

Circulations in the Global History of Art



Edited by

THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN,
CATHERINE DOSSIN,
AND BÉATRICE JOYEUX-PRUNEL

CIRCULATIONS IN THE GLOBAL HISTORY OF ART

The project of global art history calls for balanced treatment of artifacts and a unified approach. This volume emphasizes questions of transcultural encounters and exchanges as circulations. It presents a strategy that highlights the processes and connections among cultures, and also responds to the dynamics at work in the current globalized art world.

The editors' introduction provides an account of the historical background to this approach to global art history, stresses the inseparable bond of theory and practice, and suggests a revaluation of materialist historicism as an underlying premise. Individual contributions to the book provide an overview of current reflection and research on issues of circulation in relation to global art history and the globalization of art past and present. They offer a variety of methods and approaches to the treatment of different periods, regions, and objects, surveying both questions of historiography and methodology and presenting individual case studies. An "Afterword" by James Elkins gives a critique of the present project. The book thus deliberately leaves discussion open, inviting future responses to the large questions it poses.

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This book would not have been possible without the scholars who contributed their time and expertise to this project, and we are grateful for their support, enthusiasm, and diligence. We are extremely pleased to bring together in this volume the work of art historians, historians, and anthropologists whose individual research highlights so well the multifaceted importance of circulations for our fields.

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INTRODUCTION: REINTRODUCING CIRCULATIONS: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE PROJECT OF GLOBAL ART HISTORY

*Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin,
and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel*

Global considerations of art challenge art history to reflect upon its approaches and reframe its questions. The critique of traditional canons, the impact of postcolonial studies, the spatial turn in art history itself—all these have led art historians to broaden their perspective, which has increasingly embraced the world as a whole.¹ The opening of the field to new sorts of objects and areas of research has at the same time refined and complicated understanding of previously dominant fields, notably the study of European and American art, which are now called to take into account the interconnected, international, and multicultural aspects of their own concerns. The concept of national artistic identity seems increasingly unsatisfactory, as notions of cultural mixing, decentering, and interchange have become prevalent. Much seems in flux as views become both increasingly broad and fragmentary.

The present volume stems from the shared belief that the project of global art history calls for a balanced materialist treatment of artifacts and a unified approach that emphasizes questions of transcultural encounters and exchanges as circulations. We reckon that a concern with objects and historical facts in the practice of art history and an attention to circulations can provide a fertile ground for critical, theoretical, and interpretive considerations of a global history of art for a globalized world.

We advocate an approach to transnational, global history through the study of circulations in a historical materialist perspective for several reasons. In the first place, the material conditions of encounters and exchanges provide, we

believe, a solid foundation for critical, theoretical, and interpretive inquiries. By “material conditions” we mean not only the materiality of the object and the image, but also the diverse modes of circulation and the various contexts in which they occur. We contend that attention to these conditions is a requisite for describing and understanding artistic circulations. Secondly, approaches toward the comprehension of circulations appear to us to be the only ones that have so far succeeded in taking into account “others” without shutting them inside the prison of the notion of alterity or dismissing them as peripheral. Attention to the constant operation of circulations indicates that what are usually designated “cultures” in effect result from the ceaseless transformation and adaptation of ideas, including the reception of objects or images originating elsewhere. This “elsewhere” may comprise places that a point of view governed by a paradigm of center-periphery relations would deem “peripheral.” Hence, only an understanding of history as an outcome of the continuing circulation of materials, people, and ideas can escape from the hypostasis of cultural entities such as “Western and non-Western,” which derive from a priori essentialist definitions, and which also supply grist to the mill of politicized interests, themselves perhaps not even consciously articulated.

The study of circulations as we envision it should not be confused with studies of diffusion or influence that often contributed to the definition of artistic national identities and claims. While art historians have long studied the circulations of images, styles, and aesthetics in order to trace influences and diffusions, their questions have often followed pre-determined ideas of cultural hierarchies, in which Europe’s influence spread through the world. In response, some scholars (for example Rudolf Wittkower) attempted to reverse this approach and examined the influence of non-European art on Western art.² In both cases, however, discussion remained at the level of a diffusionist quest for influences, and so did not escape the model of vertical art history. The diffusionist, hierarchical narrative of art history, which has been particularly dominant in discussions of modern art, rests on an understanding of the visual arts in which art is the equivalent of images, styles, or texts (but not material objects), or represents “visuality” (but not embodied in individual historical actors); in this model artistic production emerges in a center before spreading to peripheries.³ This idealist (in the sense of non-material) representation of artistic production has resulted in a narrative that a materialist approach that emphasizes circulations of art aims to counter. Our ambition is to tackle the difficult subject of “interculturalization” or “métissage” in a satisfactory, horizontal way that does not try to assign artistic superiority to any agents of the encounter, either the “center” or the “periphery.” Rather we wish to examine, horizontally, the complex interplay of alterity and reciprocity at work in the relations between cultures, as well as the dynamics of transformation and integration that result from cultural encounters and confrontations.

While proposing a materialist, horizontal study of artistic circulation, we still employ the word “art.” We obviously recognize that the concept of art may be relativized, that for instance it might be conceived differently in one place than in another, that its meaning changes in time, and that this concept might not even be expressed in certain times and places. We do not mean, however, to fall into the trap of an ahistorical culturalism, associating a place with a “culture” as if “different arts” in “different spaces” would imply the existence of “different cultures.” Anthropologists have long pointed out how distinctions surrounding notions of art, space, and culture themselves run the danger of creating notions of essential cultural differences.⁴ Hence we might at times use the more general notion of “artifact” rather than “art.”

The material historicism and attention to circulations of artifacts we are promoting is not new. They are in fact rooted in a long tradition that appeared among nineteenth-century German antinationalistic intellectual milieus and developed in the writing of the *Annales* School. Whereas it might seem odd to turn to past scholarship in order to answer the current issues raised by the “new” global art history, we believe that only careful, critical consideration of the history of the discipline will allow us to meet that challenge. If it is true that global art is taking art history to task, it may not require a complete reinvention of its methods, but rather reflection on its history and practices. The following pages attempt therefore to provide a historiographical survey that traces and analyzes the sources of the materialist study of circulation we are proposing.

“Total History” versus National History

The study of artistic circulations is rooted more in the discipline of history than in that of art history itself. Art history developed in nineteenth-century universities and museums and addressed a number of issues that had an impact on the geographical framing of the field. On the one hand efforts were made to describe, date, and localize artifacts, and to categorize them according to national criteria that are still used today in a majority of museums. On the other, art historians of a more philosophical inclination considered art and style as an indication of the evolution of man, society, or the human spirit in history. Art thus contributed to the formation of notions of a geography of art that accompanied, reflected, and assisted other political—nationalist and even imperialist—aims.⁵

The dominant nationalist model for historical narrative grew in the wake of victory over Napoleon in 1814, when German intellectuals like Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) and historians like Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) reacted strongly to what they perceived as the excesses of the French Revolution and the invasion of Germany by French armies. Thinkers of this

ilk rejected the type of cosmopolitanism that they associated with the French as it had developed out of the Enlightenment, and instead embraced the idea of a strong nation-state. The shaping of the discipline of history thus became part and parcel of the movement for national unity that gained strength after the dissolution of the supranational entity represented by the Holy Roman Empire (“of the German Nation”) in 1806. For many German historians, nation, state, and people (*Volk*) came to be regarded as one; every nation-state was seen as having a unique identity, different from that of its neighbors.⁶ This vision resulted in an approach to history that focused on the political history of nation-states and their great men, and highlighted the uniqueness and non-transferability of political and institutional characters.

By the end of the nineteenth century German Historicism had become the model for professional history in the Western world. Everywhere in Europe, and also in the United States of America, historians embraced the idea of professionalization of the discipline, its separation from philosophy, its critical examination of sources, the seminar model, and, most important for the present argument, even the national approach. In most cases the nationalistic and essentialist dimensions of Ranke’s Historicism were overlooked or misunderstood.⁷ Within the closed hierarchy of German universities, where individual institutes were tightly controlled by the *Ordinarius* (professor), any other rival approach was strongly discouraged.⁸ When Karl Lamprecht (1856–1915) tried to consider the social and cultural elements that shaped the political history of Germany, introduced visual arts as historical documents, or attempted a history of the material culture of a region, he was severely criticized, and his work was marginalized within the German academy.⁹

While Lamprecht’s reception among art historians was even smaller, Aby Warburg provides a notable exception. Warburg studied with Lamprecht, and finished his doctorate in Strasbourg, which was then under German domination, and thus a site where various cultures mingled. In this context, Warburg articulated a view of *Kulturwissenschaft*, sometimes described as *kunstgeschichtliche Kulturwissenschaft*, which expressly spoke out against the “border guards” that stop easy passage between disciplinary or national traditions. He established a large private library free from any institutional and hence any direct political or national agenda that was devoted to research according to his vision of *Kulturwissenschaft*. The transcultural and transnational—global—scope of the library and of Warburg’s own work has not, however, been a subject of much interest for art historians, even though Warburg detailed instances of cultural exchange in several essays and lectures, where he defined them expressly as such, and explained some of the “vehicles” (*Fahrzeuge*) for their transmission. Warburg never occupied a university position, and the institute he founded was never fully integrated into the German system. With Hitler’s rise to power his institute moved to the UK, where, despite becoming a degree-granting and teaching unit of the

University of London, it has also never completely been integrated into the British university system either; in fact its very existence as an independent institute has recently been threatened by the university's authorities. Warburg's reception was also long limited by the lack of translation of his own, not very voluminous writings. While his impact has been immense in more recent decades, several generations' followers moreover took his interests in other specific philosophical and hermeneutical directions.¹⁰

It was rather in France that a multidisciplinary and non-national (that is, not conceived according to national boundaries or regionally or internationally) history would most fully develop from the late nineteenth century on, one different from the older conception of universal history as the history of all times and places, which had been discussed in many countries for several centuries. Instead it may be related to the approach taken in the nineteenth century by some French scholars like Louis Courajod (1841–96), who coined the term “international Gothic” and who had thus already envisioned the existence of art historical styles that transcended national boundaries.¹¹ More generally, after the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870, French scholars reacted to German nationalism, which was perceived as being mostly directed against France and the Republicanism, secularism, and cosmopolitanism of 1789.

From 1888, Lucien Herr (1864–1926), the librarian of the École Normale Supérieure, where future French high school teachers and university professors were trained, developed a strong collection of German books on history and philosophy, including works by German “outsiders” such as Lamprecht and Karl Marx. As a socialist intellectual with cosmopolitan views, Herr was critical of mainstream German nationalism, and pushed students to seek for different approaches to history. He had a tremendous influence on an entire generation of French intellectuals, to which Marc Bloch (1886–1944) and Lucien Febvre (1878–1956), the founders of the *Annales*, belonged.¹²

Bloch moreover studied in Germany in 1908 and 1909. At just this time in Berlin, where he began his sojourn, Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954) was creating a stir with the publication of *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (published 1908). Meinecke continued the historicist approach of his predecessor Ranke, while proposing at the same time nationalist political views for whose origins he was in fact giving an account.¹³ After his stay in Berlin, Bloch spent time in Leipzig, where Lamprecht was founding the *Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte*, an institute independent from the University that was dedicated to the kind of broader cultural and universal history that could not otherwise be pursued in German universities. After the First World War, in which they both fought, Bloch and Febvre were appointed to positions at the University of Strasbourg, where they came to replace the German professors who had left after the city and the rest of Alsace-Lorraine were reattached to France following more than

thirty years under German domination. In this border region, whose history belonged both to France and Germany, nationalist attitudes were alive but muddled by multicultural reality. More than anywhere else a focus on nation-states seemed impractical, and discussion of incommensurability irrelevant. This place required a different, more encompassing—not to say global—approach.

To use the term “global” here might still not be completely anachronistic, since the origins of global history are often traced back to Marc Bloch’s *Histoire comparée* and the speech he delivered in Oslo at the 1928 *Congrès international des sciences historiques*, in which he called for a comparative historical approach.¹⁴ As Bloch explained, he was proposing nothing new: social scientists and even a few historians, including the Belgian Henri Pirenne (1862–1935), were already using this approach.¹⁵ But Bloch was strongly committed to promoting comparative history; by giving it a manifesto, he became a figurehead for this approach. To him historical comparisons were best made between neighboring and contemporaneous societies that were subject to similar influences and influenced each other.¹⁶ By expanding the frame of analysis beyond the topographic limits of nation-states, this approach promised to uncover interactions and dynamics that had previously gone unnoticed.¹⁷ Bloch’s essay was a condemnation of nationalism in favor of cosmopolitanism as much as it represented a manifesto of comparative history. He urged historians to read works written outside their own countries as well as studies devoted to countries other than those on which they were working. In his eyes, the main problem faced by the discipline of history was its national compartmentalization: each national school had created its own questions, methods, and vocabulary, making any international dialogue complicated. Bloch was thus inviting his colleagues to attempt to reconcile terminologies and methodologies across national schools.¹⁸ This plea had a particular resonance in Oslo, where reconciliation and international friendship were underlying themes.¹⁹

In the desire to foster a new type of history Bloch and Febvre founded the periodical *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* a year later. As Febvre declared in 1929: “specificity, priority, nationality: words to be crossed off from the vocabulary of history.”²⁰ Febvre reacted not only to the nationalism which underlay historical writing but also to the political manipulation of history for the ends of propaganda. In order to renew history and depoliticize it, he looked—like Bloch—towards the social sciences. As social scientists, in his view historians were not merely keeping records and describing events; they were solving problems.²¹ Febvre thus engineered a shift not only in methodology but also in regard to the use of sources. In opposition to the *École méthodique*, which then dominated the field of history in France, Febvre claimed that historians could and should use other sources in addition to written documents. As he explained in his programmatic 1929 essay on the

origins of the French Reformation, one could not understand the extent of such a movement by only looking at written documents, for they did not reflect its profound emotional and intellectual origins.²² Images, “the book of the ignorant” as he called them, echoing St. Gregory, provided historians with access to the ideas that circulated at the time.²³ Febvre’s comparative and multidisciplinary approach was not only important in itself but also for its influence on Fernand Braudel (1902–85) and his project of a total history.

Total History and World History—A History of Westernization

Having grown up in a border area of the Lorraine region that had remained French after the German annexation of parts of France in 1870, Braudel became acquainted early on with the kind of environment that Bloch and Febvre had discovered in Strasbourg, one fraught with nationalism yet highly multicultural. During his studies Braudel was confronted with the inertia they all perceived in the discipline of history; consequently he turned towards geography, the then avant-garde field of the social sciences in France, on which Febvre also wrote. Like many others in his generation, he was inspired by Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918), whose work considered “landscape,” “milieu,” and “region” rather than countries, and combined physical, historical, and economic analysis.²⁴ In 1924, Braudel read Febvre’s *La Terre et l’évolution humaine*, which introduced such considerations to historical studies.²⁵ Another important element in Braudel’s intellectual evolution resulted from the years he spent first in Algeria and then in Brazil. These experiences shifted his outlook on the world and specifically on the Mediterranean. Through his conversations with Febvre, Braudel transformed the project from a study of Philip II’s Mediterranean diplomacy to an overview of the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II, shifting analysis from the man to the milieu.²⁶ Working in Spanish, French, and Italian archives, Braudel followed the circulations of ships, goods, armies, men, ideas, and images from Spanish harbors to France, Italy, Sicily, and North Africa.²⁷

The resulting study, written in a German prison camp where Braudel spent World War II as a POW, was intended as a geohistory, in which geography was, as he explained, brought to “think history.”²⁸ Dedicated to Febvre, *La Méditerranée à l’époque de Philippe II* was organized in three parts. In the first, “*La part du milieu*,” Braudel examined the geographical milieus in which history took place, from the Mediterranean mountains to its seas to its deserts. In the second part he considered the economic, political, social, and military structures in which the men of the sixteenth century were living. Only in the third part did he study events, the men involved, and their politics. Yet, following Bloch and Febvre, Braudel did not offer an overview of the national history of each Mediterranean country, but rather paid attention to their

encounters and interactions, thereby providing a history of connections and combinations. No need here to repeat the originality and importance of this book, which is inevitably mentioned in any discussion of the origins of global history.

Braudel's second major study, *La Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, represented a similar "total history," but this time on a world scale. The first part of the book was devoted to the material life of humanity, from food to clothes and money; in other words the milieu in which capitalism developed. The second part, titled in French "*Les jeux d'échange*" (literally "the games of exchange"), contemplated the transformation of economic life from medieval markets to capitalist world trade; that is to say, the structures in which capitalism evolved. The third part, "*Le temps du monde*," focused on what could be described as the life of capitalism; a history of the successive poles or cities where capitalism flourished.²⁹ This work, whose first volume was published in 1967, offered a total history with several levels of analysis; it adopted a worldwide scope; it deployed a multidisciplinary approach; and finally it made use of a wide range of sources from statistics to visual arts. In 1963 Braudel wrote an overview of world history for a high school textbook, in which he looked at successive civilizations with the understanding that a civilization is a result of geography, a society, an economy, and a way of thought.³⁰ This book bears many resemblances to William McNeill's *Rise of the West*, which was also published in 1963—a book which represents World History as it developed in North America after the Second World War. Neither a school nor a method, World History was a historiographical movement that emerged from a postwar desire to break free from any sort of nationalism; it stood as a call for international collaboration in a world divided by the Cold War. Its main proponents, including McNeill (born 1917) and Leften Stavros Stavrianos (1913–2004), who edited *A Global History of Man* in 1962, were associated freely with the University of Chicago, where the Committee on Social Thought promoted advanced research in the social sciences and had close ties with the French *Annales* group.³¹ McNeill's *Rise of the West* told the story of the progressive integration of the world by considering its succeeding great civilizations from "The Breakthrough to Civilization in Mesopotamia" to "Cosmopolitanism on a Global Scale, 1850–1950," and how these civilizations interacted and influenced each other, leading to the progressive Westernization of the world. McNeill concluded his book with a comment that anticipates in summary form the point of view of most later discussions of globalization:

... no matter how it comes, the cosmopolitanism of the future will surely bear a Western imprint. At least in its initial stages, any world state will be an empire of the West. This would be the case even if non-Westerners should happen to

hold the supreme controls of world-wide political-military authority, for they could only do so by utilizing such originally Western traits as industrialism, science, and the public palliation of power through advocacy of one or another of the democratic political faiths. Hence "The Rise of the West" may serve as a shorthand description of the upshot of the history of the human community to date.³²

Critical Approaches and Their Focus on Exchanges

The Civil Rights movements that shook the US in the years following the publication of McNeill's study, and the ensuing development in the 1970s of Cultural, Feminist, African-American, and Postcolonial studies undermined the established narrative of World History. They brought to the fore experiences which had, until then, been largely ignored. As the story of the world exploded into multiple local and individual stories, it became urgent to define a new narrative structure in order to teach the semester-long World History course that had become a core requirement in most US colleges.³³ The problem for teachers of World History was that the stories told by McNeill or Braudel were written from the perspective of the progressive Westernization of the world, and so implicitly emphasized Europe's exceptionalism. The New World History, as it was defined by the members of the World History Association created in 1982, avoided this pitfall by focusing on either historical phenomena that arise on a world scale (feudalism, money, the treatment of children, and so on) and could thus be discussed across regional, cultural, and political borders, or on circulations and migrations.³⁴ Reflecting on "The Changing Shape of World History," McNeill noted that one could not and should not study civilizations one after the other, because there exists no such thing as a separate civilization. Civilizations, he explained, are always internally commingled and complex, and always interacting with and transforming each other. In retrospect, he felt that he should have focused even more on human encounters and the ways they transformed world systems and generated new ones.³⁵

McNeill's insistence on the importance of civilizations' encounters and interconnections was shared by many European scholars, and stands at the origins of the growth in popularity of the concept of cultural transfer in the 1980s. The emergence of this school of thought can be traced to the intensification of international academic exchanges from the 1970s onwards. Faculty and students were able to organize and attend international meetings, and find support to study and conduct research abroad especially in Western Europe, where the European Union provided a supportive framework for such collaborations.³⁶ In the particular context of Franco-German relations, a group of young scholars started investigating Heinrich Heine's use of Saint-

Simonian terminology to discuss German philosophy. This international collaboration on international topics allowed them not only to reach a new understanding of the early reception and adaptation of Hegel and Kant in France and the importance of Saint-Simon in Germany, but more importantly to question traditional understanding of literary reception and cultural identity. In 1985, Michel Espagne (born 1952) and Michael Werner (born 1946) created a research cluster for what they came to call Cultural Transfers. The group was international and multidisciplinary, as it brought together social scientists, philologists, and other scholars who specialized in interpretation and translation of texts.³⁷

While the notion of cultural transfer had previously been used in historical writing,³⁸ Espagne and Werner chose to use the term “transfers” to describe the focus of their research owing to its circulatory implication, and in particular its evocation of both monetary and psychoanalytic transfers. Their ambition was to go beyond the notion of national literature and to move against the comparative approaches that were then favored in the academic field of literature. Indeed, as their approach implied, simply and flatly comparing countries in order to stress their differences reinforces notions of specificity and uniqueness. In contrast, the approach of the Cultural Transfers group aimed at highlighting the phenomena of cultural mixing in order to demonstrate that national identities were nothing other than the result of cross-mixing with other cultures. Historians of Cultural Transfers in relation to literature paid particular attention to circulations, hence to facts in which literature exists: to the circulations of persons, or objects, the translations of books, and subsequently, as the movement developed, to such matters as the exhibition of artworks. They examined the transformations that ideas, texts, and eventually artworks underwent as they crossed borders and were assimilated in new contexts, as well as the transformations these contexts experienced as they were affected by objects.³⁹

This approach was obviously not limited to the group around Cultural Transfers. During the 1980s, a growing number of historians took up questions concerning culture and the circulation of cultural objects as subjects for research. The work of the *Annales* often provided the background for studies of cultural production, mediation, and assimilation. For example, in the UK Peter Burke (born 1937) wrote a history of the *Annales*,⁴⁰ and was also an important early proponent of this new sort of cultural and social history in the Anglophone world. In 1978, Burke published *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, where he set out to “discover the attitudes and values of craftsmen and peasants” in pre-industrial Europe, paying attention to the transmission of culture through wandering minstrels and actors, and examining the processes through which culture was either preserved or transformed.⁴¹ From the sociology of language to the cultural history of images, Burke’s work provides a model for a transnational and transdisciplinary approach

to society and culture.⁴² From an early period in his career onward Burke has also offered models both for the application of a comparative approach to history and for the specific use of the notion of cultural transfer.⁴³

Among French historians, Christophe Charle (born 1951) has offered a synthesis of the traditions of the *Annales*, the Cultural Transfers, and the work of Pierre Bourdieu (under whom he studied), in particular his reflection on cultural fields and networks. Charle's work, which could be described as a transnational social history of cultural transfers, took as its focus the emergence of a European cultural field in the nineteenth century. Not only has Charle studied European intellectuals, their encounters, and networks, as well as the circulation of their works and ideas, he has also considered the comparisons *among and between* intellectuals.⁴⁴ His work caught the attention of German *Sozialhistoriker* who, like Jürgen Kocka (born 1941), were working at the time on transnational subjects within the Western world, such as the rise of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁵ Yet the originality of Charle's work rests on the attention he has paid to the complexity of cultural transfers, the absence of circulations, and the phenomena of resistance to exchange and transformation, what he calls the "*discordance des temps*" (Temporal Discordance).⁴⁶

In the 1980s a focus on connections and exchanges also entered the field of American history in the US under the double impulse of the growing internationalization of the discipline and of new perspectives brought by non-US scholars specializing on US history. In December 1988 Akira Iriye (born 1934) gave a speech at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in which he called for an internationalization of American history, urging US scholars not only to make contact with foreign specialists on American history, but also with specialists on other national histories. Like Bloch sixty years earlier, he invited scholars to read what others were doing outside their field and outside their country. Such a broadened perspective, he argued, would enable historians to talk with international scholars and jointly explore wider historical issues.⁴⁷

A few months later in April 1989, Ian Tyrrell, an Australian scholar, delivered a paper at the Organization of American Historians on "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History."⁴⁸ Like Iriye, Tyrrell denounced the remnants of nationalism that haunted the field of American history and prevented its renewal. He also rejected a merely comparative approach, arguing that it contributed to reinforcement of differences between countries, and so maintained the idea of US exceptionalism. Instead he called for a transnational approach rooted in the work of the *Annales* School, in particular the works of Braudel and Bloch, which were not confined to national boundaries, and for which Immanuel Wallerstein (born 1930) had already offered an authoritative example in the US in his transnational study of the rise of capitalism as a world economy since the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Such an approach was deemed necessary because the

spread of European people, technology, and values had created a global context in which, Tyrell argued, “the inadequacy of a national framework for comprehending the present circumstances of the United States” was demonstrable.⁵⁰ The transnational history for which Tyrell was calling would study international organizations, ideologies, and movements, and it would be a collective project.⁵¹

Upon reading the published version of Tyrell’s lecture in 1998, Pierre-Yves Saunier, a French historian, recognized in Tyrell’s description of “transnational history” the type of research he was doing, and thus embraced the term.⁵² As he explained, “the transnational angle cares for movement and forces that cut across national boundaries. It means goods, it means peoples, it means ideas, words, capitals, might and institutions.”⁵³ As Saunier saw it:

One of the most immediate possibilities opened by the adoption of a transnational angle is a contribution to the historicisation of what is commonly called “globalisation.” Historians, by paying interest to the flows that cut across borders, would be in a position to offer a more precise contextualisation of the ways in which cultural models are diffused, markets extended, relationships between governments and non-governmental groups organised, links among individuals, groups and institutions multiplied on a global or macro-regional scale.⁵⁴

With Iriye, Saunier went on to co-edit *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*, which can be described as an ambitious project for a collective history of transnational circulations and interconnections.⁵⁵

New Approaches: More Critical, More Global, More Materialist

In the 1990s, the process of cultural, economic, and political integration of the world accelerated following the opening of the Soviet Bloc, the rise of low-cost carriers, and the growth of the Internet. As globalization became the topic of heated debate, some historians, especially those interested in economics, started using the phrase “global history” instead of “world history.” For instance, in 2006 William Gervase Clarence-Smith, Kenneth Pomeranz, and Peer Vries created the *Journal of Global History*, which was published by the London School of Economics and Political Science. As they explained in their first editorial, their ambition was threefold: to remedy the segmentation of the discipline by offering a platform for multidisciplinary work, to encourage further examination of the processes of globalization, and to continue deconstructing the Western metanarrative. They also stressed that writing global history did not necessarily entail taking the whole globe as the framework of analysis, but that it rather meant “straddling traditional regional boundaries and proposing innovative comparisons.”⁵⁶ In the same issue, Patrick O’Brien, Professor of Economic History at the London

School of Economics and Political Science, wrote a programmatic essay on "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History," which he concluded with comments that revealed the moral dimension of the project:

As I read them, the commitments and agendas of modern global history ... require a reordering of classical and established historiographies from all cultures to make space for histories that are attempting to disengage from national, regional, ethnic and religious traditions. Such histories would become involved with the construction of meta-narratives that might, at one and the same time, deepen our understanding of diversities and scale up our consciousness of a human condition that has for millennia included global influences, and intermingled with local elements in all its essential dimensions.⁵⁷

For historians who reject the term Global History for its presentism and strong economical undertones, the phrase "Connected Histories," proposed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, has also offered an attractive alternative.⁵⁸ Subrahmanyam's approach is closely related to that of Cultural Transfers, since it also reveals behind their supposed incommensurability and otherness the ways in which cultures adapt to and combine elements of each other, pointing to the phenomena of adaptation to "others" and to *métissages*. As he has explained, empires and civilizations are rarely ships sailing alone. They are always crossing and connecting with each other.⁵⁹ The difference between the approaches of Cultural Transfers and Connected Histories lies in Connected Histories' reflection on the process of globalization, their underlying challenge to a Western metanarrative, and consequently the wider scope and pluralist nature of their narratives.

In 2004, Serge Gruzinski, whose approach is closely related to Subrahmanyam's, published *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation*, in which he expanded Braudel's study of Philippe II's world beyond the Mediterranean to the four corners of the world. Yet Gruzinski was aiming less at a "total history" than at connected histories of the world in the sixteenth century. His "*histoire de la mondialisation*" is the story of circulations, encounters, and *métissages* from Madrid to Mexico, Rio de La Plata to Genoa, or Seville to China related to Iberia.⁶⁰ As Gruzinski explains, the historian of the Connected Histories acts as an electrician, who reestablishes the continental and intercontinental connections that national historiographies had unplugged.⁶¹

Among other successful examples of Connected Histories are those related to Netherlandish encounters. Here may be mentioned the work carried on by scholars from Thailand, Myanmar, Taiwan, and elsewhere within the framework established by the TANAP project.⁶² Another related example is Romain Bertrand's *Histoire à parts égales* (2011), which examines in equal measure ("*parts égales*") the Dutch world and that of Java at the time of their

first encounters in the late sixteenth century, from a Javanese and not only a Dutch point of view, in order to throw new light on the different meanings that these intercultural encounters took on in each of them.⁶³ In fields related more closely to art history, other studies have been produced on Dutch–Asian interchange.⁶⁴

Anthropologists have also started using the phrase “entangled histories” to describe an approach that focuses on Western countries’ entanglements with their colonial empires. This approach invites historians to consider the history of Western societies through the post-colonial prism of their relationships with their colonies. As Shalini Randeria explains: “such a perspective of what I have termed ‘entangled histories’ of modernities within and outside the West overcomes both the methodological nationalism and Eurocentrism of the social sciences by seeing colonialism as constitutive of European modernity and not as external to it.”⁶⁵ In his 1991 study of the *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*, Nicholas Thomas, for instance, offered a bidirectional approach to the colonial encounter, by examining not only how Europeans appropriated Oceanic objects but also how the Pacific people appropriated Western objects.⁶⁶

Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann have taken this idea of connected or entangled histories a step further by introducing into the historical equation the specific position of historians working on those histories, thus examining not only the intersections between the subjects of the analysis but also the connections between those subjects and the authors of the analyses. They explain: “it is a matter of placing at the center of the plan of research the relation between the artificiality of several particular stories and the analytical construction operated by the researcher who offers to grasp them and interpret them.”⁶⁷ They term their approach “*Histoire croisée*,” using a generic singular instead of a plural in order to move beyond the focus on the plurality and artificiality of histories, and the deadlock to which they tend to lead, to propose a reflective method, which borrows from social scientists a way to address the researcher’s inevitable bias.⁶⁸ The end of the world’s bipartition following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the acceleration of the processes of globalization has not only resulted in an intensification of global exchanges but also of clashes between different worldviews: for Werner and Zimmermann this situation demands that historians question their own modes of comprehension of the societies they study. They thus urge scholars to adopt a “crossed” approach that would “integrate in the analysis the consequences of the historical moment that shapes the position and point of view of the researcher.”⁶⁹

Following these ambitions, a new generation of scholars is taking advantage of statistical, digital, and cartographic tools to retrace precisely circulations of artworks, artists, and important mediators of artistic internationalization and *métissages*. These young art historians, often trained in the methods of

French social and geographical sciences, became rapidly aware of the limits of internalist, formal, or simply monographic approaches for understanding international artistic circulations. They thus turned towards different methods: they wanted to consider not only the actors and vectors of artistic circulations, but also to compare the political and social contexts of the countries studied, as well as the structures of exhibition practices and marketing strategies adopted, and the political and social stands of the actors involved.⁷⁰ They were also particularly eager to uncover and trace transnational circulations over long periods, hence the quantitative and cartographic method they adopted.

Braudel noted in 1949, "We have museum catalogs, but no artistic atlases."⁷¹ Indeed, at the time quantitative and cartographic approaches were non-existent in art history. Since then, only a few forerunners such as the *Atlas of Western Art* edited by Anthony White and John Steer or John Onians's *Atlas of World Art* have examined the intersection of geographical and historic questions in the form of atlases used to trace artistic circulations.⁷² This lacuna cannot derive solely from art historians' mistrust of quantitative methods; it comes rather from their general lack of training in statistical and cartographic methods.

Acutely aware of this problem, a group of young international scholars has since 2009 tackled this problem within the framework of ARTLAS (www.artlas.ens.fr). This project aims at developing a transnational history of artistic circulations since the eighteenth century through the use of shared sources and tools. Among them is a database of exhibition catalogues. Exhibition catalogues have been chosen as a means to retrace artistic circulations in the modern period historically and concretely, because they provide serial data on artists, including addresses, birthplaces, schools attended, lists of previous exhibitions, and dealers, which in turn provide additional addresses that can be used to trace the circulation of people and objects. Quantitative analysis of the data they provide has facilitated the study of transnational circulations over long periods, and thus opened to challenge many aspects of the standard narrative of modern art history.⁷³

Renvoi: A Critical Return to Facts

Histoires croisées, Entangled or Connected Histories, Global History, Transnational History, New World History, these are but some of the terms that have emerged in the past decades to describe ways to approach history in the context of a post-colonial, globalized world. As this brief historiographical overview shows, these different approaches represent the continuation of earlier models, especially Comparative History, Total History, and Cultural Transfers, and their adaptation to current historical and historiographic contexts.⁷⁴ That the project of a global history is not a matter of geographical scope but of questions and methods thus seems confirmed.

This orientation has always retained its base in a fundamental critique of nationalist methodologies. At the same time, it has followed the call for a universal historiography characteristic of the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment that has developed since the eighteenth century. This universal or global approach has been accused of representing a culturally determined, hence political, prejudice, determined by its unconscious geopolitical orientation. We contend, however, that this universal ambition does not represent the death knell of global history. Instead we believe that it opens up the possibility of research on regions, populations, and values that have often been neglected by scholars as “peripheral,” “marginal,” or “minority.” At the same time only the study of circulations seems to have succeeded in reviving the geographical decompartmentalization of the global history of art. This decompartmentalization makes possible liberation from cultural and geopolitical hierarchies that post-colonial approaches have rightly denounced, while simultaneously avoiding the danger of falling into the trap of intoning value judgments. At the core of this circulatory or “crossed” approach there lies a concern with retracing circulations from indications that are most often material. Thus, in our point of view, the development of crossed and circulatory methods in history and the focus on artifacts lead to a call to reject the self-limiting rhetorical play of deconstruction that has not taken into account its own critical turn and has only remained a linguistic or visual game. In art history, a departure is needed from the perpetual discussion of “discourse” and “images,” in the realization that even texts and images are imparted by objects (books, engraved or printed objects, artifacts) that circulate in different spaces and contexts, and pass into the hands of concrete persons like ourselves. Thus we are not involved in the task of the deconstruction of their “unconscious” determinants. Instead, as historians we wish to study their origins in context. Hence, as historians occupied with tracing the transnational and transcultural circulation of artifacts we still believe in what used to be called facts, and assume that only a materialist historicism can lead to critical reflection on and help comprehend the reconstruction of sensibilities, points of views, and understanding of objects.

The global history of artifacts (or art) presents huge challenges: how to deal with, to “cross” as it were, the questions of the circulation of objects, the variation of the object as it circulates (or is circulated, modified, transformed, destroyed, broken, repaired), the variation of images associated with it, hence the visual practices and cognitive styles by which it is approached and reproduced, the variability in time and place of interpretations of these objects, images of them, the variability of discourse on them, of ideas with which they are invested, the individuals, groups, and so on, who are interested in them. In short, one is obliged to apply different approaches simultaneously, for example cultural transfer, comparison, iconology, anthropology, semiotics,

sociology—which is why in the presentation of this volume we have wanted to assemble very diverse approaches.

This book arises out of our shared belief that the study of circulations allows for an escape from the Western, or even Northern Atlantic limitations of art historical questions, methods, and institutions, and opens up a new and necessary articulation of theory that is conjoined with pragmatism and materialism in art history. It responds to the challenge of globalization, what Gruzinski has called *métissage*, without ignoring the important impact that cultural nationalism and artistic territorialization have had on the study of the history of art. Our ambition is twofold: to foster exchanges and discussions among people with different approaches, because we see them as rather connected and extremely complementary; and to promote reflection on circulations, whatever the methodology of the practitioner might be, to renew art historical research. In order to foster a transnational and transdisciplinary circulation of ideas, methods and discoveries, we have invited scholars to contribute who represent a wide range of perspectives: they come from different countries, belong to different generations, work on different periods, study different art forms, and employ different methodologies.

Of particular importance is the participation of Michel Espagne, Serge Gruzinski, and Christophe Charle, three historians whose contributions to the historiography outlined above are essential. Their contributions are also the opportunity to underline the multidisciplinary aspects of the global project. From Febvre to Gruzinski, artworks have been privileged subjects of analysis for the historians mentioned above. Not only do the circulations of artworks provide evidence for encounters between cultures, they also bear witness to the *métissages* that result from those encounters. In his essay on the connected histories of empires during the modern period, Subrahmanyam presented the three main themes of Connected Histories as diplomacy, war, and art.⁷⁵ Such an emphasis on artistic circulations in historical research only provides art historians additional incentives to explore those questions in their own terms.

The first chapter, written by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, provides a critical discussion of historiography pertaining to global and world art history, thereby engaging in a dialogue with the larger historiography of global and world history outlined above and providing art historians with a comprehensive grasp of the issue as they relate to their own discipline.

The subsequent chapters illustrate how circulatory approaches, whatever they may be, allow us to rethink the usual frames of the (art) historical narrative. They also invite us not to universalize such terms such as the “eye” or the “image,” but rather to examine how in different times and places the same object or idea could be seen differently, and to realize the extent to which the issue of cultural differentiation and variation of the “gaze” mattered to artists, their patrons, and audiences. In other words, they ask us not to adopt an omniscient viewpoint on the globalized world,

but rather to see it from the limited and partial perspectives of the historical men and women we study, while being ourselves aware of the limits of our points of view as historians.

This helps us also to understand why a comprehensive, global approach does not have to include all possible points of view, national, cultural, ethnic, individual, whatever they may be. The project of global art history is often confused with non-Western art history. This assumption results from a questionable contrast of the “West” and the “non-Western,” as if there were no relationships between them. Moreover, confusing global art history with “non-Western” art history (African, Indian, Arabic or even Latin American, and so on) ignores the holes within “Western” art history itself; for example, much of Eastern Europe (which in this scheme is lumped with the “West”). We firmly believe that a local history of non-Western countries is not global, nor is one that takes into account every nation. Global art history is not the reverse side of Western art history, but of national art history and cultural separations, and the limitations imposed by similar categorizations.

The last chapter, a postscript written by James Elkins, offers a response to the chapters that constitute this volume and a critique of the Circulations project’s potentials and limits. His comments thus also start the conversation we wish to have with our readers, because we firmly believe that a global art history can only be the result of a collective project in which ideas circulate, are commented upon, and interconnected.

Notes

- 1 For an historiography of these issues and philosophic bases of global art history, see further the essays collected in Wilfried van Damme and Kitty Zijlmans, eds., *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches* (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2008).
- 2 See especially the collection of Wittkower’s essays published posthumously as Rudolf Wittkower, *Selected Lectures: The Impact of Non-European Civilizations on the Art of the West* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- 3 For a discussion of diffusionism in relation to art history see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Piotr Piotrowski has developed a critique of vertical art history. See Chapter 8 in this volume.
- 4 See for example Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space Identity, and the Politics of difference,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (February 1992). This critique also reveals how such distinctions may participate in global and historical systems of domination.
- 5 See Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*.
- 6 For a good overview, starting however in the late eighteenth century, see Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983); Horst Dippel, “1871 versus 1789 German Historians and the Ideological Foundations of the Deutsche Reich,” *History of European Ideas* 15, no. 4–6 (1992): 829–37.
- 7 Georg G. Iggers, “The Image of Ranke in American and German Historical Thought,” *History and Theory* 2, no. 1 (1962): 17–40; Georg G. Iggers, “Classical Historicism as a Model for Historical Scholarship,” in *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1997), 23–30.

- 8 On the results of the sclerosis of German universities in the first part of the twentieth century, see Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).
- 9 Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über die Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur des platten Landes auf Grund der Quellen zunächst des Mosellandes*, vols. 1–3 (Leipzig: A. Durr, 1885–86); Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, vols. 1–12 (Berlin: Gaertner, 1891–1909). For more information on Lamprecht's career and the strong reaction against his work, see Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1993).
- 10 See for instance Aby Warburg, *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2008); Werner Hofmann, *Die Menschenrechte des Auges: Über Aby Warburg*, Europäische Bibliothek, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1980); Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, and Charlotte Schoell-Glass, eds., *Aby Warburg: Akten des internationalen Symposions, Hamburg 1990* (Weinheim: VCH Verlag, 1991); Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg et l'image en mouvement* (Paris: Macula, 1998); Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'image survivante: Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 2002).
- 11 Henry Lemonnier and André Michel, eds., *Louis Courajod. Leçons professées à l'École du Louvre (1887–1896)*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1899–1903). In the Habsburg realms Julius von Schlosser also developed parallel notions of an international court style, although somewhat later. See for example "Ein Veronesisches Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 16 (1895): 144–230.
- 12 On Herr, see, for instance, George P. Schoyer, "Lucien Herr, Librarian and Socialist," *The Journal of Library History* 10, no. 1 (January 1975): 52–56.
- 13 Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1908).
- 14 The speech was then published as Marc Bloch, "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes," *Revue de synthèse historique* 46 (1928): 15–50.
- 15 Henri Pirenne, who in 1922 penned a study on *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, is often regarded as the inspiration for the Annales School.
- 16 Bloch, "Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes," 19.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 44–45.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 47–49.
- 19 For more information on comparative history, see Christophe Charle, "Histoire comparée," in *Dictionnaire des sciences humaines*, ed. Sylvie Mesure and Patrick Savidan (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2006).
- 20 Lucien Febvre, "Une question mal posée: Les origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme," *La revue historique* 159 (1929): 73.
- 21 Those ideas are already discussed in the text of his inaugural lecture at the University of Strasbourg in 1919, which was published a year later; see Lucien Febvre, "L'histoire dans un monde en ruines," *Revue de synthèse historique* 30 (1920).
- 22 Febvre, "Une question mal posée," 6.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 24 See, for instance, Paul Vidal de La Blache, *La terre, géographie physique et économique* (Paris: Delagrave, 1883).
- 25 Lucien Febvre, *La terre et l'évolution humaine* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1922).
- 26 The proposed title of his dissertation was "Philippe II et la politique espagnole en Méditerranée de 1559 à 1574."
- 27 On Braudel's intellectual evolution, see Paule Braudel, "Les origines intellectuelles de Fernand Braudel: Un témoignage," *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 47, no. 1 (1992): 237–44.
- 28 Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949), 295–96.
- 29 Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, vols. 1, 2, and 3 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1979).

- 30 Fernand Braudel, Suzanne Baille, and Robert Philippe, *Le monde actuel: Histoire et civilisations* (Paris: Belin, 1963). The main part of the book written by Braudel was republished after his death in 1987 under the new title *Grammaire des civilisations*.
- 31 See Krzysztof Pomian, "World History: Histoire mondiale, histoire universelle," *Le débat* 154, no. 2 (2009): 20–24.
- 32 William H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of Human Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 806–07.
- 33 Arif Dirlik, "Performing the World: Reality and Representation in the Making of World Histor(ies)," *Journal of World History* 16, no. 4 (December 2005): 391–410.
- 34 On the New World History, see Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, "The World History in a Global Age," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (October 1995): 1034–60.
- 35 William H. McNeill, "The Changing Shape of World History," *History and Theory* 34, no. 2 (May 1995): 8–26.
- 36 See Hartmut Kaelble, "Les mutations du comparatisme international," *Les cahiers Irice* 1, no. 5 (2010): 9–19.
- 37 In 1986, a conference organized by the *Mission historique française* in Göttingen played an important role in shaping the project. The proceedings of this international meeting were published in 1988: see Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIII et XIXème siècles)* (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988).
- 38 Beyond Warburg and the tradition of scholarship associated with him, the notion seems to have become fairly widespread in discussions of intellectual and cultural history by the second half of the twentieth century: see, for example, Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965).
- 39 On the history and ambitions of the Cultural Transfers, see Michel Espagne, "Introduction," in *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999), 1–33.
- 40 Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929–89* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- 41 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978).
- 42 See, for instance, Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion, 2001); Peter Burke, *Towards a Social History of Early Modern Dutch* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005).
- 43 See Peter Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites* (London: Temple Smith, 1974); Peter Burke, *Kultureller Austausch*, trans. Burkhardt Wolf (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2000).
- 44 Christophe Charle, *Les intellectuels en Europe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1996); Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales, naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne, 1860–1914* (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 2008).
- 45 Jürgen Kocka, *Industrial Culture and Bourgeois Society: Business, Labor, and Bureaucracy in Modern Germany, 1800–1918* (New York: Berghahn, 1999).
- 46 Christophe Charle, *Discordance des temps. Une brève histoire de la modernité* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2011).
- 47 It is worth noting that Dr. Iriye is a Japanese scholar based in the US. His speech was published two months later. See Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *American Historical Review* 94, no. 1 (February 1989): 1–10.
- 48 Tyrrell's speech was published in 1991. See Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991).
- 49 See, for instance, Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 1, *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 2, *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).
- 50 Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism," 1044.

- 51 Ibid., 1050, 1055.
- 52 Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Learning by Doing: Notes about the Making of the Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History," *Journal of Modern European History* 6, no. 2 (2008): 159–60.
- 53 Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Going Transnational? News from Down Under," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 31, no. 2 (September 2004): 119.
- 54 Ibid., 122.
- 55 Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, eds., *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present Day* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- 56 William Gervase Clarence-Smith, Kenneth Pomeranz, and Peer Vries, "Editorial," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 2.
- 57 Patrick O'Brien, "Historiographical Traditions and Modern Imperatives for the Restoration of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 38.
- 58 See, for instance, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 2007): 1359–85.
- 59 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Par-delà l'incommensurabilité: Pour une histoire connectée des empires aux temps modernes," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54, no. 4 bis (2007): 34–53.
- 60 Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: Les éditions de La Martinière, 2004).
- 61 Serge Gruzinski, "Les mondes mêlés de la Monarchie catholique et autres 'connected histories'," *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* 56, no. 1 (2001): 87.
- 62 This series, whose acronym derives tellingly from the initials for the ideal "Towards a New Age of Partnership" has produced well over twenty books in the series "Tanap Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction," the most recent of which (at time of writing) was Wei-Chung Cheng, *War, Trade and Piracy in the China Seas, 1622–1683* (Boston: Brill, 2013).
- 63 Romain Bertrand, *L'histoire à parts égales: Récits d'une rencontre Orient–Occident (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Seuil, 2011).
- 64 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, eds., *Mediating Cultures Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014 and Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014).
- 65 Shalini Randeria, "Entangled Histories of Uneven Modernities: Civil Society, Caste Solidarities and Legal Pluralism in Post-Colonial India," in *Unraveling Ties: From Social Cohesion to New Practices of Connectedness*, ed. Yehuda Elkana et al. (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2002), 284–311.
- 66 Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- 67 Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Introduction," in *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* (Paris: Seuil 2004), 8.
- 68 Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: 'Histoire Croisée' and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 2006): 30–50. In regard to the use of reflexivity in social sciences, see (for instance) Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- 69 Werner and Zimmermann, "Introduction," 9.
- 70 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "'Nul n'est prophète en son pays?' L'internationalisation de la peinture avant-gardiste parisienne (1855–1914)" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris I, 2005); Anaïs Fléchet, "Aux rythmes du Brésil: Exotisme, transferts culturels et appropriations. La musique brésilienne en France au XXe siècle" (Thèse de doctorat, Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, 2007); Catherine Dossin, "The Stories of the Western Artworld, 1936–1986" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2008); Jérémie Cerman, "Le papier peint autour de 1900: Usages et diffusion de l'esthétique Art nouveau en Europe dans le décor intérieur" (Thèse de doctorat, Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, 2009).
- 71 Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

- 72 John Steer and Antony White, eds., *Atlas of Western Art History: Artists, Sites, and Movements from Ancient Greece to the Modern Age* (New York: Facts on File, 1994); John Onians, ed., *Atlas of World Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- 73 See Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Nul n'est prophète en son pays?" *L'internationalisation de la peinture avant-gardiste parisienne (1855–1914)* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay / Nicolas Chaudun, 2009); Catherine Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s: A Geopolitics of Western Art Worlds* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015). See also Chapter 10, by Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel within this volume.
- 74 For further historiographical references to the issues discussed here, and an earlier call to renew attention to the francophone scholarly traditions, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Historiography," in *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 14–104.

It should be noted that the tendencies discussed in the present chapter have also enjoyed a broader circulation: beyond the use of cultural transfer discussed above it has also been taken up in Austria (for example, Wolfgang Schmale, ed., *Kulturtransfer Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, Wiener Schriften zur Geschichte der Neuzeit (Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2003)) and in Germany (for example, Michael North, *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009)). The same concept has also been introduced into other art historical contexts in the Baltic, the Americas, and East Asia: examples include Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Ways of Transfer of Netherlandish Art," in *Netherlandish Artists in Gdańsk in the Time of Hans Vredeman de Vries* (Gdańsk: Museum of the History of the City of Gdańsk, 2006), 13–22; also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Cultural Transfer and Arts in the Americas," in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 18–25; also Thomas DaCosta Kaufman, "Interpreting Cultural Transfer and the Consequences of Markets and Exchange: Reconsidering Fumi-e," in *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900. Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 135–61.

- 75 Subrahmanyam, "Par-delà l'incommensurabilité," 34–53.

REFLECTIONS ON WORLD ART HISTORY¹

Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann

Global art history engages scholars in many places throughout the world.² Conferences in Europe and Asia have considered aspects of global (or world) art history, and scholarly involvement with cross-cultural approaches to art is on the rise.³ In the US, issues of world or global art history have featured in many sessions of recent meetings of the College Art Association of America, including an extraordinary special centennial session devoted to globalism, and of the Renaissance Society of America as well. The session chosen to initiate the meetings of the international congress of the history of art devoted to “Converging Cultures” held in Melbourne in 2008 focused on the idea of world art history.⁴ While the international congress held in Nuremberg in 2012 responded to the “challenge of the object,” the challenge of global or world art history sparked discussion in many different sessions, and the topic is on the agenda of the 2016 international congress in Beijing. Longer-term research projects and groups have been formed in Taipei, Berlin, Zurich, Heidelberg, São Paulo, and at the German Institute in Florence to deal with global art history, and have already begun to yield results.⁵ The publication of numerous books and compendia of essays in recent years evinces continuing and growing interest.⁶

James Elkins has claimed that world art history presents far and away the most pressing problem for the field, and its biggest challenge.⁷ Terry Smith has also asserted that accounting for the ways in which the modern became the contemporary throughout the world is the greatest challenge for historians of contemporary art.⁸ To date however the only truly comprehensive account of such art is a book by Smith.⁹ Much current debate still remains related to considerations of contemporary art, perhaps because, as Hans Belting has claimed, the idea of global art history in its present sense has been formulated

in response to the development of the global art market.¹⁰ However, some discussion has also been devoted to consideration of earlier periods of art history.¹¹

But critics have contested the possibilities of global art history. They have challenged its bases and assumptions. Ironically, however, some of the very scholars who have envisioned writing world art history have also expressed some of the strongest doubts about it.¹²

This chapter answers some theoretical objections. In a Lockean spirit it attempts to clear the ground for future efforts. It then turns from theoretical questions to present a brief practical proposal for a way to approach writing a global history of art before the nineteenth century, in part because so much discussion of globalization has hitherto concerned history after c. 1800, although the argument can certainly be extended.

Clearly, the project of conceptualizing a more general world art history, not just of modern or contemporary art but one that might encompass all places as well as all times, presents an enormous challenge. All kinds of questions may arise when we actually start to think about how to write such a huge history. How may we as individuals claim to control knowledge of or even passing familiarity with all the products of humankind throughout the world? How is it possible to forge a coherent narrative that would encompass all eras and areas of human production of material and visual things, actual and virtual, as well as their reception and thinking about them? How can we speak meaningfully to more than our own immediate milieus? How can we lay foundations for future studies throughout the globe?

In the light of the real, substantive, practical issues that must be tackled before we can envision writing a new world art history, it is understandable that the very possibility of conceptualizing a new world (or global) art history has sparked much debate. Practically speaking, we may begin by agreeing that writing a world art history is a huge and daunting task. To give an account of all the art and architecture found all over the world in all times and places might at first seem to be impossible.

