Stalin

**expressionism –**

the tendency of an artist to distort reality for an emotional effect

**individualism –**

belief that the rights and freedom of individuals are the most important rights in a group

**capitalism –**

economic system in which the means of production are mostly privately owned

**Pollock, Jackson –**

(1912-1956) influential American painter and a major force in the abstract expressionist movement

**Willem de Kooning –**

(1904-1997) abstract expressionist painter

**Frank Thompson, Jr. –**

(1918-1989) American Democratic Party politician from New Jersey

**patriotism –**

love of and/or devotion to one's country

were diplomatic feats and vastly popular; they served as propaganda that both softened the Soviet image in America and made available works (Scythian gold, pictures from Dresden) that had become basically inaccessible to the West.

Caute's book is a sane rebuke to various recent histories that exaggerate the cloak-and-dagger aspects of the cold war cultural debate and see conspiracies in all American cultural initiatives abroad. "The new **criticism**," as Caute calls it, "occasionally expresses token acknowledgement that **Stalinism** had to be resisted (of course) – before resuming sticking needles into the eyes of those who did resist it. This ritual 'of course' is shallow; the main enemy is always at home," i.e., in the West. He is right.

That revisionist generation of American cultural critics to which Caute refers emerged while the cold war was still on, during Vietnam and Watergate. They began to allege that there was a web of capitalist intrigue involving abstract **expressionism**, with its rhetoric of heroic **individualism**; the Rockefeller family, which had helped to found the Museum of Modern Art; the United States Information Agency, which exported American culture; and the CIA. In June 1974, Eva Cockcroft, in an influential article, mused in *Artforum* that CIA and MoMA cultural projects could provide the well-funded and more persuasive arguments and exhibits needed to sell the rest of the world on the benefits of life and art under **capitalism**. In the world of art, Abstract Expressionism constituted the ideal style for these propaganda activities.\*

This theory not only glosses over the art and artists themselves, like **Pollock** and **de Kooning**, who certainly weren't arguing with CIA handlers about how to paint better capitalist propaganda at the Cedar Bar, but also overstates the interest of institutions like MOMA in these artists during the 1950s. The Modern was, if anything, tardy in collecting and supporting the Abstract Expressionists who, in the revisionists' view, were presumed to be passive instruments of a devious American propaganda campaign. From the perspective of the early 1970s, such a campaign may have seemed akin to the covert bombing of Cambodia. A younger generation of commentators, similarly inclined toward what Caute calls "a unilateral cold war" view, have expanded upon this theory.

During the 1940s and 1950s American museums were in fact entirely open about working in concert with US government agencies and other world organizations to promote American art and architecture in the conflict with communism. Officials from the Brooklyn Museum, the Morgan Library, the American Museum of Natural History, and other institutions met with UNESCO representatives to discuss joint projects to promote democracy. Representative **Frank Thompson** of New Jersey presented to Congress a series of bills "to establish a program of cultural interchanges with foreign countries to meet the challenge of competitive coexistence with communism." He enlisted the support of MOMA's director, René d'Harnoncourt, whose concern then was not that the government was co-opting modern art for propaganda purposes but the reverse: he feared that, because of pressure from Dondero and others, the government was increasingly banning left-leaning American artists from state-sponsored exhibitions and was hostile to modernism. Speaking before Congress, Dondero railed against "the pen-and-brush phalanx of the Communist conspiracy," by which he meant the Abstract Expressionists, whom he called practitioners of an "abstractivism or nonobjectivity...spawned as a simon pure, Russian Communist product."

During the 1950s, the CIA and USIA were in fact reluctant to support artists whose **patriotism** conservatives questioned or whose art seemed too radically experimental. I have come across a confidential memo by Porter McCray, a Museum of Modern Art official, written to d'Harnoncourt in 1956, in which McCray noted that "in view of the USIA's present orientation," exhibitions "assembled under its auspices may become

increasingly conservative”; this, he said, left the museum with greater responsibility to organize these shows and promote advanced American arts abroad on its own.

Caute has collected similar evidence to counter the revisionists’ tendentiousness. He points out that what America, which is to say the US government and private museums like the Modern, sent to Europe and South America during the 1950s was in fact “a mixed bag of styles and movements, the result not only of political nervousness, compromise, and continual vigilante howling, but also of a common-sensical appraisal of European taste and opinion.”

Another book might someday be written about the long-term artistic effects of these cultural and propaganda efforts. The German painter **Gerhard Richter** once told me about the impact on him of encountering Jackson Pollock’s work for the first time. As a successful young social realist mural painter in East Germany in the late 1950s, he owned a car and could travel. In Kassel, West Germany, he came across works by Pollock and the Italian abstract painter **Lucio Fontana** at Documenta, the contemporary art show established to provide an ideological showcase for the latest modern art in a city directly on the border with the Communist East. Seeing Pollock and Fontana, Richter said, was his first firsthand encounter with real abstract painting. Back home in East Germany, a controversy had developed after a BBC report cited a Richter painting in a dimly modern vein to prove that formalism was not entirely dead in the East. But Richter realized, he said, that his work was backward, not daring; it was watered-down Picasso: “So I knew I had to leave, not because I was worried about the controversy but because I knew the controversy was about a bad picture. It wasn’t good enough to be controversial.”

Defecting the same year as Nureyev, in 1961, to Düsseldorf, like many Europeans he was drawn not to the Abstract Expressionists, on whom the revisionists concentrate, but to American artists of the next generation: **Roy Lichtenstein**, **Andy Warhol**, **Robert Rauschenberg**, and **Cy Twombly**. “Seeing Pollock and Fontana in Kassel had given me a sense of what it meant to be a modern artist and take risks,” Richter said, “but it was a distant admiration because they were a different generation. This was my generation.”

The Soviets improved literacy, subsidized ballet companies, and trained first-rate classical musicians, but they were, as Caute puts it, doomed to lose “the wider *Kulturkampf*” because “they were afraid of freedom and were seen to be afraid.” Caute adds:

If the West won the cultural war it was more by default than by artistic achievement. [It] could not present a playwright better than Brecht, a composer as popular as Prokofiev or Shostakovich, a ballet company superior to the Bolshoi, instrumentalists more skilled than Richter, **Oistrakh**, or **Rostropovich**.

Maybe so. But when Caute tries to reduce the competition to famous names and popularity – dubious standards – he is much too selective, ignoring, among others, Beckett, Harold Pinter, Balanchine’s New York City Ballet, and a host of émigré composers and musicians in the US, not to mention Russian artists banned in the Soviet Union, but admired in the West, from Malevich and **Tatlin** on. Meanwhile modern art



**RAUSCHENBERG, ROBERT.**  
**RIDING BIKES. 1998**

**Gerhard Richter** –  
prominent German artist

**Lucio Fontana** –  
(1899-1968) painter and  
sculptor

**Roy Lichtenstein** –  
(1923-1997) prominent  
American pop artist

**Andy Warhol** –  
(1928-1987) American artist  
associated with the definition  
of Pop Art

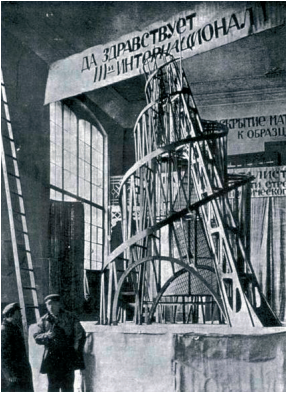
**Robert Rauschenberg** –  
American artist

**Cy Twombly** –  
American abstract artist

**David Fyodorovich Oistrakh** –  
(1908-1974) Jewish Soviet  
violinist

**Rostropovich** –  
Russian and American cellist  
and conductor

**Vladimir Yevgrafovich Tatlin** –  
(1885-1953) painter and  
architect



**TATLIN, VLADIMIR.**  
**MODEL OF THE**  
**MONUMENT TO THE**  
**THIRD INTERNATIONAL**



**WORLD WAR I**  
**PROPAGANDA POSTER**  
**DEPICTING COLUMBIA**  
**SOWING VEGETABLES**

**James B. Conant** –  
(1893-1978) chemist,  
educational administrator, and  
government official

**Paul LeRoy Bustill Robeson** –  
(1898-1976) multi-lingual  
American actor, athlete, bass-  
baritone concert singer, writer,  
civil rights activist

**Nelson Algren** –  
(1909-1981) legendary  
American writer

**McCarthyism** –  
term describing a period  
of intense anti-Communist  
suspicion in the United States

went through one phase after another in the West. Cate may be right that Western modernism would not have prevailed over Soviet realism to the extent it did if the Soviets had not tried so hard to stifle their own avant-garde. But what should be clear are the crudeness and distortion that result when attempts are made to enlist artists in a cultural war fought on such publicity battlegrounds as the Cannes Film Festival, the Tchaikovsky Piano Competition, and the Nobel Prize.

The cultural cold war was contradictory. The Voice of America's messages about artistic freedom had to compete with the humiliating appearance before Congress of **James B. Conant**, Harvard's former president and the United States high commissioner for Germany, testifying that he "would not be in favor of having books by Communist authors on the shelves" of United States libraries abroad. Some American leftist artists and writers – among them **Paul Robeson**, Arthur Miller, and **Nelson Algren** – were denied passports to travel abroad. Because of **McCarthyism** the US lost credibility in Western Europe. On the other side, the Soviet Union tried to promote star artists like Nureyev and Makarova in the West; but the Soviet regime was contemptuous of its more free-spirited artists and fearful that they might step out of line. Defections, as Cate shows, provoked a redoubling of Soviet oversight, neutralizing the favorable publicity they received by sending those artists abroad.

The toll to the souls of artists is now impossible to calculate. One reads Cate's book with a growing melancholy about squandered talents and broken lives.

#### NOTES:

\* See also Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* (University of Chicago Press, 1983), an influential and revisionist account.

**SOURCE:** Kimmelman, Michael. "The Cold War over the Arts". *The New York Review of Books*. VOLUME 51, NUMBER 9, MAY 27, 2004.

#### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What were the most commonplace complaints by Westerners who attended Soviet cultural events?
2. How was modernism used against the Soviets?
3. Was there "any cultural exchange" between US and the Soviet Union during the cold war?
4. In the revisionists' view, what role was placed on the Abstract Expressionists in the American propaganda campaign?
5. According to Cate, why were the Soviets doomed to lose "the wider Kulturkampf"?
6. Why was the cultural cold war contradictory? Bring examples.

## KWAME ANTHONY APPIAH WHOSE CULTURE IS IT?

**Kwame Anthony Appiah (1954- )** is a philosopher whose interests include political and moral theory, the philosophy of language and mind, and African intellectual history. He was born in London, raised in Kumasi, Ghana, and educated at Bryanston School and Clare College, Cambridge, where he earned a Ph.D. in philosophy. He has taught philosophy and African and African-American studies at the University of Ghana, Cambridge, Duke, Cornell, Yale, Harvard, and Princeton Universities. He is currently Rockefeller University Professor of Philosophy at Princeton. His other works are *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006), *The Ethics of Identity* (2005), *Thinking It Through: An Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy* (2003), *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (1992), and others



Kwame Anthony Appiah during a visit to Knox College

### I.

“There is no document of civilization,” **Walter Benjamin** maintained, in his most often-quoted line, “that is not at the same time a document of **barbarism**.” He was writing – some sixty-five years ago – with particular reference to the spoils of victory carried in a triumphal procession: “They are called cultural treasures,” he said, but they had origins he could not “contemplate without horror.”

Benjamin’s provocation has now become a commonplace. These days, museum curators have grown uneasily self-conscious about the origins of such cultural treasures, especially those that are archaeological in nature or that come from the global south. A former curator of the Getty Museum is now on trial in Rome, charged with illegally removing objects from Italy, while Italian authorities are negotiating about the status of other objects from both the Getty and the Metropolitan Museum. Greece is formally suing the Getty for the recovery of four objects. The government of Peru has recently demanded that Yale University return five thousand artefacts that were taken from **Machu Picchu** in the early nineteen-hundreds – and all these developments are just from the past several months. The great international collectors and curators, once celebrated for their perceptiveness and perseverance, are now regularly deplored as traffickers in, or receivers of, stolen goods. Our great museums, once seen as redoubts of cultural appreciation, are now suspected strongrooms of plunder and pillage.

And the history of plunder – the barbarism beneath the civility – is often real enough, as I’m reminded whenever I visit my hometown in the Asante region of Ghana. In the nineteenth century, the kings of Asante – like kings everywhere – enhanced their glory by gathering objects from all around their kingdom and around the world. When the British general Sir **Garnet Wolseley** traveled to West Africa and destroyed the Asante capital, Kumasi, in a “punitive expedition” in 1874, he authorized the looting of the palace of King Kofi Karikari, which included an extraordinary treasury of art and

#### **Walter Benjamin –**

(1892-1940) German Marxist literary critic, essayist, translator, and philosopher

#### **barbarism –**

extremely cruel and unpleasant behaviour

#### **Machu Picchu –**

(sometimes called the “Lost City of the Incas”) well-preserved pre-Columbian Inca ruin located on a mountain ridge 2,430m above sea-level

#### **Garnet Joseph Wolseley –**

(1833-1913) British army officer



**SCULPTURE OF  
HANUMAN IN TERRA  
COTTA**



**AMBER ROOM BEFORE  
WORLD WAR II**

**Robert Stephenson Smyth  
Baden-Powell** –  
(1857-1941) Lieutenant-General  
in the British Army, writer,  
and founder of the Scouting  
Movement

**poke about** –  
to look or search for something  
among other things

**Djenne-jeno** –  
site of the oldest known  
settlement in sub-Saharan  
Africa, dating from the third  
century B.C.E

**Ekpo Eyo** –  
Nigerian art historian and  
archaeologist

artefacts. A couple of decades later, Major **Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell** (yes, the founder of the Boy Scouts) was dispatched once more to Kumasi, this time to demand that the new king, Prempeh, submit to British rule. Baden-Powell described this mission in his book, *The Downfall of Prempeh: A Diary of Life with the Native Levy in Ashanti, 1895–96*.

Once the King and his Queen Mother had made their submission, the British troops entered the palace, and, as Baden-Powell put it, “the work of collecting valuables and property was proceeded with.” He continued:

There could be no more interesting, no more tempting work than this. To **poke about** in a barbarian king’s palace, whose wealth has been reported very great, was enough to make it so. Perhaps one of the most striking features about it was that the work of collecting the treasures was entrusted to a company of British soldiers, and that it was done most honestly and well, without a single case of looting. Here was a man with an armful of gold-hilted swords, there one with a box full of gold trinkets and rings, another with a spirit-case full of bottles of brandy, yet in no instance was there any attempt at looting.

Baden-Powell clearly believed that the inventorying and removal of these treasures under the orders of a British officer was a legitimate transfer of property. It wasn’t looting; it was collecting.

The scandals in Africa did not cease with the end of European empires. Mali can pass a law against digging up and exporting the wonderful sculpture made in the old city of **Djenne-jeno**. But it can’t enforce the law. And it certainly can’t afford to fund thousands of archaeological digs. The result is that many fine Djenne-jeno terra cottas were dug up anyway in the 1980s, after the discoveries of the archaeologists Roderick and Susan McIntosh and their team were published. The terra cottas were sold to collectors in Europe and North America who rightly admired them. Because they were removed from archaeological sites illegally, much of what we would most like to know about this culture – much that we could have found out had the sites been preserved by careful archaeology – may now never be known.

Once the governments of the United States and Mali, guided by archaeologists, created laws specifically aimed at stopping the smuggling of stolen art, the open market for Djenne-jeno sculpture largely ceased. But people have estimated that in the meantime, perhaps a thousand pieces – some of them now valued at hundreds of thousands of dollars – left Mali illegally. In view of these enormously high prices, you can see why so many Malians were willing to help export their “national heritage.”

Modern thefts have not, of course, been limited to the pillaging of archaeological sites. Hundreds of millions of dollars’ worth of art has been stolen from the museums of Nigeria alone, almost always with the complicity of insiders. And **Ekpo Eyo**, who once headed the National Museum of Nigeria, has rightly pointed out that dealers in New York and London have been less than eager to assist in their retrieval. Since many of these collections were well known to experts on Nigerian art, it shouldn’t have taken the dealers long to recognize what was going on.

In these circumstances – and with this history – it has been natural to protest against the pillaging of “cultural patrimony.”<sup>1</sup> Through a number of declarations from UNESCO and other international bodies, a doctrine has evolved concerning the ownership of

<sup>1</sup> I owe a great deal to the cogent (and cosmopolitan!) outline of the development of the relevant international law in John Henry Merryman’s classic paper “Two Ways of Thinking About Cultural Property,” *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (October 1986), pp. 831–853



many forms of cultural property. In the simplest terms, it is that cultural property should be regarded as the property of its culture. If you belong to that culture, such work is, in the suggestive shorthand, your cultural patrimony. If not, not.

Part of what makes the grand phrase “cultural patrimony” so powerful, I suspect, is that it conflates, in confusing ways, the two primary uses of that confusing word “culture.” On the one hand, cultural patrimony refers to cultural artefacts: works of art, religious relics, manuscripts, crafts, musical instruments, and the like. Here “culture” is whatever people make and invest with significance through their creative work. Since significance is something produced through conventions, which are never individual and rarely universal, interpreting culture in this sense requires some knowledge of its social and historical context.

On the other hand, “cultural patrimony” refers to the products of a culture: the group from whose conventions the object derives its significance. Here the objects are understood to belong to a particular group, heirs to a transhistorical identity. The cultural patrimony of Nigeria, then, is not just Nigeria’s contribution to human culture – its contribution, as the French might say, to a civilization of the universal. Rather, it comprises all the artefacts produced by Nigerians, conceived of as a historically persisting people: and while the rest of us may admire Nigeria’s patrimony, it belongs, in the end, to them.

But what does it mean, exactly, for something to belong to a people? Most of Nigeria’s cultural patrimony was produced before the modern Nigerian state existed. We don’t know whether the terra-cotta **Nok** sculptures, made sometime between about 800 BC and 200 AD, were commissioned by kings or commoners; we don’t know whether the people who made them and the people who paid for them thought of them as belonging to the kingdom, to a man, to a lineage, or to the gods. One thing we know for sure, however, is they didn’t make them for Nigeria.

Indeed, a great deal of what people wish to protect as “cultural patrimony” was made before the modern system of nations came into being, by members of societies that no longer exist. People die when their bodies die. Cultures, by contrast, can die without physical extinction. So there’s no reason to think that the Nok have no descendants. But if Nok civilization came to an end and its people became something else, why should they have a special claim on those objects, buried in the forest and forgotten for so long? And even if they do have a special claim, what has that got to do with Nigeria, where, let us suppose, most of those descendants now live?

Perhaps the matter of biological descent is a distraction: proponents of the patrimony argument would surely be undeterred if it turned out that the Nok sculptures were made by eunuchs. They could reply that the Nok sculptures were found on the territory of Nigeria. And it is, indeed, a perfectly reasonable property rule that where something of value is dug up and nobody can establish an existing claim on it, the government gets to decide what to do with it. It’s an equally sensible idea that, when an object is of cultural value, the government has a special obligation to preserve it. The Nigerian government will therefore naturally try to preserve such objects for Nigerians.



**YORUBA BRONZE HEAD  
SCULPTURE FROM THE  
CITY OF IFE, NIGERIA.  
C.12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY A.D.**

**Nok –**  
civilization appeared in Nigeria  
around 500 B.C

But if they are of cultural value – as the Nok sculptures undoubtedly are – it strikes me that it would be better for them to think of themselves as trustees for humanity. While the government of Nigeria reasonably exercises trusteeship, the Nok sculptures belong in the deepest sense to all of us. “Belong” here is a metaphor, of course: I just mean that the Nok sculptures are of potential value to all human beings.

## 2.

That idea is expressed in the preamble of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of May 14, 1954, which was issued by a conference called by UNESCO:

Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world....

Framing the problem that way – as an issue for all mankind – should make it plain that it is the value of the cultural property to people and not to peoples that matters. It isn’t peoples who experience and value art; it’s men and women. Once you see that, then there’s no reason why a Spanish museum couldn’t or shouldn’t preserve a Norse goblet, legally acquired, let’s imagine, at a Dublin auction, after the salvage of a **Viking** shipwreck off Ireland. It’s a contribution to the cultural heritage of the world. But at any particular time it has to be in one place. Why shouldn’t Spaniards be able to experience Viking craftsmanship? After all, there is no lack of Viking objects in Norway. The logic of “cultural patrimony,” however, would call for the goblet to be shipped back to Norway (or, at any rate, to Scandinavia): that’s whose cultural patrimony it is.

And in various ways, we’ve inched closer to that position in the years since the Hague convention. The Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in Paris in 1970, stipulated that “cultural property constitutes one of the basic elements of civilization and national culture, and that its true value can be appreciated only in relation to the fullest possible information regarding its origin, history and traditional setting”; and that “it is essential for every State to become increasingly alive to the moral obligations to respect its own cultural heritage.”

A state’s cultural heritage, it further decreed, included both work “created by the individual or collective genius of nationals of the State” and “cultural property found within the national territory.” The convention emphasized, accordingly, the importance of “prohibiting and preventing the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property.” A number of countries now declare all antiquities that originate within their borders to be state property, which cannot be freely exported. In Italy, private citizens are free to own “cultural property,” but not to send it abroad.<sup>2</sup>

That notion of “origination” is interestingly elastic. Among the objects that the Italian government has persuaded the Getty to repatriate is a 2,300-year-old painted Greek vase and an Etruscan candelabrum. (There are at least forty more objects at that museum that the Italians are after.) In November, the Metropolitan Museum in New York seemed close to a deal with the Italians to return a two-and-a-half-millennium-old **terracotta** vase from Greece, known as the Euphronios krater. **Rocco Buttiglione** of the Italian Culture Ministry has declared that the ministry’s aim was “to give back to



**NOK SCULPTURE,  
TERRACOTTA.  
LOUVRE, PARIS**

**Viking** –  
ship-borne explorers, traders,  
and warriors of the Norsemen

**terracotta** –  
(Italian: “baked earth”)  
waterproof ceramic

**Rocco Buttiglione** –  
(1948) Italian Christian  
Democrat politician and  
academic philosopher

<sup>2</sup> James Cuno, “US Art Museums and Cultural Property,” *Connecticut Journal of International Law*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 189–196.

the Italian people what belongs to our culture, to our tradition and what stands within the rights of the Italian people.” I confess I hear the sound of Greeks and Etruscans turning over in their dusty graves: patrimony, here, equals imperialism plus time.

Plainly, special legal problems are posed by objects, like Nok art, where there is, as lawyers might say, no continuity of title. If we don’t know who last owned a thing, we need a rule about what should happen to it now. Where objects have this special status as a valuable “contribution to the culture of the world,” the rule should be one that protects that object and makes it available to people who will benefit from experiencing it. So the rule of “finders, keepers,” which may make sense for objects of less significance, will not do. Still, a sensible regime will reward those who find such objects, and give them an incentive to report not only what they have found but where and how they found it.

For an object from an archaeological site, after all, value comes often as much from knowing where it came out of the ground, what else was around it, how it lay in the earth. Since these articles seldom have current owners, someone needs to regulate the process of removing them from the ground and decide where they should go. It seems to me reasonable that the decision about those objects should be made by the government in whose soil they are found. But the right conclusion for them is not obviously that they should always stay in the country where they were buried. Many Egyptians – overwhelmingly Muslims who regard the religion of the Pharaohs as idolatrous – nevertheless insist that all the antiquities ever exported from Egypt’s borders are really theirs. You do not need to endorse **Napoleon’s** depredations in northern Africa to think that there is something to be said for allowing people in other countries the chance to see, close up, the arts of one of the world’s great civilizations. And it’s a painful irony that one reason we’ve lost information about cultural antiquities is the very regulation intended to preserve it. If, for example, I sell you a figure from Djenne-jeno with evidence that it came out of the ground in a certain place after the regulations came into force, then I am giving the authorities in the United States, who are committed to the restitution of objects taken illegally out of Mali, the very evidence they need.

Suppose that from the beginning, Mali had been encouraged and helped by UNESCO to exercise its trustee-ship of the Djenne-jeno terra cottas by licensing digs and educating people to recognize that objects removed carefully from the earth with accurate records of location are of greater value, even to collectors, than objects without this essential element of provenance. Suppose they had required that objects be recorded and registered before leaving, and stipulated that if the national museum wished to keep an object, it would have to pay a market price for it, the acquisition fund being supported by a tax on the price of the exported objects.

The digs encouraged by such a system would have been less well conducted and less informative than proper, professionally administered digs by accredited archaeologists. Some people would still have avoided the rules. But mightn’t all this have been better than what actually happened? Suppose, further, that the Malians had decided that in order to maintain and build their collections they should auction off some works they



**PICASSO, PABLO.**  
**PORTRAIT OF**  
**GERTRUDE STEIN. 1906**

**Napoléon Bonaparte –**  
(1769-1821) dictatorial general  
during the French Revolution,  
the ruler of France

own. The partisans of cultural patrimony, instead of praising them for committing needed resources to protecting the national collection, would have excoriated them for betraying their heritage.

The problem for Mali is not that it doesn't have enough Malian art. The problem is that it doesn't have enough money. In the short run, allowing Mali to stop the export of much of the art in its territory has the positive effect of making sure that there is some world-class art in Mali for Malians to experience. But an experience limited to Malian art – or, anyway, art made on territory that's now part of Mali – makes no more sense for a Malian than it does for anyone else. New technologies mean that Malians can now see, in however imperfectly reproduced a form, great art from around the planet; and such reproduction will likely improve. If UNESCO had spent as much effort to make it possible for great art to get into Mali as it has done to stop great art getting out, it would have been serving better the interests that Malians, like all people, have in a cosmopolitan aesthetic experience.

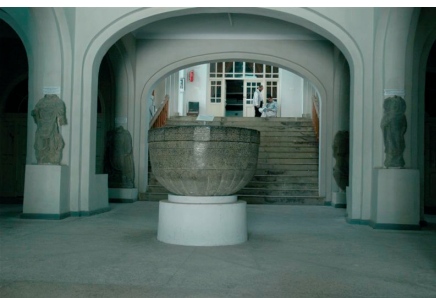
### 3.

How would the concept of cultural patrimony apply to cultural objects whose current owners acquired them legally in the normal way? You live in Ibadan, in the heart of Yorubaland in Nigeria. It's the early Sixties. You buy a painted carving from a young man – an actor, painter, sculptor, all-around artist – who calls himself "**Twin Seven Seven.**" Your family thinks it's a strange way to spend money. Time passes, and he comes to be seen as one of Nigeria's most important modern artists. More cultural patrimony for Nigeria, right? And if it's Nigeria's, it's not yours. So why can't the Nigerian government just take it, as the natural trustees of the Nigerian people, whose property it is?

The Nigerian government would not in fact exercise its power in this way. (When antiquities are involved, though, a number of other states will do so.) It is also committed, after all, to the idea of private property. Of course, if you were interested in selling, it might provide the resources for a public museum to buy it from you (though the government of Nigeria probably thinks it has more pressing calls on its treasury). So far cultural property is just like any other property.

Suppose, though, the government didn't want to pay. There's something else it could do. If you sold your artwork, and the buyer, whatever his nationality, wanted to take the painting out of Nigeria, it could refuse permission to export it. The effect of the international regulations is to say that Nigerian cultural patrimony can be kept in Nigeria. An Italian law (passed, by the way, under **Mussolini**) permits its government to deny export to any artwork currently owned by an Italian, even if it's a **Jasper Johns** painting of the American flag. But then most countries require export licenses for significant cultural property (generally excepting the work of living artists). So much for being the cultural patrimony of humankind.

Such cases are particularly troublesome, because Twin Seven Seven wouldn't have been the creator that he was if he'd been unaware of and unaffected by the work of artists in other places. If the argument for cultural patrimony is that the art belongs to the culture that gives it its significance, most art doesn't belong to a national culture at all. Much of the greatest art is **flamboyantly** international; much ignores nationality altogether. A great deal of early modern European art was court art or was church art. It was made not for nations or peoples but for princes or popes or **ad majorem gloriam dei**. And the artists who made it came from all over Europe. More importantly, in a line often ascribed to **Picasso**, good artists copy, great ones steal; and they steal from everywhere. Does Picasso himself – a Spaniard – get to be



**A VIEW INSIDE THE  
AFGHAN NATIONAL  
MUSEUM**

**Twin Seven Seven** –  
one of the artists who trained  
under Ulli Beire of the informal  
Oshogbo art school

**Benito Amilcare Andrea  
Mussolini** –  
(1883-1945) prime minister  
and dictator of Italy from 1922  
until 1943

**Jasper Johns, Jr.** –  
(1930) contemporary U.S.  
artist

**flamboyant** –  
very confident in behaviour,  
or intended to be noticed,  
especially by being brightly  
coloured

**ad majorem gloriam dei** –  
Latin: "For the greater glory  
of God"

**Pablo Ruiz Picasso** –  
(1881-1973) Spanish painter and  
sculptor

part of the cultural patrimony of the Republic of the Congo, home of the **Vili** people, one of whose carvings **Matisse** showed him at the Paris apartment of the American Gertrude Stein?

The problem was already there in the preamble to the 1954 Hague Convention that I quoted a little while back: “...each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world.” That sounds like whenever someone makes a contribution, his or her “people” makes a contribution, too. And there’s something odd, to my mind, about thinking of Hindu temple sculpture or **Michelangelo’s** and **Raphael’s** frescoes in the Vatican as the contribution of a people, rather than the contribution of the artists who made (and, if you like, the patrons who paid for) them. I’ve gazed in wonder at Michelangelo’s work in the Sistine Chapel and I will grant that Their Holinesses Popes Julius II, Leo X, Clement VIII, and Paul III, who paid him, made a contribution, too. But which *people* exactly made that contribution? The people of the Papal States? The people of Michelangelo’s native Caprese? The Italians?

This is clearly the wrong way to think about the matter. The right way is to take not a national but a trans-national perspective: to ask what system of international rules about objects of this sort will respect the many legitimate human interests at stake. The reason many sculptures and paintings were made and bought was that they should be looked at and lived with. Each of us has an interest in being able, should we choose, to live with art – an interest that is not limited to the art of our own “people.” And if an object acquires a wider significance, as part, say, of the oeuvre of a major artist, then other people will have a more substantial interest in being able to experience it. The object’s aesthetic value is not fully captured by its value as private property. So you might think there was a case for giving people an incentive to share it. In America such incentives abound. You can get a tax deduction by giving a painting to a museum. You get social prestige from lending your works of art to shows, where they can be labeled “from the collection of...” And, finally, you might earn a good sum by selling it at auction, while both allowing the curious a temporary look at it and providing for a new owner the pleasures you have already known. If it is good to share art in these ways with others, why should the sharing cease at national borders?

Here is a cautionary tale about the international system we have created. In the years following the establishment of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, curators at Afghan’s National Museum, in Kabul, grew increasingly worried about the security of the country’s non-Islamic antiquities. They had heard the mounting threats made by Islamic hard-liners who considered all figurative works to be blasphemous, and they confided their concerns to colleagues in other countries, begging them to take such artefacts out of Afghanistan for safekeeping. They knew about the destruction of an ancient Buddhist temple and its artworks by fundamentalist soldiers. They knew that centuries-old illuminated manuscripts kept in a library north of Kabul had been burned by Taliban zealots. They had heard the rumblings about a new wave of iconoclasm, and they took them seriously.



**TALIBAN IN HERAT.**  
**JULY 2001**

**Vili** –  
one of the Esir and a son of Bestla and Borr in Norse mythology

**Henri Matisse** –  
(1869-1954) French artist, noted for his use of color and his fluid, brilliant and original draughtsmanship

**Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni** –  
(1475-1564) Italian Renaissance painter, sculptor, architect, poet and engineer

**Raphael or Raffaello** –  
(1483-1520) Italian master painter and architect of the Florentine school in High Renaissance

Finally, in 1999, Paul Bucherer, a Swiss scholar who was the director of the Fondation Bibliotheca Afghanica, negotiated an arrangement with more moderate Taliban officials, including the then Taliban minister for information and culture, along with President Rabbani of the **Northern Alliance**. The endangered artefacts would be shipped to a museum in Switzerland that had been set up specifically for the purpose of keeping these works out of harm's way while the danger persisted. In the fall of 2000, Dr. Bucherer, with the help of Afghan museum officials, had crated up these endangered artefacts, ready to be shipped to Switzerland for temporary safekeeping. Switzerland, as a signatory of UNESCO treaties, simply required UNESCO approval to receive the shipment.

But while Paul Bucherer and his Afghan colleagues had managed to negotiate around the Taliban hard-liners, they hadn't counted on the UNESCO hard-liners. And UNESCO refused to authorize the shipments. Various explanations were offered, but the objection came down to the 1970 UNESCO Agreement on the Illicit Traffic of Cultural Objects, and its strictures against involving moving objects from their country of origin. Indeed, at a UNESCO meeting that winter, experts in Central Asian antiquities actually denounced Dr. Bucherer for trying to destroy Afghan culture.<sup>3</sup>

People I know who have visited the National Museum in Kabul recount what the staff members there have told them. Museum workers were ordered to open drawers of antiquities by Taliban inspectors, in the wake of Mullah Omar's February 2001 edict against pre-Islamic art. Here were drawers of extraordinary Bactrian artefacts and **Gandhara** heads and figurines. My friends recall the dead look in a curator's eyes as he described how the Taliban inspectors responded to these extraordinary artefacts by taking out mallets and pulverizing them in front of him.

Would the ideologues of cultural nativism, those experts who insist that archaeological artefacts are meaningless outside their land of origin, find solace in the fact that these works were destroyed by Afghan hands, on Afghan soil?

Only in March 2001, after the notorious demolition of the Bamiyan Buddhas, did UNESCO officials relent. Fortunately, Afghan curators, with nobody to turn to, took it on themselves to hide some of the most valuable archaeological finds.<sup>4</sup> These curators, including **Omara Khan Massoudi**, who is now director of the National Museum, did heroic work, and, today, UNESCO is helping with the restoration of damaged art. The problem in Afghanistan under the Taliban wasn't so much the behavior of UNESCO bureaucrats as the conception of their task imposed upon them by the community of nations. The threat comes from the idea that even endangered art – endangered by a state whose government threatens it precisely because they don't think it is a proper part of their own heritage – nevertheless properly belongs in the state whose cultural patrimony it is.

This is the ideology of the system to which the United States committed itself with the Senate's ratification in 1972 of the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. (Characteristically, perhaps, it took another decade for this decision to turn into an actual act of Congress.) UNESCO, like all UN bodies, is the creature of the system of nations; while it speaks of World Heritage Sites, it is nevertheless bound to conceive them as ultimately at the disposal of nations. Because what it unites are nations, not human beings, it is impotent when what humanity needs is not what some state has decided to do.

