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The Place of Aesthetics in Philosophy

BY

CHARLES A. HART

THE selection of the theme, "The Place of Aesthetics in Philosophy" might imply that, as a matter of fact, aesthetics has not had the place it so rightly deserves in that fundamental approach to reality through the search for ultimate causes which is traditionally designated as philosophy. That certainly seems to be the fact if we consider the field of philosophy as a whole. Not a few professional philosophers take a very patronizing attitude toward the philosophy of the beautiful. The very term "aesthetics," from the Greek *aisthetikos*, probably first used by Alexander Baumgarten, a disciple of Wolfe and Leibnits in 1750, as the title of his essay on art, implies, as its originator intended it should, that beauty is the object of sensibility as truth investigated in logic is the object of the intellect, and goodness considered in ethics is the object of the will. The three together comprised the field of philosophical research. Quite obviously that which was the object of the senses would not be considered properly philosophical by a great many who still accepted the traditional attitude towards philosophy in any degree. Misnomer as it is the term aesthetics still remains, despite efforts historically to dislodge it, as that mental discipline which seeks to understand the nature of the beautiful and the problem of man's production of beauty in various forms.

By philosophy here I mean primarily metaphysical philosophy, the science of being as such, or being in its most common essential aspects, embracing reality as a whole, which is arrived at by abstracting from both its physical and mathematical character. This being considered simply because it is, which is the first object of the intellect and also the one objective of metaphysical inquiry is made progressively clearer as that inquiry advances. As in every other science from the initial definitions of its object of study, metaphysics seeks further elucidation of real being as

such by considering the attributes or properties which all real beings possess and which because they are common to all beings are known as the transcendentals of being. By a strictly logical process being or *ens* is shown to have the notes of *res* (thingness), *aliquid* (somethingness), *unum* (unity or oneness), *verum* (truth) and *bonum* (goodness). They are all aspects of the very essence of things and are only logically distinct from the being and from one another. Since thingness and somethingness are almost synonymous with being itself, we traditionally confine our metaphysical discussion of the attributes of being to the unity, truth, and goodness of being, and after they have performed their role of deepening our grasp of reality, we turn truth as reality in relation to intellect over the logician, and goodness as reality in relation to the ethicist for practical considerations. We have said that the division of these attributes of real being is exhaustive, no others appearing by any logical analysis. Yet traditional philosophy has always insisted that beauty is transcendental in character for the reason that like unity, truth, and goodness, it is of the very essence of things and not in any of the genera or categories of being which are not asserted of all being, but only of some being.

The traditional Scholastic solution of this difficulty is made in the insistence upon beauty as a kind of goodness, from which beauty is only logically distinct. But after all unity, truth, and goodness, are only logically distinct, as we have said, from being itself and from one another. Unity considers the undividedness of beings; truth is being as it appears to intellect; and goodness as it appears to will. To what higher faculty must beauty be assigned as an object? All human knowledge comes through the avenue of the senses but that which concerns the essences of things pertains to the higher rational faculties, and if beauty is only logically distinct from goodness, it also, like goodness as well as unity and truth, must be related to the rational mind. That in fact is the case, for what is characteristic of the aesthetic experience is a most harmonious and perfect functioning of mind as a unitary principle without so much consciousness of division into distinct faculties of intellect and will. This relatively unitary functioning of the higher powers has a correspondence in the vigorous and perfect exercise of the lower sense powers, sensation, imagination, memory, feelings, and emotion; the whole constituting a unique moment for the mind. The human mind as the lowest order of minds reaches for the moment its highest natural expression. But it is

from the standpoint of the object distinct from the mind so perfectly reporting its object that metaphysics is of very necessity interested in this unique aesthetic experience. Here reality and mind are so utterly one that consciousness of distinction largely disappears, although of course the distinction still exists. It must be evident that such perfect reporting of reality, such penetration into its very core even if it is only an occasional and fleeting report, is nevertheless most valuable to the metaphysician who seeks to ascertain just this reality to the limit that his natural powers will permit him. If, as it had been said, he reserves being and its unity for himself and is in alliance with the scientist and the logician on the truth of being and with the ethician on its goodness, with each of whom he moves ever deeper into the mystery of being a fortiori, he must ally himself to the aesthetician who moves immeasurably beyond all of them up to the very frontiers of natural experience, beyond which lies only a supernatural experience of the very source of all beauty of being, the Infinite Being, God himself.

Yet I think it is quite evident that no such alliance generally exists. There are probably some reasons for this state of estrangement. The beauty of being as we have noted did not appear within the strictly rational framework of the attributes of being. Hence many metaphysicians refuse to give it serious consideration. But as a matter of fact the rational framework does not exhaust the character of reality. Strictly logical analysis does not provide the complete transcript. There is more in reality, more in life, than logic. But that more is not illogical. The non-rational is not irrational but superrational, though not necessarily supernatural. When the metaphysician carefully includes this aesthetical report of reality, evaluating it as he does the report of the scientist, the logician, and the ethician, he will have provided a true philosophy for the beautiful and for the production of the beautiful in the fine arts. He will be, as properly he should be, the guide and friend of the artist. The artist's joyous affirmation of deepest reality must be added to the metaphysician's disputation, and there are some who think that the latter has had too much of man's attention about it. For the heart has reasons that the reason does not know.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more
 That more of truth within us dwell
 And mind and heart according well
 May make one music as before, but vaster."

One is here reminded of the reply of St. Thomas Aquinas at the very outset of his great *Summa Theologica* (I q. i., a. 6) when it is objected that his theological treatise is not wisdom because such knowledge must be infused rather than acquired by study. He insists his treatise may rightly be called wisdom because of its knowledge of things in their most ultimate causes. At the same time he provides for a two-fold mode of knowledge: one by rational analysis and another which proceeds by a method which he terms "*per modum inclinationis*." This latter we may term "affective knowledge," the knowledge of the lover in whom "mind and heart accord so well." For example, one who has the habit of virtue, the *esse castum*, judges soundly concerning virtuous things as one inclined to virtue. The virtuous man is the measure and rule of all human acts. One may also judge by way of rational analysis from first principles of moral science even though one does not have virtue himself. So the godly man inspired by the gifts of the Holy Ghost knows God. By this method of argumentation from revealed first principles St. Thomas says he writes his *Summa* but he definitely left place for "affective knowledge" as also entitled to that high characterization of wisdom. St. Thomas, the philosopher and theologian, the scientist on things divine, wrote the great text book that sums up the mediaeval vision of an ordered universe. But there was a St. Thomas who was the artist, the poet, the mystic, writing "*per modum inclinationis*," the lover of God who wrote poems angelically albeit for a smaller audience. Nor did he hesitate, from the higher vantage point of direct knowledge, to declare his rational knowledge by comparison as so much dross.

Perhaps another difficulty is that the artist does not speak the same language of concepts of the philosopher. This is not surprising in view of the uniqueness of the artist's aesthetics experience which emphasizes the individual, the concrete, the proximate, and the inspired aspects of the object as an end in itself, whereas the philosopher considers just the opposite of each of these characteristics of things. The overflow of the artist's experience as his artistic expression is a hearing of voices and a seeing of visions from a much deeper reality than that of the rest of us ordinary observers. Here is no ordinary country possessed of the well-known modes of communication of philosopher and scientist. But this certainly does not give the philosopher any reason to neglect this additional report of the ultimate nature of reality which he finds duplicated

nowhere else. Nor does the relatively transient character of the experience make it less valuable. Being as such which is the object of metaphysics transcends time and place and is interested only in the depth of the penetration into reality which may be accomplished as perfectly in a moment as in a millenium. We have been reminded that in parallel case the theologian does not neglect the mystic's supernatural report of God because it is of but a fleeting moment or because it is couched in difficult phrase. Rather is it carefully treasured for the precious thing it is, the subject of prayerful meditation, a message from God, through the medium of a chosen friend, to all His rational creatures who will listen.

We have been considering the importance of aesthetics from the standpoint of philosophy and the loss which it suffers by neglecting the report of reality as beautiful by one who has seen it thus. Let us change our viewpoint for a moment to consider the aesthetician's and the artist's loss by the estrangement. That must of necessity be the loss that every human discipline suffers when it has no roots in metaphysical reality. For metaphysics by its very nature has an obvious primacy over every natural organized effort of the human mind to know reality in any sector whatsoever. For it is professedly the science of first principles of reality as a whole upon which all the other sciences, which consider only a selected part, must necessarily rest and without which the parts must fail to exhibit their ultimate meaning. Before the present war for survival great congresses had been meeting in various nations of the world to seek for the unity of the sciences. They expressed the need of scientists themselves. Specializations in each field had proceeded so rapidly that, as President Hutchins observed, the intellectual world had the appearance of a Tower of Babel in which no one understood what anyone else was saying. Long ago, with even the limited knowledge of the sciences he founded, Aristotle saw the need of such a unity for these partial reports. His answer was his metaphysics, or as he more aptly preferred to call it, his 'first philosophy', or 'theology', because by this approach he came to First Being as the source of all order. It has been part of the intellectual disintegration, especially of the past four centuries that along with the rejection of revelation there has gone, *pari passu*, a deliberate flight from reason, a terrible disloyalty of the human mind to its own first principles and with a denial of metaphysics as the science of those first principles of reality as a whole. In the resulting anarchy among the sciences which should be properly and

necessarily subordinate to metaphysics we have seen the abdicated throne seized now by one and now by another of the subordinates, with their partial reports of reality on single aspects of things. Presently succeeding economics it is politics, the science of the state, that seeks to dominate every phase of human existence. Its terrible failure with the present awful carnage is too much before our eyes to need further elaboration.

Aesthetics has suffered perhaps even more than the other searches of man for deepest reality by this anarchy and resulting isolation. Profound as is the aesthetic report, it is nevertheless a partial one and achieves its fullest meaning only when related to that report of reality as a whole which is the object of metaphysical philosophy. The artist is preeminently a child of his age, one of its truest spokesman, and he will regularly reflect either its clear vision or its confusion, its irrationality, its anarchy. The philosopher dealing chiefly with the universal must nevertheless be concerned with the problem of the individual essence with which aesthetics, being so much closer to reality, is especially concerned. Otherwise aesthetics will be forced into a barren nominalism or a shallow sensism that too easily becomes disordered sensualism. If traditional realistic philosophy has always insisted that only the individual really exists, it should welcome the aesthetic preoccupation with the only truly real being. It must be of utmost concern to the philosopher that the aesthetician be rooted in a rational philosophy and thus at home with those other allies of philosophy which have avoided erroneous excesses precisely because of the ordering role of the metaphysics to which they are allied. This is not to deny to aesthetics its proper autonomy any more than such proper autonomy is denied any of the other disciplines. It is rather to save it from the anarchy which threatens it even more than any other department of knowledge. The philosopher's problem in providing a true philosophical basis for aesthetics will undoubtedly be the most challenging of all his endeavors, but by the degree of the difficulty of the task we may measure the worth of the solution for human culture. For the artist is most truly the powerful teacher of all mankind, and often the philosopher can expect to reach those masses only through the sound philosophy he provides for the artist. As the great logician and philosopher, Cardinal Newman, observed quoting St. Ambrose: "Not in dialectics alone has it pleased God to save His people." A true art may make, and has

made, it immemorial contribution to the highest wisdom of the race. Far be it from me who has earned his livelihood in trying to be a philosopher to belittle my profession. Rather I am seeking to make it what it should be, all things to all men, including artists.

If we consider finally aesthetics in its active phase, namely the problem of the production of the beautiful, we are chiefly concerned with the intellectual good habit or virtue of art by which its possessor has the right conception or the way to make a particular thing. In the case of the fine arts it is the making of a thing of beauty, the imposing of a form upon matter in such a way that the form so completely dominates the matter as to make that form pleasurable in the simple contemplation. While the artists's preoccupation is with his work—the thing he makes—art among all the virtues of a man's soul is no more anarchic in the practical order than is the beautiful as an attribute of being is anarchic in the speculative order. Yet because the practice of the virtue of art has the making of its product for its sole aim and does not presuppose rectitude of will of the artist, this virtue of all others perhaps may more easily find itself out of the proper relation which it should have with the other virtues in the intellect and will of man—notably with prudence, its companion virtue of the practical intellect which has the artist's own goal as a man for its object. In a word, the end of the work and the end of the worker as a human being are not always easy to bring into harmony. It is only a view of the whole man such as philosophy provides that may bring the separate virtues of a man's soul into rational coordination and proper subordination. Parenthetically, here it is interesting to keep in mind that in mediæval culture there was no distinction between fine arts and useful arts. Every man who had a right conception of the way to make either a useful or a beautiful thing was an artisan. The work rather than the worker was glorified to the gain of the humility of the worker's soul. When his work was beautiful, it more frequently was in the service of all the people. "He did not work for society people and the dealers," says Maritain, but for the faithful commons; it was his mission to house their prayers, to instruct their minds, to rejoice their souls and their eyes. Matchless epoch in which an ingenuous folk was educated in beauty without even noticing it, as perfect religious ought to pray without being aware of their prayers; when doctors and painters lovingly taught the poor and the poor enjoyed their teaching, because they were all of the

same royal race, born of water and the spirit. More beautiful things were then created and there was less self-worship. The blessed humility in which the artist was situated exalted his strength and his freedom. The Renaissance was destined to drive the artist mad and make him the most miserable of men—at the very moment when the world was to become less habitable for him—by revealing to him his own grandeur and letting loose upon him the wild beast of Beauty which Faith kept enchanted and led after it, obedient with a gossamer thread for leash.” This brings to my mind the contrast Stark Young makes, in one of his “Encaustics”, between the life of the poorest Spanish peasant worshipping at ease in the Church amidst the heaped up beauty of the community, and the poor American coal miner in uncomfortable Sunday clothes praying in a drab unadorned meeting house of his still more ugly community which conceded not even a small island to beauty.

Today in our war for survival it is certainly for the survival of the true, the good, and the beautiful. The last named of the trinity of values has been struggling for an even longer time, a struggle perhaps coterminus with the whole of the modern epoch. Philosopher, scientist, ethician, and esthetician are challenged equally today. They must be united nations of culture against the principalities and powers of this darkness if they would continue to minister conjointly and each by its own indispensable contribution to the happiness of modern man. Better than I could possibly express the deathless character of that contribution, Lionel Johnson has stated it for beauty, and what he says of it may be applied to the other eternal verities. These lines he calls “Pax Christi”:

Night has her stars and Day his sun: they pass
 Stars of the night! it fades, Sun of the Day!
 Soft rose leaves lie upon the beaten grass,
 Till the wind whirl them, with itself, away.
 Eyes have their fill of light: in every voice
 Lives its own music: but the dear light pales.

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The golden music perishes. What choice,
What choice is ours but tears? For the world fails.

O Sun and Stars! O glory of the rose!
O eyes of light, voices of music, I
Have mourned, because all beauty fails, and goes
Quickly away: and the whole world must die.

Yet Sun and Stars! Yet, glory of the rose!
Yet eyes of light, voices of music! I
Know, that from mortal to immortal goes
Beauty: in triumph can the whole world die.

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Walter Pater on the Place of Music among the Arts

BY
MAX SCHOEN

IN the opening section of the essay on The School of Giorgione, in his book *The Renaissance*, Walter Pater presents his famous thesis that although "the sensuous material of each art brings with it a special phase or quality of beauty, untranslatable into the forms of any other, an order of impressions distinct in kind, yet it is noticeable that, in its special mode of handling its given material, each art may be observed to pass into the condition of some other art, by what German critics term an *Anders-streben*—a 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." But in addition to the *Anders-streben* of each art to the condition of some other art, all the arts in common aspire towards the condition of music; "music being the typical, or ideally consummate art, the object of the great *Anders-streben* of all art, of all that is artistic, or partakes of artistic qualities." His reason for making music the goal of the common aspiration of all art is that "while in all other works of art it is possible to distinguish the matter from the form, and the understanding can always make this distinction, yet it is the constant effort of art to obliterate it." Why art should seek to fuse matter and form to the point where form penetrates every part of matter, and why and how music attains this identity of matter and form in larger measure than any other art, Pater does not explain. It is the purpose of this essay to supply what Pater left unsaid by showing, first, what Pater's theory of art is as this can be deduced from his various writings; second, that by this theory music necessarily becomes the measure of the arts; and third, to argue that Pater's position is justified on the grounds of the nature of beauty, which is the realms of art as experience and as activity.

Pater's Theory of Art

Pater nowhere presents us directly with a theory of the nature and function of art. In fact, although he does not deny the possibility of a comprehensive theory of art, he does reject its value. A definition of beauty, he contends, "becomes unmeaning and useless in proportion to its abstractness" and the aim of the "true student of aesthetics" is to define beauty, "not in the most abstract, but in the most concrete terms possible, to find, not a universal formula for it, but the formula which expresses most adequately this or that special manifestation of it . . ."

This position of Pater regarding the purpose of aesthetics is explainable. He was a critic in the highest sense of the meaning of criticism as the adventure of a sensitive mind among masterpieces; and he would therefore have little use for any concern with art other than to get to know his own impression of a particular art work "as it really is, to discriminate it, to realize it distinctly." In the Preface to *The Renaissance* he maintains that "the original facts with which the aesthetic critic has to do" consist of the answer to the questions, "What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to *me*? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? and if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence, and under its influence?" Because of this position Pater concludes that "he who experiences these impressions strongly, and drives directly at the discrimination and analysis of them, has no need to trouble himself with the abstract question what beauty is in itself, or what its exact relation to truth or experience— . . . He may pass them all by as being, answerable or not, of no interest to him."

Pater's argument for the function of aesthetics is appealing; but it is nevertheless not a sound one. It does not follow that because the business of the critic is with the impression of a single art work therefore an abstract view of art is useless. The saying that it is better to feel than to understand is at best but a half-truth; for feeling without understanding is blind, just as understanding without feeling is lifeless. Furthermore, in the words of Santayana, "the recognition of the superiority of aesthetics in experience to aesthetics in theory ought not to make us accept as an explanation of aesthetic feeling what is in truth only an expression of it."