An attempt to do so moreover runs against a strong tide of opinion, which informs some recent objections. The tide flows from a more general attack upon efforts at finding or creating coherence; such efforts now may be misprized.¹³ Post-modernist, post-structuralist tendencies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries are still present in such critiques. Categories of space and time (attributed to Enlightenment epistemological models for history writing) have also increasingly come under assault. Anachronism, long considered one of the greatest mistakes a historian could make, is now revalued under the cloak of the anachronic.¹⁴

The current also springs from a more general retreat from narrative in the Humanities that has taken place during recent decades. When in 1983 Hans Belting announced the “end of art history” as it had hitherto been known

he signaled the beginning of this withdrawal within the discipline of art history.¹⁵ What Belting seemed to announce was in fact already adumbrated in the 1970s, when the New Art History began to take art history in different directions than it had previously pursued. A tendency to avoid telling large stories began that accompanied an increasing avoidance of larger narratives, including an evasion of metanarrative.¹⁶ In any event, a large-scale retreat from all but the most particular and personal accounts, ones that eschew broader stories, has occurred along with the surrender by some scholars of narrative, coherence, the principle of anachronism, and logical categories in art history. A vogue for microhistories is related to these trends in historiography, and this is evinced in art history too.¹⁷

However we may evaluate specific theoretical arguments pertaining to telling larger stories about the past or their epistemological foundations, histories (narratives of past events or stories about the past, among them some that include accounts of art) nevertheless continue to be written. Furthermore, they concern not only our own supposedly globalized moment in which the need for such stories would seem to be obvious. A large international audience eagerly responds to the appearance of books (in whatever form) that offer such broader stories of past events and people. At least some authors are ready to answer the demand. Some academics have answered the call for global or world histories, and done so very successfully. The large favorable public reception of their books demonstrates that there exists a general interest in broader histories of the world and its cultures.¹⁸

Moreover, just because the task may seem huge and special problems may attend the conceptualization of large narratives, the possibility of writing a world history is not to be ruled out *a priori*. It is mistaken to think that we can ever offer a complete account of events in writing histories, be they small or large. To argue that historiography, the writing of history, is intended to give an account of all events of the past is not just unfeasible. This belief also appears to reflect a frequently held assumption that our knowledge of the external world holds up an accurate mirror to nature. It may be noted, however, that several philosophers have forcefully argued against this view of epistemology, averring that the exact reflection of reality is not what knowledge is.¹⁹

As far as history writing is concerned, historiography contrasts with the composition of chronicles,²⁰ in that the writing of history always involves a process of selection, a matter of emphases and choices, the posing of hypotheses, and the construction of theories of causality and development, all of which are involved in the construction of a narrative. This process is found as much in the writing of world or global history, or world art history, as it is in the composition of microhistories, histories of individuals or individual events, or indeed biographies. The act of writing history, we may say art history, or for that matter any other kind of story, thus suggests a basic reason

why there may be no one single story of art that may ever be told. Of course there are many such stories.²¹ We always write from a point of view that is by definition limited. This observation does not preclude writing history, nor does it assume that history lacks some objective referent.²² We need to remain aware that what we write does not exclude other attempts, and not regard it as the ultimate account.

Furthermore, the existence of different possible accounts does not mean that it is impossible to write a single, individual world history of art, even though it might be only one of several or many possible histories. Previous efforts, however imperfect they may have been, have in fact been made to write an art history that encompassed the globe, and they continue to be made. In the past these sorts of large stories were articulated in the formulation of what was earlier called universal history (*Universalgeschichte*), that is, histories that treated the art of all times and places. Universal history in this sense does not mean a history of the universe or cosmos, but cosmopolitan history. The meaning of cosmopolitan is conceived here in the sense of a history of human beings in all parts of the *oikumene*, the inhabited world. To mention a few familiar cases, universal history is implicit in some major trends in the historiography of art as it was written from Giorgio Vasari in sixteenth-century Florence through Franz Kugler in nineteenth-century Berlin, and beyond.²³ Recognition of the existence of this tradition as it was emphasized in the historiography of the Enlightenment and its immediate forerunners has been noted in recent discussions of the possibilities of intercultural history.²⁴

Earlier European writings on art that claimed to be universal no doubt often circumscribed the conceptualization of *oikumene*, much as they frequently restricted discussion of art to a European perspective. Even within the historiography of European art discussion has often been further constricted to a limited number of periods and parts of the continent (ancient Greece, Renaissance Italy, medieval, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France, painting in the Low Countries from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, sometimes early sixteenth-century Germany) deemed worthy of attention. The universal history adumbrated for example by Vasari, who however concentrated on Tuscan art, and of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who glorified ancient Greece, suggest that as far as what might be called art was concerned, universal history in effect thus often collapsed into a history which elevated the art of certain selected areas in Europe at certain times, and ignored others, along with much of the rest of the world as well.²⁵

World art history must thus deal with the problem of point of view and inherent bias. Frequently this bias is characterized as Eurocentrism. Eurocentrism is indeed very much in the sights of many critics of world art histories. But it is perhaps little known that writers on the theory of history have already tackled this problem and provided answers to it.²⁶ Regardless

of their counter-arguments, we must still take recent critiques seriously. The most trenchant of these is James Elkins's response to David Summers's *Real Spaces*.²⁷ In this *magnum opus* Summers offered a monumental account of the history of the world's art in one volume.²⁸ One of the very few recent comprehensive world art histories to date, his book is also a harbinger of recent debates: it has thus become a lightning rod for critical thunder. Independent of the merits or demerits of Summers's theses, Elkins and other critics decry the Eurocentrism they find in it and also in surveys (textbooks), which are also taken as exemplary of attitudes towards world art history. They mean by this critique the alleged privileging of Western developments and methodologies found in such surveys.²⁹ The attack is directed against the way that the West stands as it were not just in opposition to but as the same in essence as the Rest.

Regardless of his critique, Elkins provides a very useful outline when he suggests some of the ways in which a world art history might be constructed.³⁰ In reverse order, Elkins suggests that art history can disperse as a discipline; that it can attempt to avoid Western interpretive strategies; that it can go in search of indigenous critical concepts; that it can adjust and redefine to better fit non-Western art; and finally that it can remain essentially unchanged as it moves into world art. Elkins's efforts to search for indigenous critical concepts have already evoked heated responses that do not need to be rehearsed.³¹ Let us instead inspect Elkins's other claims a little more closely: they seem to break down into two categories, the second of which deals with the supposedly occidental nature of the enterprise, and hence Western art historiography.

The first of these suggestions, namely that art history may disperse as a discipline, seems entirely possible, but probably misleading in several respects, and in the end moot. Whatever the discipline or topic of analysis be called, even if the notion be granted that the discipline of art history may collapse or be absorbed into other fields, as may be happening, the scattered remains of visual or material culture or whatever they might be called would still exist, as would issues involved in comprehending them. The potential task of establishing a more comprehensive picture or history would remain, even if it ceased to be called art history. If on the other hand, Elkins be understood here to be proposing an Pyrrhoist (that is skeptical) or even ultimately nihilistic alternative, as several other scholars now seem to be doing, then we may say whatever we want to say on the one hand, and on the other it may be that there is nothing further to discuss anyway, because we can all cease talking meaningfully with each other. We also do not need to carry on a conversation with other people if we adopt an ultimately culturally relativist position (what is sometimes called culturalism) that is related to arguments about Eurocentrism. According to this point of view Chinese, Indians, Africans, Europeans or whoever are able to talk only from

their own cultural perspective, and there exist no common grounds for discussion. Although this position has also been in fact unveiled as another aspect of Eurocentrism,³² it is still frequently encountered.

Nevertheless, whatever some of these implications may be, basic arguments about Eurocentrism are now so widespread that they almost seem common assumptions; thus they deserve further attention. This is also because questions about Eurocentrism, and related post-colonial critiques have doubtless had the merit not only of revealing unexamined assumptions, but more positively of attracting attention to overlooked or suppressed points of view and materials. These critiques have responded to such lacunas as the inadequate treatment of most Latin American art (not to mention art elsewhere outside Europe and the US) in prominent accounts of modern and contemporary art history.³³ Still, the application of the blanket charge of Eurocentrism to any effort to found a new world art history seems extremely problematic.

In the first place, this argument seems to repeat familiar post-modern opinions that situate knowledge according to one's subject position. Such post-structuralist or post-modernist views do not seem to be so far different from ultimately relativist views. These are arguments that everything depends on your point of view, interests, stance, or other personal determinants, or, even more baldly (and often crudely), power. To be sure, knowledge is related to human interests.³⁴ These interests may stem from or result in power.³⁵ But there is another approach to these questions that can not simply be dismissed as positivist, one that sticks to what used to be called the facts, and posits that history or accounts of reality can be written.³⁶

To put it simply, although our own personal points of view may be related to race, class, gender, sexual orientation, to use some of the terms of a familiar litany, this does not mean that the arguments that they express, and the results that they have produced, do not exist independent of their proponents. Regardless of the biases of the individual scholars to whom they are due, such accomplishments may be evaluated and found to be substantial. The constructivist position, one that argues that all knowledge is constructed, can in any case be reconciled with the progressivist, one that argues that there is progress in what we know about the world—and its history. Much as the search for "facts" depends on hypotheses, the construction of theories is not possible without facts.

The recognition of some of the arguments for what is now called multiculturalism, among them the thesis that points of view may depend on the cultures of the authors from which they come, should in any event also not negate the possibility of searching for common threads in what used to be called reality (and humanity), even if one were to accept part of the thrust of the argument. But here some new shibboleths have arisen: heterochronicity and incommensurability. Keith Moxey has offered the most

thorough exposition of the first point.³⁷ Like several other recent critics whom he cites, Moxey reconsiders notions of anachronism. Moxey's argument is the farthest-ranging of such critiques, however, because he links chronological ordering with teleology and colonialism. Moxey elaborates the concept of heterochrony, the principle of heterochronicity according to which there are multiple forms of time that do not necessarily relate to one another.³⁸ Moxey finds heterochronicity not just active within an individual work, as others have done, but claims that "the challenges posed to historicist time gain added urgency in the face of local temporalities that have been marginalized and misunderstood by Western colonialism."³⁹ He adds: "Efforts to construct so-called world art histories, for example, often depend on an allegedly universal time. I have argued here for an awareness of heterochrony, the sense that different cultures have distinct notions of time and that these are not easily related to one another."⁴⁰

Space does not allow for extensive refutation of all problems with these arguments. The principle of historicism, that things pertain to one period and not another, is certainly not dependent on nor the same as historical determinism, in the Hegelian sense, as Moxey expressly asserts;⁴¹ not all writing of art history or history is necessarily teleological;⁴² historicism in the first sense may also be shared by "non-Western" cultures; it does not make sense to treat historiography west or east especially prior to 1800 as dominated by Western colonialism, and it is questionable to do so thereafter (for reasons adumbrated below). Most important, some of the same scholars who have acknowledged the existence of differences in conceptions of time or history in different cultures have also continued to argue convincingly for the universality of notions of time (and also of "universal time"), for the widespread existence of notions of history (and humanity), and for the need to construct a cross-cultural history.⁴³

At several points in his essays, Moxey, like other recent proponents of the anachronic, invokes Georg Kubler's *Shape of Time*.⁴⁴ While Kubler certainly did write poetically about the reconstruction of the fragmentary nature of the past, this reading of his work is however at best partial, and only partially correct, in ways whose absences are telling. Kubler did talk about "fast and slow time" in his eloquent little book, where as elsewhere he eschewed evolutionary schemes. But this acknowledgement of "heterochrony" hardly meant that Kubler also rejected the construction of chronological frameworks. He even seems to have anticipated the construction of what Moxey may be describing as a narrative that is "contemporary but not synchronous" when he pulled together vast amounts of material from different cultures and related them together—thereby also contributing to the construction of a cross-cultural, even universal or world art history. While Kubler was writing *The Shape of Time*, he was composing his large survey of pre-Columbian art, which was one of the volumes he contributed to the "universal" Pelican History of

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1.1 Cross-cultural chronological tables, from George Kubler, *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient America* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), xxxiv–xxxv. Reproduced with permission of Yale University Press

Art Series. In this tome, which he published in the same year as the *Shape of Time*, he moreover explicitly stated his concern with issues of chronology. He specifically addressed problems of relative chronicity. Despite obvious differences in senses of time and history in the Americas that were already evident to pre-Columbianists fifty years ago even before so much more has been learned about such issues, Kubler assembled three pages of comparative time tables for different cultures in the Western Hemisphere. These tables make his approach clear: they obviously evince diachronic developments, different historical patterns, “heterochronic” notions. These he aligned together in tables, a method that contrasts notably with other books in the Pelican History of Art series; no other volume contains a time table even remotely resembling his (Fig. 1.1).⁴⁵

Although Kubler said that he preferred what he himself termed a diachronic to a synchronic approach, he treated art history specifically as history. He too

proposed various methods of organizing time into chronological frameworks. Kubler applied traditional period labels, but also did not worry much about periodization.⁴⁶ Instead he suggested the use of such conceptions as seriation and configuration. Kubler also continued to stress visual and stylistic particularities, interests often lacking in current critique.

The argument for incommensurability is related to Moxey's claims about heterochrony. Raised in a variety of contexts by him, arguments for incommensurability have been elaborated by Michael Ann Holly in a way that directly applies to global art history. Echoing arguments from philosophy of science as it has been applied to anthropology, Holly has proposed that incommensurability means that different cultures are simply incommensurable in their assumptions about or views of time, space, and history.⁴⁷ Hence it is fruitless to try to relate such different views together in the composition of a global art history that would be much more than superficial. Significantly, although not mentioned by Holly, philosophers of language,⁴⁸ of the anthropology of history (and time),⁴⁹ and of the ontology of history⁵⁰ have already addressed this issue. They have effectively countered arguments about cultural incommensurability, reformulating theses pertaining to linguistic relativism, incompatibility, ontology, and translation. Some historians have, moreover, gone beyond this critique to continue to argue how diverse cultures may be compared to, indeed connected with, each other, and bridge supposed gaps.⁵¹ Most directly Sanjay Subrahmanyam has called upon historical evidence to argue that most claims to incommensurability "turn out to be false on closer examination."⁵² In this light some anecdotal observations are also pertinent, because they also relate to the critique that "methods" are culture-bound: scholars of Native American Arts (or the Arts of the First Peoples in Canada), and of contemporary art in East Asia reacted spontaneously and vigorously to Holly's assertions when she made them at a special session of the College Art Association. They contradicted her, saying that the principles used to study art history were valid anywhere, and that the fields of their studies should be included in a more all-encompassing history of art. Subsequently they have suggested that discussions of incommensurability are hardly post-colonial, but reintroduce the very patterns of exclusion that are supposedly being combatted.⁵³ African, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and Latin American scholars have all expressed similar disagreements with the argument for incommensurability and the supposedly "Western" limitations of methods of art history derived from European and North American discussions.⁵⁴

We can go beyond these assertions to turn to what more may be at stake. It again seems ironic that while many critics in the Humanities may take such ideas as multiculturalism, incommensurability, or heterochronicity as pointing to a necessarily fragmented picture of knowledge or reality that seems impossible to make whole, and regard such issues as presenting irresolvable

conundrums, scholars in other intellectual fields of inquiry are actively searching for solutions in a common ground and in common theoretical bases. Physicists (and mathematicians) for the last half-century have been dreaming of a final theory. This is a theory that would reconcile theories of the constitution of and laws that govern the physical universe, as they have been generated by the theoretical discoveries of the last century, that would result in some sort of unified field theory.⁵⁵ Scholars in the life sciences as they are conducted at present also aim at a larger, coherent picture that is relevant to present concerns. The genome project has been trying to trace the genetic structure and ramifications of our species, while neuroscience has been trying to find its neurological origins. Closer to historiography, Luigi Cavalli-Sforza and his followers have been trying to map and to trace the movements of human genetic groups. Recent publications by this group have related cultural evolution, the origins of cultural history, to genetic developments within the species.⁵⁶ Edward O. Wilson has also recently articulated a biologically based thesis for the evolution of human culture.⁵⁷

Why then should the Humanities, and more specifically art history, which is supposedly also concerned with the material world, with products of human beings, with cultural manifestations and productions, not also make similar efforts at attaining an all-encompassing view, that would take in the world as a whole? Some scholars interested in the visual arts have indeed made the attempt. For example, compelling arguments have been made for a more universal approach to aesthetics and the anthropology of art.⁵⁸ Neurology has also recently entered into the discourse of art history, but whether it can provide convincing insights to such problems, or provides valid bases for interpretations of history, remain open questions.⁵⁹

In any event, we may now return the focus to some more specific issues raised by Eurocentrism. Some post-colonial arguments about the inevitability of "othering," meaning the binary treatment into an "us" and a "them," the "them" being others, no doubt have some force. These arguments stem from and relate to reactions to the legacy of European imperialism and colonialism, and take Neo-colonialism and Neo-imperialism into account. Whatever we may say about political realities and attitudes, this critique may nevertheless be reexamined in as much as it pertains to the history of scholarship in the Humanities.

In particular, the established critique of what is called "orientalism" may be challenged. This is a critique of "Western" approaches that supposedly denigrated the East, meaning Asia and especially what used to be called the Near East related to imperialist purposes.⁶⁰ This critique largely deals with the period from the end of the eighteenth century. However, evidence from the period before the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries does not necessarily support this thesis. Before c. 1800 many opinions were expressed that were not merely neutral, but appreciated, even vaunted the

primacy or quality of the non-European, including its art and architecture.⁶¹ More significantly, it has been demonstrated that much of the main current of critique of “orientalism” has ignored or misrepresented what is in fact the most important manifestation of European scholarly engagement with the Eastern “other,” namely the tradition of German scholarship during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The German enterprise of scholarship on “the East” as it was carried out between 1830 and 1930 was much more variegated and nuanced than a blanket critique of “orientalism” allows. When this scholarship is studied in detail, the critique of “imperialism” seems applicable only in a limited number of cases, even if some of the old critique holds for some scholarship that was directly in the service of the German state, as *mutatis mutandis* it may have been in the service of French or British imperialism, too.⁶²

To speak more specifically about the historiography of art, while some earlier writings in German on world art history may have been Eurocentric, or imperialist, not all of them were, by any means. This is certainly true for periods before 1800, but it is true for the established university discipline thereafter too. One telling example from the earlier twentieth century: it makes no sense to speak of one of the most important early proponents of world art history, the noted Austrian scholar Josef Strzygowski as an imperialistic orientalist, however distasteful his beliefs and character are. Strzygowski occupied a chair at the University of Vienna which he dedicated to studies of extra-European art. Through his writings he opened up many fields of non-European scholarship to art history. More important, he did this not from a Eurocentric point of view, but in fact frequently ranted against Rome, the West, humanism, and the Enlightenment, and especially what he decried as ignorance or undervaluation of what he called the Orient, which he thought had been unfairly, even ignorantly, treated in favor of privileging of the West. Instead, most familiar in his book *Orient oder Rom*, he emphasized the origins, sources, and importance of various non-European centers and sources for artistic invention and creation, including Armenia, Persia, and India, and art farther East.⁶³

It is not necessary to refer to Strzygowski (who was not only racist and anti-Semitic but saw Aryans lurking beyond all the positive forces in art⁶⁴) to demonstrate that a non-Eurocentric world art history can be written. World art histories in fact have recently been published outside of Europe or North America. These latter have been shaped evidently without the Eurocentric (or even culturally centric) biases that Elkins claims must be inherent even in Chinese historiography.⁶⁵ However, Chinese world art histories do not focus on European art history, but include volumes devoted to East and South Asian countries, as well as African and Latin American countries. In addition, they give broader coverage to Europe (in their attention to Central and Eastern Europe including Russia) than most European or American

books do. These books apparently also consider China as a multicultural country composed of many ethnicities, with a greatly diverse art, resulting from the exchanges and mutual influences between regions and groups—not at all the uniform model of Chinese art, nor one recapitulating “Western” historiographic biases.⁶⁶ Certainly the Chinese, from their supposedly vastly different cultural perspective, do not regard art history as incommensurable in different “cultures.”⁶⁷ Recent initiatives to establish world art history in Taiwan and Beijing, and by Chinese scholars with institutes in and around Florence, suggest rather the opposite.⁶⁸

Where does this leave us with world art history? Even if we can envision or defend the possibility of writing a world art history, it is still much more difficult either to find examples to be proposed, or say how specifically we might do it. This is particularly the case if we wish to construct a history that is not to be conceived as determinist or historicist, the latter meaning one that posits that periods determine what has been created or done, but nevertheless one that continues to be based on the principle of anachronism. This is the principle that holds that not everything is possible in all times and all places, and that certain things are more likely to have been done, thought, or made—indeed were done, thought, and made, in one time and place, and not in another. Regardless of the supposed possible multiple temporalities of objects that have long been noticed by scholars of ancient and medieval art but have now become fashionable for (early) modernists to emphasize, a primary task remains to determine and interpret in the first instance their initial time—and place. This effort must be conjoined with larger interpretations or narratives, and is not simply to be dismissed or forgotten, because such information provides the armature for further constructions. Such specific considerations also suggest why some transhistorical thematic approaches such as those offered by notions of visibility, spirituality, genetics, neurohistory or whatever may not do justice to temporal specificities.

Instead geographical considerations may help frame some answers, even if they do not provide them *in toto*. Geography of art deals with the locational parameters of historical study. World art history would obviously engage the largest such parameters. A sensitivity to geographical considerations, namely how to relate various cultures and their locations, may be necessary for considerations of world art history.⁶⁹ But geography also does not provide final answers. If a geohistory of art is to lead to world art history, it must be aligned with economic and commodity theories that help explain the distribution and circulation of objects, especially ones of intense and multiple interest, and especially luxury items.⁷⁰ These are concerned with questions of economic, material, and cultural exchange. Hence the choice is made here to speak of global rather than world art history. Global art history resounds with globalization, in the sense that it too involves a consideration

of contacts between various parts of the globe, and global markets.⁷¹ Global art history may be understood in terms of relations to recent notions of globalization, which in many instances have to do with economic, material, and cultural exchange.

These issues lead us to considerations of cultural exchange, transfer, and assimilation. The discussion of key monuments, styles, and their cultures may thereby be situated in a framework that calls attention to connections and parallels. Objects, their creators, and ideas can be mapped onto a scheme of patterns of diffusion and circulation brought about by various forms of contact in the past and continuing into the present. They can be related to trade, market, conquest, and to the related and resultant transmissions of materials, techniques, and knowledge, as well as of artists and artisans. This obviously includes the transfer or exchange of spiritual or symbolic values as well, and is not limited to commodities, or a market model, but may involve objects with aesthetic interests and symbolic content as well. It is also not necessary to speak of one-sided influences, of transfers, but of transcultural art history, one that deals with interchange, not exchange.⁷²

Now for a brief possible outline: from the beginnings of humankind, stone crafted objects were spread throughout areas of human habitation, over and across continents, as were the materials used for them. Some anthropologists specifically define what may be called civilization on the basis of the exchange or dissemination of objects over distances. It has been demonstrated how objects made with refined skills and sophistication in flint not only helped define what might be called cultures.⁷³

From the origins of recorded history in Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China, materials like lapis lazuli and carnelian were also distributed over widespread distances. These were valued, and made into finely crafted objects whose value exceeded their function.⁷⁴ With them, both visual forms and symbolic devices seen in the forms of such objects as cylinder seals and stamp seals were also distributed. Seals presented not only stylistic elements, but different, often zoomorphic forms of symbolic representation, and often the earliest rudiments of writing in several cultures.⁷⁵

The long history of the silk routes and their impact may be briefly mentioned. From before the Common Era commodities were carried back and forth from one end of Eurasia to another, with an effect on material culture, on art, at both ends.⁷⁶ An Indian Lakshmi has been found in Pompeii, or Aretine ware is regularly found in Southern India, or Roman glass has been uncovered in Korea and Japan. Silk clothes, often dyed with pigments from the West Asia Near East, were used to clothe emperors and patricians in Rome at one end, while tombs were constructed using fluted columns and pediments in Han China at the other of Eurasia. A good medieval example is the mantle later used for the Holy Roman Emperor which was made by Byzantine embroiderers from Dalmatia for the Norman king of Sicily that has



1.2 Balkan embroiderers in Sicily, *The Coronation Mantle of the Holy Roman Emperor*, with Kufic *tiraz* (inscription in Arabic), made for the coronation of Roger II as king of Sicily, probably c. 1133 CE. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna

an Arabic *tiraz* (inscription) and shows lions attacking camels on either side of a palm tree, symbolic and formal elements ultimately derived from Africa and the Near East (Fig. 1.2).

As we know from the arts of Gandhara and their diffusion, all sorts of combinations may be encountered in between on the routes of Eurasia. Since materials and objects made in gold and ivory were also widely transported, (and since most carved ivory seems to originate in African elephants) Africa was clearly involved with this commerce and the manufacture of objects already in antiquity. Thus the three continents known to antiquity were already interconnected.

However, as distinct from these older Euro-Afro-Asian interchanges, if we wish to speak about the whole of the globe being united in some sense together, including the Americas, the first real globalization in this sense already was introduced only from c. 1500. It occurred when Europeans journeyed simultaneously to the Americas and to Asia. Others (including the Moslem Chinese admiral Zheng He, Arab, Persian, and Indian sailors, not to mention peoples of the Pacific) had of course also sailed over wide stretches of ocean. Nevertheless, the Eastern and Western and for that matter the Northern and Southern hemispheres were not knit together until the Spanish and Portuguese maritime ventures of the late fifteenth century and following.

The term globalization may also be applied to this period from c. 1500 because, like the globalization of business, trade, and communication in the present, this first globalization may also be regarded as connected with

commerce. Europeans sought and obtained direct access to the wealth and products (spices, silks, gold) of Asia. Accelerated forms of communication, and the result for expansion of knowledge, are also frequently taken as signs of globalization: these may also be seen as instrumental in the processes of the globalization that occurred from c. 1500. The origins of European print culture helped rapidly to disseminate knowledge about contacts Europeans made and their implications.

The connection of all parts of the globe c. 1500 created possibilities for cultural, hence artistic interchange, for better and worse, as is well known. Images and objects testify to, resulted from, and played important roles in these processes, and symbolic values were also exchanged across cultures. Circulation of new styles, subjects, and ideas about art inside Europe from c. 1500 took place within an even larger system of exchange. Thus there exists no "pure" tradition uninfluenced by the artistic forms of other cultures. The so-called European Renaissance needs to be placed in a broader context, and cannot be studied in isolation from what else was happening to Europe at the same time. Examples of cultural encounter and exchange may be found even in the most prominent sites of what is usually called Renaissance art within Europe itself, as in Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Florence, or conversely in Mughal India or Ming and Ching China. From the first direct encounters through sea travel, creatures (and denizens) of non-European lands were made known in Europe. Far from being Eurocentric or deprecatory, some of the first European images of peoples from Cochin (India) did not treat them as conquered slaves or animals; probably on the basis of drawings made by someone who had been to India, Hans Burgkmair seems scrupulously to have represented the ceremonial procession of a ruler, with elephants, traditional Indian symbols of kingship, a parasol over the head of the ruler to designate his status, and seemingly to have depicted physiognomies and breechcloths with a plausible degree of accuracy. It is well known that Albrecht Dürer similarly praised as wonderful works of art and the subtle work of genius the Mexica (Aztec) objects he saw in Antwerp. He also responded to India, or at least to the famed rhinoceros shipped as a gift to the king of Portugal, that he knew through descriptions, and that he drew and replicated in an anatomically inaccurate image that nevertheless served for several centuries as the image of the beast. Dürer's Indian rhinoceros also enjoyed wide geographical circulation; already by the end of the sixteenth century the rhinoceros had appeared on the ceiling of rooms in several houses in Tunja in Colombia, through which it had been communicated by several books.⁷⁷ This tells a truly global story of art. Conversely Germanic designs circulated back to India: through them the baluster column seen in images by Lukas Cranach (the Elder) and Dürer, for instance in the triumphal arch of Maximilian I, served as the basis for the symbolism of power in India, as evinced in the reception halls of the Mughal rulers in Delhi and Agra, which

by the way replicate earlier rooms for porcelain display (the *chini khana*). This subsequently became the most prevalent form of column in northern and central India.⁷⁸

It is important to note, lest this account seem to be Eurocentric, that while Europeans established the first world-wide connections, in the period before 1800 they often acted as facilitators, or mediators, rather than as dominant factors, especially in relation to Africa or Asia. Recent research on the Dutch East India Company indicates that in important cases like China Europeans were merely scratching the surface of the cultures with which they dealt. The impact of Asian porcelain and other products on European cultures was in any instance much greater than that of any European object (or language) certainly in China, but in general in Asia. Much more pertinent is the way in which materials and objects circulated as Europeans facilitated the exchange of goods within the region, of Japanese lacquer to India, for example. The lacquer seen being carried as a gift to Shah Jahan in Agra (Fig. 1.3) may well have been made using raw material from Southeast Asia imported by Dutch or Chinese to Japan.⁷⁹

In this light the classic colonial pattern whereby finished, luxury goods flow from the center and raw materials to it, seems reversed prior to 1800. Silk and porcelain went to Europe, and silver from the Americas went to India, China, and Japan.⁸⁰ In general Europeans often seem at first primarily to have played the role of mediators.⁸¹

By at least 1800 conditions had begun to change, and more familiar patterns associated with European and American imperialism emerge that have affected cultural and other exchanges to the present. But these too are passing, if not now past. Our own time suggests that other patterns based on notions of networks or even rhizomes might provide better models rather than centers, anyway. And who is to say, as many may do, if the days of Euro-American domination are not at an end anyway?

Let us conclude by quoting some more of Suzanne Marchand's comments. Marchand says that

Unlike many of the recent commentators on Europe's culture of imperialism, I do not think that all knowledge, orientalist or otherwise, inevitably contributed to the building of empires, or even to the upholding of Eurocentric points of view. In general, I find presumptuous and rather condescending the conception, so common to these readings of cultural history, that all knowledge is power, especially since the prevailing way of understanding this formulation suggests that power is something sinister and oppressive, something exerted against or over others. Of course, knowledge can be used this way, but knowledge as understanding can also lead to appreciation, dialogue, self-critique, perspectival reorientation, and personal and cultural enrichment.⁸²

Let us keep this in mind as we try to envisage—even to write—a new global, or world art history.



1.3 "Europeans Bringing Gifts to Shah Jahan," 1640s or 1650s,
from the *Windsor Shaname*. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Notes

- 1 This chapter represents a revised version of the lecture delivered as a keynote address at the conference at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, that forms the basis for this volume. The lecture has been presented in slightly differing forms in Princeton, Florence, Berlin, Olomouc, Hamburg, Dresden, Bogotá, Poznań, New York, Cracow, and Rio de Janeiro; a Portuguese translation will appear in a collection edited by Roberto Condurru and Maria Barbara, Rio de Janeiro.
- 2 The range of contributors to James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007) suggests some of the worldwide scope of this interest. See further Elkins's comments, echoing those here, in Jonathan Harris, ed., "Why Art History is Global," in *Globalization and Contemporary Art* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): 375–86.
- 3 "Global Commodities: The Material Culture of Early Modern Connections, 1400–1800," Global History and Culture Centre, University of Warwick 12–14 December 2012; "Global Art History and its Peripheries," École Normale Supérieure, Paris, 31 May 2013. At the Academia Sinica in Taipei a research group has been formed that addresses and has held meetings related to the theme "Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and East Asia, 1600–1800." In Italy various meetings on such topics have been held, e.g. recently at the Archivio di Stato in Florence on 7 June 2013 on "I Medici e il Levante."
- 4 The section "The Idea of World Art History" was arranged as the first in the congress, although the papers delivered in this section appeared together with two papers from a separate session added for Chinese colleagues and chaired by the same organizing co-chair of the session as the fourth section in the publication of the congress, Jaynie Anderson, ed., *Crossing Cultures; Conflict, Migration and Convergence. The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art (Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art, CIHA), The University of Melbourne, 13–18 January 2008* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2009): 72–132.
- 5 For Taipei see note 3. The Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz has the following ongoing projects: "Globalisierung von Bildern und Dingen in der Frühen Neuzeit"; and "Künstliche Paradiесе der Universalität. Artefakte aus Afrika, Syrien, Peru, Mexiko und China in den Sammlungen der Medici." At the Freie Universität Berlin a project is devoted to "Transkulturelle Verhandlungsräume von Kunst." The University of Zurich in collaboration with the University of São Paulo has introduced a research group on "Founding Ideas: Historiographies and Methods for a Global Art History." At the University of Heidelberg world art history questions are discussed in the newly formed Cluster "Asia and Europe." An example of one result is the conference held on 23 and 24 May 2013 by the Berlin project group on "The Itineraries of Art. Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia 1500–1900," papers from which are now being prepared for publication.
- 6 In addition to *Is Art History Global?* these include Julian Bell, *Mirror of the World: A New History of Art* (New York and London: Thames & Hudson, 2007); Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme, eds., *World Art Studies* (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2008); James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim, eds., *Art and Globalization (The Stone Art Theory Institutes 1)* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Mary D. Sheriff, ed., *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and the essays collected in *kritische berichte* (sic) 40, no. 2 (2012); Jill H. Casid and Aruna D'Souza, eds., *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Frances Clark Art Institute, and New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014). See further the papers cited elsewhere in this chapter. The references in this and the following notes are intended to give an idea of the scope of interest, but do not and could not claim to be complete.
- 7 James Elkins, "David Summers's *Real Spaces*," in *Is Art History Global?*, 41; Elkins's essay first appeared as a book review in *The Art Bulletin* 86, no. 2 (2004): 373–80, with this citation on page 373.
- 8 Terry Smith, *What is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 2009).
- 9 Terry Smith, *Contemporary Art: World Currents* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2011). The discussion of the global in relation to the contemporary is exemplified in the useful compilation *Globalization and Contemporary Art*. See also Charlotte Bydler, *The Global Art World Inc. On the Globalization of Contemporary Art* (PhD diss., Uppsala, 2004) and the works cited in the previous note.
- 10 This claim was made in a lecture delivered at the International Congress of the History of Art in Nuremberg, 2012, papers forthcoming: see in the meantime Belting's comments as offered in Andrea Buddensieg and Hans Belting, eds., *The Global Art World: Audiences, Markets, Museums*

(Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2009); Hans Belting, ed., *Global Studies: Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2011); Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel, eds., *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2013).

- 11 For example, "Roundtable on the Global before Globalization," moderated by David Joselit, *October* 133 (2010): 3–19.
- 12 For example, Elkins, in *Is Art History Global?*, and in various other works, including *Stories of Art*; David Carrier, *A World Art History and its Objects* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008).
- 13 See, for instance, Hanneke Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective. Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 165.
- 14 See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, "The Authors Reply," in *The Art Bulletin* 87 no. 3 (2005): 432, where "the challenge to Enlightenment historical models" is made explicit. Issues of chronology (and anachronism, implicitly) were however also important in earlier historical methods, for which evidence is abundantly provided by the scholarship of Anthony Grafton, for example in his *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Nagel and Wood's argument is most fully stated in *The Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: The MIT Press, 2010). To be sure (see "Notes from the Field: Tradition," *The Art Bulletin*, 95 no. 4 (2013): 528), "notions of multiple temporalities and the combination of cultural traditions in the same work are however hardly new discoveries," but it is significant that Nagel and Wood (*The Anachronic Renaissance*, p. 370, n. 18) acknowledge that their use of the "anachronic" is drawn from Jacques Rancière, "Le concept d'anachronisme et la vérité de l'historien," *L'inactuel: Psychanalyse et culture* 6 (1996): 53–68, which specifically attacks Lucien Febvre's *Le problème de l'incroyance au XVI^e siècle, la religion de Rabelais* (Paris: A. Michel, 1947), part of Rancière's extended critique of the *Annales* school (for which see the introduction to the present volume) presented more fully in *Les noms de l'histoire: Essai de poétique du savoir* (Paris: Seuil, 1992).
- 15 Hans Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte* (rev. ed., Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag, 1995). Belting's observation may or may not be true—there have long been discussions of world art history, as is discussed below.
- 16 See James Elkins, *Master Narratives and their Discontents* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).
- 17 Cf. Francesca Trivellato, "Is there a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011), accessed 14 July 2013.
- 18 For example, Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel. The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1997) and subsequent editions; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Civilizations* (London: Macmillan, 2000); Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Viking Adult, 2011).
- 19 Notably Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).
- 20 For this distinction see Denys Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (London and New York: Methuen, 1977).
- 21 Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006), has eloquently reiterated these points. To avoid some confusion (like the impression of auditors of this chapter in lecture form), this analysis, while in sympathy with some of Appiah's arguments, is not inspired by them, nor does it provide an exposition of his point of view.
- 22 The issues discussed in this paragraph were the topic of a debate that already was lively in the 1950s and 1960s, and now seems to be returning. For the retention of an ideal of objective knowledge and facts in relation to historical interpretation, changing points of view, and the place of the historian, see for example Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961). Like much else in this debate, the issue of world art history opens up wider questions of historiography.
- 23 Despite the abundant historiography and much recent literature on Vasari, little attention has been paid to this particular point of view. However, an increasing amount of attention has been given to Kugler, his predecessors and contemporaries. A useful introduction is provided by Gabriele Bickendorf, "Die 'Berliner Schule': Carl Friedrich von Rumohr (1785–1843), Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868), Karl Schnase (1798–1875) and Franz Kugler (1808–1858)" in Ulrich Pfisterer, ed., *Klassiker der Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Von Winckelmann bis Warburg*, 46–61 (Munich:

Beck, 2007). In an as-yet unpublished lecture delivered at a seminar held on global art history held in the Schloss, Dresden, on 16 May 2013 Hendrick Karge spoke about Kugler, Schnaase, and the nineteenth-century origins of world art history. This point is also raised in passing in Ulrich Pfisterer, "Origins and Principles of World Art History: 1900 (and 2000)," in Zijlmans and van Damme, *World Art Studies*, 69–89.

- 24 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Is Art History Global?" in *Is Art History Global?*, ed. Elkins, 357–64.
 - 25 Along with universal history the notion of universal geography has also been criticized (especially in France) as very occidental in character and revealing culturally centered biases. For a far-reaching critique see Serge Latouche, *L'occidentalisation du monde* (Paris: La découverte, 1992).
 - 26 Specifically, Jörn Rüsen has treated this subject in numerous books. See note 43 below.
 - 27 Elkins, "David Summers's *Real Spaces*."
 - 28 David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2003).
 - 29 See Elkins, "David Summers's *Real Spaces*," 56, 62. However, Elkins, *Stories of Art*, characterizes the culturally specific nature of textbooks in a variety of lands. He also does not seem consistent in his writing about survey books, because in *Stories of Art*, 138–50, he suggests other possibilities whereby these supposed biases might be avoided. In any case, as remarked in Kaufmann, "Is Art History Global?" 359, it is erroneous to consider E.H. Gombrich's *The Story of Art* as a paradigmatic textbook, just as it is to assume that a Eurocentric textbook is the only sort of textbook possible.
- Recently Paul Wood, *Western Art and the Wider World* (Malden, MA and Oxford, 2014) has also attempted to imbricate Western art in a wider global history, but the question again may be raised if by its very nature (the assumption of Western art as a starting point) this approach nevertheless remains enmeshed in Eurocentrism.
- 30 Elkins, "Summers's *Real Spaces*."
 - 31 See Parul Dave Mukherji, "Putting the World in a Book: How Global can Art History be Today," in *Crossing Cultures*, ed. Anderson, 109–15.
 - 32 Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism: Modernity, Religion, and Democracy: A Critique of Eurocentrism and Culturalism* (rev. ed., New York: Pambazuka Press, 2009). Issues of Eurocentrism in relation to global art history are taken up by several of the essays in *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, ed. Casid and D'Souza.
 - 33 See Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, and Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (New York and London: Thames & Hudson, 2004) (2nd ed. with David Joselit, 2011). The inadequate treatment of most parts of the world in this book was already briefly pointed out in a review by Robert Storr, in *The Art Bulletin* 88, no. 2 (2006): 384. Keith Moxey, *Visual Time. The Image in History* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press Books, 2013), argues that the treatment of modernism and contemporary art excludes art in other parts of the world.
 - 34 As articulated by Jürgen Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).
 - 35 As demonstrated by the debate between adherents of Foucault and Habermas, and its revival, for which see Michael Kelly, ed., *Critique and Power: Recasting the Foucault/Habermas Debate* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994). It is neither the intention of nor within the purview of this analysis to engage in discussion of the validity or limits of critical reflection on the relation of power to thought.
 - 36 To argue otherwise is, I believe, a basic misunderstanding of what is sometimes described as the "rationalist" side in the discussion that was (mis-)labeled "the positivism debate," some of whose seminal papers were collected in *Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand-Literaturverlag, 1969). The arguments remain surprisingly current, as seen for example when critics (including some of this talk when delivered in Berlin) continue to stress the relation of (and even dependence upon) one's point of view to power (except of course that of the critic herself).
 - 37 Moxey, *Visual Time*, represents his fullest, and latest, statement.
 - 38 *Ibid.*, 20.

- 39 This reproduces the words that Moxey used in a lecture he delivered at the International Congress of the History of Art in Nuremberg, forthcoming in the publications of that congress.
- 40 Ibid., 173.
- 41 Ibid., 2, 38, 44, and passim. E.H. Gombrich, in *In Search of Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), presents the most obvious critique of this point of view, and repeatedly offered alternatives to historical determinism, while retaining a view of historicism, namely that things are related to a point in a history which encompasses and is developed from them. The basis for his anti-determinist argument is Karl A. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: Routledge, 1957); however, by conflating historicism with historical determinism Popper seems to have abetted confusion about terminology that later scholars have followed.
- 42 As indicated in some of the texts by a variety of authors in Jörn Rüsen, ed., *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate* (New York: Berghahn, 2002).
- 43 This is clearly stated in many books by or edited by Rüsen, including more recently *Time and History: The Variety of Cultures* (New York: Berghahn, 2007); Mihai Spărosu and Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Exploring Humanity: Intercultural Perspectives on Humanism* (Göttingen and Taipei: V & R unipress, 2012); Oliver Kozlarek, Jörn Rüsen, and Ernst Wolff, eds., *Shaping a Humane World: Civilisations, Axial Times, Modernities, Humanism* (Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2012). In *Visual Time*, p. 34, n. 7, Moxey cites *Western Historical Thinking*, ed. Rüsen, but draws upon only some of its arguments.
- 44 George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962).
- 45 George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America. The Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962), 6ff, 13ff, with charts on pages xxxiii–xxxv. Based on Kubler's notes, Thomas Reese will have demonstrated in a forthcoming book that Kubler's *Shape of Time* in fact developed from his reflections on such considerations.
- 46 This contrasts with newer proponents of the "anachronic" who invoke Kubler, such as Moxey (*Visual Time*) who, despite criticizing the concept of periodization, states it is naturalized (23) and continues to employ notions such as the Renaissance; and Nagel and Wood, who ("The Authors Reply," 432), while disparaging concerns with periodization in earlier scholarship, argue for epochal divisions in history and still present the Renaissance as a distinctive historical period even as they treat it as an *Anachronic Renaissance*.
- 47 Holly has presented similar arguments at several venues, most notably at the Centennial Session on Globalism at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of New York, 12 February 2011, where the responses to her arguments recorded here were also provoked.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam, in *Courtly Encounters. Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2012), esp. 29f, discusses the background to Holly's notions of incommensurability.
- 48 See Rik Pinxten, ed., *Universalism versus Relativism in Language and Thought: Proceedings of a Colloquium on the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis* (The Hague: De Gruyter, 1976); Ben G. Blunt, ed., *Language, Culture and Society* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995).
- 49 See Rüsen, *Time and History*.
- 50 Ian Hacking, *Historical Ontology* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- 51 Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*. Subrahmanyam, "Par-delà de l'incommensurabilité: Pour une histoire connectée des empires aux temps modernes," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 54, no. 5 (2007): 34–53, had already expressed this effort as one to "go beyond" incommensurability before Holly revived older arguments for incommensurability. See further Monica Juneja's critique of incommensurability in her chapter in this volume.
- 52 Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, 29.
- 53 Ming Tiampo and Ruth B. Phillips in New York, and subsequently in Nuremberg, 2012 (orally).
- 54 Orally, to the author. See further the previous notes.
- 55 See Steven Weinberg, *Dreams of a Final Theory. The Scientist's Search for the Ultimate Laws of Nature* (New York: Vintage, 1992). Among others, Elkins, *Master Narratives and their Discontents*, 3, also briefly alludes to such efforts by physicists and distinguishes the restrictive tendencies of art historical practice from them.

- 56 Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *Genes, Peoples and Languages*, trans. Mark Seielstad (New York: North Point Press, 2000); Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, *L'evoluzione della cultura* (Turin: Codice, 2010); Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, "Introduction," in Linda Stone, ed., *Genes, Culture, and Human Evolution: A Synthesis* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).
- 57 Edward O. Wilson, *The Social Conquest of Earth* (New York: Liveright, 2012).
- 58 See Wilfried van Damme, "Introducing World Art Studies," Richard L. Anderson, "Art, Aesthetics, and Cultural Anthropology: Retrospect and Prospect," and Paula D. Girshick, "Envisioning Art Worlds; New Directions in the Anthropology of Art," all in *World Art Studies*, ed. Zijlmans and van Damme, 23–61, 203–18, and 219–33 respectively.
- 59 See various essays by John Onians, whose most extensive argument to date is presented in *Neurohistory: From Aristotle and Pliny to Baxandall and Zeki* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007).
- 60 The classic argument is that of Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1978).
- 61 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, "Eurocentrism and Art History? Universal History and the Historiography of the Arts before Winckelmann," in *Memory and Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam 1–7 September 1996*, Wessel Reinink and Jeroen Stumpel, eds. (Dordrecht: Springer, 1999), 35–42; also Oleg Grabar, "A Preliminary Note on Two Eighteenth Century Representations of Mecca and Medina in Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800," in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 268–74.
- 62 See Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Washington, DC and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- 63 These arguments are encapsulated in *Orient oder Rom? Beiträge zur Geschichte der Spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901). An increasing bibliography has grown up around Strzygowski; most recently a conference on his work and legacy was held in Lublin in 2012; its papers are to be published. Strzygowski's contributions to 'orientalist' scholarship are discussed in several essays by Marchand and recapitulated in the latter's *German Orientalism*, 403–10.
- 64 Strzygowski's arguments become particularly striking when they propose Aryan presence in the art of the Far East: *Die bildende Kunst des Ostens; ein Überblick über die für Europa bedeutungsvollen Hauptströmungen* (Leipzig: Klinkhart, 1916).
- 65 James Elkins, *Chinese Landscape Painting as Western Art History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
- 66 See Shao Dazhen, "A Survey of the Current State of Art History in China, in *Crossing Cultures*, ed. Anderson, 124–26. Such histories contrast with the impression offered in *Stories of Art*, ed. Elkins, 89ff.
- 67 Anecdotally, a regular stream of Chinese professors of art history has in recent years been coming to Princeton to spend a term or two to read "Western" art history, study the Italian Renaissance, and discuss theoretical issues of art history, including global art history.
- 68 Villa I Tatti and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence have begun initiatives that involve the inclusion of Chinese scholars, in the former instance in the study of Italian Renaissance and in the latter in world art history. The University of Beijing has been attempting to establish a Department for World Art History. As mentioned in note 3, in Taiwan a research seminar has been established around the topic of intercultural exchange.
- 69 This comment obviously reflects the title of a well-known book by Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994).
- 70 This may apply not only to older, Marxist views, but also to ones such as those in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- 71 As this chapter may itself suggest, part of the theoretical problem involved is that while globalization is a current shibboleth, theories of globalization, in as much as they apply to art, remain to be well formulated. While there has been much theorization about the meaning and dimensions of globalism and globalization, especially in regard to politics, economics, and sociology, little of it has, however, hitherto been brought to bear effectively on theories of art. See, however, the efforts in *Art and Globalization* (ed. Elkins), *kritische berichte*, and *Globalization and Contemporary Art* (ed. Harris).

- 72 For this concept see Monica Juneja, "Kunstgeschichte und kulturelle Differenz. Eine Einleitung," *kritische berichte* 40, no. 2 (2012): 6–12.
- 73 David Summers, "Arbitrariness and Authority: How Art makes Cultures," in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod, eds., *Time and Place. The Geohistory of Art* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 203–16.
- 74 Cross-cultural trade and exchanges among early civilizations have gained increasing attention: see Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans, eds., *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008); Joan Aruz and Ronald Wallenfels, eds., *Art of the First Cities. The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Marian H. Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design. Luxury Arts and an International Style in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman, *Representations of Political Power. Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2007); Mario Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600–1100 B.C.* (Chippenhams and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Amanda Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings. How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 75 Dominique Collon, *First Impressions. Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), provides a good introduction. For interactions with Indus civilizations, see Gregory L. Possehl, *The Indus Civilization. A Contemporary Perspective* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2002), 356ff.
- 76 The literature on Gandhara and on the silk-road trade through Central Asia is also growing. For the general theme see Jerry M. Bentley, *Old World Encounters. Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). For some recent overviews in English, see Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Art of Gandhara in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007); Adriana G. Proser, *The Buddhist Heritage of Pakistan. Art of Gandhara* (New York: Asia Society, 2011); Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 77 Some basic newer literature on the topics discussed here includes Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat. The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008); Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Jerry Brotton and Lisa Jardine, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (Oxford and Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffar, *Encounters. The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2004); Jay Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492. Art in the Age of Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Jay Levenson, ed., *Encompassing the Globe. Portugal and the World in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2007); and Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Burgkmaier's print is discussed in Stephanie Leitch, "Burgkmaier's Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 2 (2009): 134–59.
- 78 See Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology. Collected Essays* (New Delhi and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38–129.
- 79 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, eds., *Mediating Cultures Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014 and Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2014).
- 80 See André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient. Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
- 81 See Kaufmann and North, "Introduction: Mediating Cultures," in their *Mediating Cultures*.
- 82 Marchand, *German Orientalism*, xxv. Marchand adds: "Oriental studies did partake of and contribute to the exploitation and 'othering' of non-westerners to be sure; but it also has led to positive outcomes of the type just listed, and I cannot subscribe to a philosophical stance that suggests that such things do not motivate or characterize the pursuit of knowledge" (xxv–xxvi).

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ART HISTORY AND IBERIAN WORLDWIDE DIFFUSION: WESTERNIZATION / GLOBALIZATION / AMERICANIZATION

Serge Gruzinski

Is it possible to define the circulation processes of the arts as observed between the late Middle Ages and the beginnings of modernity as the expression of cultural exchanges alone? That would undoubtedly minimize the importance of what was at work, and reduce to cultural dimensions what was in fact a manifestation of the economic and power networks that were spun across the planet at this time. It is necessary to move out of the classic field of study of art history, too often still Eurocentric and confined to the sphere of fine arts, although the best-intentioned researchers often stumble over this shift. Here, therefore, we shall investigate what these exchanges reveal beyond the history of art, even re-dimensioned on the planetary scale, taking into account the unprecedented mobilization of things, ideas, and men that gathered pace from the end of the fifteenth century.¹

An Iberian Worldwide Diffusion

The planetary processes that were triggered at that time were either directly or indirectly bound up with what we have called Iberian worldwide diffusion. It was in fact under the impulse of sailors, soldiers, and missionaries from Spain and Portugal, and to a lesser extent from Italy, that ties were rapidly formed between the four corners of the globe. We have described these elsewhere, and refer to these works anyone not yet convinced of the upheavals that took place in a large part of the world in the course of the sixteenth century.²

Iberian worldwide diffusion acquired maximum institutional and political expression when the Spanish and Portuguese empires were united

under the scepter of the same ruler, Philip II, for a period of sixty years. The presence of Spanish power in the Italian peninsula (Naples, Milan), its strong influence over Rome, its anchorage in the Netherlands, all remind us of the strong ties that linked European artistic production of the time to the Catholic monarchy. The latter offers a remarkable field of observation: it was, first of all, a dynastic, political, and ideological construction. The legacy of the Roman empire, and for Lisbon that of Alexander, the discoveries and experiences of the Middle Ages, the ever-present shadow of messianic ideas, occupy as much place in this as do the family policies that worked in favor of the Catholic kings before they came to benefit the Habsburgs. It is still hard today to grasp the novelty of a political domination that extended in all directions beyond the parts of the earth once controlled by the Roman empire, proclaiming loud and strong its geographical gigantism—"the most extensive realms ..."—as source of a new legitimacy. But the Catholic monarchy was also the cradle of the first world-economy, which has been studied now for several decades.

Less interest has been taken in other planetary dimensions: the deployment of the first European bureaucracies active on a world scale, the alliance everywhere of spiritual with temporal power (the Castilian *patronato*, the Lisbon *padroado*), the networks set up by the religious orders in America, Africa, and Asia, the intercontinental mesh that was constructed some time later by the Jesuits while Italian bankers and Marrano businessmen established themselves in the four corners of the world. Finally, the literary, visual, and musical expressions of Iberian domination attest to the successful diffusion of an art, mannerism, which blossomed on several continents simultaneously.³ These multiple facets of the Catholic monarchy did not amount to a system or a civilization. But they were so imbricated together that they make it impossible to separate out the circulation of the arts from this unprecedented context, still poorly studied owing to the fragmentation of our disciplinary fields. The Catholic monarchy was neither a geographical unit nor a bloc anchored to old-established structures, still less a unified liquid space, even if contemporaries liked to see the ocean and navigation as the nerve-center of this empire.⁴

The space covered by this monarchy had another particular feature that was decisive for the questions that concern us here. Uniting several continents, this space brought together or telescoped various forms of government, economic exploitation, and social organization that had developed independently from one another. It often brought into brutal confrontation religious traditions without any common measure between them. In this sense, the Catholic monarchy cannot be treated as a cultural area. It was composite par excellence, and indeed the theater of planetary interactions between Christianity, Islam, and those whom the Iberians called 'idolaters'—a rubric with indefinitely flexible boundaries, comprising the great Asiatic civilizations as well as the

cults of America and Africa. This was the space within which Christianization and Westernization went hand in hand, a fact that had a direct bearing on intellectual and artistic exchanges.

But European Catholicism was not alone in this planetarization. The same change of scale can also be seen in such varied domains as law, urbanism, and literature. The first Latin American town planning took shape in New Spain in the course of the sixteenth century. Towns were established on a continental scale, following an idealized model of Iberian and Roman origin. The Castilian *traza* was stamped on the plan of all the new cities of Spanish America. This phenomenon of planetarization, however, did not stop with architecture: it involved several other domains, such as the appearance of a reading public (for European books) in America, Africa, and Asia. Books printed in Europe, in particular the Iberian peninsular, found their way in increasing numbers across the seas, containing not only texts (such as Vitruvius) but also the frontispieces and engravings that illustrated these. The development of a "Western" architecture (produced outside of Europe) was contemporary with this "portable art," giving rise to European productions, the fashions and styles of the Old World, in such different environments as Goa in India, Macao in China, Nagasaki in Japan, Mexico City and Lima in the Indies, and Salvador de Bahia in Brazil. Not only was European know-how exported in all directions, but this was reproduced locally, and thus in many cases translated into works of art, frescoes, and performances. Latin and Aristotelianism were the privileged tools of the colonial elites that attended schools and universities (Mexico City and Lima) opened overseas. It is a revealing fact that the presses of Mexico City and Nagasaki printed at the same time the Latin grammar of the Jesuit Manuel Alvarez. The novelty did not just lie in a change of scale. It arose from the simultaneous diffusion that brought regions extremely remote from one another into contact and up to date with the Iberian and Flemish arts of the Renaissance. What was true of books was equally so for painting, sculpture, music, and dance. European creations were not only exported to other parts of the world, they were also replicated there, and this unprecedented mechanism of reproduction was one of the main driving forces in the history of art written in the wake of Iberian worldwide diffusion.