**Northern Alliance** –  
military-political umbrella  
organization of the Mujahideen  
who had defeated the  
Communist government and  
fought against the Islamic  
Emirate of Afghanistan

**Gandhara** –  
name of an ancient Indian  
Kingdom (Mahajanapada), in  
northern Pakistan and eastern  
Afghanistan

**Omara Khan Massoudi** –  
director of the Museums of  
Afghanistan

3 See [www.theartnewspaper.com/news/article.asp?idart=7995](http://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/article.asp?idart=7995); Carla Power, "Saving the Antiquities," *Newsweek*, May 14, 2001, p. 54

4 Carlotta Gall, "Afghan Artefacts, Feared Lost, Are Discovered Safe in Storage," *The New York Times*, November 18, 2004

We will do well to recognize that iconoclasm is as much an expression of nationalism as idolatry: the human community needs to find ways to protect our common heritage from the iconoclasts, even when they are the masters of nations.

When we're trying to interpret the concept of cultural property, we ignore at our peril what lawyers, at least, know: property is an institution, created largely by laws, which are best designed by thinking about how they can serve the human interests of those whose behavior they govern. If the laws are international laws, then they govern everyone. And the human interests in question are the interests of all of humankind. However self-serving it may seem, the British Museum's claim to be a repository of the heritage not of Britain but of the world strikes me as exactly right. Part of the obligation, though, is to make those collections more widely available not just in London but elsewhere, through traveling collections, through publications, and through the World Wide Web.

It has been too easy to lose sight of the global constituency. The American legal scholar John Henry Merryman once offered some examples of how laws and treaties relating to cultural property have betrayed a properly cosmopolitan (he uses the word "internationalist") perspective. "Though we readily deplore the theft of paintings from Italian churches," he wrote, "if a painting is rotting in a church from lack of resources to care for it, and the priest sells it for money to repair the roof and in the hope that the purchaser will give the painting the care it needs, then the problem begins to look different."<sup>5</sup>

So when I lament the modern thefts from Nigerian museums or Malian archaeological sites or the imperial ones from Asante, it's because the property rights that were trampled upon in these cases flow from laws that I think are reasonable. I am not for sending every object "home." Many of the Asante art objects now in Europe, America, and Japan were sold or given by people who had the right to dispose of them under the laws that then prevailed, laws that were perfectly reasonable. It may be a fine gesture to return things to the descendants of their makers – or to offer it to them for sale – but it certainly isn't a duty. You might also show your respect for the culture it came from by holding on to it because you value it yourself. Furthermore, because cultural property has a value for all of us, we should make sure that those to whom it is returned are in a position to act as responsible trustees. Repatriation of some objects to poor countries with necessarily small museum budgets might just lead to their decay. Were I advising a poor community pressing for the return of many ritual objects, I might urge them to consider whether leaving some of them to be respectfully displayed in other countries might not be part of their contribution to cross-cultural understanding as well as a way to ensure their survival for later generations.

To be sure, there are various cases where repatriation makes sense. We won't, however, need the concept of cultural patrimony to understand them. Consider, for example, objects whose meaning would be deeply enriched by being returned to the

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5 Merryman, "Two Ways of Thinking About Cultural Property," p. 852



MAKONDE CARVING. C.1974



BENIN BRONZES.

Photo. June 2005

setting from which they were taken – site-specific art of one kind or another. Here there is an aesthetic argument for return. Or consider objects of contemporary ritual significance that were acquired legally from people around the world in the course of European colonial expansion. If an object is central to the cultural or religious life of a community, there is a human reason for it to find its place back with them.

But the clearest cases for repatriation are those where objects were stolen from people whose names we often know; people whose heirs, like the King of Asante, would like them back. As someone who grew up in Kumasi, I confess I was pleased when some of this stolen art was returned, thus enriching the new palace museum for locals and for tourists. Still, I don't think we should demand everything back, even everything that was stolen; not least because we haven't the remotest chance of getting it. Don't waste your time insisting on getting what you can't get. There must be an **Akan** proverb with that message.

There is, however, a more important reason: I actually want museums in Europe to be able to show the riches of the society they plundered in the years when my grandfather was a young man. And I'd rather that we negotiated not just the return of objects to the palace museum in Ghana, but a decent collection of art from around the world. Because perhaps the greatest of the many ironies of the sacking of Kumasi in 1874 is that it deprived my hometown of a collection that was, in fact, splendidly cosmopolitan. As Sir Garnet **Wolseley** prepared to loot and then blow up the Aban, the large stone building in the city's center, European and American journalists were allowed to wander through it. The British *Daily Telegraph* described it as "the museum, for museum it should be called, where the art treasures of the monarchy were stored." The London *Times*'s Winwood Reade wrote that each of its rooms "was a perfect Old Curiosity Shop." "Books in many languages," he continued, "**Bohemian** glass, clocks, silver plate, old furniture, Persian rugs, **Kidderminster** carpets, pictures and engravings, numberless chests and coffers.... With these were many specimens of **Moorish** and **Ashantee** handicraft."

We shouldn't become overly sentimental about these matters. Many of the treasures in the Aban were no doubt war booty as well. Still it will be a long time before Kumasi has a collection as rich both in our own material culture and in works from other places as the collections destroyed by Sir Garnet Wolseley and the founder of the Boy Scouts. The Aban had been completed in 1822. And how had the Asante king hit upon the project in the first place? Apparently, he had been deeply impressed by what he'd heard about the British Museum.<sup>6</sup>

We understand the urge to bring these objects "home." A Norwegian thinks of the Norsemen as her ancestors. She wants not just to know what their swords look like but to stand close to an actual sword, wielded in actual battles, forged by a particular smith. Some of the heirs to the kingdom of Benin, the people of South West Nigeria, want the bronze their ancestors cast, shaped, handled, wondered at. They would like to wonder at – if we will not let them touch – that very thing. The connection people feel to cultural objects that are symbolically theirs, because they were produced from within a world of meaning created by their ancestors – the connection to art through identity – is powerful. It should be acknowledged. But we should remind ourselves of other connections.

**Akan** – ethnic group from West Africa

**Garnet Joseph Wolseley** – (1833-1913) British army officer with a reputation for efficiency

**Bohemia** – area of the Czech Republic

**Kidderminster** – town in the Wyre Forest district of Worcestershire, England famous for its carpets

**Moorish** – (culture of Moors) medieval Muslim inhabitants of al-Andalus

**Ashantee** – native or an inhabitant of Ashantee in Western Africa

<sup>6</sup> The quotations from the *Daily Telegraph*, *London Times*, and *New York Herald*, as well as the information about Osei Bonsu, are all from Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 200–201.



One connection – the one neglected in talk of cultural patrimony – is the connection not through identity but *despite* difference. We can respond to art that is not ours; indeed, we can only fully respond to “our” art if we move beyond thinking of it as ours and start to respond to it as art. But equally important is the human connection. My people – human beings – made the Great Wall of China, the Sistine Chapel, the Chrysler Building: these things were made by creatures like me, through the exercise of skill and imagination. I do not have those skills and my imagination spins different dreams. Nevertheless, that potential is also in me. The connection through a local identity is as imaginary as the connection through humanity. The Nigerian’s link to the Benin bronze, like mine, is a connection made in the imagination; but to say this isn’t to pronounce either of them unreal. They are surely among the realest connections we have.

**SOURCE:** Appiah, Kwame Anthony. “Whose Culture Is It?” *The New York Review of Books*. Volume 53, Number 2, February 9, 2006.

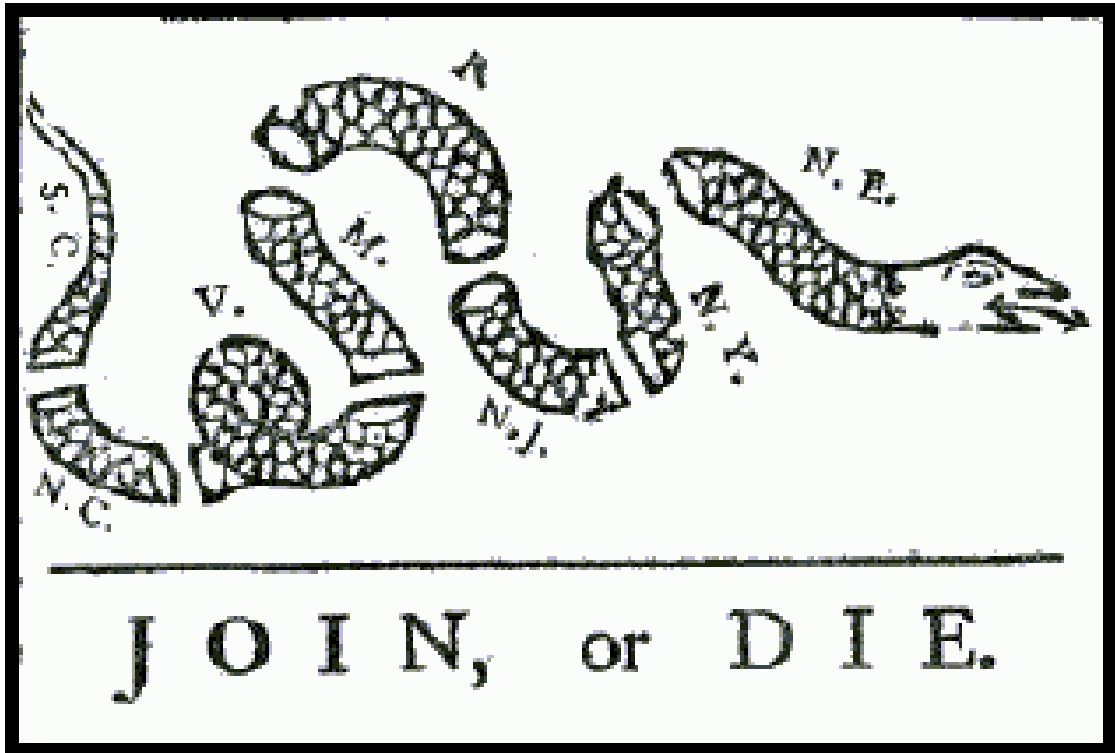
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#### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why are great museums once seen as redoubts of cultural appreciation, nowadays suspected of plunder and pillage? Can you give examples of such cases?
2. How should cultural property be regarded?
3. What should we do with an artwork, if we do not know who last owned a thing?
4. What could Government do if it does not want to pay you for an artwork which you have bought from the local artist a long time ago? Why does the author find such cases particularly troublesome?
5. What role did UNESCO play in “the preservation” of the artefacts during the Taliban regime in Afghanistan? Does the author condemn or justify the position of UNESCO regarding these artefacts?
6. What is the author’s position on returning the artefacts to the poor home countries? Do you support the author’s viewpoint? What is your opinion on this issue? Explain.



THE CHRYSLER BUILDING



**JOIN OR DIE.**

This political cartoon (attributed to Benjamin Franklin) originally appeared during the French and Indian War, but was recycled to encourage the American colonies to unite against British rule.

## RONALD DWORKIN EVEN BIGOTS AND HOLOCAUST DENIERS MUST HAVE THEIR SAY

Ronald Dworkin (1931- ) is an American legal philosopher, and currently professor of Jurisprudence at University College London and the New York University School of Law. He is known for his contributions to legal philosophy and political philosophy. His major works are *Taking Rights Seriously* (1977), *Law's Empire* (1986), *Philosophical Issues in Senile Dementia* (1987), *A Bill of Rights for Britain* (1990), *Life's Dominion* (1993), *Freedom's Law* (1996), *Sovereign Virtue: The Theory and Practice of Equality* (2000), *Justice in Robes* (2006), *Is Democracy Possible Here? Principles for a New Political Debate* (2006)

The British media were right not to publish the Danish cartoons, but that doesn't mean freedom of speech should have limits.

The British media were right, on balance, not to republish the Danish cartoons that millions of furious Muslims protested against in violent and terrible destruction around the world. Reprinting would very likely have meant more people killed and more property destroyed. It would have caused many British Muslims great pain because they would have been told that the publication was intended to show contempt for their religion, and though that perception would have been inaccurate and unjustified the pain would nevertheless have been genuine. True, readers and viewers who have been following the story might well have wanted to judge the cartoons' impact, humour and offensiveness for themselves, and the media might therefore have felt some responsibility to provide that opportunity. But the public does not have a right to read or see whatever it wants no matter what the cost, and the cartoons are in any case widely available on the internet.

Sometimes the media's self-censorship means the loss of significant information, argument, literature or art, but not in this case. Not publishing may seem to give a victory to the fanatics who instigated the violence and therefore incite them to similar tactics in the future. But there is some evidence that the wave of rioting and destruction - suddenly, four months after the cartoons were first published - was orchestrated from the Middle East for larger political reasons. If that analysis is correct, then keeping the issue boiling by fresh republications would actually serve the interests of those responsible and reward their strategies of terror.

There is a real danger, however, that the decision of British media not to publish, though wise, will be wrongly taken as an endorsement of the widely held opinion that freedom of speech has limits, that it must be balanced against the virtues of **multiculturalism**, and that the government was right after all to propose that it be made a crime to publish anything "abusive or insulting" to a religious group. Freedom of speech is not just a special and distinctive emblem of western culture that might be generously abridged or qualified as a measure of respect for other cultures that reject it, the way a crescent or menorah might be added to a Christian religious display. Free speech is a condition of legitimate government. Laws and policies are not legitimate unless they have been adopted through a democratic process, and a process is not democratic if government has prevented anyone



**WILLIAMS, GREG.**  
**A COLOURED-PENCIL**  
**CARICATURE OF FILM**  
**COMEDIAN CHARLIE**  
**CHAPLIN. 1990**

### Multiculturalism –

ideology advocating that society should consist of, or at least allow and include, distinct cultural groups, with equal status



CRANACH D. Ä., LUCAS.  
THE ANTICHRIST. 1521



1876 US CARTOON FROM  
HARPER'S WEEKLY  
MAGAZINE

from expressing his convictions about what those laws and policies should be. Ridicule is a distinct kind of expression; its substance cannot be repackaged in a less offensive rhetorical form without expressing something very different from what was intended. That is why cartoons and other forms of ridicule have for centuries, even when illegal, been among the most important weapons of both noble and wicked political movements.

So in a democracy no one, however powerful or impotent, can have a right not to be insulted or offended. That principle is of particular importance in a nation that strives for racial and ethnic fairness. If weak or unpopular minorities wish to be protected from economic or legal discrimination by law - if they wish laws enacted that prohibit discrimination against them in employment, for instance - then they must be willing to tolerate whatever insults or ridicule people who oppose such legislation wish to offer to their fellow voters, because only a community that permits such insult may legitimately adopt such laws. If we expect **bigots** to accept the verdict of the majority once the majority has spoken, then we must permit them to express their bigotry in the process whose verdict we ask them to respect. Whatever multiculturalism means - whatever it means to call for increased "respect" for all citizens and groups - these virtues would be self-defeating if they were thought to justify official censorship.

Muslims who are outraged by the Danish cartoons point out that in several European countries it is a crime publicly to deny, as the president of Iran has denied, that the Holocaust ever took place. They say that western concern for free speech is therefore only self-serving hypocrisy, and they have a point. But of course the remedy is not to make the compromise of democratic legitimacy even greater than it already is but to work toward a new understanding of the European convention on human rights that would strike down the Holocaust-denial law and similar laws across Europe for what they are: violations of the freedom of speech that that convention demands.

It is often said that religion is special, because people's religious convictions are so central to their personalities that they should not be asked to tolerate ridicule in that dimension, and because they might feel a religious duty to strike back at what they take to be **sacrilege**. Britain has apparently embraced that view because it retains the crime of blasphemy, though only for insults to Christianity. But we cannot make an exception for religious insult if we want to use law to protect the free exercise of religion in other ways. If we want to forbid the police from profiling people who look or dress like Muslims for special searches, for example, we cannot also forbid people from opposing that policy by claiming, in cartoons or otherwise, that Islam is committed to terrorism, however silly we think that opinion is. Religion must be tailored to democracy, not the other way around. No religion can be permitted to legislate for everyone about what can or cannot be drawn any more than it can legislate about what may or may not be eaten. No one's religious convictions can be thought to trump the freedom that makes democracy possible.

Ronald Dworkin is professor of law at University College London. His book, *Justice in Robes*, is published in April.

**SOURCE:** Dworkin, Ronald. "Even Bigots and Holocaust Deniers Must Have Their Say". *Guardian*. 14 Feb. 2006. 16 Nov. 2006.

< <http://www.guardian.co.uk/cartoonprotests/story/0,,1709373,00.html> >

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Is the media responsible for the publishing of Danish cartoons?
2. Why have cartoons and other forms of ridicule been among the most important weapons of political movements?
3. Do you agree that "religion must be tailored to democracy"?

#### bigot –

prejudiced person who is intolerant of opinions, lifestyles, or identities differing from his or her own

#### sacrilege –

violation or injurious treatment of a sacred object

## ORHAN RAMUK MY NAME IS RED

Ferit Orhan Pamuk (1952-) is a Nobel Prize (2006) winning Turkish novelist, the first from his country. Pamuk is often regarded as a post-modern writer. He is the recipient of numerous national and international literary awards. He wrote *My Name is Red* in 2001. His other works are *The White Castle* (1991), *The Black Book* (1994), *The New Life* (1997), *Snow* (2004), *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (2005)

### I AM YOUR BELOVED UNCLE

I am Black's maternal uncle, his enishte, but others also call me "Enishte." There was a time when Black's mother encouraged him to address me as "**Enishte Effendi**," and later, not only Black, but everyone began referring to me that way. Thirty years ago, after we'd moved to the dark and humid street shaded by chestnut and linden trees beyond the **Aksaray** district, Black began to make frequent visits to our house. That was our residence before this one. If I were away on summer campaign with **Mahmut Pasha**, I'd return in the autumn to discover that Black and his mother had taken refuge in our home. Black's mother, may she rest in peace, was the older sister of my dearly departed wife. There were times on winter evenings I'd come home to find my wife and his mother embracing and tearfully consoling each other. Black's father, who could never maintain his teaching posts at the remote little religious schools where he taught, was ill-tempered, angry and had a weakness for drink. Black was six years old at the time; he'd cry when his mother cried, quiet down when his mother fell silent and regarded me, his Enishte, with apprehension.

It pleases me to see him before me now, a determined, mature and respectful nephew. The respect he shows me, the care with which he kisses my hand and presses it to his forehead, the way, for example, he said, "Purely for red," when he presented me with the Mongol inkpot as a gift, and his polite and demure habit of sitting before me with his knees mindfully together; all of this not only announces that he is the sensible grown man he aspires to be, but it reminds me that I am indeed the venerable elder I aspire to be.

He shares a likeness with his father, whom I've seen once or twice: He's tall and thin, and makes slightly nervous yet becoming gestures with his arms and hands. His custom of placing his hands on his knees or of staring deeply and intently into my eyes as if to say, "I understand, I'm listening to you with reverence" when I tell him something of import, or the way he nods his head with a subtle rhythm matching the measure of my words are all quite appropriate. Now that I've reached this age, I know that true respect arises not from the heart, but from discrete rules and deference.



**Enishte Effendi** –

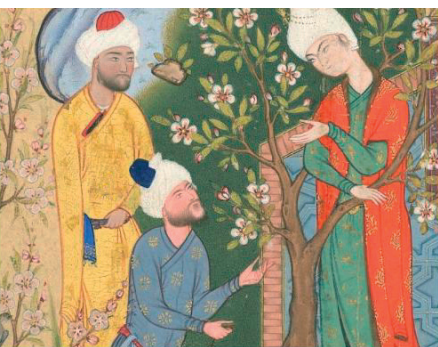
Black's maternal uncle

**Aksaray** –

city in Turkey located in  
Central Anatolia

**Mahmut Nedim Pasha** –

(1818-1883) Turkish statesman



#### YOUTH AND SUITORS.

Miniature illustration from the Haft Awrang (Seven Thrones) of Jami. (in an illuminated manuscript produced between 1556 and 1565 in Mashhad, Iran)

During the years Black's mother brought him frequently to our house under every pretense because she anticipated a future for him here, I understood that books pleased him, and this brought us together. As those in the house used to put it, he would serve as my "apprentice." I explained to him how miniaturists in **Shiraz** had created a new style by raising the horizon line clear to the top of the border, and that while everyone depicted **Mejnun** in a wretched state in the desert, crazed with love for his Leyla, the great master **Bihzad** was better able to convey Mejnun's loneliness by portraying him walking among groups of women cooking, attempting to ignite logs by blowing on them or walking between tents. I remarked how absurd it was that most of the illustrators who depicted the moment when **Husrev** spied the naked **Shirin** bathing in a lake at midnight had whimsically colored the lovers' horses and clothes without having read **Nizami's** poem, my point being that a miniaturist who took up a brush without the care and diligence to read the text he was illustrating was motivated by nothing more than greed.

I'm delighted now to see that Black has acquired another essential virtue: To avoid disappointment in art, one mustn't treat it as a career. Despite whatever great artistic sense and talent a man might possess, he ought to seek money and power elsewhere to avoid forsaking his art when he fails to receive proper compensation for his gifts and efforts.

Black recounted how he'd met one by one all of the master illustrators and calligraphers of **Tabriz** by making books for pashas, wealthy Istanbulites and patrons in the provinces. All these artists, I learned, were impoverished and overcome by the futility of their lot. Not only in Tabriz, but in **Mashhad** and **Aleppo**, many miniaturists had abandoned working on books and begun making odd single-leaf pictures – curiosities that would please European travelers – even obscene drawings. Rumor has it that the illuminated manuscript Shah Abbas presented to Our Sultan during the Tabriz peace treaty has already been taken apart so its pages could be used for another book. Supposedly, the Emperor of Hindustan, Akbar, was throwing so much money around for a large new book that the most gifted illustrators of Tabriz and Kazvin quit what they were doing and flocked to his palace.

As he told me all of this, he pleasantly interjected other stories as well; for example, he described with a smile the entertaining story of a Mehdi forgery or the frenzy that erupted among the Uzbeks when the idiot prince sent to them by the **Safavids** as a hostage to peace fell feverishly ill and dropped dead within three days. Even so, I could tell from the shadow that fell across his face that the dilemma to which neither of us referred, but which troubled us both, had yet to be resolved.

Naturally, Black, like every young man who frequented our house or heard what others had to say about us, or who knew about my beautiful daughter, **Shekure**, from hearsay, had fallen in love with her. Perhaps I didn't consider it dangerous enough to warrant my attention back then, but everyone – including many who'd never laid eyes on her – fell in love with my daughter, that belle of belles. Black's affliction was the overwhelming passion of an ill-fated youth who had free access to our house, who was accepted and well liked in our home and who had the opportunity actually to see Shekure. He did not bury his love, as I hoped he would, but made the mistake of revealing his extreme passion to my daughter.

As a result, he was forced to quit our house completely.

I assumed that Black now also knew how three years after he'd left Istanbul, my daughter married a **Sipahi** cavalryman, at the height of her loveliness, and that this soldier, having fathered two boys but still bereft of any common sense, had gone off on

#### **Shiraz –**

city in southwest Iran

#### **Layla and Majnun –**

or Qays and Layla, classic Middle-Eastern love story

#### **Kamal al-din Bihzad –**

or Kamaledin Behzad (1450-1535) Persian miniaturist

#### **Husrev and Shirin –**

classic Middle-Eastern love story

#### **Nezami Ganjavi –**

(1141-1209) considered the greatest romantic epic poet in Persian literature

#### **Tabriz –**

the largest city in north-western Iran

#### **Mashhad –**

the second largest city in Iran

#### **Aleppo –**

(or Halab Arabic) city in northern Syria

#### **Safavids –**

(1501-1722) considered as the greatest Iranian Empire

#### **Shekure –**

Enishte's daughter with whom Black is in love

#### **Sipahi –**

the name of an Ottoman cavalry corps

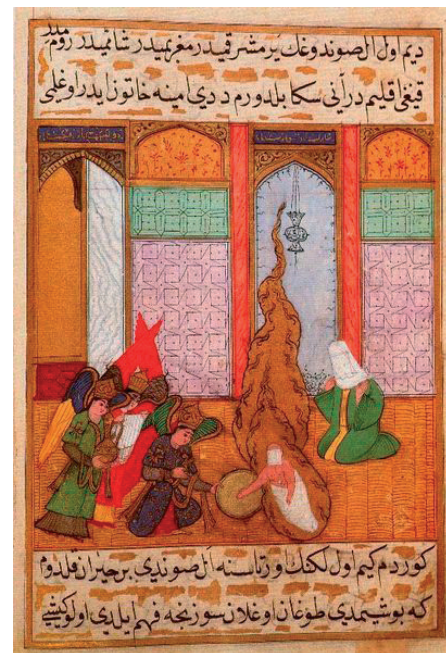
a campaign never to return again. No one had heard from the cavalryman in four years. I gathered he was aware of this, not only because such gossip spreads fast in Istanbul, but because during the silences that passed between us, I felt he'd learned the whole story long ago, judging by the way he looked into my eyes. Even at this moment, as he casts an eye at the Book of the Soul, which stands open on the folding X-shaped reading stand, I know he's listening for the sounds of her children running through the house; I know he's aware that my daughter has returned here to her father's house with her two sons.

I've neglected to mention the new house I had built in Black's absence. Most likely, Black, like any young fellow who'd set his mind to becoming a man of wealth and prestige, considered it quite discourteous to broach such a subject. Still, when we entered, I told him on the staircase that the second floor was always less humid, and that moving upstairs had served to ease the pains in my joints. When I said "the second floor," I felt oddly embarrassed, but let me tell you: Men with much less money than I, even simple sipahi cavalrymen with tiny military fiefs, will soon be able to build two-storey houses.

We were in the room with the blue door that I used as the painting workshop in winter, and I sensed that Black was aware of Shekure's presence in the adjacent room. I at once disclosed to him the matter that inspired the letter I'd sent to Tabriz, inviting him to Istanbul.

"Just as you did in concert with the calligraphers and miniaturists of Tabriz, I, too, have been preparing an illustrated manuscript," I said. "My client is, in fact, His Excellency Our Sultan, the Foundation of the World. Because this book is a secret, Our Sultan has disbursed payment to me under cover of the Head Treasurer. And I have come to an understanding with each of the most talented and accomplished artists of Our Sultan's atelier. I have been in the process of commissioning one of them to illustrate a dog, another a tree, a third I've charged with making border designs and clouds on the horizon, and yet another is responsible for the horses. I wanted the things I depicted to represent Our Sultan's entire world, just as in the paintings of the Venetian masters. But unlike the Venetians, my work would not merely depict material objects, but naturally the inner riches, the joys and fears of the realm over which Our Sultan rules. If I ended up including the picture of a gold coin, it was to belittle money; I included Death and Satan because we fear them. I don't know what the rumors are about. I wanted the immortality of a tree, the weariness of a horse and the vulgarity of a dog to represent His Excellency Our Sultan and His worldly realm. I also wanted my cadre of illustrators, nicknamed 'Stork,' 'Olive,' 'Elegant' and 'Butterfly,' to select subjects of their own choosing. On even the coldest, most forbidding winter evenings, one of my Sultan's illustrators would secretly visit to show me what he'd prepared for the book.

"What kind of pictures were we making? Why were we illustrating them in that way? I can't really answer you at present. Not because I'm withholding a secret from you, and not because I won't eventually tell you. It's as though I myself don't quite know what the pictures mean. I do, however, know what kind of paintings they ought to be."



**BIRTH OF MUHAMMAD.**

16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman illustration of the *Siyer-i Nebi*

Four months after I sent my letter, I heard from the barber located on the street where we used to live that Black had returned to Istanbul, and, in turn, I invited him to our house. I was fully aware that my story bore a promise of both sorrow and bliss that would bind the two of us together.

“Every picture serves to tell a story,” I said. “The miniaturist, in order to beautify the manuscript we read, depicts the most vital scenes: the first time lovers lay eyes on each other; the hero **Rustam** cutting off the head of a devilish monster; Rustem’s grief when he realizes that the stranger he’s killed is his son; the love-crazed Mejnun as he roams a desolate and wild Nature among lions, tigers, stags and jackals; the anguish of Alexander, who, having come to the forest before a battle to divine its outcome from the birds, witnesses a great falcon tear apart his woodcock. Our eyes, fatigued from reading these tales, rest upon the pictures. If there’s something within the text that our intellect and imagination are at pains to conjure, the illustration comes at once to our aid. The images are the story’s blossoming in color. But painting without its accompanying story is an impossibility.

“Or so I used to think,” I added, as if regretfully. “But this is indeed quite possible. Two years ago I traveled once again to Venice as the Sultan’s ambassador. I observed at length the portraits that the Venetian masters had made. I did so without knowing to which scene and story the pictures belonged, and I struggled to extract the story from the image. One day, I came across a painting hanging on a **palazzo** wall and was dumbfounded.

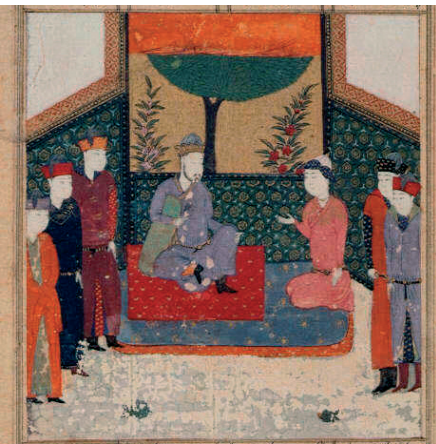
“More than anything, the image was of an individual, somebody like myself. It was an infidel, of course, not one of us. As I stared at him, though, I felt as if I resembled him. Yet he didn’t resemble me at all. He had a full round face that seemed to lack cheekbones, and moreover, he had no trace of my marvellous chin. Though he didn’t look anything like me, as I gazed upon the picture, for some reason, my heart fluttered as if it were my own portrait.

“I learned from the Venetian gentleman who was giving me a tour through his palazzo that the portrait was of a friend, a nobleman like himself. He had included whatever was significant in his life in his portrait: In the background landscape visible from the open window there was a farm, a village and a blending of color which made a realistic-looking forest. Resting on the table before the nobleman were a clock, books, Time, Evil, Life, a calligraphy pen, a map, a compass, boxes containing gold coins, **bric-a-brac**, odds and ends, inscrutable yet distinguishable things that were probably included in many pictures, shadows of jinns and the Devil and also, the picture of the man’s stunningly beautiful daughter as she stood beside her father.

“What was the narrative that this representation was meant to embellish and complete? As I regarded the work, I slowly sensed that the underlying tale was the picture itself. The painting wasn’t the extension of a story at all, it was something in its own right.

“I never forgot the painting that bewildered me so. I left the palazzo, returned to the house where I was staying as a guest and pondered the picture the entire night. I, too, wanted to be portrayed in this manner. But, no, that wasn’t appropriate, it was Our Sultan who ought to be thus portrayed! Our Sultan ought to be rendered along with everything He owned, with the things that represented and constituted His realm. I settled on the notion that a manuscript could be illustrated according to this idea.

“The Venetian virtuoso had made the nobleman’s picture in such a way that you would immediately know which particular nobleman it was. If you’d never seen that man, if they told you to pick him out of a crowd of a thousand others, you’d be able



**AYAZ KNEELING BEFORE SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.**

A miniature painting from a fifteenth century manuscript, “Six poems” by Farid al-Din ‘Attar. Southern Iran, 1472. British Library, London

**Rustam –**

the son of Zal and the most famous hero of the great Persian Epic of the Kings

**Palazzo –**

more broadly used in Italian than its English equivalent “palace”

**bric-a-brac –**

collections of curios such as elaborately decorated teacups and small vases



to select the correct man with the help of that portrait. The Venetian masters had discovered painting techniques with which they could distinguish any one man from another – without relying on his outfit or medals, just by the distinctive shape of his face. This was the essence of ‘portraiture’.

“If your face were depicted in this fashion only once, no one would ever be able to forget you, and if you were far away, someone who laid eyes on your portrait would feel your presence as if you were actually nearby. Those who had never seen you alive, even years after your death, could come face-to-face with you as if you were standing before them.”

We remained silent for a long time. A chilling light the colour of the iciness outside filtered through the upper part of the small hallway window facing the street; this was the window whose lower shutters were never opened, which I’d recently paned over with a piece of cloth dipped in beeswax.

“There was a miniaturist,” I said. “He would come here just like the other artists for the sake of Our Sultan’s secret book, and we would work together till dawn. He did the best of the gilding. That unfortunate Elegant **Effendi**, he left here one night never to arrive at home. I’m afraid they might have done him in, that poor master gilder of mine.”

### IT IS I, MASTER OSMAN

The Commander of the Imperial Guard and the Head Treasurer reiterated Our Sultan’s decrees before leaving the two of us alone. Of course, Black was exhausted by fear, crying and the ruse of torture. He fell quiet like a boy. I knew I would come to like him, and I didn’t disturb his peace.

I had three days to examine the pages that the Commander’s men collected from the homes of my **calligraphers** and master miniaturists, and to determine who had worked on them. You all know how disgusted I was when I first laid eyes on the paintings prepared for Enishte Effendi’s book, and how Black had given them to the Head Treasurer Hazim Agha to clear his name. Granted, there must be something to those pages for them to arouse such violent disgust and hatred in a miniaturist like myself who’s devoted his life to artistry; merely bad art wouldn’t provoke such a reaction. So, with newfound curiosity, I began to re-examine the nine pages that the deceased fool had commissioned from the miniaturists who came to him under cover of night.

I saw a tree in the middle of a blank page, situated within poor Elegant’s border design and gilding work, which gracefully framed every page. I tried to conjure the scene and story to which the tree belonged. If I had told my illustrators to draw a tree, dear Butterfly, wise Stork and wily Olive would have begun by conceiving of this tree as part of a story so they might draw the image with confidence. If I were then to scrutinize that tree, I’d be able to determine which tale the illustrator had in mind based on its branches



**MUHAMMAD AT THE KABA.**

16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman illustration of the *Siyer-i Nebi*

**Effendi –**

Turkish title meaning ‘lord’ or ‘master’

**calligraphy –**

(from Greek “writing”) the art of beautiful writing

and leaves. This, however, was a miserable, solitary tree; behind it, there was a quite high horizon line that hearkened back to the style of the oldest masters of Shiraz and accentuated the feeling of isolation. There was nothing at all, however, filling the area created by raising the horizon. The desire to depict a tree simply as such, as the Venetian masters did, was here combined with the Persian way of seeing the world from above, and the result was a miserable painting that was neither Venetian nor Persian. This was how a tree at the edge of the world would look. Attempting to combine two separate styles, my miniaturists and the barren mind of that deceased clown had created a work devoid of any skill whatsoever. But it wasn't that the illustration was informed by two different worldviews so much as the lack of skill that incurred my wrath.

I felt the same way as I looked at the other pictures, at the perfect dream horse and the woman with the bowed head. The choice of subject matter also irritated me, whether it was the two wandering dervishes or Satan. It was obvious that my illustrators had coyly inserted these inferior pictures into Our Sultan's illuminated manuscript. I felt renewed awe at exalted Allah's judgment in taking Enishte's life before the book had been finished. Needless to say, I had no desire whatsoever to complete this manuscript.

Who wouldn't be annoyed by this dog, drawn from above but staring at me from just beneath my nose as if it were my brother? On the one hand, I was astounded by the plainness of the dog's positioning, the beauty of its threatening sidelong glance, head lowered to the ground, and the violent whiteness of its teeth, in short, by the talent of the miniaturists who'd depicted it (I was on the verge of determining precisely who'd worked on the picture); on the other hand, I couldn't forgive the way this talent had been harnessed by the absurd logic of an inscrutable will. Neither the desire to imitate the Europeans nor the excuse that the book Our Sultan had commissioned as a present for the Doge ought to make use of techniques familiar to the Venetians was adequate to explain the fawning pretension in these pictures.