Unless we know what aesthetic feeling is how can we know what is in truth an expression of it! Pater recognizes this when he calls upon the critic to ascertain for himself what sort or degree of pleasure the art work gives him; but he is obviously unaware of the implication of his own injunction. The pleasure given by the art work must be aesthetic pleasure, and so the critic must know what aesthetic pleasure is as distinct from commonplace pleasure before he is able to do what Pater would have him do. Discrimination is an intellectual process. It calls for a standard, a criterion of evaluation, the standard being the nature of that which is to be evaluated. If art serves the craving for beauty, if it arises out of beauty and gives expression to beauty, then beauty is the standard for art, and it behooves the critic as well as the genuine lover of art to ascertain the nature of the experience in order that he might not only feel, but also have some certainty that his feeling is truly in the realm of experience he holds it to be. In fact, if there is to be discrimination in art—and Pater calls for it—then he who does discriminate does so on some standard, and therefore he might as well know what his standard is. And as soon as he sets out to discover his standard he is on the way to a universal definition of beauty, whether it be right or wrong. This is in actuality the case with Pater. When he calls music the measure of the arts, and does so on the grounds that all art strives to rid itself of the distinction between matter and form, he is presenting a theory of art which he uses as a standard for evaluating any one particular art manifestation. It was inevitable that he should do so, and thus affirm indirectly what he had denied directly; for it is impossible to speak or write intelligently on any matter without betraying the bias that determines one's judgments. Pater does have a theory of art, a universal formula for it, deny it though he may, which he uses as his standard for the critical evaluation of any one specific art work.

What this theory is can be deduced from several remarks and observations in the essays in *The Renaissance*. First of all we have Pater's insistence that each art owes a primary responsibility to its sensuous material—of color in painting, of sound in music, of rhythmical words in poetry—for this sensuous element in art he proclaims to be almost everything in art that is essentially artistic. Next he states that "art addresses not pure sense, still

less the pure intellect, but the 'imaginative reason' through the senses . . ." Pater is here obviously hinting at the three stages in the growth of experience, namely, the sensory, the perceptual and the imaginative with the perceptual arising from the sensory, and the imaginative building on the perceptual. The stuff of all experience is sensuous material, or the impressions aroused in a sense organ by occurrences within or without the organism. These impressions occur as an integration, an organization, a sensory form. Thus, an auditory, visual, olfactory or gustatory experience is not an experience of a single sensory impression, but of a number of such impressions experienced as one whole. This is Pater's pure sense. But art cannot address pure sense alone, for pure sense never occurs alone. Pure sense is an abstraction from the perceptual experience in which it always occurs, since sensory form is interpreted as being a sensory form of, or meaningfully related to, this or that thing or subject. Every sound we hear is immediately perceived to be a sound of someone walking, speaking, or of something moving or falling. It is this perceptual or meaning-phase of experience Pater refers to as pure intellect, so that art cannot address pure intellect, for there is no pure intellect alone, any more than there is pure sense alone. What is left, then, for art to address is something produced out of perceptual experience by a mental process that is higher than perception, namely, imagination. This product is a fusion of the sensuous and intellectual components of experience; such as complete interpretation of the intellectual matter by the sensory form that the matter is experienced essentially as form. It is in this sense, and in this sense alone, that the primary responsibility of art can be to its sensuous material.

That such is Pater's conception of the nature of art is indicated by his proclamation that the function of aesthetic criticism is "to estimate the degree in which a given art work fulfils its responsibilities to its special material; to note in a picture that true pictorial charm, which is neither a mere poetical thought nor sentiment, on the one hand, nor a mere result of communicable technical skill in color or design, on the other: to define in a poem that true poetical quality, which is neither descriptive nor meditative merely, but comes of an inventive handling of rhythmical language—the element of song in the singing; to note in music the musical charm—that essential music, which presents no words, no

matter of sentiment or thought, separable from the special form in which it is conveyed to us." Pater is here clearly drawing a distinction between the feelingful and the intellectual elements of experience, and intimates that although the intellectual element—poetical thought, technical skill, descriptions, words—is not ruled out of art, it is nevertheless the feelingful element—pictorial charm, the element of song in the singing, the essential music—which is preeminent aesthetically. The terms *subject*, *matter*, *material* are used by Pater interchangeably, and this is for him the realm of "mere" or "pure" intelligence of which art seeks to rid itself, by merging it with form. So the ideal examples of poetry and painting are "those in which the constituent elements of the composition are so welded together, that the material or subject no longer strikes the intellect only; nor the form, the eye and ear only; but form and matter, in their union or identity, present one single effect to the 'imaginative reason', that complex faculty for which every thought and feeling is twin-born with its sensible analogue or symbol."

It is in and by "imaginative reason" that form and matter become identified, since pure sense is form only, and pure intellect is matter only. Every experience is constituted of both matter and form, for matter without form is nothing, and form without matter is not form but design. In commonplace experience it is matter that is predominant, since such experience demands that every form be interpreted to be a form of some subject in the interest of action or adjustment. Furthermore, in such experience it is of no importance that the form be impressive as form, for once a form presents the idea "chairness", for instance, its purpose as object to sit on is fulfilled. When form and matter present one single effect it indicates that now it is form that is at the forefront, and this can happen only when form is so perfect experientially that its matter sinks into the background. This is what happens in aesthetic experience, and this is the work of the "imaginative reason." Art rids itself of its responsibilities to its subject by abstracting form from subject—which is an imaginative act—and thereby transforming experience. The intellectually impressive is replaced by the feelingfully expressive. It is because of the transformation of experience from extrinsic to intrinsic that Pater proclaims that in art it is experience that matters, and not the fruit of

experience. The aesthetic is living in experience, in contrast with the practical, which is living by experience. Such experience Pater calls success in life: "Every moment some form grows perfect in hand or face; some mood of passion or insight or intellectual excitement is irresistibly real and attractive for us,—for that moment only . . . Not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of force on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening. With this sense of the splendor of our experience and of its awful brevity, gathering all we are into one desperate effort to see and touch, we shall hardly have any time to make theories about the things we see and touch."

But a theory Pater does have upon which he not only acted but to which he gave utterance in spite of himself. And his theory is this:

First: that art belongs to the life of feeling, and this rules out subject, which is the sphere of intellect, the sphere of meanings and relationships, whether practical or scientific. The distinction between the practical, the scientific and the aesthetic interests is, precisely, that the practical is intellect and feeling for the sake of action; the scientific is intellect and feeling for the sake of truth; while the aesthetic is feeling for the sake of feeling, for the enhancement of life. The first lives by experience; the second inquires into experience; the third delights in experience. It is the last that is truest to life, for the sole reason and purpose of life is to live it to its utmost by savoring of it at its best and fullest.

Second: that the feeling which is aesthetic is abstract, not concrete or specific, feeling. It is not *a* feeling, but feeling. A feeling is feeling for this or that object as subject. In the practical sphere feeling is differentiated into feelings. This is, inevitable, because it is necessary for the life of action. An act is adjustive only when it is specific, and such an act can be stimulated only by specific feeling. When subject and form become merged so that form swallows subject, the feeling for form is as abstract as it that for which the feeling is feeling. It becomes feeling as feeling. Here we find the secret for what is the uniquely distinguishing feature of aesthetic feeling, namely, *repose in tension*. Feeling is always tension; the more intense the feeling is, the stronger the tension. In common experience tension is restlessness, and results in action, whether se-

lective or random, while repose is muscular relaxation, or a state of neutral feeling. But in aesthetic experience there is strong feeling, which is also repose. The strong feeling shows an intense concentration on the object of experience, while the repose is testimony to the fact that the feeling projects the person into the object of experience where he remains at rest. Such a feeling can arise only when it is a feeling for that which is at rest, and that is object as form. Form is final, eternal and ultimate. Beyond form lies that which has been imposed upon it, and it is feeling for the extrinsic that generates restlessness.

Third: that each art owes its responsibility to its sensuous material because each art has its own realm of experience which arises out of the material it uses for its creative purposes. It is the privilege of each art to transform the experience that corresponds to its material—the point at which its material makes contact with life—from the realm of the practical to that of the aesthetic. Pater is altogether right in holding that the arts enrich and supplement each other in their *Anders-streben*. But he does not go far enough; for he fails to say that any one art enriches some other art always at the cost of its own impoverishment. An art can strive to be another art only by becoming untrue to itself, and it becomes untrue to itself in the degree to which it succeeds in its *Anders-streben*. This follows from Pater's central thesis that it is the aim of art to obliterate the distinction between matter and form, so that when music, for instance, becomes pictorial it has committed a double sin against itself. One sin is that it has ignored its responsibility to its material, which is auditory and not visual; the other is that in the pictorial the understanding can always draw the distinction between subject and form. If it is true that all arts aspire to the condition of music, it must also be true that whenever music aspires to the condition of any other art it loses its musical status as its aspiration is realized; and similarly, any one art that aspires to the condition of another art not as aesthetic as itself thereby loses in aesthetic stature.

But Pater is quite wrong in drawing the conclusion that because the sensuous element in art is almost everything in art that is essentially artistic, therefore "there are differences of kind in aesthetic beauty, corresponding to the differences in kind of the gifts of sense themselves." The differences in the gifts of sense themselves do

not make for differences in kind of beauty, but only in the source of beauty. The quality of beauty is certainly not the same in all the arts due to the differences in the vitality of the experience stimulated by the material of each art, and it is not at all improbable that it is this difference Pater had in mind. Thus, of all the materials of the arts, that of painting is the least vital, vision being biologically the most superficial of senses, because it is least important for survival. The senses that touch life most closely are, in order of importance, taste, smell, and hearing. Of all artistic materials, then, that of music is most vital, and it is in music that the aesthetic experience can be most intense. Next to music would come the language arts, with their combination of sound, action, idea and passion, and then only painting, sculpture and architecture. The latter three are the "spectator" arts, the former the "participator" arts. In music, drama, novel and poetry the listener, reader and onlooker *live* in the art work whenever it is aesthetically experienced; while the other arts are contemplated aesthetically. No one is ever as thoroughly *sunk* in a painting as he can be in a piece of music.

Music As The Measure of the Arts

With his theory of art before us, we are in a position to discern the reasons why Pater would conclude that music is the art to the condition of which all the arts aspire but attain in different degree. To be on safe ground let us sum up his theory as a thesis which is to be tested by music. It is this: Aesthetically there is but one question about a human product if it is to be an art product, namely, *Is it expressive? Does it live?* If the answer is in the affirmative, the product is an art work. And if it is alive it is so because the person lives in it. This vitality is not intellectual, but feelingful, for it is feeling that imbues intellect with life whenever it has it, and the measure to which it has it. And since this feeling is for form, the feeling partakes of the nature of form: it is pure feeling. To this may be added that the arts differ in degree of life because their respective materials are not of equal significance for life.

Now, since the differences between the arts arise from this sensory material, it follows that what establishes music as the goal of the other arts is its material, and this must mean that of all artistic materials, sound is most free of the intellectual element, of which art seeks to rid itself. It means also that if sound is the least

intellectual of artistic materials it must also be the most feelingful of materials. Let us see whether this is so, and why.

The material of painting consists of the elements of visual experience: hue, saturation, brightness and their numerous derivatives. These elements are experienced as objects having dimensions and position. We cannot think of a visual object without these visual elements and spatial properties, nor do we think ordinarily of these elements and properties without their being the elements and properties of some object. Now our daily experience with objects teaches us to look upon them mainly as clues to action, that is, to give them an intellectual interpretation, so that a feeling for an object is in reality a feeling for its intellectual matter. Thus, our feeling for a chair is the meaning of that object when we are in need of it. Therefore, when a feeling for a visual object is transferred into aesthetic feeling, the feeling is mediated by intellectual matter. In visual experience the intellectual always obtrudes upon and interferes with the aesthetic.

As so it is with the language arts. Words are symbolic, whether as denotive, connotive, or emotive. Even in the most lyrical of lyric poems it is possible to distinguish, however vaguely, between matter and form, to state what the poem is a poem about. And this is even more the case with the novel and drama. Our concern with these materials is mainly intellectual, from which it is extremely difficult to divorce ourselves. Even the most abstract of novels and dramas tend to recall us to mundane affairs and to draw us away from the aesthetic.

The distinguishing characteristic of the material of music is its predominantly non-intellectual nature. A sound is essentially a feelingful experience. The distinction between tone and noise is altogether that of a pleasant versus an unpleasant sound, while the attributes of tone-pitch, loudness, and timbre—are in the main affective phenomena. Very low and very high tones get noisy and unpleasant, and so does a tone as it increases in loudness. Tonal timbre is entirely a matter of feeling, every term used to indicate this attribute of sound, like harsh or smooth, being a designation of feeling-tone. When we consider tonal combinations, we encounter the same situation. Preferences for intervals, whether successive or simultaneous, are invariably expressed in terms of their feeling effects, while the only criterion of an acceptable or unac-

ceptable melodic or harmonic tonal succession is, also, its value as feeling.

The reason why the material of music is essentially feelingful is that sound is the normal medium for the expression of emotional experience. Sound is the natural stimulus for feeling and the natural outlet for feeling. The expression of emotion is manifold, but the one phase of it that is never absent under natural conditions is sound of some sort. When the animal is enraged, frightened, hurt, or overjoyed, it becomes vocal. The same is true of the child and savage. When the civilized adult succeeds in suppressing this natural outlet for feeling he does so only by a violent effort or by long established habit.

The next question that calls for consideration is what it is that music does to feeling that lifts it from the realm of the practical, where it is a spur to action, to the sphere of the aesthetic when it yields repose in tension. This is the crucial question in musical aesthetics, and therefore also the primary one as regards the position of music among the arts. If music only aroused ordinary intense feeling it would be a source of disturbance, for an emotion is a disrupted organic condition. It must then be quite obvious that while music does arouse emotion, it must also do something to emotion that transforms the condition from one of excitement to the peace that passeth all understanding.

That the feelings aroused by music are not those of common experience has been widely and frequently recognized. Pope knew, for instance, that

By music, minds an equal temper know
 Nor swell too high, nor sink too low;
 If in the breast tumultuous joys arise
 Music her soft assuasive voice applies;
 Or, when the soul is pressed with cares
 Exalts her in enliv'ning airs.

The noted music critic Eduard Hanslick likewise recognized the magic wrought by music on feeling when he said that it was one of the most precious and inestimable secrets of nature that music "should have the power of evoking feelings entirely free from worldly associations and kindled, as it were, by the spark divine." In his monumental work, *The Power of Sound*, Gurney strikes at the heart of the matter with the statement that whereas music is "per-

petually felt as strongly emotional" the experience nevertheless defies all attempts to analyze it or to define it even in the most general way in terms of definite emotions.

The fact that the feeling for music cannot be defined shows that music does not arouse any one emotion, a specific intense feeling; but a body-wide feelingful state which it is therefore impossible to designate by a particular name. Particular emotions arise from particular needs and such needs can be satisfied only by particular things. So in particular emotion it is the particular phase of experience, which is its matter or subject that is paramount. Now music rises above specific emotion, and thereby transforms it from the practical to the aesthetic level for two reasons, from which it derives its unique position among the arts. First, its matter, feeling, is inseparable from its material, sound. The feeling aroused by music must be for its material; it can be for nothing else, for sound has no meaning other than feeling. This is not true of any other art. If a painting has no meaning to the spectator as a picture alone, it can have a meaning to him as a subject. And the same holds for a piece of sculpture, a drama, novel or poem. These arts can therefore give rise to specific feelings by their specific contents. In music, however, any specific content that a listener might find in it, is never in the music; but arises from some non-auditory experience that the listener has read into it. There is no inherent intellectual matter in music, as there is in the other arts. Second, when the feeling for music is for its material, that is, when music is musically experienced, the feeling is necessarily organized feeling, since music is organized sound. Music thus creates what is in the fullest and truest sense a condition of repose in tension when it is experienced fully for what in itself it truly is.

So we come back to Pater's thesis regarding the position of music among the arts. The source of art is the craving for beauty, and beauty is feeling for form, whether as process or product. Thus the beauty of an automobile lies in its appearance, and when the motor is said to run beautifully, it is the feeling for the way it is operating that is referred to. Beauty is quality of experience; it is experience valued for its perfection as experience. Where beauty and utility are identified, as in the industrial arts, it is the beauty that adds to the utility, and not the utility that accounts for the beauty. Those who define beauty in terms of function are simply

admitting indirectly that beauty is form, for the function fulfilled by an object is directly proportional to the perfection of its form. So whether we say that function arises from form, or that form is directed by function, it is nevertheless form that is crucial, and it is the feeling for form that is beauty.

Music is, then, the measure of the arts because of what it is as art. The distinction between work as art and work as labor is none other than that the artist works carefully out of a concern for the form of the product to arise from his work, whereas the laborer's interest lies solely in making a living. Artistry is inspired by the feeling of form, and its product thereby becomes a potential source of the feeling for form. Music fulfills the function of art as the fountain of beauty more completely than can any other art because by itself it can have only aesthetic meaning, while that of all other arts can be intellectual. So any art besides music attains aesthetic status in the degree to which it approximates to the condition of music, which means in the degree to which it succeeds in purifying its material of its matter, by making the material so feelingfully significant as an organized perfect whole as to force its matter out of mind. Music has no need to make this effort, while none of the other arts can do more than attain a measure of success below that of music even with greatest effort. Music is therefore truly the measure of the arts; the art to the condition of which all the arts aspire and attain in different degree, for art aspires to pure feeling, and music is the art of pure feeling par excellence.

Picasso and the Road to American Art

BY
ALFRED NEUMEYER

"I never submitted the whole system
of my opinions to the creed of any
party whatever, in religion, in
politics or in anything else, where
I was capable of thinking for myself.
If I could not go to heaven but with
a party, I would not be there at all."