An intellectual baggage was also exported, not always easy to trace, since what we often call the civilization of the Renaissance is a nineteenth-century invention. The Iberians who traveled at this time were bearers of mediaeval and ancient knowledge more or less exposed to Italian humanism. The European notion of representation, without which there would not have been European images, and which presented a challenge to Amerindian artists and many others, was conveyed by conceptions and justified by logics and arguments that lay at the heart of ancient and mediaeval thought.⁵

Perspective, likewise, was based on geometrical principles that are not merely a matter of art history in the strict sense. In other words, it was also the “eye of the 1400s,” focused on by Michael Baxandall,⁶ that was exported to other parts of the world.

Mobilization of Techniques, Artists, and Concepts

In its expansion, Iberian domination annexed or sought to capture other spaces, without however always succeeding in absorbing them. This led to an unprecedented compression of distances, and an equally unheard-of acceleration of movements. These were never in just one direction: European books took ship in Seville for Veracruz or the port of Callao at the foot of the Andes, while the first Chinese books and Mexican codices disembarked in the ports of the Iberian peninsula. In the words of the Augustinian monk Juan González de Mendoza, successful author of the first major European treatise on China, “*la imprenta de los chinos se puede ver hoy en Roma en la biblioteca del sacro Palacio y en la que su majestad ha hecho en el monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real.*”⁷ But these were in no way exchanges: the paintings and books that left Europe for the New World were instruments in a process of colonization, and the codices from other continents that passed through the hands of Spanish sovereigns and popes were the fruit of a predation quite indifferent to the fate of the societies in which they were painted.

A geography of this worldwide diffusion is still to be made: it was initially Iberian, centered on Seville and Lisbon. The Tagus port and the major Castilian cities had very strong links with Europe’s artistic and commercial centers. How can we forget, in the Portuguese case, the figure of Francisco de Holanda, a valuable and exceptional link between the Rome of Michelangelo and the Portugal of the navigators? It was then northern Europe’s turn to open onto the world: the Flanders of Antwerp and Bruges, the Brabant of Brussels, with their paintings, engravings, and prestigious workshops such as that of Rubens, which rivalled with the Italy of Rome, Florence, Venice, and Naples. Overseas, the workshops of Mexico, Quito, Lima, and Goa were highly active places of reception, diffusion, and reproduction. They were joined in the second half of the sixteenth century by those of Macao, Manila, and Nagasaki. Some of these centers acted as transit points between the realms of the Catholic monarchy and other civilizations: Goa for Hindu and Islamic India, Macao for the Middle Kingdom, Nagasaki for the Japanese princes and shogun, Luanda for the Congolese kingdom. They were also the gates through which a great quantity of precious objects, *mirabilia* and *curiosa* surged in, attracting the envy of European merchants and princes. Lisbon, uncontestedly, was the leading place to receive African and Asian productions: the collections of Queen Catherine of Castile are evidence of

this.⁸ The arrivals can be numbered in hundreds of objects, even thousands in the case of Chinese pottery. At end of the sixteenth century, the city of Lisbon counted no less than six shops of Chinese pottery, located in Rua Nova dos Mercadores.⁹ Florence and the Medici collections was another major focus, with the Laurentian library receiving the *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, the sumptuous and joint fruit of the work of the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún and his indigenous painters and informants. The multicolor illustrations drawn by the Mexican *tlacuilos* would inspire certain frescoes in the Uffizi gallery.¹⁰

Rather than draw up a list of the works and artists that left Europe for America or Asia, we shall emphasize here a major notion that emerges in this context. Just as a "Western" literature and a "Western" philosophy had their origin at this time, in other words, one that was conceived, written, and distributed outside the European continent, so a "Western" art began to beat out a path for itself, starting from the workshops opened in Mexico, Lima, Quito, Goa, and Nagasaki. The conditions of emergence of this Western art are more or less well known. For often personal reasons, painters, sculptors, and architects followed in the footsteps of Iberian domination and placed themselves in the service of the new colonial societies that this had planted across the world. Italian architects, for example, built forts in both hemispheres, in the East Indies as well as the West. The imprint that they left here was by no means insignificant. In 1546 Diu became the most imposing fort outside the European continent. This planetary foothold was the work of such men as Miguel de Arruda in Portugal, "*mestre das obras das fortificações do Reino, lugarem d'Alem e India*," and Tiburcio Spannocchi and Giovanni Battista Antonelli in Spain, both of whom received the mission of fortifying the American possessions. The cathedrals that the Spaniards of the New World built for themselves offer another spectacular example of this diffusion. It has been written that the sixteenth century was the "century of cathedrals" above all in Mexico and then in Peru, counting all those that the ecclesiastical authorities had built at this time, in concert with the civil power. Town planning, fortifications, cathedrals, and monasteries, these were the display cases assembled from scratch in which the European arts of the Renaissance would blossom in other regions of the world. The extra-European creations of the sixteenth century are indissociable from these physical frames, which impressed the minds of the indigenous population and reassured the colonists. The latter were glad to gather in these protective and familiar shells, which reminded them of the cities and environments they had left behind. How can the thousands of square meters of frescoes painted in the Andes and Mexico be analyzed without studying their insertion in the space of sanctuaries, relating them to the cloisters and parvises that were the scene of religious dramas and processions organized by monks and Indian neophytes?

These cathedrals, we should not forget, also echoed with a sound imported from Europe. They housed chapels of instrumentalists, boomed with the music of organs imported from Seville or built on the spot. European music circulated from the great Iberian and Flemish centers, with scores arriving in accompaniment with the ocean travels of missionaries and bishops. It carved out a place for itself first of all in Lima and Mexico, then in all other cloisters and monasteries. This is how Western music was born.

How can this Western art be defined? By an evident tendency to reproduce as faithfully as possible the modes, styles, and tastes of the old lands of Europe. What is true of music and sculpture is equally so for the painting that emerged from the workshops of Mexico, Lima, and Quito in the second half of the sixteenth century. But this first Western art also rubbed shoulders with other novelties. At the same time, crossbreeding between local traditions and European models proliferated. In many places, mestizo arts carved out an unexpected place in the new planetary landscape. It is true that the conditions of their appearance were extremely diverse, and equally so the meaning that may be attributed to these creations. Once again, the relations between artists, traditions, and societies were less a matter of “cultural exchanges” than of a balance of forces. The extraordinary flourishing of African ivories can only be explained by the arrival of the Portuguese on the African coasts and the establishment of the slave trade. Yet this balance of forces cannot be reduced to the mechanisms of profit and economic exploitation. It involved more subtle transfers that have long escaped observation. The Spanish colonization of America, for example, and that of the Portuguese in India, spread cognitive frameworks that went beyond the issues at stake in a simple modification of the local iconographic repertoire. These frameworks mobilized complex mechanisms, starting with the very notion of representation, which had no equivalent in the indigenous worlds of America. Three-dimensional figuration, then the introduction of perspective, the individualized representation of the human figure, and quite simply the new political and religious uses systematically conferred on creation and imagery of European origin, were some of the innovations that the Iberians carried with them, and that they imposed whenever they had the means to do so.

Local “artists” never passively accepted this aesthetic conquest. The degree to which the indigenous craftsmen reacted, their margins of maneuver, their more or less rapid mastery of the new techniques, explain the tremendous variety of mestizo creations that proliferated from India to Japan, Manila to Mexico, and Brazil to Angola. It is still hard to draw up a list of them all today, given how reluctant art history is to excavate in these fields.

Some mestizo creations travel and some do not. This is again a crucial distinction. While Western art is defined by its necessary presence outside of Western Europe, the mestizo arts could in principle originate in Portugal as much as on the African coast. This was the case with the ivories manufactured

in Lisbon by slaves sent from Africa. Other productions were confined to their space of origin: the local remained local and was not universalized, as with the thousands of square meters of frescoes decorating the churches of Mexico and Peru.¹¹ There are thus two contrasting fates: on the one hand, that of the “traveling” mestizo arts that supplied the curiosity cabinets of European countries or even those of the Forbidden City in Beijing, and on the other hand, that of the “sedentary” mestizo arts, destined to be forgotten far more quickly. The former gained a place in Europe on condition that they had been sufficiently “exoticized”: it was less their mestizo quality that was perceived than their distant origin. The latter were too bound up with local commissions or customs to penetrate into the European sphere of interest. It is significant that the Florentine Codex, adorned with thousands of indigenous drawings, some of which strike the modern sensibility as quite amazing,¹² did not attract attention until the nineteenth century (and even then, not from art historians), despite the manuscript having been housed from the sixteenth century in one of the major Renaissance libraries.

Westernization and Globalization

Analysis of artistic circuits and the explosion of creation in various forms shed an original light on the nature and diversity of the processes of worldwide diffusion. In actual fact, the tracks taken by art objects illustrate more general questions that are often hard to tackle with classic sources of a descriptive or economic character.

The opacities, frontiers, and resistances observed between spaces and registers (European/Western/mestizo) impel a distinction between two major dynamics which we have labelled “Westernization” and “globalization.” The former engaged with local realities: the mestizo arts that we are briefly mentioned are one by-product of this. It is study of the forms that appeared in Africa, Asia, and America, and examination of their conditions of production, that makes it possible to grasp the essence of the way in which Westernization developed and took root in non-European soil.

The other dynamic seems more subtle. Forms and techniques were exported and established themselves locally, but without coming into a relationship of shock or conflict with autochthonous traditions and practices. These creations, which essentially circulated in the higher spheres of the colonial world, aimed at offering the Iberian and mestizo elites the most faithful replica possible of the art produced and consumed in the Iberian peninsula. When this art evolved, change always proceeded in step with the transformations and fashions that creation underwent on European soil. Though seemingly impervious to local developments, it kept up relations with European workshops. This art, moreover, ended up being in a sense

“purer” or more Eurocentered than its European source or reference. It is surprising, in fact, that no signs can be seen in the sixteenth-century colonial painting of New Spain of representations of American nature, landscapes, or indigenous people, not even a few exotic touches such as the monkeys, parrots, and sheaves of maize that one frequently comes across in production from Antwerp and Flanders. The works of the great Mexican painters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century display this absolute fidelity to European canons, as if the European image, its possession and contemplation, served to reassert the position of the ruling milieus, and the abyss dividing them from the Indian masses. And hence to act as a barrier against mixtures that would have ended up dissolving the European contribution in a dangerous lack of differentiation. The globalization of European art was an instrument that contributed to maintaining a watertight wall between a gradually universalized heritage and the tide of cross-fertilization and syncretism that laid siege to all colonial societies. It is understandable that this globalization, as we define it here, despite going hand in hand with Westernization and its cohort of cross-fertilized by-products, should occupy a quite singular place in the process of worldwide diffusion.

Martin Heidegger was the first to have formulated the implacable force of the process of globalization, writing that “The fundamental event of modernity is the conquest of the world as picture.”¹³ European cartography made practical application of this principle by deciding on a way of representing the globe and imposing this on the rest of the planet: we need only think of what was one of the most accomplished forms of this, the atlas of Ortelius.¹⁴ But the same observation holds good for all European images, which were all based on the idea of production and representation. Iberian “globalization” did not simply lead to the planetary space being made into a globe or a map, making this “conceived image” a substitute for the planet in the minds of Europeans. It distilled ways of seeing the world that would increasingly appear over the following centuries as the only way of apprehending it. It is in this framework that we can and must reconsider the vogue for mannerist imagery, both intercontinental and irresistible, which seduced the Indians of Mexico, the Japanese nobility, and the Persian artists at the court of the Great Mughal.¹⁵

These two facets of Iberian worldwide diffusion—Westernization and globalization—do not just bear on the world of artistic production. We can observe how outside the world of art there was a proliferation of intermingling, whether cultural, linguistic, religious, technological, or institutional. The fact is that Westernization constantly provoked reactions of adaptation, adjustment, and diversion. The Church, either directly or indirectly, ceaselessly aroused syncretism of various kinds—such as the Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain—while indigenous populations everywhere reacted to the inculcation of Christianity by reappropriating it and reworking it. In a number of hand-picked domains, on the other hand, all bound up with the most sophisticated

or most elite forms of expression of Iberian colonization—philosophy, law, science, literature, and the arts—everything happened as if the extra-European environment and its often so singular and unprecedented characteristics were never taken into account, or remained without any effect on the European framework that was superimposed on these. “Globalized” ideas and forms developed and crystallized within a sphere that seemed totally indifferent to place, impervious to local tradition, and deaf to non-European societies, from Mexico to Goa.

In other words, analysis of artistic creation demonstrates the existence, behind the frontal strategies of Westernization, of a quite different kind of diffusion, restraining cross-fertilization by sheltering models of European origin from any “contamination.” The mestizo productions that arose under the effect of Westernization were most often destined to occupy only local territories, circumscribed zones that reflect the compartmentalization of the continents and the planet. They crossed the ocean to reach Iberian Europe only at the price of a neutralization that exoticized them, and a fate that took them straight into those luxury cemeteries of the future that cabinets of curiosities would be. The sumptuous feather mosaics that New Spain sent to Seville, Madrid, and Rome, for example, were quickly forgotten at the back of the cupboard. Traditions and styles exported from Europe, on the other hand, globalized and gave birth to remarkably similar works from Nagasaki to Quito.

Is it possible to go beyond the distinction between globalization and Westernization, and reveal a further major feature of Iberian globalization?

Americanization

The projection of European societies, and therefore a part of modern Europe, across the Atlantic, led on the one hand to processes of Westernization, and on the other hand to reactions of adaptation and reappropriation *in situ*, in other words cross-fertilizations. But there was more to it than this. Phenomena of continental reformatting and change specific to the New World actually proliferated right the way through the colonial era, and are still continuing in our own day. They are summed up under the term “Americanization,” a word that is used here not in the narrow conventional sense of the effects of the culture of the US on the rest of the world. In other words, the colonial stage—the stage of reception and imposition—could also be the prelude to a long work of gestation, thus of recomposition and amplification capable of steady extension to vast regions. This amounts to asserting that the European, African, and Asian elements imported from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and brought into contact with one another, acquired on American soil capacities of diffusion and amplification that the original materials were

far from possessing. From this time on, the “colonial” zones ceased to appear as essentially receptive blind alleys, becoming active areas within which certain features that were originally European, African, or Amerindian were transformed by acquiring characteristics and dynamics that rendered them apt to world spread.

What is true of Christianity (which became a genuinely universal religion by implanting itself in the New World) or of the European notion of law (which from being originally limited to the land of Castile in the Iberian peninsula was extended to the whole of a continent stretching into both hemispheres) holds equally for artistic creation. The plastic arts and music that came from the other side of the Atlantic owe much to this process of local transformation—of “anthropophagy,” to use the expression of Brazilian modernists—followed by redeployment on a wider scale. We have shown elsewhere how much the weight of the image in twentieth-century Latin America is indissociable from its colonial and indigenous prehistory.¹⁶ It is undeniable that it was the Americanization of the European image, by the work of European, Indian, and mestizo artists, but also by the massive use made of these by temporal and spiritual powers, that prepared it for diffusion to the rest of the world—on condition that we no longer adopt a colonial perspective here, but rather that of the Braudelian *longue durée*.

How should this Americanization be explained? From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, religious imagery served as a powerful vector of Westernization. For the first time, this European export was systematically confronted with non-Western populations who cultivated other modes of representation and communication, to say nothing of quite different aesthetics. The “war of images” that we have already described at length¹⁷ was not content to accompany economic, political, and religious colonization. It was the occasion, in Mexico, Brazil, and Peru, for fully exploiting visual support to spread representations of space, visions of the natural and supernatural world, that greatly contributed to integrating the indigenous, black, and mestizo populations into Spanish domination. This was made possible on American soil because it profited from the instruments offered by a solid colonial settlement, which was not the case in either Japan, China, or India, even if the attraction that the mannerist image spontaneously exercised was able to prefigure the rise that imagery of European origin would later see across the world.¹⁸ In the case of Spanish and Portuguese America, the European image also exercised a strong attraction, but here it was neither the object of free choice nor an effect of fashion. In the American framework European imports not only had to adapt to unprecedented contexts, and thus be re-formatted by cross-fertilization, but they also profited here from the upsurge of colonialism (which would lay siege to a large part of the planet in other forms in the nineteenth century) and thereby became “universalizable.”

Americanization did not stop with Latin American independence. It had its effects over a very *longue durée*, as we have indicated. It continued and culminated in the twentieth century, when the mestizo musics of the Americas, from the US to Argentina, became the dominant reference for all other popular music across the world. It was in fact the metamorphosis of European sounds and African rhythms on the American continent that fertilized the planetary sound world in which we now bathe. In the same way, it is the European melodrama revisited by Hollywood and the major Latin American television channels that is the source of the series of *telenovelas* that circulate worldwide.¹⁹

This perspective challenges Eurocentric analyses of European expansion and the routines of art history. It spurs us to reconsider of the place of Europe, but also that of the New World—the American staging post—in the processes of worldwide diffusion, and to abandon the idea that the rest of the world, outside of Europe, is made up of exotic and minor peripheries, or that it is enough to invoke “cultural exchanges” in order to change tack and correct our viewpoint. Worldwide diffusion does not act in every direction and in the same way. Not only does it encounter resistances and blockages (which there is no room to deal with here), but it develops along trajectories and lines of force that were often set in place from the sixteenth century on, with the advance of the Iberians, and have not ceased since then to reconfigure themselves. It is the task of the historian to retrace these routes and invent a history of art that genuinely takes into account the diversity of timeframes and angle of vision, the incessant play of interactions and transitions that punctuate the last five centuries of world history.

Notes

- 1 On this concept of mobilization, see Peter Sloterdijk, *La mobilisation infinie. Vers une critique de la cinétique politique* (Paris: Points Essai, no. 503, 2011).
- 2 Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde. Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: La Martinière, 2004), *passim*.
- 3 I realize that the term “mannerism” is the object of a continuing debate among art historians, and deliberately use it in this analysis as I have done in my previous work.
- 4 Tomasso Campanella, *Monarchie d'Espagne et monarchie de France*, ed. Germana Ernst (Paris: PUF, 1997), ch. 32, “Della navigazione,” 356 ff.
- 5 By “European notion of representation,” we mean the usual and modern European notion of representation based upon the dual relation between significant and signified.
- 6 Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- 7 *Historia del gran reino de la China*, Biblioteca de Viajeros Hispánicos, Madrid, Miraguano, Polifemo, 1990 (1st ed. Rome: Vicentio Accolti, 1585), 120.
- 8 *Exotica, The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer* (Lisbon: Callouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2001), *passim*.

- 9 Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde*, 46.
- 10 Detlef Heicamp, *Mexico and the Medici* (Florence: Editrice Edam, 1972).
- 11 Serge Gruzinski, *L'aigle et la sibylle. Fresques indiennes des couvents du Mexique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1994).
- 12 Serge Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind: The Intellectual Dynamics of Colonization and Globalization* (New York: Routledge, 2002).
- 13 Martin Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *Off the Beaten Track* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 71.
- 14 Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570).
- 15 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 16 Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Christopher Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 For a study of the vogue that Dürer's work enjoyed at the court of the Great Moghul in the early seventeenth century, see Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology*, 51.
- 19 Louise Bénat-Tachot, Serge Gruzinski, and Boris Jeanne, eds., *Les processus d'américanisation*, vol. 1, *Ouvertures théoriques* (Paris: Le Manuscrit Recherche-Université, 2011).

CIRCULATION AND BEYOND— THE TRAJECTORIES OF VISION IN EARLY MODERN EURASIA

Monica Juneja

The “global turn” in the humanities and the social sciences has finally begun to impact the discipline of art history, one of the slowest among the humanities to respond to the challenge of new methodologies. While the subjects investigated by art historians—artists, objects, and practices, further curators, patrons, and collectors—have all had mobile histories across the centuries, the disciplinary frameworks and institutional settings within which art history has been located have been those constituted according to fixed and stable units such as the nation-state or civilizational entities dating to the nineteenth century. Art history today cannot be viewed any more as a purely “Western” discipline in that it no longer retains an exclusively “originary” attachment to its parochial beginnings in Europe; during its global journeys to other regions of the world it has acquired new roots and undergone adaptations and reconfigurations responding to local and regional contingencies. Many of the young post-colonial nations of Asia, joined today by the younger post-cold war nations of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, all seek to define national identity through notions of unique civilizational achievement. Disciplines here have come to be closely tied to identity formations around the nation: this has meant that the nation is the unit of analysis; a narrative of its unique achievements, past and present, explained purely from within, is transmitted through disciplines and institutions—the university, the museum, and the heritage industry. And yet, dissenting voices—both building on post-colonial theoretical positions and also responding to impulses from the rapidly expanding field of globalization studies—have made themselves heard over the last decade or so in different locations, mainly in West, but also in Asia. Indeed we are all familiar with a proliferating vocabulary brought forth by this

scholarship which highlights porous boundaries, mobility, fuzziness, flows, entanglement, hybridity, *métissage*, creolization, in-between-ness and the like, all intended as critical tools to pry open units of investigation structured around stable entities—national or civilizational—where the understanding of culture coincides with linguistic and territorial boundaries, primarily those delineated by the nation-state. The notion of circulation which forms the organizing principle of this collection can be viewed as one more avatar of the move to critique the notion of localized, bounded cultures.

Circulation may possess more than a single genealogy—used as it often is as a common-sense term to speak of mobility, the term was coined as an analytical category with reference to South Asia some ten years back in a collection of essays brought together by Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam.¹ The editors elucidate the notion as one which goes beyond simple mobility, rather as denoting “a double movement of going forth and coming back, which can be repeated infinitely.”² They regard circulation as a motor of transformation which implies more than “the simple reproduction across space of already formed structures and notions.”³ More recently and in a similar vein, writings on globalization, migration, and modern media—mainly authored by scholars of Asia located in the West—have hailed a world with dissolving boundaries, marked by global flows, a term associated above all with Arjun Appadurai.⁴ Historians of cultural transfers⁵ argue along similar lines, drawing attention to the incremental aspect of mobility. The concept of *métissage* was deployed productively by Serge Gruzinski, not only to sensitize us to the normality of border-crossing and cultural mixing, but to underline its subversive value—in language and artistic expression—in a colonial context of asymmetrical power relations.⁶ Together with other similarly connoted terms such as “hybridity” and “creolization,” these notions had fulfilled an important explanatory function at the time they were coined; above all they have come as a corrective to reified conceptions of alterity and identity. And yet today these and other such terms have, as they too have become globalized, suffered dilution from inflationary usage. The explanatory power of hybridity, for instance, remains limited by the presupposition, implicit in the term’s indelible biologicistic overtones, of “pure” cultures which then somehow blend or merge into a “hybrid” that is treated as a state beyond enunciation or articulation. This and other terms often end up as theoretical straitjackets into which experiences of global relationships can be accommodated without further investigation of the processes and agents involved—and thus at the cost of the precision necessary to grasp the specificity and dynamics of these relationships themselves. It becomes necessary, therefore, to move beyond metaphors or umbrella terms such as cultural flows, hybridity, or any cognate, deployed to capture exchanges transgressing cultural, linguistic, and material boundaries. Circulation, I would argue, is an important entry point which

challenges us to take our enquiry to another register so as to find a precise language to theorize the morphology of the many possible relationalities that are engendered by mobility and encounter. This means having to supplement macro-perspectives by descending into the thicket of localities—urban and rural, past and present, central and at the margins—in which the dynamics of actual encounters involving a host of actors, practices, and temporalities can be unraveled.

Circulatory practices in the world of contemporary art—the augmented visibility and accessibility of artistic productions from across the globe in exhibitions of various scales, no longer exclusively confined to the West—have provided an important stimulus to rethinking some of the disciplinary premises of art history. The collapse of canonical certainties which the very visibility of such works and the modes of their framing and reception induce, the progressive disjunction between a plurality of art forms and practices, and the focus of a discipline and its values which claim universality, have become an important source of reflexivity for investigations through art history as a whole and beyond the confines of the contemporary. While earlier paradigms ascribed to cultures an inbuilt stability and subsumed experiences of braidedness under the taxonomic categories of “influence,” “borrowing,” or “transfer,” closer attention to the transformatory potential of circulation can show the way to rethinking existing frameworks. Here the notion of transculturation,⁷ by positing an understanding of culture that is marked by a condition of being made and remade, helps carry the enquiry further. To begin with, it urges us to problematize the way we conceptualize our units of investigation in the first place, following from the implications of circulation and transfer, but going beyond their methodological premises. In other words, historical units and boundaries cannot be taken as given, rather have to be constituted as a subject of investigation, as products of spatial and cultural displacements. Units of investigation are constituted neither mechanically following the territorial-cum-political logic of modern nation-states nor according to civilizational categories drawn up by the universal histories of the nineteenth century, but are continually defined as participants in and as contingent upon the historical relationships in which they are implicated. This would further mean approaching time and space as non-linear and non-homogenous, defined through the logic of circulatory practices.

Attention to circulation and acknowledging the importance of an art history of connections challenges us to find an analytical language adequate to bringing multiple regional experiences within a shared framework of questions, without flattening diversity. This brings me back to the question raised earlier about the different possibilities built into transregional relationships—these involve dealing with assimilative mechanisms of cultures as well as coming to grips with qualities of unhinging or

disruption that equally follow from circulation. In a recently articulated programmatic position Sanjay Subrahmanyam has put forward the view that relationships between cultures are mediated through the “production of commensurability.”⁸ He proposes this to counter the prevalent and influential notion of cultural incommensurability, which he regards as a legacy of a particular strain of anthropology or of the linguistic turn which, whatever purpose it may have served in the past, has “outlived its utility.”⁹ The underlying binary here between the culturally “impermeable” and “entering into relationships” in the wake of encounter¹⁰ does not seem to be particularly useful, for the notion of hermetically sealed cultures today is a construct no longer to be taken seriously. Indeed what constitutes the commensurable itself is an open question and calls for reflection about the premises upon which this is “produced.”¹¹ At the same time the “incommensurable” between cultures finds articulation through difference and the ways it is dealt with, both by historically situated contemporaries and by modern scholarship. Both incommensurability and commensurability, I would argue, are seemingly paradoxical dimensions of encounters: they are better grasped as processes rather than reified or static attributes, and could be viewed as constituting a field of forces where they are negotiated through the mediation of different historical agents and practices that repeatedly produce different grades of the commensurable and incommensurable in specific historical conjunctures and local contexts. Their coexistence can induce reflexivity and transformative impulses which are constitutive for the cultures and individuals involved. The analytical tools required to come to grips with the shifting tensions between the commensurable and incommensurable bring us to the limits of existing explanatory models which focus primarily on cultural flows, transfers, or mobility.

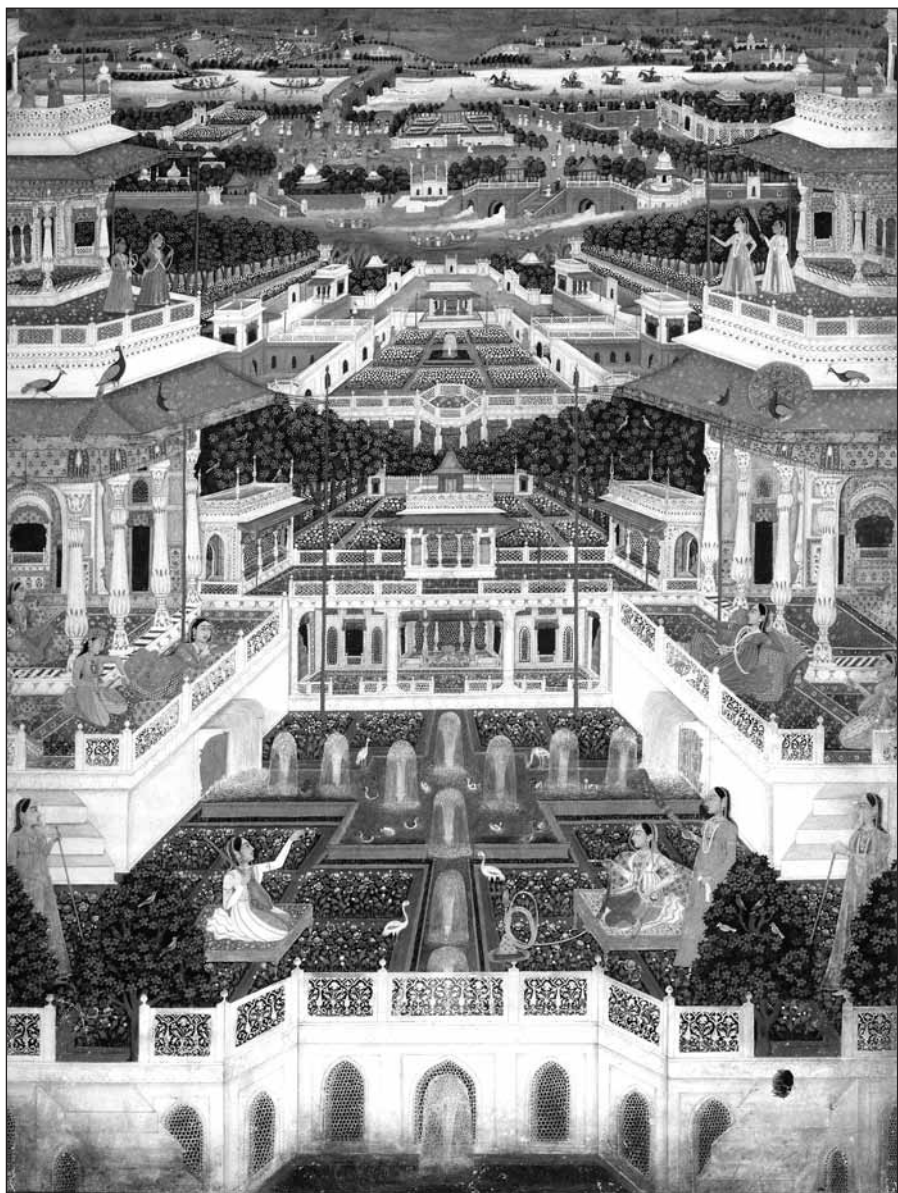
These issues become germane to the field of art history and visual studies once we frame these transregionally and begin to investigate the range of culturally inflected meanings and practices associated with visibility and the act of seeing. The art historical problem of conceptualizing vision goes beyond the simple mobility and adoption of motifs or iconographies¹² or even pictorial formulae, though these are part of a circulatory regime and constituent elements of a work of art which becomes a site to reflect upon the cultural and philosophical underpinnings of its own practices as well as those which it encounters. These are some of the dimensions my chapter will empirically flesh out in the following sections.

This study of the ways vision comes to be configured and reconfigured in the specific regional context of South Asia can be located in a small but articulate research field which brings together studies of visibility with those of European encounters with cultures in South America, Asia, and Africa.¹³ While my work has responded to many of the impulses that have emanated from this field, it positions itself at the same time in relation to recent moves

in art history towards incorporating different regions of the world within a single framework of shared questions. The various initiatives in this direction have been written about elsewhere.¹⁴ Summarizing the thrust of this research, it is relevant to mention that theoretical stances in the field of “world art studies” have tended to alternate between two poles: between the view which considers ways of seeing as constituting a human universal, a common anthropological denominator that holds humans together across time and space “as they have been making art for millennia,”¹⁵ and the extreme relativist position which advocates the use of each cultural tradition’s core concepts of visibility and the image, whose incommensurability and fixity are assumed.¹⁶ As distinct from these positions I propose that vision itself needs to be a subject of historical investigation rather than assuming it to be a factor common to human societies. This includes studying both the distinctive cultural possibilities built into the act of seeing as well as the formative shifts within its practices as new relationalities are negotiated in the wake of cultural encounters. Historicizing vision means arguing that seeing and the representation of the “seen” onto a two-dimensional surface of a painted page are culturally and socially constituted processes, which need to be unpacked beyond a simple cultural relativism. This in turn implies deconstructing those systems of representation which art history has canonized as modern and scientific in a universalist sense; in other words it calls for a reflexive engagement with the ways in which the disciplines, interpretive molds, and languages that have evolved to explain and theorize these practices are themselves a product of modern concerns.

Let me begin my investigation of ways of configuring vision in South Asia with a few words about the geographical framing of this study. While the focus of my research is South Asia, I constitute this unit of investigation within a transcultural frame in the sense mentioned above. In other words this analysis examines the history of visual representation and practices as constituted through migration and interrelationships between material objects, images, and actors across a vast Eurasian zone during the early modern period,¹⁷ connected through diplomacy, evangelization, and economic transactions, as also through ritual, gifting, and kinship networks. To what extent is the encounter with the world beyond the locality mediated through and constituted by the painted image? And following from this, how does the image itself through its processes of production and enactment of multiple regimes of sight and time become a metonym for mobility and communication across cultures, even though this may not necessarily mean the uniform diffusion of a shared, more “rational” or “scientific” way of seeing?

Let us enter the subject with two images from North Indian courts which raise a number of questions to take this enquiry further. The first image is a painting from the North Indian province of Awadh, a successor



3.1 *Harem and the Garden*, ascribed to Faiz Allah, 1765. Copenhagen, The David Collection, 46/1980. Photo: Pernille Klemp

state of the Mughal Empire, dating to somewhere around 1765 (Fig. 3.1). The viewer gazes both into the interior of a palace and outside of it into the surrounding gardens, pavilions, and terraces. The palace complex is peopled with women and their attendants, the vista extends far into the distance, beyond the architecture to a river lively with boats and noblemen playing water polo; further we observe a procession led by a ruler seated on an elephant, while standard bearers carry a banner. We are presented with a panoramic view which both opens up interior spaces and stretches outwards to a distant horizon. The use of such encompassing views can be observed as a compositional device dating to at least three quarters of a century earlier. European images—mainly Flemish and North European paintings and engravings which created panoramic views through perspectival vision—were available to North Indian artists from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁸ However, unlike the European models, the page we are looking at is not organized according to a single vanishing point; rather it contains many views from different perspectives, different planes plotted onto a single composition, allowing the viewer access to details of each unit, far more than any real-world spectator would be able to see. Such a phenomenon of presenting a field with potentially multiple vignettes rather than a coherent spatial unit, or of combining different or contrasting pictorial modes and plotting multiple temporalities on a single plane, can be observed in South Asian manuscript painting over a long period: examples date from the high noon of pictorial production at the Mughal courts under the patronage of the emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan about which much has already been written.¹⁹

The second image dates to a century and a half earlier—it is a painting by the artist Madhu Khanazad produced in the court workshop of the Mughal emperor Akbar at Lahore in 1595 (Fig. 3.2). It belongs to a Persian manuscript, the *Khamasa* of the poet Nizami.²⁰ The text was first composed in Iran at the turn of the thirteenth century (CE) and underwent many re-editions. Three hundred years later, a new and this time richly illustrated edition was produced in North India. In this particular episode, Aflatun, the Persian name for Plato, forms part of the circle of Greek philosophers at the court of Alexander—or Sikandar, as he is called in Persian. To outdo his rival Aristu (Aristotle), Aflatun invents an instrument based on the laws of universal harmony, on which he produces such soul-stirring music that can attract the animals of the wilderness and charm them to the point of intoxication. In the words of the poet Nizami, when he played on it “neither did the young wolf attack the sheep nor did the fierce lion pay attention to the wild ass.”²¹ Nizami’s commentary became the basis of an earlier interpretation of this image, where it was read as an example of a cultural transfer of Orphic notions of universal harmony, grafted onto Solomonic ideals of perfect justice symbolized by the peaceful concord of animals. This

ideal was then adapted by the Mughal rulers to ideologically frame notions of kingship.²² Without undermining this earlier view I would like to look at this image from another perspective, drawing attention to some of its features that have remained unexplained in earlier interpretations: I refer to aspects which go beyond the literary requirements of the text and are therefore unique to the visual representation of the subject, an aspect which marked the practice of court artists, both in Iran and North India.²³ To begin with, the musical instrument which Aflatun plays has been described in the text as an *arghanun*, an organ whose creation is credited to the tenth-century philosopher Al Farabi. It was made by stretching a gazelle skin, perfumed with musk, over a gourd, and to which strings are set. In Madhu Khanazad's painting the instrument is a European pipe organ, based on a real example that had made its way to North India through one of many networks of exchange of objects, and which in the painted image comes to function as a sign of cultural difference. This is reinforced by a further characteristic of the painted image. Embedded in the organ is a collage of tinted drawings, each one proclaiming its specific cultural moorings: the bust of a man, whose hat is a marker of his European identity; below is the image of an artist painting a European; on the left above, a Christian scene, a Nativity or the Annunciation, of which several examples were available to and copied by local artists; and below a drawing of Majnu in the desert communing with animals. This particular mode of engagement with migrant images and traditions calls for investigation: we have a practice of referencing or citation from different visual traditions—both the local and the distant—as a particular form of incorporation, one which signals towards difference, juxtaposes, but without assimilating or erasing that difference. That which is appropriated is not fully absorbed, but simply made visible by juxtaposing to a different pictorial mode, with little attention paid to a coherent narrative. On the contrary, the inserted elements disrupt the narrative as they remain alien to it. Such a system of cross-pictorial referencing still needs to be theorized; it has either been overlooked or dismissed as idiosyncratic, since histories of cultural transfer or flows have sought to chart the travels of “modern” and “scientific” practices of visual representation emanating from Western Europe and their spread to distant and absorptive peripheries of the globe.

Explanations offered for the phenomena described in both the images above—of juxtaposing either seemingly incongruous modes of vision or of single elements used as pictorial codes—all recognize mobility as an evident and crucial factor. At the same time, however, they rest on the premise that a canonical pictorial mode—the naturalist-perspectival mode of illusionism, based on certain forms of recession and organization of space around a single vanishing point together with the use of techniques such as *trompe l'oeil* and *sfumato*—developed as a rational and modern form of sight and plotting the



3.3 Philips Galle, *Saint Matthew and the Angel*, engraving, 1562, after Maarten van Heemskerck, Flemish. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds

world in Europe where it repudiated a “medieval way of seeing.” Following a linear logic, this then is believed to have traveled as a fully formed and self-confident mode to other regions of the world. The encounter with local regimes of visibility is frequently characterized in terms of partial absorption or failure to attain a full technical mastery required by illusionist forms. An art historical discourse about “difficulties” experienced by North Indian artists to dispose figures in space that would make for spatial coherence, marked by a consensus around the idea of failure to attain a perfect pictorial vision, underlines much writing on the subject. In what follows, the images I look at could be regarded as a condensation of temporal moments, which then act as a space to make difference encountered through circulation visible, a site on which to negotiate and theorize about it.

The Jesuit missions were initially the principal agents involved in the transmission of visual and material artifacts—engravings, paintings, crucifixes—from centers in Europe to locations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The images which we view as vehicles of Western visual practice were shaped by Christianity on its global routes via its missions. These were primarily engravings produced at centers such as Antwerp. These included

the famous Polyglot Bible as well as Flemish, German, and Italian prints whose production was anchored in a context of Christian devotional imagery: they were intended as a source of Christian narratives in keeping with the Council of Trent's conviction that images possessed the power to capture "the visual senses and lead man to recognition of a higher truth."²⁴ In other words such images were about visualizing Christian doctrine and closing the gap between faith and reason. From that perspective the seemingly fluid connection between real and pictorial space was meant to mirror the heavenly in earthly terms along an articulated continuum.

A couple of examples would illustrate this. The print *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (Fig. 3.3) refers to the truth of the gospel signified by the writing of the word by St. Matthew, a motif which was read in the South Asian context through the filter of archetypal debates, both scholarly and theological, about truth and falsity. The second example is an engraving by Raphael Sadeler of a painting by the Flemish artist Martin de Vos—*Dolor*—which in turn is a homage to Dürer's *St Jerome in his Study*, portraying the contemplative life of a Christian saint (Fig. 3.4). Both these prints provide examples of attempted spatial illusion, which is, however, technically

3.4 Raphael Sadeler, *Dolor*, engraving, 1591, after Maerten de Vos (1465).
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harry Brisbane Dick Fund, 1944



flawed. In both prints breaks in the lines of recession are observable. This is especially evident in the Sadeler print which effects a demarcation of inner and outer space, each subject to a different treatment. The interior features a large painting of the Last Judgment in the background, demonstrating that perspectival space went hand in hand with religious connotations. The reception of these images in the North Indian court ateliers was less in terms of a superior mode of representation that was optically exact and needed to be mastered and universally applied. Rather it was perceived as representing a specifically Western or Christian mode of pictorial practice, a distinct visuality which was then acquired through copying and deployed to present subjects considered Western/Christian. Certain motifs—such as the window with the baroque curtain—came to function as codes to stand for Western subjects and pictorial modes, as in the rendering of the Mughal artist Kesu Das of the subject of St. Matthew and the Angel.²⁵ The awareness of different modalities of seeing and translating the “seen” into image was inscribed within the few textual accounts available on the art of painting in the courts. For example, the chronicler Abu’l Fazl draws up a chronological sequence of artists and the pictorial modes they stood for: he ascribes the highest respect to the Persian master Bihzad, then refers to the “magic making” of the European artists, who possessed the quality of making “inanimate objects appear to come alive.”²⁶ These and other responses in the South Asian courts to European images and the pictorial effects they achieved were wide-ranging and ambivalent. The theme of illusion exercised enormous fascination: engagements with it through practices of copying, juxtaposing, or playful reversals display an intrinsic attraction to the enabling potentialities of naturalistic visual regimes—the “magical” power Abu’l Fazl and Jesuit accounts refer to. At the same time, illusionist ways of seeing, when they travel to South Asia, enter a field of opposing pulls because vision itself—in the Asian contexts I examine—was implicated in a set of theological and literary discourses wherein the image is perceived both as a space of desire, and yet its seductive power could lead to a form of capitulation dangerously close to idolatry.²⁷

In the discussion on the engagement with illusionist art it might be useful not to think of it as purely a matter of acquiring expertise over a set of techniques and a form of coded information in order to enhance the narrative performance of an image. Instead, the discussion needs to address the philosophical underpinnings of this way of seeing and representing the world. In the early modern Eurasian context investigated here, the semantic content of illusionist vision would appear to function as a metaphor for philosophical and theological questions. Indeed, the entire edifice of ethical and epistemological discourses upon which rests the interpretation of illusionism and its particular uses—selective and in combination with non-illusionist forms—forms a vast subject which awaits detailed research. At this

juncture I can only refer to some of the philosophical underpinnings of the idea of a supposedly coherent or controllable vision of the world.

In literary texts and aesthetic discussions which were a shared resource among elites of imperial courts across Central and South Asia during the centuries following Mongolian invasions, an illusionist representational mode was identified with a form of deception which erodes the space between the viewer and the image—it leads to seduction and a form of capitulation—and fosters a relationship between the viewer and the image which could blur the boundary between absorbed viewing and idol-worship.²⁸ This view expresses a discernible tension between theological and philosophical caution against idolatry and seductive powers of the image—the latter points to a fascination with the communicative potential of the visual medium and its ideological uses, as can be observed in the rich reservoir of paintings of court life as well as allegorical representations of imperial ideals. The tension between the two was articulated, for instance, through the foundation myths about painting. One example of such a myth was narrated in the *Sikandar Nama*—stories from Alexander's court—and translated in different languages over centuries; it travelled with migrant warriors to new sites where they established kingdoms. Among these was the story of a competition between the painters of Rum and Chin (Greece and China) retold in the *Khamisa* by the poet Nizami, which then travelled in numerous versions across Asia: Alexander had to judge which side had the most skilled artists.²⁹ The two groups of painters had a wall as a surface upon which they could demonstrate their skills, separated by a curtain. While the Greeks painted a picture on the wall, the Chinese simply polished the surface to mirror-like perfection. When the curtain was drawn the painting was reflected in the mirror, the lesson being: one form of illusion replicates itself. Another circulating tale was that of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism, also an artist, who, when arriving in China, was deceived by the appearance of a pond made of perfectly polished glass, from which he tried to fill his pitcher, but ended up breaking it. In revenge he painted a dead dog with entrails torn out of the corpse, all made to look utterly naturalistic, beside the real pond, which prevented the villagers from coming there to get their daily supply of water.³⁰

The conclusion of this and similar stories which circulated and made up a shared universe across Asia and the Mediterranean was the slippery gap between truth and illusion, the skillful lie that can seduce but is not real. Similarly the Hindu cosmos was governed by the belief that while the gods had the power to confuse the real and the illusory (*maya*), the devotees were constantly challenged to distinguish one from the other. This message was conveyed by a painting from the court of Bikaner, drawn from the text *Bhagwata Purana*, whose narrative on the life of Krishna was transmitted through recitations over generations of devotees.³¹ The painting depicts the story of Krishna who responds to a prank played by the God Brahma

by creating a group of perfectly simulated young cowherds and their flock within a natural and architectural setting whose life-like appearance manages to deceive the world. The artist has skillfully drawn on techniques of illusion and *sfumato* to problematize the dangers of *maya* or illusion to create real-like effects which are meant to deceive. Here too, multiple regimes, contrasts between illusionist and non-illusionist modes, all made available through the circulation of images across Eurasia and within regional courts in the Indian subcontinent, are encompassed through a play of the commensurable with its opposite within a single image to convey a theological message about vision. It can be argued that the availability of contrasting modes enables the creation of a transformed conception of pictorial space. Drawing upon Michel de Certeau's designation of space (*espace*) in literary-cum-urban topographies³² as an intersection of mobile elements—as opposed to the stability of a place (*lieu*)—pictorial space too, as the above examples reveal, can function as a polyvalent unity of opposing orders. Space is no longer univocal or stable; its inclusion of multiple “vectors of direction”³³ allows it to bring together narrative with iconic functions and in the process introduce a fresh dynamic into an image brought to life through words and recitation, as in the case of a large number of paintings that accompany narratives such as the *Bhagwata Purana*. Artists of many of these works continue to draw upon a sub-stratum of iconic practices which date as far back to early Buddhist representation of the *jātaka* tales where linear narrativity is renounced in favor of indexical signs which serve as reminders of the Buddha's presence;³⁴ yet they are now able to infuse iconicity with a fresh dynamic wherein the narrative content can evoke a variety of memories, actions, and emotions.

The arguments and empirical materials presented above suggest that tracing circulatory practices and mobility show the way to another level of analysis which takes us beyond the phenomenon of simple flows—the need to examine moments of transculturation which are comprised of pulls in different and opposing directions. When investigating cultural constructs of vision, the interactive moments are also about the encounter between the material and the visual. It involves on the one hand questioning the notion of art as primarily visual: in the South Asian context where seeing was one element of a “corporethetic” sensibility³⁵ we need to address the interface between the material, visual, aural, and sensorial as palpable objects from distant shores were transposed onto the two-dimensional plane of an image, be it painted from a crucifix, a globe, or an hour-glass, or cut out from prints and pasted, redrawn, relocated, or reframed.

This form of material interaction with pictorial vision found a home within albums produced by artists for their patrons. These were created following a practice I refer to as pastiche—an often negatively coded notion in art historical writing, though one which has now become fashionable

in visual studies. The term “pastiche” is being used here at two levels: to first denote a material practice, that of literally reusing picture fragments or pictures to compose new images, or to collect them in the form of albums; and in a second form as a pictorial juxtaposition of different regimes within a single painted composition to create the illusion of cutting and pasting fragments from other works. The following section examines examples of each of these variants.

The album, or *muraqqa*, was a central unit for collection and display of images. It was composed by physically cutting out fragments from existing paintings to be pasted on to the pages of the album. The Persian term *muraqqa* means patchwork and refers to cloaks worn by mendicants or Sufis with patches taken from the garments of revered saints.³⁶ The album brought together paintings—or cut-outs of them—from Persia, Northern Europe, Turkey, and the Deccan and juxtaposed them to highlight their culturally alien qualities in a way that preserved the visibility of plurality while seeking to domesticate it. Albums of paintings from Northern India furnish instances of the ways in which the album could become a site for compiling migrant images, either cut out and relocated or, more often, first copied by local artists from other sources and then cut and pasted. Images and fragments were drawn from diverse sources and placed together on pages of albums: each page becomes a space for multiple “stories”³⁷ which, however, reveal an explicit eschewal of a linear narrative. Instead, the simultaneity of times and regimes enabled through acts of abstracting, relocating, and juxtaposing, of overpainting to smooth over edges, and of layering, is constitutive of new pictorial space in which the agency to map the world is enacted through the modes of seeing it. The physical act of cutting, reassembling, and pasting—the act of combining which at the same times keeps the elements separate—works to suggest geographical distance and simultaneously a voyage across distance mediated by the haptic relationship with the material. Boundaries are delineated, crossed, and reset.

While the miniature album is rare to encounter or recover today—in view of its being often taken apart and its folios sold on the art market as individual pieces—a few stray examples are still available for scrutiny and are often reproduced in studies of Mughal art. One such example is the Gulshan album which derives its name from the Gulshan Library in Tehran, where it is conserved today. The album was composed of works of Persian masters as well as a large number of European images, copied, and then cut and pasted.³⁸

Different component elements of an album page are frequently held together by figurative borders, in turn sourced from different works and archetypal figures. Borders (*hashiyas*) work as frames which both contain an image and connect it to the space beyond. Interestingly, such borders are regularly interspersed with figures and objects—craftsmen making paper,

calligraphers at work, a manuscript stand or a pot containing gold leaf burnishing—whose subject is the production of paintings, manuscripts, and albums.³⁹ The frame then becomes a space from which the coming into being of an image as an act of production is made visible; it articulates a process which illusionism effaces from the painted surface.

The phenomenon of pastiche I have described was first a physical act of transfer and re-contextualization of fragments. It also was reconfigured as a pictorial juxtaposition actually painted but which resorts to an illusion of cut-and-paste of visual regimes that came with migrant images. This practice was used to create specific viewing habits, frames, and codes, all of which sought to reflexively problematize the complexity of vision and its potential to signify and mobilize that went beyond a “factual” observation of the world and nature. These ideas cluster in the following work, which is a more self-conscious attempt to lay bare the transactions built into the act of image production as the fabrication of illusion.

A painting from the Jahangir album in Berlin, for instance, simulates the idea of pastiche through four figures placed next to each other, above and below on the flat picture plane.⁴⁰ Three of the figures are clearly artists: the one on the right is shown painting a landscape with agile figures, possibly the scene of a hunt, while the other paints what seems like a picture of the Virgin Mary. It further features a picture within a picture which multiplies infinitely: an artist on the top left is shown offering a picture, in the characteristic posture marked by humility, to an imaginary person out of the picture frame. A closer look at the object he offers reveals it to be a self-portrait proffered to an imaginary person who occupies the space of the viewer. The painting with its discrete spatial compartments which look like a collage shows awareness of naturalist representation while itself presenting a conception of space inconsistent with the norms of naturalism.

The challenge of historicizing vision by eschewing the poles of human universals and radical cultural relativism involves examining interactive moments when mobile images and objects enter into complex relationalities engendered along the routes they travel. The move in art historical writing away from recounting a history of style—and towards relocation in the somewhat amorphous field of visual culture—proceeds, often implicitly, on the assumption of human universals. In other words, what needs to be made the object of investigation is taken as an *a priori* given. Instead of adding studies from cultural sites outside of Europe in an act of inclusion to studies which constitute an unchanging “mainstream,” this chapter has argued for the need to question the categories and the underlying assumptions of both positions: namely the perspective which proceeds on the basis of the universality of Western pictorial practices and norms which then are exported to and assimilated with varying degrees of success at sites across the globe and counter-arguments which make a case for the hermetic uniqueness

of the achievements of discrete cultural units beyond the West. Instead, shifting the analytical focus to examining processes of accommodation, refusal, and other forms of engagement at different levels, which, however, do not necessarily result in producing synchronic temporalities or erase the signs of the “incommensurable,” can productively open the field for exciting investigations.

Notes

- 1 Claude Markovits, Jacques Pouchepadass, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds., *Society and Circulation. Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750–1950* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).
- 2 Ibid., 2–3.
- 3 Ibid., 3.
- 4 Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 27–47.
- 5 Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l’espace franco-allemand (XVIII et XIX^{ème} siècle)* (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer, eds., *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003).
- 6 Serge Gruzinski, *La pensée métisse* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d’une mondialisation* (Paris: Editions de la Martinière, 2004).
- 7 The notion of transculturation was first coined in 1940 by the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in a study on Cuba. It has been recently further developed into an analytical and heuristic tool across disciplines in German- and English-language scholarship. See Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1995 English translation, 2nd ed.); Wolfgang Welsch, “Transkulturalität. Zur veränderten Verfassung heutiger Kulturen,” in *Hybridkultur. Medien, Netze, Künste*, eds. Irmela Schneider and Christian W. Thomsen (Cologne: Wienand Medien, 1997), 67–90. The concept has recently been used by Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and the Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). For the field of art history, see Monica Juneja, “Kunstgeschichte und kulturelle Differenz—eine Einleitung,” *Kritische Berichte* 40, no. 2 (2012): 6–12; for a critical position on Wolfgang Welsch, see Monica Juneja and Michael Falser, “Kulturerbe—Denkmalpflege: transkulturell. Eine Einleitung,” in *Kulturerbe—Denkmalpflege: transkulturell. Grenzgänge zwischen Theorie und Praxis* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag), 15–32, esp. 15–24.
- 8 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters. Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 209.
- 9 Ibid. This question has been further discussed by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann in his chapter in this volume.
- 10 Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, 5.
- 11 For instance, is the “commensurable,” as Dana Leibsohn asks, a category which is contingent on the intellectual and philosophical positions of modern scholarship? What kinds of erasures and exclusions do we produce in order to pursue an agenda of searching for commensurability? See Dana Leibsohn, “Introduction: Geographies of Sight,” in *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, eds. Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette F. Peterson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 5.
- 12 As in the examples discussed by Subrahmanyam on the basis of the important groundwork done by historians of Mughal art such as Robert Skelton, Ebba Koch, Milo Beach, and others. See Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters*, 156ff.; Robert Skelton, “Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting,” in Priscilla P. Soucek, ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988), 179–91; Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideologies: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001); Milo C. Beach, *Early Mughal Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); and more recently Sumathi Ramaswamy, “Conceit of the Globe in Mughal Visual Practice,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 4 (2007): 751–82.