I was terrified by the passion of red in one bustling picture, wherein I at once recognized the touch of each of my master miniaturists in each corner. An artist's hand that I couldn't identify had applied a peculiar red to the painting under the guidance of an arcane logic, and the entire world revealed by the illustration was slowly **suffused** by this color. I spent some time hunched over this crowded picture pointing out to Black which of my miniaturists had drawn the plane tree (Stork), the ships and houses (Olive), and the kite and flowers (Butterfly).

"Of course, a great master miniaturist like yourself, who's been head of a book-arts division for years, could distinguish the craft of each of his illustrators, the disposition of their lines and the temperament of their brush strokes," Black said. "But when an eccentric book lover like my Enishte forces these same illustrators to paint with new and untried techniques, how can you determine the artists responsible for each design with such certainty?"

I decided to answer with a parable: "Once upon a time there was a shah who ruled over Isfahan; he was a lover of book arts, and lived all alone in his castle. He was a strong and mighty, intelligent, but merciless shah, and he had love only for two things: the illustrated manuscripts he commissioned and his daughter. So devoted was this shah to his daughter that his enemies could hardly be faulted for claiming he was in love with her – for he was proud and jealous enough to declare war on neighboring princes and shahs in the event that one sent ambassadors to ask for her hand. Naturally, there was no husband worthy of his daughter, and he confined her to a room, accessible only through forty locked doors. In keeping with a commonly held belief in Isfahan, he thought that his daughter's beauty would fade if other men laid eyes on her. One day, after an edition



**MUHAMMAD AT MOUNT HIRA**  
16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman illustration of  
the *Siyer-i Nebi*

**suffuse** –  
to spread through or over  
something completely

of Husrev and Shirin that he'd commissioned was inscribed and illustrated in the Herat style, a rumor began to circulate in Isfahan: The pale-faced beauty who appeared in one bustling picture was none other than the jealous shah's daughter! Even before hearing the rumors, the shah, suspicious of this mysterious illustration, opened the pages of the book with trembling hands and in a flood of tears saw that his daughter's beauty had indeed been captured on the page. As the story goes, it wasn't actually the shah's daughter, protected by forty locked doors, who emerged to be portrayed one night, but her beauty which escaped from her room like a ghost stifled by boredom, reflecting off a series of mirrors and passing beneath doors and through keyholes like a ray of light or wisp of smoke to reach the eyes of an illustrator working through the night. The masterful young miniaturist, unable to restrain himself, depicted the beauty, which he couldn't bear to behold, in the illustration he was in the midst of completing. It was the scene that showed Shirin gazing upon a picture of Husrev and falling in love with him during the course of a countryside outing."

"My beloved master, my good sir, this is quite a coincidence," said Black. "I, too, am quite fond of that scene from Husrev and Shirin."

"These aren't fables, but events that actually happened," I said. "Listen, the miniaturist didn't depict the shah's beautiful daughter as Shirin, but as a courtesan playing the lute or setting the table, because that was the figure he was in the midst of illustrating at the time. As a result, Shirin's beauty paled beside the extraordinary beauty of the courtesan standing off to the side, thus disrupting the painting's balance. After the shah saw his daughter in the painting, he wanted to locate the gifted miniaturist who'd depicted her. But the crafty miniaturist, fearing the shah's wrath, had rendered both the courtesan and Shirin, not in his own style, but in a new way so as to conceal his identity. The skillful brush strokes of quite a few other miniaturists had gone into the work as well."

How had the shah discovered the identity of the miniaturist who portrayed his daughter?"

"From the ears!"

"Whose ears'? The ears of the daughter or her picture?"

"Actually, neither. Following his intuition, he first laid out all the books, pages and illustrations that his own miniaturists had made and inspected all the ears therein. He saw what he'd known for years in a new light: Regardless of the level of talent, each of the miniaturists made ears in his own style. It didn't matter if the face they depicted was the face of a sultan, a child, a warrior, or even, God forbid, the partially veiled face of Our Exalted Prophet, or even, God forbid again, the face of the Devil. Each miniaturist, in each case, always drew the ears the same way, as if this were a secret signature."

"Why?"

"When the masters illustrated a face, they focused on approaching its exalted beauty, on the dictates of the old models of form, on the expression, or on whether it should resemble somebody real. But when it came time to make the ears, they neither



**RIZA-I ABBASI. TWO LOVERS.**

Iran, 1630

stole from others, imitated a model nor studied a real ear. For the ears, they didn't think, didn't aspire to anything, didn't even stop to consider what they were doing. They simply guided their brushes from memory."

"But didn't the great masters also create their masterpieces from memory without ever even looking at real horses, trees or people?" said Black.

"True," I said, "but those are memories acquired after years of thought, contemplation and reflection. Having seen plenty of horses, illustrated and actual, over their lifetimes, they know that the last flesh-and-blood horse they see before them will only mar the perfect horse they hold in their thoughts. The horse that a master miniaturist has drawn tens of thousands of times eventually comes close to God's vision of a horse, and the artist knows this through experience and deep in his soul. The horse that his hand draws quickly from memory is rendered with talent, great effort, and insight, and it is a horse that approaches Allah's horse. However, the ear that is drawn before the hand has accumulated any knowledge, before the artist has weighed and considered what it is doing, or before paying attention to the ears of the shah's daughter, will always be a flaw. Precisely because it is a flaw, or imperfection, it will vary from miniaturist to miniaturist. That is, it amounts to a signature."

There was a commotion. The Commander's men were bringing into the old workshop the pages they'd collected from the homes of the miniaturists and the calligraphers.

"Besides, ears are actually a human flaw," I said, hoping Black would smile. "They are at once distinct and common to everyone: a perfect manifestation of ugliness."

"What happened to the miniaturist who'd been caught by the authorities through his style of painting ears?"

I refrained from saying, "He was blinded," to keep Black from becoming even more downcast. Instead, I responded, "He married the shah's daughter, and this method, which has been used to identify miniaturists ever since, is known by many khans, shahs and sultans who fund book-arts workshops as the 'courtesan method.' Furthermore, it is kept secret so that if one of their miniaturists 'makes a forbidden figure or a small design that conceals some mischief and later denies having done so, they can quickly determine who was responsible – genuine artists have an instinctive desire to draw what's forbidden! Sometimes their hands make mischief on their own. Uncovering these transgressions involves finding trivial, quickly drawn and repetitive details removed from the heart of the painting, such as ears, hands, grass, leaves, or even horses' manes, legs or hooves. But beware, the method doesn't work if the illustrator himself is mindful that this detail has become his own secret signature. Mustaches won't work, for instance, because many artists are aware how freely they're drawn as a sort of signature anyway. But eyebrows are a possibility: No one pays much attention to them. Come now, let's see which young masters have brought their brushes and reed pens to bear upon late Enishte's illustrations."

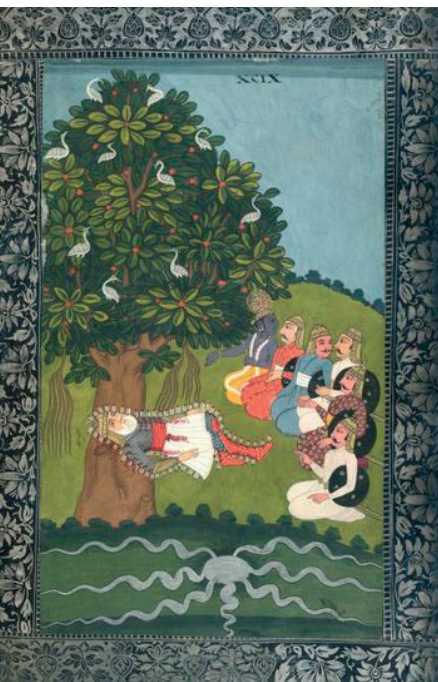
Thus we brought together the pages of two illustrated manuscripts, one that was being completed secretly and the other openly, two books with different stories and subjects, illustrated in two distinct styles; that is, deceased Enishte's book and the Book of Festivities recounting our prince's circumcision ceremony, whose creation was under my control. Black and I looked intently wherever I moved my magnifying lens.

**SOURCE:** Pamuk, Orhan. *My Name is Red*. London: Faber and Faber, 2001.



**MINIATURE OF MUHAMMAD RE-DEDICATING THE BLACK STONE AT THE KAABA.**

From *Jami Al-Tawarikh* ("The Universal History" written by Rashid Al-Din), a manuscript in the Library of the University of Edinburgh; illustrated in Tabriz, Persia, c.1315



**SCENE FROM RAZMNAMA, (BOOK OF WARS) 1761-1763**

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. Why does the narrator say, “To avoid disappointment in art, one must not treat it as a career”?
2. How does the narrator describe the manuscript which will be prepared for the Sultan? What does this example tell you about art at that time?
3. Do you agree that “Every picture serves to tell a story”?
4. What was the impression of the narrator about the portrait of the Venetian master? What had the Venetian masters discovered?
5. In the parable about the shah’s love of his daughter, how had that shah discovered the identity of the miniaturist who supposedly portrayed his daughter?

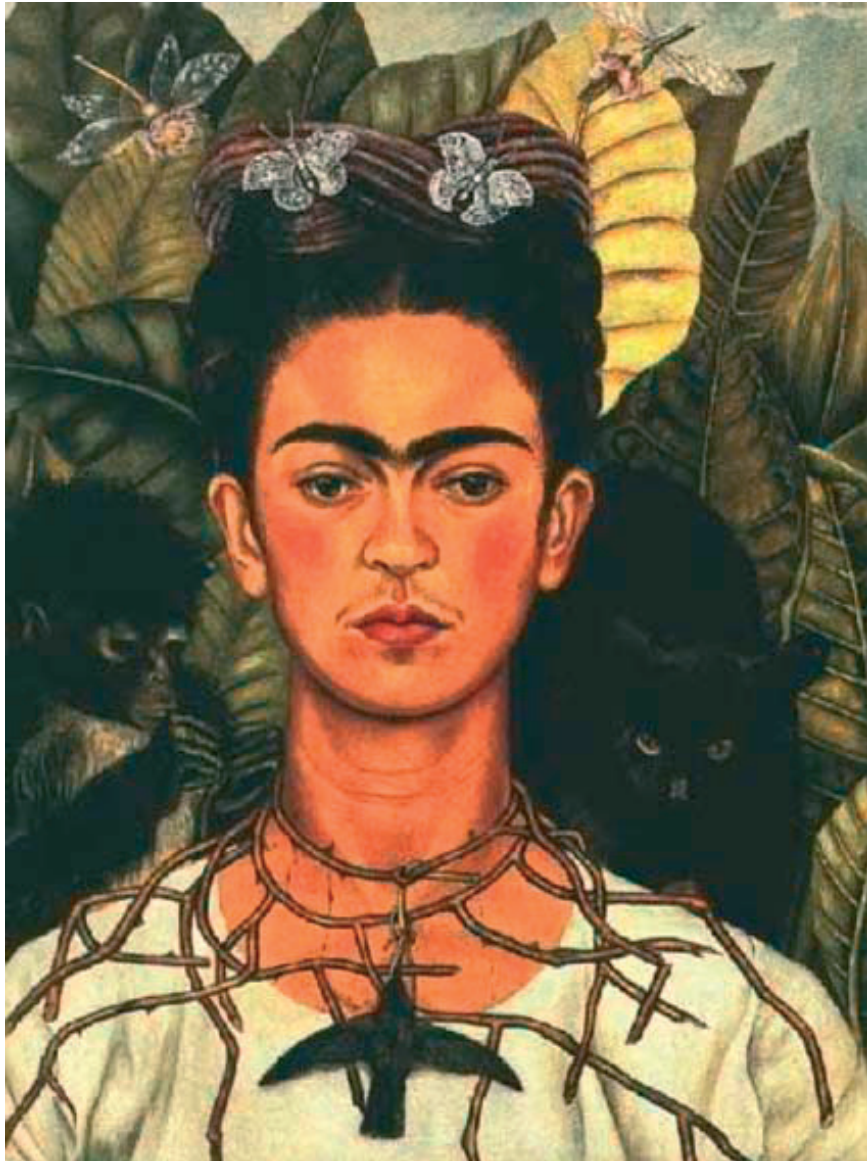
**REVIEW QUESTIONS:**

1. Compare the texts Tiger Attacking a Youth with My Name is Red. Have you found any similarities?
2. Why is a Norwegian sword produced by their ancestors so important for a Norwegian? What artworks produced by your ancestors are significant for you? Why?
3. What is the relationship between art, freedom and politics? How would Dworkin and Kimmelman reply to this question?
4. How has art been made political? How would Kimmelman, Dworkin and Appiah answer this question?

**ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:**

1. What connections can you find between art and politics?
2. How can art be propaganda?
3. How does art reflect society and social realities?
4. What cultural, social, and personal functions does art serve?
5. Can art be public? How?
6. Can art express protest? How?
7. In 1996 Chris Offili created an artwork called Holy Virgin Mary where he drew an African woman and used buttock cutouts from the journals and elephant dung for this composition.<sup>1</sup> This painting was a part of Sensation Show exhibition. One of the irritated visitors of this exhibition tried to destroy the painting. What is more important in such cases: freedom of self-expression or believers’ values? What do you think, to what extent are artists free in their self-expression?

<sup>1</sup> Saltz, Jerry. “Chris Offili’s Holy Virgin Mary”. [http://www.artnet.com/magazine\\_pre2000/features/saltz/saltz10-08-99a.asp](http://www.artnet.com/magazine_pre2000/features/saltz/saltz10-08-99a.asp)



**KAHLO, FRIDA. SELF-PORTRAIT WITH THORN NECKLACE, HUMMINGBIRD AND UNIBROW. 1940**

### WRITING AN ART APPRECIATION PAPER

An Art Appreciation Paper is an essay where you appreciate an artwork (painting or sculpture).

#### **Steps in Writing an Art Appreciation Paper:**

Selecting an artwork (brainstorming/research)

Gathering information about an artwork and an author (research)

Outlining a paper

Drafting a paper

Revising the paper

Editing and proofreading

#### **Selecting a Painting/Sculpture**

You can use art encyclopaedias, dictionary of Art (Turner), websites, *Art as Appreciation* Textbook, books on Art, and CDs on Art.

#### **Select:**

- 1) an artist (can be your favourite one);
- 2) a movement (Surrealism, Expressionism, ...);
- 3) a theme (Love, Historical Event);
- 4) a period of time (19th century, ancient time);
- 5) the country/nationality of an artist (France, China);
- 6) genre (still-life, landscape)

You can select a painting that:

- 1) causes emotions (delight, joy, admiration or disgust);
- 2) is shrouded in mystery;
- 3) is created by a male/female artist

#### **Structure of an Art Appreciation Paper**

**1. Title** - Choose a title that reflects what your paper is about. As the title is the first thing that people usually see, try to make it interesting and eye-catching.

#### **2. Introduction**

Sample Image Information

Kahlo Frida: Henry Ford Hospital (Flying Bed)

1932

Oil on metal

12 1/4 x 15 1/2 in

Collection Dolores Olmedo Foundation, Mexico City

*Introduction:*

Is attractive;

explain why you selected this artwork;

expose criteria you use for art appreciation;

May include background information about the author and the context of the painting's creation. When and where was the artwork made? By whom and for whom?

Contains thesis statement that will be supported in the body of the paper.

*Body:***Description**

Take some time to observe, understand, and analyze the painting. At first write your description in the form of notes and then turn these notes into sentences and paragraphs. The description should be detailed enough so that another person could imagine this artwork.

*Analysis***A. Composition**

Asking questions about each element can be helpful. Do additional research if necessary.

**Colour, Value, and Hues**

Are the colours bright or subdued?

Are there many colours or few?

What shades of colours are there?

What clues do the colours give about the time (day and night), and weather (seasons)?

Are the colours realistic or symbolic?

**Line and Line Directions**

Are lines dark or light; jagged or smooth, straight or zigzag; thick or thin? Are there any parallel lines?

What ideas can lines communicate? What feelings can lines express?

**Shape**

Are shapes natural or artificial, simple or complex?

**Size**

Is the artwork large or small, natural or exaggerated?

**Texture**

Is the texture even or uneven, rough or smooth, soft or hard?

**Composition**

How are the compositional elements of an artwork combined? What is the effect on the viewer?

**B. Principles of Design**

Repetition

Movement



Balance: symmetry/asymmetry

Proportion

Contrast

Emphasis

### **C. Medium**

What medium is used? Why?

### **D. Genre**

What is the genre of the artwork? How does this artwork fit this particular genre?

### **E. Art Movement**

How does the work fit this particular art movement?

### **Interpretation**

Interpretation is a way in which something is understood or explained. The purpose of interpretation is to reveal and explain meanings. Give your own way of understanding an artwork. Base your interpretation on what is in the artwork. Avoid fantasies while interpreting an artwork.

### **Response**

What are your personal feelings on the work of art? What was your first response to the artwork? What is your response to the artwork after you finished your appreciation? Any changes? Why?

### **Conclusion:**

Emphasizes the importance of the thesis statement;

Sums up the main ideas of the paper;

Leaves a final impression on the reader

### **Useful Websites for Selecting a Piece of Art:**

<http://www.artcyclopedia.com>

<http://cgfa.sunsite.dk/>

<http://jivopis.ru/gallery/>

<http://tajikart.com>

<http://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/>

<http://humanitiesweb.org/>

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Art\\_genres](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Art_genres)

<http://www.wga.hu/indexl.html> (Web Gallery of art)

<http://dir.yahoo.com/Arts/>

<http://worldimages.sjsu.edu/>  
<http://www.mfa.org/collections/>  
<http://www.arthistory.cc/> (has a good collection of classic and fantasy art images)  
<http://wwar.com/artists/> (art movements)  
<http://www.huntfor.com/arthistory/> (art movements)

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**TIPS:**

It is often very difficult to select an artwork for the appreciation. Students can start by creating a small portfolio of “My 10 Favourite Artworks” and from that select one artwork.

Having done an art appreciation paper, compile a list of websites which are useful for such an assignment and a file of artists whose artworks could be used for such an essay.

**SUGGESTED BOOK:**

Barret, Terry. *Interpreting Art: Reflecting, Wondering and Responding*.  
Boston: Mc Graw Hill, 2003.

**INTRODUCTION**

Some contemporary art critics argue that the appreciation of art, art education, and the appraisal of art have all been encumbered by a gendered frame of reference. The texts in this chapter address this issue. The readers are encouraged to not only read the texts critically but to examine the issue in the light of their own education and experience, and failing that to commit to a library or internet search on the issue.

The first text examines the depiction of women in Islamic painting and compares it with the depiction of women in Western art. Finding the boundary between men and women to be existential, Fatema Mernissi concludes that Islamic art celebrates the crossing of that boundary “to meet the challenge of difference.” How does this notion of meeting the other, which is seeking unity but failing to unite, become a celebration of difference? If works of art were the celebration of difference then surely it would be impossible for art to free itself from its gendered framework?

If art ascribes to women their role and place in life then gendering is a goal of art. Can we find art that is not gendered? Is art really gendered? Or is that the interpretation of the beholder of art? Are women artists, too, willing participants in this type of social control? Did the attempt to control and regulate women’s lives through art succeed? How does this idea of art accord with the idea that artists represent the avant-garde of any and every society?

Society continues to be a patriarchy in so far as art critics, art historians and art books continue to ignore, disparage, or minimize women’s contribution to art throughout history. Joan Altabe records several women artists whose work has been neglected. She argues that both men and women reviewers of art are at fault for this negligence. From this perspective the reader will note that critics and reviewers of art persist in viewing art through their gendered lens. Not only art and the beholder of art, but the educated critic, too, is imprisoned in the gendered frame.

In the last text of the chapter, Ingrid Rowland comments on recent reviews of Michelangelo’s artistry that notes his proclivity to portray men, and that even his “women, whether carved or painted, usually look like men.” What does this mean for the contention that art is gendered? Does this mean that gendering, irrespective of the medium, sentiment, morality, religion and context, persists? Or, are all these frames of reference holding up a gendered lens through which we are expected to see and judge our world and our representations of it?



**NIZAMI. KHUSRAW DISCOVERS SHIRIN BATHING IN A POOL FROM A KHAMSA (QUINTET).**  
 Mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Safavid dynasty. Opaque watercolor, ink, gold, and silver on paper. Shiraz, Iran.

## FATEMA MERNISSI AGGRESSIVE SHIRIN HUNTS FOR LOVE

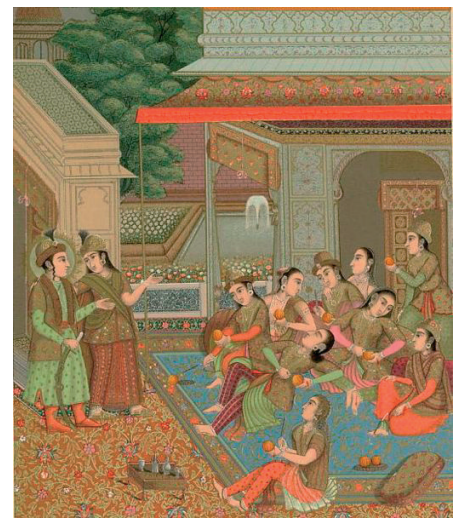
Fatema Mernissi (1940- ) is a contemporary Moroccan feminist and sociologist. Mernissi is currently a lecturer at the Mohammed V University of Rabat. In 1995, Mernissi published an autobiography, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood*. Mernissi's works include *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Islam* (1991), *Doing Daily Battle: Interviews with Moroccan Women* (1991), *Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World* (1992), *Women's Rebellion & Islamic Memory* (1996) and *Scheherazade Goes West* (2001).

Who are the women painted by Muslim men in miniatures: Are they fictional characters, legendary figures, or real queens and princesses? Is there a tradition of painting in Islam? Does not Islam forbid representation of human figures? These were the questions that my French friend Jacques bombarded me with when I told him about feminine images in Muslim paintings.

The Muslim world has a fantastic tradition of painting, in which the Persian genius especially expressed itself fully. Romance was celebrated, as well as epic voyages and battles, and women were well represented. Often, they were depicted as aggressively involved in changing the world and constantly on the move – riding horses like Princess Shirin in “*Khusraw and Shirin*,” or camels, like *Zuleikha* in the biblical story of *Joseph*. But, before going any further let us address the question of Islam’s censorship of human relationship.

The censorship of images in Islam began mostly because the pagan Arabs worshiped no fewer than 360 idols in the temple of the *Kaaba*, the shrine of Mecca. According to the eighth-century author *Hisham Ibn al-Kalbi*, one of the few historians to describe the pagan pre-Islamic scene, some of these were ançab, or simple stones, and others were ançab, or statues of human figures.<sup>1</sup> The pre-Islamic Arabs also fabricated small clay statues of their favorite gods to protect their homes, in their practice of domestic cults. Many of these worshiped divinities were goddesses, which could be an additional reason for Islam’s ban on representation. The Prophet’s own tribes worshiped three Arab goddesses – Al-lat, al Uzza, and Manat.

When the Prophet conquered Mecca, he destroyed the pagan divinities, cleaned the shrine, and declared that only one God should be worshiped.<sup>2</sup> The exact verse of the Koran that bans images also forbids three other sins: wine, gambling, and divina-



**MINIATURE MUGHAL  
PAINTING DEPICTING  
THE TALE OF YUSUF  
AND ZULAIKHA  
ACCORDING TO  
RACINET (1876 ED.)**

**Khusraw and Shirin –**  
classical Middle Eastern love  
story

**Zuleikha –**  
a lady of great beauty and  
charm who fall in love with  
Joseph

**Joseph or Yosef –**  
a major figure in the Book of  
Genesis

**Kaaba –**  
large cuboidal building located  
inside the mosque known as al-  
Masjid al-Haram in Mecca

**Hisham Ibn Al-Kalbi –**  
(c.819) Arabic historian

1 Hisham Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitab al Acnam* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1969), p. 16. This Arabic edition comes with an excellent French translation by Wahid Atallah.

2 For more on the political background on the ban on images, see Chapter Six of my book *Islam and Democracy* (New York: Addison Wesley, 1992), p. 85 and following.

tion. “O ye who believe! Strong drink (*khamr*) and games of chance (*maysir*) and idols (*ançab*) and divining arrows (*azlam*) are only an infamy of Satan’s handiwork. Leave it aside in order that ye may succeed” (Sura 5:89).<sup>3</sup> However, we know that not all Muslims are angels; some drink wine, others gamble, yet others – mostly women – indulge in divination and magical practices, and some paint representational images. Certain nations, such as Persia, already had a strong artistic tradition when they came to Islam and did not stop producing representational images simply because of their new religion. On the contrary, the Persians enriched Muslim culture by introducing to it their impressive cultural heritage, and taught Arabs and others the art of miniature painting. Persian artists were often invited to the Turkish and Mughal courts to help produce illustrated manuscripts in book-making ateliers.

Two more reasons explain why the ban on representational images was not enforced throughout the Muslim world. The first is that Muslims made a logical distinction between religious art and secular art. Inside the mosque, unlike inside the church, there were – and are – no representational images. But in the homes of wealthy men, miniature paintings were prized, and some powerful caliphs and sultans even had their own artists’ ateliers. Unlike in the West, the rich did not think about sharing their paintings with the poor, and even today, most Muslim art is still in the hands of the rich and the powerful. The concept of the museum is purely a Western import, which explains why museums in our part of the world are usually poorly endowed, ill equipped, and often deserted. The second reason that representational art has always existed in Muslim countries is that Islam has no sacred clergy, as does the **Catholic** Church, for example, to enforce conformity.

There is no such thing as an infallible religious authority such as the pope in orthodox Islam, for instance.

So, what kind of images of women do we find in Muslim painting? What happens to emotions and the power structure in cultures where men dare to transgress God’s recommendation to avoid human representations and go ahead and paint their fantasies? How did these daring Muslim men represent women and the emotions such women stirred in them? Did these men respect the Shari’a (religious law), with its ideal of the harem and sexual segregation, or did they violate it? Bencheikh, one of the most eloquent of Arab writers, summarizes it thus, in words that apply as much to today’s world as yesterday’s: “Love opens horizons and destabilizes certainties. A man in love invents himself as something other than what he was. A woman in love discovers the multiple selves that one desires in her. Freedom in love is conceived of as surmounting and going beyond the limits of the self.”<sup>4</sup>

To help us understand the ideal of feminine beauty in Muslim fantasies, as expressed in painting, let us focus on Princess Shirin, who was a purely secular heroine and is one of the most painted women in Muslim art. Like Scheherazade, Shirin is a Persian name. But if Scheherazade is a literary heroine, Shirin is her equivalent in art. A secluded princess who leaves the harem of her birth the moment she falls in love, she is often portrayed riding alone through the woods, chasing after Prince Khusraw, or bathing in isolated ponds, with her horse keeping a watchful eye over the scene. When she finally finds Prince Khusraw, the two of them are portrayed hunting wild beasts together, and



**QUEEN SCHEHERAZADE  
TELLS HER STORIES TO  
KING SHAHRYAR**

**Catholic –**

derived, through Latin meaning “general”, “universal”; one of the main branches of Christianity

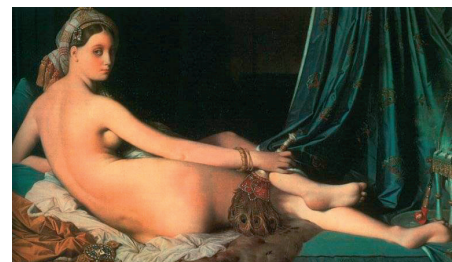
<sup>3</sup> Translated by Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall as Sura 5:90 in *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: Mentor Books, n.d.), p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> From: “L’exigence d’Aimer,” interview of Jamal Bencheikh by Fethi Benslama and Thierry Fabre in *Qantara* magazine, #18, Jan., Feb., Mar. 1996. (Qantara is the magazine of the Paris-based Institut du Monde Arabe.)

when Khusraw “sabers a lion” to impress her, she instantly reciprocates by spearing a wild ass.<sup>5</sup> And if we are to judge by the miniature paintings of her adventures, Shirin is not disturbed one bit, as I would have been, by the death of the wild beasts. Her features are calm; her heart is not bleeding with tenderness.

I could not help but laugh out loud when I went back to the Louvre to compare my Muslim miniatures with Ingres’s odalisques – they were so different. I tried to imagine what would have happened if Ingres had met Shirin face to face in the **Bois de Boulogne** woods. Would he have stripped her of her arrows and horse in order to paint her? Would he have taken away her silk caftan and clothes as well? And what about Immanuel Kant, who said knowledge kills a woman’s charm, so that an educated woman might as well have a beard? At the thought of a fake beard under Shirin’s lovely chin, I started laughing so merrily that the elegant French security guard on the Louvre’s solemn and dark first floor, where *La Grande Odalisque* is imprisoned forever, asked me to either chuckle more quietly or leave at once. I chose the second option and headed toward the rue de Rivoli exit, with my head up.

The romance of “Khusraw and Shirin” is part of the *Kham-seh* (“Quintet”) written by the poet Nizami (1140-1209). It has been illustrated innumerable times by Muslim painters, be they Persian, Turk, or Mughal. Shirin and her beloved Khusraw came from different countries: Khusraw was a Persian prince, the son of King Hurmuzd, and Shirin was the niece of the Queen of Armenia. Though this is typical of Muslim legends and tales, as though preparing us for an unavoidable pluralism to come, one can’t help but wonder how they came to know each other, especially since the princess was secluded in her aunt’s luxurious palace. Well, Khusraw first fell in love with Shirin in a dream; he “dreamed he would ride the world’s fastest horse, Shabdiz, and gain a sweet and beautiful wife named Shirin.”<sup>6</sup> Soon thereafter, Khusraw heard from his friend Shapur, who had visited Armenia, about a lovely princess named Shirin, the niece of that country’s queen. When Shapur realized how powerful his friend’s passion for his dream woman was, he rode back to Armenia with a strategic plan that worked beautifully: “Shapur sparked Shirin’s interest by hanging portraits of Khusraw on trees and explained how she could join the prince in Persia.”<sup>7</sup> And guess what? The secluded princess did not hesitate a minute. Instead, she simply jumped on “the fastest horse in the world” and started her irresistible, impulsive journey in search of love. And, “after fourteen days and nights, exhausted and covered with dust, she came to a gentle pool and stopped to bathe.”<sup>8</sup> What a singular moment, that extraordi-



INGRES, JEAN AUGUSTE DOMINIQUE. *LA GRANDE ODALISQUE*. 1814

5 Commentary on the painting by B. W. Robinson, “Persian Paintings in the Indian Office Library: A descriptive catalogue” (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), p. 25. A color reproduction showing Shirin armed with arrows exists in the same book in the color plate section: Colour plate # III. #138: “Khusraw and Shirin in the hunting-field – Tabriz style, 1530.”

6 Stuart Gary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting*, (Boston: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1979), p. 150.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

**Bois de Boulogne** – park located along the western edge of the 16<sup>ème</sup> arrondissement of Paris



**VELÁZQUEZ, DIEGO.  
THE ROKEBY VENUS.  
C. 1644-1648  
NATIONAL GALLERY,  
LONDON**

nary point in time when a secluded woman turns into an adventurer, rides alone for weeks through strange forests, and then stops to bathe in a wild river as if it was all completely natural. Shirin bathing in the wilderness has been obsessively celebrated by Muslim miniature painters ever since.

Meanwhile, Khusraw, forced by political events to leave Persia, was riding in the opposite direction, toward Armenia, when he happened upon a beauty bathing in a pool, her aristocratic identity betrayed by her magnificently adorned horse waiting nearby. This scene of “Khusraw watching Shirin bathing,” wherein the heroine is depicted as a mysterious horsewoman swimming in wild forests, is another landmark of Muslim miniatures.<sup>9</sup> But, of course, during this first encounter, neither Shirin nor Khusraw spoke to each other – otherwise we would have no legend. Instead, “astounded by her beauty, Khusraw quietly drew closer. Startled, Shirin hid herself in her long tresses, dressed, and rode off. Although Khusraw desired the exquisite maiden for his own, he never guessed her identity. Nor did Shirin recognize Khusraw, though later she wondered if the handsome horseman was the prince.”<sup>10</sup> Both lovers then departed, looking for each other in opposite directions, a theme universal in its pathos, because we all spend our brief lives doing just that, even if we physically share our beds with the same person every night for years. Always we carry an image in our head of a better partner, of an ideal person, which blurs our chances of finding happiness.

Falling in love with an image or picture is, I guess, an allegory of what happens to all of us. We start our emotional quest for happiness with an image tattooed on our childhood psyches, and cross days and nights, rivers and oceans, looking for that ideal someone who comes closest to our fantasy picture. The love motifs in Muslim painting and storytelling remind us that happiness is about traveling far to meet the different other. Falling in love is about crossing boundaries and taking risks.

Falling in love with an image is a theme echoed in many of the tales in *The Thousand and One Nights*. In “The Prince Who Fell in Love with the Picture,” for example, a Persian prince is captivated by the portrait of a woman from Ceylon. This implies a lot of travel, as we can surmise from the following summary: “A young prince entered his father’s treasury one day, and saw a little cedar chest set with pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and topazes. . . . On opening it (for the key was in the lock) he beheld the picture of an exceedingly beautiful woman, with whom he immediately fell in love. Ascertaining the name of the lady from an inscription on the back of the portrait, he set off with a companion to find her. Having been told by an old man at Baghdad that her father at one time reigned in Ceylon, he continued his journey thither, encountering many unheard of adventures along the way.”<sup>11</sup>

Love between a man and a woman is by necessity a hazardous blending of alien cultures, if only because of the sexual difference, which is a cosmic frontier, an existential boundary. In the Muslim psyche, to love is to learn about crossing the line to meet the challenge of the difference. It is also about discovering the wonderful richness of humanness, the plurality, the diversity of Allah’s creatures. One of the most quoted verses of the Koran, and one that I particularly love, reads: “And we made you into different nations and tribes, so that you may know about each other” (Sura 49:12). The Arabic

9 The most ravishing rendering of this scene is the one in the British Library, from the “Khusraw and Shirin” executed during Shah Tahmasp’s *Quinted of Nizami* portfolio, ascribed to the painter Sultan Muhammad. See reproduction in Welch’s *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting*, *ibid.*, p. 150.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Richard F. Burton, *Supplemental Nights to “The Book of the 1001 Nights and a Night”* (London: Burton Club for Private Subscribers, 1886), *op. cit.*, vol. II p. 328.



word “to know” in this verse, ‘arafa, comes from ‘Arif, meaning a leader chosen by his group because he has accumulated knowledge by asking many questions about things he did not know.<sup>12</sup> To understand this Muslim emphasis on learning from differences, one has to remember that Islam originated in the desert (present-day Saudi Arabia) and that Mecca’s prosperity as a center of trade in the first years of the Muslim calendar was due to travelers constantly crossing through on roads linking Africa with Asia and Europe. Unlike the racist stereotype that most Westerners have of Islam, which they reduce to a jihad, or sacred war, this religion spread from Arabia to Indonesia through trade routes, via travelers talking to one another and learning from one another’s cultures. Writes historian **Marshall Hodgson**: “During the five centuries after 945 (Abbasid dynasty), the former society of the caliphate was replaced by an international society that was constantly expanding, linguistically and culturally, ruled by numerous independent governments. This society was not held together by a single political order or a single language or culture. Yet it did remain, consciously and effectively, a single historical whole. In its time, this international Islami-cate society was certainly the most widely spread and influential society on the globe.<sup>13</sup> That fascinating and enriching diversity is a strong message that comes through in many Muslim fantasies, and I think it explains why citizens in my part of the world are so interested in the Internet and digital technology, despite widespread illiteracy and poverty.<sup>14</sup> (Although the unexpected mushrooming of “cyber-cafes” in Moroccan shantytowns may also be due to young people trying to connect with strangers and thereby obtain visas to emigrate!<sup>15</sup>)

In the early Muslim world, discovering other cultures meant fantasizing about the opposite sex. **Sindbad** never missed an opportunity to fall in love, and married whenever he reached a new island, taking advantage of his right to be polygamous. To take the risk of falling in love with a foreign woman, and vice versa, is a powerful dream in many Muslim legends, tales, and paintings. Sometimes, to dramatize the “foreignness” of a woman for a man in love, she is described as being an extraterrestrial creature. Such is the case in the tale of “Jullnar of the Sea,” which Scheherazade narrates to Shahrayar on their two hundred and thirtieth night. Jullnar is discovered on the seashore by a slave trader, who sells her to the king who rules the land. The king falls madly in love with her, largely because she behaves quite strangely. Jullnar shares his

12 See the word ‘arafa in Lissan al ‘Arab (“The Tongue of the Arabs”), a thirteenth-century dictionary by Ibn Manzhur (Cairo: Dar al Maarif, 1979).