Thomas Jefferson to

Francis Hopkinson, 1789

WHEN Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, Greek tradition migrated to Italy. Thus it happened that the Holy Three Kings, bearers of incense and Oriental wisdom, had within their resplendent cavalcade Johannes Palaeologus, the last Byzantine emperor whom Benozzo Gozzoli, the Florentine fresco painter, had seen personally in his native town during the council for the union of the Latin with the Greek church. Impressed by his exotic appearance, he had depicted him in his adoration fresco among the wise men in the new house chapel of the Medici Palace. The aristocrat on the white steed here symbolized an ancient and noble civilization sowing its seeds anew over the European continent as it had done before under the impact of war, conquest, and semi-barbarism.

An American Gozzoli (and does not Grant Wood, for instance, have some of Gozzoli's precise dryness and talkative elaborateness?) painting the "American Nativity of 1942" could insert in place of Johannes Palaeologus the Spanish painter Pablo Picasso leading the cavalcade of European scholars, artists, educators, and magicians with

their offerings of incense and wisdom to a world still unmolested by conquest and semi-barbarism. It is indeed the first time since the holy war of the Turks that a civilization as such has had to migrate in order to preserve itself. It is the first time since the 15th century that a religious group, a political party and its representatives, as well as a national minority have had to leave their native soil; that there has gone with it a "Weltanschauung" persecuted and exiled because it did not represent the ideals and conceptions of the conqueror.

"Forty Years of Picasso"* are laid waste in Europe. While tens of thousands flock to the exhibition rooms in our big cities to see the lifework of this man, no gallery in Europe under totalitarian dominance will further show his paintings; no art dealer previously preserving each scrap from those productive hands will dare to openly deal with his canvasses. Collectors (inasmuch as they have not yet done so) will try to get rid of their treasured "Picassos", thus clearing their houses of the ominous signs of subversive activities. Picasso has not only lost his two countries, Spain and France; at the time of his American celebration he has lost his European audience, his backers in the press, his directors in the museums, his dealers, and his buyers. More than that, he has lost the atmosphere in which his works could grow and be understood. The books will no longer be written which could fascinate this painter, the paintings will no longer be painted which could arouse the curiosity of this explorer. In one sentence: Picasso's Europe is no more; and yet, at the same time, Americans have arranged the largest comprehensive show ever presented of a contemporary living artist.

This European gift without a Europe behind it confronts us with an entirely new situation, a situation of responsibility. Instead of assuming an attitude of merely esthetical pleasure and displeasure, we have to ask ourselves not only what it is that Picasso offers us, but also whether his creations are representative of the best in the European mind, and whether his offerings are usable in the making of American civilization. It is as unnecessary to discuss here the greatness of his undisputed talent as it is to praise in new words the beauty of his line, the sensitivity of his color, the daring of his analysis. "Whatever he touches takes on a round

* The name of the comprehensive exhibition assembled by the Museum of Modern Art in New York and shown afterwards in Chicago and San Francisco.

mould," a critic recently wrote, well describing the plastic quality which characterizes Picasso's physical appearance as well as his work. Whether genius or talent we would not be able to decide, since none of us is endowed with the infallibility of judgment with which historical distance alone can provide us. But we take it here for granted that Picasso has proved himself the inspiring leader of modern art and that his creation stands in a vital context with many of the European traditions and European fashions; that even in destroying intentionally some of these traditions he has established by his own works new traditions and new fashions.

II

This Spanish painter whom we recognize as an exponent of modern European civilization has given guest performances in three of our major cities, has provoked a tremendous amount of curiosity, art talk, bewilderment, fascination, and enthusiasm—and has felt us again.

This creative sorcerer spreads out before us a tremendous arena in which the sublime borders on the vulgar and perfection on mockery. We accept these antagonizing contrasts as expressions of the unlimited aspects of the creative in man, noticing at the same time that unlike the oeuvre of a Rembrandt, a Watteau, a Goya or a Renoir, Picasso's output lacks a "leitmotiv", and underlying human melody which is recurrent in every work. This "leitmotiv" is not to be found in a specific handwriting alone; it consists in the totality of subject matter *and* handwriting which together (as if in a fabric) express the mental preoccupations and wish-directions of the creator. The stronger and clearer the pattern of this fabric, the greater the mind-transforming message of the master.

This unifying pattern is not yet discernible in Picasso's work and very probably never will be. Instead of it we have Picasso periods shining like satellites around an invisible planet. In order to orient ourselves, in order to cope with this spectacle and make it productive for our own situation, we must follow one distinct method of procedure, and examine each of the different periods in regard to their potentialities for American culture. Even if we question some of them in their value for us, we still may find them valid in regard to Picasso himself. But as for ourselves we feel entitled to ask: "Which Picasso do we want primarily? Which Picasso should we buy primarily? Which Picasso should we study primarily

in our art schools?" It is a strange method, but it has been forced upon us by a strange, a unique human character.

III

After a few preparatory years in which the young, gifted, but not unusually original art student from Barcelona expressed himself in terms of the international decorative naturalism, after some study of the Spanish realists of the 17th century and the Parisian realists of the late 19th century, Picasso late in 1901 developed a painting style entirely his own—that of the so-called "Blue Period" which lasted until 1904. It seems unnecessary to describe this style which is represented in several museums of the country and which justly has obtained for its creator fame and admiration all over the world. Our objective is not description but an answer to the question, "What does this 'blue realm' bring to us; what can it mean for us?"

It presents something which has no, or hardly any, precedent in American art—the poetry of misery. The very name has something shocking for Yankee ears. Misery in American experience is, first of all, an economic calamity, and novels and poems written about its lugubrious aspects are in most cases mainly interested in bettering the social conditions described. Not so in Europe and in the European-Christian tradition. It seems significant to a historian that in the years of Picasso's "Blue Period", in 1903, the great Austrian poet, Rainer Maria Rilke, a man of the painter's age then living in Paris, wrote a sublime volume of poems called "The Book of Hours", the last part of which is entitled, "The Book of Poverty and of Death". In this book the young poet sings the praise of things living in shadow, in the shadow of decline; he sings the blue hour of twilight between life and death, and the vast unknown space and power behind it which he calls in countless lyrical paraphrases "God". There are the pedlars and beggars, the ascetics of misery; there are the anemic lovers staring into the starless skies of their shortlived happiness; there are the tumblers and jugglers balancing on a thin rope between nothing and nothing, "so dark they are like half-forgotten tools in the shadow". The blue world of Picasso and that of Rilke live in close spiritual kinship. They both translate the social satire of the "fin de siècle", the satire of Toulouse-Lautrec into a new idiom. Living like their predecessors in a Bohemian atmosphere, they feel a profound attraction for the other outcasts of society, for the demi-monde and the forgotten

people. But instead of active attack as in Steinlen or of neutral representation (which we call "realism") as in Degas, or of a brotherly grin as in Toulouse-Lautrec, we find the lyrical monumentalization of the poor brother and sister. One may for a moment think of Walt Whitman. Indeed, they all proclaim the brotherhood of the poor, blessed because they are free. But the blessings which the American poet describes are those of life, while Picasso and Rilke see the shadows of death above the heads of their drinkers, beggars, tumblers. In a fluent line developed by the study of Greco and Puvis de Chavannes, the silent children of misery stand outlined in musical contours against the blue atmosphere of dream, forgetfulness, and death. There is a certain greatness in their appearance, and with the pretext of a contemporary subject matter the artist speaks of the timeless beauty in his own mind.

We mentioned in our analysis of the "Blue Period" the European-Christian tradition. Indeed, Picasso's children belong to the family of the poor, ill, and unhappy who, like the outcast brethren of Christ in the medieval Christian legend, wear wrought around their temples a poetical crown of flowers. These paintings therefore represent a protest against the purely material aspect of the realistic era.

One may call these pictures sentimental, poetical, or religious, (depending upon the point of view), but whatever they are they have helped free the European contemporary art of its empty decorative style and its limited impressionism. They are meaningful in their idea, tender in their mood, monumental in their form. They are beautifully drawn and originally painted. It is not necessary that a well-painted picture show many colors; it is the energy and subtlety of a very limited palette which we admire in the paintings of Daumier or of Rembrandt. Although Picasso is not so vigorous as these masters in his individual brushstroke, his supreme taste in color adaptation and variation for the sake of emotional meaningfulness will make his blue pictures precious for all time to come.

However, there exists here in America neither the poverty-Bohemianism nor the Christian-lyrical sublimation of misery. Endowed with the fortuitous religion of "chance for everyone", no American would have accepted the hopeless and humble attitude of the European artists of 1900. It might be possible for the American painter to study the color and form of Picasso's "Blue Period"; its spirit seems inimitable; it does not stand in line with any

American tradition and it would not tend to evoke one. The painter's juvenile decadence blended with European agedness has produced a creation which will remain in our museums as a beautiful and moving example of an autumnal time in the Europe of 1900. By its common human elements it will speak to American hearts and eyes as to European, but its effect will be individual rather than national or universal. These paintings do not belong to the powerhouse of a growing American civilization.

For a brief while in 1905 when Picasso changed from the blue color to the rose color, the painter created a few pictures which one may characterize as belonging to his "first classical style". In the "Boy with a Horse" or "The Girl with a Fan" he presented his fully developed design with a rather monochrome palette, eliminating the emotional implications of the "Blue Period". A direction toward an objective presentation did not only indicate the achieved maturity of the artist but also the growing predisposition toward abstract art. In these scarce paintings the blend of subtlety with energy has reached a happy balance which, in our opinion, the artist never again obtained. But in every artist's career there is just one period in which all elements, equally well developed, contribute toward a plastic completeness of presentation. With more distance in years, the American artist will recognize that here he may find those elements of a classical art of which his native painting is in need: voluminosity in space (how meagre is the contemporary Arthur B. Davies in comparison), a unison of the color surface, a seismographically sensitive contour that flows in a clearly discernible total form like the individual wave in a great current. These formal elements are evolved from a mind which had not overrun reality but had absorbed it, which had stood in intimate relationship with the world of objects and had superimposed on it a personal conception of beauty.

A work is "Classical" in our definition when neither the reality of the object nor the decorativeness of the preconceived style prevail, when a balance between these two elements is achieved, when at the same time the tension between these two poles of artistic creation can still be felt. "Classical" is a term which calls to mind a work in which the experience of the organism of the object is preserved and in which subordination of details and wholeness of conception stand in a vital relationship. But "Classical" includes besides qualities which by a merely formal definition may easily be overlooked; it involves an awareness of a continuity

of tradition and consequently an artistic responsibility toward an assumed absolute perfection in every task to be solved. The classical artist feels himself a mason on an unfinished cathedral. He knows himself a brother of other masons, many of them long dead, and with admiration and curiosity he looks at their carvings and painting. Contemporaneousness in him is fused with an awareness of the contribution of his predecessors. His work necessarily is the marriage between the wisdom of the past and the lived contemporaneous experience. The Classical, too, involves a sensuous enthusiasm for the world as it exists. This latter quality is the grain of salt in the dish of the artist. Without it Raphael becomes a Puvis de Chavannes, Michelangelo a Mestrovic.

If balance between reality and decorativeness, between subordination and wholeness characterizes classical art, then indeed Picasso came closer to it in this period than did any other artist of his time. An all pervading element of good taste serves him as a sort of instinctive intelligence. The assimilated heritage of Greco and of French painting prove the classical artist's awareness of the solutions of his predecessors. And so his differentiated, but strong, nature endows him with all the elements of a genuine classical art. If the American artist, in bitter need of coloristic and linear refinement, if American civilization in search of the value of form and forms within a bustling life, should care to look for a timeless expression in their own time, they might find it in the "Classical" paintings of Picasso.

But the surprising thing is that Picasso voluntarily leaves Greek Elysium and migrates to the Fetish realm. The "Negro Period" from 1907-8 indicates not only the artist's sudden realization of the reason for the interest of Matisse and Vlaminck in negro sculpture, but also his desire to break with his own conceptions and to destroy them. "In my case a picture is a sum of destructions" he declared in 1935. If he refers in this quotation to the destruction of reality in formal analysis, it could also be applied to his attitude toward life in general. Tired of the classical elements in his work, tired especially of the elements of tradition, tired of his own juvenile lyricism he desires to begin anew. A desire to start all over again with the first experiences of the race is an indication of a late period in an aged and over-aged civilization. Within the individual mind such a desire may be a symptom of strength or of decadence but it hardly could occur if the civilization in which an artist lives had not lost its

self-reliance, its self-determination, and its racial-national self-realization. From the historian's point of view there is an element of truth in the present German government's condemnation of expressionistic art as "subversive". But it is more complicated than the all-simplifying radicalism as Hitler sees it. It is not the individual artist who is subversive; on the contrary, his negro-expressionism may in many cases be an expression of a religious desire for renewal of life. Yet the hunger for the primitive in a highly developed and matured civilization is, as such, an indication of disintegration and of temporary decadence. From this statement it is obvious that the "Negro Period" of Picasso, as necessary as it might have been for him personally, or for his own time in Europe, can bring little to the American artist. American civilization cannot hunger for a new primitivism before it has even reached its own first classical realizations, nor can it desire to experience esthetically a destructive process which in Europe and in Picasso had an element of the vital and of the necessary. Picasso and Matisse translated the magic element of primitive art into a pre-vaillingly formal one, preserving just a slight flavor of savage experience within the esthetical pleasures of tumbling, cosmic disintegration. Should we further falsify and thin out primitive art? Let us bravely declare Picasso's "Demoiselles d'Avignon", this unwholesome blend of Cézanne's late figure compositions with negro art, as one of the ugliest pictures we have ever seen. Let us be unafraid of not being "modern"—tomorrow this modernism will be old-fashioned. There is always something fascinating in the work of a great talent even if it runs wild, even if it jokes, even if it is mistaken. The "Mademoiselles d'Avignon" which has been eulogistically presented to us in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, is still better than much of the local production; nevertheless, as representative of tendency, the picture should not concern us. One day it will be considered a mannerism and a misconception. The distortions and blunt colors, lacking deeper animation, will be called ugly; it will be recognized that the artist did not love his craft when he painted his negro-primitive pictures. Why voluntarily inject bacilli of decomposition into our bodies?

The Cubist Period of Picasso, which lasted with interruptions from 1908 to 1926, represents the beginning of a movement in modern art which has not yet come to an end. As in the case of negro primitivism, Picasso has not been its inventor. But as

in the latter, we find him among the first to envisage its possibilities and to show his companions what they really might do with their new discoveries. It was as if the writer of some more or less good poem should learn through the art of a great actor what his creation really meant. Unforeseen expressive elements of beauty and meaning appeared with Picasso's recitation.

Certainly it is no coincidence that the first cubist pictures appear immediately after the comprehensive Cézanne memorial exhibition of 1907. The hints of this great teacher of generations still to come were interpreted in their formal aspects alone and were combined with the experiences gained from magic sign abstractions of primitive art. The dissected violins and table still-lives of Picasso and his friends proclaim first of all the desired independence of the world of forms from optical reality. They establish the architectural language of abstract art while they sacrifice the sense-continuity of the organic world. How questionable must this so-called reality have become philosophically and emotionally that such a step could have been made! These cubist paintings show clearly that the real object of a picture had become the canvas itself and the media applied to it rather than the something to be transferred from without. The size and the grain of the painting ground, its raw texture, its facture in combination with chalk, sand, oil, tempera, gravel, straw, newspaper or wall paper offered unlimited combinations of form and color. More than that, it implied that combinations of materials which would not be found together in nature (such as newspaper clippings with ropes and a gravelled painting ground) would create not only new esthetical relationships but also allusions to unknown meanings, intellectual enigmas, so to speak, which would stimulate the intellectual sense as well as give formal experience. Abstract art has indeed opened the door into a new world in which no humanist or Christian tradition can interfere, in which no literary or sentimental meaning can be mixed, in which no fusion of outside reality and painted reality can arise. The umbilical cord to "the world" we experience outside of the arts has nearly been cut. The new Euphorian rises into the air. Yes indeed, into the air! The airiness and the thinness surrounding abstract art limit our delight to the merely esthetical. Even though it takes more intelligence to paint a good abstraction of a violin than to copy it realistically onto the canvas, yet the transfer of images provoking a comparison

between a "real" violin and the painted one originates a highly creative tension between the world as vision and the world as form. The elimination of the "real" object therefore narrows the interplay between "world" and "art", confining esthetical action to a much smaller space. Cézanne's abstractions live by virtue of the dramatically experienced tension between the "motive" and its formal realization; in Picasso and his companions this relationship shrinks and finally dissolves.

Let us stop and direct our attention once more to the artistic situation at home. On which ground do we meet Picasso's cubist paintings? We have a "Museum of Abstract Art" in New York, and an "Association of Abstract Artists". We have schools (such as the "School of Design" in Chicago, a branch of the former "Bauhaus" in Dessau) based on principles of abstract art, and we have some inspiring abstract painters and sculptors such as Marin, Feininger, or Demuth. In many a circle it is considered old-fashioned not to be abstract; on the other hand some newspaper critics have issued the statement that it is already old-fashioned to be "abstract".

This talk about "modern" or "old-fashioned" has more than a defense or attack function. Within the narrow space of abstract art everything depends on the artist's ability to present his penetration of new problems. It is also apparent that the possibilities of abstract art have by no means been exhausted. A great deal of esthetic research, experimentation and creation must still be carried out in order to use efficiently (in the field of photography, abstract sculpture, applied arts) the possibilities of light and of the different transparent materials. The art departments of schools, the movie industry, the window dressers of department stores—they all would be wise to make use of the achievements of abstract art.

For these reasons it is apparent that there exists a real readiness to use understandingly Picasso's cubist paintings. Yet art in our era is degraded all too easily to a merely decorative function, satisfied to produce "meaningful patterns" and letting the world go hungry for creation which is ambitious enough to interpret our minds, our souls, and our world. Picasso's cubist paintings, as subtle as they are, are humanly neutral pictures.