- 13 Claire J. Farago, "Vision Itself has a History: 'Race', Nation and Renaissance Art History," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Art and Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 67–88; Claire J. Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg, eds., *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); Christopher Pinney, "Creole Europe: The Reflection of a Reflection," *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 20 (2002): 125–61; Hans Belting, *Florenz und Bagdad. Eine westöstliche Geschichte des Blicks* (Munich: Beck Verlag, 2008); Mary D. Sheriff, ed., *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Leibsohn and Peterson, eds., *Seeing Across Cultures*; Monica Juneja, "Braided Histories? Visuelle Praktiken des indischen Moghulreichs zwischen Mimesis und Alterität," *Historische Anthropologie* 16, no. 2 (2008): 187–204.
- 14 James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?* (New York: Routledge, 2007); James Elkins, Zhivka Valiavicharska, and Alice Kim, eds., *Art and Globalization* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Matthew Rampley, "Art History and Cultural Difference: Alfred Gell's Anthropology of Art," *Art History* 24, no. 4 (2005): 524–51; Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried Van Damme, eds., *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches* (Amsterdam: Valiz 2008); Monica Juneja, "Global Art History and the 'Burden of Representation,'" in *Global Studies. Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture*, eds. Hans Belting, Jakob Birken, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 2011), 274–97; see also Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann's Chapter 1 in this volume.
- 15 John Onians, *The Art Atlas* (London: Lawrence King, 2008), 11.
- 16 James Elkins speaks of "indigenous terms": see James Elkins, "Different Horizons for a Concept of the Image," in *On Pictures and Words that Fail Them* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 188–209. For a critical take on Elkins, see Parul D. Mukherjee, "Putting the World in a Book: How Global Art Can be Today," in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence*, ed. Jaynie Anderson (Carlton (Australia): Miegunyah Press, 2009), 109–15; Juneja, "Global Art History," 279–80;
- 17 The concept of a Eurasian zone was put forward in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–62. It has proved to be a useful and influential unit of framing since then.
- 18 Ebba Koch, "The Hierarchical Principles of Shah Jahani Painting," in *King of the World: The Padshahnama, an Imperial Manuscript from the Royal Library*, eds. Milo C. Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler M. Thackston (London: Azimuth Editions, 1997): 130–43.
- 19 Ibid. While Koch interprets this play with contrary aesthetics in Mughal painting as expressions of "hierarchical principles" within imperial ideologies, others have read this phenomenon in terms of a failure to absorb fully a level of technical mastery required by illusionist forms. See Milo C. Beach, "The Gulshan Album and its European Sources," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 63 (1965): 63–91; Jeremiah P. Losty, "Towards a New Naturalism: Portraiture in Murshidabad and Avadh, 1750–1780," in *After the Great Mughals: Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Barbara Schmitz (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2002), 34–55.
- 20 Barbara Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsah of Nizami* (London: British Library, 1995).
- 21 Ibid., 58.
- 22 Skelton, "Imperial Symbolism"; Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus. The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1988), 29.
- 23 Artists did not execute paintings as literal illustrations of textual accounts. See John Seyller, *Pearls of the Parrot of India: The Walters Art Museum Khamsa of Amir Khusraw of Delhi* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2001): 112–13.
- 24 Ebba Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on the Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," in *Islam in India. Studies and Commentaries*, ed. Christian W. Troll (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 14–29, reprinted in Koch, *Mughal Art*, 8.
- 25 1588, London Bodleian Library, reproduced in Andrew Topsfield, *Paintings from Mughal India* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007). Among other examples of this usage: *The Disputing Physicians*, folio from *Khamsa* of Nizami, by Miskina, reproduced in Brend, *The Emperor Akbar's Khamsa*, Fig. 3; or a leaf from an album commissioned by Jahangir featuring the Virgin and Child by the painter Basawan (painted c. 1590, subsequently included by Jahangir in the album), San Diego Museum of Art. I have discussed this image at some length in "Die Madonna des indischen Malers Basawan," in *Kanon Kunstgeschichte. Einführung in Werke und Methoden*, ed. Kristin Marek and Martin Schulz (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2015), vol. 2, 238–59.

- 26 Abu'l Fazl Allami, *A'in-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann, 2 vols. (Delhi: Low Price Publications, reprint 2001, first published 1927), vol. 1, 113–15.
- 27 For an incisive and nuanced account of idolatry in Islam, see Finbarr B. Flood, "Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm and the Museum," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (2002): 641–59, here 643ff.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600. From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 143–44.
- 30 Brend, *Mani Paints a Dead Dog* by Sur Gujarati, from *Khamasa* of Nizami, reproduced in *The Emperor Akbar's Khamasa*, Figs. 33–34.
- 31 Reproduced in Molly E. Aitken, *The Intelligence of Tradition in Rajput Court Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), Fig. 1.8 and 30–31.
- 32 Michel de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien. Arts de faire* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1980), 208–10.
- 33 Ibid., 208.
- 34 Robert L. Brown, "Narrative as Icon: The Jātaka Stories in Ancient Indian and Southeast Asian Architecture," in *Sacred Biography in Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, ed. Juliane Schober (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 64–109; Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art. Visual Narratives of India* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2005).
- 35 The term has been borrowed from Christopher Pinney, "Piercing the Skin of the Idol," in *Beyond Aesthetics. Art and the Technologies of Enchantment*, ed. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Thomas (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 157–78.
- 36 Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 181–82.
- 37 De Certeau uses the term "récits," *L'invention du quotidien*, 205–07.
- 38 Beach, "The Gulshan Album," 66, where he refers to this eclectic quality as an "indiscriminate" combination of religious and secular elements.
- 39 Early seventeenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, reproduced in John W. Guy and Jorrit Britschgi, eds., *Wonder of the Age. Master Painters of India* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2011).
- 40 Reproduced in Stuart C. Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300–1900* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1985), 105.

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CIRCULATIONS: EARLY MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN BORDERLAND

Carolyn C. Guile

A history of the early modern art and architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is in part the history of “foreign” artists, architects, and their workshops residing in or passing through the realm, including but not limited to those of Italian, German, Dutch, and French origins. Official artistic patronage was but one determining factor in the development of the artistic landscape throughout the vast state, the largest in Europe by the mid-seventeenth century.¹ The arrival of foreign artists from the German-speaking lands and Tuscany accompanied a period of significant territorial expansion in the fifteenth century under the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty,² which by the sixteenth century rivaled the Austrian Habsburgs as a significant European power.³ The genuinely multicultural landscape of Poland, the plurality of religious faiths, and the circulation of peoples also affected directly the tone and pace of artistic enterprise and change across time and space in the region. This was particularly the case in Wielkopolska (“Greater Poland”), in Małopolska (“Lesser Poland”), and the southeastern borderlands—the *kresy*, or “outer limits” of the state. In addition to the artistic expression fostered by court and ecclesiastical patronage, the region’s ethnically diverse population—comprised of Poles, Cossacks, Tartars, Armenians, Scots, Jews, Germans, Belarusians, Lithuanians, Greeks, and even descendants of Dutch Mennonites—and the accompanying variety of religious confessions within the territories produced artistic genres, exhibited tastes, and built structures that resist art historical analysis according to nationalist models.⁴ Poland’s relations with its Russian and Ottoman neighbors to the east and south fluctuated between the peaceful and the belligerent; diplomacy was often sincere, military engagement devastating, trade and commerce fruitful,

and cultural exchange a visible outcome. These forms of contact in turn left their mark on visual expression in the area and have direct bearing on our understanding of patterns of artistic transmission, aesthetics, intellectual history, and form. Taste and customs expressed in arts and letters were simultaneously reverent toward aspects of inherited Mediterranean traditions and at odds with their exclusive embrace.

Not yet treated extensively outside of Polish academic circles, with few but notable exceptions the art and architectural history of the region is represented by scholarship that has sought either to connect its subject to canonical exempla in order to demonstrate cultural continuity of artistic forms and values, or conversely to differentiate it through the identification of essential, unique features.⁵ The belatedness of attention paid to this area among Anglophone scholars is in part due to the persistence both of “dominant nationalist model[s]”⁶ that have characterized the field historically; center-periphery formalist arguments, such as those of Jan Białostocki, that explain artistic phenomena found there have portrayed vernacular expression as a diluted product of received paradigms. A new art history of the region must recognize the particular nature of the political unions as well as the conflicts that produced the religious, ethnic, linguistic, and artistic diversity that characterized the region, and use caution before national narratives that obscure or deny its factual diversity. It is for these reasons that the art history of this borderland demands approaches to the arts and ideas that are transregional in nature and that acknowledge the impact of tradition and circulation simultaneously;⁷ recent literature in the geography of art has taken this direction.⁸ Thus liberated from anachronistic accounts that seek to justify essentialist notions of culture and nation, this literature considers art and architectural expression as regional and dynamic, transcending constructions of national identities or political boundaries. The present analysis introduces the circulation of forms and ideas in the visual arts and architecture in early modern Poland’s borderlands. It then turns briefly toward nineteenth-century art theoretical developments by introducing the notion of the Zakopane style in relation to wooden architecture that its proponents identified as essentially Polish. When considered in relation to the preceding periods of artistic production in the region, it is interesting that those writers would reorient their studies away from the historical realities that produced the region’s visual culture in favor of an idea of pure forms. Dissociated from influence and representing a new Slavic ideology, in Poland’s case these forms provided an artistic and architectural identity for a culture without a nation. In advocating a return to nature and in deeming local geography as the primary determinant of form, they simultaneously and ironically distanced the arts from the very circumstances and contexts that shaped their history.

On the one hand, through the circulation of the Vitruvian canon of architectural theory and the transmission of that canon north of the Alps, the

first “pure” Florentine forms arrived in Budapest and Cracow through royal patronage. The interior courtyard at the royal Wawel castle, for example, is often referred to in discussions on this point. The courtyard’s arches organized around a rectilinear space exhibit rationally determined proportions according to Renaissance principles; its individual parts were planned in a way that renders the whole harmonious, embracing the Albertian requirement to maintain proportional relationships of parts to whole. The *all’antica* architectural grammar finds another source in Tuscany, in Filippo Brunelleschi’s Ospedale degli Innocenti, an important prototype for Polish arcaded courtyards; the modular system determined the physical appearance and experience of the loggia and courtyard with its conspicuous, measured progression of spatial units. Architectural principles such as these circulating within the borderland, embraced by its monarchs and nobility and arriving first from Italy, represented an aspect of an important shift in intellectual orientation toward humanism and humanist precepts within the realm of architectural practice.

The architectural and sculptural patronage by the Jagiellonian dynasty in the sixteenth century thus signaled the arrival of Tuscan art to Poland, and in part initiated the visual aspects of its own artistic Renaissance; the circulation of Italian artistic forms occurred simultaneously with visual expression produced by Central Europeans, often in the same physical spaces.⁹ The Sigismund Chapel, designed and executed between 1518 and 1533 by the Florentine Bartolommeo Berrecci,¹⁰ exhibits a dedication to the same ideal proportions and geometry practised by Brunelleschi and others such as Alberti and Bramante. Mathematically determined ratios inform the elevations; the division of the exterior into equal parts, made visible by the articulation on the surface, combine with ornament to express the geometry of the structure whose rhetoric is informed by humanist interests. The division of Berrecci’s dome by ribs and coffers, each containing a rosette, recalls classical and renaissance predecessors while the funerary chapels of Sigismund I and Sigismund II August Jagiełło include what Jan Białostocki referred to as a specifically Polish sculptural idiom, the “reclining tomb” figure.¹¹ But the form should be understood not as uniquely Polish; marked visual similarities between these tomb sculptures and Jacopo Sansovino’s double tomb of Antonio Orso and Cardinal Giovanni Michiel of c. 1520 in San Marcello al Corso, Rome, inform the type north of the Alps. The use of red Hungarian marble in the Sigismund chapel suggests a regional aspect of the materials employed in a work of much wider significance. The visual language is neither strictly “Italianate” nor “Polish” in timbre—it is rather born of diverse intellectual cultures and customs; it reflects the patron’s tastes for an *all’antica* vocabulary and for a recumbent tomb figure type carved from local materials. The consciousness of, the selection, the reception, the adaptation, and the response to aesthetic and intellectual approaches to form and content that were both familiar and strange arise from the dynamics of circulation. Many other examples reveal

these dynamics in material terms—for example, the Italianate courtyard in the castle at Baranów Sandomierski, in the Subcarpathian Voivodship and tomb monuments by the Italian “mannerist” architect Santi Gucci, court architect to Sigismund II Jagiełło, and his workshop located in the town of Pińczów (known for its Calvinist academy) between 1591 and 1606.

The borderland’s geographical situation and attendant diplomatic and political history that predates its Renaissance also had an important impact on the circulation of forms and cultures. After the Tatar raids of the thirteenth century, southern Poland in particular, with its capital in Cracow (a member of the Hanseatic league), served as an important trade route for commerce among Jews, Armenians, Germans, Italians, and other merchants from the Baltic to the Black Sea from the fourteenth century and into the early modern period.¹² A treaty brokered between Sigismund of Hungary and Władysław II of Poland in 1412 resulted in the loan of several towns to Poland in the region of Spiš (into what is present-day northern Slovakia), where they remained until the Partitions of the late eighteenth century.¹³ The ceding of these territories brought with it the circulation of forms and styles in sculpture and architecture across the Tatra mountain range and into the Spiš region where a German presence was already very strong. The polychrome wood sculptures of Master Pavel of Levoča (c. 1465–c. 1537), who had contact with the German-born Polonized sculptor, Wit Stwos (c. 1450–1533) and worked in Nuremberg or Passau, present a continuation of a story of the circulation of southern German sculptural traditions in the borderland that remains to be told.¹⁴ Likewise, instances of what has been termed the “Polish attic” appear in this region. While Jan Białostocki cited the quasi-bastioned, Polish attic as a uniquely Polish contribution to the visual arts, the form was in fact not unique to Poland, and can be found throughout other areas of East-Central Europe.¹⁵ The early sixteenth-century Town Hall and the Thurzó House in Levoča, which was not ceded to Poland in the 1412 agreement but which is part of Spiš proper, exhibit the form as well.¹⁶ The simultaneity of this species of form in different areas also serves as a caveat against essentialist arguments that claim a form for a particular state.

Another interesting example of the circulation of Italianate forms and ideas within a culturally diverse site is the Italianate urban and fortress planning that informed the foundations of the southeastern town of Zamość, today a UNESCO World Heritage site. The layout and architectural language of the town, established by the hetman Jan Zamoyski in 1580, is in part the work of Paduan architect Bernardo Morando whose bastions withstood both the Cossack Uprising against the Commonwealth in 1648 and the Swedish Deluge of 1656. An Italianate architectural language provided but one aspect of visual expression. In 1585, 1588, and 1589 respectively, Jan Zamoyski permitted Armenians, Sephardic Jews, and Greeks to settle and trade in the town, bringing about the circulation of Turkish, Persian, Crimean, and Moldavian carpets, woodwork, leather crafts, silk belts, saddles, spices, and

wine. The façade ornaments on the Armenian merchant houses, “Under the Angel” and “Of the Married Couple,” are but two recently restored examples of Armenian ornamental language within the built environment.¹⁷

The borderland city of Lwów (today Lviv, in western Ukraine) had once been an important crossroad for interregional trade and the circulation of arts in the Commonwealth. The mixed nature of its population and the legal residency requirements for foreign merchants account in part for its commercial and cultural diversity and by extension the nature of the built environment. Italianate taste and form thrived there as well, in the form of churches, burial chapels, and palace design. The Italianate proportions and program of the Boim chapel are conjoined with profuse ornament that has been referred to as “eastern,” “Armenian,” and “Mannerist” in nature. Built by the wealthy Christian merchant Jerzy Boim between 1609 and 1615, the centrally planned chapel is decorated with reliefs from the Passion of Christ that evoke the flat strapwork associated with Armenian ornamental language in Zamość and the Mannerist forms of Santi Gucci in Cracow. The interior space is surmounted by a heavily decorated hemispherical dome whose basic form recalls works by Brunelleschi, Michelangelo, and Berrecci; the coffers contain portraits of the Boim family, prophets, and saints, culminating with the Holy Trinity in the cupola (Fig. 4.1).¹⁸ The Wallachian Uniate church, also known as the Dormition Church or the Assumption Church, built in the

4.1 Cupola, Boim Chapel, Lviv, Ukraine, 1609–15. Photo: author





4.2 Portal, Chapel of the Three Baptists, Dormition Church, Lviv, Ukraine, dedicated 1591, designed by Petro Krasovsky. Photo: author

years 1591–1629 also deserves note. Inside, the chapel of the Three Saints—Orthodox iconography—follows an Italianate architectural language with Caucasian-style ornament, as is also seen on the outside portal entrance to the chapel (Fig. 4.2). The wealthy Greek merchant from Candia in Crete, Constantine Corniakos (1517–1603), who settled in Lwów via Constantinople and Wallachia, built the Korniakt tower there, an important landmark on the cityscape and designed by Pietro Barbone in 1571–78. Notably begun during the year of the victory of the Venetian fleet against the Ottomans at Lepanto, it is sometimes referred to as “Venetian” in type, but also bears some resemblance to the Giralda of Seville, the minaret whose transformation was completed in 1568 and was originally based on the minaret of the Kotoubia Mosque in Marrakesh.

In addition, the so-called “orient in Poland,” as it has been described in Polish art historical literature and exhibitions, emerged as an expression of the borderland’s proximity to states embracing different cultural paradigms. The tastes and military techniques of the Transylvanian-born Polish king, Stefan Bathory (r. 1576–86); the Polish conflicts with the Ottomans including the victories at Chocim (Khotyn, 1621) and Vienna (1683); the cultivation and propagation of the Sarmatian myth of the nobility’s origins; and in the eighteenth century, the diplomatic missions to the Porte and the study of Turkish customs and language all facilitated the introduction and circulation of eastern fashions, weaponry, and decorative arts into the region.¹⁹

It is against the background of this varied artistic and material landscape that the subject of wooden architecture may be raised. Irrespective of typological considerations and developments in ornament, a constant throughout the architectural history of the early modern Polish borderlands was the trend and preference for wooden architecture, a taste discussed in Polish-language theoretical sources beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁰ The unknown amateur architect-author of an unillustrated treatise on Polish domestic architecture, the *Krótką Nauka Budownicza Dworów, Pałaców, Zamków Podług Nieba i Zwyczaju Polskiego* (A Brief Study of the Construction of Manor Houses, Palaces, and Castles According to Polish Sky and Customs) of 1659²¹ valued personal experience and observation in his advice for the construction of domestic architecture, allowing for a departure from strict theoretical canons of proportion that were known in foreign (Italian) architectural treatises circulating within the continent. The treatise is largely practical and, like much of the writing on domestic architecture from that point onward, it underlines the importance of technical knowledge; in that sense, the circulation of ideas carried technological traits, perhaps more so than stylistic ones. The widespread custom of building manor houses of wood lent particular urgency to the study of construction, materials, and durability in relation to regional climate. In that sense, geography determined the method and degree of

adaptation of received ideas, while generating solutions appropriate to local problems; but the rhetorical style echoes that of Italian examples. The *Krótki Nauka* was composed during a time of extensive reconstruction after the Swedish wars (1655–60),²² and was intended as a manual to assist the upper and educated nobility in becoming self-sufficient architects in their own right, or responsible and pragmatic patrons of architecture. The author referred to a variety of Italian sources, namely Scamozzi and Palladio, adapting them to conditions particular to the situation and customs practiced by the *szlachta* (nobility) at the time. The *Krótki Nauka* was the first Polish architectural treatise to employ Vitruvius' precepts as practical advice with theoretical underpinnings.²³ Its author also addressed the issue of "invention and ability in building, according to Polish usage."²⁴ He stated that "each country has its own way of private building ... and this is according to its sky (or climate)."²⁵ Climate and customs were in his view the most important factors that distinguished one region's architecture from another. He also included an exposition on the materials of building:²⁶ "[a]ccording to Polish custom, wood is the material of choice."²⁷ But interestingly, he objected that this common practice was neither good nor useful, because wood did not last, nor was it safe. "But because Poles like their customs," he noted, and because "one can build rapidly with wood," he discussed it at length. The treatise represents an interesting conjunction between the circulation and reception of conventions particular to the classical tradition in early modern architecture, and practical considerations in connection to domestic estate-building. The circulation of Italian sources ultimately shaped the author's point of reference on theoretical matters, while geography and, in turn, local needs profoundly impacted important aspects of practice and the extent of cultural transfer.

Wooden ecclesiastical architectures in the *kresy* speak to the circulation of confessional groups there whose architectures resist the application of center and periphery methods of analysis, and whose features respond both to their liturgical use and to the region's natural resources. The typology and morphology of wooden churches from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and the extent of this kind of building across time and space, have yet to be adequately considered as a regional issue. How does wooden sacral architecture of this period belong to or resist historical analyses as they traditionally have been conceived, and what special conditions and features need to be taken into account? While current state-sponsored preservation efforts continue to shed light on the nature and species of these structures, they cannot be classified strictly according to the boundaries of those states as they exist today (Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania) without distorting the facts of their origins and use, and by extension eliminating the complex dynamics of cultural circulation from which they emerged. The Union of Brest in 1596 resulted in the establishment of the Uniate church—a form of Christianity that

permitted Orthodox liturgical practices while requiring allegiance to Rome—and in the proliferation of Uniate architecture throughout the borderland. This type of architecture, built entirely in wood, existed contemporaneously with European forms and styles patronized by the court or nobility as discussed previously. From a geographical standpoint, extant examples of Roman Catholic, Uniate, Orthodox, and Protestant churches along the mountain ranges of the Tatra, Bieszczady, and Carpathian ranges need to be considered together. There is significant variation among them; sometimes those variants are determined by denominational considerations, sometimes by ethnic ones. They are unevenly documented, though national studies represent valuable efforts at cataloging them.

The existence of these wooden ecclesiastical architectures recalls the problem noted in the *Krótką Nauką* of the ephemeral nature of the materials with which they are built, and, by extension, evokes for historians the problem of how to analyze their “original” and “the authentic” elements in connection to their status as cultural property. Approximately fifty examples of wooden churches remain in present-day Slovakia, for example; eight of those have achieved the status of protected monuments under UNESCO: the Roman Catholic churches of Hevartov and Tvrdošín; the Lutheran examples in Kežmarok, Leštiny, and Hronsek, and the Greek Catholic examples in Bodružal, Ladomirová, and Ruská Bystrá (Fig. 4.3). All meet the UNESCO criterion concerning site—each still stands in its original location; many still extant do not. With the construction of Polish *skansens* in the Soviet era, many of these buildings were moved from their original sites, thereby disrupting one layer of the historical record while creating another form of circulation. The *skansen* in Sanok, not far from the present-day Ukrainian border, and Poland’s largest open-air museum, provides one important example of the display of ethnography through architecture: the Greek Catholic church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary from Grąziowa (Bieszczady district) and the Greek Catholic complex from Rosolin (Bieszczady District, 1750–51) are representative of the Boyko ethnic group; the Greek Catholic Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary from Ropki (Gorlice District, 1801) serves as an example of Lemko architecture; Roman Catholicism is represented by the church of St. Nicolas the Miracle Worker, from Bączal Dolny (Jasło District, 1667). These structures, all to some degree restored, have been arranged in a kind of micro-borderland to exhibit a conception of popular ethnographic and religious customs. The rich tradition of wooden synagogues, such as that in Zabłudów, Poland (built 1638, renovated in 1765, razed by German troops in 1941), as well as the few remaining wooden mosques, should be included in the study of wooden architectures in the *kresy*. Where these monuments themselves are no longer extant, mapping original, secondary, and eradicated sites can contribute to our understanding of the patterns of circulation and local histories more accurately and fully.²⁸

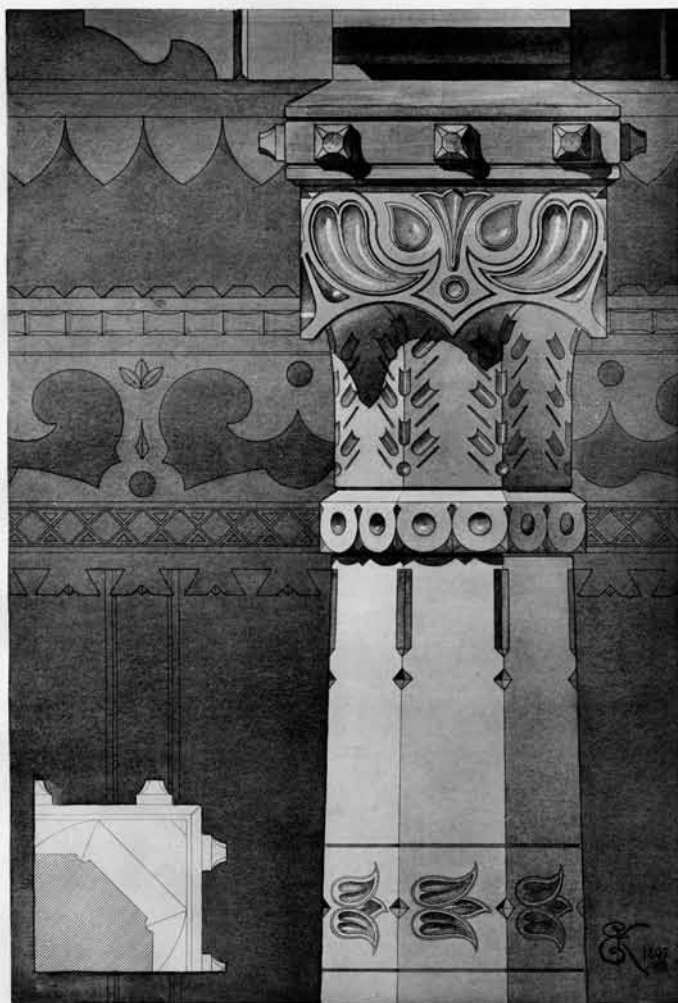


4.3 Greek-Catholic church of St. Nicholas, Ruska Bystra, Slovakia, early eighteenth century. Photo: author

In light of the variety and complexity of these architectures that were built over the course of the early modern period, the limitations of period terms such as “gothic,” “renaissance,” and “baroque” to borderlands architectures becomes evident. Periodization cannot accurately explain the particular conditions that generated these monuments or adequately address the cultures that used them. The arts and architectures of this borderland, then, challenge conventional notions of period, as well as of national style. It may be recalled that these architectures are connected to local material resources.²⁹ The Polish architect Piotr Aigner (1756–1841), known for his Palladian designs (for example, with Stanisław Kostka Potocki, of the façade for St. Anne’s church in Warsaw) and palace architecture, remarked in his late-eighteenth century treatise on brick building that the Poles built in wood not from necessity but out of adherence to custom;³⁰ his warnings about this, coupled with his respect for the Vitruvian notion of *firmitas*, complicate his essay. What, then, was the value of *firmitas* for architectural practitioners and their patrons in this borderland? Adherence to tradition in some ways trumped concerns of permanence, and called for only a selective application of Vitruvius’s precepts. Wooden churches were certainly easy to destroy, but they were also cheaply and quickly resurrected. A displacement of

concerns over the ephemeral qualities of materials in favor of their primacy at one remove from their natural state seems to go against an argument that emphasizes the defensive needs of a culture against its neighbors, and requires that we think about “borders” as inherently porous and multivalent in their consequences for cultural circulation. Similarly, the artificial divisions of regional architectures created by state or national boundaries obscure the often multiethnic or multid denominational, or transitory, migratory component of these architectures. “Vernacular” as a term becomes more than simply a designation for a “lesser” account of the periphery that cannot fully grasp the diffused formal and theoretical language of a center.

Reflections on the custom of building in wood carried new meanings in nineteenth-century contexts after the partition of the Commonwealth meant its removal from the political map of Europe. Theoreticians and ethnographers embraced the expressive qualities of wood and its proximity to nature as essential characteristics of Polish, Slavic architecture. The Polish mountain town of Zakopane at the foothills of the High Tatra range, just near the border of contemporary Slovakia, served as the source of inspiration for the Polish theoretician, painter, and amateur architect, Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915) in his formulation of what he termed the “Zakopane Style” of architecture and design.³¹ Inspired by the domestic buildings (*chałupy*) and woodworking crafts of the local highlanders who inhabited the area, Witkiewicz’s architectural terms for a new national identity seamlessly conjoined past and present. The Zakopane Style would take hold as the predominant Polish vernacular (*swojskość*) when the region was under the jurisdiction of Austrian Galicia. The Hungarian architect Edgar Kovatś (1849–1912) wrote in his pattern book, *The Zakopane Style* (1899), that he had found in the town a regional style that was without doubt original and unique to the area: “It is impossible to deny a high originality,” he wrote, for the great number of ornaments, houses, and utensils he found in the environs.³² Within the project, he affirmed Witkiewicz’s claims that its motifs were completely original to the region; the fact that they were to be found in this mountain sanctuary—importantly, in isolation from other cultural interference—made them all the more so. The articulations of Witkiewicz and Kovatś alike implied the purity of those forms, unadulterated by outside influence and valued for their natural, local sophistication. In an effort further to refine the style and single out its highest achievements, Kovatś included his design for a column—borrowing a convention of classically-inspired architectural theory and representation—decorated with typical Zakopane motifs (Fig. 4.4), and serving as a grammatical point of reference to the reader unfamiliar with the ornaments, but well aware of the centrality of the Orders to architectural precepts. One plate shows a detailed plan, section, and elevation for a Zakopane-style house of the kind built or inspired by Witkiewicz against a panorama of the mountain range; others illustrate cutlery, cabinetry, tables, chairs, doorjambs, stools, and axe handles,



DIE ART ZAKOPANE.

MANIÈRE DE ZAKOPANE.

VERLAG VON ANTON SCHROLL & CO. WIEN.

4.4 Edgar Kovatš, "Capital," plate XVIII, from *Sposób Zakopański/Manière de Zakopane/Die Art Zakopane* (Vienna: Verlag von Anton Schroll; and Lwów, Gubrynowicz & Schmidt, 1899)

while several more isolate patterns flaunting vegetal forms, heart shapes, pine cones, carved in whimsical lines into panels of wood. Kovatś described these forms as being always “sincerely translated” from nature, naïve, direct, always betraying their origins in the material of wood, and free of symbolic content.³³ Laying aside the question as to whether the style originated with local tribes or in “ancient” Polish art, Kovatś compared the style’s manner to that of the Renaissance for its first inspiration—nature. It is easy to understand, he claimed, that this particularly Polish style was inclined toward that of the Renaissance, just as the popular styles of Sweden were inflected toward the Gothic and the Roman, and those of the Hutsuls (the highlanders of what is now western Ukraine) were inclined toward the Byzantine. At the same time, his search for a pure, unadulterated style directly connected to nature entailed the exclusion of regional architectures with transcultural roots. He added the important caveat that, “[e]ach of those types, however, depends on something so special and so unique that it cannot be confused in any way with the great styles to which it relates.”³⁴ Kovatś raised here the important question of borrowing and originality in the context of defining an ethno-national style of art and architecture. By eliminating borrowed tradition, he could in turn elevate and enshrine vernacular expression.

Anna Brzyski has aptly noted in her study on the development of the Tatra region as an important site of Polish ethno-national tourism in the late nineteenth century that “[a]s the antiquity of national cultures assumed a new significance, the idea of an ethnic basis of national identity extended the origins of nationhood from the historic era into the remotest past of human habitation in a particular region.”³⁵ The rhetoric of Witkiewicz and Kovatś share an attempt to isolate a style, to claim its pure origins and purposes (with Witkiewicz connecting this to the ethnography of the region). The value of the Zakopane style, it was implied, was precisely that it was not inflected or determined by outside, foreign influences; nor was it an inferior copy of something more accomplished; rather, it had somehow emerged naturally, as a direct consequence of landscape, language, and customs.³⁶ Witkiewicz’s ideology was inspired by the desire to revive and preserve what he decided was the true Polish culture at a time in which it existed without a nation, much as Adam Mickiewicz and Cyprian Kamil Norwid had done in the realm of literature.³⁷ Kovatś, on the other hand, was the product of a Viennese and Swiss architectural education; between 1872 and 1888 he had collaborated with the historicist architects, Karl van Hasenauer and Gottfried Semper; and as Director of the School of Wood Crafts in Zakopane from 1895 to 1900 he would design the Galicia Pavilion for the World Exposition in Paris in 1900. The timeliness and persuasiveness of the ideas of the Zakopane Style was further promoted in the works of Witkiewicz’s nephew, Jan Koszczyc-Witkiewicz (1881–1958) who erected structures in stone that were made to appear as though they were fabricated from wood.³⁸ In general, it seems

that one of the most important and defining aspects of the Zakopane style, according to Witkiewicz and his associates such as Wojciech Brzega, Wiktor Gosieniecki, and Stanisław Barabasz,³⁹ was that it should be understood as local, specific, unique to the region and therefore not subject to the effects of circulations of other historical or regional trends.

As Witkiewicz was not attempting to write a history of art or architecture, *per se*, his writings cannot be taken as the last word on the Polishness of the Zakopane style. For while highlander culture in the area may indeed be specific to the species of place, as has been shown, it is clear that the attitudes informing the Zakopane style in no way represent the historical realities or complexities of art and architectural currents in Poland in the preceding centuries. It is important to note this if the Zakopane style is taken to represent the connection of its aesthetic to the "Polish past." At the same time, it is helpful to highlight the nature of the landscape in which Witkiewicz and others worked and lived—the late eighteenth-century accounts of mountain geology there as it was first discovered and analyzed; fantastical sketches giving way to drawings from life of the Tatra range as explorers came to know it; writings by mountaineer priests narrating their summits of the granite peaks;⁴⁰ the accounts of inhospitable terrain in which highlanders dug for gold; the recording of the first measurements of some of the highest known altitudes in the Tatras obtained by a Scottish doctor-explorer with his barometer in tow.⁴¹ These varied and intriguing sources convey the image of a sparsely populated land that was extremely difficult to traverse, where the ignition of a salvaged log and a draught of brandy in the company of fellow climbers offered some relief to a hostile climate, and where the crossing from one town to the next, or of one border to the next, brought new encounters, uncertainty, hospitality, linguistic misunderstanding, and danger. In his writings, Witkiewicz emphasized the region's geography, connecting it to the appearance and directness of the forms he described and promoted. In general, the development of local, vernacular architectures bears its own relationship to the problem of circulations. If Witkiewicz's "Zakopane style" was as he called it, "fundamentally Polish," his ideas can be said to embody a national aesthetics *contra* circulations. But this architecture took its inspiration to some extent from other regional architectures in wood, not just the Polish *chatupy* but also from Swiss chalet architecture, examples of which still stand in Zakopane, and which by the time of Witkiewicz's formulations were already well-known.

Early modern visual arts and architecture, and the intellectual history related to them, therefore provide an important means of addressing the relationship of place to cultural orientation in the early modern Polish borderlands. Both forms and discourse on art and architecture produced there during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries express a consciousness among practitioners of cultural identification and differentiation. By extension,

both the specificity of Commonwealth cultures—their particular history and location—and their relationship to a “Western” formal language raise questions about the relevance of cultural centrality; that is to say, we might regard the region’s history in relation to cultural orientations, geographical location, and the attendant problems generated by the sometimes conflicted relationship between the two. Whether something is “Polish” and what that means in a given moment is only one aspect of the larger issue of the circulation of forms and ideas within the region. At the very least, what is “Polish” needs to be approached in relation to the study of the circulation of ideas and visual forms across geography, and the consequences of those movements of peoples and forms. The richness of the results, rather than their reduction to an essentialist notion of Polishness are, I believe, what makes this area especially instructive for thinking about what characterizes a borderland as such, even though no two borderlands are identical. What they do share, perhaps, is a tendency to resist singular definition. The study of these regions underlines the need for a close reading of their cultural output, monument by monument.

Notes

- 1 From 1569 until 1795 the Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and western Ukrainian territories of today (as well as parts of what is now northern Slovakia) were referred to as the “Commonwealth of the Two Nations, the Polish and the Lithuanian” (*Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów, Polskiego i Litewskiego*). The dynastic union of Poland and Lithuania was accomplished by the marriage in 1386 of Jadwiga, daughter of Louis of Anjou (r. 1370–82) to Władisław V Jagiełło, prince of Lithuania; Poland and Lithuania were still technically autonomous states until the constitutional Union of Lublin in 1569. This Union joined the two “Provinces,” the Crown and the vast territory of Lithuania. The states shared a parliament, among other government institutions. I will refer to the Commonwealth as “Poland” throughout this piece.
- 2 King Sigismund I took Bona Sforza as his second wife, a union which had a direct impact on the reception of the Italian taste in arts and architecture during the period of her reign as Queen in the years 1518–48.
- 3 The system of territorial expansion practised by the Jagiellonian kings included Władysław VI Jagiełło’s election to the Hungarian throne in 1440 and the acquisition of the Bohemian crown by Vladislav II (1471–1516; son of Casimir IV Jagiełło r. 1447–92). The election of the Catholic Swedish Vasa King Zygmont III (1587–1632) brought Poland-Lithuania to its territorial apex reaching 435,547 square miles (1,128,066 square kilometers), with Polish victories on Russian soil (such as the capture of Smolensk in 1606) during the “Time of Troubles” accounting for these gains. The country then contracted in size with the Treaty of Polanów in 1634 to 386,719 square miles (1,001,602 square kilometers), still twice the size of France. See Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, [1993] 2002).
- 4 See Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1400–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and Janusz Tazbir, “Polish National Consciousness in the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (December 1986): 316–35.
- 5 See, for example, Jan Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. Hungary, Bohemia, Poland*, The Wrightsman Lectures, v. 8 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976); William Craft Brumfield, *A History of Russian Architecture* (Seattle: Washington University Press, 2004). Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann’s *Court, Cloister and City* and *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) have affected a shift in the art historical conception of the area away from essentialist notions. Important Anglophone examples that take up questions of cultural identities in arts and architectures of the region include Olenka Z. Pevny, “The Encrypted Narrative of

- Reconstructed Cossack Baroque Forms," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 31, no. 1/4 (2009–10): 471–519; and on Russia, James Cracraft and Daniel Rowland, eds., *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- 6 See the first section of the introduction to the present volume.
 - 7 For examples of recent primary source historical research that articulate this complexity especially effectively, see David Frick, *Kith, Kin and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); and Barbara Skinner, *The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009).
 - 8 The literature emerging from within the discipline of spatial geography is growing, and receiving more attention in art history writing; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's recent study usefully differentiates the so-called "nomothetic" approach to geography (that is, "spatial") from the "idiographic" one, and claims the notion of "place" as central to his work. See the introduction to the present volume, and *Toward a Geography of Art*, 2.
 - 9 See DaCosta Kaufmann, review of *King Sigismund Chapel at Cracow Cathedral (1515–1533)* by Stanisław Mossakowski, in *Renaissance Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (Summer 2013): 628–29; and also Carolyn C. Guile, review of *King Sigismund Chapel at Cracow Cathedral (1515–1533)* by Stanisław Mossakowski, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 73, no. 1 (March 2014): 173–74.
 - 10 Stanisław Mossakowski, *King Sigismund Chapel at Cracow Cathedral (1515–1533)* (Cracow: IRSA Publishing House, 2012); and DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City*, 55–57.
 - 11 Jan Białostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Hungary, Bohemia, Poland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976), 52.
 - 12 For a good background summary see Claude Michaud, "The Kingdoms of Central Europe in the Fourteenth Century," in Michael Jones, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415 (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2005), 735–63.
 - 13 See Julia Radziszewska, *Studia spiskie* (Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski, 1985).
 - 14 See Michael Baxandall's *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); DaCosta Kaufmann makes reference to these lesser-known currents in *Court, Cloister, and City*, 92–94 (see note 4 above). On Wit Stwos in Cracow see Jiri Fajt and Markus Hörsch, "Die Blütezeit spätgotischer Skulptur in Krakau," in Małgorzata Omilanowska and Tomasz Torbus, eds., *Tür an Tür: Polen-Deutschland; 1000 Jahre Kunst und Geschichte* (Cologne: DuMont, 2011).
 - 15 This has also been pointed out by DaCosta Kaufmann in *Toward a Geography of Art* at 349, 437 nn. 37, 39, and 43.
 - 16 The parapet proliferated across the Commonwealth's extent, for example in Tarnów and Sandomierz, and the market square in Lwów. Beyond this region we can also note its appearance in Spain in the Parroquia del Divino Salvador, Vejer de la Frontera; and further, in the eighteenth-century example of mission architecture in Arizona at the mission church of San Xavier del Bac, where East-Central European craftsmen were also employed.
 - 17 For the Armenians and Armenian motifs in Poland see Eleonora Nadel-Golobič, "Armenians and Jews in Medieval Lvov. Their Role in Oriental Trade 1400–1600," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 20, no. 3/4 (July–December 1979): 345–88; Mirosława Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, 1982) and *The Orient in Polish Art*, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (Cracow: National Museum, 1992).
 - 18 See Jan Białostocki, "At the Crossroads of Classicism and Byzantinism: Leopoldine Architectural Achievements ca. 1600," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983): 51–65; and Ihor Zhuk, "The Architecture of Lviv from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 24 (2000): 95–130.
 - 19 See the exhibition catalogue *Wojna i Pokój: skarby sztuki tureckiej za zbiorów polskich od XV do XIX wieku* (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 2000); Jan Ostrowski, ed., *Art in Poland, 1572–1764: Land of the Winged Horsemen* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1999); and T. Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1959).
 - 20 See Adam Miłobędzki, "Architecture in Wood: Technology, Symbolic Content, Art," *Artibus et historiae* 10, no. 19 (1989): 177–206.
 - 21 Adam Miłobędzki, ed., *Krótka Nauka Budownicza Dworów, Pałaców, Zamków Podług Nieba i Zwyczaju Polskiego* (Wrocław: Zakład Ossolińskich, 1957). The 32-page treatise was published by

Miłobędzki; the original is located in the Jagiellonian University Library, syg. 5376/I. Its precise date is not known but the reference to war and then the following peace suggests that it was written after the Swedish wars, sometime between 1657 and 1659.

- 22 On the Swedish wars, or "the Deluge," see Robert I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655–1660* (Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
- 23 Miłobędzki, *Krótką Nauka*, xxii–xxv. For eighteenth-century developments in Polish-language architectural theory, see Ignacy Potocki, "Remarks on Architecture." *The Vitruvian Tradition in Enlightenment Poland*, edited and translated by Carolyn C. Guille (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).
- 24 "Na koniec co do inwencji i umiejętności bodowania, tą ja a to pierwszy podawam stosując ją ad usum Polski." Miłobędzki, *Krótką Nauka*, 2.
- 25 "Každy albowiem naród ma sposób inakszy i osobny budowania prywatnego, to jest Architecturae Civilis. I stosuje go wprzód do swego nieba, a potem do swego zwyczajnego życia." Ibid.
- 26 "O Materyjej Budynków."
- 27 "Obrawszy miejsce do budynku, więc już gotuj co prędzej materiją. Ale rzeczesz, jaką? Odpowiadam, jeżeli podług zwyczaju polskiego—drzewo." Ibid., 6.
- 28 Geographic Information Systems technology is useful for cataloguing and analyzing the vertical and horizontal complexities in architecture of the region, and enables us to perform comparative analyses across space and time.
- 29 See Adam Miłobędzki, "Architecture in Wood: Technology, Symbolic Content, Art," *Artibus et historiae* 10, no. 19 (1989): 177–206.
- 30 Piotr Aigner, *Budownictwo Wiejskie z cegły glino-suszoney z plantami chatup wiejskich, stosownie do gospodarstwa Narodowego* (Country Building from Sun-Baked Bricks, with Methods for Making Permanent Rural Cabins, as Applied to National Properties) (Warsaw, 1791). Biblioteka Narodowa Warszawy, Zbiór Specjalnych, Warsaw.
- 31 See Stanisław Witkiewicz, *Wybór pism estetycznych*, ed. Józef Tarnowski (Cracow: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2009); S. Witkiewicz, *Listy o stylu Zakopańskim, 1892–1912, wokół Stanisława Witkiewicza* (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1979); S. Witkiewicz, *Pisma Tatrzańskie*, ed. Roman Hennel, 2 vols. (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1963).
- 32 Edgar Kovács, *Sposób Zakopański/Die Art Zakopane/Manière de Zakopane* (Vienna and Lwów: Wien Schroll, 1899), 1.
- 33 Ibid., 1.
- 34 Ibid., 2.
- 35 Anna Brzyski, "The Paradox of the Ethnographic Superaltern: Ethnonationalism and Tourism in the Polish Tatra Mountains at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* no. 53/54 (Spring–Autumn, 2008): 283.
- 36 For further context for the advent of ethno-national explanations for style, see Matthew Rampley's rich article, "Art History and the Politics of Empire: Rethinking the Vienna School," *The Art Bulletin* 91, no. 4 (December 2009): 446–62. Rampley includes an important discussion about the ethno-historiographical writings on Eastern European arts by Josef Strzygowski (1862–1941) that aimed to contradict what Strzygowski saw as the problematic Eurocentrism of Rigel and others of the Vienna school. His *Early Slavic Art*, essays on ancient and early medieval Slavic art, advocated for the inclusion of "Eastern Europe" in art historiography. Rampley further explains that Strzygowski's work found a sympathetic audience among Romanian art historians in the 1920s and 1930s, in particular that of Coriolan Petranu (1893–1945) who had studied with Strzygowski and who wrote two important volumes on Transylvanian wooden architecture. So significant were his contributions to the discourse on Slavic arts and architecture that Strzygowski was offered the chair of the department of Art History at the University of Lwów during the Second Republic. See Rampley, "Art History," 456–57 and nn. 89 and 90. In the meantime the related book has been published. See Matthew Rampley, *The Vienna School of Art History: Empire and the Politics of Scholarship, 1847–1918* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).
- 37 See Ks. Zbigniew Pytel, "Witkiewiczowska architektura sakralna w Zakopanem," in Z. Moździerz, ed., *Materiały Towarzystwa Muzeum Tatrzańskiego im. dra Tytusa Chałubińskiego w Zakopanem*, vol. 5 (Poland: Zakopane, 1999).

- 38 A particularly interesting example is the orphanage at Nałęczów, 1905, which is constructed of brick and stone but in the Zakopane style, and appears to have been built of wood. See Marta Leśniakowska, "Jan Koszczyc Witkiewicz (1881–1958) i styl zakopiański," *Stanisław Witkiewicz. Człowiek—Artysta—Myśliciel. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę śmierci artysty. Zakopane, 20–22 października 1995* (Zakopane, 1997), 341–88.
- 39 See Zbigniew Moździerz, "Początki stylu Zakopiańskiego," in T. Jabłńska and Z. Moździerz, "Koliba," *pierwszy dom w stylu zakopiańskim* (Zakopane: Muzeum Tatrzańskie im. dra. T. Chałubińskiego, 1994); and Z. Moździerz, "Początki architektury sakralnej w Zakopanem," in M. Rokosz, *150 lat organizacji parafialnej w Zakopanem 1847–1997: materiały z Sympozjum, Zakopane, 24–25 października 1997* (Cracow: Wydawnictwa Św. Stanisława BM Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1998), 127–30.
- 40 See Ferdynand Hoesick, *Legende postacie zakopiańskie: Chałubiński, ks. Stolarczyk, Sabala* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa LTW, 2001).
- 41 See Robert Townson, *Travels in Hungary with a short account of Vienna in the year 1793* (London, 1797). I thank Maciej Krupa for drawing my attention to this reference.

CULTURAL TRANSFERS IN ART HISTORY

Michel Espagne

In the age of global or at least transnational history it is appropriate to investigate the possible links between this new historiographical orientation and the particular discipline of art history. Indeed, the problem is also a semantic one, each culture having its own definition of art: it would be risky to maintain that the words *Kunst*, *technè*, *isskustvo* all signify exactly the same thing. The Amerindian masks or African statues that we happily describe as Indian or African art do not have the same function in their original context as the sculptures exhibited in European museums. Were Rodin and Praxiteles really committed to the same activity that we designate as the art of sculpture? But if definitions and thus functional values are different, the circulation of artworks, their integration into common discourses on the development of forms, necessarily disturb the accepted partitions. We can start with some observations on the circulation of artworks in periods long past to observe what is signified by the history that one country develops of the art of a different space, for example German historiography of Italian art. The use of the arts necessarily appeals to an anthropological dimension of the artistic phenomenon, particularly as we move away from the European centers. The circulation of art is also bound up with the representation of an expansion that has to be analyzed as such. Finally, the historiography of art is written on the basis of collections that, by their transnational dimension and the encounter of diverse schools that they exhibit, represent a pre-formatting of discourses on the transnationality of art.

Artistic production is the result of encounters of which certain, like Albrecht Dürer's trip to Venice in 1505–06 that enabled him to discover, among others, Giovanni Bellini, are a matter of historiographic evidence. Other encounters imply more marked geographical distances, and particularly cultural ones. It has been observed, at the latest since the work of Serge Gruzinski, that the Spanish presence in Mexico led very early on to

the production of mixed artistic forms. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for example, had an astonishing destiny as a source of inspiration for Amerindian art in Mexico.¹ Conversely, in European art after the conquest of the Americas we regularly see motifs attesting to an encounter. We even find, in a picture by an anonymous painter made around 1538 and preserved in the Vienna Museum of Art History under the title of *Esther and Ahasuerus*, the figures of Aztec princes dressed in their feather coats.² Phenomena of this kind invite us to reconstruct the paths taken by models. A certain Christoph Weiditz had already published in 1529 a collection of drawings representing the Amerindian costumes from which the anonymous painter could have drawn inspiration. There was, on the other hand, an attempt by the Spanish authorities to control constructions of identity in the American colonies, and when an Italian aristocrat set out to collect indigenous illustrated manuscripts, he was immediately arrested and expelled by the viceroy of Mexico.³ The Spanish conquerors deployed their efforts to control images even if the forms of hybridization are readily perceivable. Just as silk routes, spice routes, and slave routes can be observed, we need a cartography of the routes of art forms that make artistic production a phenomenon of circulation between cultural spaces.

One of the most characteristic examples of this progression of forms is clearly the silk road, which broadly coincides with the route by which Buddhism arrived in China. The routes traveled by the new forms were often also economic routes. Thus we find Chinese motifs in the decoration of tombs in Samarkand. Other Chinese motifs are present in medieval Armenian manuscripts. Phoenixes and dragons of clearly Chinese origin illustrate thirteenth-century Armenian manuscripts from Cilicia. They are found, for example, on the lectionary of Prince Het'um of Armenia, dating from 1286. The *pax mongolica* that facilitated exchange from one end of the Eurasian continent to the other also enabled artistic productions in the ports of Cilicia to integrate forms coming from China, forms that are found at other points on the same route, for example in the palaces of the Ilkhanid princes.⁴ Fragments of silk or carpet of Oriental origin (China, Persia, Turkestan) were present in European collections as far back as the eleventh or twelfth century. The catalogue of the great exhibition on Europe and the Orient that was held in Berlin in 1989 lists countless artistic traces of contact with the East from the high Middle Ages on. Conversely, and in a quite different period, the Greek settlements in central Asia, such as Arachosia in the Kandahar region, founded by Alexander, explain the affinity between Greek statuary and the first representations of the Buddha that reached China along the same route, in this case from west to east, the Greco-Buddhist statuary of Gandhara being the most well-known form of this artistic *métissage* bound up with these Eurasian routes. In the same space, the conquest of India by the Timurids, who were Iranized Turks, made the Moghul empire a meeting

place between Muslim and Hindu art, concretized in such diverse forms as monumental architecture and the illustration of manuscripts.⁵

The spice route, that taken by the Portuguese galleons, was likewise a route of art forms. The Lisbon museums, the Museu do Oriente in particular, are full of objects commissioned by Portuguese traders from Chinese porcelain manufactures, pieces of furniture mixing Indian and Portuguese traditions. Conversely, we find Japanese paintings featuring Portuguese ships as decorative elements, while the very architecture of the city of Macao, whose colonization by the Portuguese dates from the sixteenth century, shows a hybridization of Chinese and Portuguese influences. The Museu de Arte Antiga preserves among other things a Japanese umbrella from 1550 which depicts the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan. The Estado da India⁶ was not only the framework of an economic conquest, but also favored artistic exchange, if it is true that this involved the applied arts more than the fine arts in the strict sense. This aptitude for *métissage* was all the more clear in Portugal, in that Portuguese art is itself in many of its elements the result of the import of Islamic art, particularly in the art of *azulejos*. It would be wrong to view signs of reference to China in Portuguese art, or to Portugal in Japanese artistic productions, as simply marginal evidence of major commercial circuits. In actual fact, the import of porcelain from the Far East, in response to the demands of European purchasers, was a massive phenomenon.