13 Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. II, “The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Period” (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974).

14 See the special issue on “Digital Islam” by SIM newsletter #2 of March 1999. SIM is published by the International Institute of Study of Islam in the Modern World, Leiden, the Netherlands (<http://isim.leidenuniv.nl>).

15 See Mohammed Zainabi, “La démocratisation de l’Internet: coup d’oeil sur les cybers au Maroc,” in the Moroccan daily *L’opinion*, August 12, 1999. It is very likely that the Internet will encourage illiterate citizens to teach themselves to read instead of waiting for their bureaucratic governments’ ridiculously inefficient «literacy programs». The accessibility of training on the Internet makes this possible, as Youssef Moumile so rightly explains in his article, «Quelle strategie gouvernementale pour internet,» p. 32 of *Le Journal*, one of Morocco’s avant-garde weeklies (e.mail: [media@macronet.net.ma](mailto:media@macronet.net.ma)).

**Marshall G.S. Hodgson** – Islamic scholar and world historian at the University of Chicago

**Internet café or cybercafé** – place where one can use a computer with Internet access for a fee

**Sinbad the Sailor** – a story-cycle of Persian origin about a sailor from Basrah



**HASHT-BEHESHT  
PALACE KAMANCHEH.**

Painting from Hasht-Behesht  
palace, Isfahan, Iran, from 1669

bed and shows him tenderness when they make love, yet sometimes he catches her behaving in mysterious ways. It is the tiny things, the small gestures, that make men realize how great is the distance separating them from the women they embrace. In Jullnar's case, the sea often seems to attract her more than the king who loves and cherishes her: "When in the evening, the king went in to her, he saw her standing at the window, looking at the sea, but although she noticed his presence, she neither paid attention to him nor showed him veneration, but continued to look at the sea, without even turning her head toward him."<sup>16</sup> Yes, the feminine as the locus of strangeness and unpredictability haunts Islam, the only world religion that legally enforces women's seclusion through Shari'a, or sacred law.

Women in love in Muslim miniatures always have some sort of problem, which they often solve by taking boats and crossing oceans. Shirin has to do this as well, and as we see in many of the paintings depicting her sea voyage, her entire crew is female.<sup>17</sup> This comes as no surprise to a woman such as myself, reared in a traditional household, since my illiterate grandmother nurtured my imagination long ago by telling me about Ghalia, the Moroccan equivalent of Shirin. From age three to thirty, when television reached Morocco, and silenced the grandmothers, I heard the story of Ghalia again and again. Daily, Ghalia jumped "seven seas, seven rivers, and seven channels" to solve what at first seemed insoluble problems. And on the day I took off on a flight from Casablanca to Malaysia for my first conference there in 1987, I remembered Ghalia and felt that my grandmother would have approved of me if she were still alive. The message that you got as a little girl in my Muslim world, before television, was that life is tough, and that in order to reach the imaginary palace of the legendary prince, you had better be ready to perform wonders like Ghalia because nothing is easy or certain. Older women would tell little girls, "You have to work hard to snatch a little minute of happiness." Yes, I was never told that life was going to be easy for me. Never. I was told that even a minute of happiness involves much work and concentration. I was never told that a prince would make me happy. Instead I was told that I could create happiness if I concentrated enough, and that I could make the prince happy – and vice versa – if I liked him enough.

Princes in Muslim tales and legends always have problems as well. Even if a woman is deeply loved and living in a luxurious harem, you can expect her prince to get into political trouble and his dynasty to come to an end. A woman must always be ready to jump onto a horse and cross alien territories: Uncertainty is a woman's destiny. And to finish Shirin's story, she keeps on riding and riding through unknown lands, encountering numerous unexpected adventures, until she finally meets and marries Khusraw. Her unlimited energy is an inspiration to Muslim painters and to Muslim women as well.

Mobility as an important characteristic of the beloved woman is also central to Sufi mystics like Ibn 'Arabi, who describes the female lover as being *Tayyar*, or, literally, "endowed with wings"<sup>18</sup> – an idea that the Muslim miniature painters often tried to capture. When Ibn 'Arabi undertook his long journey to Mecca in the thirteenth century, he was forced to reflect on the nature of love, that extraordinary feeling

<sup>16</sup> Haddawy, *Arabian Nights*, op. cit., p. 386.

<sup>17</sup> One example is the "Sea-Voyage of Shirin," Qazwin style, 1580, in "Persian Paintings" by Robinson, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> "C'est un trait de l'amant que la mobilite" Ibn 'Arabi "Traite de L'amour," translated by Maurice Gloton, Albin Michel, 1986. Page 205. This short essay on love selected by the French translator is part of Ibn 'Arabi's multi-volume masterwork «Al Futuhat al Makkija» (The Book of spiritual Mecca Conquests).

that gives human beings a chance to reach toward divine perfection.<sup>19</sup> It is well known that the Sufi mystics, starting with Ibn 'Arabi, have always had trouble drawing a line between love inspired by the divine and love inspired by a woman.

Ibn 'Arabi was born in Muslim Spain, in Murcia, in 1155, and undertook the journey to Mecca, six thousand miles away, in search of spiritual teachers who would help him grow. But he fell in love – not part of his plan – when he was admitted to the home of his teacher, Imam Ibn Rus-tum. “When I sojourned in Mecca in 585 [1206 in the Christian calendar],” Ibn 'Arabi writes, “I met there a group of excellent persons, men and women, highly educated and virtuous. But the most virtuous of all ... was the master and learned Imam Abu Shaja' Zahir Ibn Rustum. . . . This master, may God have mercy on him, had a daughter, a slender virgin, who charmed whoever looked at her, and whose presence enriched conferences and introduced happiness in the hearts of its speakers. Her name was Nizam.” What seduced Ibn 'Arabi above all was Nizam's intelligence: “She was a religious sciences expert (alima) . . . She had magic eyes (sahirat at-tarf), Iraqi wit ('iraquutu ad-darf) . . .” And Nizam, as one might expect, was also eloquent: “When she decides to express herself, she makes her message clear” (in affahat, awdahat) and “when she decides to be brief, she is incomparably concise” (in awjazat, a'jazat)<sup>20</sup> Nizam's quick mind enabled her to captivate everyone's attention in the majliss, or intellectual gatherings, that her father held in his house.

What is remarkable about Ibn 'Arabi's story is that he decided to make his erotic feelings for Nizam public, instead of keeping them to himself, because for him the difference between divine love and the erotic transport that an eloquent woman can stir in a man is slight. In one of his poems, which was scandalous then, and is still regarded as a sinful document by some today, Ibn 'Arabi tries to clarify his emotional turmoil by describing how easy it is for the boundaries between the divine and the erotic to vanish. Conservative religious authorities in Aleppo, Syria, condemned Ibn 'Arabi's poem as nothing more than a prurient, lust-filled document with no spiritual content whatsoever. And that is when Ibn 'Arabi took up his pen to write *Translator of Desires* (Turjuman al Ahswaq), a fascinating book about love as enigma and cosmic mystery. In it, he tries to translate the subtleties of desire for the rigid conservatives who were unable to grasp sophisticated feelings. But paradoxically, in so doing, Ibn 'Arabi confirms the slippery nature of attraction and the yearning of all human beings to cross boundaries toward the “other,” be it the opposite sex or the divine. This celebration of sensuality as mobile energy, so strong in Sufism, also seems to animate Muslim artists when they portray adventurous women crossing rivers on fast horses, and vividly contradicts the morbid passivity of women that we find in Western harems.

A few days before I left Paris, Christiane, my French editor, invited me to one

19 It was in Mecca in 1203 that Ibn 'Arabi started writing his multi-volume mas terwork *Al Fuhhat al Makkiya* (The Book of Spiritual Mekka Conquests).

20 My translation from the Arabic original of *Turjuman al Ashwaq* (Beirut: Dar Cader, 1966), p. u.

of her favorite restaurants, in order to share with me some of her insights into the Frenchmen's harem fantasy. She warned me in advance that "Le Restaurant du Louvre" was pretentious, *tres bourgeois*, and not very welcoming to tourists – all of which I found to be true. As I entered the restaurant, I felt as if I were stepping into a very exclusive French household whose rituals I was likely to violate, just because I came from another culture. My heavy, noisy, silver bracelets and necklace looked utterly *de-place* and so did my jacket, which was nothing more than a colorful shortened caftan. But when Christiane came in, heads turned to look at her with appreciative admiration. Like most French women in important positions, she always dresses in black, and in unusually bold outfits. On that day, she was wearing a Yamamoto stretch silk dress with one shoulder totally bare, and looked down at the crowd as if she had just landed from a much more refined planet. "Remember what I told you about the pretentiousness of this restaurant," she murmured while seating herself on one of the luxurious gilded sofas. "This is one of the rare spots in Paris where aristocrats have the guts to exhibit their family jewelry to proletarians like me who have to work eight hours a day to pay taxes to the Republic."

I could not refrain from laughing. I am always amazed at how revolutionary the French are in their daily discourse, constantly attacking the privileged classes and the priests, all while voting to maintain both in office. Before calling for the waiter, Christiane took out her mirror and lipstick and started making herself up, as if we were entirely alone, while calmly continuing to study the "aristocrats."

"Can you believe it?" she said. "Two centuries after the Revolution, the aristocrats are just as insolent as ever." Christiane's voice could definitely be heard by our neighbors, but she didn't seem to care. Instead, she focused on her mirror and ran her hand through her short blond hair, making it look even wilder than it already did.

I admire French women because they don't hesitate to get into fights in cafes, demanding that waiters not neglect them, while I hesitate to squander my energies fighting in Moroccan public places, where men often push women aside to get to the head of queues. Vicariously, I enjoy witnessing my Parisian friends' ceaseless revolution. However, this time, I wanted Christiane to stop her republican crusade and focus on a more urgent matter.

"Is there a link between Kant's philosophical concept of beauty and Ingres's passive model of the harem beauty?" I asked her. "Someone has to clear this up for me so that I can give my poor mind a rest for a while."

Christiane started by reminding me that in the West, men had kept women out of the arts professions for centuries, and forbade them, just as the Greeks had their slaves long before them, from painting pictures. She quoted Margaret Miles, an American professor of the history of theology, who stated that "The social practice of professional painting also insisted on the painter's male-ness, as academies in which figure drawing and painting from nude models were taught did not admit women until the end of the eighteenth century."<sup>21</sup> Christiane was surprised that I hardly knew anything about a new branch of art literature that focuses on "Le Regard" ("The Gaze"), and started dictating all the titles that she thought I ought to read on that topic – when I interrupted her. "Don't give me any more books to read – just summarize the essentials," I begged her, not wanting to have to pay any more excess-luggage duties than I already undoubtedly faced, when taking the Paris-Casablanca flight. Christiane



DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS.  
THE INTERVENTION OF  
THE SABINE WOMEN  
1796-1799

21 Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), p. 14.

complied by saying that for centuries in her culture, painting, just like thinking, was considered to be an exclusively male privilege. “And what do I mean by the gaze?” Christiane contemplated, sipping her glass of champagne. “Well, look, Western men did not, for example, unlike the painters of Muslim miniatures, represent themselves in the harems they painted. In Ingres’s harem, you don’t find the male partner. Maybe a slave occasionally, but not the master.”

I felt startled – she was right. I had been stupid not to notice that before.

“Eroticism in Western painting,” Christiane went on, “was always a male observer looking at a nude woman he paralyzes in a frame.”

Christiane then stated that, like I, she was absolutely convinced there was a logical connection between philosophy and art, between Kant and Ingres. “Even now,” she said, “I still hear the unavoidable ‘Sole belle et tais-toi’ – be beautiful and shut up – both in the workplace and in personal relations. . . . Fatema, you have to remember that the play *Les Femmes Savantes*, in which Moliere makes fun of women who aspire to be educated, was still being taught while I was in public school, and we are talking about the 1960s.” To prove her point, Christiane recited by heart the passage from the play wherein Clitandre, one of Moliere’s male characters, stresses how much he dislikes educated women:

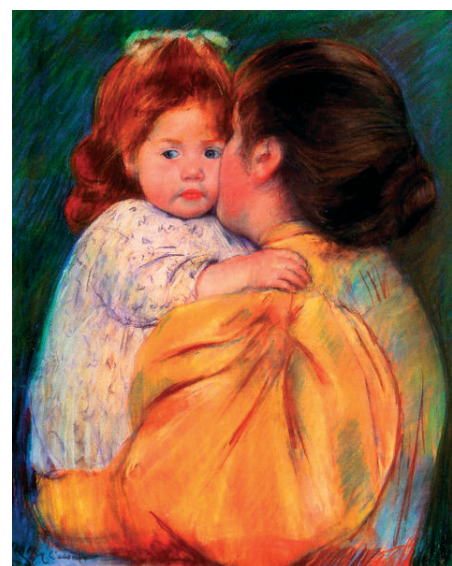
Intellectual women are not to my taste. I grant you, a woman should know all sorts of things. But I cannot abide a woman who feels; the deplorable urge to learn simply to become learned. When such matters crop up in conversation, I’d rather she knew enough not to know what she knows.<sup>22</sup>

The seventeenth century, Christiane went on – that century of enlightenment, when humanism and the cult of reason flourished – was also the century of Moliere and other like-minded men, who achieved enormous success by belittling educated women. “Moliere wrote his *Femmes Savantes* in 1672,” Christiane said, “but even before then, he had made the whole French court laugh at educated women in plays such as *Les Precnenses ridicules* (1659) and *Ecole des femmes* (1663). In all of them, women who aspired to educate themselves about scientific discoveries were portrayed as ugly and repulsive.” No wonder, she concluded, that there were men like Jacques who dreamt of harems filled with passive odalisques and trembled with fear whenever they were attracted to a professional woman.

I kept silent when Christiane started talking about Jacques – I certainly was not going to tell her that he was hoping to kidnap her to a deserted island. She then told me that she had bought a book: for his birthday – *Ways of Seeing* by John Berger. Could you please summarize the main message of that book for me? I pleaded again – what is it exactly that you want Jacques to understand? Nodding, Christiane said that Berger condenses tthe whole Western history of visual images of women into one five-word sentence: “Men act and women appear.” Elaborating, she then quoted

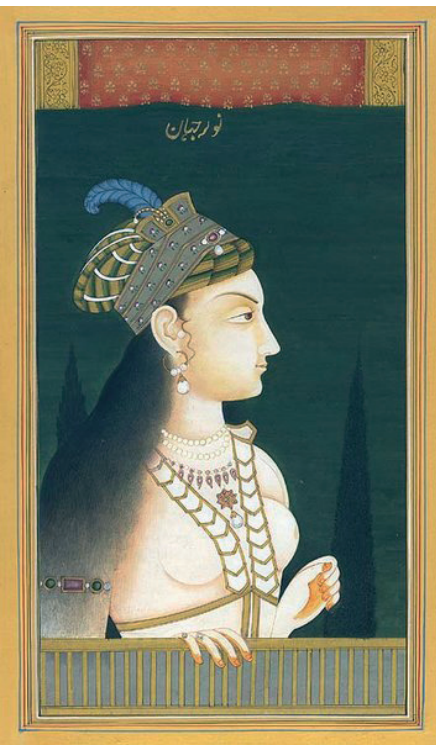


**BANQUET OF THE OFFICERS OF THE ST GEORGE CIVIC GUARD WGA PD**



**KASSAT, MARY. MATERNAL KISS. 1896**

22 Translated to English by John Wood and David Coward in Moliere’s *The Misanthrope And Other Plays* (London: Penguin Books, 1959), p. 264.



**MUGHAL EMPRESS NUR JAHAN**



**NUR JAHAN'S MAUSOLEUM IN SHAHDARA, LAHORE**

another key Berger phrase: “Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.”<sup>23</sup> So it’s no wonder, Christiane concluded, that “image” is a major weapon used by Western men to dominate women.

But how does all this work in Paris, I asked her, where women have invaded the professions and compete with men in all kinds of jobs?

“Yes, sure, women get the jobs,” Christiane said. “But everywhere you see powerful men surrounding themselves with younger women to destabilize the older and more mature women who have reached higher positions. A French company might be housed in a modern glass building on the **Champs-Élysées**, but inside, the atmosphere is still that of a repressive harem. Men feel insecure or jealous when women in senior positions insist on earning as much as they do.”

As we were about to leave the restaurant, Christiane had an interesting flash of insight regarding the Orient. “I wondered when I read your pages about women in Muslim miniatures,” she said, “if the fact that the artists were often attached to the caliph’s or king’s palace did not give the harem women a certain amount of power over what was painted.”

Immediately, the name of Nur-Jahan came to my mind. The wife of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, Nur-Jahan managed, despite her harem seclusion, to influence not only politics but also art. In sixteenth-century India, she dictated to artists how to portray women, and commissioned some of the best ones, living in the imperial court’s ateliers, to paint her armed with a rifle.

“If this Nur-Jahan is not a figment of your imagination, but a historical person who really existed,” Christiane said, “she might provide us with a clue as to why Western women did not influence painting.”

I pricked up my ears. “Be more explicit,” I begged.

“Unlike harem women like Nur-Jahan, who, as the wife of the emperor, was the buyer of the painting, in the West, it was typically men who bought paintings.”

How interesting I thought. It really does pay to provoke foreigners to solve your mysteries for you.

**SOURCE:** Mernissi, Fatema. *Scheherezade Goes West: Different Cultures, Different Harems*. New York: Washington Square Press, 2001. 167-188.

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What example does the author give to promote understanding of the “ideal of feminine beauty in Muslim fantasies”?
2. What have you learnt about the legend of Khusraw and Shirin from the text? What is fascinating about this story?
3. How did women in love in Muslim miniatures solve the problems?
4. What difference has the author found in the portrayal of women by Muslim and Western painters? Compare Muslim miniatures and Ingres’ odalisques.
5. What clue does the story of Nur-Jahan give to the author and Christiane on why Western women did not influence painting?

## JOAN ALTABE OLD MASTERS OVERLOOKED WOMEN ARTISTS

Joan Altabe is an art and architecture critic, currently writing for the “Bradenton Herald,” a Knight-Ridder newspaper on the west coast of Florida.

When you hear the term “Old Master,” you think of men: as if women of long ago didn’t paint and sculpt, as if making art was a guy thing. To evoke women of centuries past is to picture them self-contained as eggs, with tight faces drained of color under sternly coiffed hair.

It’s not your fault. Historians put that picture into your mind. In his treatise *Women and Art*, Karl Scheffler said, “In an Amazonian state, there would be neither culture, history nor art.” He went on to fault women’s inability to gain spiritual insight. Some male artists also sneered at their female colleagues. Edgar Degas, a known male **supremacist**, saw women as “animals” with an “absence of all feeling in the presence of art.” Thomas Hart Benton believed that “an art school is a place for young girls to pass the time between high school and marriage.”

Not that male artists and their chroniclers are the only bad guys in this story. Female historians also have kept their gender down on the farm, so to say. Before I give the bad guys any more space, though, the female artists – known in their day and unknown in ours – should come first.

And while their accomplishments are no joke, I offer this **punchline** to their story ahead of telling it: I was an art major in undergraduate and graduate schools in the early ‘60s, and never heard of these women there until the likes of **Linda Nochlin**, **Whitney Chadwick** and Nancy G. Heller began recording their achievements in the 1980’s and 1990’s. Here’s a sampler, in no particular order:

Fede Galizia, a 17th-century painter, was celebrated for rendering fruit so vividly that her patrons thought they could feel the skins, as in the fuzz of the peaches in her “Still Life with Peaches in a Porcelain Bowl.” She became known for her skill at age 12.

Clara Peeters was another 17th-century painter of still lifes. Hers had to do with human mortality. Peeters suggested the fleetingness of life with imagery of dead leaves, dead chickens and dried out orange slices.

Louise Moillon also was a 17th-century still life painter (I’ll get to why women painted so many still lifes in a moment), who began selling her art at age 10. Her skill at capturing the texture of water droplets and the texture of woven baskets



**ARTEMISIA GENTILESCHI, JUDITH SLAYING HOLOFERNES C.1612-21**

**supremacism** – belief that a particular race, religion, gender, belief system or culture is superior to others

**punchline** – last part of a story or a joke which explains the meaning of what has happened previously or makes it amusing

**Linda Nochlin** – professor and art historian

**Whitney Chadwick** – professor of Art and Art History



**LOUISE MOILLON, STILL-LIFE WITH CHERRIES, STRAWBERRIES AND GOOSEBERRIES. C.1630**



**PROPERZIA DI ROSSI, JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE C.1520**

earned her acceptance into the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. This, even though the Academy decreed still life painting unimportant.

Judith Leyster, a 17th-century artist and mother of 15, was known for large-scale figure painting. Like Moillon, she was inducted into an all-male painters guild.

Properzia di Rossi was a 16th-century sculptor famed for carving complex compositions, such as entire crucifixions, on the pits of apricots and cherries. She won out over male competitors in a contest for a marblework in a Bologna church.

Rachel Ruysch, mother of 10, began painting in the 17th century and worked into her '80s in the following century. She portrayed still lifes of flowers as if they were still alive – twisting with energy.

Francoise Duparc, an 18th-century artist, painted portraits of working class people, and was kept out of the French art world for that reason. She gained her celebrity after the French Revolution.

Lavinia Fontana painted thoughtful portraits between the 16th and 17th centuries that were recognized for showing the sitters' personality, not to mention their clothing and jewelry.

Anne Seymour Damer, a 19th-century portrait sculptor, received commissions from King George III and Napoleon. She was so serious about her work, she asked to be buried with her sculpting tools.

Sarah Miriam Peale, a 19th-century portrait painter, executed likenesses of the then Secretary of State Daniel Webster, numerous congressmen and foreign dignitaries.

Marie-Eleonore Godfroid, another 19th-century portrait painter (coming up is why women painted so many portraits, as soon as I get to why they painted so many still lifes), specialized in socially prominent women and their children.

Marie-Louise-Elisabeth Vigee-LeBrun, an 18th- to 19th-century portrait painter, earned enough money at her art to support herself, her widowed mother, and her younger brother. Sofonisba Anguissola, a 16th-century portraitist, was in demand for her crisp detailing, warm colors and expressive eyes. Michelangelo sent her his drawings to copy and critiqued the result.

Ann-Vallayer-Coster was an 18th-century still-life painter whose chief patron was Marie Antoinette. The French queen gave her an apartment in the royal palace. Her pictures were so popular, even after the Revolution, they continued to sell.

Angelica Kauffmann, an 18th- to 19th-century painter of ancient history, received her first commission before she was a teenager. She founded the British Royal Academy with fellow painter Mary Moser.

Anna Hyatt Huntington, a 20th-century sculptor, was best known for carving life-size images of horses out of marble, complete with flaring nostrils and tousled manes.

Artemisia Gentileschi, a 17th-century painter famed for anatomy and dramatic effect, brought her art teacher to trial for rape, submitting to torture (thumbscrews) in order to be believed. The teacher was jailed for eight months.



This is a good place to show how history can get a determined woman artist wrong, and by that error, reduce her to someone pathetically girlish. A movie bio of Gentileschi called *Artemisia*, which came out three years ago, showed her as a central-casting lovesick girl and the sex between teacher and student as consensual. The irony here is that the filmmaker was a woman.

Another contemporary woman who has disregarded female artists is historian Sister Wendy Beckett. In *The Story of Painting*, published last year, she failed to note that Kauffmann and Moser studied life-drawing at the British Royal Academy, along with English greats William Blake, J.M.W. Turner and Joshua Reynolds.

Do I hear a “so what”?

Here’s what, and also why so many women painted still lifes and portraits: Between the Renaissance and the start of the 20th century, women weren’t permitted to draw from life (nude models). They couldn’t go to schools that offered life-drawing. The nude, you see, was the main subject of art from ancient times to those of Renoir and Rodin. Yet the students in a women’s modeling class at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1893 were forced to use a cow as their model.

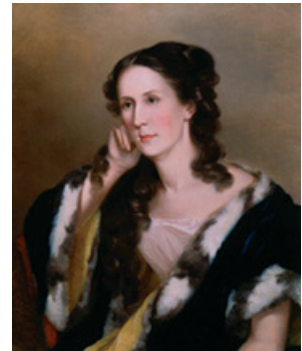
But, here were Kauffmann and Moser studying the human form in an academic setting for the first time, and Sister Wendy’s exhaustive 721-page history goes blank on the subject. She cites a friendship between Kauffmann and Reynolds, but that’s about it. And she doesn’t even mention that Reynolds was a great admirer of Kauffmann’s work. Sister Wendy barely notes the work, citing only a small portrait painted on a vase, completely overlooking Kauffmann’s history paintings.

Do I hear another “so what”? Traditionally, commissions for history paintings went to men, not women, that’s what.

Sister Wendy is certainly not the only female historian to forget to give Kauffmann and Moser their due. Helen Gardner, who wrote *Art Through the Ages* in 1926 – which went on to become a standard college text – didn’t tell the Kauffmann/Moser story, either; although even in their own time at the Royal Academy, these artists experienced disregard. In a portrait of the first class studying a nude – “The Academicians of the Royal Academy” by Johann Zoffany – everyone is shown at work except Kauffmann and Moser. Zoffany put their faces in small portraits on the studio wall.

And remember, from some paragraphs back, the name Anna Hyatt Huntington? Despite being a 20th century artist, when she won first place in a Paris competition for her life-size equestrian statue of Joan of Arc in 1910, the judges took back the prize when they discovered she was female.

The hits kept coming, even later in the 20th century. Coming to mind is a humiliation that Georgia O’Keeffe



**SARAH MIRIAM PEALE,  
MRS. CHARLES RIDGELY  
CARROLL. C.1822**

**ANNA HYATT  
HUNTINGTON,  
WORKHORSE. 1963**





**ANGELICA KAUFFMANN,  
PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN  
DRESSED AS VESTAL  
VIRGIN**



**GEORGIA O'KEEFFE,  
LIGHT IRIS (1924)**

suffered. Despite her protestations, male critics insisted on seeing female genitalia in her flower paintings. O'Keeffe was so embarrassed by the comparison that she told New York art critic Emily Genauer, "I hate flowers. I paint them because they're cheaper than models and they don't move."

Once, she tried to stand up to those who called her work "shameless" by explaining her paintings: "Everything was going so fast. Nobody has time to reflect... There was a flower. It was perfectly beautiful, but it was so small, you really could not appreciate it. So I thought to make it like a huge building going up. If I could paint that flower on a huge scale, then you could not ignore its beauty. People would be startled. They'd have to look at it."

They did and they saw vulvas.

O'Keeffe was outraged to the point of dysfunction, unable to paint at one point, because of what most critics saw in her work. She went back to it eventually.

Beyond women's artmaking, then, was their drive. You might even say their heroics. Consider this accepted book of rules for women in the 18th century, called "Domestic Guide":

"To be able to do a great many things tolerably well is of infinitely more value to a woman than to be able to excel in any one... All that would involve her in the mazes of flattery and admiration, all that would tend to draw away her thoughts from others and fix them on herself ought to be avoided as an evil to her, however brilliant or attractive it may be in itself."

The admonition didn't end in the 18th century. When 19th century animal sculptor Rosa Bonheur sought to get animal anatomy just right by visiting slaughterhouses in trousers, she needed a police permit to wear the trousers. The permit needed renewing every six months. She made the effort.

Heroes, all, don't you think?

#### **RELATED STORY:**

Women and Art: An interview with Judy Chicago. By John W. Whitehead

**SOURCE:** Altabe, Joan. "Old Masters: Overlooked Women Artists". Gadfly Online.

<<http://www.gadflyonline.com/01-14-02/ptr-women.html>>

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. Who do you imagine when you hear the term "Old Master"?
2. What do Scheffer, Degas, and Benton say about women's abilities? Do you agree with them? Why?
3. Whom does the author consider responsible for the "overlooking of women artists"?
4. Why did so many women paint still lifes and portraits?
5. What can you say about attitude to women artists between the Renaissance and the start of the 20th century? How would you characterize this attitude?
6. What did male critics see in O'Keeffe's painting? Does their perception influence yours? Why?

## INGRID D. ROWLAND THE TITAN OF TITANS

Ingrid D. Rowland is a professor of Art History. She writes and lectures on Classical Antiquity, the Renaissance and the Age of Baroque for general as well as specialist readers. She is a frequent contributor to the *New York Review of Books*. Her recent books include *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (1998), and *The Scarith of Scornello: A Tale of Renaissance Forgery*. On April 27, 2006 she wrote a review "The Titan of Titans" of *Michelangelo Drawings: Closer to the Master* Catalog of the exhibition by Hugo Chapman, *Michelangelo and the Reinvention of the Human Body* by James Hall, *Michelangelo's Mountain: The Quest for Perfection in the Marble Quarries of Carrara* by Eric Scigliano, for the *New York Review of Books*.

### REVIEW

#### **Michelangelo Drawings: Closer to the Master**

Catalog of the exhibition by Hugo Chapman

An exhibition at the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, the Netherlands, October 5, 2005–January 8, 2006, and the British Museum, London, March 23–June 25, 2006  
Yale University Press, 320 pp.

#### **Michelangelo and the Reinvention of the Human Body**

by James Hall

Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 312 pp.

#### **Michelangelo's Mountain:**

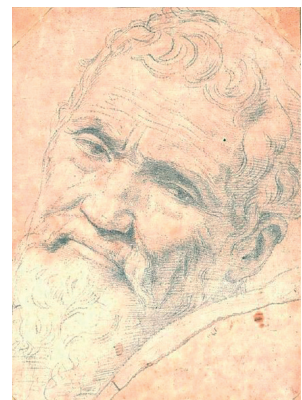
#### **The Quest for Perfection in the Marble Quarries of Carrara**

by Eric Scigliano

Free Press, 352 pp.

One of the mysteries of the modern world is the intense personal sympathy many people seem to have for the stingy, crabbed, resentful Florentine sculptor whose real fame resides in only a **handful** of works: the *Pietà* in St. Peter's, the *David* in **Florence**, the *Moses* in Rome's Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, the Sistine Chapel ceiling, the *Last Judgment*, and a series of unfinished *Captives* in Florence and the Louvre. A handful of works it may be, but that handful is surely as illustrious as any in the history of Western art, and we feel so close to their maker that we address him freely by his first name: Michelangelo.

If we now see Michelangelo as the Titan of Titans in his age of artistic **giants**, it is partly because he has been so insistently described to us as a Titan by his adoring biographers, **Ascanio Condivi** and **Giorgio Vasari**. In fact, like most



**VOLTERRA, DANIELE DA.  
PORTRAIT OF  
MICHELANGELO**

#### **handful –**

arbitrary number of items, usually as many as one can reasonable carry with one hand

#### **Florence –**

(Italian: Firenze) capital city of the region of Tuscany, Italy

#### **giants –**

legendary humanlike beings of great stature and strength

#### **Ascanio Condivi –**

(1525-1574) Italian painter and writer. Generally regarded as a mediocre artist, he is primarily remembered as the biographer of Michelangelo

#### **Giorgio Vasari –**

(July 30, 1511 - June 27, 1574) Italian painter and architect, known for his famous biographies of Italian artists



**BUONARROTI,  
MICHELANGELO.  
PIETÀ. ST. PETER'S  
BASILICA, ROME. 1499**  
Marble sculpture, Vatican

Titans, he was an unpleasant man to know. Physically unattractive, especially after his fellow artist Jacopo Torrigiani broke his nose in a fistfight, Michelangelo seems to have made no effort to compensate for his lack of physical beauty by personal charm. Despite the wealth he accumulated with a miser's greedy desperation, he slept in his clothes, right down to the dogskin boots that became so encrusted to his legs that his own skin came off on the rare occasions when he removed them. Jealousy consumed him, especially jealousy of Raphael, whose good looks, social skills, and instincts for mass marketing he lacked and whose seemingly boundless talent he **grudgingly** shared.

Yet in front of the *Pietà*, or the *David*, or beneath the **Sistine Chapel** ceiling, none of this matters. In portraying courage, pride, grief, and spiritual vision, Michelangelo shows our humanity to us with clarity and a surprising gentleness. Like the great architect **Francesco Borromini**, who admired him as “the prince of architects,” Michelangelo could only love humanity in the abstract, but it was a love of heroic intensity, heroic enough to match the size of his talent. The old miser turned **prodigal** when it came to freeing a figure from its shroud of marble, and no less prodigal when he built up huge imaginary structures of painted plaster on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel to populate with biblical heroes. He learned to think artistically, however, through what his contemporaries called *disegno*, drawing, the exercise that underlay every aspect of art, and ideas about art, in Renaissance Florence.

On one of his drawings, Michelangelo jotted a note to his pupil Antonio Mini: “Draw, Antonio, draw, Antonio, draw – don’t waste time.” (The admonition sounds still more insistent in his unpunctuated Tuscan vernacular: “*Disegna Antonio disegna Antonio disegna non perdere tempo.*”) As Antonio well knew, Michelangelo lived by his own advice. For almost eighty years (he was apprenticed at twelve, and died at eighty-eight), he drew as if nothing were more important to him: in ink, in pencil-like black chalk, and, most **magnificently**, in soft red chalk. With the help of a few white highlights, he could give his drawings such shimmering, vibrant contrasts of light and shade that their two-dimensional figures invite a surreptitious touch as irresistibly as his sculpture.