Yet while one wing of American painting toils in social realism, the other idles in pattern making. Can there really be no way to make the two tasks meet each other? Do we care for the picturi-

zation of pea pickers if the composition and the color of the fresco are the outworn hundredth edition of Raffael's "School of Athens"? And how long will we be able to enjoy "yellow spot over green curves" after the first esthetical pleasure has faded unsupported by any relationship to the "world." Should we not imbue our formal grammarians, who indeed have enriched our experience of light, color and design, with some interest in the pea pickers' life and pleasures? And should the fresco painting realist with social conscience not gain by applying to his mural the results of contemporary discoveries? Picasso's cubist pictures seem no aim in themselves but the beginning of a road.

Briefly we may deal with the following period, the "Neoclassical". Its best creations show the same characteristics which we have described in the classical paintings from 1905, while the majority of them weigh considerably lighter than the works done between 1903 and 1906. It is not by chance that their origin is connected with the Russian Ballet, for which the artist did costumes and stage settings in 1917. Inspired by the eclectic grace of the ballet, Picasso excelled in the production of the most variegated moods, shifting from the abstract to the classical and ending in a style of nearly photographic preciseness. Once again the sorcerer emerged from the thin air of abstract art and, like the prima ballerina in the final pirouette, he stood suddenly before us, arrested, safe, classical, photographic—the Ingres of the 20th century. But from the elegance of Ingres' line Picasso's mind turned to the study of the classicists of Roman days, to the study of Pompeian frescoes, since in them could be found the additional element of "style" which in the Ingres period had become anemic. The Roman flavor of mythology, of dignity of bearing, of gymnastic nudity—the whole apparatus of Mediterranean existence and form played on his thirsty eyes. As a result we have today a score of paintings and drawings in which intelligence, elegance, wit and taste are feasting on the edge of nothingness. These pictures are paraphrases of a painter-connoisseur's experience of Ingres and Roman wall decorations; they are visual recitations of the stylistic factum "classicism" which, however, lack a direct, organic classical attitude. They are painted shepherd's poetry, delightful and meaningless. But may we repeat once more that there are breathstakingly beautiful pictures painted within this period, the often reproduced "Mother with Girl" and the "Woman with a Veil". They rank

above Picasso's production of this time; it may be that all these paraphrases were necessary in order to produce a few paintings of lasting value.

But since America never has had a "classical" period of painting in the sense of the Mediterranean style of Rome and its Renaissance revival, it has to be little concerned with the neo-classicism of Picasso. It is luxury art, seasoned even with a touch of the Rococo which the painter produces in these years.

Picasso's second classical period undergoes a very strange evolution. From this period comes the haunting picture "Flight" which has been chosen for the cover of the catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. It represents a girl running along the blue seashore, her arm and leg extended in rubber-like elongation against the horizon. She belongs to the family of the people with the elephantine limbs who now dwell for a while on the empty shores of an ever blue sea. Should it be entirely coincidental that these very shores of the Mediterranean had before produced a similar stylistic phenomenon? The bulging limbs of later Hellenistic and Roman statues and paintings reveal more than the mere fact that they must have inspired Picasso; they reveal a stylistic situation of the arts similar to Picasso's. Bodies that lose their organic meaning tend to isolate their individual parts. According to decorative or iconographic needs certain bodily members will be emphasized while others will be minimized. In many of these cases the sense of the reality of life and of the organic character of nature is fading. Picasso, tiring of his classicism without message, losing the sense of reality of what he has done, takes apart his classical gods; what he finds are idols. A complicated psychological mechanism seems to be at work: revenge on beauty which has not borne fruits, frightened laughter, curiosity about what can happen to classical form if one begins to distort it, fascination by the mannerism of late antiquity—all these and more have helped to originate this phase of Picasso's style. May we notice on our way that the artist has recurred to similar stylistic phenomena (but without knowledge of late antique statuary) at the end of his first classical period in 1905. Inner stylistic necessities and outer influence together have borne this phenomenon.

We used the term "frightened laughter" before; in looking at the further metamorphosis of the classical gods, we feel entitled to such an interpretation. A few years later the blue shores, the

empty stage for the drama of Picasso's mind are still there; but now the colossal limbs have cast off their flesh and inner unity; nothing but the bones draw a plastic silhouette against the flat sky. The modern "dance of death" is not less terrifying than the medieval one. But while the medieval mind projects the ultimate danger outside itself, the modern one carries it within. So much have we all become the victims of a "l'art pour l'art" era that we are unconcerned with the subject matter or the content of a work of art. We praise the beauty of the gray skeleton, but we have lost the ability to read the meaning of such a skeleton. The meaning of Picasso's skeleton pictures (sometimes they consist of stick, plaster and other inanimate materials) is carried by a strange blend of the pathological with the esthetical. But as we know from the analysis of decadence, refinement and the love for the raw, the crude, the distorted, the primordial are intermingled. A study of an author like Huysmans, a painter like Mathias Gruenewald, makes this quite evident. But Gruenewald's mind, pathological as its condition might have been, was a part of the sound, comprehensive totality of medievalism and of the Renaissance; he was for that reason able to objectify his fears and delights in universal symbols; Picasso on the other hand stands alone with his fears and delights in an atomized world. We cannot reject these creations because of their partially pathological character (otherwise we would have to reject Edgar Allan Poe or Dostoievsky), but we must be aware of their peculiarities. We should not disinfest the morbid by estheticism but face it. Yet how complicated is the case of Picasso. His morbidity is blended with vitality, his symbolism with meaningless estheticism. Pampered by the ready acceptance of each scrap from his hand, he has accustomed himself to follow blindfolded the urge of his inspiration. As a result we get at times the plastic realization of the nonsensical. The horses of taste and craftsmanship pull the empty carriage of the "stream of consciousness". Assembled in the carriage are found fragmentary symbols of erotical or pathological nature, relics of art, tradition, and elements of visual impressions.

But whatever these elements might be, they are dramatically realized. They have lost their literary function and have become painting through and through. In vigor and concentration they have gained immensely as compared with the weaker pictures of the second classicism. They confront us with one of the indis-

soluble dilemmas of art: while a work of art may be immoral, destructive, or pathological, it yet reflects a world of order, reason and sense as soon as it is fully realized by means of form. It is form which by its esthetical reasoning raises the content of a work of art into a new order.

Does this then indicate the moral neutrality of an art work? Yes, to a certain extent. But while the artist's primary objective is realization, the beholder's (or reader's or listener's) is reproduction. Yet it is impossible for a full reproduction to take place without a meeting of the work and the onlooker's philosophy of life. Therefore, the more we develop a scale of values in ourselves, the better will we be equipped to place the esthetical realization of the artist within our totality of life. Dangerous symptoms of decline then will be understood and faced squarely and their demonic message may be accepted. Frightening, bewildering they may be, but in calling them by their right name we have chosen a position. It is only the undefined, the vague, the sentimental which is really dangerous. From the specific point of view of our analysis we can say that American painting in itself is little concerned with the enigmatic disintegration of sense and organism which took place in Picasso's paintings at the end of his last classical period. By its environment and by the tendencies of the country, American art is not sense-destroying but sense-searching. The morbidity of the civilization which he reflects (a civilization much more morbid than the energetic Picasso himself) has little in common with the American background. The Greek gods do not fall apart in American minds. Out of our cities and fields the new mythology of the American mind will rise, different in form and meaning from Picasso's declining world.

With this statement we have reached the latest phase of Picasso's oeuvre, the paintings since 1925 in which some elements of surrealism seem merged with the achievements of abstract art. Again in both fields the master leaves all his contemporaries behind. Although frightening, mystifying, shocking, the conceptions coerce the onlooker into their realm by mere power. Never before have his colors had so much forcefulness and variety, never before has he mastered to such an extent the composition of the canvas plane from angle to angle. Some of the paintings resemble Romanesque stained glass windows in their luminosity and in the abstract relationship between color areas and linear curves, enclosing and

connecting the different parts. Others deal with the simultaneous perception of forms, such as the merging of the frontal view with the profile view that results in the three-eye or three-nostril portrait. Some use the mirror reflection in order to gain front and rear views of one and the same body. Let us take as an example the three-nose portraits. To our unaccustomed eyes, the result is queer, decadent, for our minds are imbued with the notion of organic structure. Instead of perceiving the total form, we, with a feeling of being maltreated, immediately subdivide this unholy trinity into its three single aspects. What a tremendous energy has Picasso put into the solution of tasks which from the very beginning seem ill conceived!

Yet the psychological origin of recent abstractions is not a merely formal one. There is an element of phobia in his conception of the human figure which becomes evident when we observe the objects chosen in his still-lives. From 1925 on we find a recurrent use of things which reappear in the rare surrealist figure compositions, above all in the most important "Guernica", which assembles the full vocabulary of the previously developed hieroglyphics. For instance, we notice in the war fresco the muscular arm with the broken sword, apparent symbol of heroism, disastrous struggle, defeat and revenge, and find it like the hand clasping a broken staff which appears in a still-life of 1925. It seems as if an originally formal impression has absorbed during the process of realization more and more psychic color until it stands at the end as an emotional symbol, flashing its mysterious signal into the mind of the beholder. The ram's and bull's heads, the pigeon, the toothed jaw, the clasped fist—they all may first have been chosen for some characteristic experience of form; they all have later passed through the limbo of the subconscious. What they have experienced there may be seen in pictures like the "Pigeons in the Wire Cage" or in the "Woman with Rooster". These paintings radiate a terrifying irritation. They speak of horror. They are painted murder stories of the human mind. Too narrow a cage encloses the white pigeons; their feathers stick through the wire net which cuts into them. There is the feeling of wire and of feathers which in their combination make one shiver. There is the feeling of deadly fear as we know it from holding a fluttering bird in our hands, its heart throbbing against the thin wall of flesh. There is disgust and delight in physical

pain, mingled with the phobia of the narrowing walls of life. Sexual pain, hysteria and world phobia have met, enforced by the artist's apparent study of the scrawlings of schizophrenics. ("Art of the Schizophrenics" by Hans Prinzhorn has fascinated many artists and critics.) Here again in Picasso we find the unique case of an all-absorbing sensitivity for emotional and esthetical meaningfulness whatever the source. Under the influence of surrealist art and its interest in the symbolism of the subconscious, he discovers the "charm" of insanity. His own craving for emotional strength, disgusted once again by the subtlety of his previous creations, finds a welcome outlet in the primitive directness of schizophrenic self-expression. Independent of the absorption of these outer influences, his own art had already developed motives and experiences which stood in an inner relationship with the primordial symbolism stored up in the disconnected mind of the insane. A dangerous game indeed, a tight rope dance over an abyss. "Guernica", the highly praised monochrome fresco for the Paris World's Fair, expressing the artist's despair at the destiny of Spain, is above all a political pretext for the release of the civil war within his mind. The whole apparatus had emerged previously in the fascinating etching "Minotauromachia", produced two years earlier but rearranged according to a new, and this time definite, meaning. The more than one hundred drawings which have accompanied the display of this fresco show the gradual transformation of representational objects into mere signs which, like hieroglyphics, speak through images which are the picturization of thought.

There is no doubt that Picasso, except in his best classical paintings, had never before reached such a strength and depth of realization as in the paintings of this last period. They have in common (with the works of artists such as Poe or Dostoievsky) their inclination toward demonical and abnormal experiences of the human mind. But Picasso's paintings are less clearly defined, less honest than the creative pathology of painters like Gruenewald or Goya; they have been done, as has been pointed out, with a certain esthetical consciousness that often merely skims the surface of demonical experiences for their formal possibilities. We are still too close to these works to judge exactly their sincerity. But a certain amount of reserve seems necessary toward an artist who never has shown to us the very core of his personality. It might then be that the

Protean versatility and sensitivity for the emotional possibilities of forms are the true essence of his nature. There is little to be said concerning the influence of Picasso's latest period on American art. We will gain from the intensification of his abstract motifs, we will experience new beauty from his conquest of a total interpenetration of color, form, and space into one picture ornament. But it is apparent that his withdrawal from universal experiences into esthetical explorations of the subconscious eliminates any productive contact on a wide frontier. While the contact with a Cézanne, a Frans Hals or a Piero della Francesca would always mean for us a union with the total aspects of a civilization expressed by a strong individual, the contact with Picasso's latest creations would eliminate most of the notions of nationality and contemporaneity and narrow it to the encounter with a mind, powerful but more and more detached from the conscious and reasoned life of mankind.

IV

The atomizing power of individualism has come to an end in Picasso. His genius which spreads its intoxicating mirage before the eyes of a young and still growing nation is a hundredfold richer in fabulous insights into the esthetic realm than any of our own. Its sophistication is merged with power, its vitality with decadence. But it is just in this incredible wealth of allusions that it points out the all too comprehensive memory of a decaying civilization. From the primordial and the schizophrenic it reaches out to the Hellenistic. It sensualizes the sources of inspiration of an Ingres and reinterprets "fauve" art, cubism, surrealism to the fullness of its possibilities. It offers everything except a clear definition of its creator. In lacking this, it lacks an essential element of artistic character. The modern, open-minded American artist does not know whether he should follow Picasso on the alluring road toward an aim entirely unrecognizable. Never before has he seen a similar versatility, obstinacy, persuasive charm and carefree radicalism in one and the same person. By discrimination alone can he master the offered gift and make it productive; by discrimination that clearly discerns the tendency of each period of Picasso's work. Just as today we discriminate between the brilliant though relatively unimportant works of the young Rembrandt and those profound and lasting contributions produced after his middle period, so we should discriminate in facing the oeuvre of the Spanish painter. But in order to do so we have to find a point of view beyond the esthetical. A sense

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of responsibility for the culture of America that is engendered by our sense of human values as summoned by the offerings of this wise magician of painting is demanded from us.

With this statement we have returned to the picture which came to our mind at the beginning of this investigation—the pageant of a modern nativity. The American Joseph, receiving the scintillating gifts of the wise men of Europe, must examine them willingly but cautiously before he introduces them into his family household. We must discriminate between the white incense of life and the black incense of death among the gifts from Europe. A simple bystander in this stirring spectacle, I have done my duty in pointing, like one of the people in a medieval painting, to the two magic boxes of life and of death in the hands of the great painter Picasso.

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The Basic Theories of French Classic Sculpture

BY

GERTRUDE ROSENTHAL

In the second half of the seventeenth century Roman Baroque sculpture was enthusiastically accepted in most European countries. France, however, by setting up a style of her own, "le style classique" strongly resisted that influence. This is surprising for two reasons.

First, at that time there was no national tradition of French art which could have been an effective protection against foreign influences. On the contrary, in the sixteenth century French sculpture had been mainly dependent on Italian examples, and in the first part of the seventeenth century it became a completely eclectic art, borrowing freely from various sources, without any strength of its own to amalgamate the diverse trends into a new and original style.¹

Second, during the period in question there was no great artist at work in France such as Bernini in Italy or Rubens in the Netherlands. It was rather an organization, "l'Académie Royale de la Peinture et de la Sculpture", that brought about and developed a new style which it succeeded in retaining for at least three decades. This organization was not only the expression of an artistic attitude, it was not only serving artistic aims, but it was likewise representative of that political system with which it was closely connected.

To establish theories and rules is characteristic of every academy. Never in the history of art, however, has any academic system had such a widespread influence as that of the Académie Royale de la Peinture et de la Sculpture. Never before or since have theories and rules affected the art of any period to such an extent as did those which shaped the art of the "Louis Quatorze". What was the nature of the theories which were capable of creating an art that was the successful expression and instrument of the government of Louis XIV, an art so invigorated by this relationship that it was responsible for a great number of excellent works?

BACKGROUND

The French political system of the second half of the seventeenth century developed a rationalism and a uniformity of thought which found their most distinct manifestations in mercantilism and bureaucracy. The ideal of the "grand seigneur" was changed in line with the court etiquette, according to which emotions and passions had to be repressed in favor of equanimity. The manners of the nobleman were shaped by the intellect. At the same time mathematical abstraction and deduction gained in importance and became the foundation of modern natural science. Thus the contemporary Fine Arts were confronted with a new type of personality and with new rational ideals.² The formation of the Académie Royale de la Peinture et de la Sculpture was, then, merely another expression and a consequence of these general changes. It was an attempt to solve the new artistic problems which resulted from the changed political and intellectual situation.³

The academy was first established in 1648, under Mazarin's patronage.^{4 5} But the new organization, constantly quarrelling with the guilds and suffering from lack of money, did not become efficient until 1663 when Louis XIV, at the suggestion of his chief adviser, Colbert, confirmed its privileges and gave it his support. It became a royal institution which the court artists were compelled to join. The young king and Colbert, thinking in terms of Absolutism, were convinced that an organized body of Fine Arts would be most valuable and instrumental in representing the power and splendor of the new regime. The academy was treated, therefore, as part of the state-department, put under the authority of the "Surintendant des Bâtiments" and thus attached to the government, a move which meant that the destiny of the Académie was forever linked up with that of the government. The members of the academy were organized in military fashion. The artist was a civil servant who had to be obedient to every demand of the king or of his government. Never were French scholars more justified in naming the different epochs after the French kings than in using the term "Style Louis Quatorze".

The academy did not publish an official manifesto. But in the statutes⁶ its aims were outlined as follows: "Ils se communiqueront les lumières dont ils sont éclairés, n'étant pas possible qu'un particulier les puisse toutes avoir n'y pénétrer sans assistance dans

la difficulté des arts si profonds et si peu connus." This program implies that an analysis of art would necessarily lead to the discovery of its inherent secret; from that revelation a formula would be derived which could then be used as a recipe⁷ for the creation of new works.⁸ The knowledge obtained by this process was actually set forth in theories which were to rule artistic production for quite some time to come. Owing to the power of the academic system, these rules were accepted by the younger generation and remained unopposed for more than thirty years. The works of the leading artists⁹ show complete conformity with the theoretical demands.