The voyage to Constantinople was among the great classic commercial circuits, and the encounter of Christian art with Turkey left traces in numerous works. The painter Gentile Bellini⁷ can to a certain extent be seen as a painter of the Ottoman empire. We know that the Venetian artist spent more than a year at the court of Sultan Mohammed II, in the fifteenth century, painting his portrait there. It was at the Sultan's request, addressed to the republic of Venice, that he undertook his journey. Lost paintings of dignitaries of the Constantinople court complete this fixation of the Sultan's memory on the part of Bellini. Some drawings of Turkish figures have, however, been preserved. Bellini also painted a picture showing the city of Alexandria, a large square peopled by figures in turbans. The presence of Ottoman carpets in European paintings had a strange consequence for the early definition of this Ottoman art: the so-called Holbein carpets had been painted by Holbein, Lotto carpets were those displayed in the paintings of Lorenzo Lotto.

The battle of Lepanto in 1571, between the Ottoman fleet and the coalition of Catholic powers, gave rise to a flourishing of paintings, for the most part Venetian, that provided a new occasion to represent the Turks, this time from the perspective of a military conflict. If Veronese showed the Turks as an undifferentiated mass, the paintings of Andrea Vicentino correspond to an ethnographic representation of the Ottoman East. There was also a representation of the battle of Lepanto by his master, Tintoretto, that is now lost. Altdorfer's 1529 painting of the battle of Alexander presents the

Turks as providing an interpretive framework. The paintings housed at the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum of Vienna that depict the siege of Vienna by the Turks show a shift to realism.⁸ Rarer are paintings of Turkish life like those that the painter Jean-Baptiste Van Mour made in 1707–08, canvases that gave rise to a bulky collection of engravings (the Ferriol collection) and in turn inspired other painters of the East.⁹ Choiseul-Gouffier's *Le voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* corresponds to an appropriation through images of the Mediterranean East.¹⁰ Even Rembrandt paid tribute to the taste for Eastern figures.¹¹ There is a continuous Turkish or Ottoman presence in European art.¹²

The paintings that Delacroix devoted to Morocco, or Horace Vernet to Algeria, announced an African presence that reached a frenzy in the early twentieth century, with the discovery of what the art historian Carl Einstein called "Negro sculpture."¹³ Here again, the discovery of art follows the paths of a trade with the colonies, accompanied by ethnography and the building of vast collections such as that of the German Africanist Leo Frobenius. This was art more for the collector than for the context of emergence of the work, in which African masks had rather a ritual value. But it is certain that African sculptures, by inspiring cubism, had a direct impact on the development of artistic modernity, and that "Negro art" was present at the heart of modern art.

These imbrications, in a list that could be extended, invite us to examine the possibility of tackling the history of art independently from the contaminations induced by exchanges either within Europe, or between Europe and other continents. A new mode of approach could consist in following the displacement of art forms along lines in space that are often trade routes. Study of the displacement of forms would lead to emphasizing the gaps between local models and what forms of hybridization were able to modify. It is still the case that artistic encounters between one national school and another, one continent and another, are in no way casual, but touch a deep nodal point of artistic reality.

If the history of art makes it possible to reveal circulations of works creating new forms belonging to a global history, historiography represents still more a form of cultural transfer. The history of art tended to establish itself as a literary genre, then as a discipline, in the German-speaking context. It is true that, from the time of Vasari, the works of the antiquaries of the eighteenth century, or Diderot's "Salons," there are texts that pertain to the history of art. Yet a step was crossed with Winckelmann's *History of Ancient Art* (1764), and in a still more technical fashion with the *Italianische Forschungen* (1827) by Karl Friedrich von Rumohr. We are in fact dealing here with the construction of a system of interpretation and systematic organization of a cultural phenomenon external to the person observing and studying it. Winckelmann sketched a history of artistic forms founded on the distinction between styles but oriented towards an image of man who was developing his

activities in a context of political freedom. While distinguishing and grouping the art forms of antiquity by organizing them, he gave them a global sense corresponding to his own intellectual and political perspective as a German scholar nourished on French literature and opposed to the feudal order in the Germany of his time. In certain respects, the attempt to write a history of art that Winckelmann undertook was a model for historiographies that would develop outside of the field of art. Art was not the beneficiary of a historical science that developed outside of it, it was in part actually a promoter of this. If Winckelmann focused on antiquity, Carl Friedrich von Rumohr was chiefly interested in the art of Raphael. For him, too, art could not be purely and simply contemplated, it had to give rise to an analysis susceptible of giving it a meaning. Rumohr found this meaning particularly in the aesthetics of Schelling, and in the idea that art is an expression of the absolute. This was, moreover, an interpretative schema that Rumohr broadly shared with Carl Ludwig von Fernow, who was also concerned with revealing a great idea corresponding to the German philosophy of the time of his contemplation of these works.

It was this same principle of a projection of German philosophy onto Italian art that inspired the work of Heinrich Gustav Hotho, the editor of Hegel's *Aesthetics*, who subsequently sought to apply the Hegelian schematism to the interpretation of artworks. In the book that he published on Hubert van Eyck, Hotho proposed (for example) a rapid characterization of the work of Rembrandt that makes him the expression of a historical evolution:

In the same way that Tacitus showed in the most striking way the nobility of his vision by confronting it to a shameful age, Rembrandt was not content to introduce sacred history into the bourgeois world and private sphere, he also brought it audaciously into the peasant world, to have its own people describe its miracles anew.¹⁴

In the monumental history of art that he published starting in 1843, dedicated to his slightly older predecessor Franz Kugler, Carl Schnaase also proposed an interpretative framework of Hegelian spirit that brought the universal history of art into the categories of German philosophy, and in this way formed a kind of hybrid product between the countries described and the Germany of his time. He started with an attempted definition of art on the basis of consciousness:

Each work of his hand is already an echo of Beauty, inasmuch as the natural object receives the imprint of the spiritual order, and as both things, spirit and nature, appear in it in a certain way in harmony ... The genuinely higher work of art is created only with consciousness, but with a consciousness removed both from firm intentionality and from flexible contingency. It involves a demand that almost touches contradiction; for consciousness seems to presuppose in execution the intention of completeness.¹⁵

The question of relations between spirit and nature, between finality and consciousness, became a preliminary to the perception and comprehension of art history from antiquity to the contemporary age. In a certain sense, art objects can even be considered as mirrors, fields of experimentation for investigating the philosophical themes that were important to Schnaase.

The majority of German art historians of the nineteenth century shared the paradoxical position of superimposing philosophical arguments that strictly took shape in Germany onto external art objects, essentially but not only those of antiquity and Renaissance Italy. If we consider the work of Henry Thode, which was devoted above all to Saint Francis of Assisi and Franciscan art, we have here a close disciple of Wagner who tried to understand Giotto's work in Assisi on the basis of considerations bound up with the religious history of Germany.¹⁶ For Thode, the Franciscan spirit was a prefiguration of the Reformation, as well as being the heir of medieval heresies such as that of the Waldensians. Thode championed a renunciation which, as opposed to the thinking of the Dominicans, could lead to a pantheistic fusion with the people. The concept of humanity that Francis of Assisi developed was a prefiguration of the Renaissance, outside of any antique inheritance, but above all it was a prefiguration of the Reformation. The future of the Renaissance, from Giotto at Assisi on, was read by Thode through the prism of Protestantism, giving primordial importance to German cultural history with Luther and Wagner as its two beacons. When Thode began in 1902 to publish his multi-volume work on Michelangelo, defined by way of the categories of love and nobility of lineage, he took up the model of the Wagnerian hero in prey to machinations and made Michelangelo a kind of Renaissance Lohengrin. Once again here it is hard to separate the object of study, of an attentive study, from a very different hermeneutic perspective on this object. Very logically, Thode ended his journey in an obsessive quest for a German art whose purest expression would no longer be pictorial but musical, an art form more adequate to Lutheranism. The art history that in its beginnings was largely a German discipline corresponds to a subtle form of cultural transfer.

When psychology became a science of reference, supplanting the philosophy of history (a phenomenon certainly bound up with Herbart but whose act of birth, for the field of writings on art, undoubtedly lay in the self-criticism of his aesthetics that Friedrich Theodor Vischer made),¹⁷ we see the appearance in the science of art of a new form of projection of the debates of German intellectual history onto varied European artistic spaces. Psychology was not only the apanage of Robert Vischer, son of Friedrich Theodor. Heinrich Wölfflin, who began his career as an art historian with a work on the psychology of architecture,¹⁸ went on to apply himself to developing a formalist system of fundamental concepts of art history. These fundamental concepts, which literary criticism would take up for its own part, were in fact categories of perception, findings of perspective psychology that define a state

of consciousness vis-à-vis an artwork. From Wölfflin on, the history of works, styles or schools gives way to a history of vision, of modes of perception. The transitions from the open to the closed form, from vague contours to fixed contours, became fundamental categories, making it possible for example to describe the transition from the classical to the baroque. Wölfflin did not go so far as to integrate into the methods of art history the experimental psychology of Wundt; he was closer to his psychology of peoples. But he was marked by the theories of intuition, themselves psychological in kind, developed by the philosophers Theodor Lipps and Johannes Volkelt. The historical intersection of optic sensations and psychological formalism that he carried out, particularly in his 1915 book on the *Fundamental Concepts of Art History*, would again be a tool for integrating Italian art in its own specific evolution into the intellectual categories of a Germany that had now embraced the science of psychology.

The globalizing dimension of art history is also bound up with its anthropological foundations. There are, of course, forms connected with a nation and its history, national schools studied by art historians, but these forms are situated in a reservoir of broader forms, accompanying human life in fields that are not considered *a priori* as relevant to art. This anthropological extension is particularly apparent in the history of architecture, and in this respect it is necessary to refer to Gottfried Semper's book on style. We indeed assess the first epochs of architecture in relation to the model of the primitive hut, which has been studied notably by Marc Antoine Laugier among others, and whose character is globally human rather than merely local. Gottfried Semper, in his book on style,¹⁹ particularly emphasized the paradigmatic character of decorations on pieces of cloth in the development of styles, including those in architecture. He was able to profit from the first excavations in Assyria in developing this theory of style, which ascribed importance to the earliest forms of decoration. But founding the interpretation of architectural styles, whether ancient or contemporary, on Assyrian excavations meant making art history itself a science, deduced either from anthropology or from anthropological derivations from archaeology. Gottfried Semper particularly profited from the discoveries of the Franco-British archaeologist Henry Layard at the Nineveh site. It was during an extended stay in Paris that he discovered Cuvier's taxonomies in the Jardin des Plantes, and adopted the idea of a study of the quasi-biological components of the artistic organism. Architectural thinking, in his view, resulted from a need to dominate chaos by rhythms, by the primordial orders which are those of the earliest fabrics. The symbolic values of architecture, and the notion of metamorphoses, relate perhaps more to a German cultural background, but the earliest marks are universal.

It is possible to situate the theory of applied arts bearing on later epochs or periods of transition, something that Alois Riegl developed in the wake

of Semper. In his book on *Late Roman Art Industry* (1901), Riegl represented a tradition which would become that of the Vienna school, placing the accent on periods of art situated between the apogees traditionally celebrated for their crystallization of the idea of the beautiful. He focused on the contrary on periods of decadence or of diffusion of artistic forms among the whole of a population, where they become applied arts. We are then dealing with objects whose artistic dimension cannot be divided off from a use value. Art becomes reproducible and industrialized. This is the art of manufactured objects, crockery, and furniture. Artistic forms as expression of a volition, a *Kunstwollen*, are primitive forms, which acquire a value independent of their contexts and become anthropological data. The conception of art history developed by Riegl and more generally by the Vienna school implies an unconfined historiography bearing on global circulations.

Indeed, the increasing integration of art from outside Europe into art history was under way right from the first histories of art. It was bound up with the representation of art as a universal human activity. This anthropological dimension is already found in the art history manual of Franz Kugler and with Carl Schnaase. Schnaase began his text by focusing on the peoples of the East: "The full light of art rises only in Europe, with the Greeks, but we also find important and magnificent works of sculpture among the ancient peoples of Asia, including the Egyptians, their neighbours and relations. These people accordingly constitute a prehistory of art."²⁰ Even if he assumes a hierarchy of arts with European art as its summit, Schnaase seeks to integrate the other arts and begins his series by speaking of India and Egypt, which he compares with China; and speaking of Indian art means first of all discussing the character of the people and their religion, before architecture is introduced. The Babylonians, then the Persians, Phoenicians, Jews and finally Egyptians follow one another in a universal history of the arts which is at the same time a cultural history of the peoples concerned.

Franz Kugler's handbook of art history, published in 1841, and followed by a second edition in 1848 with additions by the main representative of nineteenth-century cultural history, Jacob Burckhardt, is still more resolute in its ambition of universal historiography. For Kugler, art begins in prehistoric times. To understand its evolution, it is necessary to take into account the cromlechs and the first manifestations of art among the Scandinavian peoples. But it is especially the New World, in the pre-Colombian period, that deserves to be fully integrated into historical development. Basing himself among others things on Alexander von Humboldt, and more widely on travelers' accounts, Franz Kugler describes the monuments of Mexican art. It is only after the Mexicans that he tackles the Egyptians and Nubians. He then introduces the artistic forms of the Meroë kingdom, before dealing with the Babylonians, then the Indians and Chinese. The Hebrews, Medes,

and Persians all precede the Indians. Taking up the cliché of the immobile empire, however, Kugler denies the Chinese any originality:

In the generality of style, the conception of forms, we recognize here again the specific element of Indian art; it is the same but twisted and deformed in such a way that the impression produced by the objects on the mind of the observer who contemplates them at length is itself disturbing.²¹

Despite the prejudices to be found here on Chinese art, these people did possess artistic forms that cannot be envisaged without taking into account their ethnic characteristics, and it is only after completing this trajectory that it is possible to tackle Greek art. A history of art that does not include this universal dimension is inconceivable. Published only in 1929 the sixth volume of Anton Springer's art history compendium, devoted to the arts outside of Europe, came to fill what would otherwise have appeared as a lacuna.²²

The imbrications of art history and the anthropological approach would become common currency even before this final volume of Springer's work appeared. We can particularly think of Carl Einstein's book on Negro sculpture, which was published in 1915 and sought to evaluate the consequences of an optical perception of the world in three dimensions, specific to the African peoples and a precursor of cubism:

A conception of space that such an artwork shows must totally absorb the cubic space and express it in its unity. Perspective or frontal vision are banned here; they would be impious. The artwork must offer the whole spatial equation; as it is only if it excludes any temporal interpretation based on representations of movement that it is intemporal. It absorbs time by integrating into its form what we perceive as movement.²³

Founding his brief analysis on the conviction of a principled equality between cultures, Einstein, at the same time as trying to understand African art, projected certain of its assumptions onto European artistic modernity. But this very movement naturally created an artistic universality, or rather a globality of art history, based here again on the anthropological approach to forms.

The most simple model of universalization of art is that of expansion. A central position is imagined, from which art supposedly radiates in the direction of less favored regions that take up the light coming from this source, without this reception implying any modification of substance. This model was developed in the historiography of art by Louis Réau, a Germanist who was interested in the Slavic world and had been head of the Institut Français in St. Petersburg before becoming professor of art history at the Sorbonne. Réau made major contributions to the presentation of Russian art, being one of the very first historians of this in France. But his main

attention bore on the expansion of French art in Germany. In 1922, at the start of his work on the expansion of French art in the Rhineland, he wrote the following programmatic observations:

In his fine lectures on the genius of the Rhine, delivered at the university of Strasbourg, Maurice Barrès, studying in succession all the contacts that France had with the Rhenish regions in order to deduce from this past the most appropriate method for future Franco-Rhenish cooperation, has luminously explained all that these Rhinelanders owe to France in the economic, intellectual and religious fields. He forgot only one thing: the magnificent contribution of French art.²⁴

It was in terms of this heuristic category of expansion that Louis Réau successively tackled the Slavic world and the East (1924), Belgium and Holland, Switzerland, Germany and Austria, Bohemia and Hungary (1928), the Scandinavian countries, Britain and North America (1921), Italy, Spain, Portugal, Romania and South America (1933). What is particularly striking in Réau's very detailed and well-informed research is that the transformation of these imports in their differing national contexts of reception is never a real problem.

At the opposite extreme we could locate the works of historians of German art who perceive French art less in itself than for the many imbrications it shows with German art. That is the case, for example, with Anton Springer, who successively held the first chairs in art history at Bonn, Strasbourg, and then Leipzig, and devoted a work to the history of art in the nineteenth century (*Die Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts*) which appeared in 1858 with a new edition in 1884. For Springer, the advent of realist art was the result of a common effort of French and German painters, and he recalls that many hundreds of German artists studied in Paris in the late eighteenth century. In the opposite sense, the art of David, which may be viewed as an initial impulse given to nineteenth-century art, was the direct heir of German intellectual models such as the theorization of neoclassicism effected by Winckelmann from 1764 onward. Besides, David had many German pupils. Traces of realism would even be present in the Nazarene painters, and an artist so specifically Bavarian as Leo von Klenze lived for a while in Paris. In a general sense, Springer saw the evolution of art in Germany as directly tied to a return to popular forms. The painter Theodor Dietz, who emulated Horace Vernet, was particularly marked by this tendency. Belgian painters such as Louis Gallait conformed with the German taste for historical painting, and in Springer's eyes, Courbet deserved the title of realist painter less than the historical painter Vernet. Delacroix, Delaroche, Géricault, and Robert were models across the Rhine, where the preference was for French historical painters rather than the works of Cornelius.²⁵ Anton Springer's work on the art history of the nineteenth century consisted in exhibiting convergences, circulations, and borrowings

that challenged the idea of a separate development and an opposition between German idealism and French realism.

Among Springer's students was Wilhelm Vöge, the author of a book on the beginnings of the monumental style in the Middle Ages (*Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stils im Mittelalter*, 1894), who pursued his master's research into the medieval context. In the ambient nationalism of the late nineteenth century, the question of the origins of Gothic art was fundamental. Vöge then sought to show that French monumental sculpture, which took up in the Ile de France models elaborated in Arles or Moissac, had nothing Germanic about it, but was on the contrary the expression of a French moment in art history. Or rather, the national allegiance of medieval sculpture lost all pertinence to the eyes of the historian of German art, and another student of Springer, Arthur Weese, three years after Vöge's book and influenced by him, maintained that the monumental sculpture of Bamberg was the heir to that of Languedoc or Burgundy.²⁶ Dreaming of a total history of art that would make it a cultural history and integrate psychological considerations into the circulation of models, Vöge, whose most eminent student was Panofsky, abandoned the idea of national schools, particularly for the Middle Ages; in his case we have a paradigmatic perception of the art born in the French space by an art historian attentive to circulations and exchanges, and particularly concerned to detoxify nationalist claims. Despite never having been translated, Vöge's work enjoyed a spectacularly favorable reception in contemporary periodicals. In a contrary or, rather, complementary sense, Louis Courajod, who taught at the Louvre, saw Gothic art, and Romanesque art above all, as the result of a *métissage* of impulses brought from the Germanic and Celtic peoples, and not as a form of expression in a Latin continuity. The history of medieval art, particularly with its most eminent German representatives, is a history of transfers and encounters.

It is interesting therefore to re-read the historiography of art from the standpoint of the accent placed on exchanges. In his three-volume *Histoire de l'art moderne en Allemagne*, which appeared in France between 1836 and 1841, Atanase Raczyński,²⁷ an aristocrat from Prussian Poland who lived in a Berlin *hôtel particulier* built by Schinkel, proposed a broad picture of German art, which he himself avidly collected. But this picture betrayed a high level of information about the French painters who are mentioned in passing. From Montalembert to Alexis François Rio, Raczyński took account of publications on Germany by French writers. For him, German art was always perceived in a broad contextualization that particularly took account of French productions. We are dealing here with a form of historiography that was resolutely against compartmentalization, and that although devoted to a particular object could not envisage this other than in a global manner.

A quite different constellation was displayed some sixty years later, when Julius Meier-Graefe took up the project of making French art known to the

German public. He would particularly contribute to the reception of the work of Delacroix (1913) and the Impressionists, Van Gogh above all (1910). The objective that Meier-Graefe pursued was not only to inform the German public. He also aimed to shock it, or at least to challenge the accepted canon, too conservative for his taste, by confronting it with the productions of French art. Even if it is the Franco-German dimension that dominates his work, he was also the art historian who enabled a rediscovery of El Greco. The transition from a national historiography of art to a transnational if not global one aimed also at shaking the established certainties by the shock of an encounter. His history of the development of modern art (*Entwicklungsgeschichte der modernen Kunst*, 1904) was an attempt to achieve productive shocks of this kind. The real globalization of art historiography is the opposite of an expansion model.

Like anthropology, the history of art is directly bound up with the collection of artworks or artifacts. Such series of works must be available, if only in the form of engravings and reproductions, for a history to be envisaged. In the eighteenth century these reproductions were often made on the basis of princely collections. It is remarkable how, right from the start, the great princely collections of paintings were composed in the main of foreign works. Their initial function was not to decorate, but rather to symbolize a power over the world as already suggested by Samuel Quiccheberg in the mid-sixteenth century as a conception of the Bavarian collections.²⁸ The monarch proceeded to a virtual extension of his territory by surrounding himself with objects from distant lands. Collections of foreign paintings complemented in this respect the old treasure chambers and their exotic and heteroclitic objects gathered at great cost. The Dresden gallery founded by Augustus the Strong in 1707 is a particularly eloquent example of the use of collections of paintings. This had its origins in a small collection of the prince-electors, which gradually expanded to foreign purchases even before becoming a gallery. This was the case, for example, with the acquisition of the Giorgione *Venus* in 1799 via the intermediary of a Paris merchant. Agents in Paris, Venice, and Amsterdam acquired paintings for the prince in a market that was now European. The Rembrandts were acquired in Paris, for example. But if the gallery had its Flemish paintings, attention was focused above all on Italian works. In the mid-eighteenth century, thanks to the good offices of the Italian Enlightenment writer Algarotti, Dresden was enriched by the collection of paintings of the duke of Modena, and acquired works by Veronese, Corregio, and Titian, while Raphael's Sistine Madonna arrived a little later.²⁹ It was these paintings that aroused the admiration of Stendhal on his return from the Russian campaign. In the nineteenth century they were supplemented by major Spanish collections. All German-language theorists and historians of art from Winckelmann on based their reflections on art on regular and assiduous visits to the Dresden gallery, that is, on the contemplation of foreign works.

The history of art is a transnational historiography simply because its object, the art collected and displayed, is equally so.

A study of the balance of collections, however, shows that the notion of globality in the history of art is defined differently according to the place where collections grow up, as well as the perspectives of the collectors. Whereas the accent of the Dresden gallery's collection is on Italy, we find a very different kind of collecting in Leipzig. Here we have collections built up by merchants from the eighteenth century on, that are now in the municipal museum. Whereas in the eighteenth century bourgeois collectors were interested above all in Dutch art because it was financially more accessible, in the nineteenth century collectors also bought French works. The eighteenth-century merchants Winckler and Richter acquired many hundreds of Dutch masters, and very many prints during their journeys in Europe.³⁰ It was in this context that Goethe, then a student in Leipzig, was initiated into aesthetics and art history. The silk merchant Adolf Heinrich Schletter, who died in 1853 and had been a fervent admirer of a nineteenth-century French art too much forgotten, founded the embryo of the picture gallery in Leipzig. These collectors belonged to a cosmopolitan society that particularly included representatives of the Protestant community in Leipzig, where, very early on, French painters who are today forgotten found their place besides Paul Delaroche and Horace Vernet.³¹ In the context of the Schletter collection, and before it became a museum, exhibitions were organized from the late 1830s, and attracted many visitors. We may say that, in a certain sense, the idea of symbolic possession of the world that characterized the collecting of this time prefigures a global historiography of art.

Art collections in Russia invite similar observations. Here again, we can contrast the Imperial collection whose best-known expression is the Hermitage museum, with the Moscow collections built up by businessmen. We see the same Italian collections, from Raphael to Titian, that can be admired in Dresden. The collections of modern French art preserved in Moscow at the Pushkin Museum, from Degas to Gauguin, Monet, and Picasso, were based on the individual collections of two Russian businessmen, Ivan Morozov and especially Sergey Shchukin. This modern section of the Pushkin Museum is the result of the purchases of two collectors who acquired in France the products of an artistic tendency still despised locally. Thanks to their acquisition, which was confiscated after the Revolution, a juxtaposition of French and Russian art was effected in a context, the building's architecture, that was itself strongly marked by a neoclassical inspiration. Both at the Hermitage and the Pushkin Museum, or rather in the businessmen's collections that constituted its department of French art, we can read the concern for symbolic possession of a world extending beyond the limits of the tsarist empire, an extension that also necessarily marked all reflections on art and its history in Russia.

In the field of archaeology, the symbolism of appropriation is still more apparent. There was clearly an appropriation of collections of Greek statuary in the nineteenth century by the great Western powers, from the Parthenon frieze in London to the Venus de Milo in the Louvre. But this was no more than an assertion of the relationship of filiation that links Greek antiquity to modern Europe also in the artistic field. The situation is more complex in the case of collections of what is traditionally referred to as Oriental archaeology. The Assyrian monuments that are found both in the Louvre and the Pergamon museum in Berlin were acquired in the course of excavations in a weakened Ottoman space, with ideas of colonization, penetration, and control in the background. The rediscovery of Nineveh by Henry Austen Layard was both a diplomatic adventure and a contribution to the British efforts of colonization of a part of the Ottoman empire.³² Conversely, the appearance of Assyrian objects in European museums stimulated a global reflection on art, and the development of the central notion of style in art was explained by Gottfried Semper on the basis of this new contribution. Expanded collections of exotic objects determined a transnational historiography of art, which took account, for example, of the bust of Nefertiti disputed between Paris and Berlin.³³ The same observation can be made on the subject of the monuments of Islamic art introduced into the Berlin collections by Wilhelm von Bode. The Asiatic collections of Emile Guimet, assembled in the museum of the same name, or the collections of Buddhist frescoes brought back by the German explorers of the Tarim basin at the museum of Indian art in Berlin share in this documentary extension, whose assumptions naturally need to be analyzed. The art objects found in the oases of Chinese Turkestan were not only exhumed in the context of structural tensions between Russia and Great Britain, but they gave art and therefore historiography of art a dimension that, if not global, was at least Eurasian. Traces of the Greek aesthetic are found in Central Asia, and the historiography of art has implied since that time a kind of dynamic geography of the trajectory of artworks.

The artistic phenomenon is structured by encounters that are observable in the very long *durée*. As with any cultural transfer, therefore, the paths of exchange and the reinterpretation that circulation implies need to be studied. The historiography of art, as an academic discipline largely and originally established in the German-speaking countries, is already in itself a phenomenon of cultural transfer. It also has, particularly through the marker of styles, a connection with the other human and social sciences, especially general history and above all anthropology. Art in fact raises the problem of the social function of forms and works. The model of artistic expansion comes into conflict with that of *métissage*, the competing model of foreign appropriation of something that demands expansion. A place of privileged observation of cultural transfers in a transnational historiography of art is the phenomenon of the collection, and its genesis appears revelatory of an aim of universality.

Notes

- 1 Serge Gruzinski, *La culture métisse* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), 127–51.
- 2 Mark Meadow, "The Aztecs at Ambras. Social Networks and the Transfer of Cultural Knowledge of the New World," in *Kultureller Austausch. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Michael North (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 349–68.
- 3 Horst Pietschman, "'Kulturtransfer' im kolonialen Mexiko. Das Beispiel von Malerei und Bildlichkeit im Dienste indigener Konstruktionen neuer Identität," in *Kultureller Austausch*, ed. Michael North (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 369–90.
- 4 Dickran Kouymjian, "Chinese Dragons and Phoenixes among the Armenians," in *Caucasus during the Mongol Period*, eds. Jürgen Tubach, Sophia G. Vashalomidze, and Manfred Zimmer (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 107–27.
- 5 See Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Timurid Legacy: A Reaffirmation and a Reassessment," *Cahiers d'Asie centrale* 3–4 (1997): 9–19.
- 6 Peter Feldbauer, *Estadio da India. Die Portugiesen in Asien 1498–1620* (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2003).
- 7 Louis Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II. Notes sur le séjour du peintre vénitien à Constantinople (1479–1480)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1888).
- 8 An entire room of the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum is devoted to the wars against the Turks. Several paintings dating from the seventeenth century and often anonymous represent the siege.
- 9 Jeff Moronvalle, "Connaître et représenter l'Orient à l'aube du siècle des Lumières: Le Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant de Charles de Ferriol, 1714," in *L'orientalisme, les orientalistes et l'empire ottoman*, eds. S. Basch, P. Chuvin, M. Espagne, N. Şeni, and J. Leclant (Paris: AIBL-De Boccard, 2010), 61–79.
- 10 Frédéric Barbier, *Le rêve grec de Monsieur de Choiseul* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010). Barbier shows the presence around Choiseul of painters, illustrators, and artists.
- 11 Rembrandt's relation to the Orient is the subject of numerous essays and books that the length of this chapter prevents me discussing.
- 12 The paintings of Cairo streets by the pre-Raphaelite William Holman Hunt, or the view of Egypt by Franz von Lenbach and the landscapist David Roberts.
- 13 On the use of African art by Carl Einstein, see the special number of the periodical *Gradhiva* 14 (2011) on *Carl Einstein et les primitivistes*.
- 14 Heinrich Gustav Hotho, *Die Malerschule Huberts van Eyck*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Veit, 1858), 33.
- 15 Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst*, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf: Buddeus, 1843), 16–17.
- 16 On Thode, one should consult above all Michela Passini, *La fabrique de l'art national. Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne 1870–1933* (Paris: Editions de la MSH, 2012).
- 17 Michel Espagne, *L'histoire de l'art comme transfert culturel. L'itinéraire d'Anton Springer* (Paris: Belin, 2009).
- 18 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur* (Munich: Wolf & Sohn, 1886).
- 19 Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten oder Praktische Ästhetik* (Frankfurt: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1860–63).
- 20 Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst*, 100.
- 21 Kugler, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ebner & Seubert, 1842), 127.
- 22 On Anton Springer, see Espagne, *L'histoire de l'art comme transfert culturel*.
- 23 Carl Einstein, *Negerplastik* (Leipzig: Verlag der weissen Bücher, 1915), XVI.
- 24 Louis Réau, *L'art français sur le Rhin au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1922), 1.
- 25 On the German reception of French art in the nineteenth century, see France Nerlich, *La peinture française en Allemagne 1815–1870* (Paris: Editions de la MSH, 2010).

- 26 Artur Weese, *Die Bamberger Domsculpturen: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Plastik des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1897).
- 27 France Nerlich, "Athanase de Raczynski," in *Dictionnaire des historiens d'art allemands*, eds. Michel Espagne and Bénédicte Savoy (Paris: CNRS-éditions, 2010), 201–10.
- 28 Samuel Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri amplissimi* (Munich, 1565).
- 29 The particular context of this short chapter does not allow for further comments on the history of the Dresden collections but it is the subject of a well-known literature.
- 30 Michel Espagne, *Le creuset allemand. Histoire interculturelle de la Saxe au XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000).
- 31 Nerlich, "Athanase de Raczynski."
- 32 Shawn Malley, "The Layard Enterprise: Victorian Archaeology and Informal Imperialism in Mesopotamia," in *Scramble for the Past. A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914*, eds. Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Celik, and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Salt, 2011), 99–123.
- 33 Bénédicte Savoy, *Nofretete, eine deutsch-französische Affäre 1912–1931* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011).

SPATIAL TRANSLATION AND TEMPORAL DISCORDANCE: MODES OF CULTURAL CIRCULATION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION IN EUROPE (SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH AND FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY)

Christophe Charle

The last fifteen years have seen two phenomena that are relevant to this subject: the proliferation of publications on cultural transfers and the spread of a transnational approach in history. A number of British historians, such as Chris Bayly and, more recently, Donald Sassoon, have offered syntheses that combine the study of transfers, entangled history, comparative or transnational history.¹ Sociologists of literature and translation, such as Pascale Casanova, Gisèle Sapiro, and Blaise Wilfert have advanced more rigorous models for understanding literary “globalization” or “internationalization.” Scholars of comparative literature, such as Franco Moretti, have outlined geographies of the movement of the novel in Europe.² The multiplicity of the terms and disciplines applied to the study of cultural fields in an international or transnational perspective is a sign of the still uncertain and frontier character of these questions. As in all emerging domains, methods, concepts, objects, and sources are still problematic.

Whether these studies are cartographic, statistical or monographic, they converge on fairly similar results, which reveal dominant poles of export and dominated poles of import, slow shifts in the cultural hierarchies that follow from these, geographies for specific domains that differ according to space and era, with varying modes of diffusion and projection of new cultural fields in inherited cultural geographies. They ignore, however, a central problem,

since they argue as if these circulations took place in a homogeneous space/time, which is evidently not the case. It is only in the contemporary world of today, thanks to new technologies, that we have the impression that distance and duration are almost suppressed, so that we tend to lose the notion of those temporal discordances and spatial gaps that until late in the twentieth century produced constant clashes and cultural misunderstandings, rejections but also enthusiasms that are inexplicable and often based on these misunderstandings of temporality. It is this point I would like to dwell on here, in a perspective based on a number of studies already conducted by myself and others. I see it as more fruitful, in fact, to list problems and questions to be resolved on the basis of terrains on which I have worked myself, and where I have been able to measure the advances and limitations of these approaches. I want to offer here, accordingly, a progress report drawing the lessons from some reading and some personal or collective writing in which I have tackled or encountered these subjects.³

In a survey inevitably full of gaps, I shall also draw on certain conclusions from my latest book, *Discordance des temps, une brève histoire de la modernité*.⁴ The customary view of modernity, especially in the domain that is most interesting for you here, that of the arts, is that of an anticipation and a lag between a minority of artists and a majority of critics or art-lovers, relating to different conceptions of art and the role of artists. This is generally believed to have taken shape around the middle of the nineteenth century, before spreading from France, and from Paris in particular, to other countries influenced by the movement of artworks from this central point. In my book, I proposed a different (and earlier) chronology of the establishment of this lag, but also an explanation less internal to the world of art alone, which people tend to privilege because of its visibility in debates and the famous writings of critics fetishized by the modernist tradition, such as Baudelaire (who coined in French the term “modernity”), Zola, Huysmans, Mallarmé, and Apollinaire, who in their respective generation were all champions of “modern painters.” I propose in my analysis to interpret the advent of the notion of modernity, first of all among certain restricted circles, then in ever wider ones, not simply as the result of a new conception of the historicity of art, but more broadly as a new relationship to historical time (thus to present, future, and past), producing a permanent lag depending on the sites of reception of artworks, ideas, etc., since these emerged from different histories and varying relationships with this new temporality, given the discrepant regimes of historicity. In fact the initial foundation of the idea of modernity, as I see it, relates to the relationship maintained to the legacy and interpretation of the French Revolution, as founding event or not of nineteenth-century European history, leading to sharp gradients within the European space, and more widely the Western space as a whole, then on new continents or in European countries that were previously unaffected, when this legacy

of the Revolution was reappropriated or reinterpreted in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by way of other revolutions (or other counter-revolutions). It is certainly not a question of reducing all questions of cultural circulation to a narrowly political problematic—since the meaning given to the French or any other revolution is not just a matter of politics, but also involves society, religion, education, the function of culture, etc.—nor, on the other hand, of excessively autonomizing the various cultural fields by speaking only of a “symbolic revolution,” which is a penchant of modernist discourse. The point is rather to find the correct balance between a broad and a narrow conception of temporal differences, and thus of modernity and its effects on the transfers and interrelationships between singular geographical spaces.

I shall examine three main points here, without claiming to exhaust such a wide subject:

1. What are the problems of method in the study of cultural circulation?
2. How are the discordance in times and the cultural hierarchies that translate these circulations in time and space to be evaluated and explained?
3. As against the habitual modernist view that is dominant in specialized cultural studies, I shall finally inquire whether these discordances and hierarchies that are hard to change do not lead in certain cases to a blockage of cultural internationalization in certain cultural fields that are highly consecrated.

Problems of Method

Financial or economic metaphors of transfer or import should not be understood only in the material sense. They imply a symbolic or even psychoanalytic dimension. In order for a good to circulate symbolically, it must be the object of a desire, an expectation, a specific valorization that is not purely economic. To cross a political or linguistic border always involves a number of risks, as with every commodity, but a symbolic good runs additional risks: absence of reception or misunderstandings of interpretation, whereas ordinary commodities can make use of long-established exchange circuits resulting from material needs that are relatively predefined or stabilized. Generally, in fact, each culture has rather a tendency to live in a sealed vessel, to transmit to its bearers categories of apprehension (not only language, the most obvious obstacle, but forms for organizing writing or visual representation, etc., norms of taste, hierarchies of subjects and practices) that, even within the European space, diverge as national cultures

grow in autonomy in relation to their common inheritance, Christian or Latin, and societies are transformed at unequal speeds and along diverging paths. The energy necessarily invested to overcome these obstacles may have several sources that are unequally combined.

The first thing that comes to mind, by analogy with the general economic system that became increasingly dominant at the time in question, is the hope of profit on the part of authors, booksellers, translators, art dealers, publishers, organizers of musical or theatrical tours (the classic metaphor of the conquest of a new market). But contemporary writings on translation, and familiar historical examples, show that the profit was almost always rather more meagre and uncertain than with indigenous productions. Print runs of books in translation, especially from less familiar languages, were lower at this time than for national products, apart from the rare bestsellers. It is certainly possible today to speak of a "world fiction," made up of books that are most often British or American, their rights being very rapidly sold to foreign publishers if they have done well in their native country, at big book fairs such as Frankfurt.⁵ We are in a mass market here, analogous to that of films for a general public produced in Hollywood. For the larger part of translations, however, the threshold of profitability on the investment incurred (translation and promotion costs) is only rarely achieved. The data that D. Sassoon and Lieven D'hulst provide for certain French and English nineteenth-century authors who were widely translated into other languages, emphasize that there is a second selection process even for the most popular works. It is not necessarily the same books that succeed from one country to another, and even authors with large print runs in one country do not necessarily achieve the same level of sales in another, this fact expressing a change in the public affected, and relating to the temporal discordance noted above.⁶

For the majority of works with a restricted distribution, symbolic, social, and/or political factors are of far greater importance, temporal and spatial discordance underlying the attraction exercised on narrow publics: the need of certain fractions of these, and of well-read publishers, for exoticism and distinction; a political conjuncture that makes a country and its culture fashionable; the domination effect of a prestigious or expanding culture, as witness the increasing share of French until the 1860s, then of English, for the greater part of books translated in most European countries; a way in to the book market for small publishers seeking in this way to win a sector that was less cluttered than the dominant literature from the hands of big publishers. Finally, a fraction of intellectuals and exiles, living evidence of the political conflict within Europe that forced them to emigrate, find a means of survival by translating or introducing books from their native country in their host country.⁷

The further one moves towards sectors of the economy of symbolic goods whose aim is not monetary gain, the more these symbolic, literary

or political factors take precedence over economic considerations. This is the case with scholarly, academic, and scientific books that depend on an administered economy, one of gift and counter-gift, and on invisible unpaid work in publishing circuits that are subsidized or outside the market, based on purchases by libraries or scholarly institutions. Analogous circuits also exist sometimes in the literary field, upstream from the transition to book form (partial translations in privately printed or avant-garde magazines, performance of foreign plays in small theaters outside the commercial circuit, etc.)

The crossing of borders between cultures is not limited to the material accessibility of a text, an article or a work in another language or for another country. The main obstacle lies less in production than in reception. The desire to read, see or hear must be created on the part of the reader, spectator or listener, and thus the desire to have access to this particular space of representations, which itself is structured by the surrounding culture and its historical relations with the foreign culture where the new good hails from. Here we can take up some of Pascale Casanova's analysis in *La république mondiale des lettres*. Cultures are no more in a position of equidistance or equivalence than are economies trading on a European or world scale. At every point in time they are organized by old traditional hierarchies of prestige that evolve only slowly. Contemporary discourse about globalization and the theory of free intellectual exchange that underlies it are just as fallacious here as in economics, even if these hierarchies are cultural and political rather than economic, which sometimes makes possible symbolic transformations that are spectacular in comparison with the purely commodity logics of exchange.

We accordingly have to reconstitute the longitudinal and structural history at a particular moment of this unconscious of cultural hierarchies between nations, languages, cultural and artistic practices. This conditions *a priori* both the supply and the demand, the reception and perception of these goods, and weighs on the probability of success or otherwise of this circulation. For works with a mass distribution, stereotypes of long date often come into play, attached to foreign cultures and used with greater or lesser cynicism by the importers or mediators that seek to promote them. It is easier to free yourself from this, the further you are from the sphere of large-scale production in which economic issues have the greatest weight (cinema, bestsellers, opera). But these are never totally absent, even for genres or types of work with a high value added or a limited public. For this literary, intellectual or avant-garde sector, the public's attention must be attracted by involving them in the current issues of symbolic struggle in the imported culture, even if the works imported initially have nothing to do with these, issuing as they do from a different context and often from a different era, given the general delay of translations in relation to the initial publication.⁸

We can take as an example here the Russian novel that I studied in an earlier book.⁹ Before the late nineteenth century, the greater part of Russian literary publication, the exceptions being Pushkin and Turgenev, was almost unknown in Europe, particularly in France despite the Francophilia of the Russian intelligentsia and the role of French as the language of culture in Russia since the eighteenth century, or the constant presence in Paris of many Russians from high society. The success of the Russian novel and the many translations that appeared in a short interval even predated the Franco-Russian political rapprochement of the 1890s. The determining element here lay in the intervention of French and Russian mediators, the chief of these being a diplomat from an old noble family, Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, who was married to a Russian woman from high society. His book *Le roman russe* was published in 1886, but initially appeared in the form of separate articles, starting in 1883, in the *Revue des deux mondes*.¹⁰ Certain major literary magazines that promoted these novels provide the keys for grasping the first books translated, in which not only were old stereotyped representations of this country reinvested, but ideological and literary issues also introduced that were specific to France in the 1880s. Promoting these books was a way of reacting against the most advanced trends of literary modernity (embodied at this time by realism and naturalism) and proposing a literature inspired by a spiritualist and Christian perspective (the “Slav soul” of the stereotypes), which raised grand metaphysical questions about the human condition (*Crime and Punishment*, *War and Peace*). A materialist and scientific approach represented by the contemporary success of Zola could be combatted in this way. This is despite that fact that in Russia itself certain authors promoted for this reason, such as Tolstoy, were well-known for their opposition to the conservative and religious power of the official Russian autocracy. French plays or novels were then inspired by Russian works and established an indigenous current hostile to naturalism. The flow of translations was manifestly amplified by this promotional campaign with an ideological interest. Before De Vogüé’s first articles, until 1883, there were no more than two to five translations of Russian novels per year. In 1884 this rose to eight, and then nine. The publication of De Vogüé’s articles in book form in 1886 gave a further boost to the Russian breakthrough, with a maximum of 25 titles translated in 1888. Despite subsequently falling back, the level of Russian translations remained higher than at the starting point.¹¹

The same era saw analogous phenomena of a varying interest in foreign literatures as a function of national contexts. Gisèle Sapiro, in *Translatio*, presents the various factors structuring the selection of foreign translations into French according to the type of work (novel or other genre), the type of language (major or minor), and the concentration or dispersion of the catalogue over a small or large number of languages and authors, depending on whether authors had an international market in mind, conforming to the

main dominant tendencies coming from the Anglo-American market, or, on the contrary, cultivated their literary or national particularism so as to attract attention by their difference from the mainstream, or again as a function of their inscription in international political topicality.¹²

These examples, taken from different eras, emphasize the importance of mediators as catalysts or actors able to shift perceptions at a propitious moment, the discordance between contexts of production hence making possible the success of the transfer involved. In other cultural domains, however, the shift in hierarchies and previously existing representations suggests many other factors for analysis.

Varying Hierarchies: The European Theater Markets

Stability in flows or hierarchies of circulation does not prevent partial challenge to the dominant currents, but as a function of temporalities that are very variable, depending on the field involved and the type of symbolic good. Up till now, I have taken my examples predominantly from literature, which is an intermediate sector of culture in terms of its plasticity and capacity for evolution. On the one hand, it was favored by the massive expansion in the consumption of printed matter during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which facilitated the export of works from the dominant languages and the most dynamic book sectors, such as France and Britain; on the other, this export was braked by differences in political space, the obstacle of national languages, and the unequally central position of letters in the culture of each country. Other cultural fields less dependent on writing, and thus on national identities, can experience more rapid circulations and modifications of established hierarchies, thanks to their autonomy in relation to the hierarchy of languages and the criteria of literary profitability. This is particularly the case with painting and music, or with theater where the mobility of actors and less mediatized contact between creators and audiences, in comparison with books, facilitates such circulation and adaptation to the international transformations of taste. Initial investment is also less and the size of public more modest, which makes possible the rapid establishment of new circuits. I shall leave aside here the circulation of artists, and focus on the sphere I have studied myself, that of French theater performed abroad.¹³

The nineteenth century was marked by a major circulation of plays from Paris to other capitals, but with conjunctural variations bound up with the varying social and political climate in different parts of Europe.¹⁴ What foreign stages consumed in the way of imported works were mostly new French productions that had already seen the footlights of a Paris theater market that was extremely competitive.¹⁵ The Paris stage, in fact, made an initial and pitiless selection among the hundreds of plays offered to its

directors each year. The hecatomb was then considerable even among those that were actually performed; no more than around one in ten achieved real success by the standards of the time—that is, a hundred performances. It was from this minority of plays accepted by the Paris public that foreign adapters, translators, impresarios or directors made their choice in offering them a second run outside of France.

THE FIRST TWO-THIRDS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

We shall start by examining the presence of plays of French origin on the stages of the German capitals in the first half of the nineteenth century (Tables 6.1 and 6.2), an era in which there was still a strong discrepancy between the censorship regimes on either side of the Rhine, France being reputedly more liberal in terms of theater legislation than the German monarchies that were hostile to the French Revolution and its nineteenth-century legacy.

Despite this obstacle, statistical analysis of the two most official theaters in Vienna and Berlin records for each a relatively high level of import of plays of French origin. The notable differences between the capitals, however, suggest intuitive hypotheses. In Berlin, the Schauspielhaus was far more closed to French plays than was the Burgtheater, its Viennese counterpart. The authorities in charge of the Vienna stage were more oriented towards Italy than France as far as music was concerned, yet they privileged the repertoire of the Paris boulevard theater, chiefly to the detriment of other foreign repertoires. As an average over this period, the share of plays of French origin in Vienna was 27.9 percent, as against 18.7 percent in Berlin. This average gap of 9 percent between the programming of the two theaters was far more marked during certain significant periods in the climate of relations with France. The majority of plays exported belonged in fact to the comic and contemporary satire market, thus depicting post-revolutionary French society, whereas society in Berlin and Vienna had not yet experienced such an upheaval, something that could arouse greater or lesser reticence on the part of the censorship, depending on the political climate. Dramatic production of French origin recorded a net decline in Berlin in the early 1830s (10.7 percent and 10.3 percent of total programming as against 32 percent during the previous five years). Was this a result of the rejection by the established monarchies of the new regime that emerged in France from the July barricades? This political hypothesis might seem plausible. And yet at the same time, the share of French plays produced at the Burgtheater increased (37 percent and 35.9 percent for the same years, as against 30 percent between 1825 and 1829), despite the Austrian monarchy having no more reason to be favorable to the July regime, which ruined the arrangements of the Holy Alliance established precisely in Vienna 15 years before. To understand this divergence, we need a more detailed

Table 6.1 Share of plays of French origin among new productions at the Vienna Burgtheater

Year	1810	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	1830-34	1835-39	1840-44	1845-49	1850-54	1855-59	1860-64	1865-69	Total 1815-69
French	3	30	25	27	37	32	26	13	32	23	27	23	295
Total	20	118	96	90	100	89	93	92	119	84	94	80	1055
%	15	25.4	26.0	30	37	35.9	27.9	14.1	26.8	27.3	28.7	28.7	27.9

Table 6.2 Share of plays of French origin among new productions at the Königlichches Schauspielhaus, Berlin

Year	1810	1815-19	1820-24	1825-29	1830-34	1835-39	1840-44	1845-49	1850-54	1855-59	1860-64	1865-69	Total 1815-69
French	2	23	50	52	17	14	19	12	17	8	12	6	230
Total	23	152	134	162	159	136	96	88	95	58	68	81	1229
%	8.6	15.1	37.3	32.0	10.7	10.3	19.8	13.6	17.8	13.7	17.6	7.4	18.7

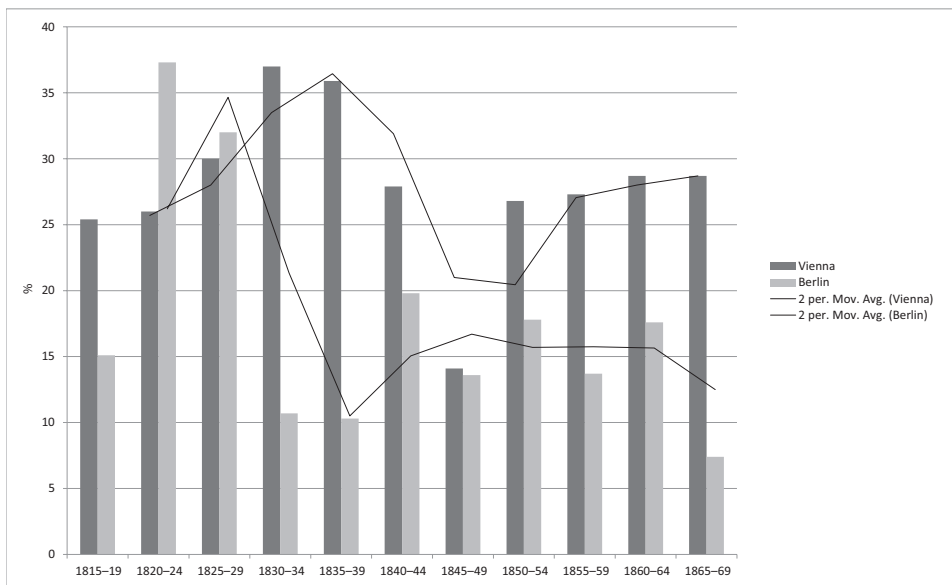


Chart 6.1 Proportion of plays of French origin as a percentage of total new productions at the Berlin Schauspielhaus and the Vienna Bergtheater, by five-year period with moving averages

analysis of the plays in question, and of the date of their creation in Paris. The time needed for adaptation or translation meant that these plays actually still dated from the Restoration era, when the Paris theater was far more strictly supervised. The direct correlation with the political climate in the two German-speaking capitals, however, is better verified at the time of the crisis of 1848. Besides the economic and political difficulties deeply affecting the two monarchies at this time (and thus also their theaters), those in charge of programming were convinced that the subversive ideas coming from France (via literature or the theater) held a certain responsibility for the revolutionary crises affecting them, hence the temporary exclusion of the French repertoire. No Paris play was staged in Berlin in 1848 or 1849, and only two anodyne comedies by Scribe were performed in Vienna during these two troubled years. The peripheral theaters, however, during the brief period of freedom that followed the events of March 1848, presented plays that would have previously been quite impossible, such as *Le chiffonnier de Paris*, a critical melodrama by Félix Pyat, adapted by Heinrich Börnstein, an exiled member of the German far left (Chart 6.1).¹⁶

What actually explains the relative stability of the import rates of French plays, despite the political gap between the two spaces, is that the majority of the plays accepted for the official stage in the two German-speaking capitals

lay in the genre of undemanding entertainment and comedy, following a conventional image of France going back to the eighteenth century as the country of wit, gaiety, and excellent comedy. In Vienna, 72.3 percent of plays of French origin were comedies, and 3.8 percent farces. In Munich, Odile Girard calculated a figure of 42.8 percent comedies and 9.9 percent farces.¹⁷ In Berlin from 1815 to 1848, the respective percentages were 70.9 percent comedies and 4.6 percent farces, to which should be added 4.1 percent vaudevilles. This remarkable constancy between the two capitals emphasizes the distractive function of the import of French productions and the systematic bias in the choice of their importers, since in the same period vaudevilles in Paris made up only 38.4 percent of plays from 1816 to 1830 and 55.2 percent from 1841 to 1850.¹⁸ Even adding in more sophisticated comedies, the rates for both Vienna and Berlin were still not very high, all the more so in that the Paris figure cited above includes far less prestigious theaters (devoted to a comic repertoire) than those we have chosen for the two German-speaking capitals.