With few exceptions, Michelangelo’s drawings concentrated on two themes: classical architecture and the human figure, in his case almost exclusively the human male. But then Renaissance architects, like the architects of ancient Greece and Rome, wrote of classical columns as if they were in fact human: they referred to Doric youths, Ionic matrons, Corinthian maidens. In some classical buildings statues replaced columns altogether, like the stately Caryatids who hold up the Porch of the Maidens on the Athenian Acropolis, or the wild, hairy male figures called *telamones*, after Telamon, the father of Homer’s big, slow hero Ajax. The fifteenth-century architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini extended the ancient analogy between buildings and people still further, to include the floor plans of churches – which he drew as images of Christ on the cross – and the stacks of ornamental moldings that decorated rooflines both ancient and Renaissance. To these he gave faces and profiles as if they were ancient Roman patricians or grinning grotesques.

In Rome, where Michelangelo spent half his life, ancient statues and ancient monuments were so plentiful that they came to be seen as part of nature, examples to be studied with the same attention as the rippling muscles of a studio assistant or the cadavers he and **Leonardo da Vinci** skinned to learn exactly how those muscles worked. In his native Florence, Michelangelo collected Etruscan bronzes whose strange, exaggerated anatomy made them powerfully expressive. He also studied Leonardo da

**grudgingly –**

action or feeling which you do or have unwillingly

**Sistine Chapel –**

a chapel in the Apostolic Palace, the official residence of the Pope, in the Vatican City

**Francesco Borromini –**

(September 25, 1599 - August 3, 1667) prominent and influential Baroque architect in Rome

**prodigal –**

wasteful with money; tending to spend large amounts without thinking of the future.

**magnificent –**

very good, beautiful or deserving to be admired.

**Leonardo di ser Piero da Vinci –**

(April 15, 1452 - May 2, 1519) Italian polymath: scientist, mathematician, engineer, inventor, anatomist, painter, sculptor, architect, musician, and writer

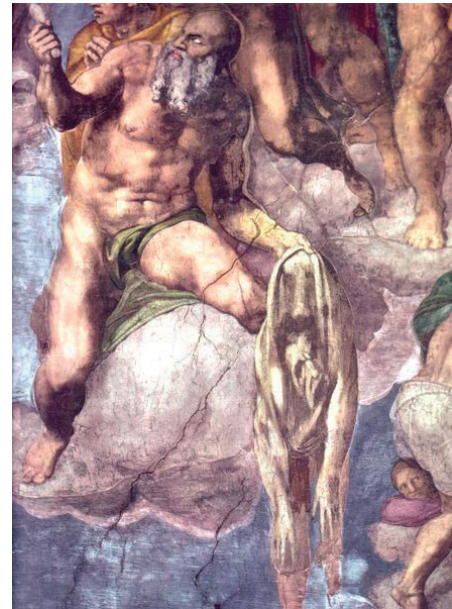
Vinci and **Donato Bramante**, the modern masters who had become classics by his own time, struggling to emulate Leonardo's swift pen and Bramante's majestic scale. Michelangelo may have been a notorious loner, but his artistic imagination thrived on contact with the work of other people, both living and long dead, and this may be why he continues to connect so unerringly with the generations after him.

The sheer sociability of Michelangelo's art shows to marvelous effect in the gathering of his drawings recently exhibited at the Teylers Museum in Haarlem and currently on display at the British Museum. His earliest works, in pen, are scratchy and angular, with popping eyes, their subjects ranging from a sketchy group of onlookers to the profile of what a nineteenth-century London curator identified as Satan (the figure may actually be an Etruscan demon). Michelangelo's apprenticeship in the studio of the painter **Domenico Ghirlandaio** clearly taught him solid artistic practice, evident in his early but hardly exciting works. However, he needed a stiffer challenge to discover his true skill as a draftsman. That challenge came in the person of Leonardo da Vinci, commissioned, like Michelangelo, to provide a fresco for one of the long walls of the new Hall of the Great Council in the **Palazzo Vecchio**, the city hall of Florence.

At the time of this commission, in 1504, Florence had just renewed its old republican government by casting out first the Medici family (in 1494) and then the Dominican firebrand Fra Girolamo Savonarola (in 1498). Exhilarated by their sudden freedom from tyranny, the Florentines began to commission works of public art, beginning with Michelangelo's *David* (1501–1504), a sculpted distillation of the pride and wariness that guided the new republican city-state under its "Standard-Bearer," Pietro Soderini, and its secretary, Niccolò Machiavelli.

The frescoes for the new Hall of the Great Council were to portray two Florentine military victories over neighboring powers: the Battle of Anghiari, where a Florentine militia had trounced Milan in 1440, and the Battle of Cascina (1364), in which Florence had conquered the port of **Pisa**, itself newly independent of Florentine rule since 1504. Leonardo's incomparably lively sketches for the *Battle of Anghiari* inspired a thirtyish Michelangelo to try drawing knots of men and horses for his own *Battle of Cascina* (two examples are on display in the Haarlem exhibition). But Michelangelo never shared Leonardo's fascination with nature, or the elder artist's peerless facility with pen and ink. Leonardo's sketches of galloping horses kicking up the dust have a dynamism that Michelangelo simply could not equal – but then neither could anyone else.

It is no accident, then, that Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina* focused instead on a moment in the conflict when a troop of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the river Arno, were startled by a sudden attack by the forces of Pisa; caught naked, they are climbing out of the water and putting on their armor. Horses are grazing far away and the bodies are pushed to the foreground, twisting and turning in a virtuoso display. Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina* became as fa-



**DETAIL OF  
MICHELANGELO'S  
"THE LAST JUDGEMENT"  
(SISTINE CHAPEL)**

1535-1541. Saint Bartholomew holding the knife of his martyrdom and his flayed skin. The face of the skin is Michelangelo's.

**Donato Bramante –**

(1444 - March 11, 1514) Italian architect who introduced the Early Renaissance style to Milan and the High Renaissance style to Rome, where his most famous design was St. Peter's Basilica

**Domenico Ghirlandaio –**

(1449 - January 11, 1494) renowned Florentine Renaissance painter, and contemporary of Botticelli and Filippino Lippi

**Palazzo Vecchio –**

town hall of Florence, Italy. Originally called the Palazzo della Signoria, after the Signoria of Florence, the ruling body of the Republic of Florence

**Pisa –**

city in Tuscany, central Italy, on the right bank of the mouth of the Arno River on the Ligurian Sea. It is the capital city of the Province of Pisa.



**MICHELANGELO, MOSES.**

Located in a minor church of San Pietro in Vincoli on the Esquiline (near the ancient Coliseum) in Rome – Moses is the figure bottom center.

**Pope Sixtus IV –**

(July 21, 1414 - August 12, 1484), Pope from 1471 to 1484. He founded the Sistine Chapel where the team of artists he brought together introduced the Early Renaissance to Rome with the first masterpiece of the city's new artistic age.

**Julius –**

Pope Julius II (aka. Papa Terrible)

**Saint Peter –**

Saint Peter's basilica in the Vatican City.

**Charlton Heston –**

(born John Charles Carter on October 4, 1923) iconic Academy Award-winning American film actor, best known for playing larger-than-life heroic roles such as Moses in *The Ten Commandments* and Judah Ben-Hur in *Ben-Hur*

**sarcophagus –**

stone container for a coffin or body

mous in its own way as Leonardo's for the *Battle of Anghiari*; one provided a virtual encyclopedia of the human frame in motion, one of the interaction between horses and riders. Neither fresco was ever completed; Leonardo, as he did so often, tried a new recipe for paint, in hopes of replacing the matte surface of fresco (pigment applied to wet plaster) with glistening oil. The *Battle of Anghiari* failed to dry, and eventually slid off the wall. Michelangelo, just as characteristically, dropped work on the *Battle of Cascina* because he got a better offer from Rome.

That offer came from Pope Julius II, the famous *papa terribile*, a human whirlwind who as Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had amassed the city's most phenomenal collection of ancient sculpture (it now forms the nucleus of the Belvedere Collection in the Vatican Museums). Cardinal Giuliano had also commissioned new sculpture, notably the bronze tomb of his uncle, **Pope Sixtus IV**, a freestanding catafalque in the wiry style of Antonio del Pollaiuolo, decked out with voluptuous weeping figures of the liberal arts. As pope, **Julius** envisioned his own tomb as something still grander than his uncle's; a small marble building set beneath the crossing of St. Peter's basilica, the huge early Christian structure he had ordered razed and replaced by a wholly new church. He gave the commission for designing the new **St. Peter's** to Donato Bramante, an artist whose mild personal manner disguised a capacity for epic visions that matched the Pope's own. He offered the tomb commission to Michelangelo, and shortly thereafter added on another assignment: frescoing the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel.

Sketches for these two projects took up about a third of the show in Haarlem, from closely observed figure studies to evanescent sketches of the mighty architectural scheme that melds the disparate scenes of the Sistine Chapel ceiling into a single coherent structure. In his own way, Julius and his unerring patron's eye provided Michelangelo with an artistic challenge as stiff as that posed by Leonardo, and the drawings show the effects of that challenge; they are as good as Michelangelo can make them. It was Julius who vetoed Michelangelo's original design for the Sistine Chapel ceiling, with figures of the twelve apostles, and it was Julius whose flailing cane almost literally whipped the huge project to completion. The muscled bodies, muscular architecture, and wild colors are Michelangelo's own, and yet they, too, must owe some profound debt to the stubborn old priest who first willed them into being.

Julius had less luck with his own tomb. Michelangelo completed perhaps four of the twenty-seven figures he had originally envisioned, and the tomb itself was moved from St. Peter's to the Roman basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli (St. Peter in Chains), where Cardinal Giuliano had served as titular bishop. The construction we see today was delivered forty years behind schedule, and delivered only in part, but it is a powerful, enigmatic work even in its partial state. After all, one of the figures is the colossal image of Moses, carrying his tablets in one huge arm and holding back his long, unruly beard with his other hand. (To viewers of a certain age, Moses looks uncannily like **Charlton Heston**.) He is surmounted by the life-sized image of Julius reclining atop his own **sarcophagus** in good Etruscan style (most art historians now believe that Michelangelo executed this unfinished image as well); anyone who knew the Pope must have felt that the old man was more than a match for the sculpted giant. The tomb has been set in the church so that we see them first from the side, and from this vantage Moses and Julius II both seem to be full of frustrated energy, ready to get up and walk away from their tableau vivant at any minute. When we see them from the front, however, they have both

relaxed; Julius looks down at – or beyond – Moses with the inclined head and intent expression that must have been characteristic of the man. Botticelli and Raphael also portrayed him with this same inclined head and abstracted gaze, noting it, moreover, at nearly thirty years' remove, in 1482 and 1510.

After Julius's death in 1513, the papacy fell to Leo X, son of Lorenzo de' Medici, who engineered a return of Medici rule in Florence, first under his short-lived brother Giuliano and then under his cousin, Cardinal Giulio. Tugging on Michelangelo's patriotism (and forgiving his republican adventures), Cardinal Giulio brought the artist back to Florence, holding out the prospect of a series of commissions for the Medici parish church of San Lorenzo: a funeral chapel for the family in the right-hand ("New") sacristy, a marble façade for San Lorenzo's bare exterior of fifteenth-century brick, and a design for the Medici library, which had been housed since its creation within San Lorenzo's monastery. The *Battle of Cascina*, conceived in a moment free from Medici rule, could be conveniently forgotten; *David*, standing proudly before the Palazzo della Signoria, could not – no matter the political climate, he had become the embodiment of Florence. Michelangelo would eventually finish the vestibule for the Medici library with marvelously graceful stairs and leave his other assignments incomplete, for when Cardinal Giulio succeeded to the papacy in 1524 as Clement VII, Michelangelo once again returned to Rome.

His later years were taken up increasingly with architectural commissions: decades after Bramante (who had died in 1514), he would become architect of St. Peter's in his own right, modernizing Bramante's design by doubling the height of the ornamental pilasters that give the present building its tremendous sense of scale. He also redesigned the site of Rome's city hall, the Campidoglio, the family palazzo of Pope Paul III (Palazzo Farnese), and a chapel for the Sforza family attached to the ancient basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. The Sforza Chapel's obvious debt to the daring shapes and colossal scale of ancient Roman baths finds an echo in a nearby church also designed by Michelangelo: Santa Maria degli Angeli, set in a colossal hall of the Baths of Diocletian. For all of these commissions, he continued to draw, both his own designs and the works, ancient and modern, that he saw around him.

Like most other artists of his time, Michelangelo hoarded drawing paper; it was expensive. He turned sheets at right angles or upside down to use up every vacant space. Sometimes, when he set an architectural design on its head, he came up with a new idea, defying the fact that the individual elements that make up classical architecture, such as columns, moldings, and door and window frames, all have a definite up and down. Columns narrow at the top; egg and dart moldings set the darts beneath the eggs, brackets hold up cornices and balconies. Strikingly, some of Michelangelo's pilasters for the Campidoglio and the Julius tomb reverse this usual classical pattern (and the basic laws of load and support) to grow wider from bottom to top. The Julius tomb also has a range of outsize, upside-down brackets.



MICHELANGELO, DAVID



**DONATELLO, DAVID.**  
**C. 1425-1430. MUSEO**  
**NAZIONALE DEL**  
**BARGELLO, FLORENCE**

**Vittoria Colonna –**  
 (Marino, 1492 - Rome,  
 February 25, 1547),  
 marchioness of Pescara, Italian  
 noblewoman and poet

**Cecil Blount DeMille –**  
 (August 12, 1881 - January  
 21, 1959) one of the most  
 successful filmmakers during  
 the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

During this same period, Michelangelo became involved in one of the movements for religious reform that grew up within Catholicism after its break with Martin Luther in 1521. This group revolved around the English cardinal Reginald Pole, the Venetian cardinal Gasparo Contarini, and the Roman noblewoman **Vittoria Colonna**, whose marriage to a Neapolitan marchese, Alfonso d'Avalos, had put her into contact with the intellectual circles of Naples. Widowhood brought her back to Rome from her picturesque but lonely castle on the island of Ischia in the Bay of Naples. Here she met the elderly Michelangelo, who provided her with a series of devotional drawings as well as a series of vernacular sonnets; both of them were accomplished poets.

Several of these late drawings are displayed in the Haarlem show. Their woolly execution and sentimental piety appealed greatly to Colonna herself, who noted of one of them that it had “crucified in my memory every other picture I have ever seen.” Indeed, Michelangelo’s flat-faced Christ is visibly gasping out his last breath, eyes rolled back into his head and barrel chest sagging wearily. The decisive line that distinguishes Michelangelo’s earlier drawings survives only in his designs for architecture. Like Titian, his virtual contemporary, Michelangelo adopted a distinctive style in his old age that differs significantly from his earlier work, largely in the direction of muddiness. Where Titian used muddy colors, Michelangelo resorted to muddy lines. Perhaps, as some have suggested, their hands hurt. Perhaps the change had nothing to do with the state of their hands but rather of the world they lived in. Notably, however, Titian painted for Vittoria Colonna a pink, plump *Penitent Magdalene*, now in the Pitti Palace in Florence, whose devotion is anything but dreary.\*

The shared catalog for the Haarlem show and its London sequel, written by the British Museum’s Hugo Chapman, is really an artistic biography told through the drawings, but with several informative sidelights, including how drawings were made in the sixteenth century and how Michelangelo’s drawings have been collected over the centuries in Italy, Britain, and the Netherlands. If the biography sounds on occasion like Irving Stone’s 1961 novel *The Agony and the Ecstasy*, it is because Stone’s careful research used the same sources to tell the same tale. There was a time, indeed, when the public image of Michelangelo and Julius II was almost entirely shaped by *The Agony and the Ecstasy* or its cinematic version, with Rex Harrison playing Julius II and Charlton Heston playing Michelangelo. In these days of *The Da Vinci Code*, with its slapdash analysis of Leonardo and its yarns about the Holy Grail, Stone’s novel looks especially impressive, not least because he managed to present Michelangelo’s attraction for men sympathetically in days when that was not so easy. The movie, on the other hand, has become as dated as the female leads’ Cleopatra eyeliner and false eyelashes, not to mention the climactic scene where Heston, sweating amid the marble quarries of Carrara, conjures up the celestial vision of a dirty brown Sistine Chapel as the heavens resound with the (as yet unwritten) *Hallelujah Chorus*. The story has it that when **Cecil B. DeMille** was looking around for a lead in *The Ten Commandments*, he drew a white beard on Charlton Heston’s studio photograph, saw the actor’s resemblance to Michelangelo’s statue, and the rest is cinematic history.

Irving Stone was a professional writer who also produced well-researched biographical novels on Heinrich Schliemann (*The Greek Treasure*) and Vincent Van Gogh (*Lust for Life*). Hugo Chapman is a professional curator of drawings, yet he specifically notes at the beginning of his catalog that he is not an expert on Michelangelo. James Hall, a journalist, makes the same kind of demurrer at the beginning



of *Michelangelo and the Reinvention of the Human Body*. For all these authors, an admitted freshness in their approach to their subject lends their writing a sense of exploration and a contagious excitement (although Chapman, as associate keeper for the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum, probably has as close an acquaintance with Michelangelo's hand when it meets paper as anyone). This distance, or innocence, also permits a refreshing freedom to ask hard questions; thus Hall simply notes at the beginning of his book that Michelangelo's women, whether carved or painted, usually look like men, and wonders about the implications of this fact. He is right to wonder: Michelangelo's versatility in passing from poetry to painting to sculpture to architecture was largely devoted to portraying men's bodies along with the odd grotesque.

Hall goes on to present Michelangelo's life through drawing, painting, and sculpture: a melancholy, lonely life, marked indelibly by the early loss of his mother and his father's obsessive pretensions to aristocracy. The contrasts with Raphael are suggestive; although the younger artist was entirely orphaned by the age of eleven, he spent his childhood with his family and absorbed their thoroughly middle-class devotion to the idea that hard work and good manners, rather than birth, provided the key to success. When Raphael finally made money, he spent it, **shrewdly**. Michelangelo hoarded everything: love, talent, wealth, success, and begrudged them to the rest of the world. The marble workers of **Carrara** called him a swindler. His father accused Michelangelo of turning him out of his own house. Yet the artist's letters, some translated at the end of Chapman's text, show how often, and how generously, he made secret gifts to the poor.

Sometimes, however, a fresh approach to a subject can mean missing a nuance. Although Hall mentions Michelangelo's ties with the Etruscans, his discussion of that connection is somewhat academic, whereas for Michelangelo the bonds to his Etruscan heritage were anything but: they ran as deep as his bonds to the Tuscan soil that provided ravenous Renaissance appetites with wine, truffles, and Etruscan artifacts. For sixteenth-century Tuscans, as for their fourteenth- and fifteenth-century predecessors, Etruscan aesthetics were as natural as eating or drinking, and we can see their effect on Michelangelo's work. For all his heroic height, his big hands and imposing head, David has the body of a small, wiry man with long arms; these compact proportions and the springy tension that suffuses them are also what give Etruscan sculptures their crazy charm, and Michelangelo knew them well; Casa Buonarroti is full of them.

*Michelangelo's Mountain* by the Italian writer Eric Scigliano enters this visceral side of Michelangelo by literally climbing up into the blindingly white marble quarries of Carrara (where the author's family originated) in order to present him specifically as a sculptor, who was nursed by a stonecutter's wife and claimed to have imbibed stone along with her milk. All his life, Michelangelo could hew marble with astonishing speed – another reason for his Titanic reputation – and he composed his thoughts as readily by pounding an iron chisel into stone as by making a drawing.



**ST. PETER'S BASILICA  
IN ROME SEEN FROM  
THE ROOF OF CASTEL  
SANT'ANGELO.**

Michelangelo designed the dome of St. Peter's Basilica, although it was unfinished when he died

**shrewd –**

possessing or based on a clear understanding and good judgment of a situation, resulting in an advantage

**Carrara –**

city in the province of Massa-Carrara (Tuscany, Italy), famous for the white or blue-gray marble quarried there



**MICHELANGELO.**  
**MADONNA WITH CHILD.**  
Brügge cathedral “Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk”, Belgium

Stingy with paper, he seems to have wasted marble with reckless abandon. After carving a narrow, intractable block into *David*, as Scigliano suggests, Michelangelo seems to have developed a craving to test his sculptural ingenuity, or adaptability, and take it to greater and greater extremes. As a result, with a certain consistency and at tremendous cost, he chiseled marble into forms that he could barely complete. His *Captives* in the Accademia of Florence, destined once for the tomb of Julius II, still emerge from their stone shrouds with such evocative force that we hardly notice their faults. And yet the blockheaded *Captive* who bends under his stony headgear like a weary Atlas carries marble enough for only part of his face; another *Captive* crowds so near the edge of his enclosing stone that he has no room left for his right arm. Among Scigliano’s contemporary portraits of Carrara quarrymen, anarchists nourished on slabs of lard cured for six months in marble vats, moving mountains as a way of life, Michelangelo seems to fit right in as he never did in Florence or Rome. The only other person who could ever really keep him company was Julius II; and Julius may have chosen to sleep for all eternity in Michelangelo’s marble, but he preferred to live with frescoes by Raphael.

## NOTES

The same absence of lugubrious piety distinguished a recent show on Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence; a fascinating look at Neapolitan culture and sixteenth-century religious reform in its political as well as its theological implications. See the catalog, *Vittoria Colonna e Michelangelo*, edited by Pina Ragionieri (Florence: Mandragora, 2005).

**SOURCE:** Rowland, Ingrid D. “The Titan of Titans”. *New York Review of Books*. Volume 53, Number 7. April 27, 2006

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Why is Michelangelo called “The Titan of Titans”?
2. How does Michelangelo show our humanity?
3. How did Michelangelo learn to think artistically?
4. What do you know about strengths of Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci?
5. What was the role of Pope Julius II in the project of the Sistine Chapel ceiling?
6. How does Evic Scigliano describe Michelangelo? Can you compare how Evic Scigliano and James Hall present Michelangelo? Is there any similarity in their presentations?

## MIREILLE ASTORE ART, AUTOBIOGRAPHY, AND THE MATERNAL ABJECT

A well-known artist and poet, Mireille Astore has showed her artistic output in numerous solo and group shows. She has published her art in various scholarly books and journals in the Western World.

*Through the mangroves, I give birth and choke on an aerial root the size of an umbilical cord - Mireille Astore*

*I give birth to myself amid the violence of sobs, of vomit - Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror*

I make art in order to understand the self and to contextualize personal experiences within the framework of contemporary art discourses. It is my way of bringing different life forces together, of combining the ordinary with the extraordinary, the normal with the abnormal, and the subject with its abject. Through my art, I explore what it is to be a woman, an Arab living in a Western culture, and an artist. Julia Kristeva states that “the ‘woman effect’ entails a specific relationship to both power and language.... [T]his particular relationship is based on ... being a source of silent support, a useful backdrop and an invisible intermediary” (Guberman 1996,104).

Through the Maternal Abject photographic series, I attempt to construct a visual narrative on contemporary nuclear motherhood. In my images, the dismantling of spontaneity, the systemic isolation, and the cultural invisibility merge with the surrender of the self, the self that has been painstakingly constructed from dispersed, and in some instances lost, realities. As such, inherent conflicts about motherhood and my search for what binds me and separates me from my own children are the compelling forces behind this photographic series.

### THE ABJECT

Georges Bataille defines *abjection* as “the inability to assume with sufficient strength the imperative act of excluding abject things (and that act establishes the foundations of collective existence)” (1970, 217). His interest in heterogeneous elements constitutes a project to strip away ideological screens and to expose hypocrisies that try to conceal and make palatable a basically meaningless existence. As a result, Bataille considers “the vilest, most discouraging and corrupted things in the world” (Ades 1976, 12). He calls abjection the inability to come to terms with the imperative of excluding the repulsive. He places the abject at the heart of our collective existence and tests the hypocrisy of a social order. Bataille has much distaste for banning from view processes that are very much part of life. He gives the example of temples, which in times past were places of prayer and slaughter. Through Western modernity, the two functions have become separated to such an extent as to become antitheses to each other. It is as if “acts of purification” take place with the

sole purpose of rejecting the abject and to relegate it to the unseen (Hollier 1992, xii). It is interesting to note, however, that through *Halal* (religious acceptance in Islam), this relationship between slaughter and prayer has been preserved.

According to Julia Kristeva, abjection is a state of crisis, of self-disgust and disgust toward others. It is not so much the physically repulsive but that which “disturbs identity, system, order” (1982, 4). It is something that simultaneously fascinates and repels, distresses and relieves. It does not exist outside the self, yet it threatens it. It is that which has emanated from the person's sense of order, be it biological, social, or spiritual. Abjection is not only the individual's relationship to the more acknowledged forms such as vomit, excrement, and the corpse but also a whole set of systems that nurture that relationship. In religion, for example, it manifests itself as taboo or sin, and in a social and legal framework it is not unlike corruption. Therefore, to be in a state of abjection is to merge the Other, that which is outside the self, with the self. Kristeva describes the abject thus: “We may call it border-abjection above all ambiguity. Because while releasing a hold, it does not radically cut off the subject from what threatens it – on the contrary, abjection acknowledges it to be in perpetual danger” (9).

The all-encompassing world of abjection does fill me with a simultaneous sense of horror and peace. The knowledge that I can never contain the abject and that it is within me, and indeed within every human being, fuels my search to identify it in all its manifestations. It is, as Elizabeth Grosz expresses it, “the impossible desire to transcend corporeality” (1989, 72). In fact, it is this search that I yearn for and that constitutes my artistic process. As Kristeva says: “When one is in a state of abjection, the borders between the object and the subject cannot be maintained” (Penwarden 1995, 22).

## MOTHERING

Mothering is invisible and castrated. Susan Maushart in her book *Mask of Motherhood* (1997) details the way women negate their experience. Artists, including myself, have tended to also make less of the actuality of mothering. Julia Kristeva states that “we should recognise the civilising role that mothers play.... Feminists have not stressed this enough and neither have the media, who usually portrays mothers as housekeepers.... Mothers perform a sort of miracle by separating themselves from the children while loving them and teaching them to speak.... [T]his gives [the children] a corporeal and sensory pleasure as well as an intellectual one” (Guberman 1996, 10).

My interest in the maternal abject is a search into some of the processes a woman undergoes when she becomes a mother and the subsequent mother-child separation that occurs in the child. Physical, semiotic, and social phenomena take place when the child separates from the mother and forms its own identity, and these issues, which have historically not been given much credence, stimulate my art and my need to give them a visual representation. I investigate the barriers and misconceptions that a woman faces when she enters motherhood in a Western culture. I also examine the way motherhood is relegated to the domestic and how it renders her invisible.

## THE MATERNAL ABJECT

It is through the process of making art that I explore my own psyche. I search for my own identity as a mother and the identity of my children through the channels that link us as well as the ones that separate us. It is a process of trying to understand the nature of that most intense form of love that occurs between two human beings, a love whose roots stem from an abject relationship whereby a mother tries to keep herself bound to the child while at the same time working continuously at teaching her child to become independent, to acquire language,

and, finally, to separate from her. John Lechte (1990, 29) interprets the role of this love as necessary for the child to exit the oral and anal phases and to enter the acquisition-of-language phase.

I believe that it is in the maternal that the abject is most prominent. If we were to itemize this form of abjection, the cycle begins at the onset of pregnancy with the woman's "nausea" – also known as morning sickness. There, the abject resides within the visceral substance of the lining of the womb for the duration of the pregnancy. Grosz interprets Kristeva's abject this way: "Like the abject, maternity is the splitting, fusing, merging, fragmenting of a series of bodily processes outside the will or control of the subject" (Grosz 1989, 79).

The abject surfaces again during the birthing drive with the painful convulsions of the womb known as contractions, the rupture of the membranes, and the gushing of the amniotic fluid. Abjection then intensifies with the emergence of a squirming, visceral infant possibly via a tear in the woman's flesh, as in an episiotomy or in a caesarean section. There, both mother and child face simultaneously yet not independently the life and death drives. The umbilical cord, another piece of flesh, is cut with a sharp instrument to initiate the transformation of one being into two. Finally, the placenta, which has been the life-giving force for the infant, is expelled from the woman's body.

Very soon after the birthing process, abjection presents itself with the cause-and-effect process: mother's breast milk and infant's feces. For the mother, the infant's excrement, as separate from the screams, becomes the most intimate way the child can communicate with her. Through its color, consistency, and frequency, the mother faces the abject and returns herself to the preverbal stage of signs in order to learn and interpret the child's needs. It is at the end of the phase of breast milk and infant's excrement that another form of abjection takes place: the child's separation from the mother, its acquisition of language, and the mapping of its body.

Rosalind Krauss explains: "The child's losing battle for autonomy is performed as a kind of mimicry of the impassability of the body's own frontier, with freedom coming only delusively as the convulsive, retching evacuation of one's own insides, and thus abjection of oneself" (1996, 89). In other words, Krauss alludes to the fact that as a child attempts to separate from its mother, it approaches the act of abjection in order to free itself from within. From the time of birth until the child enters its own subjectivity, it does not distinguish between its own body and its mother's body. Therefore, to the infant, the mother's body is an extension or a part of its own, and it remains so until the child recognizes first its own body parts, and then its unified body. As such, the child is driven to expel the mother in order for it to exist. It is as if the child instinctively feels that as long as the mother is within it, it will never grow and become a subject. Expulsion of the mother's body is the child's first act of non-corporal abjection such as sucking, screaming, excreting, or vomiting. Therefore, by attempting to understand our relationship to the maternal or indeed trace its origin, we are in fact trying to understand our state of abjection.

Kristeva explains how separation from the mother coincides with the acquisition

of language through the negation of the image and the isolated object (Oliver 1997,42). In effect, what Kristeva is saying is that the relationship between a preverbal infants physical world, which constitutes its mothers body, and the infant's attempts at formulating language and entering the semiotic has to reach a state of crisis in order for the acquisition of language to occur. This crisis is abjection, and it is where the process of negating the maternal presence or separating from her becomes a prerequisite to the child's acquisition of language.

Kristeva goes even further and relates the authority of the semiotic, the system of written and spoken signs, to another very important aspect of a child's socialization: the mapping of the body. "Through frustrations and prohibitions, this authority shapes the body into a *territory* having areas, orifices, points and lines, surfaces and hollows, where the archaic power of mastery and neglect, of the differentiation of proper-clean and improper-dirty, possible and impossible, is impressed and exerted" (1982, 72). Therefore, this site is where the body's mapping process becomes the point upon which all social systems and orders are built. Again, Kristeva points out how the mothers body becomes the mediator of the symbolic law organizing social relations (Oliver 1997, 37).

Grosz also explains how abjection serves the separating child to connect different parts of its body (1989, 71). For example, it is necessary to make the child realize that its own toes are connected to its own leg and that the leg belongs to the self, also that the child's hands, which are touching its own stomach, are all parts of a unified subject called "my body." She further explains how understanding abjection involves examining the ways in which the inside and the outside of the body relate, such as with food, or air, and the means by which the child's body becomes a unified whole.

Melanie Kleins psychic analysis of the child's separation from the mother is based on a field of objects to be fused or split, possessed or destroyed by means of fantasies produced by bodily drives. According to Klein, the first object of aggression, for example, is not the mother or father, but a series of part-objects (breasts, milk, penis, children, and so on) to which the infant fantasizes the connection of other part-objects (mouth, teeth, urine, and excrement) (Nixon 1995, 70). Therefore, through these fantasies, the body is mapped and a social order is built.

### **ABJECTION IN THE ARTISTIC PROCESS**

I have looked at theories of abjection through Kristeva and the interpretive writings of Grosz: the role of the maternal in abjection theory and the relationship between acquisition of language, a child's separation from the mother, and the mapping of the body, the latter being a signifier in social orders, taboos, and sin. Through this search to understand my fascination with the abject and its manifestation in my own art practice, I examine the relationship between the artistic process and the maternal abject. First, I study Kristeva's analysis of the artistic process, or *text* – whether in literature or art:

If there exists a "discourse" that is not a mere depository of thin linguistic layers, an archive of structures, or a testimony of a withdrawn body, and is, instead, the essential element of a practice involving the sum of unconscious, subjective, and social relations in gestures of confrontations and appropriation, destruction and construction – productive violence, in short – it is "literature" or, more specifically, the *text*. Although simply sketched out, this notion of the text already takes us far from the realm of "discourse" and "art." The text is a practice that could be compared to political revolution: the one brings about in the subject what the other introduces into society. (Oliver 1997, 30)

Hence, the body, the *text*, and the social order are linked into what the subject brings into society. *Text* is not merely a literary reference but rather a semiotic mode of reading and writing verbal as well as nonverbal signs. Kristeva further explains that the aesthetic process is a form of pursuit to resolve or harmonize the conflict between the semiotic and

the forces that gyrate the person toward the mother's body through the drives: "Drives involve pre-Oedipal semiotic functions and energy discharges that connect and orient the body to the mother. We must emphasise that 'drives' are always already ambiguous, simultaneously assimilating and destructive; this dualism ... makes the semiotized body a place of permanent scission" (37; see also 44).

In an interview on the Tate exhibition *Rites of Passage: Art for the End of the Century*, she explains that the artworks have a cathartic value and that the artists who produce them are in a temporary state of harmony while experiencing a malaise. However, she states, the artistic process "does not seal the [malaise] off or ignore it" (Penwarden 1995, 23).

The abject is by its very nature the permanent scission or crisis that resides in the life of the individual. This scission has its roots in the time the infant separates from its mother and performs its first act of noncorporeal abjection. It is also the time the body of the infant is mapped through the teaching of language and the initiation of what is taboo and what is not. Through this mapping, the individual is introduced to the particular social structure in which it will grow. For example, in some Islamic cultures, a baby girl who is not yet verbal learns through signs and while acquiring language that hair on a woman's head must be covered, whereas hair on the body is considered unclean and must be removed. Therefore, a woman's hair becomes a signifier for a range of prohibitions that form the basis of that particular social order. However, a baby boy's circumcision is performed as a ritual and forms for the boy the basis of what is clean and unclean within this social and religious order. At a particular time in history and in a certain social hierarchy, a Chinese girl's feet had to remain small and were bound, restricting the girl's (woman's) movement. A girl's or woman's feet therefore were a signifier for a complete set of social rules and expectations.

These examples illustrate how the mapping of an infant's body is the building block of social structures and the possible site of scission or malaise in an artist. Shirin Neshat is an Iranian artist who illustrates well how the body is mapped through the veil and how this mapping becomes a malaise or a scission in her life. In her work *Rapture* and many of her previous works, she focuses on the meaning of the hidden female body in an Islamic culture through the veil. James Rondeau says: "Neshat maintains a critical distance that has allowed her to locate both the poetics and the power of the veil" (2000, 92). Therefore, Neshat shows us how when she expresses her abject experience in a particular social or religious order she inadvertently refers to the maternal abject that, as previously mentioned, constitutes the mapping of the body (in this instance, the covering of a woman's hair), separation from the mother, and acquisition of language.

Kristeva postulates that there exists in the life of the artist an oscillating continuum between the production of art and the coming to terms with the presence of a scission or separation. It then follows that in order for the artist to exist, she or he has to experience a state of conflict echoing the original abject experience that begins at the time the child tries to separate from its mother. The maternal abject with its scission and malaise therefore is that particular energy that drives my art practice.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE MATERNAL ABJECT SERIES

In the Maternal Abject series, I explore three major areas. The artworks consist primarily of photographic images that have been scanned, layered, and digitally manipulated. Each layer represents an idea or a reference. The layers are then merged together in one image in order to create a dense landscape of visual dialogue (fig. 1).