The French treatises on art published between c. 1650 and c. 1690 were mostly concerned with the rational understanding of art. If art was rational it could be taught and learned like a trade and did not depend on the personal intuition or divine inspiration of the individual. The theoretical books were intended, therefore, to serve as guides for the production of new works of art, even if the main stress seems to be laid on other points as, for example, on biographical description in Felibien's *"Entretiens sur la vie et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres"* (Paris, 1666). The French over-estimated intellect and knowledge; they regarded reason as the ultimate authority—an attitude which so highly satisfied the French national character that the contemporary upper class and all the French historians called that period "le beau siècle". Descartes¹⁰ demand that the foundation of thinking should be "claire et distincte" permeated all fields of French civilization. His postulates together with Boileau's, "Aimez donc la raison", gave the direction for art and art theory.

THE CONTENT

The French art theory of the Louis XIV period was based on the Italian art treatises of the Quattrocento and of the period of Mannerism. Alberti's book on proportions¹¹ was translated and commented upon over and over again. Armenini¹² was frequently quoted and Lomazzo was praised as the indisputable expert whose *"Idea del Tempio della Pittura"* (Milan, 1590) had settled all problems of art.¹³ It was these Mannerists who, after having adapted the doctrines of Vida, Scaliger and Castelvetro to the Fine Arts, had been the first to preach submission to the rules and the cult of the great masters as "the main sources of inspiration". Like these humanists, Lomazzo and Armenini had been convinced that art

could be taught and learned, an intellectualism which splendidly suited the ideas of the French theorists.

The earliest and most sublime expression of the aims of the Louis XIV style is to be found in the personality of Nicolas Poussin. His works made him "the father of French painting", while his spiritual attitude, for the artists of the following generation, constituted "les principes et le bon goût."¹⁴ As one of the founders of the academy and the most distinguished French artist, he played an important part as a teacher and critic whose inspiring qualities were often mentioned. He did not publish any manifesto or dissertation, but his ideas can be found in his letters¹⁵ and in the sketchy "*Osservazioni sopra la Pittura*" published by his close friend and enthusiastic biographer Bellori¹⁶ from the manuscript which was owned by Cardinal Camillo Massimi. In these notes Poussin employed Aristotelian terms and referred to Castelvetro,¹⁷ who was also the main authority of Corneille.

Poussin's conception of beauty was an abstract one: "E da tutte queste cose si vede manifestamente che la bellezza è in tutto lontana della materia del corpo, la quale ad esso mai s'avvicina se non sarà disposta con queste preparationi incorporee. Et qui si conclude che la Pittura altro non è che una idea delle cose incorporee, quantunque dimostri li corpi, rappresentando solo l'ordine, e il modo delle specie delle cose, e la medesima, è, più intenta all'idea del bello che a tutte l'altre. . . ."¹⁷ Bellori, in his lecture, *L'idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto*,¹⁸ expressed the same idea: "Quel sommo, ed eterno intelletto autore della natura nel fabbricare l'opere sue maravigliose altamente in se stesso riguardando, costitui le prime forme chiamate idee; in modo che ciascuna specie espressa fu da quella prima idea, formandosene sempre di produrre gli effetti suoi eccellenti, nulladimeno per l'inequalità della materia, si alterano le forme, e particolarmente l'humana bellezza si confonde, come vediamo nell'infinite deformità, e sproportioni, che sono in noi. Il perchè li nobili Pittori, e Scultori quel primo fabbro imitando, si formano anch'essi nella mente un esempio di bellezza superiore, ed in esso riguardando, emendano la natura senza colpa di colore e di lineamento."¹⁹

Poussin and Bellori derived these conceptions from ancient philosophy. Plato first had raised beauty into the eternal realm of the "idea". Plotinus developed this doctrine by introducing into aesthetics the concept of artistic imagination. He demanded that

corporeal forms should be neglected in favor of the creative idea of the artist. This theory of Neoplatonism which had occupied scholars and artists since the Renaissance became fundamental for Poussin's art and doctrines. One of his most influential statements—that art ought to be noble and great—²⁰ can be traced to this same source.

Poussin emphasized reason, although he did not consider it the ruling power of art as did his followers. "La raison" to him meant criticism, a philosophical and distinct point of view. This quality he thought to be indispensable for the creation of that harmony²¹ without which no artistic task could be accomplished. Because it was against "la raison" he was opposed to the use and combination of contrasts,²² one of the essential means of the art of the Italian Baroque.

Poussin's philosophy was rationalized and simplified by his followers. Lebrun judged his own work, as well as that of other artists, primarily by "le grand goût"²³ and "la noblesse". Dufresnoy²⁴ demanded "grâce" and "noblesse". Félibien, outstanding art critic and Poussin's apostle, declared that "un air plus grand et plus noble"²⁵ had caused the progress of art in his epoch, and he explained his own idea of art as follows: "Il est vrai, que pour . . . disposer dans son esprit un ouvrage qu'on peut exécuter, il faut avoir une connoissance parfaite de la chose qu'on veut représenter. Et cette connoissance que l'on acquiert et dont l'on fait des règles est à mon avis ce l'on peut nommer Art."²⁶

It would be useless to give further examples although their number could easily be increased. Their wording may differ, but their meaning does not change, just as the sculptures of Versailles seem to be only variations of one and the same theme. "La raison surtout", a motto which Abraham Bosse gave one of his treatises,²⁷ sounds like the general slogan of that period.

The predominance of the intellect eventually was to be brought about officially by various means. Colbert, Vice-protector and, after 1672, Protector of the Academy, suggested the "conférences", regular meetings in which the Academicians should discuss the problems of art. Félibien and, later on, Testelin were engaged to record the conferences²⁸ so that the young members might learn of the decisions and profit by the knowledge of their masters. There was no prospect of success for the younger generation unless it strictly followed the rules of the Academy. In 1667 Lebrun, first

painter of the king, guardian of the academic system, and its moving spirit, delivered a speech on *L'expression générale et particulière des passions*.²⁹ Among others³⁰ he borrowed from Descartes' *Traité des passions*³¹ whose doctrine he applied to painting and sculpture. "Passion is a Motion of the Soul residing in the Sensitive Part thereof, which makes it pursue that which the Soul thinks for it good, or avoid that which it thinks hurtful to it; and for the most part, whatsoever causes Passion in the Soul, makes some Action in the Body."³² The movements of the muscles were rigorously watched and described. Lebrun believed that these observations furnished the key for the representation of the emotions of the human soul. Thus he says:

Simple Love: The Motions of this Passion, when it is simple, are very soft and simple, for the Forehead will be smooth, the Eye-brows will be a little elevated over the place where the Eye-balls shall be turned. The Head inclined towards the Object of the Passion, the Eyes may be moderately open. The Eye-ball being turned gently towards the Object, will appear a little sparkling and elevated. The Nose receives no alteration, nor any of the parts of the Face; which being only filled with Spirits that warm and enliven it. The Mouth must be a little open, the Corners a little turned up. . . ."

Desire: If to Love be joined Desire, that may be represented by the Eye-brows pressed and advanced over the Eyes, which shall be more open than ordinary, with the Eye-ball in the middle and full of Fire; the Nostrils drawn closest next the Eyes; the Mouth also is more open than in the foregoing Action, the Corners drawn back, and the Tongue may appear upon the Edge of the Lips. . . ."

Anger: When Anger seizes on the Soul, he who feels this Passion hath his Eyes red and inflamed, his Eye-balls wandering and sparkling; the Forehead will appear deeply furrowed and wrinkled between the Eyes; the Nostrils will appear open and widened; the Lips pressed one against the other, and the underlip surmounting the upper leaving the corners of the Mouth a little open forming a kind of cruel and disdainful Grin. . . . He will seem to grind his teeth and to foam at the mouth; the Veins of the Forehead, the Temples, and the Neck will be strained and puffed up; the Hair standing upright. . . ."

It should have been easy, therefore, to illustrate the general idea of anger, love, desire, etc., in accordance with these instructions. But

as long as the French artists followed Lebrun's compendium they did not succeed in producing a single passionate work; for such a creation is a question of genius, not of rules. The representation of emotions having been standardized by the Academy, there was nothing left for the artist's own imagination.

Lebrun's paper was enlarged, published in numerous editions, translated into many languages and repeated more frequently than any other academic lecture.³⁵ Writers were supposed to use it as a criterion, artists as a guide. His treatise on expression seemed to be based on the observation of nature, which was generally considered a necessary prerequisite for the artist. But the concept of nature during that period was neither based on direct observation nor was it applied without restriction: ". . . la beauté des pensées consiste à représenter un sujet d'une manière agréable et élégante, et à donner toutes les figures une expression agréable, qui ne soit ni trop faible ni trop fort".³⁴

The first French translation of Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della pittura*³⁵ was published in 1651. Leonardo had tried to understand nature as a whole, in all its manifestations. The French editor of Leonardo's treatise in his preface characteristically restricted this concept of nature. He said: "Il la (la nature) faut imiter, mais c'est adroitement, car il ne suffit pas d'imiter simplement puisqu'il n'est rien de beau, rare, charmant et juste qui n'est quelque défaut. . . ." ³⁶ For the French artist, nature had to be modified. It had to become "proper" ("la nature convenable"), consistent with the French idea of beauty, adjusted to the postulates "noblesse", "grandeur", "harmonie". All the art theories of that epoch agreed that nature should be corrected under the guidance of reason and in accordance with the works of the great masters.³⁷ They ought to be consulted "pour apprendre d'eux de quelle sorte ils ont su corriger les défauts de la nature même et donner de la beauté et de la grâce aux parties qui en ont besoin."³⁸

THE MODELS

The fundamental doctrines of the French classical style were demonstrated by the selection of works which were to serve as examples of that ideal. Just as the king was praised as a new Apollo and Augustus, just as the state was to be shaped after the pattern of the Roman Empire, so the golden age of art was to be reestablished according to the ancient models. Whereas antique painting and architecture had to be reconstructed with great diffi-

culty, the numerous extant sculptures³⁹ could easily be studied. They satisfied the French ideal of beauty and therefore made special treatises⁴⁰ on sculpture superfluous. The sculptor was required to "imiter les beaux antiques". This demand had a twofold implication. The artist should copy the form of the ancient sculptures, and, in addition, he should imitate their spirit when creating his own new work. But how to comply with this order, how to unveil the intrinsic nature of ancient sculpture? The French sculptors tried to accomplish this task in the most rational way, by computing and imitating the proportions.⁴¹ They employed a technique similar to that of Vida who had tried to revive the golden Age of literature.⁴²

Opstal, in his analysis of "Laocoon",⁴³ emphasized those characteristics of ancient art which made it the ideal of the French. First, he praised the majesty and harmony of the body: ". . . avec quel art le sculpteur a formé la largeur de l'estomac et des épaules, dont toutes les parties sont marquées distinctement et avec tendresse. Il fit observer ses hanches relevées, ses bras nerveux, ses jambes ni trop grasses ni trop maigres . . . sa taille est belle, grande et noble, . . . ses hanches relevées, sa poitrine large et ses épaules, hautes sont aussi les marques d'un grand courage et d'un homme de bien". Then he interpreted the statue by applying to it the social standards of his own period: "Sa tête a toutes les qualités qui représentent une personne de condition . . ." and the expression of the face he describes as that "d'une personne de haute naissance". In this analysis Opstal followed Scaliger's doctrine which Corneille had set up as an irrevocable law of literature: only distinguished people can be tragic characters. The "grand style" required "eminent figures such as gods, heroes, kings, generals and citizens".⁴⁴

The important function of ancient art is further evidenced by the foundation of the "Académie de France à Rome" as a state institution. A letter suggested by Colbert⁴⁵ illustrates the educational purpose of this training school: "Sa Majesté, considérant encore qu'il seroit très utile pour l'avancement et le progrès de ces jeunes gens d'être sous la direction de quelque excellent maître qui les conduisît dans leurs études, qui leur donnât le bon goût et la manière des Anciens et qui leurs fasse remarquer dans les ouvrages qu'ils copieront ces beautés secrètes et presque inimitables. . . ."

The rules of the "École de Rome" were very strict, one of them being "que les sculpteurs fassent des statues d'après l'antique"⁴⁶ It was required that the students worked for no employer but the king. Otherwise they could be expelled from the school immediately. Thus the Roman department was kept under strict control by the Parisian Academicians who cut off any unwanted influences from the students. Owing to these barriers the French "goût" could be preserved even in a city where an art was flourishing which was of a very different and stimulating character.

French sculpture of that epoch thus doubly deserves the name "classic sculpture". It followed ancient art as its only model and, because it expressed the national artistic ideal, it became the pattern of art for generations to come.

Whereas French architecture and painting of the Louis Quatorze period turned to the examples of the Cinquecento, sculpture did not depend on the sculptors of the Italian Renaissance. The theoretical treatises hardly contain any references to Michelangelo, except for some general remarks.⁴⁷ More extensive discussions of his work are entirely missing; his later sculptures are not even mentioned. Giovanni da Bologna's name does not occur in the literature of French art theory, although his bronzes were eagerly collected.

French Renaissance sculpture was not discussed except in guides and travel books. A superficial remark on the beautiful lines of Goujon's nymphs may be found now and then, but, on the whole, the French art of the past was forgotten.

Raphael was the only "modern" artist who was admitted as a model for French sculptors. The French believed that Raphael's works came very close to the spirit and value of ancient art. Therefore, they regarded them as a medium through which ancient art could be more readily absorbed by the young. Raphael's contour, so precise and, at the same time, so smooth, was highly praised and its study recommended for mastery of design, the alpha and omega of French art.

Contemporary Italian sculpture was of no great consequence for the French Academicians. Both Roman Baroque sculpture and French Academic sculpture were based on ancient art.⁴⁸ But, whereas the French tried to imitate it dogmatically, the Italians merely derived their inspiration from it. On account of their basically different conceptions, two almost contrary styles were developed.

The characteristic features of Italian Baroque sculpture are in-

tegrated into Bernini's art to such an extent that his name became identical with that style. Breaking with the traditions on which sculpture had been based for centuries, he abandoned its statuary qualities for the sake of a maximum of movement. His figures do not recall the marble bloc from which they were carved, but seem rather to deny it.

A plastic form distinct from the space by which it is surrounded, a silhouette effect and a clear undisturbed contour were no values which Bernini aimed to realize. In using space as an element of composition, he tried to dissolve the cubic elements of sculpture so that plasticity and space could penetrate one another. He discovered the painterly possibilities of sculpture. By representing the sculptural forms as they appear under the influence of light and air, he developed an impressionistic manner and made use of an illusionism which up to that time had been employed only in painting. Technical means, such as high and polished finish and the use of polychromy were borrowed from Graeco-Roman art, although most skilfully refined. Turbulent curves and recessions and manifold intersections which produce plentiful high lights and deep shadows enforced the pictorial effect.

An illusionism which disregards tactile reality requires utmost visual reality. It is for this reason that it became one of the most important aims of Italian Baroque sculpture to represent "flesh as flesh" and to use every material and every fabric in its own specific quality. As a consequence of such an impressionistic-illusionistic representation, Italian Baroque sculpture, unlike classical sculpture, is meant to be looked at from only one point.

In correspondence with the new forms, new subject matters were represented. The main interest was concentrated no longer on static objects, but rather on the phenomenon of motion. With Bernini's "Daphne"-group a subject strictly opposed to the very nature of sculpture entered that medium. The transitory moment, the metamorphosis itself is here chosen for representation. In the "Ecstasy of S. Teresa" the transitory moment of action is combined with the most realistic expression of emotion. Intense expression, which is never of a purely formal nature, is one of the characteristics of Bernini's saints and angels. Not only their faces, but their entire bodies seem to convey the passion by which these statues are dominated. Even the voluminous draperies which are wrapped around them in wild sweeps have become means of emotional expression.

Bernini's portraits are not only lively characterizations of the persons depicted. They are raised into a sphere of universal interest: they represent the image of the Baroque personality.

The quintessence of Roman Baroque sculpture may be formulated (though certainly not exhaustively) as follows: naturalism of detail, characterization of the different textures, stylized draperies, pictorial effect of the composition, illusionistic representation, maximum of movement and of emotional expression.

This formula, although derived from Bernini's work, fits—*cum grano salis*—the legion of other Italian Baroque sculptors. Even if a few such as Duquenois and Algardi tried to escape Bernini's overpowering influence by developing more conservative tendencies, their works do not differ in principle from Bernini's daring manifestations.

Although the Roman masters of the Baroque were known in France, and sometimes even commissioned for reasons of prestige, their appointment always caused trouble, for the Roman artists did not succeed in satisfying the taste of their French employers.⁴⁹ In France Duquenois, Poussin's friend, was the most highly esteemed of the Roman Baroque sculptors. But the French recognized only the classical elements in his works, while they overlooked the Baroque trend that made him akin to Rubens and Bernini.

Whereas the sculpture of most European countries was influenced by the art of the Roman Baroque, the *conférences* of the Académie Royale only occasionally referred to that style and repudiated it as not acceptable. Michel Anguier's judgment as expressed in his *L'Art de traiter les bas-reliefs*⁵⁰ is symptomatic of the attitude of the French academicians towards Roman Baroque sculpture. "Nous avons vu faire à Rome, au plus habile sculpteur⁵¹ de notre siècle, un grand bas-relief de marbre blanc d'un travail admirable; quand il fut posé, on fut obliger de le changer deux fois de place. Si l'auteur avoit suivi le goût de l'antique, ce bel ouvrage auroit été beau en tous les endroits; mais étant exécuté à la moderne, il ne peut être bien en aucune place. J'appuis sur cette vérité pour engager nos élèves à n'étudier que les bas-reliefs antiques." The technical qualities of the Roman masters were appreciated, but their style in general was rejected as inferior. Roman Baroque sculpture, which aimed at representing the limitless, was naturally refused by the French court artists

who believed in a philosophy of intellectualism, and who depended on a system that was ever ready to restrict its artistic employees within certain limits.