Comparison with the data available for French theater performed abroad in the eighteenth century, as provided by Rahul Markovits's book, highlights this continuity between the two eras. In Vienna comedies made up 56 percent of French plays produced between 1752 and 1772, and comic operas 12 percent. In Berlin between 1743 and 1757, the domination of comedy was still more overwhelming (97 percent). These figures are, however, biased by 21 percent of the Vienna imports being ballets. If productions of this kind are excluded so as to harmonize with our own statistics, the proportions are very close to those for Berlin or to the figures given above. Considering only spoken genres, comedy then made up 83.7 percent of productions, or still more than in the nineteenth century.¹⁹

On the other hand, what is still seen by official literary history today as marking the innovative French theater of that era (that is, melodrama, romantic drama, and historical plays), were practically ignored in the German-speaking capitals, finding scarcely an echo there. These genres were provided by local authors who offered historical plays that were likewise inspired by Walter Scott or Shakespeare, or by German history, which put them in a directly competitive position. No play by Victor Hugo, on the other hand, was performed at the Burgtheater before 1848, and *Hernani* had to wait until 1879 to get a mere three performances.²⁰ If a few plays by Hugo's rival Dumas had better fortune and were adapted before 1848, these were not his historical and romantic plays but rather his most commercial works, when he left the major genres and drew closer to the boulevard repertoire. In Berlin, his great success *Henri III and His Court* (1829) was shown as early as 1830, but the play ran for only three nights before disappearing from the repertoire, whereas it enjoyed 43 performances at the Comédie Française.²¹ *Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*, one of the greatest Paris successes of 1847 (more than 150 performances) was staged in German

at the Königsstädtisches Theater early in 1848, but withdrawn after just two shows.²² It was Dumas's later plays, however, more or less adapted from his historical novels (which were very widely read in Germany), that had the longest success on stage in both official German-speaking theaters: *Les demoiselles de Saint-Cyr*, a comedy in five acts set in the seventeenth century, was performed from 1843 onwards in both Vienna and Berlin, with 37 and 30 performances respectively, while its Paris première was only on 25 July of that same year.²³ Then there was *Anna von Oestreich* (1846, 31 performances), a free adaptation of *The Three Musketeers* made by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer, a specialist in this kind of remake. This play, whose title recalls an ancestor of the ruling house, was only performed in Vienna in lesser theaters, after the 1848 revolution: the Theater an der Wien in September 1848 and the Carltheater in 1850.²⁴ Birch-Pfeiffer also authored dramatizations of Victor Hugo's novel *Notre-Dame de Paris*, under the title *Der Glöckner von Notre-Dame*, and of a certain number of English novels.²⁵ French romanticism was only digestible when strongly flavored with German sauce. We should also note that the same novel experienced the same outrage on the London stage, even ending up in our own time as a musical comedy for the Broadway and West End theaters.

The virtual absence and total failure of Victor Hugo and the other more demanding French romantic authors (such as Vigny) in the German-speaking theater is very significant here as it denoted a rejection of ambitious French literary drama (as well as the delicate political implications following from the gap between the two societies). The same rejection was expressed by the preferences of those in charge of programming and by most of the established consumers of vaudeville, comedy, and farce. There was little ideological baggage other than a satire on certain contemporary manners in the name of good sense and conformity; however, sometimes plays were transposed into German/Austrian contexts with anti-French points permitting symbolic revenge on the defeated former enemy.²⁶

LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Even in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when political and social evolution had produced a convergence of historic context between societies brought into contact by the export of French plays, discordances and differential filters persisted.

In Berlin, the share of plays of French origin in the programming, according to the monographs that we have on several theaters between 1860 and 1900, varied between 10 and 26.7 percent. In Vienna, more exhaustive official statistics give a slightly higher percentage of between 15.2 and 26 percent for the years 1885 to 1900. In the Budapest theaters, works of French origin were proportionally twice as numerous: from 24.1 to 43.4 percent, depending

on the year.²⁷ This high level was similarly found in other more peripheral capitals such as Christiania/Oslo, Prague (27 to 30 percent of productions in the three main theaters between 1862 and 1914 were taken from the French repertoire), Belgrade (32 percent French plays at the National Theater between 1868 and 1913), 33.1 percent at the Warsaw theaters, without even speaking of Francophone cities close at hand such as Geneva or Brussels.²⁸ In the Anglophone world (in London and New York), however, the turn of the century marked a steady decline in French dramatic productions, in contrast with their strong presence in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century: from being above 10 percent in the early 1890s, the share of French plays on the London stage fell to 5 percent between the two wars.²⁹ The trend was similar in New York, with a decline from 17.9 percent to 3–4 percent between 1909 and 1919.³⁰

This differential geography corresponds to a degree with the development of the international literary balance of forces as shown by Pascale Casanova or Blaise Wilfert, especially in the realm of the novel. At the same time, it presents certain specific features, bearing on variations in censorship (stricter than for novels) and the importance of actors and actresses as mediators, often more decisive than authors or translators in placing works abroad. Countries without a major theater tradition, or subject to German cultural influence, for a long time turned more to the import of French works so as to compensate for local lack, and/or to combat a cultural presence felt as oppressive, for example in Prague or Budapest.³¹ Those countries culturally free from French cultural domination, on the other hand (that is, English-speaking, Hispanic or German), increasingly rejected dramatic production from Paris, or confined it only to the most amusing genres: drawing-room comedy, a Parisian specialty played in the most bourgeois theaters, operettas, and vaudevilles on specialized stages. But the greater part of their market was now in the hands of national manufacturers, who produced plays on the assembly line adapted to the majority public seeking comic or musical entertainments that took over French patterns but adapted these to idiosyncrasies of society and language that were hard to transpose.

Theatrical circulation thus involved, as well as already existing productions such as general literary works, a balance of forces that was directly bound up with demographic and economic variables: countries producing a lot and countries producing a little, languages with a large theater market and those with a small one, states that respected legal rules and spaces in which literary piracy was common, cultures in which theater occupied either a desirable or a despised position in the hierarchy of genres. Is this example, which is evidence rather of a decline in cultural circulation and a specialization of circuits (since avant-garde theater at the same time played a more international game, but in a sector partly outside the dominant market), generalizable to other cultural goods?

Progression or Regression of Cultural Internationalization?

According to an accepted idea, conveyed by the thematics of modernization and globalization, any process of interconnection of spaces is accompanied by a growing cultural internationalization. If you argue in terms of simple quantitative flows, this interpretation is plausible. But the historians of international cultural circulation cannot look only at supply, they also have to try to measure the actual demand, the impact and mode of reception, and thus the relative domination. We have already seen from the example of theatrical translation and circulation how the growth of supply goes together with an accentuation of hierarchies and phenomena of domination, to the advantage of a few centers or types of production best adjusted or adjustable to local expectations. A second important question is that of the gap between fields of emission of cultural goods and fields of reception. Is the speed of translations, mediatizations or transfers not strictly proportionate to the growth of demand? Excess supply, in fact, or the domination of old productions easier to place because corresponding to structures of foreign perception already established, tends to block the reception of new works or less established genres. And as we move forward in time, the more these phenomena are institutionalized and hard to challenge, something that brakes further internationalization.

OPERA AS AN EXAMPLE OF DECLINING INTERNATIONALIZATION

Opera offers a caricature example of this feedback loop, acting the more widely as this genre spread across the world. The establishment, from the end of the nineteenth century, of a canon of works produced for the most part in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, dominated by a number of Italian composers (Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, Puccini), secondarily Wagner and some French composers (Gounod's *Faust*, Bizet's *Carmen*), brought a dramatic fall in the creation of new works, the equality of access to the international circuit of the national operas that emerged in the course of the nineteenth century, and the renovation of the genre (very slow emergence of modernist work, compared with other sectors of the arts).³² The place left for recent operas was extremely restricted in the programming of the leading world opera houses, compared to what it had been at the start of the nineteenth century.³³

If we take the repertoire of works performed in 1880 at La Scala in Milan and the Paris Opéra (Table 6.3), and compare this with the list of those operas performed most frequently in Germany in the 1970s or in the US and Canada in the 1990s (Table 6.4), this shows the extraordinary stability of an international genre stuck on a few works and cult authors.

The major successes created in the age when Italian opera was dominant (Rossini, Verdi, Donizetti), the first half of the nineteenth century, lasted

Table 6.3 Operas most performed in Milan in 1880 and in Paris in 1912: the first figure is for performances in that year, the second for performances since its first Paris production

La Scala, number of opera productions, 1879–80	Paris Opéra, 1880	Paris Opéra, 1912
<i>Aida</i> (Verdi): 23	<i>Aida</i> : 48 (first production) <i>Faust</i> (Gounod): 20 (323)	<i>Faust</i> : 22 (1210)
<i>La Gioconda</i> (Ponchielli): 14	<i>Les Huguenots</i> (Meyerbeer): 17 (692)	<i>Guillaume Tell</i> : 1 (868)
<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i> (Donizetti): 11	<i>La Juive</i> (Halévy): 14 (462)	<i>Samson et Dalila</i> (Saint-Saëns): 21 (350)
<i>Rigoletto</i> (Verdi): 8	<i>Guillaume Tell</i> (Rossini): 14 (646)	<i>Lohengrin</i> (Wagner): 18 (319)
<i>Faust</i> (Gounod): 4	<i>La Muette de Portici</i> (Auber): 13 (502)	<i>Romeo et Juliette</i> (Saint-Saëns): 10 (308)
Total: 60	<i>La Favorite</i> (Donizetti): 12 (521)	<i>Aida</i> (Verdi): 9 (289)
	<i>Le Comte Ory</i> (Rossini): 12 (399)	<i>Tannhäuser</i> (Wagner): 5 (233)
	<i>L'Africaine</i> (Meyerbeer): 11 (312)	<i>Rigoletto</i> (Verdi): 13 (229)
	<i>Don Juan</i> (Mozart): 9 (189)	<i>Sigurd</i> (Reyer): 3 (221) <i>La Walkyrie</i> : 8 (215)
	<i>Hamlet</i> (A. Thomas): 9 (170)	<i>Thaïs</i> (Massenet): 8 (118)
	<i>Der Freischütz</i> (Weber): 9 (172)	<i>Le Cid</i> (Massenet): 6 (113)
	Total: 188	<i>Les maîtres chanteurs</i> : 10 (98)
		Total: 134

Sources: D. Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans*, p. 768, after *Il Pungolo*, 1–2 April 1880, in *Carteggio Verdi-Ricordi 1880–1881* (Parma: Istituto di studi verdiani, 1988), p. 229; and A. Soubies, *Almanach des spectacles* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1880 and 1912).

Table 6.4 Operas most attended (by number of seats) or most performed (number of productions) in Germany and the US in the last decades of the twentieth century

Germany (West)	1973/74	US and Canada	Productions 1991/92 to 2002/03
Mozart	1,033,000	Puccini, <i>La Bohème</i>	207
Verdi	1,025,000	Puccini, <i>Mme Butterfly</i>	193
Puccini	670,000	Verdi, <i>La Traviata</i>	175
Wagner	500,000	Bizet, <i>Carmen</i>	173
R. Strauss	425,000	Rossini, <i>The Barber of Seville</i>	154
Rossini	345,000	Puccini, <i>Tosca</i>	151
Donizetti	199,500	Mozart, <i>Nozze di Figaro</i>	144

Source: D. Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans*, pp. 764–65.

through to the 1880s and even into the twentieth century. Despite the breakthrough of Wagner and some French composers to the international stage at the turn of the century, it was still the second Italian generation (the later Verdi, then the *veristi*) who ruled in the early twentieth century, but the same still held true in Germany as late as the 1970s, and even later in the century in the US and Canada. The only notable change that happened during the twentieth century was the return to favor of Mozart, who served as a bridge between German and Italian opera, after his works had been obscured to some extent during the nineteenth century in favor of contemporary works such as those of Meyerbeer, which are today forgotten. There was, however, as we know, a steady production of new works in this genre, even if far less copious than in the nineteenth century. Some of these managed to obtain a small place among the *monstres sacrés* of the tradition popular with the broad public, television, cinema, record companies, the star system of singers and divas, such as Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, Alban Berg's *Lulu*, and Stravinsky's *A Soldier's Tale*. It is of course possible to offer rational explanations for this museumification, which freezes cultural hierarchies established more than a century ago: economic reasons (the cost of productions is a major factor in favor of a cautious repetition of the same successes), aesthetic reasons (the dominant public for opera seeks above all to rediscover the lost world of previous centuries, even if some directors try to modernize this, not always in a convincing fashion), institutional reasons (the operatic *société du spectacle* is based on modes of circulation and reproduction that are very strictly defined), even international reasons: paradoxically, this genre has been adopted in spaces outside of Europe as a sign of cultural distinction in relation to the emerging mass culture, and the canon established in the major European countries has been taken up from Buenos Aires to Sydney, from Tokyo to St. Petersburg and Moscow.³⁴

The most interesting phenomenon for comment, however, is that of the discordance of temporalities underlying this internationalization of certain cultural domains. In the nineteenth century, as we saw for spoken theater, there was the impact of political censorship or prudent avoidance of risky themes; there is the impact of major aesthetic divergences in the arts as a function of traditions and tendencies of the long-term dominant tastes; and in the broad mass arts (cinema, "world fiction," popular music genres, opera) there is what is known in economics as oligopoly with fringe competition: a few major companies, a few bestsellers or blockbusters, a few hit parade stars, a few *monstres sacrés* of opera, outrageously dominate their respective fields or markets, but allow a few small innovatory enclaves to survive on the margin. A tiny fraction of these marginal productions will perhaps one day achieve a higher status in the central market, or form a repertoire of reference for internationalized avant-garde groups. Depending on the domain in question, this internationalization takes the form of the domination of the

national space of reference of the concerned domain, which in the examples mentioned is that of the currently dominant nation in the Anglophone culture zone. In other cases, old European nations maintain their dominant role of reference (as in the case of opera for Italy); in the plastic arts, where borders are more porous and exports particularly speculative, emerging nations may beat a path more quickly, as shown by the rapid internationalization of the American abstract art market after 1945, or that of Asian artists today.

Provisional Perspectives and Conclusions

In the various examples given here, we can see how debates over historical method that rather artificially opposed concepts such as transfers, comparisons, and crossings, are easily resolved by empirical research. These three approaches are all the more fertile when one manages to combine them. Since each genre or type of work is intended for publics or milieus of a different size, from the elitist art market or academic books for the “happy few” through to mass markets such as those for the novel, theater or cinema, cultural transfers or crossings obey very varied modalities in time or social and geographical space. The social and cultural articulation of mediators and circuits is just as varied, even if long-term dynamics and hierarchies of taste or attractiveness remain that are hard to transgress. The more serious the obstacles to cross, the more considerable is the energy that has to be deployed to cross frontiers or to benefit from complex connections or alliances. Without a comparison of cases and contexts that is itself placed in the perspective of a discordance of timeframes, analysis of any particular case falls back into a monograph closed in on itself, with no possible generalization. In order to avoid falling into a fatalism of the probable, comparison of diverging cases offers explanatory hypotheses to be verified and makes it possible to escape from either an enchanted view of elective encounters between cultures (the dominant perspective in specialized histories of each particular branch of culture), or the opposite view, a purely cynical one, of successes that are predictable as a function of the taste of the dominant consumers.³⁵ Historical works on these subjects thus have to resort both to classical methods of philology (interpretation of readings and re-readings of works to understand the translatability or not from one culture to another) and to sociological and statistical approaches to determine whether these cases are ordinary or exceptional, to be sociologically explained within cultural ensembles with a long-term structuring.

Comparison between domains with unequal dependence on articulated language also appears a promising line of research. It has been explored, in music for example, by William Weber in his latest book³⁶ and by the collective works on European concert performance edited by Hans-Erich Bökeler,

Patrice Veit, and Michael Werner.³⁷ Lastly, and above all, comparison in time indicates that the spontaneous evolutionism that inspires many historical views, far from being a universal key, is a major obstacle to understanding the processes at work. There is nothing natural or immediate in curiosity about the culture of others; the questioning of inherited tastes or attractions is not just a function of generational effects or historical conjunctures, but of the wider process, discussed in the introduction to this chapter, of discordance in timeframes and diverging regimes of historicity as a function of the fields involved. As cultural history always has a tendency to privilege, in a literary prejudice inherited from the humanities, everything that bears on the avant-garde, the original or exotic, it always tends to generalize on the basis of the innovating and international sector, a small minority of cultural production that is in phase with modernity. We thus know far more today about the reasons for the European success of Ibsen's plays—much overestimated for ethical or aesthetic reasons—than about the reasons that enabled writers for the French boulevard theater throughout the nineteenth century and beyond to be recognized in social and historical worlds that were at the very antipodes of the Paris conditions of their origins. To analyze this kind of transfer within mainstream culture is not very valorizing for those who devote themselves to it, since they seek to bring to life a dead culture unknown to present-day readers and deliberately stigmatized by forms of cultural history devoted to legitimate literary culture. Yet without taking all forms of cultural circulation into account, from the most scholarly to the most vulgar, the more elitist to the greatest mass appeal, it will never be possible to establish more than a partial and distorted inventory of the transformations of modernity in "Europe."

Notes

- 1 C. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); D. Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans from 1800 to the Present* (London: Harper, 2006). See also "Histoire globale, histoires connectées: Un changement d'échelle historiographique?," *Bulletin de la SHMC* 54-4 bis (2007) supplement.
- 2 Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel* (London: Verso, 1999) and *The Novel*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
- 3 See: C. Charle and D. Roche, eds., *Capitales culturelles, capitales symboliques, Paris et les expériences européennes XVIII–XXe siècles* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002); C. Charle, ed., *Le temps des capitales culturelles, XVIIIe–XXe siècles* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009); C. Charle, J. Schriewer, and P. Wagner, eds., *Transnational Intellectual Networks. Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004); C. Charle, J. Vincent, and J. Winter, eds., *Anglo-French Attitudes: Comparisons and Transfers between French and English Intellectuals since the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
- 4 Christophe Charle, *Discordance des temps, une brève histoire de la modernité* (Paris: A. Colin, 2011).
- 5 See Pascale Casanova, *La République mondiale des lettres* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1999), 235–36.
- 6 Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans*, in particular chs. 10 and 25. See also A. Schlösser, *Die englische Literatur in Deutschland von 1895 bis 1934* (Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung, 1937).

- 7 Blaise Wilfert, "Cosmopolis ou l'homme invisible. Les importateurs de littérature étrangère en France, 1880–1914," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 144 (2002): 33–46; by the same author, "La place de la littérature étrangère dans le champ littéraire français autour de 1900," *Histoire et mesure* 23 (2008): 69–100.
- 8 For an example of a recent analysis of the introduction of a foreign structuralist current within the French humanities, see F. Matonti, "L'anneau de Moebius. La réception en France des formalistes russes," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 176–177 (2009): 52–67.
- 9 See Christophe Charle, "Champ littéraire français et importations étrangères: La naissance du nationalisme littéraire," in *Paris fin de siècle, culture et politique* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1998), 177–99; Blaise Wilfert, *Du monde entier. La littérature, l'étranger, la nation. France 1885–1930* (Paris: Editions Belin, forthcoming).
- 10 E.M. de Vogüé, *Le roman russe* (Paris: Hachette, 1886) (reissued Lausanne: l'Age d'homme, 1971).
- 11 Data compiled by V. Boutchik, *Bibliographie des œuvres littéraires russes traduites en français* (Paris: G. Orobitz, 1935), cited in Charle, *Paris fin de siècle*, 187.
- 12 G. Sapiro, ed., *Translatio* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2008), 204 ff.
- 13 I am summarizing here certain arguments in my contribution, titled "Circulations théâtrales entre Paris, Vienne, Berlin, Munich et Stuttgart (1815–1860), Essai de mesure et d'interprétation d'un échange inégal," to the proceedings of the Vienna conference, eds. N. Bachleitner (Ger.) and Murray G. Hall (Eng.), "Die Bienen fremder Literaturen." *Der literarische Transfer zwischen Großbritannien, Frankreich und dem deutschsprachigen Raum im Zeitalter der Weltliteratur (1770–1850)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012), 229–60; and also in ch. 8 of Christophe Charle, *Théâtres en capitales. Naissance de la société du spectacle à Paris, Berlin, Londres et Vienne (1860–1914)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2008).
- 14 See J.-C. Yon, ed., *Le théâtre français à l'étranger au XIXe siècle. Histoire d'une suprématie culturelle* (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2008).
- 15 J.-C. Yon, *Une histoire du théâtre à Paris de la Révolution à la Grande Guerre* (Paris: Aubier, 2012).
- 16 For an overview of theatrical performances in Berlin in 1848, see Lothar Schirmer and Paul S. Ulrich, *Das Jahr 1848. Kultur in Berlin im Spiegel der Vossischen Zeitung* (Berlin: Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 2008). Partial version online as "Einmal Hunderttausend Thaler- Öffentliche Vergnügungen in Berlin 1848," compiled by Paul S. Ulrich and available at <http://www.theatergeschichte.org/dokumentation/berlin/1848/stuecke.htm>.
- 17 Odile Girard, "Le théâtre national de cour de Munich (1818–1847), étude du répertoire dramatique et de sa réception" (PhD diss., Université de Paris XII, 1997), 672.
- 18 Lothar Matthes, *Vaudeville. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatursystematischen Ort eine Erfolgsgattung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1983), 66.
- 19 Rahul Markovits, "Un 'empire culturel'? Le théâtre français en Europe au XVIIIe siècle (des années 1730 à 1814)" (PhD diss., Université de Paris 1 Sorbonne, 2010), Table 4, 95; now available in book form: *Civiliser l'Europe, Politiques du théâtre français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2014).
- 20 The Viennese ostracism of this play perhaps relates also to its adaptation by Verdi, and to the key role played by the title character as a symbol of the Italian patriot hostile to Austria, as shown by Carlotta Sorba, "Il 1848 e la melodrammatizzazione della politica," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali, II Risorgimento*, eds. Alberto Mario Banti and Paul Ginsborg (Turin: Einaudi, 2007), 481–508.
- 21 Alexandre Dumas, *Théâtre complet*, vol. 1 (Paris: Minard 1974), 453.
- 22 *Der Chevalier de Maison-Rouge, oder: Rettet die Koenigin!*, Drama in 5 Acten und in 12 Tableaux von Alexander Dumas père und August Maquet für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet von Heinrich Smidt, Both's Bühnen-Repertoir XVII, 134 (Berlin, Bloch, 1848). Performed on 1 and 6 January 1848 (see *Einmal Hunderttausend Thaler- Öffentliche Vergnügungen in Berlin 1848, zusammengestellt von Paul S. Ulrich*).
- 23 There was a French edition actually published in Germany (Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1843), which can be consulted at books.google.com.
- 24 Birch-Pfeiffer, an actress at the Berlin Schauspielhaus from 1844 on, was a tireless producer of theatrical adaptations and tear-jerkers. See Birgit Pargner, *Zwischen Tränen und Kommerz, Das Rührtheater Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffers (1800–1868) in seiner künstlerischen und kommerziellen Verwertung. Quellenforschung am Handschriften Nachlass* (Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag 1999), 485.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 478.

- 26 Hugo's plays were also performed in French at the Théâtre Français in Berlin, but here too with a very short run.
- 27 Data drawn respectively from W. Buth, "Das Lessing Theater in Berlin unter der Direktion von Otto Brahm (1904–1912)" (PhD diss., FU Berlin, 1965), printed in Munich; G. Muhle, "Die Geschichte des Residenztheaters in Berlin von 1871–1887" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1955); C. Rhode, "Das 'Berliner Theater' von 1888–1899" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1966); J. Wilcke, "Das Lessing Theater in Berlin unter Oscar Blumenthal" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1958); H. Windelboth, "Das Central-Theater in Berlin 1880–1908" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1956); E. Wischer, "Das Wallner-Theater im Berlin" (PhD diss. FU Berlin, 1967); *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien*; *Budapest székesfőváros statisztikai évkönyve* = *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Budapest* (Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó Vallalat, 1894–1898).
- 28 Anker Øyvind, *Christiania Theater Repertoire 1827–1899* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1956); S. Reznikow, *Francophilie et identité tchèque (1848–1914)* (Paris: Champion, 2002), 612–3, 621–2.
- 29 These figures are taken from studies made of the years 1890–92, 1900–02, 1910–12, 1920–22, and 1930–32 by J.P. Wearing: *The London Stage 1890–1899, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976); *The London Stage 1900–1909, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981); *The London Stage 1910–19, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982); *The London Stage 1920–29, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 3 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1984); *The London Stage 1930–39, A Calendar of Plays and Players*, 2 vols. (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1990).
- 30 Hamilton Mason, *French Theatre in New York, a List of Plays 1899–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).
- 31 See B. Michel, *Prague belle époque* (Paris: Aubier, 2008), 93–94, 116–17.
- 32 Philipp Ther's study of the Dresden, Prague, and Lemberg (now Lviv) theaters confirms this phenomenon, despite the appearance of national operas that were more diversified but occupied only a restricted place vis-à-vis the great classics that were constantly replayed from the end of the nineteenth century. See his *In der Mitte der Gesellschaft. Operntheater in Zentraleuropa 1815–1914* (Vienna and Munich: Oldenbourg, 2006), particularly 398–400.
- 33 See Sassoon, *The Culture of the Europeans*, 762–65.
- 34 For a more detailed view on opera circulations in Europe during the nineteenth century see my recent paper "La circulation des opéras en Europe au XIXe siècle," *Relations internationales*, no. 155 (December 2013): 11–31.
- 35 The type of interpretation so often privileged by cultural studies or historians of "mass culture."
- 36 W. Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- 37 H.-E. Bödeker, P. Veit, and M. Werner, eds., *Le concert et son public. Mutations de la vie musicale en Europe* (Paris: Editions de la MSH, 2002); edited by the same authors, *Les sociétés de musique en Europe, 1700–1920: Structures, pratiques musicales, sociabilités* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2007); *Organisateurs et formes d'organisation du concert en Europe, 1700–1920* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008); and *Espaces et lieux de concert en Europe 1700–1920* (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag, 2008).

MAPPING CULTURAL EXCHANGE: LATIN AMERICAN ARTISTS IN PARIS BETWEEN THE WARS

Michele Greet

With the increased focus on multiculturalism and globalism in academia, writing national histories has begun to take a back seat to projects that look at connections and circulations among cultures. But existing secondary sources are, for the most part, written from a more circumscribed perspective. As I began research on my current project on Latin American artists in Paris between the wars, I read monograph after monograph on individual artists as well as various national histories. All these sources mentioned artists' important sojourns abroad, but rarely made significant connections with other artists' activities—except to mention that he or she had met Picasso or Matisse or shared a drink with Modigliani—or with the dynamic experience of living in an international city full of immigrants. Nor was their work situated amidst current aesthetic debates taking place in Paris. Sources that focus on Paris frequently describe the scene in a hierarchical manner, giving greater importance to French nationals and long-time residents than to the experience of transient artists or students. And most sources on Paris between the wars simply ignore Latin American artists altogether, instead highlighting Jewish artists of the School of Paris as the sole group of foreigners who made an impact on the Parisian art world. I am not at all suggesting that this group was not important, but rather that it is the only example of an integrative history of foreigners in Paris that has achieved any degree of recognition and scholarly analysis. A new type of art history, which foregrounds circulations of people and ideas to complicate traditional modernist narratives, is necessary to shed new light on the period.

Based on the experience of researching and writing a book on Latin American artists in Paris between the world wars, and creating an online

database and interactive maps to accompany the manuscript, this analysis will reflect on how established methodologies can be augmented by new techniques in the digital humanities as a means to better understand these circulations and exchanges. Traditionally, concrete archival studies deal with the specific and the local, whereas analyses of global interchange remain theoretical and speculative. Mapping provides visual evidence of the transnational circulation of people and ideas, thereby raising isolated narratives to the level of recurrent phenomena. While mapping and collecting large data sets is nothing new, creating digital maps and searchable databases allows for the manipulation of data in non-static ways, with the hope that future studies can incorporate, augment or interpret the data for different ends. My discussion will contemplate the advantages and challenges of weaving between narrative and digital formats and how the integrative use of these methodologies allows for a more comprehensive understanding of transnational exchange. By examining the formation of conflicting cultural identities and their function and interpretation in Paris between the wars, my project attempts to correct the Eurocentrism of current scholarship on the Parisian art scene and illuminate an historical precedent to the current globalized art world.

Most research projects begin with an assessment of the secondary source material on a selected topic, the formulation of a significant unanswered research question, the location of pertinent archival collections, and finally digging through the documents. This formula works well when the topic is an individual artist, institution, or a national or regional history. But what happens when the research topic is one of transnational or global reach? When the archives and documents are scattered throughout the world and written in multiple languages? One strategy that has emerged, particularly in Cultural Studies, is the creation of new theories to understand broad-reaching phenomena. When done well, and based on sufficient core knowledge of the regions under consideration, these studies can facilitate new and innovative ways of interpreting cultural contact. Post-colonial and globalization theories are recent examples that have been particularly innovative in this regard. By addressing the impact of uneven power relations, political inequalities, and social and economic tensions, these studies ask a different set of questions than those which analyze a limited geographic region. The theories and methodologies developed in these emerging disciplines can also illuminate the relationship between cultural contact and artistic production. But, as sometimes happens, these broad-reaching theories mask an underlying lack of archival or on-the-ground research about specific regions, and broad generalizations smooth over local distinctions. Moreover, canonical figures and traditional artistic centers still often provide an archetypal model for evaluating lesser-known artists and non-European or North American geographies. The challenge for scholars is to reconcile archival techniques

with new theoretical approaches. Digital and spatial tools can provide a means to visualize and synthesize large datasets and to analyze them with the necessary level of detail.

My study of Latin American artists in Paris draws on these recent studies in the humanities that focus on cultural contact, colonialism, transnationalism, globalization, and ethnic diasporas to understand how these artists created new visual languages to articulate or contest notions of nationalism, universality, authenticity, and hybridity based on their experiences abroad. The desire to formulate and embrace a particular identity often developed in response to Parisians' stereotyped perceptions of Latin America. In my research, I look closely at how artists deployed style or subject matter as a strategic presentation of identity to serve their individual or collective needs. Mapping and the creation of a digital database allowed me to evaluate these artists' movements and contacts visually and quantitatively, providing a concrete framework for a more theoretical assessment of these circulations.

Whereas Latin American artists had been traveling to Paris to study and exhibit since the nineteenth century, the sheer numbers of artists who arrived after World War I, coupled with the increased allocation of government grants (from Latin American nations), distinguish the influx of artists between the wars from previous migrations. Nineteenth-century migrations were primarily an upper-class phenomenon. After World War I, however, transatlantic liners became more affordable and living in Paris was relatively inexpensive because of the economic impact of war, making travel to Paris much more feasible for students and lower- and middle-class artists. The presence of more than three hundred Latin American artists living and working in Paris between 1918 and 1939, staying anywhere from several months to several decades, demonstrates a critical mass that rivaled or even surpassed other groups of foreigners such as Scandinavian, Japanese, German, or Russian Jewish artists associated with the School of Paris.

I chose to examine Latin American artists as a group in addition to tracing national alliances because I believe that it was the experience of Paris that allowed for a broader notion of "Latin American art" to take shape. While the idea of "Latin America" as a geopolitical construct existed since the days of Simon Bolívar (1783–1830), art academies primarily emerged after independence, in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, with the formation of nation-states. Consequently their agendas were decidedly nationalist. Indeed, national governments often sponsored artists' studies abroad since a European education was still envisioned as a sign of cultural status. Ironically, it was during their time abroad that these art students came into contact with artists from other Latin American countries and began to form alliances that would complicate a purely national construction of identity. In the open academies of Montparnasse such as the Académie Colarossi,



7.1 Académie André Lhote, undated photograph. André Lhote Archives, reproduced with permission of Dominique Berman-Martin

the Académie Julian, the Académie de la Grand Chaumière, and later the Académie André Lhote (Fig 7.1) and Fernand Léger's Académie Moderne—where art students could pay a daily or monthly registration fee and draw from a live model—those who shared a common language, expatriate status, and cultural heritage as citizens of former Spanish or Portuguese colonies began to band together to increase the possibility of recognition in a highly competitive art market that was already inundated with foreigners. I also believe that the critical mass of Latin American artists working in Paris expanded the worldview of European artists and intellectuals. Without contact with these artists, for example, it seems unlikely that the surrealist poet André Breton would have organized an exhibition of surrealist art in Mexico in 1940. Hence, without the intense transnational dialogues that occurred in Paris between the wars, neither Latin American nor European modernism would have taken the forms it did.

As I plowed through sources on these artists, I created a database of information on each individual, recording their nation of origin, address in Paris, dates in Paris, schools attended, group and individual exhibitions, government grants, awards and honors, and Parisian contacts. As the database

grew to more than three hundred artists, it became clear that writing about all of them was neither useful nor interesting. The book needed a different format, based on case studies and institutional structures and affiliations to avoid becoming merely an encyclopedia. With preliminary research completed, I began applying for grants to support continued research and writing. It was the feedback from a rejected grant proposal that provided the impetus for implementing a digital and spatial component of the project. One of the commentators noted that I needed to reconcile the narrative goals of the project with the large amount of data collected. What should I do with all that data, if it were not to be incorporated into the book? I therefore decided to create a website, with the help of some very capable graduate students and George Mason's Center for History and New Media, to accompany the book.¹ The website includes a searchable database of artists and the Parisian galleries that exhibited their work, and two interactive maps. Whereas the collection of large amounts of data and mapping that data is nothing new to the art historical discipline, doing so in an interactive digital format provides a unique way of visualizing and processing this material.

Mapping the Paris Galleries

Maps produced in print are static, fixed, once drawn. But now that *googlemaps* and other similar programs have become ubiquitous, users are accustomed to zooming in, moving around, and manipulating maps to gain new perspectives. The maps on the Transatlantic Encounters website are intended to reveal patterns in artists' activities in different ways. The first map plots the addresses of Paris galleries that hosted at least one individual or group exhibition of Latin American art. Each gallery on the map links to an information page about the gallery, listing its address, ownership, dates of operation, and a sampling of additional artists exhibited at that gallery. Where possible we included installation photographs or views of the gallery. The goal with this map is to pinpoint which galleries were open to exhibiting non-European art and how these galleries integrated Latin American art into their broader agenda. This map also allows users to see how these galleries were distributed throughout the city.

For Latin American artists, for whom an art market was virtually non-existent in their home countries, the Paris art scene represented a unique opportunity. An individual exhibition at a Paris gallery was the ultimate rite of passage, evidence that their work warranted recognition. By the mid-1920s private galleries were the primary venue for the display and sale of works of art. In 1923 there were 130 dealers in the city, and by 1930 that number reached 200, with 113 of them focusing on modern art.² While there was a great emphasis on modernism, the styles favored by dealers, with a

few exceptions, were not generally radical and nonconformist. Nor were all Paris galleries created equal. The Seine created a great divide, with the more luxurious and established galleries on the right bank and new more modest galleries popping up every day on the left bank and into Montparnasse. While often newer and more precarious, the galleries on the left bank were also generally more open to the risk inherent in presenting experimental art. The divide between traditional and avant-garde sectors was not cut and dried, however, and some right bank galleries presented new art comparable to that of their left bank counterparts. With geospatial mapping it is possible to situate discussions of individual galleries and exhibitions within the broader context of the gallery system and layout in Paris.

The gallery map reveals that, contrary to what one might presume, Latin American artists were not relegated to the more experimental galleries on the left bank. Galleries on both the right and left bank exhibited Latin American art and many of the prominent right bank galleries on or near the famous rue de la Boétie were among them. Many artists also exhibited in and around Montparnasse, where most of the art schools and cafés were located. Thus, Latin American art does not seem to have been relegated to obscure galleries, but rather formed part of a global vision of art that was permeating the Parisian art scene.

To date, I have identified more than seventy-five galleries that held at least one exhibition that included Latin American art, counting prominent galleries such as the Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, the Galerie Pierre, the Galerie Percier, and the Galerie Zak. Additionally, more than thirty artists held individual exhibitions during this period, many of whom held more than one. One of the most important and audacious galleries to support Latin American art was the Galerie Zak. According to Cuban writer and art critic Alejo Carpentier,

the Gallery Zak is one of the most famous of the progressive art galleries of Paris. Like the shops on the rue La Boétie, it maintains rigid criteria for acceptance of a painter; those who aim to hang paintings there must undergo careful examination by a house expert who determines whether or not they are liable to let down a selective clientele.³

Carpentier sets up a comparison with right bank galleries, suggesting that the Galerie Zak was competitive with the high standards set by the rue de La Boétie galleries. By comparing the individual account of this gallery with other galleries that exhibited Latin American art, it is possible to make a special case for the significance of the Galerie Zak's exhibition program.

The Galerie Zak seems to have taken a keen interest in Latin American art, hosting individual exhibitions by Uruguayan Joaquín Torres García (1928), Cuban Eduardo Abela (1928), Argentinean Juan del Prete (1930), Cuban Amelia Peláez (1933), Peruvian Ricardo Grau (1935), a joint show of works by Uruguayans José Cuneo and Barnabé Michelena (1930), and in

1930 a group exhibition of Latin American art organized by Torres García, the *Première Exposition du Groupe Latino-Américain de Paris* (First Exhibition of the Latin American Group), which showcased the work of 21 artists who were experimenting with vanguard tendencies. This exhibition allowed Latin American artists to begin to conceive of themselves as a cohesive group, not to the exclusion of their national identity or European collaborations, but as an additional alliance within the international artistic community in Paris. It was the experience of living and exhibiting in Paris that facilitated this self-identification as a group, which in turn allowed for an expanded sense of kinship among Latin American artists once they returned home.

The Galerie Zak was founded by the Russian artist of Polish descent, Eugène Zak, at 16, rue de l'Abbaye in Saint Germain des Prés on the left bank probably around 1923, and featured artists such as Chagall, Derain, Dufy, Modigliani, Utrillo, and Vlaminck as well as many other artists of Polish and Jewish heritage. Kandinsky held his first one-man show in Paris there in 1929. After Zak died in 1926 his wife Jadwiga Kon took over management of the gallery and it was at this point that it began showcasing Latin American art. Her reasons for this broadening of scope are unclear; nevertheless, the gallery became an important venue for the exhibition of Latin American art in Paris. Unfortunately, gallery records were lost during World War II, when Jadwiga and her son were taken to Auschwitz where they died. Whereas the Galerie Zak's support of Jewish immigrant artists is well known, its promotion of Latin American art is not. What is interesting here is the confluence of these diverse groups in a Paris gallery. While it is impossible to determine the extent to which they interacted, mapping their presence in the same space demonstrates the potential for contact, be it personal interaction or simply the observation of each other's work. Contact with and participation in an international avant-garde community in Paris fundamentally shaped the future direction of Modern Latin American art, whether it provoked a rejection or an embrace or a selective reinterpretation of European tendencies.

Mapping Artists' Residences

On a second digital map we plotted the residential addresses of the numerous Latin American artists living in Paris. Since the city layout of Paris has not changed significantly since the 1920s and 1930s, we elected to employ contemporary maps available through *googlemaps* to allow users to zoom in on the areas where artists lived. Each artist's name is plotted on the map with a link back to an entry on the individual in the database. Names have been color coded by the artist's country of origin to provide a visual presentation of national presence as well as possible areas of transnational contact.

While there are more than three hundred artists in the database, we were only able to identify addresses for about half of those artists so far, most of which were gathered from salon and exhibition catalogues. In the period between the wars it was common practice to list an artist's studio or residential address in exhibition catalogues (often, but not always these were one and the same) so that critics or dealers could pay a visit to an artist's studio to acquire work or assess potential clients. The majority of the addresses in the database come from the catalogue for the 1924 *Exposition d'Art Américain-Latin* (Exhibition of Latin American Art) at the Musée Galliera, or those of the Independent and Autumn salons. Others were obtained from secondary source monographs. Despite the incomplete data, with addresses for more than half of the Latin American artists living in Paris, it is possible to look for patterns in residential arrangements.

Artists traveled to Paris from 17 different Latin American countries between the wars. Understandably, the highest concentration came from the largest counties in Latin America such as Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. (Many fewer came from Mexico because of the intensified artistic activity there after the Revolution). Once in Paris, these artists initially socialized, exhibited, and sometimes shared a studio with their compatriots, but soon a broader sense of a Latin American community began to take shape. In isolation, within an artist's monograph, mention of a Paris address means very little. It is difficult to know who was living nearby or which schools or galleries were in close proximity. Mapping can tell us whether a neighborhood was populated with numerous Latin American artists, or provided an escape from the melee of constant competition and comparison.

We also faced various challenges in plotting these addresses. First, artists often moved around and occupied different residences during their sojourn in Paris. When known, we listed all addresses for each artist with notations on the year, but this method creates chronological discrepancies. Second, some artists never rented an apartment at all and simply resided with friends or in residential hotels. So there are quite a few entries for the Hôtel du Maine, for example. Artists sometimes shared studio spaces, or perhaps, for the sake of an exhibition catalogue, listed a colleague's address. Ecuadorian Manuel Rendón Seminario, Brazilian Domingos Viegas Toledo Piza, and Colombian Marco Tobón Mejía all listed the same address in the Musée Galliera catalogue, for example. Interestingly, these artists never exhibited together, they painted in very different styles, and they are never mentioned in connection to one another in reviews. Was their shared address perhaps simply a financial arrangement or a matter of convenience? Mapping therefore reveals constellations of artists that may never have come forth otherwise. It also suggests that Latin American artists did not establish isolated enclaves or cultural communities based on national or regional origin. Instead, while there was certainly a high concentration of

Latin American artists living in Montparnasse, artists from all countries lived in various parts of the city.

It is also interesting that none of these artists lived in *La Ruche*. This absence suggests that despite contact with Russian Jewish artists in the galleries, residential arrangements involved different choices. One reason for the avoidance of *La Ruche* may be because of political and class differences. Whereas many of the Central and Eastern European artists who arrived in Paris in the 1910s came as refugees from devastating government pogroms, artists traveling in the twenties, including those from Japan, Scandinavia, the US, and Latin America, came by choice, establishing a distinction between those who could return and those in permanent exile, those with family and government funds and those who were forced to live in extreme poverty.

Determining an artist's national identity also presented problems in some cases. What happens when an artist becomes a naturalized French citizen or if he or she is a second-generation immigrant? What about dual citizenship or artists who reject the very notion of "national identity"? These very practical concerns raise questions about the parameters of national and Latin American identity. By assigning individuals to a category are we somehow perpetuating a system of center and periphery, cementing categories that are in fact malleable or, to quote Benedict Anderson, entirely "imagined"?

A particularly interesting case study is that of Francis Picabia. The French art critic, Raymond Cogniat, decided to claim Picabia as a Latin American artist. Although Picabia was born in France—his mother was French, and his father was a Spanish-Cuban who served as a cultural attaché for the Cuban legation in Paris—Picabia had never set foot in Cuba, and was not interested in specifically aligning himself with that heritage.⁴ In 1920 Picabia wrote a satirical letter to "Madame Rachilde, writer and good patriot," published in his journal *Cannibale*:

Madame, you set out alone, with your single French nationality, I congratulate you. I am of several nationalities and Dada is like me. I was born in Paris, to a Cuban, Spanish, French, Italian, American family, and the most surprising thing is that I have a very clear sense of being all these nationalities at the same time.⁵

During his Dada period, Picabia set out to confound nationality and to undermine the xenophobic nationalism that had fueled World War I. Although Picabia abandoned his Dada stance and adopted an aesthetic of figurative pastiche in the mid-1920s, he did not suddenly seek to profess his Cuban heritage. Rather it was Cogniat who classified him in this manner, publishing two reviews of his new work in 1927 and 1928 in *La Revue de L'Amérique Latine* in which he labeled him "an American in Paris" and foregrounded his Cuban heritage.⁶ Whereas by discussing Picabia in this

manner, Cogniat's reviews attempted to claim for Latin America one of the most nonconformist members of the Parisian avant-garde, his assessment of the artist was critical, suggesting that Picabia had lost his edge and that he was suffering a "crisis of originality." Cogniat even accuses him of confusing "simplicity with banality."⁷ His purpose therefore seems to be to assert his authority over a formerly radical artist and, in relegating him to Latin America, undermine Picabia's project of transnationalism. But in the project of mapping whose voice to do we listen to, that of the artist or the critic? Here the close reading revealed by the narrative project complicates the more systematic exercise of mapping, and highlights some of the pitfalls of relying too much on one method or the other. Ultimately, we decided not to include Picabia in the database, but each case presents its own particular challenges.

Another concern is chronology. Unless the map could morph to reflect temporal changes in residency data, it creates a false sense of contiguity. Artists may have lived in the same area, but not at the same time. And even living in the same area, although it creates greater probability of contact, does not guarantee acquaintance. Indeed, how many of us do not know our neighbors two doors down? While mapping does not provide definitive proof of contact or interaction, it does enable a visual assessment of population density and distribution, and residential proximity. Although imperfect, it also facilitates an evaluation of whether artists lived closer to art schools or galleries, near their compatriots, or widely dispersed. By determining the economic status of the neighborhood in which they lived, these maps also provide clues as to artists' class backgrounds. Residency patterns along gender or age lines can also be determined.

By plotting residency data, it becomes eminently clear that not all Latin American artists had similar experiences in Paris. Although Montparnasse was a proving ground for many young artists, especially those who wished to attend art school, not all foreign artists opted to live there. Perhaps because he was older and had his family in tow, Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García only lived briefly in Montparnasse in 1926, but soon left the Montparnasse area to rent an apartment on the northern outskirts of Paris at 3, rue Marcel Sembat. He transformed the garage into a studio and lived there with his family for six years.⁸ Despite his distance from the cultural heart of Paris, he managed to position himself as a major organizer among international artists in Paris. Others with more lucrative means also opted not to reside in Montparnasse. Tarsila do Amaral's studio on Hégésippe Moreau near Montmartre became a gathering place for artists and intellectuals,⁹ and Uruguayan artist Pedro Figari had a luxurious apartment in front of the Jardin de Luxembourg (Fig 7.2), with a light-filled studio overlooking the Pantheon.¹⁰ Mature artists or those with means tended to live in other areas of the city, whereas art students who had recently arrived valued the



7.2 Pedro Figari (Uruguay) in his studio at 13, rue du Panthéon, undated photograph. Reproduced with permission of Fernando Saavedra

edginess of Montparnasse. As Cuban artist and writer Armando Maribona observed: "An abundance of Latin Americans in Paris kept increasing their colonies of twenty flags. They formed two distinct sectors divided by the Seine: the rich, on the right bank, and the students and the studios on the left."¹¹ Mapping allows the specific circumstances that Latin American artists confronted, including the prejudices faced in locating housing and studio space, and economic hardships in day-to-day living, to be situated against that of other artists and intellectuals both French and foreign. Since conditions of production and availability of resources had a great impact on an artist's ability to contribute meaningfully to the Parisian art scene, locating these artists in a broader social and spatial context is essential to understanding the challenges they faced.

Overlaying coordinates for the addresses of other prominent French and foreign artists residing in Paris between the wars would allow for a much greater vision of possible points of convergence. The challenge, however, is where to draw the parameters. Do we include critics, dealers, or artists working in other mediums? If, for example, we were to overlay data on prominent members of the School of Paris, we would be able to expand our understanding of the transnational context of Paris beyond the scope of interactions between artists from Latin American countries to include contact across continental boundaries. My hope is that other scholars will be able to employ the digital framework we set up to create and link maps and/or databases of Eastern or Central European, African, US American, or Asian artists in Paris during this (or other) periods, to create a geographically and chronologically more layered database and, consequently, a much more comprehensive vision of artistic interchange. Since the website was created using free open source software (Omeka) and digital mapping tools (*googlemaps*), anyone with Internet access could create their own parallel sites. Not only could other scholars search and utilize the extant data for different ends, they could also augment other cities as points of convergence and eventually establish a world map of artistic networks. Individual case studies would become much richer within this broader vision of global artistic exchange.

Creating these maps and databases greatly impacted the narrative goals of the project. In addition to illuminating the geospatial context for these artists' time in Paris, these maps raise personal stories to the level of sustained phenomena. Recounting in a narrative fashion the events of an artist's sojourn in Paris by itself remains on the level of anecdote, an isolated instance. Compared to other stories these narratives reveal generalizations or tendencies, but situating a sampling of accounts within the framework of a broad range of data provides the evidence of sustained and measurable participation in the Paris art scene necessary to postulate a theory of contact and to proclaim trends across a particular group.

Conclusion

Demographics and mapped evidence of physical presence can start to challenge the canonical stories of art history. This data can illuminate new and different trajectories as well as question the assumed cultural makeup of traditional urban “centers.” Mapping is not an end in itself, but rather a tool to navigate between the specific and the broad, the local and the global. When used in conjunction with narrative methods such as formal analysis, social history, and mining of archival sources, it provides a link between the specificity of archival research and personal anecdote, and overarching theories about contact and cultural exchange. Mary Louise Pratt’s theory of contact zones, which she defines as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today,”¹² could provide a theoretical framework for a critical analysis of these circulations of people and ideas, for example. But if we simply superimpose the notion of contact onto Paris, the result will be a very generic understanding of what actually happened there. Key players retain their prominence and their influence spreads outward to transient residents of the city. The use of digital spatial tools to synthesize large datasets combined with narrative accounts provide nuance. Both patterns and anomalies can be identified, revealing just how “asymmetrical relations of power” were at play. The theory gains validity as it becomes grounded in specifics.

Maps can also be read as visual objects. Whereas formal analysis foregrounds the aesthetic properties of an image created by an individual, maps, too, employ color, line, and composition to convey meaning. They provide the spatial interpretation of data, allowing the user to make visual rather than textual connections. The digital map adds a temporal and spatial dimension as the user navigates its surface and zooms in on specific locations. The broad view allows quantitative and geographic comparisons, whereas the street view lets the viewer virtually walk the path of the artist from studio to art academy or from art gallery to home. A sense of neighborhood and proximity allows scholars new ways of conceptualizing transcultural interactions. And just like a map, a narrative account can “zoom in” to position the formal analysis of individual works within a broader discussion of place, context, and cultural exchange.

Thus, while there are certainly challenges involved, digital databases and mapping can provide a link between traditional narrative approaches to art history and more theoretical models by making concrete and visible large datasets. They provide tangible evidence for broad claims and help prevent overarching generalizations by revealing unexpected patterns of contact and demographic distribution. I envision these tools as complements

not replacements for narrative approaches. There is nothing more satisfying than engaging in a close formal analysis of a painting or finding an obscure document in an artist's archive. These practices are still the core of art historical research, but need to be situated within a broader comparative framework. Networks, constellations, encounters, circulations: these concepts express the new multicultural and global direction of art history that can be more fully elaborated with digital tools.

Coda

While I had originally conceived of this project as a means of disseminating data gathered by an individual scholar to a broad public, several interesting developments occurred while building the website. First, this project provided an opportunity for collaborative work with graduate students, something that is frequently uncommon or difficult to facilitate in the humanities. Second, after the site was launched, as scholars searched the Internet for topics related to their own research, they started to come across the "Transatlantic Encounters" site. Among those who have contacted me are a French researcher working on a catalogue for the 1925 Decorative Arts exposition, a Montreal-based collector of Cuban art, the daughter of a Chilean journalist, family members of two Colombian artists, and art historians from the Netherlands, Uruguay, and Argentina, and the inquiries keep coming. All these contacts provided additional details to add to the site as well as, in some cases, photographs of artists or artwork. The process has become a global collaboration in a way I never thought possible and has facilitated contacts between international scholars in an unprecedented way. I believe that projects such as this one may provide a path toward a truly global approach to art history.

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank my graduate students Adriana Ospina, Beth Shook, Melissa Derecola, and Suzanne Gilbert for their help with research and the technical implementation of the website: see <http://chnm.gmu.edu/transatlanticencounters/>.
- 2 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Géopolitique des avant-gardes: Une histoire transnationale, 1848–1968*, Folio Histoire (Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming), 138.
- 3 Alejo Carpentier, "Abela en la Galería Zak," *Social* 14, no. 1 (January 1929), repr. in Alejo Carpentier, *Crónicas, Arte y Sociedad* (La Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1975), 112.
- 4 It is possible that he traveled there from New York briefly during World War I, but travel to the Caribbean does not seem to have had any impact on his work.
- 5 "Madame, Vous vous présentez seule, avec votre seule nationalité française, je vous en félicite. Je suis, moi, de plusieurs nationalités et Dada est comme moi. Je suis né à Paris, d'une famille cubaine, espagnole, française, italienne, américaine, et le plus étonnant, c'est que j'ai l'impression très nette d'être de toutes ces nationalités à la fois." Francis Picabia, "A Madame Rachilde, femme de lettres et bonne patriote," in *Cannibale* (Paris: Au Sans Pareil), 25 April 1920.

- 6 Raymond Cogniat, "Les Américains à Paris: Les Arts: Ou Picabia fait de la peinture et de la politique," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine*, Supplément Illustré (1 March 1927): xxxv–xxxvi. Raymond Cogniat, "La vie artistique: Exposition Picabia," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine* 15, no. 73 (1 January 1928): 74–75.
- 7 "crise d'originalité" and "confond simplicité avec banalité." Cogniat, "La vie artistique," 75.
- 8 Pedro da Cruz, *Torres García and Cercle et Carré: The Creation of Constructive Universalism, Paris 1927–1932* (Lund: Hansson & Kotte, 1994), 35.
- 9 Aracy A. Amaral, *Tarsila: Sua obra e seu tempo* (São Paulo: Editora 34: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2003), 103.
- 10 Julio María Sanguinetti, *El Doctor Figari*, Biografías Aguilar (Montevideo: Fundación Bank Boston, 2002), 238. See also "L'atelier de Pedro Figari," *Revue de L'Amérique Latine*, Supplément Illustré (1 April 1927): liv.
- 11 "La afluencia de latinoamericanos a París iba aumentando sus colonias de 20 banderas: Formaban dos sectores aparte, divididos por el Sena: los ricos, en la ribera derecha, y los estudiantes y los estudiosos, en la izquierda." Armando Maribona, *El Arte y el amor en Montparnasse: Documental novelado, Paris, 1923–1930* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1950), 237.
- 12 Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone." *Profession* 91 (1991): 33–40.