There are three major themes running through this series. First, the visual representation of the mother's body is quite pronounced owing to the fact that apart from the icon of the Madonna and child in Western art, women as mothers are very rarely seen in art. I note their absence and crave their presence.

Second, I incorporate the naked body of the mother in all images in order to highlight the vulnerability and strength of her body and to focus on the physical nature of a mother's work. It was a conscious, deliberate, and labored decision given the widespread exploitative visual representation of the female body and its subsequent objectification. Danielle Knafo (1996, 1) points out that a shift to a new female aesthetic has taken place in the past decade precisely because female artists have chosen to use the female body to signify their own experiences.

In essence, I use the body as an encoded message to extract the voyeur in the viewer but only to reflect and subvert his or her voyeurism. In order to do so, I merge with the body threatening structures such as spikes, metallic constructions, and rocky surfaces. At times, such as in *Body Map* (fig. 2), I strip the skin and attempt to expose what lies beneath, such as veins and organs. In doing so, I aim to construct a performance of pain.

Paradoxically, these painful representations serve a different purpose. The hard labor a woman faces right from the beginning of her journey into motherhood, at the onset of the birthing process, through to the time the child is walking, talking, and toilet trained, is often hugely underestimated. Except for the birthing process, the toll on her body is very rarely acknowledged. Through the use of these threatening objects, I attempt to give to these ephemeral intruders a material presence that then acts on the naked and vulnerable body.

Finally, I use aesthetic processes such as a glossy and delicate surface of rich colors in a darkened background. I do so in order to draw the viewer inside the work. Thus, the images are denser and offer complexity as well as density.

## THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL

Artists whom I position within the circuit of my own art production, such as Mona Hatoum and Shirin Neshat, focus on various forms of the personal and invoke the political. This idea of the personal versus the political holds an important place in my work.

One intriguing issue that persists in my work and is the driving force in all my artistic pursuits is the belief that all my experiences are not particularly unique. Indeed, my desire to articulate, demonstrate, and exhibit my inquiry into the self stems from a strong belief that I am not alone in my experience. However, my experiences lead me to believe that the self is mostly misunderstood or effaced in order to negate, as Georges Bataille (1970) writes, the presence of the all-encompassing abject experience. He disregards the hypocrisy of exclusion and the hiding of abject processes that are very much part of life. It is as if the inherited social order is the inertia or gravity from which the self cannot escape and that acts as the agent to destroy the abject within the self. The question that drives my inquiry is, then, how can a social order continue to exist if it negates the existence of the abject within itself? One method, I believe, is the relegation of the abject to the private sphere and the public dismembering of its existence.

The festering anger, the silent sobs, the closed doors all merge and are confined to the home, which becomes a sanctuary for these abject processes. The abject, however, is no less a public function of the human experience than a natural spring spewing water from the



**DEADBIRD, MARY.**  
PHOTOGRAPH  
COURTESY OF MIREILLE  
ASTORE. (FIGURE 1)



**BODY MAP.**  
PHOTOGRAPH  
COURTESY OF MIREILLE  
ASTORE. (FIGURE 2)



earth. The earth, which is the recipient of abject objects such as corpses and excrement, is at the same time the nurturer of seeds and trees. Therefore, by exposing and framing the abject publicly in my artwork, I am exposing that which is hidden in the self. Piero Manzoni talks about art production as a deep exploration of the self (Hatoum 1997, 108). He says that being subjective while being inventive is the only means of discovering objective realities and that it is the only possible means to communicate. He explains that subjective invention through the production of art emanates from the self and that objective realities are the public manifestations of that art. Communication is certainly an essential part of why I produce visual art and my need to bring the personal to the public sphere.

Returning to the reading of contemporary maternal abjection, I will now look at and explore the relegation of the maternal to the personal or private sphere. In effect, when a woman surrenders to the biological demands of the cultural construction of Western nuclear motherhood, she enters the sphere of the private, her home, where the only social or public interactions she has take place either through the father of her child or her child's support agencies. Here she is not seen, and a social blindness takes place. The unquestioned fact that a mother's daily work has no monetary value translates as peripheral or private in all social manifestations. It would appear puzzling how the tasks of a mother such as planning, analyzing, supervising, cooking, feeding, nursing, cleaning, purchasing, educating, counseling, documenting, preserving, liaising, and budgeting are not ascribed distinct monetary values. Yet all these tasks performed outside the home do indeed have wide-ranging salaries and associated benefits such as retirement plans as well as social status. Nighttime, in particular, is the site of much conflict in mothers, whether physical or mental or both. Exhaustion, anxiety over the well-being of the infant or child, and sleep deprivation ironically act as catalysts for a heightened level of awareness of what it means to be a mother. Kate Figs says that the exhaustion that mothers experience can be so profound that it makes them more susceptible to other problems common after childbirth such as "ill-health, depression, lowered self-esteem, angry outbursts, and poorer social or sexual relationships" (2000, 110).

Therefore, the maternal function, through a series of historical, biological, social, and economic realities, has been relegated to the private sphere where it is allowed to merge with the abject silently, away from the public sphere. Rita Felski (1989, 72) explains how the slogan "The personal is political" serves to emphasize that child care, rape, abortion, and the gendered division of labor are, in fact, political issues. She adds that these supposedly "personal" problems, which have particularly affected women, are fundamental questions of power and underpin the most deeply-rooted aspects of social organization.

Although the maternal experience has of course been present from the beginning of time, its female expression in art is minuscule in comparison to other issues, a notable example being the sexual. Felski (1989, 25) proposes that the whole notion of the female aesthetic and the artistic process is inherently an autobiographical function. If so, where then can a mother with the previously listed tasks find the time to practice a maternal aesthetic? This lack of time indeed adds to the isolation of the mother and the enforced domestication of her work. It is as if the weight of her role serves to deny its self-expression and becomes publicly scarce and private: abject.



**ENDOSCOPIC JOURNEY.**  
**PHOTOGRAPH**  
**COURTESY OF MIREILLE**  
**ASTORE. (FIGURE 3)**

To quote the Victorian feminist critic and writer Anna Jameson: “You must change the physical organization of the race of women before we produce a Rubens or a Michelangelo” (Holcomb 1987, 15). In other words, we must change a whole set of values and social structures for women to be able to dedicate a good proportion of their life to the production of art and to produce lasting masterpieces such as the works of Rubens or Michelangelo. Then, once they have been able to produce works of such grandeur, a further issue is to keep the authors identity from disappearing through male-dominated historical channels.

In *Endoscopic Journey* (fig. 3), the viewer is invited to go down a well in the dark where mystery and intensity merge in order to create a sense of loss and ambiguity. The child in my images is often acting on the mothers body and mind. I attempt to portray a sense of relentless attachment. Either on the breast, on the stomach, or on the feet, the child is omnipresent.

In *Body Map* (fig. 2), the child even takes over the whole head of the mother, and they become one. The symbiotic relationship is symbolized with the merging of the two bodies. At times, as in *Endoscopic Journey* (fig. 3), the child is in the same image but at a different age. This double appearance is to accentuate the perpetual demands a child makes on the mother and to highlight the different roles the mother is meant to perform. The imposed isolation is not only the product of her home-centered experience but also of the Western mother-unfriendly environment outside the home. From nonsloping footpath curbs to a total absence of seats in supermarkets, these public indicators communicate a social or economic taboo for women as mothers and push them further back in the realm of the hidden and private. Figes concludes: “The outside world seems at times so hostile and difficult to navigate with a small baby that many women retreat into isolation” (2000, 210). And indeed this isolation feeds on itself and becomes a terrain fraught with anxiety, low self-esteem, and depression.

### **THE “PERSONAL IS POLITICAL” IN THE WORKS OF MONA HATOUMI**

A clear example of the political nature of the personal can best be illustrated in Mona Hatoums performance *Pull* and the two installations *Recollection* and *Mother and Child*.

In the two-hour performance *Pull*, the viewer was invited to pull a hank of hair hanging down in a specially constructed niche below a TV screen at the Kiintlerwerkstatt, Munich. When the hair was pulled, the artists face on the screen registered a feeling of pain or discomfort. The hank of hair was, in fact, attached to Hatoum, despite the illusion of the TV screen above it. The TV screen and the viewer acted as the public sphere, and the artists face and body physically behind the screen acted as the personal sphere. In this performance Hatoum placed her actual face and body behind a TV screen rather than making a filmed recording representing it. She did so in order to draw the spectator’s attention to the private versus public dichotomy and to invite the participating viewer to question the realm of the public media and the private bodily experience of pain. In *Pull*, Hatoum also signifies the disjuncture between the images of violence seen almost daily on TV screens and the personal experience of those individuals being subjected to the reality of this violence.

In *Recollection*, where hundreds of hair balls are strewn on the floor of a room, she confronts the viewer’s revulsion with a personal bodily item: hair. Hair invokes contradictory reactions, from fascination to abjection, particularly when detached from the body. A detached hair on a shoulder is brushed away, whereas a mass of hair on a shoulder acts as an attractor. Catherine de Zegher (Hatoum 1997, 88) extrapolates Kristeva’s systemic abject through Hatoum’s works by explaining how the connotation of beauty and identity, and the delicate, eroticized, and lasting of human materials, is also considered unclean. De Zegher believes that through this work, Hatoum leads us directly into symbolic systems of

purity and abjection and, consequently, toward issues of power and oppression. She says that Hatoum's work is "a complex reflection on bodily pollution, involving the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, and life to death." According to de Zegher, this work affirms the way in which social ordering is based on behavioral patterns of dirt affirmation and dirt avoidance. In choosing a personal bodily item and placing it in a public room for viewing, Hatoum has successfully highlighted the political nature of the personal object.

*Mother and Child* holds a specific interest for me through its implied symbiosis and the pieces relationship to the maternal abject. Here, I am interested in Hatoum's relationship with her own mother. The piece is meant to deal with violence on the personal level, and Hatoum referred to it as *Mother and Child*. She says: "The two chairs have an unequal but inescapable relationship. They are angular, cold, and cage-like, but at the same time there's a symbiotic relationship between them because they are similar" (1997, 23). The two chairs are facing each other and positioned too close for comfort. If one were to imagine a person sitting on the smaller chair representing the child, the body on the large chair representing the mother would simply engulf or squash the person sitting on the small chair. It seems as if Hatoum in this piece has come as close as she could to materializing and symbolizing her maternal abject through her separation from her mother and the conflict she feels as an artist within this separation.

These three examples of Hatoum's work relate to my own work in the way they render the personal abject experience public. Emotions and gestures that typify the private mothering experience such as the breast-feeding infant, the cuddles, the entrapment, the claustrophobia, the birthing pains, the visceral infant, the dread, the self-doubt, the sleeplessness I render public in my work. It is not unlike the way Hatoum explored the facade of the public rendered private with the performance piece of hair pulling, the viewer's and her own relationship to hair, her cagelike chairs and relationship to her own mother.

## CONCLUSION

Abjection is the hypocrisy of social hygiene conveniently relegated to the private sphere where it is allowed to merge with all that is unwanted by a particular social order. It is the site of conflict, crisis, sin, and war. It has no borders. More specifically, maternal abjection is the point at which the infant separates from the mother, acquires language, and maps its body. Paradoxically, the maternal abject is intrinsic to the aesthetic process, a process that seeks to synchronize a conflict whose roots stem from the phase of mother-child separation. It is through the maternal abject that the artist brings abjection to center stage in order to harmonize the social order he or she finds himself or herself in. The maternal abject therefore is the entity that resides within the self and the site where the self is in a constant state of negotiating order and disorder, implosions and explosions, life and death.

**SOURCE:** Astore, Mireille. "Art, Autobiography, and the Maternal Abject". Arab Women's Lives Retold". Exploring Identity through Writing. Ed. Nawar Al-Hassan Golley. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007. 222-238.

## REVIEW QUESTIONS:

1. Do you agree with Altabe that women artists are “heroines”? Why?
2. What are the similarities and differences in Fatima Mernissi and Joan Altabe’s texts about women and art?
3. What connections can you find between Fatima Mernissi and Ingrid D. Rowland’s articles? Why are they included in the chapter ‘Art as Gendered’?
4. “How are women portrayed in art: as individuals with their own identity or mainly as objects for men to consume?”<sup>1</sup>. Base your answer on the texts written by Mernissi and Altabe.
5. Are the images created by women different from those created by men? Compare Ingres’ *La Grande Odalisque* with Fontana’s *Minerva Dressing*.
6. What arts are women traditionally associated with? Are there certain genres in which chiefly women work? Why?
7. “Are there certain traits that are said to characterize the work of many women artists?”<sup>2</sup> Compare works of Frida, Cassat, O’Keeffe and Gentileschi?
8. On the examples of Michelangelo’s *David* and Ingres’ *La Grande Odalisque* answer the following questions: Who is looking? Who or what is being looked at?

## ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. Is a woman’s gaze different from a man’s? How?
2. How does that difference influence the ways in which the two genders view the world? How does it influence the way they view art?
3. Why do we have such a notion as “feminist” art?
4. In 1972 John Berger said in his book *Ways of Seeing*: “Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at.”? What does this quote tell you about gender relations in society? What can this quote tell you about gender roles of women and men in art?
5. Why have none of the greatest painters ever been women? Is it right to make such a statement?
6. Why do men paint women?

<sup>1</sup> Barnet, Sylvan. *A Short Guide to Writing About Art*. 7th ed. New York: Longman, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

## INTERVIEW TIPS AND DEVELOPING A RESEARCH PAPER ON ART

What is an interview? An interview is a conversation between two or more people where questions are asked to find answers and to gather information about a particular topic or interviewee's life. For example, students of the *Art as Appreciation* course can talk with an artist, art critic or other expert and write a research paper based on the interview.

### How to Conduct Interviews?

#### I. Preparation for the Interview

This is one of the most important stages of an interviewing process. Take some time to think about the interview. What is your purpose? What do you want to learn from the interview?

Before interviewing, research your topic. It will show your sincere interest to the interviewee and help you understand the theme better.

Prepare a list of questions (interview guide). Try to use **open-ended questions** as often as possible. While preparing questions, you should:

Avoid such questions that ask two things at a time, such as "How do you understand art and what themes do you like to paint most of all?"

Explain all difficult terms that you use during the interview.

If you are interviewing an artist or a curator of a museum, take a camera with you and take photos of the interviewee and the art. Of course, you have to ask the interviewee's permission to take and use photos.

Choose a location with little distraction and avoid bright lights or loud noises. Check if the interviewee feels comfortable. Examples of comfortable places are: the interviewee's own place of work or home, or a neutral place, such as an art-gallery or museum.

If you are going to record the interview, check all your equipment beforehand.

#### II. At the Interview

Always arrive on time for an interview. It is better to be five minutes early, than five minutes late.

Establish a rapport (friendly atmosphere). Being friendly with the interviewee will help you build a trusting relationship with the interviewee and, as a result, get more comprehensive answers to your questions.

Be prepared. Enter the room with all necessary materials such as note-pad, pens, and camera.

Introduce yourself. State clearly the purpose of your interview and how the data will be used. Indicate how long the interview is likely to take. Tell your interviewee(s) how to get in touch with you later if she/he wants to.

Write down the date, time, person's name (correctly spelled), position, and his/her relation to your topic.

Ask for permission to use the collected information from your interviewee. Use a Letter of Informed Consent for this purpose. Only after the interviewee gives **permission** may you use the collected data in your research. If you are going to record the interview, ask your informant if she/he has nothing against it and only after obtaining their permission can you turn on the tape recorder.

Listen attentively.

If the interviewee does not speak to the point while answering a question you should not interrupt him/her. Listen to the interviewee for a while, as it might lead to obtaining very useful information that you did not expect to

get. At the same time try not to waste time discussing themes irrelevant to your main question. If the interviewee gets sidetracked to other themes for a long period of time, try to redirect the conversation. At least make sure you get answers to your main questions.

If you are going to discuss controversial topics (feelings, sensitive issues), first discuss factual topics and then later move on to the more sensitive issues.

Write down all your observations during the interview. For instance, if an interviewee was tired; what questions did she/he feel uncomfortable with; what gestures did the person use.

Provide transitions between main topics. For example, we have just discussed ... and let us now talk about...

Ask your interviewee for permission to call later, as additional questions may arise or some issues may need clarification.

At the end of the interview, thank your interviewee and acknowledge how valuable the collected information is for you.

### III. After interviewing

After the interview, write down notes about what was learned as soon as possible.

Check that you have written all the quotations exactly the way the interviewee said them.

Send a copy of the published or printed version of the interview to your interviewee.

#### How to cite Interviews?

Last Name of the Interviewee, First Name of the Interviewee. Interview title. Date.

An interview citation sample:

Shermatova, Dilorom. An Interview. 1 May 2006.

### SUGGESTED BOOKS AND WEBSITES

Hall, Barbara. "Methods-Interviews".

< <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/anthro/CPIA/METHODS/Interviews.html> >

Spencer, Carolyn M. and Beverly Arbon. *Foundations of Writing: Developing Research and Academic Skills*. Illinois: National Textbook Company, 1996.

#### *Developing a Research Paper on Art*

A research paper is the result of *your* investigations on a particular topic. In the research paper you have to present your findings, analyze those findings, develop a thesis based on your findings, and support it with evidence.

Research Papers usually have the following components:

**Cover Page** - put an interesting title of the research paper on the cover page.

**Title** - write the title last. One function of the title is to intrigue the reader, for example, "An Unappreciated Artist". The title should be relevant to the specifics of the essay (should reflect your thesis statement).

**Abstract** (summary of your paper) - write one paragraph that would include the main points of your paper.

#### Outline of the Research Paper

**Introduction** (the first paragraph or paragraphs of any written work). An introduction:

captures your audience's attention. You can start with an interesting quote relevant to your theme and provide a short explanation;

gives background on your topic;

develops interest in your topic;

explains why you have selected this particular artist;

clarifies why the theme of your research is so important;  
 introduces your research question;  
 guides your reader to your thesis;  
 presents your thesis statement;

### Literature Review

what other authors said about your topic.  
 what are the strong and weak arguments of the previous research.

A literature review is a report on what has been published on a topic by recognized scholars and researchers. The purpose of the literature review is to show how much research has been done on your topic and how well you are acquainted with the literature of your theme. Literature reviews include short summaries of the sources as well as a synthesis of this information, i.e. reorganization. Literature reviews can also contain an evaluation of the sources, i.e. discussing their strengths and weaknesses and present existing debates on the topic.

### Body

In the body you will include:

Discussion of issues with regard to literature or theory;

Connection of your analysis of your interview/s, data, or research with the literature review. Does your analysis support the existing literature or does it contradict the literature? How?

Data analysis is “the act of transforming **data** with the aim of extracting useful information and facilitating conclusions” (“Data Analysis”).

Main findings - What have you discovered?

Implications. What does it all mean? What does your data show?

### Sample Questions for the Interview with an Artist:

What is art?

Why have you decided to become an artist?

What artists have influenced you? How did they influence you?

What is the style/genre of your painting?

What textures do you usually use?

What colours do you usually select for your paintings?

### Suggestions to students regarding a research paper based on an interview with an artist:

When you analyze the artist’s answer to the question “What is art?” you can compare his/her position with other artists’ views on art. You can also compare the artists’ views with your understanding of art.

Include reasons that motivated the artist to choose such a profession. You can also give relevant biographical information about this issue.

Compare the interviewed artist with other artists. You can compare on the basis of similarity in styles/genres- Realism, Landscape; medium - oil, roses or themes - Love, History, Woman, Nature.

Collect and analyze information about the artist’s style. What is special about the artist’s way of creating art?

Classify the artist’s paintings according to themes and genres. You can also find out how many paintings s/he has drawn overall and what particular times.

Interpret your favorite artwork of the interviewed artist.

Focus on one theme that is connected with the artist's creative work and explore it deeply. For example, if the interviewed artist draws mostly nude women, you can write a research paper on such a theme as "Nudity in Art".

## Conclusion

stress the importance of the thesis statement;  
sum up the main ideas of the paper;  
give the essay a sense of completeness;  
leave a final impression with the reader.

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## Recommendations for future research

Give various kinds of recommendations:  
Selecting research methods and research design;  
Overcoming problems connected with data collection;  
Conducting interviews, i.e., sharing interview tips;  
Suggesting areas of research which have to be examined more thoroughly; and  
Dealing with problems in research implementation.

## Methods

### A. Explanation of Research Procedure

What methods have you used?

### B. Justifying the method(s) used in your research

Why have you selected these methods? Are these appropriate methods for your research?

### C. Description of the research setting and process

How have you collected information?

### D. Advantages and disadvantages of these methods

Analyze the strengths and weaknesses of the methods you have used

How have you verified information?

Include your impressions on the interview and interview evaluation

## WORKS CITED LIST

### Tips:

The subject of your paper should be well focused and not too broad.

Allow plenty of time for the research paper. Make a plan with deadlines that will allocate your time effectively.

Remember: it is impossible to write a good quality paper in one day.

When you take notes, always make accurate references. Use note-cards or a special notebook to list all the references for the research paper.

Do not leave quotations without explanations. What does your quote show or support? How is this quote connected with the thesis statement in your paper?

Always keep your readers in mind. Will it be easy for them to read your paper? Give all the necessary background information and definitions of terms and key words.

Try to support your thesis statement in the body of the paper. Present evidence and ideas from sources.

Create a clear, well-thoughtout structure in the paper and try to follow it.

In the body of the paper organize concepts/themes by sub-topics. Make sure that the sequence within the subtopics is clear.

Use transitional words to show transitions between ideas.

Leave margins in your essay of at least (2.5 cm) at the top, bottom, left and right sides of each and every page.

## WORKS CITED LIST

"Data Analysis". *Wikipedia Encyclopedia*. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Data\\_analysis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Data_analysis)>



## **INTRODUCTION**

Arguably the creation of art and the perception of art are both human experiences. This chapter addresses the relationship between art and experience, with each text offering a different perspective on that relationship. The chapter offers perspectives that not only differ but also offer contradictory theses. Readers are advised to keep an open mind even as they analyze, appreciate and absorb the ideas presented in the chapter.

The first text in this chapter identifies art as “a quality that permeates experience.” And in so far as it permeates human experience, art is all about human life and artistry is a uniquely human activity. We know many a past civilization through their art and artistry alone: the products of past artistry all too often construct human history for us today. But does art permeate all human experience, or only some experience? If it is some then why does it permeate some experience and not others?

Besides, how do we experience art? Is it all pleasure? The argument offered in the second text is that all of us desire pleasure, which is a completion of our activities that may be as simple as viewing a work of art or as complex as creating it. The experience of engaging in an activity and completing it brings us happiness as well as helping us understand our own humanity better. The better we do it, the greater our sense of completion and the better our understanding of humanity.

The third text goes so far as to claim that “artists are the educators of humanity,” and identifies art as “an indispensable aid to human development.” The notion of artists as the avant-garde of humanity underlies this argument. Humanity at large and communities at local level depend on artists for their public-spiritedness but also for a glimpse into the distant goals to be achieved in the future. This argument about the mission of art as being progressive is not shared by all writers. The reader might want to consider the validity of this argument. Does public art show us the way to the future or is public art commissioned and constrained to represent the hopes of the community, nation or humanity?

The final text tenders the argument that the artistic experience of phenomena as pure perception, devoid of emotion, is a dehumanizing stance. Do all artists necessarily distance themselves from the “subject?” Can an artist produce a work of art by way of “lived reality” or must the artist convert it to “observed reality” to present it as a piece of art? Is art then merely a refined reflection of life? Consequently, does art permit us to vicariously participate in particular real world events without enduring the emotional impact of it? If not, what is the experience of art and artistry?



## GEORGE H. CALVERT THE USEFULNESS OF ART

George Henry Calvert (1803-1889) was a writer and editor of the *Baltimore American*. In 1875, he wrote *Essays Aesthetical*. His other published books are *Illustrations of Phrenology* (1832); *Joan of Arc* (1860); *Goethe, his Life and Works* (1872); and *Brief Essays and Brevities* (1874).

### ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE RHODE ISLAND ART ASSOCIATION IN PROVIDENCE, SEPTEMBER 4, 1854.

*Gentlemen of the Rhode Island Art Association -*

We are met to inaugurate an Association whose aim and end shall be the encouragement and culture of Art. A most high end – among the highest that men can attempt; an end that never can be entertained except by men of the best breed. There is no art among savages, none among barbarians. Barbarism and art are adversary terms. When men capable of civilization ascend into it, art manifests itself an inevitable accompaniment, an indispensable aid to human development. I will say further, that in a people the capacity to be cultivated involves the capacity, nay, the necessity of art. And still further, that those nations that have been or are preeminent on the earth, are preeminent in art. Nay, more, that a nation cannot attain to and maintain eminence without being proficient in art; and that to abstract from a people its artists were not merely to pluck the flowers from its branches; it were to cut off its deep roots.

#### Who is the artist?

He who embodies, in whatever mode – so that they be visible or audible, and thus find entrance to the mind – conceptions of the beautiful, is an artist. The test and characteristic of the artistic nature are superior sensibility to the beautiful. Unite to this the faculties and the will to give form to the impressions and emotions that are the fruit of this susceptibility, and you have the artist. Whether he shall embody his conception in written verse, in marble, in stone, in sound, on the canvas, that will depend on each one's individual aptitudes. Generic, common, indispensable to all is the superior sensibility to the beautiful. In this lies the essence of the artist.

The beautiful and the perfect being, if not identical, in closest consanguinity, the artist's is an important, a great function. The artist must receive into his mind, or engender in his mind's native richness, conceptions of what is most high, most perfect, most beautiful in shape or sound, in thought or feeling; and producing it before his fellow-men, appeal to their sensibility to the beautiful, to their deepest sympathies, to their capacity of being moved by the grandest and the noblest there is in man and nature. Truly, a mighty part is that of the artist.

Artists are the educators of humanity. Tutors and professors instruct princes and kings, but poets (and all genuine artists are poets) educate nations. Take from



**SANTI, RAFFAELLO.**  
**THE VISION OF THE KNIGHT. C.1504**

Egg tempera on poplar.

17.1 × 17.1cm.

National Gallery, London



**THE PARTHENON SEEN FROM THE HILL OF THE PNYX TO THE WEST**

Greece **Homer** and **Phidias**, and **Sophocles** and **Scopas**, and the planner of the Parthenon, and you efface Greece from history. Wanting them, she would not have been the great Greece that we know; she would not have had the vigor of sap, the nervous vitality, to have continued to live in a remote posterity, immortal in the culture, the memories, and the gratitude of men.

So great, so far-stretching, so undying is the power of this exalted class of men, that it were hardly too much to say that had Homer and Phidias never lived, we should not be here today. If this be deemed extravagant, with confidence I affirm that but for the existence of the greatest artist the world has ever known – of him who may be called the chief educator of England – but for **Shakespeare**, we assuredly should not be here today doing the good work we are doing.

There are probably some of this company who, like myself, having had the good fortune to be in London at the time of the world's fair, stood under that magnificent, transparent roof, trod that immense area whereon fifty thousand people moved at ease. It was a privilege – the memory of which will last a life-time, to have been admitted into that gigantic temple of industry, there to behold in unimaginable profusion and variety the product of man's labor, intellect, and genius, gathered from the four corners of the earth into one vast, gorgeous pile – a spectacle peerless from its mere material splendor, and from its moral significance absolutely sublime.

On entering by the chief portal into the transept – covering in the huge oaks of Hyde Park – the American, after wondering for a moment in the glare of the first aspect, will, with the eagerness and perhaps the vanity of his nation – have hastened through the compartments of France, Belgium, Germany, gorgeous with color, glistening with gold. He will have hastened, hard as it was to hurry through such a show, in order to reach at once the far eastern end of the palace where a broad area had been allotted to the United States – Jonathan, as is his wont, having helped himself largely. Great was the American's disappointment, cutting was the rebuke to his vanity; his country made no *show* at all. The samples of her industry were not outwardly brilliant. Their excellence lay in their inward power, in their wide usefulness. They were not ornaments and luxuries for the dwellings of the few, they were inventions that diffuse comforts and blessings among the many – labor-saving machines and cheap newspapers. By the thoughtful visitor the merit of these was appreciated, as it was acknowledged in the final awards of the judges. And even in this high department where we are so eminent, owing to distance and misunderstandings, we were not adequately represented. But even if we had been, the European would have said, "This has a high value and interest; but still I find not here enough to justify the expectations entertained by this people, and by many in Europe, of the future greatness of the American Republic. These things, significant as they are, are yet not an alphabet that can be so compounded as to write the richest page of man's history. In this present display I find not prefigured that splendid future the Americans are fond of predicting for themselves." And the American, acknowledging the force of the comment, would have turned away mortified, humbled. But he was saved any such humiliation. In the midst of that area, under that beautiful flag, day after day, week after week, month after month, from morn till night, go when he would, he beheld there a circle ever full, its vacancies supplied as soon as they were made, a circle silent with admiration, hushed by emotion, gazing at a master-piece of American art, the Greek Slave of Powers. And from that contemplation hundreds of thousands of Europeans carried away an impression of American capacity, a conviction that truly a great page is to be written by the young republic in the book of history – a sense of American power which they could have gotten from no other source.

**Homer –**

(Greek: Ὅμηρος, Hómēros), legendary early Greek poet and aoidos ("singer") traditionally credited with the composition of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The poems are often dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century BC

**Phidias –**

(in ancient Greek, Φειδίας) (c.490 - c.430 BC) son of Charmides, ancient Greek sculptor, universally regarded as the greatest of all Classical sculptors

**Sophocles –**

(Greek: Σοφοκλής; 495 BC-406 BC) one of the three great ancient Greek tragedians

**Scopas –**

(Σκόπας) (c.395 BC-350 BC) Ancient Greek sculptor and architect, born on the island of Paros

**William Shakespeare –**

(baptised April 26, 1564 - died April 23, 1616) English poet and playwright widely regarded as the greatest writer of the English language, and the world's preeminent dramatist

Our Association, gentlemen, owes its origin to the wants of industry. The moving power which has been strongest in bringing so many of us together to found an institution for the encouragement of art in Rhode Island, is the desire hereby more thoroughly to inweave the beautiful into cotton and woolen fabrics, into calicoes and delaines; to melt the beautiful into iron and brass, and copper, as well as into silver and gold; so that our manufacturers and artisans may hold their own against the competition of England and France and Germany, whereof in the two latter countries especially, schools of design have long existed, and high artists find their account in furnishing the beautiful to manufacturers.

“A low origin this for such a society, and the fruits will be without flavor. Art will not submit to be so lowered,” will say some travelled dilettante, who, with book in hand, has looked by rote on the wonders of the **Louvre** and the **Vatican**; but the Creator of the universe teaches a different lesson from this observer. Not the rare lightning merely, but the daily sunlight, too; not merely the distant star-studded canopy of the earth, but also our near earth itself, has He made beautiful. He surrounds us with beauty; He envelops us in beauty. Beauty is spread out on the familiar grass, glows in the daily flower, glistens in the dew, waves in the commonest leafy branch. All about us, in infinite variety, beauty is lavished by God in sights and sounds, and odors. Now, in using the countless and multifarious substances that are put within our reach, to be by our ingenuity and contrivance wrought into materials for our protection and comfort, and pleasure, it becomes us to – it is part of His design that we shall – follow the divine example, so that in all our handiwork, as in His, there shall be beauty, so much as the nature of each product is susceptible of. That it is the final purpose of Providence that our whole life, inward and outward, shall be beautiful, and be steeped in beauty, we have evidence, in the yearnings of the best natures for the perfect, in the delight we take in the most resplendent objects of art and nature, in the ennobling thrill we feel on witnessing a beautiful deed.

By culture we can so create and multiply beauty, that all our surroundings shall be beautiful.

Can you not imagine a city of the size of this, or vastly larger, the structure of whose streets and buildings shall be made under the control of the best architectural ideas, being of various stones and marbles, and various in style and color, so that each and every one shall be either light, or graceful, or simple, or ornate, or solid, or grand, according to its purpose, and the conception of the builder; and in the midst and on the borders of the city, squares, and parks, planted with trees and flowers and freshened by streams and fountains. And when you recall the agreeable, the elevating sensation you have experienced in front of a perfect piece of architecture (still so rare), will you not readily concede that where every edifice should be beautiful, and you never walked or drove out but through streets of palaces and artistic parks, the effect on the whole population of this ever-present beauty and grandeur, would be to refine, to expand, to elevate. When we look at the architectural improvements made within a generation, in London, in Paris, in New York, we may, without being **Utopians**, hope



**BIERSTADT, ALBERT.**  
**THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS,**  
**LANDER'S PEAK. 1863**

**The Louvre Museum –**

(French: Musée du Louvre)  
Paris, France. The most visited and one of the oldest, largest and most famous art galleries and museums in the world

**Vatican City –**

officially “Vatican City State”  
landlocked sovereign city-state whose territory consists of a walled enclave within the city of Rome

**Utopia –**

(from Greek: no, and τόπος, place, i.e. “no place” or “place that does not exist”) in its most common and positive meaning, refers to an imaginary, ideal civilization, which may range from a city to a world, regarded to be attainable in the future by some



**SANTI, RAFFAELLO. THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS.**  
1509-1510.  
Fresco, 500 × 770cm.  
Apostolic Palace, Vatican City.

**Raphael or Raffaello –**  
(April 6, 1483 - April 6, 1520)  
Italian master painter and architect of the Florentine school in the High Renaissance, celebrated for the perfection and grace of his paintings

for this transformation. But the full consummation of such a hope can only be brought about in unison with improvements in all the conditions and relations of life, and the diffusion of such improvements among the masses.

It is to further such diffusion that this Association has been founded. Our purpose is to meet the growing demand for beauty in all things; to bring into closer cooperation the artisan and the artist; to make universally visible and active the harmony – I almost might say the identity – there is between the useful and the beautiful.

Gentlemen, ever in the heart of the practical, in the very core of the useful, there is enclosed a seed of beauty; and upon the fructification, growth, and expansion of that seed depends – aye, absolutely depends – the development of the practical. But for the expansion of that seed, we should have neither the plough nor the printing-press, neither shoes nor the steam engine. To that we owe silver forks as well as the electric telegraph. In no province of work or human endeavor is improvement made, is improvement possible, but by the action of that noble faculty through which we are uplifted when standing before a masterpiece of **Raphael**. This ceaseless seeking for a better, this unresting impulse towards the perfect, has brought the English race through a thousand years of gradual upward movement, from the narrow heptarchy, with its rude simplicity of life, up to this wide cultivated confederacy of states with its multiform opulence of life; and will yet carry us to a condition as much superior to our present as that is to the times of Alfred.

In the works of the Almighty this principle is so alive that they are radiant with beauty; and the degree of the radiance of each is often the measure of its usefulness. How beautiful is a field of golden wheat – whereby our bodies live – and the more beautiful the closer it stands and the fuller are its heads. The oak and the pine owe their majestic beauty to that which is the index of their usefulness, the solid magnitude of their trunks. The proportions which give the horse his highest symmetry of form, give him his fleetness and endurance and strength. And thus, too, with man – his works, when best, sparkle most with this fire of the beautiful. We profit by history in proportion as it registers beautiful sayings and beautiful doings. We profit one another in everyday life in proportion as our acts, the minor as well as the greater, are vitalized by this divine essence of beauty. To the speeches of Webster, even to the most technical, this essence gives their completeness and their grandeur of proportion; while it is this which illuminates with undying splendor the creations of Allston. Thus, gentlemen, the aim of our Association is most noble and useful, drawing its nobleness from its high usefulness. May it so prosper, that a generation hence, thousands and tens of thousands shall look back to this the day of its inauguration with praise and thankfulness.