The Academic system had set up an ideal of beauty which was based on the rational interpretation of ancient sculpture. French artistic creation for more than two decades was determined by the unity and uniformity of this ideal. The opposition against the Academic doctrines originated in the Academicians' own ranks; it was started with the theoretical treatises of Roger de Piles' *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux peintres* and Charles Perrault's *Parallèles des Anciens et des Modernes*.⁵² Neither of these discourses was revolutionary; they were meant only to correct and to improve the current rules and theories which did not lose in importance until later on, when, in the nineties of the seventeenth century the power of the French state was shaken. This political decline caused also the gradual dissolution of that art which the government had inaugurated. Up to that time, Roman Baroque had not entered French representative sculpture except in minor details. When the institutions of the state, the academies which had been the safeguards of classic art, lost their influence, Roman Baroque art became the model of the French sculptors. The acceptance of Roman Baroque forms by French artists and their combination with French classic elements was the beginning of a development which culminated in the art of the Rococo.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1) Cf. Monument of Auguste de Thou by François Anguier (repr. in A. E. Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur*, Handb. d. Kunstwiss. Potsdam 1919, v.II, Fig. 330). After the Revolution the monument was taken from its original place, a small church in Paris, to the Louvre. The upper part of the monument was shaped after examples of French funeral sculpture of the Gothic and the Renaissance periods: note the conception and attitude of the figure of the deceased kneeling in prayer and the handling of the folds. The two supporting youths are versions of the figures of Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling. On the de Thou monument they are turned in profile, the proportions are stretched, their contour is more elegant. Michelangelo interpreted by Giovanni da Bologna! The design of the cartouche is also borrowed from Giovanni da Bologna: Renaissance forms, but softened, stretched and turned pasty. The ornament of the sarcophagus repeats an ancient pattern and the relief imitates the numerous putti scenes of the Bernini School.
- 2) Cf. Dilthey, W., *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924, v.VI, pp.248-9.
- 3) For comprehensive information on the history of art theories see Lionello Venturi, *History of Art Criticism*, New York, 1936. For the complete history of the "Académie Royale de la Peinture et de la Sculpture" see Pevsner, *Academies of Art, Past and Present*, Cambridge 1940, pp. 67-140.
- 4) Corneille celebrated the event in a dramatic poem, *La Poesie à la Peinture*, Paris, 1653.
- 5) Florent Lecomte, a younger contemporary, gave the reason for the foundation of the Academy as follows: "Il vint un penser à plusieurs peintres et sculpteurs et graveurs qui pour lors se distinguoient par leurs differens ouvrages, de former entre'eux dans cette ville un corps académique, où Plusieurs personnes assemblées et possedans differens talens, puissent donner les leçons publiques de leur Art, et Sa Majesté informée des avantages que produiroit une assembleé si célèbre enfavorisa l'establisement par un arrest du Conseil, en date du 20.I.1648, (*Cabinet des Singularitez*, Paris 1700. p.76).
- 6) Constituted in 1648, registered again in 1655 by act of Parliament.
- 7) Testelin published a resumé of rules laid down by the Academy under the title "Tables des Préceptes" Paris, 1680. Félibien declared the theoretical occupation with the Fine Arts to be more distinguished and more valuable than the execution of art works. (*Conférences de l'Académie Royale pour l'année 1667*).

- 8) Wilhelm Dilthey has given a profound presentation of the rational aesthetics in *Die drei Epochen der modernen Aesthetik und ihre heutige Aufgabe*, (1892) *Gesammelte Schriften, op.cit.* v.VI. A short quotation from this work may indicate the philosophical background of the French academic system: "Die rationale Aesthetik begreift das Schöne als die Erscheinung des Logischen im Sinnlichen und die Kunst als eine sinnliche Vergegenwärtigung des harmonischen Weltzusammenhanges. Diesen gewahrt das sinnliche Schauen des Künstlers dunkel und gefühlslebendig. Und da dieser Zusammenhang ein einziger ist, müssen die in ihm obwaltenden sinnlichen Verhältnisse schliesslich in einem Prinzip ausdrückbar sein. Diesen Zusammenhang sprechen dann das Naturschöne und das Kunstschöne jedes in seiner Sprache aus. So steht auch die freieste Aeussereung der Einbildungskraft unter Regeln. Solche Regeln bilden die Harmonik und Metrik; sie wirken in der Führung der Linien, dem Aufbau der Figuren und in dem Ornament des Architekten und Bildenden Künstlers; der Geschmack des Künstlers lässt sich als ein Inbegriff solcher Regeln entwickeln. Die Einheit der Handlung und die aus ihr folgenden Bestimmungen regieren das Drama. Und alle diese Regeln sind schliesslich in der rationalen Ordnung des Universums begründet. Diese rationale Aesthetik spricht zunächst eine wertvolle Stimmung der Zeit aus. Ihre Geschichte zeigt uns in einem ersten grossen Beispiel, wie es die aus der Verfassung der Gesellschaft stammende Haltung des ganzen Menschen einer Zeit ist, was zugleich in der Kunst, dem Geschmack und der aesthetischen Theorie dieser Zeit regiert. So entstehen die aesthetischen Theorien neben den Kunstrichtungen und beeinflussen sie, wie sie von ihnen ihrerseits beeinflusst werden." (p.253).
- 9) With the exception of Pierre Puget who never joined the Academy and whose works were in strict contrast to the Academic rules and theories. For posterity it is strange to realize that the greatest French sculptor of the 17th century had no influence at all on the contemporary art of his country, although his talent was recognized. It was not until the Academic system and the classic sculpture declined that Puget's work became influential. For a description and analysis of French classic Sculpture see:
- Brinckmann, A. E., *Barockskulptur*, v.II, Potsdam 1919
 Francastel, Pierre, *Les sculptures à Versailles*, Paris 1930
 Francastel, Pierre, *Girardon*, Paris 1921
 Gonse, Louis, *La sculpture française*, Paris 1914
 Keller-Donau, *Antoine Coysevox*, Paris 1920
 Lemonnier, H., *L'art français au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris 1911
 Michel, André, *Histoire de l'art*, v.VII, pp.648-748 Paris 1925
 Post, C. R., *A History of European and American Sculpture*, v.II, pp. 19-28, Cambridge 1921
 Sobotka, G., *Barockskulptur*, Vienna 1925

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- 10) As early as in 1618 Descartes had expounded the principle of rational aesthetics in his work *De la musique* (Dilthey, *W. op. cit.* v.VI p.249).
- 11) Alberti, *De pictura*, Basel 1540.
- 12) Armenini, *De' veri precetti della Pittura*, Ravenna 1587.
- 13) Hilaire Pader, a Toulousian painter, published the translation of the first volume of Lomazzo's *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* in 1649 and declared Lomazzo to be infallible (cf. the preface of this translated edition of Lomazzo).
In his *Traité sur la peinture pur en apprendre la théorie et se perfectionner dans la pratique*, Paris, 1690, Dupuy du Grez referred to Lomazzo and recommended him.
- 14) Lecomte, *Cabinet des Singularitez*, Paris 1700.
- 15) *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, (Archives de l'Art Français) Paris 1911.
cf. letter of Félibien of January 25, 1666 to M. de Chantelou:
". . . Tous les Français sont persuadés que M. Poussin a laissé quelque traité sur la peinture; n'en croyez rien, monsieur: il est bien vrai que je lui ai entendu dire nombre de fois qu'il étoit dans l'intention de commencer quelque ouvrage sur l'art de la peinture; mais quoique je l'aie souvent tourmenté à ce sujet, il m'a toujours remis d'un temps à un autre; et la mort en le frappant a fait évanouir tous se projets à cet égard." (pub. by Gault de St. Germain, *La Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris 1806, notes 68-69).
- 16) *Osservazioni di Nicolo Pussino sopra la Pittura*, published by Bellori, *Le Vite dei Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni*, Rome 1672, pp. 460-462.
- 17) *Osservazioni*, in Bellori, *Vite op. cit.* p.460: "Vide il Castelvetro!" Castelvetro, Lodovico: *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta*. Basilea, 1576.
Osservazioni, *op.cit.* p.461.
- 18) Delivered at the Academia di San Lucca in 1664 and published as preface of his *Vite dei pittori*, *op.cit.* This work which was dedicated to Colbert and of widespread influence in its own epoch became the basis of the artistic development in the second part of the 18th century. It "represents the entire program of the official doctrine of Classicism," Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, Vienna 1924, p.533.
- 19) Bellori, *L'Idea del pittore*, *op cit.* pp.3-4.
- 20) *Osservazioni di Nicolo Pussino*, Bellori, *Vite*, *op.cit.* p.461 "La prima cosa che come fondamento di tutte l'altre si richiede, e che la materia, e il soggetto sia grande . . . ma essendo grande la materia, intorno a cui si va affaticando il Pittore, il primo avvertimento sia che dalle minutie a tutto suo potere si allontanati, . . . E adunque da sprezzarsi la viltà, e la bassezza de' soggetti lontani da ogni artificio che vi possa essere usato."
- 21) cf. Leibniz, *Ueber die Glückseligkeit*: "Von der Ordnung kommt alle Schönheit her."
- 22) Félibien (*Entretiens*, v.IV, p.278) quotes a letter of Poussin to M. de Noyers, Surintendant des Bâtimens: "Il (Poussin) a évité certaines

- choses contraires et opposées mises ensemble que les sens et la raison ne peuvent souffrir. . . .", cf. also Poussin's letter to Chantelou in 1642:" Mon naturel me constraint de chercher et aimer les choses bien ordonnées, fuyant la confusion, qui m'est contraire et ennemie . . .
- 23) "Le Grand Goût" was a term adopted from Scaliger who had headed a chapter of his poetics "the grand style" (grandiloquus). *Julii Caesaris Scaligeri Poeticæ libri septem*, Apud Petrum Santandreamum 1581.
 - 24) Dufresnoy, *De arte grafica*, Paris 1667, translated into French by Roger de Piles, Paris 1673, republished in 1684, 1688, etc. The treatise was still popular in the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century. French editions 1741, 1760. In 1824 it was republished under the title *Le guide de l'artiste et de l'amateur*; in English with a preface by Dryden (London 1695, 1716, 1750) and with notes by Reynolds, York 1783. In German first in 1699, later published by Klotz, Lessings antagonist, Leipzig 1770.
 - 25) Félibien, *Conférences . . . pour l'année 1667, op.cit.*, preface.
 - 26) Félibien, *Conf. . . 1667, op.cit.*, preface.
 - 27) Bosse, *Traité des pratiques géométrales et perspectives*, Paris, 1665.
 - 28) Selected *Conférences* were published, if deemed important on account of their subject or because Colbert had attended them. These books contain *in nuce* the aesthetic demands of that period.
 - 29) Le Brun, *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les Passions proposées dans une conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, Paris 1667, is here quoted in the translation of John Smith, London 1701. Smith dedicated his book to Kneller. A quotation from the preface may illustrate the English attitude towards the French art theory: "That which raised Apelles' reputation among the Ancients, and exalted Raphael above all modern Painters, was the Justness, Nobleness and Gracefulness of their Expressions; the want of which was the greatest defect of the Gothic manner in the middle Age of Painting. . . 'twas doubtless this consideration which made Monsieur Lebrun in his pursuit of Honour and Perfection in his Art, to apply himself to this part of it. Which his admirable genius has made him so absolute a Master of as to be able to reduce it into a small number of Rules, easy to be apprehended and performed. . . ."
 - 30) An outline on physiognomy was first made by Aristotle who compared the different types of man with various animals. Late Roman writers expanded his doctrine by exact descriptions of the various expressions of the human faces and their representation in art. Giambattista della Porta based on those Roman writers his treatise *De Humana Physiognomica*, Bagnères de Bigorre, 1583, which became the fundamental work on physiognomy of the Renaissance. It was also one of Lebrun's sources.
 - 31) Cf. Descartes, *Les Passions de l'âme, I, Des passions en générale, Article 2*: Puis aussi je considère que nous ne remarquons point qu'il y ait aucun sujet qui agisse plus immédiatement contre nostre âme, que le corps auquel elle est jointe; et que par consequent nous devons penser que ce qui est en elle une Passion est communement en luy

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- une Action. (*Oeuvres de Descartes*, Paris 1909, v.XI, p.328).
- 32) Smith, *Conférence of M. Lebrun*, *op.cit.* pp. 3, 14, 15, 28.
- 33) Lebrun's treatise preceded Charles Bell's *Essay on the Anatomy of Expression*, London 1806, which is a scientific study on the physical manifestation of emotions in terms of the muscles which produce these manifestations.
- 34) Félibien, *Des principes de l'architecture, de la sculpture, de la peinture*, Paris 1676.
- 35) Chambray, R. Fréart de, *Traité de la peinture de Léonard de Vinci, donné au Public, et traduit . . .* Paris 1651. Poussin did not approve of the work although it was dedicated to him: "Tout ce qu'il y a de bon en ce Livre se peut écrire sur une feuille de papier en grosse lettre." It is not quite clear whether his hard judgment refers to the translation only, or if it also concerns the original treatise. Poussin's original letter has not been preserved. Abraham Bosse to whom it was addressed quoted it in his *Traité des Pratiques géométrales et perspectives*, Paris 1665, p.128. This quotation is especially interesting because Poussin rectified the editor's claim that all the illustrations were made by Poussin. ". . . il est vray que j'ay dessiné les Figures humaines que sont en celuy que tient Monsieur le Chevalier Du Puis; mais toutes les autres, soit géométrales ou autrement, sont d'un certain de Gli Alberti . . . ; et les gaufes (maladroits) Paisages que sont au derrière des figurines humaines de la copie que M. de Chambray a fait imprimer, y ont esté adjoints par un certain Errard, sans que j'en aye rien sceu." Bosse, *l.c.*
- 36) Chambray, *Traité*, *op.cit.*, preface.
- 37) cf. Lebrun's *Conférence sur le tableau de "la Manne" de Poussin*, published by Jouin in *Conférences de l'Académie Royale*, Paris 1883. Lebrun suggested "qu'après avoir dessiné une figure d'après nature et y avoir mis tout ce qu'il savait faire, le même étudiant fit un autre trait de cette figure sur un papier a part . . . et cherchât dans ce nouveau trait à donner à sa figure le caractère de quelque figure antique . . . cf. Opstal, *Conférences de l'Académie Royale*, Paris 1883, *op.cit.* who considered the "Laocoon" so important "qu'on peut apprendre à corriger les défauts que se trouvent d'ordinaire dans le naturel . . ."
- 38) Félibien, *Entretiens*, *op.cit.* v.IV.
- 39) A certain selection of ancient sculpture was made according to French taste. Here are the ones authoritative above all others: Laocoon, Hercules Farnese, Apollo of Belvedere, Sleeping Faun, Antinous and draped statues of the Imperial style. The column of Trajan was used as an example of relief.
- 40) The lack of special treatises on sculpture became evident when ancient art was worshipped no longer as the highest authority, cf. Caylus' complaints and his explanation of the small number of works on sculpture (*Parallèle de la Peinture et de la sculpture* 1759, published by Fontaine: *Vies d'artistes*, Paris 1910).
- 41) Poussin measured a number of ancient statues and made use of their proportions for his own compositions. Bellori, *Vite*, *op.cit.* pp.458-60,

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records the measurements which he took of the Antinous (translated into French and commented by Gault de St. Germain, *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris 1806, part II, pp.77-80) Michel Anguier analysed the proportions of the Hercules Farnese in an oft-quoted lecture held in 1669, (Jouin *Conférences*, *op.cit.*).

In 1655 the king sent the painter Corneille to Rome "à mesurer avec exactitude les plus belles statues antiques pour en connaître les proportions et pour servir de l'instruction aux élèves de l'Académie. See also *Correspondances des Directeurs de l'Académie Royale à Rome*, publ. and annotated by Montaiglon, Paris 1887, v.I, pp.6-7.

- 42) Vida, *Ars poetica*, 1527, translated into English by Pitt, London, 1724; quoted from *The Art of Poetry* by A. S. Cook, New York 1926.

"And beat the track the glorious ancients trod;
To those eternal monuments repair,
There read, and mediate forever there."

Cook, *op.cit.*, p.129.

"Hence on the ancients we must rest alone,
And make their golden sentences our own;
To cull their best expressions claims our cares,
To form our notions and our styles on theirs.
See how we bear away their precious spoils,
And with the glorious dress enrich our styles,
Their bright inventions for our use convey,
Bring all the spirit of their words away,
And make their words themselves our lawful prey".

Cook, *op.cit.*, p.131.

- 43) Jouin, *Conférences*, *op.cit.*

- 44) Scaliger, *op.cit.* IV 2 p.459 "Est igitur Altiloquium Poeseos genus, quod personas graues, Res excellentes continet. Personae graues sunt Dii, Heroes, Reges, Duces, Ciuitates.

- 45) On Jan. 1, 1664, Charles Perrault wrote this letter to Poussin on the suggestion of Colbert. Poussin was designated as the director of the "Ecole de Rome". The letter was not sent for reasons unknown. The foundation of the Academy in Rome was delayed until 1666. In the meantime Poussin had died. The letter is published in the *Correspondence des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome* (ed. by A. de Montaiglon, Paris 1887) v.I, p.1.

- 46) Even mature artists were sent to Rome, as, for instance, Girardon in 1669. In such cases the scholarship was granted with the distinct instruction that the fellow should study the antique sculptures. cf. Errard's letter to Girardon, *Correspondances des Directeurs*, *op.cit.* v.I, p.20.

- 47) Félibien, *Entretiens op.cit.* v.IV, enumeration of the great masters.

- 48) Bernini's lecture on the models of ancient art held in the Académie Royale, Chantelou, *Journal de voyage du Chev. Bernin en France*, published by Lalanne, Paris 1885, cf. Sept. 5, 1665.

- 49) Cf. such incidents as the opposition to Bernini's equestrian statue of Louis XIV and the reduction of the payments to Domenico Guidi

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because the statue of "La Renommée" had not fulfilled the expectations of his employer.