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THE GLOBAL NETWORK: AN APPROACH TO COMPARATIVE ART HISTORY

Piotr Piotrowski

In 1971, the artist Jarosław Kozłowski and the art critic Andrzej Kostołowski (who withdrew after a couple of years) invented the NET—a global network of artists (and some critics) who wanted to exchange thoughts, artworks, letters, articles, books, catalogues, postcards, journals, pictures, photographs, photocopies, etc. (Fig. 8.1). This was the first endeavor of this type in the Eastern bloc. Over the course of more than a dozen years, a few hundred people from both Eastern and Western Europe, the US and Canada, Latin America, and Asia (mostly Japan), along with a few from Israel, Australia, and New Zealand, participated in this initiative. There were also some institutions or quasi-institutions on the roster, artists' groups and alternative magazines, such as *Ovum 10* (later *Ovum*) published by the Uruguayan Clemente Padin, who organized at least two shows that featured East European artists among others: *Exposicion de la Nueva Poesia* (1972) and *Festival de la Postal Creativa* (1974), both at his Gallery U in Montevideo. It was undoubtedly thanks to the NETwork that he made contact with many artists from Eastern Europe, including Kozłowski himself. On the other side of the world, through these contacts Jarosław Kozłowski founded the long-lived Gallery Akumulatory 2 in Poznań, showing many artists from the NET list.¹ However, the first exhibition of material sent to Kozłowski (from more than two dozen artists), which took place in his apartment on 22 May 1972, was broken up by the secret police, and the artist interrogated. Surprising as it may seem to those unfamiliar with Polish history, almost the same exhibition was shown a few months later at the Artists' Club, a section of the official state art gallery (BWA), without any problems.

The NET, and shortly after the Gallery Akumulatory 2, emerged in Poland at a time of growing cultural and economic liberalization due to the reshuffling

NET

NET

- a NET is open and uncommercial
- points of the NET are: private homes, studios and any other places, where art propositions are articulated
- these propositions are presented to persons interested in them
- propositions may be accompanied by editions in form of prints, tapes, slides, photographs, books, films, handbills, letters, manuscripts etc.
- NET has no central point and any coordination
- points of the NET can be anywhere
- all points of the NET are in contact among themselves and exchange concepts, propositions, projects and other forms of articulation
- the idea of NET is not new and in this moment it stops to be an authorized idea
- NET can be arbitrarily developed and copied

Jarosław Kozłowski
Andrzej Kostołowski

Jarosław Kozłowski
Andrzej Kostołowski

8.1 Jarosław Kozłowski and Andrzej Kostołowski, NET flyer, 1971. Courtesy Jarosław Kozłowski

of local apparatchiks in 1971, even if the changes were not exactly rapid, as Kozłowski's story shows. Though the old apparatchiks had seized power as liberals in 1956 after Khrushchev's famous "secret" speech and introduced the "thaw period" in Polish history, by the end of the 1960s they had become hard-line Communists themselves, with 1968 a particular turning-point. Following the (first) Gdańsk shipyard protest of December 1970, which cost

the lives of at least thirty workers, they were removed from the Politburo and Central Committee of the Communist Party. The new apparatchiks tried to open up the country a little and carry out reforms. Yet, within ten years this project had also collapsed, leading to the *Solidarność* rebellion of 1980/81 and the imposition of martial law.

From the mid-1960s, however, and particularly in the 1970s, many independent galleries and art projects were founded in Poland, especially in the field of the neo-avant-garde and what could be broadly understood as conceptual art. The most important galleries were *Mona Lisa* (1967–71) and *Permafo* (1970–81) in Wrocław, *Foksal* (since 1966, still running), *Repassage* (1971–81) and *Współczesna* (1965–74) in Warsaw, and *odNOWA* (1964–69) and *Akumulatory 2* (1972–90) in Poznań.² Such (pseudo-, in fact) liberation was exceptional in the Eastern bloc (not counting Yugoslavia, which was outside the Soviet realm). It is worth mentioning that precisely at this time, the beginning of the 1970s, the situation was quite the opposite in Czechoslovakia after the Prague Spring; that is to say, a kind of neo-Stalinist hard-line policy dubbed “normalization” prevailed. In this context, *Akumulatory 2* had a very particular position, mostly due to the NET. Although it was quite small, and semi-private (in fact, exhibitions took place in the students’ club once a month for a couple of days only), it was the most international (or even global) gallery of the Eastern bloc (again with the exception of Yugoslavia). The famous *Foksal* Gallery in Warsaw was also international, but it mostly invited artists from the West (both Western Europe and the US). It only held one exhibition of artists from Eastern Europe (actually from Hungary, in April/May 1971), and none from other parts of the world, including Latin America, which will be my focus in this analysis. In this way, the global program of NET/*Akumulatory 2* was quite unique, not only in Poland, but throughout Eastern Europe.

While one point of reference for art history studies of the NET is the particular political situation in Poland, the other one, in fact global, was the turning-point in world history that took place around 1968. On many occasions, Kozłowski stressed this date as the point of departure that both laid a basis for a new rebellious art that questioned the art establishment, art institutions and, last but not least, aesthetics, and, on the other hand, for a new culture and politics. Indeed, 1968 and everything that happened around this date should be perceived as the crucial watershed in terms of periodization, for both art and, even more so, for politics. Of course, the West had its own historical dynamics that differed from one country to another: the revolutionary context of May ‘68 in Paris was different from that in West Germany, which was particularly concerned with the necessity of reworking the collective memory of the Nazi period, or that of the US, where the Vietnam War was the flashpoint. The situation was also different in Latin America, which was then experiencing various military regimes supported by the US.

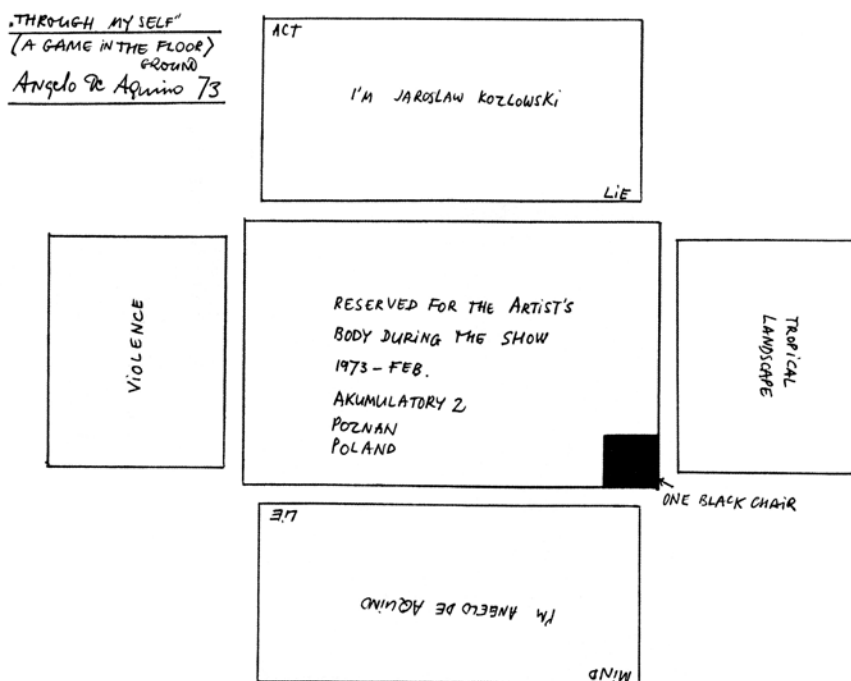
In Eastern Europe, the most visible and symbolic event of the global 1968 was the suppression of the Prague Spring by Soviet (and other Warsaw Pact) troops in August of that year, which caused a growing disintegration of the left in the West. Poland had its own 1968, which was quite peculiar since it was a conflict in which intellectuals and students were defending the national cultural heritage against its manipulation and appropriation by the Communists. The movement reached its peak in March, when many Polish universities faced student strikes, and there resulted a wave of repression, including a heavy anti-Semitic campaign, which caused the exile of intellectuals including the world-renowned Zygmunt Bauman and Leszek Kołakowski. Although the apparatchiks who came to power at the beginning of the 1970s relaxed the regime, anti-Semitic repression was not retracted, and the victims of this repression were not allowed to return to Poland until 1989. Despite these different local contexts, what was similar in all parts of the world was the rebellious atmosphere against the system of power, including art institutions and the cultural mainstream. This was the global context in which the NET was founded.

The crucial question I would like to raise here is the way in which rebellious ideas circulated through the NET (and behind it), and whether it was just an exchange of information—something that was a very popular practice that time³—or rather a process of learning how to fight the system. In other words, the question is whether such an exchange was merely informative or also had a formative function. I am thus seeking to understand the influence of particular political contexts on practices of art, and the limits of these possible influences. I am especially keen to compare Latin America and Eastern Europe, firstly because artists circulated their ideas between those two regions, as the NET list shows very clearly, and secondly because the countries of these regions suffered—to a varying extent—from autocratic regimes or dictatorships. Another reason is that both regions worked at the margins of Western culture, but at the same time in its orbit. Western art history is crucial for local art narratives, much more important than in Asia (India, Indonesia ...), for example, where only Japan might be a special case. Both Latin American and East European art are somehow Western. On the other hand, they are not entirely Western, due to many complicated historical and art historical circumstances. As such, they were (and still are) not only on the margin, but also marginalized by Western institutions. While East European art is more marginalized than Latin American art, at least in the US, in terms of the number of exhibitions and publications, the latter is more mythologized or exoticized, especially in the popular view. Both regions, however, are seen as provincial or peripheral from the Western perspective.

In short, there are many similarities between these geo-historical art regions, but also differences that I will discuss later. Global comparative art history does not mean, however, that we have to find a common ground between

two or more comparable art processes. On the contrary, we can concentrate on differences in order to reveal their specificities. I simply believe that one of the best ways to understand the nature of things is to compare them. I must also say that such comparative studies have already been developing. One of the first efforts in that field was the *Subversive Practices* exhibition held at the Württembergischer Kunstverein in Stuttgart in 2009, and the resulting catalogue published a year later by Hatje Cantz Verlag.⁴ This very ambitious project was more in the way of a presentation than a comparative analysis, and the geographical scope was limited to Argentina, Brazil (in fact, only the Museum of Contemporary Art in São Paulo), Chile, and Peru in Latin America, the GDR, Hungary, and Romania in Eastern Europe, the Collective Action Group in the USSR, and finally Catalonia. Those sections were organized separately in the show, and presented as such in the catalogue. Nevertheless the whole project provided many important documents, most of them unknown at least to the general audience. Another project was Klara Kemp-Welch and Cristina Frieré's research, which provided much detailed and important data showing how exchanges between Latin America and Eastern Europe were rich and lively.⁵ Additionally, Professor Kemp-Welch is directing the MA program at the Courtauld Institute in London on *Countercultures: Alternative Art in Eastern Europe and Latin America, 1953–1991*. The other project that should be mentioned here is the interest of the Museu de Arte Contemporânea at the University of São Paulo in East European artists, which started in the 1970s, when this museum was run by its famous director Walter Zanini, and that Cristina Freire has studied.⁶ Freire was a curator for the Brazilian section of the above-mentioned *Subversive* exhibition. In the catalogue, she showed how strongly Walter Zanini was interested in internationalizing the museum collection, hence his interest in independent art from Eastern Europe.⁷ There are about a dozen pieces by such artists in the collection, which is quite unique for a museum located outside Eastern Europe. Last but not least, the *Meeting Margins. Transnational Art in Latin America and Europe, 1950–1978* project conducted by the University of Essex is worth mentioning, even though it does not deal with Eastern Europe at all.

Let us now consider some of the artists listed with the NET. From the Latin American side there were Carlos Amoraes (Mexico), Angelo de Aquino (Brazil), Guillermo Deisler (Chile, later in exile, first in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, then Halle in the GDR), Antonio Dias (Brazil), Juan Luis Diaz (Mexico), the already-mentioned Clemente Padin (Uruguay), and Horacio Zabala (Argentina); from Eastern Europe there were (leaving aside Polish artists, who were of course a special case) Gabor Attalai (Hungary), Imre Bak (Hungary), Carlfriedrich Claus (GDR), Stano Filko (Czechoslovakia), György Galantai (Hungary), J.H. Kocman (Czechoslovakia), László Lakner (Hungary), Sándor Pinczeheyi (Hungary), Rudolf Sikora (Czechoslovakia), Petr Štembera (Czechoslovakia), Endre Tót (Hungary), Janos Urban (Hungary), and Jiří Valoch (Czechoslovakia).



8.2 Angelo de Aquino, draft for *Through Myself (Playing on the Floor)* exhibition design, Gallery Akumulatory 2, Poznań, 1973. Courtesy Jarosław Kozłowski

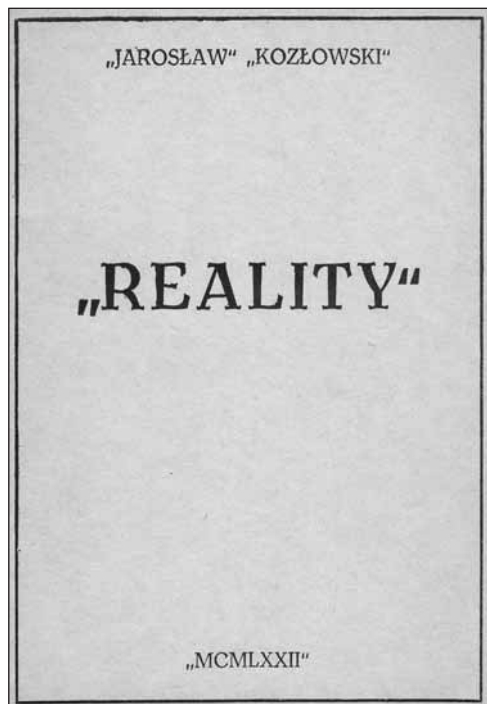
Not all of these exhibited at the Gallery Akumulatory 2. From Latin America, only Angelo de Aquino did. His exhibition *Through Myself* was held on 19–23 February 1973, and was one of the Gallery’s first shows.⁸ The floor in the gallery space was divided into several sections, describing among other things the potential presence and activities of artists: “I’m Angelo de Aquino—mind-lie,” and “I’m Jarosław Kozłowski—act-lie,” as well as a space reserved for the “artist’s body during the show” at the center of the room. There were also spaces labelled “tropical landscape” and “violence” (Fig. 8.2).

Let me leave aside the meaning of the ambiguities inscribed in the “artists’ fields,” whose presence and activities were questioned by the word “lie.” Rather, I would like to draw attention to the moment of time inscribed in those fields, which I find extremely significant. For Aquino it was the “post AI-5” time; that is, the period in Brazilian cultural history called “post Ato Institucional no. 5” (Institutional Act no. 5), which was the legal system introduced in Brazil by the military dictatorship at the end of 1968 to suspend political and civil rights, sanction torture, impose cultural censorship, etc. It changed the country drastically, creating a harsh political system.⁹ The “tropical landscape,” for its part, referred to Hélio Oiticica’s famous

exhibition *Tropicália, Penetráveis PN2, PN3* (*Tropicália, Penetrables PN2 and PN3*), shown in Rio de Janeiro at the Museu de Arte Moderna in 1967. It was a recreation of the favela, a symbol of Brazilian poverty that was (and still is) very visible in the city. A combination of the favela and poverty with "tropical climate" became a symbol of Brazil's economic and political status, a sort of identity, especially since the term "*Tropicália*" was subsequently used for an innovative musical movement well known around the world as a specific Brazilian product, soon expanding into a broader Brazilian cultural movement.¹⁰ So violence and tropicality are two points of reference for the artists' presence, and at the same time their uncertainty, since if you step onto the field drawn on the floor with one of the artists' names (either Jarosław Kozłowski or Angelo de Aquino), you immediately and obviously realize that you are not them. This ambiguity is suggested by the written word "lie." It is worth mentioning that almost at the same time Angelo de Aquino invited Kozłowski to present an exhibition in Rio de Janeiro entitled *Realidade* (27 February 1973), at which his book *Reality* (1972) was shown (Fig. 8.3). There were thus two simultaneous exhibitions, which explains the double reference shown on the floor of the Gallery Akumulatory 2 (Kozłowski and de Aquino), although Kozłowski's book was quite different from de Aquino's. It was based on Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, but Kozłowski only reproduced from Kant's treatise the punctuation (commas, parentheses, dots, dashes ...), thereby showing the pure and neutral "reality" of the text, somehow beyond its meaning. If there was a dialogue between the artists, it was a dialogue that used completely different words.

As we have just seen, the connection between Brazil and Poland, or more generally between Latin America and Eastern Europe, did not go just one way. However, we know more about the reception of East European artists in South America than vice versa. One example, already mentioned, is the collection of the Museu de Arte Contemporânea at the University of São Paulo. The second one, very vivid and effective, was Jorge Glusberg's activity and his Centro de Arte y Comunicación

8.3 Jarosław Kozłowski, *Reality*, artist's book, 1972. Courtesy Jarosław Kozłowski



(Centre for Art and Communication), known as CAYC. This was a genuinely worldwide initiative. Glusberg organized a number of exhibitions, talks, conferences, etc., not only in his home town of Buenos Aires, but also in other South American countries, Europe and the US. He was interested, especially in the early 1970s, in the relationship between art and politics, particularly in South America, trying to organize for example an international exhibition in homage to Salvador Allende (Kozłowski was invited), though this was in fact cancelled for political reasons. He also published ideological manifestos and presented expositions that challenged the state power and provoked repression, as for example *Art and Ideology. CAYC in the Open Air* (1972), which was closed by the authorities, provoking an international protest, in which East European artists participated (Jarosław Kozłowski, among others, signed the petition addressed to the Argentine government). It is important to note that artists from behind the Iron Curtain played important roles. Some of them were included in collective exhibitions, such as *Systems' Art, The Seventies, Image and Words, Video Art*. Glusberg also organized shows in Eastern Europe: Prague (1972, 1974), Warsaw (1973), and Zagreb (1973, 1974), as well as of East European artists in Argentina: Hungarian art in 1973 and 1974, and the Permafo gallery/group from Wrocław, Poland, 1974. There was also a project for a Polish exhibition. The list of participants, which included 45 artists, was drawn up in 1973. A catalogue featuring two pages for each artist was also planned, but the project did not materialize.¹¹

Coming back to the de Aquino/Kozłowski relationship in terms of artistic exchange between Eastern Europe and Latin America, let me mention that Kozłowski's *Grammar* book was shown at the Museu de Arte Contemporânea of the University of São Paulo in the collective exhibition *Prospective*, in 1974. As explained earlier, Walter Zanini, who was running the museum, was greatly interested in collecting East European artists. Kozłowski's *Grammar* is a small book as well as a work of art that he published himself a year before.¹² The book lists all the possible conjugational forms of the verb "to be." This work, now one of the paradigmatic works of Polish conceptual art, is absolutely pure. The grammar exercises he suggested—a recollection of student training in English—are totally neutral, deprived of any political, cultural, historical, geographical, ideological, etc. context. The *Prospective* show was preceded at the same institution by *Seis Artistas Conceituais* (3–25 October 1973), which featured Angelo de Aquino from Brazil, Klaus Groh from West Germany, William Vazan from Canada, and Gabor Attalai, Jarosław Kozłowski (*Reality*), and Petr Štembera from Eastern Europe (all on the NET list).

To conclude discussion of the de Aquino/Kozłowski relationship, we can say that while de Aquino's work was immersed in the Brazilian political context, Kozłowski's, on the contrary, lacked any context at all, as seen in his two books *Grammar* and *Reality*. This is just an example. To explain it on a deeper level, I have to develop an art historical comparison, especially with

regard to conceptual art, which was a strong interest of those two artists, between Eastern European practice on the one hand, and Latin American on the other.¹³

Let us start from the global view of conceptual art presented by the exhibition and catalogue *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origins* (1999), which provides an excellent example of a comparative art historical approach.¹⁴ It combines two perspectives at the same time: geographical and historical. In other words, temporal narration is inscribed in the spatial system that contains global manifestations of conceptual art. The first section of the catalogue, which deals with the period 1950–73, includes as distinct regions Japan, Western and Eastern Europe (separately), South and North America (separately), and Australia and New Zealand (treated as one region). The second section deals with the period from 1973 to the late 1980s and focuses on the work produced in Soviet Union, Africa, South Korea, mainland China (as a single region), Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The third and final section of the catalogue addresses conceptual art in South and Southeast Asia during the 1990s. It is clear that this project represents a worldwide effort aimed at breaking down the dominance of the Western paradigm in analyzing conceptual art and at revealing differences in experience and meaning, as well as political and ideological attitudes of art practices of this kind in different parts of the globe. This constitutes a very interesting step towards a global description of one of the most common forms of art in the postwar era and a rejection of the dogmatic dominance of the Western art model (based on the art centers of Western Europe and the US), as well as its supposed “imitation” in the artistic peripheries. In terms of global comparative art studies, however, one has to go further. Luis Camnitzer drew a geohistorical panorama of conceptual art, a kind of world atlas of such a practice. What we need to do is to compare East European and South American conceptual arts on a more detailed level.

Although East European conceptual art was presented in the exhibition as a regional experience (and distinct from Soviet art), we have to add that it was not at all homogeneous. For example (and to generalize), while Czech (J.H. Kocman, Jiří Valoch, both on the NET list) and Polish conceptual artists were closer to the analytical tradition of the Anglo-American approach, focusing on the question of language, as both Kozłowski’s *Grammar* and *Reality* show clearly (there were of course many more examples), Slovakian artists were closer to the anarchic Fluxus and French *Nouveaux Réalistes* tradition: Stano Filko, Rudolf Sikora (both on the NET list), Alex Mlinárčik, and Mikloš Urbásek. It is worth to remember that Pierre Restany had very good contacts with Slovakian artists, and visited Slovakia a couple of times. However, the most radical and maybe the earliest redefinition of art in conceptual terms emerged at the very beginning of the 1960s in Croatia, in the circle of the Gorgona group, which soon evolved into a critique of the socialist-modernist way of thinking in Yugoslavia. Only Hungarians were conducting an openly

political critique of the system, especially Gabor Attalai, László Lakner, Sandor Pinczehelyi, Endre Tót (all of them on the NET list), as well as Gyula Pauer and—in particular—Tamás Szentjóbby.¹⁵ From this country a strong voice against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was heard, with the ironic *Portable Trench for Three Persons* broadcast on Szentjóbby's famous *Czechoslovak Radio*, as well as the more pathetic Lakner's *Wounded Knife: September 1968*. Those works show the differences between Hungary and Poland, which experienced its own 1968, as mentioned earlier, but where this watershed was not commented in artworks. Maybe the only response to the Polish March '68 was a ball held in Zalesie near Warsaw under the title "Farewell to Spring," in which many people from the art milieu, especially from the circle of the Warsaw Foksal Gallery, participated, not to say organized. Seen from this perspective, the event was supposed to function as a protest against the politicization of intellectual life and the pressure to be political in the Polish context of 1968.¹⁶ The reason behind the stronger politicization of art in Hungary, however, is that artists remembered what Soviet invasion meant. 1956 was still a painful memory in Hungary in the late 1960s. Interestingly, the reaction of Czechoslovak artists was to escape from politics and public life rather than engage with them. Think of the famous field trips of the Křižovnická Škola led by Jan Steklík, which consisted simply in drinking beer in bars (*Beer in Art*, 1972), or some conceptual projects which took place in the natural environment as, for instance, J.H. Kocman who attached signs to trees in *Aesthetic Natural Reservation* (1971), stating that the object was "reserved" for aesthetic contemplation, or Jiří Valoch who in his *Stone* (1972) inscribed the word "love" on rocks found in the countryside. All of these events were of course a sort of reaction to the "normalization" after the repression of the Prague Spring, rather than a direct political involvement; they simply tried to escape from politics.

South American conceptual experience was not homogeneous either.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the transnational (regional, and in this case continental) identity was definitely stronger than in Eastern Europe during the Communist period, leading Luis Camnitzer to call it "Latin Americanism."¹⁸ This is a very important difference in terms of inter-regional comparative art history. The roots of South American conceptual art were to a large extent, as Luis Camnitzer argues, more local or regional than those in Eastern Europe. They were also political, which is again important here. Camnitzer argues that political movements, in particular the Uruguayan urban guerrilla group Tupamoros, played a crucial role in shaping South American conceptualism, as did the liberation theology that was extremely influential in the local political-religious context. The myth of the successful Cuban revolution, able to defeat the US, was also crucial. Moreover, South American reception of so-called French theory (structuralism, post-structuralism, semiotics, etc.) differed significantly from that in the US, since it came earlier because of close contacts between local

and French intellectuals. In this context it is impossible to produce a purely “formal” history of the movement’s development (from minimalism to conceptualism) as one could do in the US. Above all, conceptual art in South America was not simply implicated in politics; it had a real political function. In other words, it was not just a “politically engaged” art in the Western sense of the word, but essentially a direct political action. Especially in the late 1960s and 1970s, when many countries were under military dictatorship, its strategies and forms were understood as fundamentally political. Mari Carmen Ramirez is more specific on this issue, and has polemicized against Benjamin Buchloh’s famous essay which sees the origins of conceptual art within the “administrative drive” of late capitalist society.¹⁹ Following Marchan Fiz, she repeats that, unlike the Anglo-Saxon self-referential, analytical model, Latin American conceptualism was “ideological” and revealed social realities.²⁰ We can cite several examples to support her claim: Artur Barrio (Brazil), Luis Camnitzer (Uruguay), Jorge Caraballo (Uruguay), Gonzalo Diaz (Chile), Victor Grippo (Argentina), Alfredo Jaar (Chile), Antonio Manuel (Brazil), and Cildo Meireles (Brazil), some of whom were on the NET list: Guillermo Deisler (Chile), Clemente Padin (Uruguay), and Horacio Zabala (Argentina). In addition, Andrea Giunta has argued that by entering the political debate in the arts the artists—at least the Argentinian ones—went against the muralist tradition, a symbol of the political involvement of earlier decades. For them this tradition looked too native and historical for the international revolution of the 1960s.²¹ If we consider the relations to politics of another left-wing tradition in twentieth-century art, namely Soviet Socialist Realism, a similar process was involved. South American artists (at least the Argentinian ones) recognized Socialist Realism as expressing the bureaucratic reactionary nature of the Soviet Union.²² However, this did not mean a lack of Marxism on their part. On the contrary, as Gerardo Mosquera, the other South American expert, points out, this tradition was fundamental, but understood in an “undogmatic and independent” way, even quite differently from what had become “Cuban orthodoxy.”²³

The paradigmatic event in the politicization of art in South America was *Tucumán arde* (*Tucumán is Burning*), organized in 1968, first in Rosario where it was open for a couple of weeks in the workers’ union headquarters, then in Buenos Aires at the Graphic Federation, for only a day due to the action of the security police. Tucumán is one of the poorest Argentinean provinces, which was suffering at the end of the 1960s from a severe economic crisis when big international (read: North American) sugar factories took over the sugar industry, which resulted in the closing of small businesses, a huge unemployment rate, increased poverty, etc. The exhibition consisted in documents and research materials on the social and political situation of the province, especially the fate of the local working class. Frankly speaking, and this is the issue, it did not so much deal with art; rather it was a direct political

action.²⁴ Even more: art institutions were rejected in a couple of manifestos, since they were seen as instruments of the regime. *Tucumán arde* appeared as the peak of Argentine political art activities, and as such was paradigmatic for the continent. Of course, as Andrea Giunta has showed, it did not come from nowhere: there was a gradual process leading from modernist “festivity” to overtly critical political attitudes. The first step in that direction was a transformation of artists into “intellectuals,” then political activists.²⁵ In the background of this process was the US expansion in Latin America, its neo-colonial and imperial policy and support of military regimes, covered by anti-Communist rhetoric.

Now, going back to Eastern Europe, since it was occupied by the Soviet Union not only politically, but also militarily (with the exception of Yugoslavia, and later Romania), any anti-imperialist discourse, especially of Marxist or even Communist background, was received with great suspicion (except in the case of the political opposition in the GDR, which shared this “anti-imperialist” discourse). For East European citizens, the US was still regarded as the defender of freedom; that is, the enemy of the USSR rather than an aggressor. If official propaganda in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries condemned US policy in Vietnam, South America, and elsewhere, as imperialist, this was usually received with caution: many people (though not everyone, of course) simply believed that the US was bringing freedom to the world rather than death. As I have said before, East European conceptual art did not have any common regional or political identity to foster a common, ideological framework for subversive art, as was the case in Latin America. Although all of Eastern Europe was under Soviet occupation (except for Yugoslavia), and the Communist, single-party system was dominant (including Yugoslavia), it is hard to demonstrate a convincing uniform historical framework for common cultural policy at the same historical moment. Let us take two examples. First, in Hungary, the years following the 1956 Budapest uprising were the most restrictive time in cultural terms, whereas in Poland after the “October change” that same year, when hard-line Stalinists were expelled from power and new apparatchiks arrived, the country experienced the so-called “thaw period,” with the institutionalization of modernism and rejection of Socialist Realism. Second, in Czechoslovakia, 1970 was the beginning of so-called normalization after the suppressing of the Prague Spring (that is, the beginning of a very hard, neo-Stalinist policy), whereas in Poland it was just the opposite: the start of a (pseudo-) liberalization of local cultural policy, described at the beginning of this chapter. Censorship, which was present in every country (to various extents), might be the common point of reference of the whole region, as László Beke once pointed out. According to him, conceptual art was cheap and easy to distribute, and as such could escape political control.²⁶ At the same time, however, anti-Soviet attitudes, although shared

by almost everyone, did not produce any common transnational platform for subversive art in Eastern Europe. This is a quite interesting paradox. The problem lies in fact in the meaning of politics in art, and the key to understanding it is the process of Stalinization of culture between 1947 and 1956 (even later in some countries).

Marxism and Stalinism were seen as two sides of the same coin. In regard to culture they were both identified with Socialist Realism, rather than with political subversion. After it was dropped from official ideological discourse as the mandatory and only possible art production that could be shown to the public (in some countries this never happened at all until 1989), and a liberation of art came through modernism and its system of artistic values based on autonomy, Socialist Realism still functioned in the collective memory as an open wound, a reminder of a traumatic time of total lack of freedom. And since Socialist Realism was a propaganda art, the artists who were trying to overcome it (both older and younger generations) used to connect any political involvement in art with propaganda itself. This is the source of the de-politicization of art, especially in Poland where the "thaw period" was very strong. Moreover, since Marxism was not very widely accepted outside the official realm, but at the same time the main ideology behind political art as such, any attempts to refer to it were problematic. This is why Latin American art, which was greatly interested in Marxism, had a difficult reception in Eastern Europe. Horacio Zabala's *Homage to Marx, Homage to Che Guevara, Homage to Trotsky* written on "IBM cards," which was sent to Kozłowski as part of the NET exchange, for instance, could not be successful in the Polish conceptual art milieu. People behind the Iron Curtain did not understand, or at least did not trust, Trotsky's rejection of Socialist Realism, which he had supported while in the USSR, for modernism, when he was in exile in Mexico and cooperated with avant-garde heroes such as André Breton. For both North and South American left-wing artists, his shift to the avant-garde legitimized theirs, whereas East Europeans saw it as a suspicious, if not simply cynical, political maneuver. Marx himself, as the godfather of Communism, was also problematic in terms of his symbolic position. In a word, political opposition to the system was expressed mostly through and on behalf of the autonomy of art. Jarosław Kozłowski, talking to Bożena Czubak about the NET, said:

I was interested in working in the field of art, not politics. I've always been wary of instrumentalising art, of turning artistic practice into agitprop activity ... The Net postulates challenged the political status quo, but our point was not to manifest opposition against the regime in a spectacular way, but rather to create an alternative, non controlled circuit of information, exchange, and contacts, developed outside the institutional supervision of any political system.²⁷

This was Kozłowski's point of view, which was not necessarily shared by South American artists, and this is the main problem here.

Different artistic traditions coming from different approaches to artwork, different intellectual histories shaping different ideologies of art; these constitute some of the issues. But we also have to realize that we are talking about different political systems with different strategies. Not only did East European Communism as a system operate differently from Latin American military dictatorships, it also varied over its own history. In the 1970s it was no longer the bloody regime it had been in the 1940s and early 1950s. Nonetheless, it was able to control and manipulate people more effectively than hard Stalinism had done twenty-five years before. Even the Polish martial law of the 1980s is hard to compare with previous periods in terms of physical violence. Václav Havel called this new version of communism “post-totalitarianism,” which does not mean it was not totalitarian. On the contrary, it was still totalitarian, though not because of physical terror, the killing and torturing of people, but rather because of its total control over peoples’ lives, including the private sphere.²⁸ As such, it manipulated individuals’ behavior, their economic and cultural activities, as well as their spiritual and intellectual lives. It was quite a perfidious and brutal system but operated in a new way. Furthermore, unfortunately the opposition was in a way controlled by the same state power, this being particularly the case in the GDR. This is why Kozłowski’s main point was to create an uncontrolled system of art circulation. The NET and the independent galleries were neither illegal nor the underground. They were rather unofficial; that is, working outside the state’s art system, but still under the umbrella of some official institutions, though ones not professionally recognized as art institutions. Akumulatory 2, for instance, was affiliated with the students’ club. In South America, in contrast, the main method of the military juntas was immense physical violence. People were killed, tortured, and many simply disappeared. On the other hand, military juntas were less effective in controlling societies than were the Communists in Eastern Europe. The printing of fake newspapers and their secret distribution in legal newsstands, as the Brazilian artist Antonio Manuel did in Rio de Janeiro in 1973,²⁹ would have been completely impossible in Eastern Europe, since all (!) newsstands were nationalized and controlled by the authorities. Instead, something different could occur, namely the creation of an underground distribution of opposition publications, sometimes called “samizdat.” In Poland from the late 1970s on, this underground circulation was a major operation, perhaps wider than official circulation, and definitely more effective.

These different contexts provide a framework for art practices and artists’ strategies. To finish, I would like to demonstrate that the circulation of ideas, artworks, manifestos, etc., was more informative than formative in the context where they were received. Let me mention Guillermo Deisler (on the NET list), a Chilean artist who in the mid-1970s distributed throughout the world flyers, postcards, and so on, condemning the coup d’état in Chile and the following

terror. This case is interesting because the artist, as already mentioned, lived in Eastern Europe as a political refugee. His ideas and artworks circulated widely in this part of Europe, but did not cause any collaborative actions that could be compared with "Artists for Democracy" founded in London by another Chilean artist, Cecilia Vicuña,³⁰ even though the GDR art scene had become growingly critical of Communist reality since the mid-1970s, with a climax in the second half of the 1980s. One of the art activists there was Robert Rehfeldt (not on the NET list), a pioneer of East German Mail-Art, who radicalized his art after making contact with Polish artists and exhibiting twice in Warsaw.³¹ He made at least one work designed to demand freedom for artists being held in custody as political prisoners: *Freedom for Artists: Caraballo, C. Padin, Uruguay* (no date). This is a nice example of international solidarity between Eastern Europe and Latin America, but unfortunately rather exceptional.

The absence of Rehfeldt's followers does not mean that Deisler's fellow East European artists did not support him. The problem is that they, or at least the majority of them, perceived art in a different way. Even if some of them presented a kind of political critique, such as the above-mentioned Hungarian artists, they did so in a more metaphorical way, rather than by direct involvement. A good example is *Zero Art* by Endre Tót (on the NET list), who was invited in 1975 by the Gallery Akumulatory 2 in Poznań to present his show *I am Glad if I Can Type Zero*, in which he typed "zero letters"; that is, letters consisting of "zeros" only.³² These letters were distributed around the world, and at least one of them was published by Glusberg in his CAYC flyer. It was a part of a bigger project, "I am Glad if I ...," which very often appeared as a political manifestation. Let me mention here a photograph which shows the smiling artist reading the Moscow newspaper *Pravda*, the symbol of Communist propaganda, annotated with the text "I am glad if I can read this newspaper," or his smiling photo next to a portrait of Lenin and signed: "You are the one who made me glad" (1975). These were not direct, radical political critiques like those made by South Americans. They were rather ironic comments on the omnipotence of ideology in Eastern Europe. However, even such a soft approach to politics was rather rare. More popular were analytical, tautological works such as those of Jiří Valoch from Czechoslovakia (another artist from the NET list, as well as of CAYC) who made the *Day-and-Night Book* (1971), which consists of two pages, a black and a white, or *Symmetrical Concept* (1973), consisting this time of three pages "yesterday, today, tomorrow," and many similar projects. Neutral, purified, tautological projects such as Valoch's as mentioned above, or Kozłowski's books, gave them universal, worldwide circulation, but their meaning came from local circumstances, making them entirely different from Latin American political projects.

To conclude this art historical comparative analysis let me refer to Horazio Zabala's slogan "Art is a jail" (1972). Jarosław Kozłowski would have never said that. He would have rather said: "Art is jailed," which is definitely not

the same. If art is jailed, we have to free it, and this is why the NET was invented: to free art both from institutional circulation and from ideological traps. Zabala, on the contrary, meant to free (political) activism from art, understood as a prison itself. This is a crucial difference not only between those two artists, but also—to generalize and simplify, of course—between two cultural experiences. The problem, therefore, is located in the deeper, historical, contextual meaning of both cultures, and this is why networks such as the NET are very good platforms for comparative art historical studies, in which political context seems to be crucial and shows the limits of reception of circulating ideas.

Notes

- 1 I am especially and deeply thankful to Jarosław Kozłowski for providing much extremely useful information about the NET. Some other sources: "Akumulatory 2. The interview with Jarosław Kozłowski by Grzegorz Dziamski," *Zeszyty Artystyczne PWSSP* 5 (1991); "Quotation Marks. Jarosław Kozłowski in Conversation with Bożena Czubak," in Bożena Czubak, ed., *Quotation Marks. Jarosław Kozłowski* (Warsaw: Profile Foundation, 2010), 9–27; Bożena Czubak and Jarosław Kozłowski, eds., *Beyond Corrupted Eye. Akumulatory 2 Gallery, 1972–1990* (Warsaw: Zachęta National Gallery, 2012); "NET. Jarosław Kozłowski in Conversation with Klara Kemp-Welch," *Art Margins* 1, no. 2–3 (June–October, 2012): 14–35; "NET—Art of Dialogue and Dissent, Jarosław Kozłowski talks to Bożena Czubak," and Klara Kemp-Welch, "Autonomy, Solidarity and the Antipolitics of Net," both in Bożena Czubak, ed., *Sieć—sztuka dialogu/Net—Art of Dialog* (Warsaw: Profile Foundation, 2012), 19–27, 46–57.
- 2 For more information see Piotr Piotrowski, *Znaczenia modernizmu* (Poznań: Rebis, 1999; 2nd ed. 2011), 147–220.
- 3 A very good example illustrating the processes of circulating information was the *Information* exhibition held at New York MoMA in 1970, curated by Kynaston McShine.
- 4 Hans D. Christ and Iris Dressler, eds., *Subversive Praktiken/Practices. Art under Conditions of Political Repression: 60s–80s: South America/Europe* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2010).
- 5 Cristina Freire and Klara Kemp-Welch, "Artists' Networks in Latin America and Eastern Europe," *Art Margins* 2, issue 2–3 (June–October 2012): 3–13.
- 6 Cristina Freire, *Poéticas do Progresso. Arte Conceitual no Museu* (São Paulo: MAC, Universidade de São Paulo, 1999).
- 7 Cristina Freire, "Alternative Netze/Alternative Nets: MAC-USP, São Paulo," in *Subversive Praktiken/Practices*, 245–89.
- 8 Czubak and Kozłowski, *Beyond Corrupted Eye*, 162–63.
- 9 Claudia Calirman, *Brazilian Art under Dictatorship. Antonio Manuel, Artur Barrio, and Cildo Meireles* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 4–6.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 51–64.
- 11 Klara Kemp-Welch and Cristina Freire suggested that "in addition to the Hungarian Festival, [Glusberg's] trips bore fruit in a little-documented Polish exhibition in CAYC," but no date is provided: Kemp-Welch and Freire, "Artists' Networks," 4. In his letter to Jarosław Kozłowski, Glusberg says that the presentation "Poland 1973" will be in August—that is, 1973. However, in another letter (17 February 1977) he wrote: "Finally, the exhibition of Polish artists will be held in June this year I apologize for having delayed it so much, but it couldn't be done before due to political reasons. I will prepare for it a catalogue similar to the one of the *Hungary 74* exhibition." (A letter from Jarosław Kozłowski's archive.)
- 12 Cristina Freire, "Utopia as a Gesture," in *Quotation Marks*, 41–45.
- 13 I will not consider conceptual art in the Soviet Union, which is a special case because of its isolation.

- 14 Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver, and Rachel Weiss, eds., *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origins, 1950–1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999).
- 15 For more, see Piotr Piotrowski, *In the Shadow of Yalta. Art and the Avant-Garde in Eastern Europe, 1945–1989* (London: Reaktion, 2009).
- 16 See: [Anka Ptazkowska], “Remarks and Comments: Discussion on the Zalesie Ball and Participation,” in Claire Bishop and Marta Dziewańska, eds., *1968, 1989. Political Upheaval and Artistic Change* (Warsaw: Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej, 2009), 106–11. Also Piotr Piotrowski, *Art and Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (London: Reaktion, 2012), 91–92.
- 17 Mari Carmen Ramirez, “Tactics for Thriving on Adversity: Conceptualism in Latin America, 1960–1980,” in Camnitzer, Farver, and Weiss, *Global Conceptualism*, 54.
- 18 Luis Camnitzer, *Conceptualism in Latin America: Dialectics of Liberation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).
- 19 Benjamin H.D. Buchloh, “Conceptual Art, 1962–1969: From the Aesthetics of Administration to the Critique of Institutions,” *October* 55 (Winter 1990): 105–43.
- 20 Mari Carmen Ramirez, “Blue Print Circuits: Conceptual Art and Politics in Latin America,” in Aldo Rasmussen, ed., *Latin American Artists of the Twentieth Century* (New York: MoMA, 1993), 156–69.
- 21 Andrea Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 249, 252.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 35, 249–50.
- 23 Gerardo Mosquera, “Introduction,” in Gerardo Mosquera, ed., *Beyond the Fantastic. Contemporary Art Criticism from Latin America* (London: Institute of International Visual Arts; and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), 11.
- 24 See Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics*, 268–79; Camnitzer, *Conceptualism in Latin America*, 60–72. For documents related to these events, see Inés Katzenstein, ed., *Listen Here Now! Argentine Art of the 1960s: Writing of the Avant-Garde* (New York: MoMA, 2004), 305–26.
- 25 Giunta, *Avant-Garde, Internationalism, and Politics*, 243–48.
- 26 László Beke, “Conceptual Tendencies in Eastern European Art,” in *Global Conceptualism*, 42–43.
- 27 “NET—Art of Dialogue and Dissent,” 25.
- 28 Václav Havel, *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens against the State in Central-Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1985), 27.
- 29 Calirman, *Brazilian Art under Dictatorship*, 69–70.
- 30 Christ and Dressler, *Subversive Praktiken/Practices*, 366–69.
- 31 Birger Jesch, “Missbrauch sakraler Räume für staatsfeindliche Zwecke,” in Friedrich Winnes and Lutz Wohlhab, eds., *Mail Art Szene DDR, 1975–1990* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1994), 96.
- 32 Czubak and Kozłowski, *Beyond Corrupted Eye*, 567–69.

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GLOBAL CONCEPTUALISM? CARTOGRAPHIES OF CONCEPTUAL ART IN PURSUIT OF DECENTERING

Sophie Cras

Conceptual Art had a dual character: on the one hand, the social nature of the work was progressive; on the other, its structural adherence to the avant-garde geography was conservative.¹

For the past few years, a recent trend of research has developed aiming to denounce a “Western hegemony” over the history of conceptual art, in favor of a more global conception of this movement. The exhibition *Global Conceptualism*, held at the Queens Museum of Art in 1999, was one of its major milestones. Against a tradition that viewed conceptual art as an essentially Anglo-American movement, the exhibition suggested “a multicentered map with various points of origin” in which “poorly known histories [would be] presented as equal corollaries rather than as appendages to a central axis of activity.”² The very notion of centrality was altogether repudiated, as Stephen Bann made it clear in his introduction: “The present exhibition ... explicitly rejects the customary practice of plotting out the topology of artistic connections in terms of ‘center’ and ‘periphery’.” According to the authors of the catalogue this dismissal was not only a curatorial methodological standpoint, but was already present historically in conceptual artistic practices themselves, which “broke open the political economy of center and periphery.”³ Likewise, Peter Wollen argued in the catalogue that conceptual art, contrary to surrealism for instance, was truly international because it did not disseminate out from an original center, but spontaneously emerged from diverse locations around the world. “Conceptual art,” he concluded, “had a significant impact in challenging the geographical as well as ethnic and gender hierarchy of core and periphery in the art world” and was therefore responsible for a “decentralization” of the art world.⁴

The exhibition *Global Conceptualism*, by opening up the geographical scope of historical analysis to conceptual practices largely overlooked, considerably marked the discipline.⁵ However, its choice to negate the notion of an opposition between center and periphery in favor of a supposedly de-hierarchized panorama is problematic at three levels at least. First, a number of artists of the time, I argue, effectively perceived the artistic scene in terms of centers and periphery, if only to contest its structural inequality. Second, leveling practices very diversely recognized today does not allow an understanding of the process by which some established themselves historically while others had to wait for a belated rehabilitation. By assuming the “spontaneous emergence” of “equal corollaries,” studied side by side but not confronted, this approach overlooks the dynamics of global circulations (and non-circulations) between spaces, which impacted their development and their historical recognition. Thirdly, this proscription of the notions of center and periphery, accused of carrying on a tradition of domination of one geographical area over another, does little justice to the discipline of geography, which since the 1970s has been deeply reconfigured under the influence of structuralism. As Alain Reynaud explains in his seminal book *Société, espace et justice*: “Center and periphery do not correspond to any absolute opposition, in the framework of a dualism or of a simplifying Manichaeism ... On the contrary, center and periphery must be understood as relative notions, defining one another.”⁶

For Reynaud, Fernand Braudel, and such writers, speaking of centers and peripheries does not mean expressing a value judgment that would anchor the domination of a space over another. It is rather a tool to develop a critical analysis of the geopolitical, geohistorical, and geo-economic dynamics which make, at one specific moment, one socio-space a periphery or a center in relation to another socio-space. Only an understanding of such dynamics can make a “socio-spatial justice” possible. On the contrary, I suggest, claims of “internationalism” and “decentering” in the late 1960s only hid—or even justified—persisting geographical inequalities. The aim of this discussion, therefore, is to oppose the discursive construction of a “global conceptual art” in the 1960s, with the analysis of identifiable international circulations—of artists, artworks, exhibitions, and exhibition catalogues. It shows that those who, at the time, defended most heartedly the hackneyed, almost incantatory argument that conceptual art existed in every country, actually perceived not what *existed* but only what *circulated*, and more specifically what circulated from, or toward, a well-defined center. To better understand the “internationalism” of conceptual art, one therefore needs to consider not only practices that were geographically disseminated, each having its own history, but circulations between these spaces, considered dynamically and dialectically, to understand processes of emulation, domination and exclusion.

The ideal of “decentering,” of putting an end to the notions of center and periphery, was indeed already present as early as the 1960s, lying at the heart

of the project of conceptual art such as it was defined by a group of artists, critics, and gallerists of the New York art scene. In terms not very different from those of the contributors of *Global Conceptualism*, Seth Siegelaub, the famous dealer of conceptual art, explained in 1973:

The debut of conceptual art is unique because it appeared simultaneously around the world. Prior to this, artistic movements were very localized with all the leaders living in the same city (and usually the same neighborhood). It could also be said, in other words, that it was impossible to be an important artist unless you lived in the “right” city. Conceptual art, which is an inappropriate name, was probably the first artistic movement which did not have a geographic center.⁷

This idea was elaborated and brought out in numerous interviews at the end of the Sixties: “the artist can live where he wants to—not necessarily in New York or London or Paris as he has had to in the past—but *anywhere* and still make important art,”⁸ and “it’s now getting to the point where a man can live in Africa and make great art.”⁹ At the heart of this ideal of decentering was the argument that conceptual art, by dematerializing the art object and thus allowing for cheap production and distribution, was subverting the traditional structuration of the art world, and putting an end to the weight of “artistic capitals” so as to allow for a truly international practice. According to Siegelaub, geographic decentralization was the result of a new independence of conceptual practices toward artistic structures: “My gallery is the world now,” he explained, and consequently “New York is beginning to break down as a center,” which, he said, “turns [him] on.”¹⁰ In 1970, for his preface to the catalogue of *Information*, one of the major exhibitions of conceptual art in New York, the Museum of Modern Art curator Kynaston McShine restated the argument, tainted with a form of McLuhanian technological optimism:¹¹

With an art world that knows more readily about current work, through reproductions and the wide dissemination of information via periodicals, and that has been altered by television, films, and satellites, as well as the “jet,” it is now possible for artists to be truly international; exchange with their peers is now comparatively simple ... It is no longer imperative for an artist to be in Paris or New York. Those far from the “art centers” contribute more easily, without the often artificial protocol that at one time seemed essential for recognition.¹²

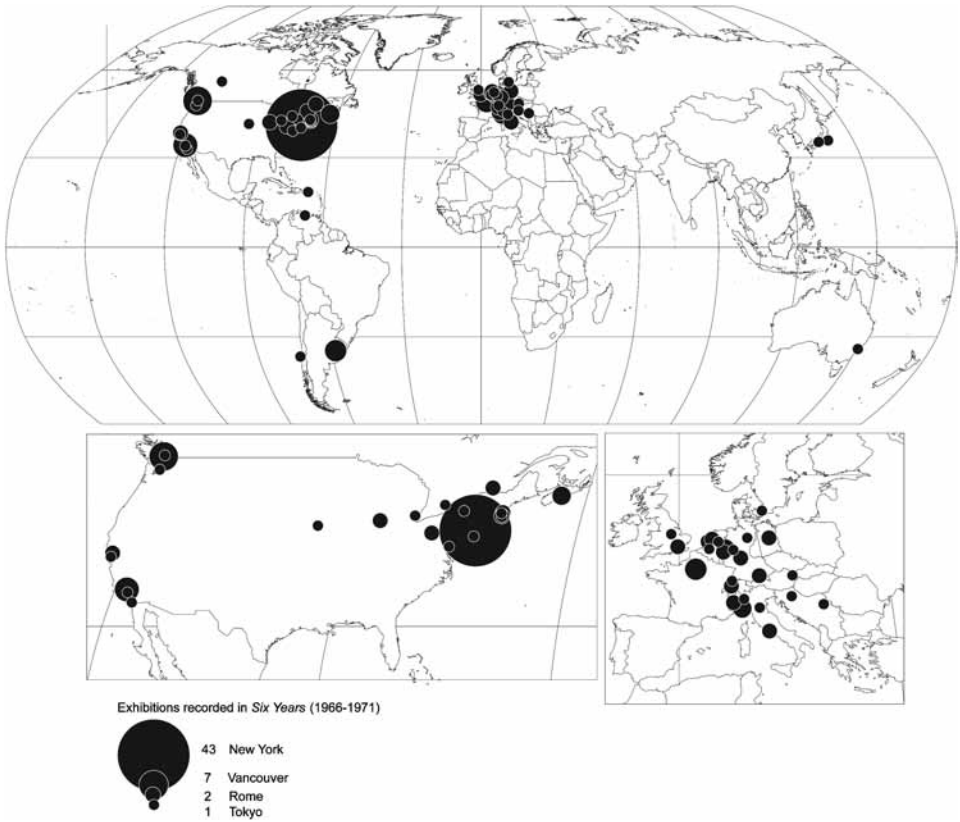
At the time, not only dealers and curators but also numerous critics, like John Perrault, and artists, like Joseph Kosuth, Sol LeWitt or Ian Wilson, were expressing similar views about the subversion of geographic centers and the international artistic decentering enabled by conceptual art.¹³ However, this discourse of internationalism was actually very localized: in its vast majority it was held by those who belonged to none other than the New York art scene, and who could afford to travel places. For LeWitt, for instance, “if you travel

a lot, you see that a lot of artists around the world have similar ideas and are doing interesting things.”¹⁴

Among them was one of the most prominent critics and curators of conceptual art: Lucy Lippard. Throughout the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, she insisted on the “dissemination possibilities” of conceptual art, and the “decentralization and internationalism” that the practice should partake in.¹⁵ In a 1969 interview with Ursula Meyer that constitutes the preface of the first edition of her seminal book *Six Years*, Lippard claimed that: “One of the important things about the new dematerialized art is that it provides a way of getting the power structure out of New York and spreading it around to wherever an artist feels like being at the time.”¹⁶

Published in 1972, *Six Years* is a chronological account of exhibitions, publications, and events concerning the so-called “dematerialization of art” between 1966 and the end of 1971. It has remained, to this day, one the most important sources for the history of conceptual art.¹⁷ Written after Lippard traveled to Canada, Argentina, Peru, and Europe, and reflecting her interest in the global art scene, *Six Years* manifests what a very well-informed New York-based art critic knew and retained from the international scene of conceptual practices. Its global ambition is evident in its impressive full-length title, occupying the whole surface of the book cover: *Six Years: The dematerialization of the art object from 1966 to 1972: a cross-reference book of information on some esthetic boundaries: consisting of a bibliography in which are inserted a fragmented text, art works, documents, interviews, and symposia, arranged chronologically and focused on so-called conceptual or information or idea art with mentions of such vaguely designated areas as minimal, anti-form, systems, earth, or process art, occurring now in the Americas, Europe, England, Australia, and Asia (with occasional political overtones)*. Mapping the content of this book will therefore help us understand her point of view on early global conceptual art, and confront it to her and her peers’ discourse of decentering and internationalism.