**SOURCE:** Calvert, George H. “Usefulness of Art”. *Essays Esthetical*. IX. 1875.  
Project Gutenberg.  
<<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12896/12896-h/12896-h.htm#Essay9>>

#### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. According to Calvert, how can art be useful? What do you think about the usefulness of art?
2. Do you agree that “...a nation cannot attain to and maintain eminence without being proficient in art...?”
3. Why is “sensibility to the beautiful” so important for the artist?
4. What is the purpose of the Association? What do you think about this purpose?

## GASSET, JOSÉ ORTEGA Y. THE DEHUMANIZATION OF ART

José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) was a Spanish philosopher. In 1909, he was named professor of Psychology, Logic and Ethics at the Escuela Superior del Magisterio de Madrid and in October 1910 he was granted the Chair (Cátedra) in Metaphysics of the Complutense University. In 1917 he became a contributor to the newspaper El Sol, where he published as a series of essays his two principal works, *Invertebrate Spain* and *The Revolt of the Masses*. His other works are: *History as a System and Other Essays* (1961), *The Dehumanization of Art* (1968), *Velázquez*, *Goya* (1972).



### ARTISTIC ART

If the new art is not accessible to every man this implies that its impulses are not of a generically human kind. It is an art not for men in general but for a special class of men who may not be better but who evidently are different.

One point must be clarified before we go on. What is it the majority of people call aesthetic pleasure? What happens in their minds when they 'like' a work of art; for instance, a theatrical performance? The answer is easy. A man likes a play when he has become interested in the human destinies presented to him, when the love and hatred, the joys and sorrows of the personages so move his heart that he participates in it all as though it were happening in real life. And he calls a work 'good' if it succeeds in creating the illusion necessary to make the imaginary personages appear like living persons. In poetry he seeks the passion and pain of the man behind the poet. Paintings attract him if he finds on them figures of men or women whom it would be interesting to meet. A landscape is pronounced 'pretty' if the country it represents deserves for its loveliness or its grandeur to be visited on a trip.

It thus appears that to the majority of people aesthetic pleasure means a state of mind which is essentially undistinguishable from their ordinary behavior. It differs merely in accidental qualities, being perhaps less utilitarian, more intense, and free from painful consequences. But the object towards which their attention and, consequently, all their other mental activities are directed is the same as in daily life: people and passions. By art they understand a means through which they are brought in contact with interesting human affairs. Artistic forms proper –figments, fantasy are tolerated only if they do not interfere with the perception of human forms and fates. As soon as purely aesthetic elements predominate and the story of John and Mary grows elusive, most people feel out of their depth and are at a loss what to make of the scene, the book, or the painting. As they have never practiced any other attitude but the practical one in which a man's feelings are aroused and he is emotionally involved, a work that does not invite sentimental intervention leaves them without a cue.

**Tristan and Isolde –**

influential romance and tragedy, retold in numerous sources with as many variations. The tragic story of the adulterous love between the Cornish knight Tristan (Tristram) and the Irish princess Iseult (Isolde, Yseult, etc.), the narrative predates and most likely influenced the Arthurian romance of Lancelot and Guinevere, and has had a substantial impact on Western art and literature since it first appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> century

**Wilhelm Richard Wagner –**

(May 22, 1813 - February 13, 1883) influential German composer, conductor, music theorist, and essayist, primarily known for his operas (or "music dramas" as he later came to call them)

**François-René vicomte de Chateaubriand –**

(September 4, 1768 - July 4, 1848) French writer, politician and diplomat. He is considered the founder of Romanticism in French literature

**Émile Zola –**

(2 April 1840 - 29 September 1902) influential French novelist, the most important example of the literary school of naturalism, and a major figure in the political liberalization of France

**Romanticism –**

artistic and intellectual movement that originated in late 18<sup>th</sup> century Western Europe. In part a revolt against aristocratic, social, and political norms of the Enlightenment period and a reaction against the rationalization of nature in art and literature, it stressed strong emotion as a source of aesthetic experience

**Naturalism –**

refers to the depiction of realistic objects in a natural setting. The Realism movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century advocated naturalism in reaction to the stylized and idealized depictions of subjects in Romanticism, but many painters have adopted a similar approach over the centuries

Now, this is a point which has to be made perfectly clear. Not only is grieving and rejoicing at such human destinies as a work of art presents or narrates a very different thing from true artistic pleasure, but preoccupation with the human content of the work is in principle incompatible with aesthetic enjoyment proper.

We have here a very simple optical problem. To see a thing we must adjust our visual apparatus in a certain way. If the adjustment is inadequate the thing is seen indistinctly or not at all. Take a garden seen through a window. Looking at the garden we adjust our eyes in such a way that the ray of vision travels through the pane without delay and rests on the shrubs and flowers. Since we are focusing on the garden and our ray of vision is directed toward it, we do not see the window but look clear through it. The purer the glass, the less we see it. But we can also deliberately disregard the garden and, withdrawing the ray of vision, detain it at the window. We then lose sight of the garden; what we still behold of it is a confused mass of color which appears pasted to the pane. Hence to see the garden and to see the windowpane are two incompatible operations which exclude one another because they require different adjustments.

Similarly a work of art vanishes from sight for a beholder who seeks in it nothing but the moving fate of John and Mary or **Tristan and Isolde** and adjusts his vision to this. Tristan's sorrows are sorrows and can evoke compassion only in so far as they are taken as real. But an object of art is artistic only in so far as it is not real. In order to enjoy Titian's portrait of Charles the Fifth on horseback we must forget that this is Charles the Fifth in person and see instead a portrait that is, an image, a fiction. The portrayed person and his portrait are two entirely different things; we are interested in either one or the other. In the first case we 'live' with Charles the Fifth, in the second we look at an object of art.

But not many people are capable of adjusting the perceptive apparatus to the pane and the transparency that is the work of art. Instead they look right through it and revel in the human reality with which the work deals. When they are invited to let go of this prey and to direct their attention to the work of art itself they will say that they cannot see such a thing, which indeed they cannot, because it is all artistic transparency and without substance.

During the nineteenth century artists proceeded in all too impure a fashion. They reduced the strictly aesthetic elements to a minimum and let the work consist almost entirely in a fiction of human realities. In this sense all normal art of the last century must be called realistic. Beethoven and **Wagner** were realistic, and so was **Chateaubriand** as well as **Zola**. Seen from the vantage-point of our day **Romanticism** and **Naturalism** draw closer together and reveal their common realistic root.

Works of this kind are only partially works of art, or artistic objects. Their enjoyment does not depend upon our power to focus on transparencies and images, a power characteristic of the artistic sensibility; all they require is human sensibility and willingness to sympathize with our neighbor's joys and worries. No wonder that nineteenth century art has been so popular; it is made for the masses inasmuch as it is not art but an extract from life. Let us remember that in epochs with two different types of art, one for minorities and one for the majority, the latter has always been realistic.<sup>1</sup>

I will not now discuss whether pure art is possible. Perhaps it is not; but as the reasons that make me inclined to think so are somewhat long and difficult the

<sup>1</sup> For instance in the Middle Ages. In accordance with the division of society in the two strata of noblemen and commoners, there existed an aristocratic art which was 'conventional' and 'idealistic,' and a popular art which was realistic and satirical



subject better be dropped. Besides, it is not of major importance for the matter in hand. Even though pure art may be impossible there doubtless can prevail a tendency toward a purification of art. Such a tendency would effect a progressive elimination of the human, all too human, elements predominant in romantic and naturalistic production. And in this process a point can be reached in which the human content has grown so thin that it is negligible. We then have an art which can be comprehended only by people possessed of the peculiar gift of artistic sensibility – an art for artists and not for the masses, for ‘quality’ and not for hoi polloi.

That is why modern art divides the public into two classes, those who understand it and those who do not understand it – that is to say, those who are artists and those who are not. The new art is an artistic art.

I do not propose to extol the new way in art or to condemn the old. My purpose is to characterize them as the zoologist characterizes two contrasting species. The new art is a world-wide fact. For about twenty years now the most alert young people of two successive generations – in Berlin, Paris, London, New York, Rome, Madrid – have found themselves faced with the undeniable fact that they have no use for traditional art; moreover, that they detest it. With these young people one can do one of two things: shoot them, or try to understand them. As soon as one decides in favor of the latter it appears that they are endowed with a perfectly clear, coherent, and rational sense of art. Far from being a whim, their way of feeling represents the inevitable and fruitful result of all previous artistic achievement. Whimsical, arbitrary, and consequently unprofitable it would be to set oneself against the new style and obstinately remain shut up in old forms that are exhausted and the worse for wear. In art, as in morals, what ought to be done does not depend on our personal judgment; we have to accept the imperative imposed by the time. Obedience to the order of the day is the most hopeful choice open to the individual. Even so he may achieve nothing; but he is much more likely to fail if he insists on composing another Wagnerian opera, another naturalistic novel.

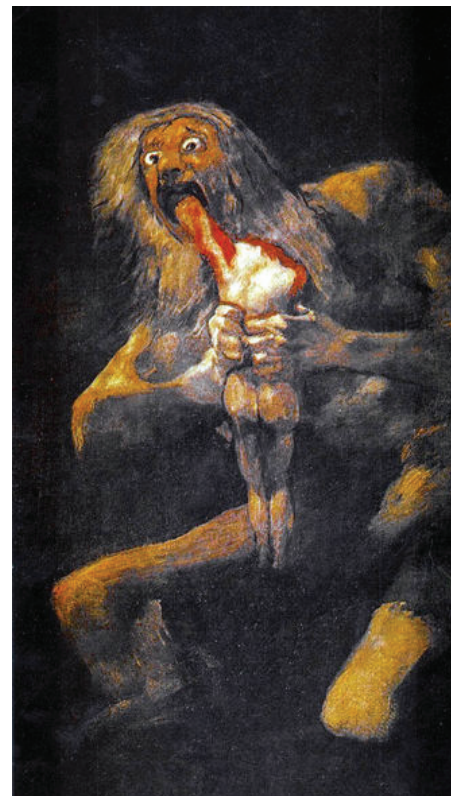
In art repetition is nothing. Each historical style can engender a certain number of different forms within a generic type. But there always comes a day when the magnificent mine is worked out. Such, for instance, has been the fate of the romantico-naturalistic novel and theater. It is a naive error to believe that the present infecundity of these two genres is due to lack of talent. What happens is that the possible combinations within these literary forms are exhausted. It must be deemed fortunate that this situation coincides with the emergence of a new artistic sensibility capable of detecting other untouched veins.

When we analyze the new style we find that it contains certain closely connected tendencies. It tends (1) to dehumanize art, (2) to avoid living forms, (3) to see to it that the work of art is nothing but a work of art, (4) to consider art as play and nothing else, (5) to be essentially ironical, (6) to beware of sham and hence to aspire to scrupulous realization, (7) to regard art as a thing of no transcending consequence.

In the following I shall say a few words about each of these features of modern art.



**TITIAN. CHARLES V AT MÜHLBERG.**  
1548. MADRID



**GOYA, FRANCISCO DE.**  
**SATURN DEVOURING HIS SON.**  
1819. Museo del Prado, Madrid

## A FEW DROPS OF PHENOMENOLOGY



**MUNCH, EDVARD.**  
**DEATH IN THE**  
**SICKROOM.**

1895. Oil on canvas. 59 x 66in.  
Nasjonalgalleriet at Oslo

A great man is dying. His wife is by his bedside. A doctor takes the dying man's pulse. In the background two more persons are discovered: a reporter who is present for professional reasons, and a painter whom mere chance has brought here. Wife, doctor, reporter, and painter witness one and the same event. Nonetheless, this identical event—a man's death—impresses each of them in a different way. So different indeed that the several aspects have hardly anything in common. What this scene means to the wife who is all grief has so little to do with what it means to the painter who looks on impassively that it seems doubtful whether the two can be said to be present at the same event.

It thus becomes clear that one and the same reality may split up into many diverse realities when it is beheld from different points of view. And we cannot help asking ourselves: Which of all these realities must then be regarded as the real and authentic one? The answer, no matter how we decide, cannot but be arbitrary. Any

preference can be founded on caprice only. All these realities are equivalent, each being authentic for its corresponding point of view. All we can do is to classify the points of view and to determine which among them seems, in a practical way, most normal or most spontaneous. Thus we arrive at a conception of reality that is by no means absolute, but at least practical and normative.

As for the points of view of the four persons present at the deathbed, the clearest means of distinguishing them is by measuring one of their dimensions, namely the emotional distance between each person and the event they all witness. For the wife of the dying man the distance shrinks to almost nothing. What is happening so tortures her soul and absorbs her mind that it becomes one with her person. Or to put it inversely, the wife is drawn into the scene, she is part of it. A thing can be seen, an event can be observed, only when we have separated it from ourselves and it has ceased to form a living part of our being. Thus the wife is not present at the scene, she is in it. She does not behold it, she 'lives' it.

The doctor is several degrees removed. To him this is a professional case. He is not drawn into the event with the frantic and blinding anxiety of the poor woman. However it is his bounden duty as a doctor to take a serious interest, he carries responsibility, perhaps his professional honor is at stake. Hence he too, albeit in a less integral and less intimate way, takes part in the event. He is involved in it not with his heart but with the professional portion of his self. He too 'lives' the scene although with an agitation originating not in the emotional center, but in the professional surface, of his existence.

When we now put ourselves in the place of the reporter we realize that we have traveled a long distance away from the tragic event. So far indeed that we have lost all emotional contact with it. The reporter, like the doctor, has been brought here for professional reasons and not out of a spontaneous human interest. But while the doctor's profession requires him to interfere, the reporter's requires him precisely to stay aloof; he has to confine himself to observing. To him the event is a

mere scene, a pure spectacle on which he is expected to report in his newspaper column. He takes no feeling part in what is happening here, he is emotionally free, an outsider. He does not 'live' the scene, he observes it. Yet he observes it with a view to telling his readers about it. He wants to interest them, to move them, and if possible to make them weep as though they each had been the dying man's best friend. From his schooldays he remembers Horace's recipe: '*Si vis me flere dolendum est primum ipsi tibi*' –if you want me to weep you must first grieve yourself.

Obedient to Horace the reporter is anxious to pretend emotion, hoping that it will benefit his literary performance. If he does not 'live' the scene he at least pretends to 'live' it.

The painter, in fine, completely unconcerned, does nothing but keep his eyes open. What is happening here is none of his business; he is, as it were, a hundred miles removed from it. His is a purely perceptive attitude; indeed, he fails to perceive the event in its entirety. The tragic inner meaning escapes his attention which is directed exclusively toward the visual part –color values, lights, and shadows. In the painter we find a maximum of distance and a minimum of feeling intervention.

The inevitable dullness of this analysis will, I hope, be excused if it now enables us to speak in a clear and precise way of a scale of emotional distances between ourselves and reality. In this scale, the degree of closeness is equivalent to the degree of feeling participation; the degree of remoteness, on the other hand, marks the degree to which we have freed ourselves from the real event, thus objectifying it and turning it into a theme of pure observation. At one end of the scale the world –persons, things, situations– is given to us in the aspect of 'lived' reality; at the other end we see everything in the aspect of 'observed' reality.

At this point we must make a remark that is essential in aesthetics and without which neither old art nor new art can be satisfactorily analyzed. Among the diverse aspects of reality we find one from which all the others derive and which they all presuppose: 'lived' reality. If nobody had ever 'lived' in pure and frantic abandonment a man's death, the doctor would not bother, the readers would not understand the reporter's pathos, and the canvas on which the painter limned a person on a bed surrounded by mourning figures would be meaningless. The same holds for any object, be it a person, a thing, or a situation. The primal aspect of an apple is that in which I see it when I am about to eat it. All its other possible forms –when it appears, for instance, in a Baroque ornament, or on a still life of Cézanne's, or in the eternal metaphor of a girl's apple cheeks– preserve more or less that original aspect. A painting or a poem without any vestiges of 'lived'



**CEZANNE, PAUL.**  
**STILL LIFE WITH A**  
**CURTAIN.**

1895. The Hermitage Museum



**PICASSO, PABLO.**  
**COMPOTIER AVEC**  
**FRUITS, VIOLON ET**  
**VERRE. 1912**

forms would be unintelligible, i.e., nothing – as a discourse is nothing whose every word is emptied of its customary meaning.

That is to say, in the scale of realities, ‘lived’ reality holds a peculiar primacy which compels us to regard it as ‘the’ reality. Instead of ‘lived’ reality we may say ‘human’ reality. The painter who impassively witnesses the death scene appears ‘inhuman.’ In other words, the human point of view is that in which we ‘live’ situations, persons, things. And, vice versa, realities – a woman, a countryside, an event – are human when they present the aspect in which they are usually ‘lived.’

As an example, the importance of which will appear later, let us mention that among the realities which constitute the world are our ideas. We use our ideas in a ‘human’ way when we employ them for thinking things. Thinking of Napoleon, for example, we are normally concerned with the great man of that name. A psychologist, on the other hand, adopts an unusual, ‘inhuman’ attitude when he forgets about Napoleon and, prying into his own mind, tries to analyze his idea of Napoleon as such idea. His perspective is the opposite of that prevailing in spontaneous life. The idea, instead of functioning as the means to think an object with, is itself made the object and the aim of thinking. We

shall soon see the unexpected use which the new art has made of this ‘inhuman’ inversion.

**SOURCE:** Gasset, José Ortega Y. “Artistic Art”. *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968.

### **DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. How do the majority of people understand “aesthetic pleasure” and “art”?
2. According to the author, why is it impossible to see the garden and the windowpane simultaneously? How does the author apply this idea to art?
3. In the author’s viewpoint, what one should “do to enjoy Titian’s portrait of Charles the Fifth on horseback”? Why are the portrayed person and his portrait two different things?
4. Why are works of the realistic kind called “partially artistic objects”? Why is it “not art, but an extract from life”?
5. How do a wife, a doctor, a reporter and a painter perceive the same situation of a dying man? Describe the perception and reaction of each person? Can you imagine a situation of your own similar to this one?
6. How do you understand “lived” and “observed” reality? Can you give examples?

## JULIA DE WOLF ADDISON ARTS AND CRAFTS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Julia de Wolf Anderson is the author of “The Art of the Pitti Palace”, “The Art of the National Gallery”, “Classic Myths in Art,” amongst other works.

### INTRODUCTION

The very general and keen interest in the revival of arts and crafts in America is a sign full of promise and pleasure to those who are working among the so-called minor arts. One reads at every turn how greatly Ruskin and **Morris** have influenced handicraft: how much these men and their co-workers have modified the appearance of our streets and houses, our materials, textiles, utensils, and all other useful things in which it is possible to shock or to please the æsthetic taste, without otherwise affecting the value of these articles for their destined purposes.

In this connection it is interesting to look into the past, particularly to those centuries known as the Middle Ages, in which the handicrafts flourished in special perfection, and to see for ourselves how these crafts were pursued, and exactly what these arts really were. Many people talk learnedly of the delightful revival of the arts and crafts without having a very definite idea of the original processes which are being restored to popular favour. William Morris himself, although a great modern spirit, and reformer, felt the necessity of a basis of historic knowledge in all workers. “I do not think,” he says, “that any man but one of the highest genius could do anything in these days without much study of ancient art, and even he would be much hindered if he lacked it.” It is but turning to the original sources, then, to examine the progress of mediæval artistic crafts, and those sources are usually to be found preserved for our edification in enormous volumes of plates, inaccessible to most readers, and seldom with the kind of information which the average person would enjoy. There are very few books dealing with the arts and crafts of the olden time, which are adapted to inform those who have no intention of practising such arts, and yet who wish to understand and appreciate the examples which they see in numerous museums or exhibitions, and in travelling abroad. There are many of the arts and crafts which come under the daily observation of the tourist, which make no impression upon him and have no message for him, simply because he has never considered the subject of their origin and construction. After one has once studied the subject of historic carving, metal work, **embroidery**, **tapestry**, or illumination, one can never fail to look upon these things with intelligent interest and vastly-increased pleasure.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century art had been regarded as a luxury for the rich dilettante – the people heard little of it, and thought less. The utensils and furniture of the middle class were fashioned only with a view to utility; there was a popular belief that beautiful things were expensive, and the thrifty housekeeper who had no money to put



**ST LAURENTIUS-OLV  
MANTEL**

**William Morris –**  
(March 24, 1834 - October 3,  
1896) English artist, writer,  
socialist and activist

**embroidery –**  
cloth or clothing decorated  
with patterns or pictures  
consisting of stitches that are  
sewn directly onto the material

**tapestry –**  
piece of cloth whose pattern  
or picture is created by sewing  
or weaving different coloured  
threads onto a special type of  
strong cloth

into **bric-à-brac** never thought of such things as an artistic lamp shade or a well-coloured sofa cushion. Decorative art is well defined by Mr. Russell **Sturgis**: “Fine art applied to the making beautiful or interesting that which is made for utilitarian purposes.”

Many people have an impression that the more ornate an article is, the more work has been **lavished** upon it. There never was a more erroneous idea. The diligent polish in order to secure nice plain surfaces, or the neat fitting of parts together, is infinitely more difficult than adding a florid casting to conceal clumsy workmanship. Of course certain forms of elaboration involve great pains and labour; but the mere fact that a piece of work is decorated does not show that it has cost any more in time and execution than if it were plain – frequently many hours have been saved by the device of covering up defects with cheap ornament. How often one finds that a simple chair with a plain back costs more than one which is apparently elaborately carved! The reason is, that the plain one had to be made out of a decent piece of wood, while the ornate one was turned out of a poor piece, and then stamped with a pattern in order to attract the attention from the inferior material of which it was composed. The softer and poorer the wood, the deeper it was possible to stamp it at a single blow. The same principle applies to much work in metal. **Flimsy** bits of silverware stamped with cheap designs of flowers or fruits are attached to surfaces badly finished, while the work involved in making such a piece of plate with a plain surface would increase its cost three or four times.

A craft may easily be practised without art, and still serve its purpose; the alliance of the two is a means of giving pleasure as well as serving utility. But it is a mistake to suppose that because a design is artistic, its technical rendering is any the less important. Frequently curious articles are palmed off on us, and designated as “Arts and Crafts” ornaments, in which neither art nor craft plays its full share. Art does not consist only in original, unusual, or unfamiliar designs; craft does not mean hammering silver so that the hammer marks shall show; the best art is that which produces designs of grace and appropriateness, whether they are strikingly new or not, and the best craftsman is so skilful that he is able to go beyond the hammer marks, so to speak, and to produce with the hammer a surface as smooth as, and far more perfect than, that produced by an **emery** and burnisher. Some people think that “Arts and Crafts” means a combination which allows of poor work being concealed under a mask of æsthetic effect. Labour should not go forth blindly without art, and art should not proceed simply for the attainment of beauty without utility – in other words, there should be an alliance between labour and art.

One principle for which craftsmen should stand is a respect for their own tools: a frank recognition of the methods and implements employed in constructing any article. If the article in question is a chair, and is really put together by means of sockets and pegs, let these constructive necessities appear, and do not try to disguise the means by which the result is to be attained. Make the requisite feature a beauty instead of a disgrace.

It is amusing to see a New England farmer build a fence. He begins with good cedar posts – fine, thick, solid logs, which are at least genuine, and handsome so far as a cedar post is capable of being handsome. You think, “Ah, that will be a good unobjectionable fence.” But, behold, as soon as the posts are in position, he carefully lays a flat plank vertically in front of each, so that the passer-by may fancy that he has performed the feat of making a fence of flat laths, thus going out of his way to conceal the one positive and good-looking feature in his fence. He seems to have some furtive dread of admitting that he has used the real article!

A bolt is to be affixed to a modern door. Instead of being applied with a plate of iron or brass, in itself a decorative feature on a blank space like that of the surface of a door, the carpenter cuts a piece of wood out of the edge of the door, sinks the bolt out of sight,



**15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
EMBROIDERED COPE,  
ST-BAAF'S CATHEDRAL,  
GHENT**

**bric-a-brac –**

small decorative objects of various types and of no great value

**Russell Sturgis Ph.D. –**

(October 16, 1836 - February 11, 1909) American architect and art critic, born in Baltimore County, Maryland.

**to lavish –**

to give someone a lot, or too much, of something such as money, presents or attention

**flimsy –**

very thin, or easily broken or destroyed

**emery –**

very hard, dark grey substance, usually in the form of a powder, which is used to smooth or shape things

so that nothing shall appear to view but a tiny meaningless brass handle, and considers that he has performed a very neat job. Compare this method with that of a mediæval locksmith, and the result with his great iron bolt, and if you can not appreciate the difference, both in principle and result, I should recommend a course of historic art study until you are convinced. On the other hand, it is not necessary to carry your artistry so far that you build a fence of nothing but cedar logs touching one another, or that you cover your entire door with a meander of wrought iron which culminates in a small bolt. Enthusiastic followers of the Arts and Crafts movement often go to morbid extremes. *Recognition* of material and method does not connote a *display* of method and material out of proportion to the demands of the article to be constructed. As in other forms of culture, balance and sanity are necessary, in order to produce a satisfactory result.

But when a craftsman is possessed of an æsthetic instinct and faculty, he merits the congratulations offered to the students of Birmingham by William Morris, when he told them that they were among the happiest people in all civilization – “persons whose necessary daily work is inseparable from their greatest pleasure.”

A mediæval artist was usually a craftsman as well. He was not content with furnishing designs alone, and then handing them over to men whose hands were trained to their execution, but he took his own designs and carried them out. Thus, the designer adapted his drawing to the demands of his material and the craftsman was necessarily in sympathy with the design since it was his own. The result was a harmony of intention and execution which is often lacking when two men of differing tastes produce one object. Lübke sums up the talents of a mediæval artist as follows: “A painter could produce panels with coats of arms for the military men of noble birth, and devotional panels with an image of a saint or a conventionalized scene from Scripture for that noble’s wife. With the same brush and on a larger panel he could produce a larger sacred picture for the convent round the corner, and with finer pencil and more delicate touch he could paint the vellum leaves of a missal;” and so on. If an artistic earthenware platter was to be made, the painter turned to his potter’s wheel and to his **kiln**. If a filigree coronet was wanted, he took up his tools for metal and jewelry work.

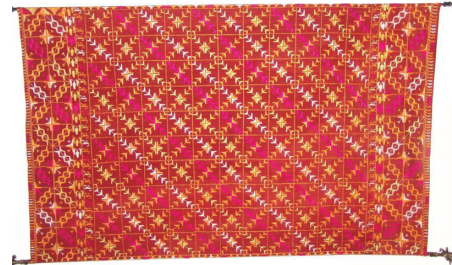
Redgrave lays down an excellent maxim for general guidance to designers in arts other than legitimate picture making. He says: “The picture must be independent of the material, the thought alone should govern it; whereas in decoration the material must be one of the suggestors of the thought, its use must govern the design.” This shows the difference between decoration and pictorial art.

One hears a great deal of the “conventional” in modern art talk. Just what this means, few people who have the word in their vocabularies really know. As Professor Moore defined it once, it does not apply to an arbitrary theoretical system at all, but is instinctive. It means obedience to the limits under which the artist works. The really greatest art craftsmen of all have been those who have recognized the limitations of the material which they employed. Some of the cleverest have been beguiled by the fascination of overcoming obstacles, into trying to make iron do the things appropriate



**MAN SHAPING POTTERY IN CAPPADOCIA, TURKEY.**

Photo taken by Randy Oostdyk



**PHULKARI FROM PATIALA.**

Photo: IP Singh

**kiln –**

type of large oven used for making bricks and clay objects hard after they have been shaped



**BISHOP'S SYMBOL OF OFFICE**

**Benvenuto Cellini –**

(November 3, 1500 - February 13, 1571) Italian goldsmith, painter, sculptor, soldier and musician of the Renaissance.

**Pala d'Oro –**

(literally, "Golden Pall") high altar table of the Basilica di San Marco in Venice. It is universally recognized as one of the most refined and accomplished works of Byzantine craftsmanship

**Lorenzo Ghiberti –**

(Florence, 1378 - December 1, 1455 in Florence) Italian artist of the early Renaissance best known for works in sculpture and metalworking.

**Andrea Contucci del Monte**

**Sansovino –**

(c.1460 - 1529) Italian sculptor active during the High Renaissance

**Donatello –**

(Donato di Niccolò di Betto Bardi. 1386 - December 13, 1466) famous Florentine artist and sculptor of the early Renaissance. He became well recognized for his creation of the shallow relief style of sculpting, which made the sculpture seem much deeper than it actually was

only to wood, or to force cast bronze into the similitude of a picture, or to discount all the credit due to a fine piece of embroidery by trying to make it appear like a painting. But these are the exotics; they are the craftsmen who have been led astray by a false impulse, who respect difficulty more than appropriateness, war rather than peace! No elaborate and tortured piece of **Cellini's** work can compare with the dignified glory of the **Pala d'Oro**; **Ghiberti's** gates in Florence, though a marvellous *tour de force*, are not so satisfying as the great corona candelabrum of Hildesheim. As a rule, we shall find that mediæval craftsmen were better artists than those of the Renaissance, for with facility in the use of material, comes always the temptation to make it imitate some other material, thus losing its individuality by a contortion which may be curious and interesting, but out of place. We all enjoy seeing acrobats on the stage, but it would be painful to see them curling in and out of our drawing-room chairs.

The true spirit which the Arts and Crafts is trying to inculcate was found in Florence when the great artists turned their attention to the manipulation of objects of daily use, Benvenuto Cellini being willing to make salt-cellar, and **Sansovino** to work on inkstands, and **Donatello** on picture frames, while Pollajuolo made candlesticks. The more our leading artists realize the need of their attention in the minor arts, the more nearly shall we attain to a genuine alliance between the arts and the crafts.

To sum up the effect of this harmony between art and craft in the Middle Ages, the Abbé Texier has said: "In those days art and manufactures were blended and identified; art gained by this affinity great practical facility, and manufacture much original beauty." And then the value to the artist is almost incalculable. To spend one's life in getting means on which to live is a waste of all enjoyment. To use one's life as one goes along – to live every day with pleasure in congenial occupation – that is the only thing worth while. The life of a craftsman is a constant daily fulfillment of the final ideal of the man who spends all his time and strength in acquiring wealth so that some time (and he may never live to see the day) he may be able to control his time and to use it as pleases him. There is stored up capital represented in the life of a man whose work is a recreation, and expressive of his own personality.

In a book of this size it is not possible to treat of every art or craft which engaged the skill of the medieval workers. But at some future time I hope to make a separate study of the ceramics, glass in its various forms, the arts of engraving and printing, and some of the many others which have added so much to the pleasure and beauty of the civilized world.

**SOURCE:** Addison, Julia de Wolf. Arts and Crafts in the Middle Ages. Project Gutenberg.< <http://www.gutenberg.net/dirs/1/8/2/1/18212/18212-h/18212-h.htm> >

**DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:**

1. What is the difference between "Arts" and "Crafts"? Give some examples?
2. How was art regarded until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century?
3. What does the alliance of a craft and art produce?
4. How should craftsmen respect their tools and craft?



## GARCÍA NÈSTOR CANCLINI PROSPEROUS POPULAR CULTURES

Nestor Garcia Canclini is an anthropologist and the director of the Program of Studies on Urban Culture at the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana in Mexico City. He has been a professor at the universities of Stanford, Austin, Barcelona, Buenos Aires and Sao Paulo. He has published several books on cultural studies, globalisation and urban imagination. The Spanish-language edition of *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* won the 1992 Premio Iberoamericano. His recent books include: *La Globalizacion imaginada (Globalisation Imagined) (1999)*, *Consumers and Citizens: Globalisation and Multicultural Conflicts (2001)* and *Latinoamericanos buscando lugar en este siglo (Latin Americans Looking for a Place in this Century, 2002)*.

Modern mass communications and its attendant economies are not necessarily sounding the death knell for traditional practices.

The reformulation of the popular-traditional that is occurring in the self-criticism of some folklorists and in new research by anthropologists and communications specialists allows us to understand the place of folklore in modernity in a different way. It is possible to construct a new perspective for analysing the popular-traditional by taking into account its interactions with elite culture and the culture industries. I will begin to systemise it in the form of six refutations of the classic view of the folklorists.

**a. Modern development does not suppress traditional popular cultures.** In the two decades that have passed since the issuing of the Charter of American Folklore in 1970, the supposed process of folklore's extinction did not become more marked, despite advances in mass communications and other technologies that either did not exist in 1970 or were not used then in the culture industry: video, cassettes, cable television, satellite transmission - in short, the series of technological and cultural transformations that result from the combining of microelectronics and telecommunications.

Not only did this modernising expansion not succeed in erasing folklore, but many studies reveal that in the last few decades traditional cultures have developed by being transformed. This growth is the result of at least four types of causes: (a) the impossibility of incorporating the entire population into urban industrial production; (b) the need of the market to include traditional symbolic structures and goods in the mass circuits of communication in order to reach even the popular layers least integrated into modernity; (c) the interest of political systems in taking folklore into account with the goal of strengthening their hegemony and legitimacy; (d) continuity in the cultural production of the popular sectors.

Studies on handicrafts show a growth in the number of artisans, the volume of production, and its quantitative weight: a report by Sistema Economico Latinoamericano (SELA) calculates that the artisans of the fourteen Latin American countries analysed represent six per cent of the general population and eighteen per cent of the economically active

population.<sup>1</sup> One of the main explanations for this increase, given by Andean as well as Mesoamerican authors, is that the deficiencies of agrarian exploitation and the relative impoverishment of products from the countryside drive many communities to search for an increase in their incomes through the sale of handicrafts. Although it is true that in some regions the incorporation of peasant labour power into other branches of production reduced artisanal production, there exist, inversely, communities that had never made handicrafts or only made them for their own consumption, and in the last few decades they were drawn into that work in order to ease the crisis. Unemployment is another reason why artisanal work is increasing, both in the countryside and in the cities, bringing into this type of production young people from socio-economic sectors that never before were employed in this field. In Peru, the largest concentration of artisans is not in areas of low economic development but in the city of Lima: 29 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Mexico shares its accelerated industrial reconversion with an intense support of artisanal production - the greatest volume on the continent and with a high number of producers: six million. It is not possible to understand why the number of handicrafts continues to increase, nor why the state keeps adding organisations to promote a type of work that, while employing 28 per cent of the economically active population, barely represents 0.1 per cent of the gross national product and two to three per cent of the country's exports, if we see it as an atavistic survival of traditions confronted by modernity.