- 50) Conférences held in 1667, publ. Jouin, *Conférences, op.cit.*
- 51) Anguier is referring to the *Attila* relief by Algardi. Algardi representing the conservative trend of Roman Baroque sculpture was preferred to Bernini and to most of the other Roman Baroque sculptors.
- 52) Piles de, *Dissertations . . .* Paris 1681.
Perrault, C. *Parallèles . . .* Amsterdam 1693.

Beauty and the War *

BY

EMMANUEL CHAPMAN

IT is neither an escape nor an indulgence to give our attention to beauty and art at a time when a global war is raging in which our existence and everything giving it worth are at stake. The enemy does not make the mistake of underestimating the rôle of art which it diabolically perverts, nor the power of beauty which it violates on a cosmic scale. The followers of the great lie stage huge spectacles, and cunningly exploit the radio, press and cinema. The theatrical effects of the *blitzkrieg* are played up even more strikingly: the parachutists leaping from the skies, the shrieking whistles of the stuka bombers, fake representations of boats and submarine periscopes and all the other contrivances of deception and demoralization. The neurotic cravings of the frustrated house painter Adolf Hitler and his accomplices will not be satisfied until the whole world canvas is smeared with their obscene scrawl, and entire peoples are twisted into inhuman shapes or blotted out.

We have had the aesthetics of idealism and materialism in their many varieties, with their different versions of beauty and art, made to fit into the procrustean beds of these systems. Beauty and art, they held in turn, were the sensuous embodiment of the idea; an absolute which progressively sank lower into the state, class, race, folk, blood and soil. Anything that promotes life is beautiful, they proclaimed, life narrowed into the survival of the fittest, the class struggle, power, sexual strivings, the unconscious; or life widened into the buzzing confusion of contradictory values and disvalues they happened to favor at the time. Following an immanent logic which worked itself out over the last few centuries, the so-called aesthetics of life turned into its opposite, the aesthetics of death. This dialectic which it would be interesting to trace in

* This appeared originally in *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. xxxix, No. 18, August 27, 1942.

detail has been illustrated unwittingly by the saying of the fascist philosopher, Gentile, that "true life is made one in death"

Mediocre and shameless artists have not been found wanting to express this ideology. The Italian fascist Marinetti, one of the more blatant ones, provides the following specimen:

War is beauty
because it realizes the mechanical man
perfect with the gas mask
the terrifying megaphone
the flame thrower
or enclosed in the armoured car
which establishes the domination of
man over the machine.
War is beauty
because it commences the
metalezation of man
of which we used to dream.

The dehumanization of man into an unfeeling, unthinking, mechanism is not a novel aberration sprung from the disordered brain of Marinetti. Long before it broke into violent action, this monstrous caricature was prepared by thinkers and artists whose responsibility it was to keep alive the true image of man in the minds and feelings of men.

The pleasures of the "metallized" man of the Axis order, which offers only nothingness and death though it disguises itself cunningly and breeds false illusions, are described by Mussolini's son Vittorio, for whom also "war is the quintessence of beauty":

We arrived upon them unobserved and immediately dropped our loads of explosives. I remember that one group of horsemen gave me the impression of a budding rose as the bombs fell in their midst. It was exceptionally good fun.

Along with his load of explosives, Vittorio Mussolini carried the germs of aesthetic thought which go back through Croce, Klages and Nietzsche, and many other such lesser thinkers of Italian and German and various other nationalities, as far back at least as Kant's Critique of the Power of Judgment. The deniers of the true nature of beauty and art on the lofty heights of thought share in

the guilt of the bloody realization of these denials in the field of action. It would be easy to throw the blame completely on other thinkers, on history, social and economic conditions and what not. The mere honest and difficult thing to do, especially under the impact of the blows striking at the foundations of our civilization, is to examine our own philosophical consciences, and to ask ourselves some disturbing questions. Are not we, too, the defenders of beauty and art on the level of principles, partly responsible for their betrayal?

On what philosophical grounds can we oppose Vittorio Mussolini's "exceptionally good fun" at the sight of torn human and animal flesh exfoliating like roses in the Ethiopian sunlight? Does not this "good fun" follow with an implacable logic, as implacable as a bomb following the law of gravity, if beauty is regarded as only a name for the pleasure we feel, as merely subjective, a quality projected or imputed by the mind, and having no reference to things, no foundation whatsoever in existence? Is it not, further, the logical consequence of the fatal separation of beauty from reason, both of which in turn were torn asunder from morality by the methodical bachelor from Königsberg in his three Critiques of Pure and Practical Reason and the Judgment of Taste, which all his injections of Rousseauian feeling could not put back together into any kind of wholeness?

The critical philosophy, unfortunately, was not critical enough, and the only remedy is to advance further in critical consciousness beyond its still-born subjectivity cut off from reality. The bitter failures in the history of aesthetics are there to show that the starting point can never be any subjective, a priori principle from which a closed system is deduced. Such an inverted procedure must always end disastrously. Yet the lesson may be missed, if the history of aesthetics is regarded as the succession of the corpses of different systems, one cancelling out the other, and ending as a recent work put it, "As Heraclitus said of day and night, they are one". The failures and successes of the great thinkers who grappled with the problems of beauty and art, especially those who had an original contact with beauty, and fresh insights into its mysterious depths, can certainly be helpful. They cannot be a substitute for the only valid starting point which should be the experience itself of beauty in any of its multiple realizations.

Does not the fact that beauty is attributed to some objects and not to others point to the presence of an objective, independent quality possessed by them in their own right and eliciting a response from the subject? The infantile self-pleasure, even castigated scientifically by certain schools of psychology, of an auto-erotic self indistinguishable from things without, and seeking to swallow them up introjectively or to dominate them projectively, is an arbitrary mental construction which belies the facts. If one is not closed by preconceived notions, but is properly open, does not the experience of the beautiful give us the transparent awareness of a vital interchange between the self and the other, both standing out in their distinct realness? Is this not the most elementary datum given irreducibly in the experience of the beautiful in any of its many forms?

The beauty of a thing, to the degree that it possesses the reality of its own wholeness, harmonious confluence of parts or proportion, and radiance, keeps the self from intruding, and by thus compelling the self to remain in its own distinctness and reality elicits a response to it for its own sake. The self, paradoxically, comes into its own by forgetting itself before the thing's beauty, seen and loved for its own sake. Only by being lifted out of itself and giving itself properly to the beauty of the thing, by losing itself, so to speak, does the self find itself and experience release and renewal, the joy and freedom which such self-surrender to beauty brings. United by beauty to otherness, the self is enriched not by feeding upon itself but upon the inconsumable beauty of things. Living the life of the other is not an escape from reality into a world of fantasy. On the contrary, it is an initiation into a deeper and wider kinship with unfamiliar realms of being, and also with the familiar, the freshness and strangeness of which have been obscured by custom and habit.

In aesthetic cognition, which differs from the other fundamental ways of knowing, the scientific, philosophical, theological and mystical, the self is integrated in a special way. Here, only a general characteristic will be pointed out. Aesthetic knowing lovingly penetrates into the truths of the self and other selves, and the singular relations between selves and things. An aesthetic truth is not abstracted, disengaged, or considered apart from the thing in which it is realized, but is affectively cognized in the whole thing in which it presents itself, and concretized in the whole man in his cognitive and appetitive powers with their accompanying emotions.

Though beauty is not truth, nor the good, each having its own irreducible essence, it is fatal to separate what is distinct yet organically linked in reality. To show their reciprocal interaction and vital synergy would require an elaborate philosophical analysis which cannot be given here. At least this should be pointed out very rapidly in passing. The truth of things is seen; their beauty is seen and loved. Truth is the adequation of intellect and things; beauty is a joyful, lovable, reposeful, tranquil adequation. The good, too, as such, is lovable and delectable, but the beautiful is the lovable-ness and delectability of what is beheld and contemplated for its own sake. The good is enjoyable in fulfilling appetite. The beautiful delights by illuminating cognition, intuitively enjoyed without abstraction and the elaboration of concepts, though these may be germinally present. Beauty's kinship with truth and the good in no way diminishes or subordinates it. Rather is its vital importance known and loved for its own sake wherever it shines out in its fugitive or lasting expressions and calls for appropriate responses. Like truth and goodness, beauty cannot be defined, strictly speaking, because it is as wide and deep as reality itself and cannot be restricted into a special category.

The objectivity of beauty and its vital connections with truth and goodness, which require a fuller philosophical justification than that allowed in this brief paper, have been confirmed time and again by the more articulate artists whose awareness in these matters is often much deeper than the professors who attempt to explain it from without, and who sometimes, alas, explain it away. The great artists have often told us of their agonizing search for the right, objective forms, necessarily true and good, demanded by a certain matter, glimpses of which were slowly disclosed to them after patient and humble submission to inner and outer reality, the dazzling splendor of which was pursued through so many opacities and obscurities within and without. And do not their works bear even more eloquent testimony to this?

There has been so much learned nonsense about some of the simplest issues in aesthetics that it is important to raise again some of the most elementary questions. Why do we listen to good music, read poetry and literature, attend the theatre, look at paintings, sculpture, architecture, the dance? Is it not, simply, because they are enjoyable for their own sakes, and not for the sake of something else? If we approach these not for their own sakes,

but for the sake of something else, say for the sake of relaxation, consolation, knowledge, moral edification or any of the other advantages associated with the arts, would we not be defeating our own purposes? For only by responding to them for their own sakes and enjoying them as such will the tonic, energizing and cultural benefits associated with the fine arts accrue to the self—to the self, it must be repeated, which has forgotten itself before their otherness, and has been lifted out of itself to their beauty. Of what use, then, are these beauty arts? Paradoxical though it may seem, they are of the greatest worth precisely because they are, strictly speaking, useless: they are not to be used but enjoyed for their own sakes.

Consider for a moment the case of the useful arts. The pottery, weaving, and the like, made by the primitives, would have been just as useful had they not been made beautiful also. The only adequate answer to the question why they were made also beautiful, delightful merely to behold, can be: for no practical reason whatsoever, whether for magical or other purposes. Their beauty was created gratuitously. It was an outpouring of the superabundance of man's distinctly human powers no matter what the degree of their development, the mysterious depths of his spontaneity and freedom, and the incandescence of his intelligence and sensibility. To the degree that man is not tied down to the useful and devotes himself to such non-useful but most valuable activity as free and disinterested creation and contemplation of beauty, man and his culture come into their distinctly human fruition. The apparently useless aesthetic activity is one of the deepest sources of human life and culture, and if it be allowed to dry up, these would fade out and wither away.

Just as this planetary war is breaking down the last vestiges of an ingrained parochialism and making us conscious of the world as a whole, in which we are intimately affected by any of its most distant parts, so too it should widen our aesthetic consciousness. Beauty is not a superfluous sweet, a luxury product, a non-essential to be sacrificed in our all-out efforts to win the war. The importance of the arts in strengthening civilian and army morale, and building up national unity, should be fairly obvious. Considered more profoundly, the aesthetic goes much deeper. Men will fight for their own lives and the lives of others, for the sake of many things, the four freedoms, a better world, and other goods. In the last analysis, they stake their lives because the goodness of these things is made

visible to them, and their truth lovable, by their intrinsic beauty, seen and loved for its own sake. Men will defend the useful things of this world, certainly. But their hidden sources of energy surge up more fiercely in defense of the gratuitous things, without which life would have no worth, and would be a living death. This is a war for beauty, too! Victory in our war for civilization would turn into the most bitter defeat, and, though won, our fight would indeed be lost if in the process we stop up the fountainhead of the underground deeps of man and his culture.

The aesthetic, which brings the self and others into unique human kinship, will play an important part in winning the war. It should play an even more important rôle in winning the peace, which cannot be had without beauty. In this peace all the living, in all their rich variety and difference, should be united by beauty in the one family of mankind. The genuine new order, to be built after the false one is destroyed, will endure to the extent that its truth and goodness are made to shine out in beauty.

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Book Reviews

MARITAIN, RAISSA, *We Have Been Friends Together*. New York. Longmans Green and Company, 1942, pp. 208. \$2.50.

It is a beautiful experience to be permitted the privilege of entering the depths of a tender, delicate soul in its quest for Truth, in its philosophic odyssey toward the meaning and purpose of existence, toward the cognition of the essence of the nature of man. In addition to the philosophic profundity of this book, it is like a legend, a fairy tale—the story of the reward bestowed upon the beautiful princess who refused to be ravaged by the ogre of the atomizations of science, its materialism and empiricism, and who finally proved herself worthy through her meditations and sufferings of the blessings of the spirit. I shall not speak here of the chronologically autobiographical character of *We Have Been Friends Together*, by Raissa Maritain, the gracious and gentle wife of one of the purest souls and most penetrating, most metaphysical of philosophers, Jacques Maritain. I shall not speak of her early youth, her inward revolt against the secularization of metaphysics by the philosophers, and the “metaphysication” of secular thought, i.e., of science, by the scientists. I shall not speak of this student, who through the wisdom of her intuition which never faltered, was able finally to accept philosophy as—in the words of her husband—“a restitution of the Reason, of which metaphysics is the essential and highest operation.” “We know now what we want”, ‘Jacques wrote’, “and it is to philosophize truly.” I shall not even speak of the great and glorious friendships with Bergson, with Psichari, with Charles Péguy and above all with Léon Bloy, influencing the destiny of Jacques and Raissa Maritain, although *Les Grands Amitiés* is the title of the book which it is my privilege to review.

I shall, however, speak of the nature and the essence of the spirit with its sociological and aesthetic imputations which is in reality an epitome of the episodes and experiences inner and outer of Jacques and Raissa Maritain.

Mme. Maritain has eloquently portrayed that the perfect function of spirit is pure intuition. She has shown, not didactically, not syllogistically, not logically—for logic at least in its syllogistic phase is not compatible with human behavior—but she has shown so to speak ontologically by her own experience in the sociological and cultural constellation in which she found herself, that by the very impulse that generates it, intuition tends to become pure. It is the movement of apprehension by which anything is given to consciousness; and there is a natural joy in it. By intuition Mme. Maritain does not refer to divination, or a miraculous way of discovering that which sense and intellect cannot disclose. On the contrary,

by intuition she means direct and obvious possession of the apparent, without commitments of any sort about its significance or its material existence! The deliverance of intuition, one learns as the reward of the perusal of this delicate volume, is some pure essence. The degree of truth or significance that this was given essence may have, as revealing a world of action, social, political, or economic, as promising other intuition, is an ulterior question, morally and cognitively important, but itself, when consciously considered, distracting the spirit from its native and present happiness. We have undeniably a more compact mind and a stronger will when the themes of our intuitions are relevant to our reaction and we see with the clearness of genius the movement of things near us, and of society. If we groped about the world always startled and aggrieved, and if we nursed pure intuition only about imaginary things, we should be sick children, and our thin intuitions would grow thinner and wilder, as our troubles grew thick. Nevertheless in the most masterly mind, in the most victorious soldier or legislator, no profit or peace will come to the spirit except in pure intuition, when that dominated world and that brilliant career appear as if in another man's life: a tale, a vision, in which all passion has become light, and all compulsion deliverance. Worldly victories are full of falseness and anguish; there must be a second victory of intuition over all victories before the spirit can triumph.

As one is filled with the philosophic beauty of Mme. Maritain's memoirs, one recalls the Aristotelian definition of intuition, or of any instance of spirit, as the second entelechy, the perfect actuality, of organic life. Intuition not only exists, as Mme. Maritain so eloquently reveals, but it is the most intense form of existence. Existence, by another definition means flux, process, transition. Had we purely static being we should lapse or rise into essences, and should not exist. Now this point might well provoke some controversy, because in the most opposite quarters, in Buddhism and in British philosophy, the existence of spirit is verbally denied, as being a verbal fiction: according to the one there are only illusions and according to the other only data. Data and illusions, however, involve intuition; otherwise data could not be given and illusions could not deceive. Moral presence, moral actuality is essential to givenness, as moral deceitfulness is essential to illusion. Intuition crowns the bodily movements that underlie it by taking notice, by being a most acute, ideal concentration and moral effect of those movements, so that they now cause clear data, quite unlike their own physical texture, to arise and vanish before pure spirit.

Raissa Maritain, by repudiating the atomism of methods and the materialism of this age, has demonstrated that the great privilege of the immaterial is to be indomitable. As existence can neither abolish any essence by neglecting it, nor smirch it by dragging it down into the flux of change, so animal life cannot annul the discoveries which it has once made. It may extinguish the light of attention and of memory by destroying the organs and records that might have kept that knowledge alive in the world; but the autonomy of spirit is inalienable. The things felt will

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have been felt, the things loved will have been loved, whatever may ensue; and no contrary judgment supervening will ever have the field to itself. Ignorant as it may be of all contradictions, it will be contradicted; unconscious as it may be of alien goods, the alien goods will exist. So that the clouds that traverse the spirit, in being seen, are in one sense abolished: spirit has outflanked them, sent them down to the clouds, and thereby vindicated the supremacy of light and of vision.

Through such processes Mme. Maritain at last with the guidance of her friend Léon Bloy, accepted Catholicism—and through the acceptance of this faith, through this unification of the Judæo-Christian spirit (for Mme. Maritain was born a Jewess)—she fecundated the forces of her being with new vigor, thereby demonstrating the social significance of religion; namely, that religion like science (social or pure) is grounded in the need of doing the right thing under the given circumstance: like science it is a matter of adaptation.

—RUTH NANDA ANSHEN

New York City, N. Y.

PAUL HENRY LANG: *Music in Western Civilization*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1941. 1107 pp. 25 illus. 3 maps.

BROCKWAY, WALLACE & WEINSTOCK, HERBERT: *The Opera: A History of its Creation and Performance: 1600-1941*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1941. 603 pp. 27 illus.

Professor Lang's book, though intended as a textbook for the introductory course in music history, goes far beyond what is usually covered in such texts. For not only does he trace the development of musical style and history, the schools and their practices, in an historical way, but he describes clearly and with obvious appreciation, the aesthetic qualities and charms of the music of each period. Furthermore, he links up the growth of musical thought with the artistic culture of the times—the painting, the theatre arts, the architecture and the minor arts. Many of the illustrations are reproductions of works of art by Breughel, Vermeer, Velasquez, and others showing musicians and instruments and performances. All this, and some excellent maps, serves to give the student a clear conception of the state of music in those, to him, all too dim historically past days and to tie it up with his knowledge of other fields. Clearly and simply written, yet covering the material thoroughly, the volume not only presents the development of musical styles but in relating this to the culture and arts of the times gives it content and substance. The book is thus a guide to appreciation and to an understanding of the interrelation of the arts and the social life of each period. It is just what a good introductory history of an art should be.

"The Opera" is a work of quite a different sort. It is purely a history of the opera, its composers, and a recounting and description of various performances and performers. There is little, if any, attempt to relate the opera and its changing styles and modes to development in other arts

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A collection of fugitive pieces, mostly criticism and reviews, and some occasional articles written during the last twenty years. Besides reviews of many books and cinemas, there are articles on a variety of themes including several on the nature of poetry, intellectualist and metaphysical poetry, and some favorite writers,—Whitman, Frost, Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Mark Twain and Doughty. While the collection makes no pretense of providing a systematic philosophy, a theory of poetry criticism, or an esthetic of the cinema, Van Doren's remarks on all these subjects are characterized by a thoroughly unmannered and rugged honesty (see the essay "Substitutes of God"), and are all plainly stamped by his genuine affection for literature and enviable craftsmanship in it.

Studies in Honor of Frederick W. Shipley, Washington University Studies. New Series. Language and Literature. No. 14. St. Louis. 1942

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF.

THE JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM

A tribute by his colleagues to the eminent Dean of the Graduate School of Washington University who has won distinction as a classical scholar. The volume contains, besides a dedicatory statement fifteen essays on diverse subjects in the history of letters and ideas. The papers of greatest interest to the student of esthetics are B. Weinberg, "The Poetic Theories of Minturno"; B. A. Morrissette, "Early English and American Critics of Symbolism"; R. F. Jones, "*The Moral Sense of Simplicity*"; F. O. Nolte, "Imitation as an Aesthetic Norm"; and C. E. Cory's "Immediacy: its Nature and Values."

ALFRED HARBAGE, *Shakespeare's Audience*, Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. IX-201. \$2.25.

The public theatre of Shakespeare's time was unique in its provision of a universal audience and an immediacy of relation between audience and artist. It must be given much of the credit for the greatness of Shakespeare's plays, which were a people's literature even more so than authentic popular ballads. A study of Shakespeare's audience should reveal the conditions most likely to release the latent poetry of men. In this interesting study in the sociology of literature, Dr. Harbage has collected and interpreted the available evidence as to the size, social composition, frequency of attendance, moral attitudes, behavior, and intellectual and esthetic capacity of Shakespeare's audience. He questions the usual assumptions as to its illiteracy and primitiveness, and hints that our contemporary audiences have distinctive lacks of their own. Anyhow today it is the moving-picture clientele, not the theatre audience, that form a true cross section of humanity; only it does not participate in the creation of plays and cannot directly exert influence upon creative artists. The volume also has appendixes, a list of works cited, and a full index.

DAVID EWEN, *Music Comes to America*. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1942. 319pp. \$3.00.

In this lively book David Ewen, author of several popular works on music and its history, treats of the evolution of musical culture in the United States. He gives us a light and anecdotal presentation of the growth of mass interest in great music and its diverse institutional manifestations in the American culture pattern. His survey begins with the period following the Civil War when America was musically young and extends to our own day, emphasizing the enormous and incredible widening of the place of music in the typical American life. Among the topics discussed are America's musical pioneers (e.g., Theodore Thomas and Leopold Damrosch), the history of opera, the effect of the first World War, which resulted in a great enrichment of music in this country and the permanent extinction of the former ignorance and naiveté in this realm. Considerable attention is given to the effects upon the diffusion of music in America of the phonograph, motion pictures, talkies, and above all radio, and the government subsidies to music in the form of various W.P.A. activities in this field,—all of which extended the great progress

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After many adventures, sanctified by thoroughfare certificates of some of the major warfaring nations, this book, printed in France since the outbreak of the war for an American publisher, has safely arrived. It is welcome in the United States since its author has contributed extensively as a lecturer, writer, and critic in the field of art history in this country. It is doubly welcome because the artist to whom the book is dedicated is appreciated, studied, exhibited, and collected widely in America. Due to modern reproduction techniques, some of his works are found in many museum libraries and library collections. It is strange to think how the loneliness of artistic creation in our days becomes counteracted by the popularization of the finished product by means of reproduction. The appearance of a critical work on Rouault therefore seems timely. The illustrative part of Venturi's book is profuse and excellent. 150 full-page plates, three color reproductions and small vignettes at the end of each chapter lend the publication weight and preciousness. An extensive bibliography contributes to the value of the book.

The text is translated from the Italian original into French by Mlle. Juliette Bertrand. It is written with simplicity, clarity, and enthusiasm. The task is divided into two parts: one, "L'homme et son art"; the other, "Les oeuvres." The latter explains the evolution of Rouault's style and outlines the difficult chronology of his mostly undated and for years worked-over canvases, with their pastose surfaces. Yet it seems to this reviewer that Rouault's aim of luminosity and transparency, the "inner light," which apparently compels the artist to revise his finished paintings over and over again, has not always been achieved. Sometimes the effect is soapy and confused. The future will answer the questions of the material consistency of the paint quality.

The strangest undoubtedly is Rouault's conversion from the Moreau disciple, painting in the aristocratic vein of a Leonardo-Rembrandt interpreter, into the primitive of after 1905. Venturi calls him the real "primitive" of modern painting, as contrasted with the esthetic primitivism of the "Fauve" group. Primitive he is called because he leads art back to basic and primary human experiences and reduces the pictorial language to simplified statements. Should the relationship with the "Fauves" and with German expressionism not perhaps be a less casual one than Venturi seems to think? In general the author is little concerned with the sources of Rouault's art, which, however, are of great interest for the understanding of the selective process in artistic creation. From the psychological angle, too, a more intensified analysis appears possible. A "Job" of modern art, Rouault delves into the abyss of misery and returns to us the distorted

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image of God's children. What does the strange relationship of vulgar nudity and mystic religiosity mean? Similar tensions, at the first sight bewildering, may be observed throughout expressionist art. Rouault likes the subject-matter of the tragic clown. Has this fact any relationship with Picasso's interest in the clown? What does Rouault's fool with the "ecce homo" attitude signify? A psychologically and historically penetrating analysis would have to discuss such questions more intensely than the author has done. Venturi parallels Rouault with Léon Blois, the Catholic radical writer. They both are concerned with ultimate salvation. Their way to salvation leads through radical condemnation, yet in condemning they may lose salvation. The "Unholy Trinity" of Gruenewald's drawing emerges with luring intensity from the depth of religious experience. We do not know whether Rouault has succumbed to his St. Anthony temptations or not. His art appears to this reviewer in many ways esthetically and spiritually impure, and the tempter may have occasionally taken on the features of Ambroise Vollard.

In Lionello Venturi, Rouault has found a believing and a noble interpreter.

ALFRED NEUMEYER.

Mills College.

RUTH GREEN HARRIS and GIROLAMO PICCOLI, *Techniques of Sculpture*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1942.

Most readers of technical textbooks have little patience with theoretical or philosophical discussion. They feel these have little to do with practical instruction. This impatience would probably be experienced by the beginner seeking guidance in the techniques of modelling, casting and direct carving in wood and stone. But if he were interested in learning more than just how to hold a mallet, chisel a hollow or mix plaster; if he wanted to become a sculptor, he would feel indebted to Miss Harris and Mr. Piccoli on reading their little book. For they state and then illustrate in a simple, direct way that the technical and aesthetic problems are essentially one; that "Technique embodies aesthetics and aesthetics embodies techniques".

The book is designed primarily for the amateur and the beginner. It does them a notable service in stressing the point, fundamental to the thinking of the contemporary aesthetician but bewildering to the tyro, that the arts have meaning only insofar as they are knowledge, feeling and understanding integrated with technical facility. The point is stressed by the authors in an unpretentious manner and always as a phase of the mechanical processes under discussion.

One suspects that an effort has been made to adhere to a simple, unaffected, conversational style. This makes a pleasant, readable book except for occasional passages of dubious colloquialisms. These are, however, outweighed by the frequent concise, epigrammatic, meaty statements. The temptation to quote is too great to resist: "A sense of the limitations and possibilities of material is the beginning of sculptural wisdom."

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"Certainly a polished stone has considerable luster, but a well-cut stone has life."

The light touch, too, is not lacking. And this is a helpful educational device that might profitably be more widely used with beginners. Speaking of applying a bronze patine to a plaster cast they say, "Now your cast has the appearance of a freshly painted radiator. Don't faint; just proceed."

It is our opinion that the sections on the proportions of the human figure are too scant to be of real value for those to whom the book is addressed. The book would have suffered no loss by their omission and gained much by a more detailed discussion of tools and methods of handling them. Too little instruction may at times be as bewildering as too much.

ADOLPH COOK GLASSGOLD.

ROLAND ROOD: *Color and Light in Painting*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941, 299pp.

The author of this book was both an experimental physicist and a painter. The author of "Modern Chromatics", published in 1879, he was a practicing artist and a member of the New York Water Color Society. He combined an interest in the theory of light and color in painting with a skilled practice in the art of painting itself. This book is the result of fifteen years of writing, based on years of experiment and reflection. Left in rough manuscript form, it has been assembled and edited by George L. Stout of the Fogg Museum.

Although the work begins with a theory of beauty and is concerned throughout with various philosophical matters, its chief value lies in its extremely interesting discussions of the practice of the realistic painter in dealing with the representation of light and dark and color and with various phenomena of vision which affect the artist. Mr. Rood was apparently both an acute observer and a practical man, and the structure of the book reflects his two interests in physical theory and painting practice. Some of the topics he deals with are shadows, broken color, lustre, local and shadow color, contrast, and the production of color by mixtures of pigments. Although in many respects his views about color have been superseded, his acute observations and descriptions of color phenomena, combined with his recognition of the problems met by the artist in reproducing the face of nature, are of interest and value both to the painter and to the student of art.

E. N. B.

SHELDON CHENEY: *The Story of Modern Art*. New York: Viking Press. 1941 643 pp. 373 illus.

Mr. Cheney is well-known for his writings on modern painting and on the theatrical arts, and he deserves wide acclaim for his sincere and well-directed efforts to explain modern art to the public. This book is another attempt to assist the layman to look at the works of modern artists with intelligence and understanding. The approach this time is historical: by presenting the development of modern art as a logical process,

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To a considerable extent he succeeds. It seems to us that if an intelligent layman were to read this book, paying careful attention to the many illustrations, he would be well-prepared for a visit to a show of modern art. At least, he would have some conception of the movements and what their aims were. Perhaps he would, if he had a good memory, have a bit too much detail about some of the painters and their friends, and perhaps he would have the feeling that if he knows something about the history of a picture he knows all about it and does not need to look at it carefully and discriminatingly. A history can, of course, never take the place of a clear statement of "what to look at in pictures" but when it is well-done, as is this one, it does give the spectator a background and through his familiarity with men and their works, a preparation for further study.

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E. H. GOMBRICH and E. KRIS, *Caricature*, Penguin Books, 1942, 31pp. 16 plates. 50c.

A brief survey of comic art from ancient times to Disney. The introduction sketches the history of comic art and analyzes it for its psychological motivations. Laughter did not become civilized until the middle ages were past,—and then the world of grotesquerie gave way to portrait caricature in the modern sense, the comic distortion of the individual. There is no evidence of caricature before 1600 (Leonardo's grotesque's are rather an artist's experiments with forms of ugliness than portraits of individual), "and strangely enough, it is Caracci, an artist famous as the restorer of the grand manner who is responsible for the invention of the art and the word (caricature). He is said to have portrayed people as animals," finding likeness in unlikeness, in such a way as to make us respond with laughter. All caricaturists teach us to see creatures anew as ridiculous. In this sense their work is still akin to black magic for the mightiest of the earth are powerless against his diabolical necromancy. The unconscious aim of all comic art remains connected with magic,—to mimic a person is to annihilate his individuality. The authors hold that caricature did not develop earlier because of an unconscious fear of its dire effects; mankind had to become spiritually liberated enough to regard caricaturistic distortion as a legitimate artistic achievement, not a sortie into homeopathic magic. After some notice of the development of caricature in the eighteenth century, especially the social satire of Hogarth, who made it a genuine expression of the age, and a permanent weapon in the arsenal of politics, and the work of Gilbray and Rowlandson, in whose time their prints began to be called "caricatures",—an extension of the original meaning of the term, confined only to portraits,—the consideration moves on to the achievement of the nineteenth century, particularly in France, and more recent figures like Beerbohm and Low.

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The author's exposition of caricature-graphic wit follows Freud's interpretation of wit in its relation to the unconscious. Caricature will remain a vital art as long as civilization persists because it meets an urgent need, the momentary expression of cruelty and aggression. It enables a temporary abandonment of control and a surrender to aggression and irrationality, a brief visit to the freedom of childhood. The little volume contains sixteen plates illustrative of caricature, beginning with an ancient Egyptian papyrus of 1000 B.C., and ending with one taken from Disney's *Silly Symphony*. There is also a bibliographical note.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF.

JEROME MELLQUIST: *The Emergence of an American Art*. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942.

With this latest turn of the kaleidoscopic wheel of American art criticism a new pattern appears, readable and useful, but less integrated than, for instance, that found in Homer Saint Gaudens' *The American Artist* or in the pertinent chapters in Sheldon Cheney's *The Story of Modern Art*. Jerome Mellquist in *The Emergence of an American Art* relates the story from Whistler to Marin. Photography, black and white work, newspaper criticism, art collecting, and sculpture add richness to the texture, but the omission of architecture, housing, and regional planning prevents the possibility of form replacing pattern. We will be eager to turn the wheel soon again.

The novelty of the present interpretation is suggested in the allotment of sixteen pages to Sargent and the relative omission of Eakins. Yet the perspective is generally speaking that of a modern critic, as seen in the continual reference to Steiglitz and in the position of Marin, "the master of equilibrium" at the culmination of "The Culmination". Without them the continuity which a consistent point of view provides, whether conservative or radical, and without the detachment which a determined objectivity permits, the writer is informative and suggestive rather than interpretative and stimulating. Dr. Barnes is mentioned only as a classmate and admirer of Glackens, and the Museum of Modern Art in New York is not referred to at all. On the other hand, if Sargent deserves a chapter, presumably because of his influence rather than his significance, should not Thayer be named? Is a surveyor justified in calling Grant Wood a "stencil-maker" and poseur, and dismissing the American Scene "cult" with a few ill-tempered paragraphs? But perhaps the author is not a surveyor, but a seer. In that case one wonders if he is justified in seeing little beyond "291". There is the Chester Dale Collection; there is the government patronage of art; there is color photography.

In other words, a collection of interesting and opinionative critiques within the field of American art since the Civil War has been gathered together and a title chosen which promises too much. Stylistically speaking, the overuse of short sentences tends to mannerism. At times they scintillate, but they shred the thought.

WILLIAM SENNER RUSK

THE JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM

The author's exposition of caricature-graphic wit follows Freud's interpretation of wit in its relation to the unconscious. Caricature will remain a vital art as long as civilization persists because it meets an urgent need, the momentary expression of cruelty and aggression. It enables a temporary abandonment of control and a surrender to aggression and irrationality, a brief visit to the freedom of childhood. The little volume contains sixteen plates illustrative of caricature, beginning with an ancient Egyptian papyrus of 1000 B.C., and ending with one taken from Disney's *Silly Symphony*. There is also a bibliographical note.

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF.

JEROME MELLQUIST: *The Emergence of an American Art*. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1942.

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Review: [untitled]

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THE JOURNAL OF AESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM

THEODORE M. FINNEY. *Hearing Music*. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941. pp.viii-354.

Professor Finney has produced a book which, although it does not differ in kind from the crop of books on "what to hear in music" or "how to hear music", is nevertheless unique in quality. First of all, he writes in a clear simple style that is a joy to read. He also does not waste words and always writes to the point. Then again, he has an unusual knack for the right phrase, illustration or analogy that presses his point home to the reader. It is obvious that Professor Finney is first, last and all the time the teacher who knows and respects his students. He does not write at them, or down to them, but for them. These qualities alone entitle his book to high commendation.

The main quality of the book, however, is that its concern is with music and not about music. This unique feat the author accomplishes not so much by what he does but in the way he does it. In the first part of the book he supplies the listener with the means whereby he may develop the habit of understanding music. And he does not leave the reader in doubt as to what he means by understanding music as art. Music is literature; that is, it is the expression or communication of meaning. But he insists it is musical meaning, and not any sort of meaning the listener may find convenient to impose on what he hears. He states his musical esthetic creed in the words: "*Music says what the tones do.*" That is, for the musical experience to be musical it must be tonal. "Music as a background for other activities, moods, and emotions is not music at its best and highest, no matter how good the music." Music must move us, affect us, or it has no meaning. But it must move us tonally, not in any non-tonal manner.

Another unique feature of this book is its excellent organization. The guiding principle around which Professor Finney has built his book is that by "tracing the composer's use of musical sounds, the listener learns how to listen and moves toward an independent ability to understand music." The first part of the book is therefore given over to showing how the composer's materials of tones and their properties become musical forms. The second part discusses music as literature and shows how music conveys meaning, what the meaning of music is, and how it is to be grasped. The rest of the book, with the exception of the appendix on musical fundamentals, provides the listener with some hints and suggestions for what the author calls independent listening.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

MAX SCHOEN