The incorporation of folkloric goods into commercial circuits, which tends to be analysed as if their only effects were to homogenise designs and eliminate local brands, demonstrates that the expansion of the market needs to concern itself also with the sectors that resist uniform consumption or encounter difficulties in participating in it. With this goal, production is diversified and traditional designs, handicrafts, and folkloric music are utilised that continue to attract indigenous people, peasants, the masses of migrants, and new groups, as well as intellectuals, students, and artists. Through the varied motivations of each sector - to affirm their identity, stress a national-popular political definition or the distinction of a cultivated taste with traditional roots - this broadening of the market contributes to an extension of folklore.<sup>3</sup> As debatable as certain commercial uses of folkloric goods may seem, it is undeniable that much of the growth and diffusion of traditional cultures is due to the promotion of the record industry, dance festivals, fairs that include handicrafts and, of course, their popularisation by the mass media. Radio and television broadcast local forms of music on a national and international scale, just as the Peruvian criollo waltz, the chicha, the chamame and the quartets in Argentina, the music of the north-east and gaucho songs in Brazil, and the corridos of the Mexican Revolution, were included in the electronic media.

In the third place, if many branches of folklore are growing it is because in the last few decades Latin American states have increased their support to its production (credits to artisans, scholarships and subsidies, contests, etc.), conservation, trade, and diffusion (mu-

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1. Mirko Lauer, *La producción artesanal en América Latina* (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1984). SELA's estimate does not include countries that do not belong to this system, but the only country absent from it that does have significant artisanal production is Brazil.
  2. Lauer, *Crítica de la artesanía. Plástica y sociedad en los Andes peruanos* (Lima: DESCO, 1982).
  3. Since the beginning of the 1980s, authors from various countries have been interested in the revitalisation that commercialisation and consumption of non-traditional sectors have made possible for folklore namely in Berta G. Ribeiro, Maria Rosilene Barbosa Alvina, Ana M. Heyer, Vera de Vives, Jose Silveira D'Avila, and Dante Luis Martins Teixeira, *O artesanato tradicional e seu papel na sociedade contemporânea* (Rio de Janeiro: FUNARTE/Instituto Nacional de Folclore, 1983). Also see Rodolfo Becerril Straffton, 'Las artesanías: la necesidad de una perspectiva económica,' *Textos sobre arte popular* (Mexico: FONART-FONAPAS, 1982).

seums, books, sales, tours, and halls for popular events). The state has various objectives: to create jobs that reduce unemployment and the exodus from the countryside to the cities, to promote the export of traditional goods, to attract tourism, to take advantage of the historical and popular prestige of folklore to cement hegemony and national unity in the form of a patrimony that seems to transcend the diversions among classes and ethnic groups.

But all these uses of traditional culture would be impossible without one basic fact: the continuity in the production of popular artisans, musicians, dancers, and poets interested in maintaining and renewing their heritage. The preservation of these forms of life, organisation, and thought can be explained by cultural reasons but also, as we said, by economic interests of the producers, who are trying to survive or increase their income.

We are not overlooking the contradictory character that market stimuli and governmental bodies have on folklore. The studies we cite talk of frequent conflicts between the interests of the producers or users of popular goods and merchants, promoters, mass media, and states. But what can no longer be said is that the tendency of modernisation is simply to promote the disappearance of traditional cultures. The problem, then, cannot be reduced to one of conserving and rescuing supposedly unchanged traditions. It is a question of asking ourselves how they are being transformed and how they interact with the forces of modernity.

**b. Peasant and traditional cultures no longer represent the major part of popular culture.** In the last few decades, Latin American cities came to contain between 60 and 70 per cent of their country's inhabitants. Even in rural areas, folklore today does not have the closed and stable character of an archaic universe, since it is developed in the variable relations that traditions weave with urban life, migrations, tourism, secularisation and the symbolic options offered both by the electronic media and by new religious movements or by the reformulation of old ones. Even recent migrants, who maintain forms of sociability and celebrations of peasant origin, acquire the character of 'urbanoid groups', as the Brazilian ethnomusicologist Jose Jorge de Carvalho puts it. Hence current folklorists feel the need to be concerned at once with local and regional production and with salsa, African rhythms, indigenous and Creole melodies that dialogue with jazz, rock, and other genres of Anglo-Saxon origin. Traditions are reinstalled even beyond the cities: in an interurban and international system of cultural circulation. Although there was always a current of traditional forms that united the Ibero-American world, Carvalho adds, now there exists a flood of hybrid forms that also unite us, it being possible to identify relationships between new Brazilian popular rhythms and new expressions from Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, the Caribbean, Mexico, and so on. It is not possible to understand tradition without understanding innovation.<sup>4</sup>

**c. The popular is not concentrated in objects.** The current study of culture by anthropology and sociology situates popular products in their economic conditions

<sup>4</sup> Jose Jorge de Carvalho, *O lugar da cultura tradicional na sociedade moderna* (Brasilia: University of Brasilia Foundation, Anthropological series 77, 1989) p. 8-10.

of production and consumption. Folklorists influenced by semiotics identify the folk in behaviours and communicational processes. In none of these cases is it accepted that the popular is congealed in patrimonies of stable goods. Not even traditional culture is seen as an 'authoritative norm or static and immutable force', writes Martha Blache, 'but as a wealth that is utilised today but is based on previous experiences or the way a group has of responding to and linking itself with its social environment'. Rather than a collection of objects or objectivised customs, tradition is thought of as 'a mechanism of selection, and even of invention, projected toward the past in order to legitimise the present'.<sup>5</sup>

The interactionist and ethnomethodological influence also contributes to conceiving of the formation and the changes of social signification as a product of interactions and rituals. From its perspective, popular art is neither a collection of objects nor the subaltern ideology of a system of ideas, nor customs fixed repertoires of practices: all are dynamic dramatisations of collective experience. If rituals are the domain in which each society manifests what it wants to situate as perennial or eternal, as Roberto DaMatta explains<sup>6</sup>, then even the most durable aspects of popular life manifest themselves better than in the inert objects in the ceremonies that bring them to life. (Although DaMatta does not establish an exclusive relation between ritual and the past, he emphasises that even what is tradition in society is better revealed in interactions than in motionless goods.)

**d. The popular is not a monopoly of the popular sectors.** In conceiving of the folk as social practices and communicational processes more than as packages of objects, the fatalist, naturalising link is broken that associated certain cultural products with fixed groups. Folklorists pay attention to the fact that in modern societies the same person may participate in diverse folkloric groups, and is capable of being synchronically and diachronically integrated into various systems of symbolic practices: rural and urban, neighbourhood and factory, microsocial and mass media-based. There is no folklore belonging only to the oppressed classes; nor are the only possible types of interfolkloric relations those of domination, submission, or rebellion. In the last instance, we are coming to no longer consider groups as organisations that are stable in their composition and in their permanence, endowed with common characteristics. There is no set of individuals that is folkloric in itself; there are, however, situations that are more or less favourable for a person to participate in folkloric behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

The evolution of traditional fiestas and of the production and sale of handicrafts reveals that these are no longer exclusive tasks of ethnic groups, nor of broader peasant sectors, nor even of the agrarian oligarchy, ministries of culture and commerce, private foundations, beverage companies, and radio and television stations also intervene in organising them.<sup>8</sup> Folk or traditional cultural facts are today the multi-determined product of actors that are popular and hegemonic, peasant and urban, local, national, and transnational.

By extension, it is possible to think that the popular is constituted in hybrid and complex processes, using as signs of identification elements originating from diverse classes and nations. At the same time, we may become more perceptive in the face of the ingredients of so-called popular cultures that are a reproduction of the hegemonic,

5 Martha Blache, 'Folclor y cultura popular'. *Revista de Investigaciones Folcloricas* 3, December, (University of Buenos Aires, Institute de Ciencias Antropologicas, 1988) p. 27.

6. Roberto DaMatta, *Carnavais, malandros e herois* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1980) p. 24, and 'A Special Place', *Prince Claus Fund Journal* 7 on Carnival (The Hague: Prince Claus Fund, 2001) 70-72.

7. Blache, 'Folclor y cultura popular', *ibid.*, 29.

8. For further discussion, see Gobi Stromberg, *El juego del coyote. Plateria y arte en Taxco* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1985); Catherine Good Eshelman, *Haciendo la lucha. Arte y comer do ahuas de Guerrero* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1988); and Lauer, *Critica de la artesanía. Plástica y sociedad en los Andes peruanos*.

or that become self-destructive for the popular sectors, or contrary to their interests: corruption and resigned attitudes in relation to hegemonic groups.

**e. The popular is not lived by popular subjects as a melancholic complacency with traditions.** Many subaltern ritual practices that are apparently devoted to reproducing the traditional order humorously transgress it. Perhaps an anthology of the scattered documentation on ritual humour in Latin America would make it clear that people resort to laughter in order to have a less oppressive relation with their past. We propose the hypothesis that the attitude is most antisoemn when it is a matter of crossed traditions in conflict. In the carnivals of various countries, dances by indigenous and mestizo people parody the Spanish conquistadores, making grotesque use of their costumes and the warlike paraphernalia they brought along for the conquest. In the Brazilian carnival there is a reversal of the traditional orders of a society where the intersection of blacks and whites, and old ethnic groups and modern groups, seeks resolution in severe hierarchies: night is used as if it were day, men dress up as women, and the ignorant, the blacks, and the workers appear to be 'showing the pleasure of living the latest fashions in song, dance, and the samba'.<sup>9</sup>

It is unnecessary to optimise these transgressions to the point of believing that, by vindicating people's own histories, they undo the fundamental tradition of domination. DaMatta himself recognises that in carnival there is a play between the reaffirmation of hegemonic traditions and the parody that subverts them, since the explosion of the illicit is limited to a short, defined period after which re-entry into the established social organisation takes place. The rupture of the fiesta does not eliminate hierarchies and inequalities, but its irreverence opens a freer, less fatalistic relation to inherited conventions.

In Mexico too, in the highlands of Chiapas, carnival is a moment of symbolic and humorous working out of superimposed conflicts. Blacks caricature ladinos, Indians caricature other Indians as ethnic tensions are staged, ironically recalling the Caste War of 1867-70. Parody is used in Zinacantan, Chamula, and Chenalho, as in other areas, to disparage those who are different (other Indians, ladinos, whites) and to disapprove of deviations in conduct within the group itself, that is, as an ethnocentric self-affirmation.<sup>10</sup> But the interpretation is also possible that this is done to reduce the oppressive character of centuries-old forms of domination.

Because intercultural conflicts have been similar in other areas of Mesoamerica, it is not strange that similar parodying tactics are found in many communities. Nevertheless, the exegesis of these fiestas tends to emphasise only what in ritual humour serves to make fun of authorities and caricature foreigners. Some authors, such as Victoria Reifler Bricker, in observing the frequent relation of ritual humour to deviant behaviours, suggest another function: social control. Ridiculing someone who wears ladino clothing or a corrupt functionary would, for indigenous communities, serve to



**DERVISH**  
Narzibekov Nosirbek

9 DaMatta, *Carnavais, malandros e herois*. *ibid*, 99.

10 Victoria Reifler Bricker, *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas* (Austin:University of Texas Press, 1973).

anticipate the sanctions that would be suffered by those who diverge from traditional behaviours or attack the group itself. But no one, this author notes, proves that there is a causal link between ceremonial caricature and a reinforcement of rules. It cannot be affirmed that in societies that make fun of certain types of conduct these types of conduct occur less frequently, or that the fear of being ridiculed rather than some other fear - supernatural or legal - is the motivation for avoiding them...

**f. The pure preservation of traditions is not always the best popular resource for reproducing itself and re-elaborating its situation.** 'Be authentic and you'll earn more' is the slogan of many promoters, handicrafts merchants, and cultural functionaries. The studies that some undisciplined folklorists and anthropologists have finally ended up doing on impure handicrafts demonstrate that sometimes the opposite happens.

In an analogous way to the potters of Ocumicho, *amate* painters are making us rethink the apocalyptic alarms about 'the inevitable extinction' of handicrafts and the nexus between the cultured and the popular. Thirty years ago, when several Guerrero communities began to produce and sell paintings made on *amate* paper, in part influenced by artists, some folklorists predicted the decline of their ethnic traditions. Catherine Good Eshelman began a study on these crafts in 1977, starting from the then predominant theory about the place of peasant production in Mexican capitalist formation: handicrafts would be a specific form of participation in this unequal system, one more way to extract surplus and weaken ethnic organisation. After living for several years in the producing communities and following the cycle of their adaptations, she had to admit that the growing commercial interaction with the national society and market not only allowed them to improve economically, but they were also strengthening their internal relations. Their indigenous origin was not 'a folkloric detail' that gave an exotic attraction to their products, nor was it an obstacle to incorporating themselves into the capitalist economy; rather, it was 'the mobilising and determining force in the process'.<sup>11</sup> As the author's historic work demonstrates, those communities spent long periods experimenting with strategies, which were often frustrated, until they arrived at the economic and aesthetic achievements of painting on *amate*. Their origin is multidetermined: they were born in the 1950s, when the Nahuas of Ameyaltepec - potters since before the conquest who sold their masks, flowerpots, and ashtrays in nearby cities - transferred the decorations of their ceramics to *amate* paper. The drawings were ancient but their national and international diffusion began when they were put on *amate*, which - in addition to allowing for more complex compositions - weighs less than clay, is less fragile and is easier to transport.

The 'paintings' are made by men and women, adults and children. They show scenes of their work and their fiestas, valorising in this way ethnic and familiar traditions that they continue to reproduce in their peasant tasks. The artisans themselves control almost all their trade, allow middlemen less interference than in other artisanal branches of production, and take advantage of their stands and itinerant sales to offer works from other communities (masks, carved rocks, and copies of pre-Hispanic pieces).

According to the poll done by Good Eshelman in Ameyaltepec in 1980-81, 41 per cent of families earned more than four minimum-wage salaries and another 42 per cent from two to four minimum-wage salaries. There continue to be middlemen who

11. Catherine Good Eshelman, *Haciendo la lucha, Arte y comercio nahuas de Guerrero* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1988) p. 18.

appropriate part of the profit; those who speculate the most are the ones who pay between ten and twenty dollars for each amate and resell them in the US as 'genuine Aztec tribal art' for \$300 or \$400 US. There are also companies that use the designs of these communities on tablecloths, postcards and facial-tissue boxes, without paying them anything in return. Despite these forms of exploitation, which are common in other types of handicrafts, their incomes and level of consumption are much higher than those of the average Mexican peasant.<sup>12</sup>

Although these artisans engage in profuse commercial activity, which extends across almost the entire country, they are organised so as not to neglect agriculture, ceremonial obligations or community services. They invest the profits from their crafts in land, animals, housing, and internal fiestas. Inasmuch as all families are employed in the sale of handicrafts, it is in no one's interest to use their resources and labour power as commodities. In commerce they move individually or by family, but they carry out their sales by using collective networks for sharing information about faraway cities and settling in them by reproducing the material and symbolic conditions of their daily life. Dozens of Nahua artisans arrive at a tourist centre, rent part of a cheap hotel and immediately put up ropes to hang clothes instead of keeping them in closets, store water in clay jugs inside the room, erect altars, and prepare food or convince someone in the market to cook it their way.

Through the purchase of materials and the consumption of alien goods, they transfer part of their profit to the national and international market, but the more or less egalitarian control of their sources of subsistence and of the handicraft trade allows them to maintain their ethnic identity. Thanks to their concern for certain traditions (collective control of land and the system of reciprocity), the renewal of their artisanal trade, and the readjustment to a complex interaction with modernity, they have achieved a flourishing independence that they would not have obtained by enclosing themselves in their ancestral relations.

**Prosperous Popular Cultures** is an excerpt from *Hybrid Cultures - Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* by Nestor Garcia Canclini, translated by Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. Lopez (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) p.152-158, 168-170. For information p. 174

**SOURCE:** Canclini, García Nèstor. "Prosperous Popular Cultures". Prince Claus Fund Journal. #10a. Eds. Malu Halasa, et.al. Trans. Amelia White and Maudi Quandt. 2003.

<sup>12</sup> At the time that the poll mentioned earlier was conducted, at the beginning of the 1980s, 35 of every 100 Mexican homes had incomes below the monthly minimum wage, that is, a little less than \$100 US (Hector Aguilar Camin, *Despues del milargo* (Mexico: Cal y Arena, 1988) 214).

## REVIEW QUESTIONS:

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1. In “The Heights of Pleasure”, Vincenzo Borghini claims, “Pleasure is the essence of art, utility is an accident”. What would Calvert and Wilde reply to this statement? Who would you support most and why?
  2. What kind of activity was art collecting in the early Renaissance?
  3. Oscar Wilde thinks that “All art is quite useless”. How would Calvert reply to this statement?
  4. What may the art of another people-group mean for our total experience? How would Appiah reply to this question?
  5. How do Croce, Puffer, Calvert, and Hawthorne understand the term “artist”? Compare and contrast their views on this issue.
  6. Can art be considered to be food for thought? The titles of the six chapters of the Art as Appreciation course-book all have the same structure: “Art as...”. Create your own comparisons of “Art as...” and explain them?
  7. What does Bell say about the power of art?
  8. What factors play a significant role in the buying a painting/sculpture:
    - a) taste;
    - b) price;
    - c) beauty of an artwork;
    - d) experience;
    - e) popularity of an artist;
    - f) enigma of an artwork;
    - g) character of the buyer?What other factors can you think of? Why are they important?
  9. The following case is taken from the book by Sylvan Barnet: “Can we call something art, if its creator did not think of it as art?” For instance, the Zuni consider their war God figures “to be embodiments of sacred forces, not aesthetic objects, and therefore unsuitable for the exhibition”, “although curators of American art museums” exhibited these objects. “The proper place for these figures”, as Zuni think, “is in open-air hill-side shrines.”  
“Is it appropriate for one culture to take the sacred materials of another culture out of their context and to exhibit them as aesthetic objects to be enjoyed?”<sup>1</sup> How would Appiah answer this question? What dilemmas surround this issue?
  10. What is our experience of art? Does a great artwork enrich our experience? How? Give examples from the covered chapters.
  11. Why are Giambologna’s Mercury and Michelangelo’s David nude?
  12. Compare Giambologna and Michelangelo’s understanding of art
  13. What is the relationship between art and morality? What is moral to do in the name of art? Do morals even apply to art? Can art be immoral?

## ANALYSIS QUESTIONS:

1. What is art? Is there one, universal definition of art?
2. What is the purpose of art? What is the role of an artist?
3. How does one appreciate art? Is the appreciation of artworks a special faculty, a gift, which only a few can possess or something which everyone has?
4. Why is art an important condition of human life?
5. What kind of qualities can art have, and how?
6. Can art make people happy?
7. What is the origin of art? How did art appear?
8. What is the relationship between Art and Nature?

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<sup>1</sup> Barnet, Sylvan. *A Short Guide to Writing About Art*. 7th ed. New York: Longman, 2000.7.



## MAKING A PRESENTATION

### What is a Presentation?

A presentation is a speech delivered by a presenter to a larger audience. Presentations can be purely oral, using powerpoint or of mixed type. There are many different purposes for presentations: to advertise products, to inform your audience about an issue or to convince the listeners of a particular point of view.

### *Basic Guidelines on Preparing a Presentation*

#### 1. Preparation

A rule of thumb is to spend 30 minutes of preparation time for every 1 minute presentation (Foell). The keys to successful presentation are preparation, planning, and practice.

Make up an outline of the presentation

**Rehearse** several times before you present. You can also rehearse in front of a mirror or in front of your friends to practice your presentation skills and be better prepared for the actual speech. Ask one of your friends to give feedback to your presentation. You can also record or videotape your speech in order to watch the tape again and analyze the effectiveness of your presentation and voice.

**Time** your presentation.

Check all equipment beforehand. Prepare other materials like cards or flipcharts as backup. Note-cards can help you make your presentation with less anxiety. The purpose of note-cards is to remind the presenter what has to be said and in what sequence the ideas should be presented. To achieve this purpose, write only key words or phrases on the note-cards and number the cards.

If you are going to use difficult words/terms in your presentation, firstly check their pronunciation and meaning in the dictionary. Secondly, explain the meaning of the difficult terms you use in your presentation.

#### 2. Content

1. What is the purpose of your presentation? Why are you going to talk?
2. How is your presentation useful for others? What new things could people learn from your presentation?
3. Write down three main points you would like your audience to remember from your presentation; spend more time explaining these issues during your presentation.

#### 3. Audience

1. Who are you presenting to? Will your listeners be able to understand you?
2. What could you do to make it easier for them to understand you?

#### 4. Creativity

**Use visual aids**, as it will make your presentation more interesting. Be creative. Make your presentation original, interesting and unique. There are a variety of kinds of visual aids that you can use:

a) Slideshows and powerpoint presentations can be used to display art or other images.

*Tips on creating a power point presentation:*

i) Do not put much information on one slide. All the text on each slide should be easily readable.

ii) Use high quality images.

b) Video and music-video clips, excerpts from the films and songs, melodies (for example, a film about life of Dali or Van Gogh).

c) Charts, graphs, drawings, maps (for example, graphs showing the results of a survey on the most popular painting amongst youths or the most frequently attended gallery in the city). They should be big enough to be clear and legible.

d) Posters (for example, you could collect all the necessary information about your favorite painter, glue his/her photo on the flipchart and include a crossword on the titles of artists' paintings) .

e) Prepare a mock up or a working model of your project, city, or object (Harris).

f) Props. For example, you can bring oils, colours, glue, and fabric to demonstrate different kinds of media that artists used to create art.

g) Experiments and Demonstrations. For instance, if you are making a presentation on *Combinations of Colours*, you can bring oils and combine them or ask some of your spectators to participate in this experiment. Certainly, you should also explain the purpose and meaning of the experiment.

h) Handouts. Include all the important information of your presentation on a sheet and give out copies to your audience.

#### 5. Clarity

I. Present your thesis statement and main arguments clearly.

Communicate your ideas clearly and coherently. There should be a logical sequence in your ideas. (Do not "jump" from one idea to another.)

#### 6. Style

Use gestures moderately.

Speak loudly so that everyone could hear you.

Keep the attention of your audience. If you stumble over or forget a point, move on so that your audience does not become irritated.

Leave time for questions.

Before the start of the presentation greet your audience and after the presentation thank your listeners for their attention and questions. Introduce yourself to the audience.

Do not simply read from your notes. Make as much eye contact as possible to keep your audience's attention. Eye contact helps build trust between the presenter and audience.

Be in a good mood and feel comfortable during your presentation. Treat your audience like friends.

Be confident and enthusiastic. If the first time you make your presentation it is unsuccessful, do not feel frustrated. Next time you will do it better. The more you practice presentation skills, the stronger these skills become.

### WORKS CITED LIST

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**WOMAN PLAYING DUTOR.**

Behzod Museum, Dushanbe. Photo by Mikhail Romanyuk

**CHAPTER I: ART AS SACRED****Clive Bell, “Art and Life”**

Turner, J.M. The Fighting Téméraire tugged to her last Berth to be broken. 1838. Watercolour, 91 x 122cm. The National Gallery. London.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Turner%2C\\_J.\\_M.\\_W.\\_The\\_Fighting\\_T%C3%A9m%C3%A9raire\\_tugged\\_to\\_her\\_last\\_Berth\\_to\\_be\\_broken.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Turner%2C_J._M._W._The_Fighting_T%C3%A9m%C3%A9raire_tugged_to_her_last_Berth_to_be_broken.jpg)  
Public Domain

Pyxid of al-Mughira, Madinat al-Zahra, 968, today in the L'Ouvre.

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Pyxid\\_Al\\_Mughira\\_OA\\_4068.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Pyxid_Al_Mughira_OA_4068.jpg)  
Public Domain

Theotokos of Vladimir (the holy protectress of Russia). 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery. Moscow. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Vladimirskaya.jpg>

Public Domain

Miraj. Persian miniature painting, from 1550 CE, depicting the Prophet Muhammad ascending on the Burak into the heavens, a journey known as the Miraj. From a Khamsa of Nizami of 1539-43, painted by Sultan Muhammad, in Tabriz. <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Miraj2.jpg>, Public Domain

Giambattista, Cima da Conegliano. Sacra Conversazione. c. 1490. National Gallery, London, UK. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Giambattista\\_Cima\\_da\\_Conegliano\\_-\\_Sacra\\_Conversazione.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Giambattista_Cima_da_Conegliano_-_Sacra_Conversazione.jpg), Public Domain

Christus Ravenna Mosaic. 6<sup>th</sup> century. Church San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Christus\\_Ravenna\\_Mosaic.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Christus_Ravenna_Mosaic.jpg), Public Domain

Standing Buddha, Gandhara, 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Guimet Museum, Paris. Personal photograph. 18 August 2005. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:StandingBuddha.JPG>, Public Domain

Leningrad Codex. The manuscript was written around the year 1010 CE. Author: Shmuel ben Ya'akov. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Leningrad\\_Codex\\_Carpet\\_page\\_e.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Leningrad_Codex_Carpet_page_e.jpg), Public Domain

The Bayeux Tapestry, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Bayeux\\_tapl.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Bayeux_tapl.jpg), Public Domain

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Giotto di Bondone, Basilique Assise, Legend of St Francis, Ecstasy of St Francis, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Giotto\\_-\\_Legend\\_of\\_St\\_Francis\\_-\\_12\\_-\\_Ecstasy\\_of\\_St\\_Francis.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Giotto_-_Legend_of_St_Francis_-_12_-_Ecstasy_of_St_Francis.jpg), Public Domain

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Bosch, Hieronymus. Hell, part of The Garden of Earthly Delights. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Hieronymus\\_Bosch\\_-\\_The\\_Garden\\_of\\_Earthly\\_Delights\\_-\\_Hell.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Hieronymus_Bosch_-_The_Garden_of_Earthly_Delights_-_Hell.jpg), Public Domain

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Pieter Bruegel the Elder: The Seven Deadly Sins or the Seven Vices - Anger, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Pieter\\_Bruegel\\_the\\_Elder\\_-\\_The\\_Seven\\_Deadly\\_Sins\\_or\\_the\\_Seven\\_Vices\\_-\\_Anger.JPG](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder_-_The_Seven_Deadly_Sins_or_the_Seven_Vices_-_Anger.JPG), Public Domain

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Fieldhouse, Simon. Royal Academy. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Royal\\_Academy\\_Simon\\_Fieldhouse.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Royal_Academy_Simon_Fieldhouse.jpg), Public Domain

**Nitin Kumar**

Buddhist Mandala. <http://www.buddhismus.at/service/serv6.htm>,

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Mandala\\_gross.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Mandala_gross.jpg), Public Domain

Ceramic tile produced in Iznik, Turkey, second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Today in the L'Ouvre.

Photographer: Jastrow(2005), [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Tile\\_panel\\_flow-ers\\_Louvre\\_OA3919-2-297.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Tile_panel_flow-ers_Louvre_OA3919-2-297.jpg), Public Domain

## CHAPTER 2: ART AS BEAUTY

### Edmund Burke, “A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful”

Friedrich, Caspar David. Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer, ca.1818. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Caspar\\_David\\_Friedrich\\_032.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Caspar_David_Friedrich_032.jpg), Public Domain

Edmund Burke. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Edmund\\_Burke2\\_c.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Edmund_Burke2_c.jpg), Public Domain

Turner, J.M.W. Rain, Steam and Speed - The Great Western Railway. 1844. Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Turner-rain-steam-and-speed.jpg>, Public Domain

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**Julia De Wolf Addison, “Arts and Crafts in the Middle Ages”**

St Laurentius-olv mantel. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:St\\_Laurentius-olv\\_mantel.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:St_Laurentius-olv_mantel.jpg), GNU Free Documentation License

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Man shaping pottery in Cappadocia, Turkey. Photo taken by Randy Oostdyk, and released under GFDL. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Makingpottery.jpg>, GNU Free Documentation License

Bishop's symbol of office. Self-made image donated to Wikipedia. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Bishops\\_staff\\_2d.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Bishops_staff_2d.jpg), GNU Free Documentation License

Phulkari from Patiala. Photo: IP Singh. Source: Taken by User:Indu Singh, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:2006\\_08\\_26\\_Phulkari.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:2006_08_26_Phulkari.JPG), GNU Free Documentation License

Wood-carving, Mikhail Romanyuk's Domain of Images

**CHAPTER 3: ART AS INTUITION****Benedetto Croce, “Intuition and Art”**

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### Rochelle Gurstein, “The Mystic Smile”

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**CHAPTER 4: ART AS POLITICS****Musawir, Mucin. Tiger Attacking a Youth. Persian, Safavid. 8 Feb. 1672. Isfahan, Iran. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**

Photograph © Jan.31, 2008. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA.

Safavid era Miniature painting kept at Shah Abbas Hotel in Isfahan. Photo. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Miniatur\\_hotel\\_shah\\_abbas\\_deevar.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Miniatur_hotel_shah_abbas_deevar.jpg), The GNU Free Documentation License  
Siberian tiger (*Panthera tigris altaica*), Aalborg Zoo, Denmark. This file was made by Malene Thyssen. [www.mtfoto.dk/malene/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Siberian_Tiger_by_Malene_Th.jpg), [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Siberian\\_Tiger\\_by\\_Malene\\_Th.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Siberian_Tiger_by_Malene_Th.jpg), The GNU Free Documentation License

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Map of Safavid territories. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Map\\_Safavid\\_persia.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Map_Safavid_persia.png), The Creative Commons

Image of Shah of Iran, Ismail I; Description from Smithsonian: The Battle between Shah Ismail and Abul-khayr Khan from the *Tarikh-i alam-aray-i Shah Ismail* URL:<http://www.asia.si.edu/collections/zoomObject.cfm?ObjectId=28213>, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:ShahIsmaili.jpeg>, Public Domain

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A Persian Rug depicting an old scene from the turquoise blue mosque of Isfahan. Photo taken by Zereschk, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Farsh-Isfahan.jpg>, Public Domain

**Michael Kimmelman, “The Cold War over the Arts”**

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**Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Whose Culture is it?”**

Kwame Anthony Appiah during a visit to Knox College. photo by Appiah. 24 Oct 2006.

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Sculpture of Hanuman in Terra cotta. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Hanuman\\_in\\_Terra\\_Cotta.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Hanuman_in_Terra_Cotta.jpg), Public Domain

Amber Room before World War II. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Oldamberroom.jpg>, The Public Domain in Russia.

Yoruba bronze head sculpture from the city of Ife, Nigeria c. 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Yoruba-bronze-head.jpg>, Public Domain

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A view inside the Afghan National Museum. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:A\\_view\\_Inside\\_the\\_Afghan\\_National\\_Museum.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:A_view_Inside_the_Afghan_National_Museum.jpg), The Creative Commons

Taliban in Herat. Photo in July 2001. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Taliban-herat-2001.jpg>, Public Domain

Makonde carving c.1974, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Makonde\\_elephant.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Makonde_elephant.jpg), Public Domain

Benin Bronzes. Photo. June 2005. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Benin\\_Bronzes.JPG](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Benin_Bronzes.JPG), GNU Free Documentation License

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### **Ronald Dworkin, “Even Bigots and Holocaust deniers must have their say”**

Join or Die. This political cartoon (attributed to Benjamin Franklin) originally appeared during the French and Indian War, but was recycled to encourage the American colonies to unite against British rule.<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Joinordie.png>, Public Domain

Williams, Greg. A colored-pencil caricature of film comedian Charlie Chaplin. 1990s.

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Muhammad at Mount Hira. 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman illustration of the Siyer-i Nebi.

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Nur Jahan's Mausoleum in Shahdara, Lahore. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Nur\\_Jehan\\_Tomb.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Nur_Jehan_Tomb.jpg), Picture by M Kaiser Tufail 8 Oct '06, GNU Free Documentation License

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 Buonarroti, Michelangelo. Pietà .St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. 1499, marble sculpture, Vatican., Photo taken by Flickr user(s) ste\_and\_leanne. Original photo [http://www.flickr.com/photo\\_zoom.gne?id=205992318&size=l](http://www.flickr.com/photo_zoom.gne?id=205992318&size=l). Photo used under permission by the photographer. GNU Free Documentation License

Detail of Michelangelo's "The Last Judgement" (Sistine Chapel), executed 1535-1541. Saint Bartholomew holding the knife of his martyrdom and his flayed skin. The face of the skin is Michelangelo's. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Last\\_judgement.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Last_judgement.jpg), Public Domain

Michelangelo, Moses. Located in a minor church of San Pietro in Vincoli on the Esquiline (near the ancient Coliseum) in Rome---Moses is the figure bottom center. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Michaelangelo%27s\\_Moses.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Michaelangelo%27s_Moses.jpg), GNU Free Documentation license

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St. Peter's Basilica in Rome seen from the roof of Castel Sant'Angelo. Photo by Wolfgang Stuck September 2004. Michelangelo designed the dome of St. Peter's Basilica, although it was unfinished when he died. (information to be put under the image), [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Petersdom\\_von\\_Engelsburg\\_gesehen.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Petersdom_von_Engelsburg_gesehen.jpg), Public Domain

Michelangelo.Madonna with child. Brügge cathedral "Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk", Belgium, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Madonna\\_michelangelo.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Madonna_michelangelo.jpg), GNU Free Documentation License

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Giambologna. Hercules beating the Centaur. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza\\_signoria\\_statue01.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue01.jpg), The Creative Commons Attribution  
 Giambologna. Cosimo Medici's statue on the Piazza della Signoria. Florence, Italy. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza\\_signoria\\_statue07.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue07.jpg), The Creative Commons Attribution, Hercules beating the Centaur (Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence)

"L'Architettura" by Giambologna in the Bargello, Firenze. Photo taken in 1993. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:FloArch0.jpg>, GNU Free Documentation License

Giambologna. Rape of the Sabine Women. Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza\\_signoria\\_statue06.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Firenze-piazza_signoria_statue06.jpg), This image was originally posted to Flickr by Son of Groucho at <http://www.flickr.com/photos/sonofgroucho/56029611/>. The Creative Commons Attribution

Bronze equestrian statue of Philip III of Spain (1578–1621). Started by Giambologna and finished in 1616 by Pietro Tacca. Part of the monument in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid (Spain) inaugurated in 1848. [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Monumento\\_a\\_Felipe\\_III\\_%28Madrid%29\\_02.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Monumento_a_Felipe_III_%28Madrid%29_02.jpg), Public Domain

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- Artyclopedia. <http://www.artyclopedia.com/index.html>
- <http://encarta.msn.com/>
- Art Dictionary <http://www.artlex.com/>



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- The Impressionists: The Other French Revolution. Capturing the Moment. Volume II. (DVD) 2001.
- The Impressionists: Degas. DVD.
- Vincent - The Life and Death of Vincent Van Gogh. Filmmaker Paul Cox (1988)

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- The Life of Leonardo Da Vinci (1972)
- Artists of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Salvador Dali
- Jackson Pollock. Dir. Kim Evans. RM Arts. DVD.

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- The Architecture of Doom. Dir. Peter Cohen

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- Vreeland, Susan. Passion of Artemisia: CD [AUDIOBOOK] [UNABRIDGED] (Audio CD)

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- Empires - The Medici: Godfathers of the Renaissance (2004)
- Sister Wendy - The Complete Collection (Story of Painting/Grand Tour/Odyssey/Pains of Glass)
- The Moon and Sixpence (1942)
- The Dutch Masters - Rubens (2000)
- Art for whose Sake? Dir. Sam Napier-Bell
- Drawn by Experience. Dir. Joke Stephan
- Art: 21 - Art in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Seasons One & Two)
- Chuck Close - A Portrait in Progress (1998)
- Rivers and Tides: Working with Time. Andy Goldsworthy. Dir. Thomas Riedelsheimer. 2001.

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