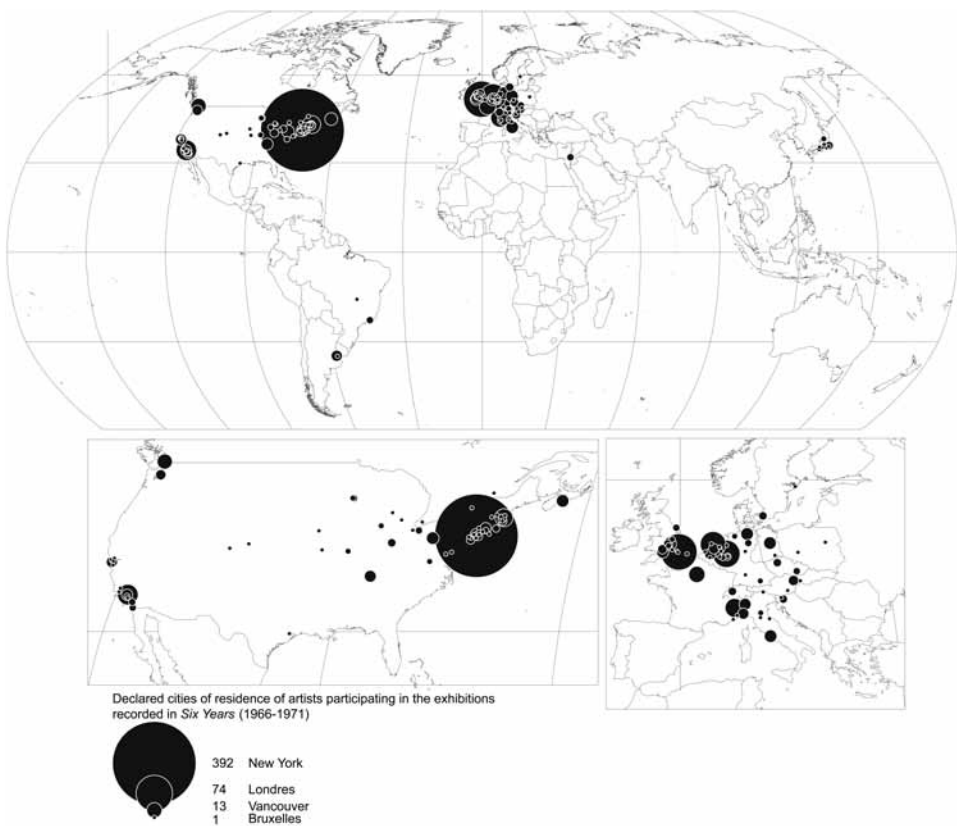
Map 9.1 localizes the 147 exhibitions (among which are 32 solo shows) of conceptual art listed by Lucy Lippard in her book. Although many countries are represented, with the notable presence of South America (7 exhibitions, 5 percent of the total), the density of exhibitions is much larger in Europe. Above all, New York largely dominates, with more than 43 exhibitions, one third of the total. The title of Lippard’s book, announcing a concern with art “occurring now in the Americas, Europe, England, Australia, and Asia” is therefore both true and misleading: Australia is represented by only one exhibition; Asia is reduced to Japan, with two exhibitions recorded. Europe means Western Europe exclusively, except for two exhibitions in Zagreb and Belgrade. Therefore, although Lippard is deeply concerned with the global scene, and eager to demonstrate the “internationalism” of conceptual art, local artistic activities are nevertheless preeminent in her panorama.



Map 9.1 Maps localizing the 147 exhibitions listed in *Six Years*.
Made by the author using Philcarto

The first set of maps (Map 9.1) localizes the 147 exhibitions listed in Six Years. In contrast, the second set of maps (Map 9.2) localizes the city of residence of participants in these exhibitions: one artist can appear several times if she or he has been included in more than one of these shows. The information about the place of residence of these participants was extracted from a single, homogeneous source—the exhibition catalogues of these shows. Therefore, this map is necessarily non-exhaustive: many exhibitions did not have a catalogue, or their catalogue did not mention the places of residence of the artists. Among the 147 exhibitions of Six Years, I was able to find only 28 with a catalogue including such information. They allow us to localize 983 participants in total, equaling 380 artists. Maps made using Philcarto.

This concentration is even more evident when we consider not the localization of the exhibitions, but the localization of the artists themselves. Map 9.2 localizes, whenever the information was available, the city of residence of each participant in the collective exhibitions listed



Map 9.2 Maps localizing the city of residence of participants in the 147 exhibitions listed in *Six Years*. Made by the author using Philcarto

by Lippard, as declared in their respective catalogues (50 of them could be consulted, 28 of which—mainly the major ones—included mentions of artists' residences). Here, the contrasts are even more striking: 40 percent of the participants in these exhibitions of conceptual art indicate that their residence is New York City. Then, London appears as a secondary center with 10 percent of the participants, as well as Düsseldorf and Amsterdam. Paris and Northern Italy follow, with only about 2 percent of the participants.

Contrasts are not only on the global scale, they also appear on the national and regional scales: while Western Europe is relatively dense and multi-centered, with the exclusion of entire areas like Southern Europe, in the US New York and Los Angeles concentrate all activities. The local dynamic of center and periphery was so important that an artist like Douglas Huebler, who lived not in New York but in Bradford, Massachussetts, was presented as

a “marginal” by the critics, and was always cited by Siegelau or Lippard as an example of the formidable geographic dispersion of conceptual art.¹⁸

I want to make clear that these maps do not attempt to localize where conceptual artists lived and exhibited between 1966 and 1971. Rather, they reflect the point of view of Lippard, a well-aware observer based in New York; they are constructed according to the information at her disposal at the time, information that circulated and was able to reach her. Indeed, it is not enough that artistic productions and events *occurred*, they had to *circulate*—under the form of documentation, magazine articles, exhibition catalogues—to become visible internationally, or rather visible for those who had the institutional power to make art history, like the influential critic Lucy Lippard. What is fundamental here is the translation of these maps—contrasted, unequal, with defined centers and peripheries—into a discourse of non-hierarchized, decentered internationalism, and the ideology at play into this translation. To quote Siegelau again, “a man can live in Africa and make great art,” but his art will probably not make it into *Six Years*, and is therefore quite unlikely to enter traditional art historical literature.

This discrepancy between Lippard’s inclusive discourse and the reality of how much of the international activity she actually registered—and advertised—was actually pointed out by observers at the time. In its review of *Six Years*, the Italian-based magazine *Flash Art* condemned a New York perspective that overlooked European practices:

on careful analysis, there is a typically American and therefore biased approach that is, everything comes from the States, anything of any importance done over the last ten years is American or almost (rather, from New York, as even California has an absolutely minor role in this book). The information on Europe and therefore general information is scarce, partial and biased. And the sporadic information on Europe reflects the official American stand or its echo. We do not wish to believe that Lippard is in bad faith: we only point out the limited artistic information (and naturally, political) on Europe in the 1960s.¹⁹

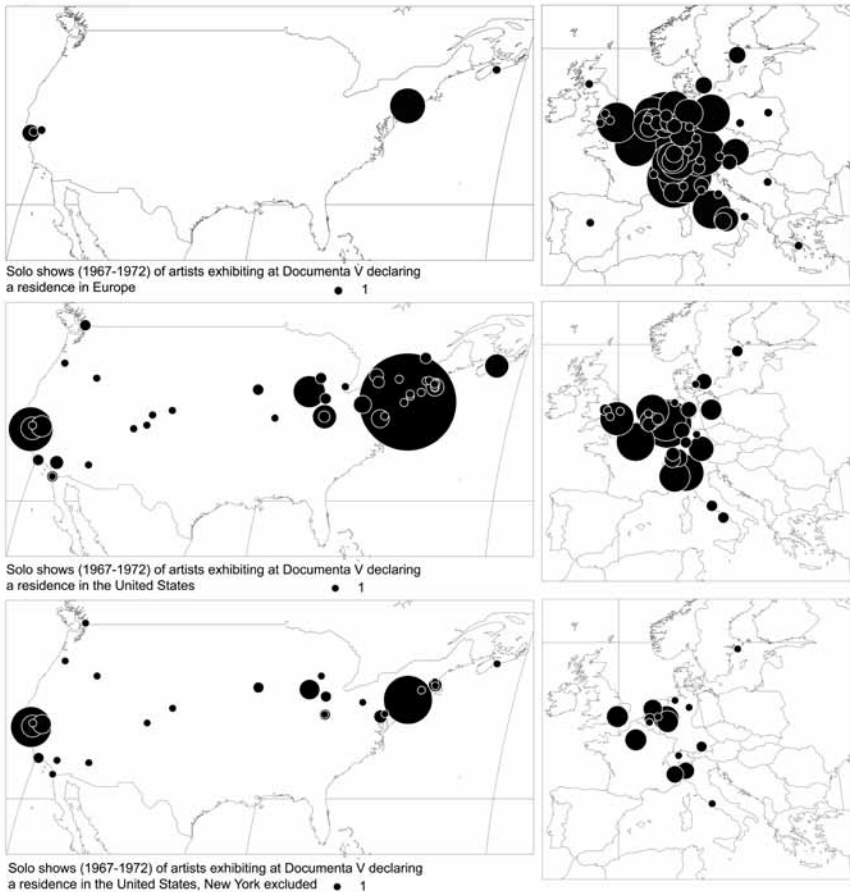
As the authors rightfully make clear, Lippard sincerely wished to present a truly international panorama. What she failed to acknowledge was that the diffusion and promotion of artistic activities were still much dependant on traditional artistic structures (institutional galleries and museums, widely distributed art magazines and exhibition catalogues) that were unequally implemented. The possibility for the artists to travel, the necessary funds to publish exhibition catalogues and advertisements, as well as the support of the media were as many filters which contributed to select which artistic practices would reach Lippard. This selection would obviously be in the detriment not only to Western Europe, but also to a much larger extent to Eastern Europe, South America or Asia. While the Australian artist Michael Archer estimated that “Geography was no barrier to involvement, not least because *Studio*

International from Britain, *Artforum* from the US and *Art International* from Switzerland were able to play a substantial role in furthering the awareness of what was happening in other places," one could argue to the contrary that the real geographic frontier was whether one could or could not enter any of these magazines.²⁰

To analyze these regional inequalities a little further, I would like to study one exhibition, *Documenta V*, in greater depth. This exhibition, which took place in Kassel in 1972 (when Lippard's *Six Years* was in the process of publication and when Seth Siegelaub retired from the art world) is considered by many historians as both the climax and conclusion of the first phase of conceptual art. The catalogue of *Documenta* is rich in geographical information. First, participants were asked to name their places of birth and of residence, which reveals predictable trends of exclusion and concentration. While more than a dozen participants indicate a place of birth in South America, Asia or Eastern Europe, only 1 (out of the 164 participants who named their place of residence) admits to currently reside outside of the US or Western Europe (Michael Buthe, Morocco).

Besides, each participant was invited to list his or her personal exhibitions up until 1972, which enables us to map out individual exhibition trajectories and careers. When artists are sorted according to their places of residence, striking differences appear. The first map in Map 9.3 localizes the personal exhibitions of artists declaring a residence in Europe: their career preceding *Documenta V* is mainly European, with very few shows in New York and Los Angeles. In contrast, the second map shows that artists declaring a residence in the US have had a great number of solo shows in Europe before 1972. It is clear that while Europe is very permeable to American artists, and offers them numerous possibilities for individual exhibitions, the reverse is not true and the US seems largely inaccessible for Europeans, be they conceptual artists.

How can we account for such a difference? Should it be understood as a sign of the so-called "triumph of American art," an intrinsic superiority in the quality of American contemporary art at the end of the 1960s? Geography suggests other kinds of explanations. In her work on the "International Network of Conceptual Artists," Sophie Richard showed how a successful partnership between 15 art galleries throughout Western Europe (including Yvon Lambert in Paris, Konrad Fischer in Düsseldorf, Sperone in Milan, etc.) allowed the same exhibitions and artists to circulate from one country to the next.²¹ Therefore, if an American artist had an exhibition in one of these galleries, which was made easier by the proactive attitude of European dealers, he or she was almost assured to have other shows in Europe. No such networks and agreements existed in the US. It was then much more difficult for an artist living in Europe to penetrate the American art scene. Therefore, although Richard, in her introduction, takes it for granted that "there was equality between European and American artists," I believe that



Map 9.3 Maps localizing the 182 participants in *Documenta V* (1972).
Made by the author using Philcarto

These maps were constructed solely on the basis of information available in the catalogue of Documenta V (1972). Among the 182 participants in the exhibition, 153 mentioned at least one solo show between 1967 and 1972 in their biographical information (only the living artists were considered). Artists were then sorted in Maps 1, 2, and 3 according to their declared place of residence (not nationality): Europe, US, US excluding New York City. Maps made using Philcarto.

the result of her study actually contradicts such a claim: rather than a non-hierarchical network, maps emphasize the reality of geographical inequalities grounded less in artistic validity than in institutional structures. By allowing the non-reciprocal circulation of shows, artworks, and artists, these structures conditioned their later reception and inscription in art history. Paradoxically, it

was precisely the collaborative, organized, and dynamic activity of European galleries that insured the success of artists based in the US.

However, it was not enough to live and work in the US to have the gate of Europe opened: geographical inequalities also functioned on the national scene. The third map in Map 9.3 shows the personal exhibitions of artists living in the US, with the exclusion of New York City: it is clear that, for them, there were far fewer exhibitions in Europe. The art scene outside New York, the West Coast in particular, did not offer the same transatlantic passages. Insofar as circulation conditioned artistic recognition, being excluded from such a network may have undermined their chances of international success.

Again, what these maps demonstrate above all is the contrast in the New York conceptual art community between, on the one hand, a discourse on internationalism and decentering, and on the other, a perception of international exhibitions and artists which was actually very unequally distributed, structured in terms of powerful dynamics of centers and peripheries. This supports the claims made by some artists at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s that "internationalism" was actually a local form of ideology, linked to American imperialism, which acted as a disguise for the exportation of "colonial contemporary art" (in Luis Camnitzer's words).²² As American artist Dan Graham acknowledged in 1973, "this identification of American art to an art without frontier [that is, to "international art"] is not admissible today with the same naïve idealism."²³ Only at that time did artists realize that, in the terms of the Australian artist Ian Burn, conceptual art actually adhered to a traditional avant-garde geography which was "conservative."²⁴

Importantly, however, these geographical dynamics functioned at every level: they did not simply oppose, on the global scale, a Western Center to a non-Western periphery; as we have seen, centers and peripheries are strictly relational notions and vary according to the scale of study. Western Europe was also involved in a non-reciprocal relationship with the US, and within the US itself, space was equally divided and compartmentalized.

To finish, I would like to suggest that maps were also used at the time as visual statements, to either build or deconstruct this idea of international decentering through the circulation and practice of conceptual art. Maps, indeed, became a privileged artistic theme in the 1960s.²⁵ In some cases, maps clearly partake in the general discourse of internationalism in vogue at the time. Maps may, for instance, illustrate magazines and exhibition catalogues as a mere signal of their geographic ambitions, like Siegelau's exhibition catalogues of 1968 and 1969, or the *Sonsbeek 71* catalogue cover.²⁶ But maps were also very commonly used as a material for artworks themselves. While they clearly suited conceptual artists' search for non-expressive, scientific-looking images, closer to documentation than to art and supposedly able to efficiently transmit information, they also carried a political overtone. This was clearly the case when maps were used by artists to denounce ideologies

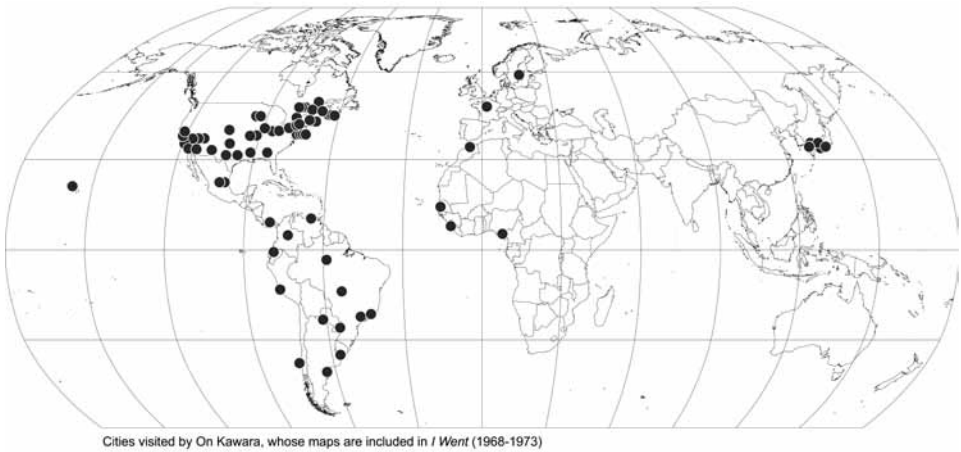
of nationalism, imperialism or political oppression—as in certain works by the Argentinean artist Jorge Luis Carballa, or the large series of maps by the Italian Alighiero Boetti, where each country is represented in the colors of its national flag. One can also point out Marcel Broodthaers's miniature book *The Conquest of Space. Atlas for the Use of Artists and the Military* (1975), which confronts, regardless of their respective scale, some European countries and a few of their formerly colonized territories. In Öyvind Fahlström's 1972 *World Map*, statistics invade the cartographic space to denounce the generalized exploitation of Third World countries.

However, this issue was, to some extent, also present in a number of works by conceptual artists, which are often mistakenly read as non-political. Indeed, at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, the growing public contestation of the artistic structures in the US, which involved many artists of the "conceptual" generation, went together with a more general stance against American economic imperialism and the war in Vietnam.²⁷ Maps, which were commonly used to illustrate the progression of the conflict in the mainstream press, could become synonymous with a critical reflection on space. These cartographic works often manifest a predilection for empty spaces, for anti-centers. They point to places that are usually deemed marginal, out of sight of an average viewer of contemporary art. In 1967, the British group Art & Language created their *Map to Not Indicate*, a map of the US where all the states are left blank except for Iowa and Kentucky. Central states in terms of artistic geography—such as New York or California—are voluntarily "not indicated," leaving for examination two states more rarely considered by (European) viewers. Their *Map of a 36-Square-Mile Area of the Pacific Ocean*, also from 1967, is even more radical: it is the paradoxical map of an empty area, a blank square. Ger Van Elk's *La Pièce* (1971) includes a map centered on the North Atlantic Ocean. Here, the ocean is both a place free of human invasive presence, "where there is no dust to created dirt" as the Amsterdam-based artist stated, and a connecting space between Europe and North America, an inter-space between two centers.²⁸ In 1966, the Japanese-born artist On Kawara painted *Lat. 31°25' N; Long. 8°41' E*, a form of conceptual landscape painting where the location is not depicted but instead designated by its geographic coordinates, inscribed in white capitals over a black background. These coordinates, one discovers, lead to a point located in the middle of the Sahara desert. The artist thus frustrates the curious viewer by leading him to a non-place, an anti-climatic quest. These few examples of artistic geographies seem to support a spatial pursuit: that of a decentering, where empty spaces become the primary focus of attention. These works, however, could be said to replicate the "internationalist" discourse of Lippard or Siegelau. While they demand that the spectator's attention be driven away from the main artistic centers, they do not question their own position as artworks actually exhibited in, and seen from, these centers.

More critical works, conversely, engage in a dialectical opposition between centers and periphery, at different scales. At the scale of a city, *Gallery Goers' Birthplace and Residence Profile*, by the New York-based German artist Hans Haacke, points to the geo-economic determinants of contemporary art amateurs. The work was realized in two parts. For the first one, at the Howard Wise Gallery in November 1969, visitors in the exhibition were asked to pinpoint their place of birth and residence on maps spread out on the walls. The second part of the work, exhibited at the Paul Maenz Gallery a few months later, involved photographic documentation of the places located during Part 1, therefore constructing a visual, sociological approach to contemporary art gallery visitors, investing the geography of the city with considerations of economic status and cultural capital.²⁹

At a regional scale, Douglas Huebler—this “marginal” artist living in Massachusetts—made a number of works based on the theme of an exchange between two spaces: that of New York, the art center, and Boston, the city scorned by the art world for its supposed provincialism, and remoteness from artistic activities. For instance, in *New York–Boston Exchange Shape* (1968), Huebler drew two regular, identical pentagons on two maps—one of New York City, the other of Boston—at the same scale. He thus defined six points in each city, separated by the same distance, where he then traveled in order to mark the spots and photograph them.³⁰ In the actual space of the cities, as in the representational space of the maps, Huebler implied a formal equivalence between the two cities through a de-hierarchized geographical process, while at the same time emphasizing the differences in size and urban planning evident in the confrontation of the maps. Huebler therefore proposed a dialogue between the center and its immediate periphery, both near and far away, included and excluded.

At a larger scale, Dennis Oppenheim's *Gallery Transplants* suggest a similar project. In this series of works started in 1969, the ground plan of the gallery or museum where his exhibition took place was “transplanted” at a distant location, materialized by a shape on the ground, and designated in the gallery by a photograph and a map.³¹ The topography of the gallery, once transposed in a different, non-artistic space, often deserted, rocky or snowy, revealed its absurdity. Finally, the works that perhaps most emblemize this dialectic are Robert Smithson's *Sites-Nonsites*, started in 1968.³² The artist chose a “site” (preferably in the periphery of the exhibition) and presented, in the gallery, its conceptual reverse, the “nonsite,” materialized by samples collected on the site (earth, sand, rocks), a map, and a photograph of the site. While the gallery hosted the “nonsite” of art, the real site was elsewhere, far away from the so-called art-centers but close enough for the spectator to go visit it. The “site” was often at the outskirts of the economic and artistic centers, where artistic underdevelopment met with economic desertion.



Map 9.4 Map localizing the cities visited by On Kawara between 1968 and 1973.
Made by the author

This map is based on the maps available in I Went. Each dot represents one stay in the city (several dots on the same spots indicate that the artist came back to the same city for another stay).

These various works, briefly mentioned, all function on the assumption that, rather than focusing on the alleged “empty spaces” of contemporary art, one should concentrate on the dialectical tension between centers and peripheries, whether they be, in the terms of Alain Reynaud, “dominated,” “abandoned” or “self-sufficient.”³³ While assuming that they need the artistic centers to be recognized as art, these cartographic works suggest that artistic geographies often duplicate socio-economic geographies, and that a reflection on spatial justice should involve the way “centers” create, or feed on, their peripheries.

I would like to give one last example of an artwork that demonstrates that artists were not simply the naïve victims nor the passive agents of geographic domination, but instead proposed a critical rethinking of the logics of spatial power at play in the art world. Between 1968 and 1979, On Kawara, an American artist with Japanese origins, based in New York, worked on *I Went*. It consisted in recording every day on a city map the journey he had walked during the day. *I Went* was recently reedited in 12 volumes totaling 4,740 pages, each of them a xeroxed map onto which the artist has stamped the date, and inscribed his path.³⁴ In contrast to the apparent conceptual neutrality and aridity of the project, the effect is visually striking, due to the diversity of maps, scales, typographies, and alphabets. The shapes traced day after day suggest the passage of a man in time. The maps also suggest the endless possibility of other places, rather than the fixity of this or that art center or art

capital. Page after page, map after map, the artist's book elaborates another, dynamic cartography based on continuous circulation (Map 9.4). This map appears like an imperfect negative of Map 9.2. The artist, always on the move, seems to be seeking to fill in the vacant spaces left by the geography of artists when they fix their place of residence on an exhibition catalogue.

Maybe this is why, as if to preemptively undermine future art historians seeking to freeze artistic geography in maps, some artists decided to play tricks on them. So did David Tremlett in the catalogue of *Documenta V*, stating, at the place reserved for his city of residence, "Er reist": he travels.

Notes

- 1 Ian Burn, "The Sixties: Crisis and Aftermath (or the Memoirs of an Ex-Conceptual Artist)" [1981], in *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), 405.
- 2 Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver, and Rachel Weiss, Foreword to *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s* (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999), vii, xi.
- 3 Stephen Bann, Introduction to *Global Conceptualism*, ed. Camnitzer et al., 3, 6.
- 4 Peter Wollen, "Global Conceptualism and North American Conceptual Art," in *Global Conceptualism*, ed. Camnitzer et al., 73, 85.
- 5 See for instance: Michael Corris, ed., *Conceptual Art, Theory, Myth, and Practice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Rosetta Brooks, "An Art of Refusal," in *Live in Your Head, Concept and Experiment in Britain 1965–75* (London: Whitechapel Art Gallery, 2000); *How Latitudes Become Forms: Art in a Global Age* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2003).
- 6 Alain Reynaud, *Société, espace et justice: Inégalités régionales et justice socio-spatiale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981), 38.
- 7 Michel Claura and Seth Siegelaub, "L'art conceptuel" [1973], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 287.
- 8 Quoted by Joseph Kosuth, "Art After Philosophy" [1969], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 175.
- 9 Interview with Seth Siegelaub [1969], in *Recording Conceptual Art, Early Interviews with Barry, Huebler, Kaltenbach, LeWitt, Morris, Oppenheim, Siegelaub, Smithson, Weiner*, by Patricia Norvell, ed. Alexander Alberro and Patricia Norvell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 52.
- 10 Interview with Seth Siegelaub [1969], in *Recording Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Norvell, 38, 52.
- 11 The Canadian communication theorist Marshall McLuhan was extremely influential in the 1960s. He argued that the transmission of information was dependent on the technological features of the media used. As audio-visual devices would develop, he anticipated the emergence of a "global village" where messages—however simplified—would simultaneously reach an ever-expanding human community. Cf. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Richard Cavell, *McLuhan in Space: A Cultural Geography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- 12 Kynaston McShine, Introduction to *Information* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 140. See also Ken Allan, "Understanding Information," in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Corris, 152.
- 13 "Conceptual Art is a symptom of globalism and it is the first—Surrealism almost was—really international art style": John Perreault, "It's Only Words" [1971], in *Idea Art, A Critical Anthology*, ed. Gregory Battcock (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), 137. "Pollock and Judd are, I feel, the beginning and end of American dominance in art": Kosuth, "Art After Philosophy" [1969], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 175. For Sol LeWitt, Siegelaub's exhibition catalogues are "terrific, because, first of all, he's taking away from New York the kind of hub

- of the universe": Interview with Sol LeWitt [1969], in *Recording Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Norvell, 122. "I've freed art from a specific place. It's now possible for everyone": Ian Wilson, quoted in *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects* (New York: New York Cultural Center, 1970), 33.
- 14 Interview with Sol LeWitt [1969], in *Recording Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Norvell, 122.
 - 15 "What is radically new [with conceptual art] is its context, the exhibition and dissemination possibilities": Lucy Lippard, "Introduction to 557,087" [1969], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 180; "Decentralization and internationalism were major aspects of the prevailing distribution theories": Lippard in her Preface to the second edition of *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), xviii.
 - 16 Interview of Lippard by Ursula Meyer [1969], Preface to the first edition of *Six Years*, 8.
 - 17 As demonstrated recently by the exhibition and publication *Materializing Six Years: Lucy R. Lippard and the Emergence of Conceptual Art*, ed. Catherine Morris and Vincent Bonin (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press; and New York: Brooklyn Museum, 2012).
 - 18 Huebler's example is mentioned by Siegelaub among others in a 1969 interview with Patricia Norvell, in *Recording Conceptual Art*, 53, and by Lippard in *Six Years*, xviii. See also Frédéric Paul's interview with Douglas Huebler, "Truro, Massachusetts, 11–14 octobre 1992," in *Douglas Huebler, "Variable," etc.* (Limoges: FRAC du Limousin, 1992), 116.
 - 19 "Six Years," *Flash Art* 42 (1973): 1.
 - 20 Michael Archer, "Out of the Studio," in *Live in Your Head*, 28.
 - 21 Sophie Richard, *Unconcealed, The International Network of Conceptual Artists 1967–77, Dealers, Exhibitions and Public Collections* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009).
 - 22 Luis Camnitzer, "Contemporary Colonial Art" [1969], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 225.
 - 23 Dan Graham, *Ma position: Ecrits sur mes oeuvres* (Villeurbanne and Dijon: Nouveau Musée/Institut, Presses du Réel, 1992), 44.
 - 24 Burn, "The Sixties," in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 405.
 - 25 On the use of maps in conceptual art of the 1960–70s, see Larisa Dryansky, "Déplacements. Les usages de la cartographie et de la photographie dans l'art américain des années 1960 et du début des années 1970: les cas de Mel Bochner, Douglas Huebler, Dennis Oppenheim, Ed Ruscha et Robert Smithson" (PhD diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2011) and more recently, by the same author, "Du ciel à la terre. Les earthworks et la vue aérienne," in *Vue d'en haut*, ed. Angela Lampe (Metz: Centre Beaubourg Metz, 2013); Robert Storr, *Mapping* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1994); Marie-Ange Brayer, "Mesures d'une fiction picturale: La carte de géographie," *Exposé 2* (1995): 6–23; Marc Bormand, "Quelques signes au détour des années 1960," in *Face à l'histoire 1933–1996: L'artiste moderne devant l'événement historique* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1996); Deborah Schultz, "'The Conquest of Space': On the Prevalence of Maps in Contemporary Art" (Leeds: Henry Moore Institute, 2001); Peter Wollen, "Mappings: Situationists and/or Conceptualists," in *Rewriting Conceptual Art*, ed. Michael Newman and Jon Bird (London: Reaktion, 1999).
 - 26 Douglas Huebler (New York: Seth Siegelaub, 1968); *July–August–September* (New York: Seth Siegelaub, 1969); *Sonsbeek 71* (Arnhem: Sonsbeek, 1971).
 - 27 In the US, these claims were carried over notably by the Art Workers' Coalition (AWC), born in 1969 as an association of artists, critics, and museum staff, who demanded an extension of artists' rights and advocated against the Vietnam war, sexual and racial discrimination, etc. See Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).
 - 28 *Sonsbeek 71*, 107.
 - 29 Hans Haacke describes and comments this work in Jeanne Siegel, "An Interview with Hans Haacke" [1971], in *Conceptual Art*, ed. Alberro and Stimson, 245. See also, among others, Anne Rorimer, "From Minimal Origins to Conceptual Originality," in *A Minimal Future? Art as Object, 1958–1968* (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2004), 94.
 - 30 For a discussion of this work, see Anne Rorimer, *New Art in the 60s and 70s Redefining Reality* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 137.

- 31 See in particular: Jean-Louis Bourgeois, "Dennis Oppenheim, A Presence in the Countryside," *Artforum* 8, no. 2 (1969): 36–37; and Dennis Oppenheim quoted in *Conceptual Art and Conceptual Aspects*, 38.
- 32 Among the abundant literature on these works, see: Patricia Norvell's 1969 interview with Robert Smithson, in *Recording Conceptual Art*, 126; and Robert Smithson, "A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects," *Artforum* 7, no. 1 (1968): 50.
- 33 Reynaud, *Société, espace et justice*, 12.
- 34 On Kawara, *I Went* (Brussels: MCF-Michèle Didier, 2007). This publication was limited to 90 numbered and signed copies (plus 10 artist's proofs).

THE GERMAN CENTURY? HOW A GEOPOLITICAL APPROACH COULD TRANSFORM THE HISTORY OF MODERNISM

Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel

Writing a global history of Modernism is one of the greatest challenges faced by historians of modern and contemporary art, but focusing on the “global” aspect of this history is not a popular pursuit.¹ The trend seems to be directed instead towards simply adding chapters dedicated to non-Western regions.² Yet those added chapters do not fundamentally alter the main narrative. The new stories include peripheral regions and groups, but only to prove that they followed the same avant-garde logics as the centers, be it Paris or New York, and to establish who from the peripheries can enter the modernist canon, thereby preserving the symbolic hierarchies and processes of exclusion that define Western Modernism.³ Far from resulting in a global, or all-encompassing, history of the period, such an approach ends up merely Westernizing world art history.⁴ How can this pitfall be avoided? How can we think of the history of art in a truly global perspective? The study of transnational circulations and exchanges provides, we contend, a point of departure for a different global art history. In our respective researches, distant and close readings of the circulations between regions traditionally described as centers and peripheries have led to recovering hidden interactions, strategies, and counter-influences that shatter the modernist myths surrounding Paris and New York and their supposed supremacies.

We say both “distant” and “close” readings of circulations because there are at least two ways to study circulations: a macrostorial one, and a microstorial one. The first consists of studying long periods using quantitative methods and continuously shifting the scale of the analysis, while reconstituting the links between the different artistic fields and the trajectories and strategies of its actors and objects.⁵ The second way to study circulation evolves from

post-structuralist approaches, including the methods of Cultural Transfers.⁶ It is concerned with the discursive and political genesis of historical narratives, the gaps between different national narratives and their translations, and the influence of commercial, critical, and institutional strategies (be they conscious or not) in the writing of the modernist story. These two methods often overlap and converge in what we call the geopolitical approach.

Geopolitics provides a model for studying power relations within the art world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,⁷ when the concept of national identities strongly influenced the history of art.⁸ The geopolitical approach, as we define it, follows the three levels of analysis Fernand Braudel distinguished in his *Mediterranean*: the *longue durée* of history and geography, the cycle of socio-economical fluxes and transnational circulations, and the finer scale of events, crisis, and artworks.⁹ Within those three levels, the geopolitical method understands as object what Pierre Bourdieu would call the international field of arts; that is to say, the social, transnational space polarized and regulated by values and institutions accepted or contested within the field,¹⁰ as well as the discourses—in the Foucauldian sense—that populate and define it. In the international field of modern art, people, objects, and ideas from various origins circulate, engage in dialogue, and compete, crossing over many national fields. It is in these intersections between national and international fields that the trajectories of artistic movements and artists' careers fall or flourish. Our current representation of the art world (hierarchical and centralized) and of the history of modern art (evolutionist and diffusionist) results from this very system.

To study those trajectories in the context of *longue durée* of cycles and events, we rely on different methodological tools ranging from cartography and statistics to prosopography and close reading of texts and artifacts. Such a comprehensive approach provides the foundations for a global history of modern art that is circulatory and inclusive, instead of hierarchical and exclusive. By throwing a new light on the very objects of modernist stories, artworks, artists—be they avant-garde or not—, and innovation, a geopolitical study of the modern/modernist field finally challenges and enriches our understanding and knowledge of artists' oeuvres and individual artworks.

Studying the History of Modern Art with Maps and Charts

In order to escape the hierarchization and exclusion that underlies the narrative of modern art, we ought to adopt tools that allow us to study (at the same level and over a long period) the different actors and events of the international art field, without consideration for their relative position within the current narrative of Modernism.

We can do this, for instance, by charting the development of modern art through a systematic and cartographic study of exhibitions that featured modern

paintings. The resulting maps show that a process of internationalization started, for modern art, as early as the 1860s.¹¹ The increase of modernist activities concerned not only Paris, but other cities, especially London, Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, and reached as far as St. Petersburg and Moscow. Maps do more than merely visualize how avant-gardist groups and modern structures of exhibitions appeared successively in different European capitals; they also demonstrate the importance of peripheral cities in the process of the internationalization of Modernism.

Thus, even if London has never had a central place in the history of the avant-gardes, it played a fundamental role in the development and affirmation of the realist networks as early as the 1860s. Likewise, Brussels became a major center of exhibitions in the 1880s, hence a major hub for the circulation of modern painting. Berlin also gained a growing importance in the international modern art market and was soon followed by Vienna.¹² The dynamism of these so-called peripheries was important not only for Parisian art but more generally for all innovative European art. An international elite of art collectors progressively recognized that modern art was not necessarily a Parisian production. The *Groupe des Vingt*, for instance, founded in Brussels in 1883, was an essential platform for the internationalization of Postimpressionism, Symbolism, and decorative arts coming from France, as well as those coming from Britain, Austria, or Germany. The foundation of the Secessions in Europe further contributed to the internationalization of modern art and its polycentric structuration: Berlin in 1892 and 1899, Munich in 1893, the *Libre Esthétique* in Brussels in 1893, the Venice Biennale in 1895, the *Wiener Sezession* in 1897, the *World of Art* in St. Petersburg in 1902, etc. At the end of the nineteenth century, a Secession belonged to the “kit” of any modern cultural capital. In France this led to the realization that the central position of the French capital within Modernism was threatened. In response, the *Salon d’Automne* was created in 1903 as a way to keep Paris at the center of attention as much in the fall as in the spring, when the main Salons took place. By 1908, the circulation of international exhibitions and press reviews materialized the polycentric reality of the modernist field in the context of growing nationalism. In every country, foreign modernist exhibitions triggered national polemics, and encouraged modernist milieus to propose national versions of modernity. Yet Modernism was displayed, marketed, and encouraged in an international system.¹³

Besides cartography, other forms of distant reading shed new light on the history of modern art. Prosopography, that is to say collective biography, or the synchronic study of data pertaining to a group, if possible over a long period, shows that the international field of modern art came to be dominated by cosmopolitan artists of higher and higher social statuses.¹⁴ Around 1905, we see, in reaction to this domination, the emergence throughout Europe of new avant-garde movements, whose members came from popular milieus and positioned themselves against the established modernist circles to which

they had no entrance. From Fauvism in France to *Die Brücke* in Dresden, Expressionism in Belgium, and Primitivism in Russia, these young artists used pure color, painted popular subjects, and referred to Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Paul Cézanne, and Edvard Munch, the then marginal figures of Modernism, in reaction to the mundane tonal portraits à la Sargent,¹⁵ and the social practices of the international modernist elite.¹⁶ These different movements must be recognized as the shared response of younger and lower-class artists to the structures of the international art establishment. Prosopography moves art historical discussion beyond rehashed questions of influence, like between Fauvism and *Die Brücke* for instance.

Historical-spatial analysis, from comparative chronology to network analysis, also provides an efficient tool for examining a circulatory history of Modernism. Mapping the creation of modernist magazines, and analyzing the artists' contributions and the reproduction of their works in those publications, for instance, results in a very different view of the modernist geopolitics of the interwar period (Maps 10.1–10.4). Between 1914 and 1940, about 350 modernist magazines appeared in Europe, the Americas, and in Japan. Considering that those magazines were created by local groups who wished to be recognized as avant-garde at the international level, the so-called peripheries seem rather dynamic. In Paris, in contrast, vanguardist activities slowed down after 1918, with the exception of the Purist magazine *Esprit nouveau* that folded in 1925. A network analysis of the commonly reproduced artists and of the contributors writing in those modernist magazines shows that in 1925–26 Paris was not the main center of interest and polemics. Whereas the official story of Modernism claims that Parisian Surrealism imposed itself as the new avant-garde of the time, it was in fact isolated and quite at odds with a mostly constructivist *Europe des avant-gardes*. Until the end of the 1920s, European artists stopped going to Paris, instead preferring Berlin, Weimar, the US, or Brazil. With the rise of European fascisms and the consequent emigration of German and Central European artists to Paris, the French capital recovered its centrality and Surrealism finally gained international recognition.¹⁷

After 1945, Paris retained its status as the place for innovative art. However, despite the success of its artists, the Parisian position was fragile, hindered by a high dependence on foreign museums and collectors.¹⁸ Quantitative analysis of Parisian galleries' clientele show that in the 1950s foreign patrons represented between 80 and 95 percent of the purchases in galleries representing advanced art. In terms of repartition, the best clients were first the Americans, followed by the West Germans, the Swiss, the Belgians, the Dutch, and the Scandinavians.¹⁹ In contrast to the prewar period, the Americans had simply replaced the Germans as the main collectors of Parisian art. Throughout the 1950s, 40 to 50 percent of the art sold in France that was exported went to the US.²⁰



Map 10.1 Avant-garde journals established between 1914 and 1919



Map 10.2 Avant-garde journals established between 1920 and 1922

Once American and European collectors and museums withdrew their support from the School of Paris and turned to New York for innovative art, the Parisian domination collapsed. But then, from its outset, the dominance of American art subsequently depended on Western Europe. American art was great because Europeans believed it was and so they wrote about it, exhibited it, and collected it. Far from being the passive object of American art's domination, Europeans were actively participating in it, continuing the introductory work of American galleries, and even taking charge in the cultural acceptance and adaptation of American art in Western Europe.²¹ While in the 1950s most exhibitions of American art were sent from the US, in the 1960s



Map 10.3 Avant-garde journals established between 1923 and 1926



Map 10.4 Avant-garde journals established between 1927 and 1930

Maps 10.1–10.4 realized by B. Joyeux-Prunel and J. Cavero with the support of TransferS (laboratoire d'excellence, program "Investissements d'avenir" ANR-10-IDEX-0001-02 PSL* and ANR-10-LABX-0099)

and 1970s they were the result of European initiatives. The first museum exhibitions of American Pop art in Europe were organized in 1964 by European curators who had discovered the new American art at the Parisian gallery of Ileana Sonnabend.²² In the case of American Postminimal and Conceptual art, the involvement of Europeans was even greater since the movement was, for the most part, introduced in Europe by Europeans, mostly Germans, who, like Kasper Koenig, Paul Maenz, and Piero Gilardi, had been to the US and

discovered artists whom they brought to the attention of European dealers, curators, and collectors.²³ As a result, the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam and the Kunsthalle of Bern could present the first international museum exhibitions of Conceptual art in 1969—a year before the Museum of Modern Art in New York.²⁴ A combination of distant and close reading of American art exhibitions in Europe between 1945 and 1975 shows that the American art which came to dominate the European art scene after 1963 was not American, but rather the reflection of a European take on American art.²⁵ By the late 1960s, Europeans were bypassing the American system of promotion and using their own, independent transatlantic networks, at the center of which were West German dealers, collectors, and mediators.²⁶ It was those networks that permitted and supported the comeback of European (mostly German) artists at the forefront of the international art scene in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Maps, charts, and chronologies tell a different story of modern art—a story that highlights the importance of the so-called peripheries and in particular the importance of German artists, writers, dealers, and collectors, hence the title of this chapter. The phrase “the German Century” is provocative on purpose and should not be taken literally. “The German century” stands against the traditional focus on Paris and New York to assert the necessity to adopt a more inclusive and balanced approach towards global art history. The international field in which modern art thrived was always polycentric, as was Germany. To speak of a German century signals a rethinking of the modernist narrative through a methodological focus on circulations.

Writing a Circulatory and Inclusive History of Modern Art

Writing a history of modern art through a study of circulation allows for an escape from the dead-end of hierarchization and exclusion on which the modernist story is traditionally built. It creates a new story through a lens of a global, here in the sense of inclusive, history based on the study of trajectories of individuals, exhibitions, artworks, and information within the international art field.

In regard to the geopolitics of the avant-gardes in the Twenties, we said that quantitative and cartographic analysis highlights the dynamism of the European peripheries. We could dismiss this peripheral activity by contending that those remote centers were merely importing models from Paris. Or we could take it seriously and notice that many foreign artists who had been attracted by Paris before 1914, left in the early 1920s. Such is the case of the Dutch artist Theo van Doesburg who had founded the magazine *De Stijl* in Holland in 1917. Van Doesburg was convinced that Paris was the center and was where one ought to be in order to play a significant role in the international avant-garde. By 1923, however, he had changed his mind: “In

Paris everything is completely dead ... For me it is certain that the new cultural zone is the North."²⁷ After joining a Berliner constructivist group in 1922, Van Doesburg based himself in Weimar because he had found in the Bauhaus an interesting adversary, with which he could engage in lively debates. After 1924, Van Doesburg's international activities drove him to Berlin, Hannover, and other Central European cities.

The trajectories of exhibitions are equally telling. Following the careers of the French Postimpressionists shows that exhibiting outside of France was necessary in order to be recognized in France.²⁸ When Daniel Henry Kahnweiler, a young German dealer based in Paris, started representing Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque in 1908, he quickly stopped exhibiting them in the French capital. He instead sent them abroad, convinced of the effectiveness of the *détour par l'étranger*. As a result, foreign publics were better informed about Kahnweiler's painters than the Parisians, hence the numerous rumors that circulated in Paris about their works. Kahnweiler constructed the reputation of his artists on hearsays about their foreign reception, which in turn increased their foreign reputation. The *foreign detour*, revealed by the study of the circulation of exhibitions, gave Cubism a foreign legitimization, such that Guillaume Apollinaire, a friend of the Cubists, would conclude that "no one is a prophet in his own country."²⁹ Mimetic desire, famously analyzed by René Girard, was fully operational, and on a large scale.³⁰

Furthermore, a distant reading of exhibition catalogues allows scholars to study the trajectories of artworks and to establish what the public could actually see and in which context. To understand the European reception of Jackson Pollock, for instance, it is important to consider if the works on display were early figurative works, surrealist paintings, drip compositions, or late figurations. It is also essential to take into account whether they hung as part of a retrospective of American art since the eighteenth or nineteenth century, as an exhibition of international vanguard art, or at a show of contemporary American art. Until 1958 and 1959 when MoMA sent the retrospective *Jackson Pollock, 1912–1956* and the exhibition *The New American Painting* to Europe, Pollock's representation in Western Europe was limited in scope. From 1945 to 1954, Pollock was only featured in eight commercial shows, almost all of them in Paris, and 19 museum exhibitions, most of which were as part of Peggy Guggenheim's Surrealist and Abstract Collection. By 1958, 176 Pollock paintings had been shown in Western Europe: only 79 were drip paintings. In contrast, between 1958 and 1960, 265 Pollock paintings were shown in Europe—almost a third more than the previous ten years combined. Of these, 115 were drip paintings, which represented a similar percentage as before (about 43 or 44 percent). Such data is important since, contrarily to what is commonly believed, the drip compositions were not much bigger than the other paintings. As a matter of fact, *Reflection of*

the Big Dipper (111 × 91.5 cm; 1947) that Guggenheim offered to the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam in 1951, long before any other works by the artist entered European collections, is smaller than *She-Wolf* (106.4 × 170.2 cm; 1943), which was actually the most widely exhibited Pollock during that period, with 13 showings between 1948 and 1957 and 20 between 1948 and 1960.³¹ Among the other widely exhibited Pollocks was *Moon-Woman* (1942), which also belongs to the artist's pre-abstraction period.³² To the Western European audience of the early 1950s, Pollock would have appeared as an artist oscillating between Surrealism and Abstraction, and that was strongly connected to—not to say influenced by—Pablo Picasso and André Masson. The fact that Pollock's work was then mostly presented in the context of the Peggy Guggenheim's Collection, in which he figured as the youngster of the prewar Abstract and Surrealist movements, could only reinforce this impression.³³ A statistical analysis of Pollock's showings in Western Europe challenges received ideas about the triumph of American art, while explaining European critics' reservations towards Pollock and other American artists, who appeared to them in a fragmented and disjointed manner.³⁴ Writing in 1952, Pierre Descargues could only conclude that "this painter's evolution is most curious."³⁵

For art historians like ourselves, trained in the tradition of Western art history, distant and quantitative readings provide the means to move beyond the canonical narratives and hierarchical discourses that even the sources make difficult to escape. The study of the trajectories of artworks, ideas, and information further contributes to this liberation. To remain in the realm of American art and its European reception, distant reading of American art exhibitions shows that the American art presented in Paris in the 1940s and 1950s had little to do with what is regarded today as the canon of postwar American art. Among the most visible and well-liked artists were Mark Tobey and Sam Francis who came from the West Coast of the US and whose works were rooted in Asian art and culture. In Paris, they were regarded as the leading figures of the School of the Pacific and, as such, were opposed and often preferred to those of the New York School, who seemed too European.³⁶ All the more since the most influential promoter of American art in the early 1950s in France was the art critic Michel Tapié who presented the works of Pollock and De Kooning as part of an *Informel* adventure that was very different from Clement Greenberg's ideas.³⁷ Whereas Greenberg championed abstract art and adopted a formal evolutionist approach, Tapié rejected both abstraction and formalism. He wrapped the works of the American artists in an existentialist discourse, describing their informal materiality as manifestations of the artists' rebellion and *prise de conscience*.³⁸ American Abstract Expressionism was thus presented as a sub-tendency of a Parisian trend, and served to demonstrate the international orientation of Tapié and his group.

When studying the trajectories of individuals, exhibitions, artworks, and information, the motivations of the agents of those circulations often reveal very different viewpoints that question the idea of any fixed hierarchy and dominations in modern art. The vanguardism of the German elite in the nineteenth century, for instance, was motivated by what they regarded as their backwardness vis-à-vis Paris. The Secessions in Berlin and Munich reflected less an aesthetical agenda than a rejection of the cultural provincialism and conservatism of the local salons.³⁹ Inviting foreign (mostly Parisian) artists was a way to foster artistic quality among their members, as painter Max Liebermann stressed in the press of the time.⁴⁰ This was equally the conviction of the Viennese Secessionists. Gustav Klimt, one of the founders, described the project as “the necessity to push the Viennese artistic life towards a more lively relationship to the most progressive developments of art abroad.”⁴¹ The desire expressed in the peripheries to be confronted with the artistic production of the major centers allowed in turn Parisian dealers and artists to adopt the strategy of the *détour par l'étranger*.⁴²

In this case, the motivations of those who imported the works and those who exported them were complementary, but it was not always the case. There is much to say about the motivations behind *Introduction à la Peinture moderne américaine*, an exhibition often presented as the first step of American art's conquest of the Parisian scene which the New York dealer Samuel Kootz organized in Paris at the Galerie Maeght in April 1947. The Parisian gallery was counting on the French curiosity towards the US by bringing what was presented as the first exhibition of American contemporary art since 1938 and the resuming of the artistic relationships between the two countries after the war. But for the American dealer, the purpose of this exhibition was less to win over the French public than to give his artists a Parisian cachet. So while he advertised that his artists had a show in Paris in the American press, he showed little concern for the actual exhibition and its consequent commercial and critical failure. Moreover, while in the US he had made his mission to promote American art through his writing and was keen on creating a polemic in the press, Kootz let someone else write the essay for the French catalogue and did not bother to defend his artists when they were attacked in the French press. Kootz was clearly less interested in promoting his artists in France than in the potential of this *détour par l'étranger* on the American market.⁴³

Challenging and Furthering our Understanding of Modern Art

The geopolitical approach not only provides a foundation for a circulatory and inclusive, not to say global, history of modern art, but it also throws a new light on the very objects of modernist stories, namely the avant-gardes, the artists, their artworks, and innovations.

In regard to the works of art, a geopolitical approach invites us to consider them first and foremost as polysemous messages that different audiences understood differently. Such a mechanism is particularly obvious in the international reception of Postimpressionism. As soon as 1886, Divisionist painting began to gain recognition in Belgium, then in Germany, before being joined by Nabi painting after 1890, thanks to an efficient network of European critics, dealers, and collectors. Relying on this support system, the Postimpressionists (that is, Divisionists, Symbolists, and Nabis) were able to forge alliances with various avant-gardes outside France. To this end, they had to substantially modify the message of their works, or to let those who introduced them abroad operate this adaptation. Paul Signac, for instance, changed the titles of his paintings: the musical titles he chose for the Salon of the XX in Brussels in 1892 adapted his paintings to the expectations of Belgian Symbolists keen on new music, whereas two months later, for the Salon des Indépendants in Paris, he chose titles that set his paintings within the French landscape tradition. After 1900, the cultural transfer of Postimpressionism took place on a larger scale. In Germany, under the leadership of Count Harry Kessler and the critic and art dealer Julius Meier-Graefe, the Divisionists and the Nabis were presented as the united heirs of Impressionism, a unity which they in fact fiercely rejected. In Germany, the presentation of the catchall “Neo-Impressionism” as the culmination of painting’s evolution towards a material reality wiped away the scientific and political dimension Divisionism had in France, as well as the religious orientation of the Nabis. The paintings of Maurice Denis, for whom art was to be put at the service of Christ, enjoyed great success among German atheistic and Nietzschean circles, who regarded art as a new religion.⁴⁴ The disparity was equally striking between Signac’s anarchist ideas and the German “revolutionaries in pumps” who acquired his paintings at the turn of the century.⁴⁵

As far as the artist is concerned, the geopolitical, circulatory approach challenges the image of the isolated genius, engrossed in a world of painting, or in supposedly formal and esthetical considerations. Instead of being “stupid as a painter,” as the saying goes, the artists emerge as political individuals who reflect on the artistic, social, and geopolitical situation of their times not only to meet the expectations of their different audiences, but also to comment on those situations in their works, and deconstruct them. What a geopolitical reading does to one of the key works in the modernist narrative, namely Marcel Duchamp’s *Fountain*, is particularly interesting. In April 1917, Duchamp sent a urinal, turned upside down, signed, and dated, to the first Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists in New York. The work was refused, whereas the rules stated the acceptance of any kind of artwork. Duchamp had signed the urinal “R. Mutt” and dated it from 1917. As Thierry de Duve convincingly showed, the artist was challenging so-called independence of the new Society.⁴⁶ Moreover, the readymade caused

an unprecedented esthetical revolution: *Fountain* asserts that a work is an artwork not because it is *made*, but because it respects all exterior, or formal, criteria of any work of art: signature, dates, and exhibition. Duchamp was thereby concluding a long process of deconstruction of the prestige linked to the artist's *métier*.⁴⁷

Traditional interpretations draw a link between "Mutt" and Mott Iron Works, an important American brand of bathroom appliances. *Fountain* is thus regarded as the death certificate of stylistic innovation condemned by the modernity and anonymity of industrial forms. The use of an American brand further encourages a reading of the urinal as ridiculing the European traditions. Another interpretation considers that "R. Mutt," read aloud with a German accent, sounds like the German "Armut," that is to say "poverty," whereby *Fountain* would signify the economy of means of the readymade. While all this might be true, Duchamp might also have been addressing American contemporary culture and its hidden geopolitics. During the polemics that followed *Fountain's* rejection from the exhibition, Duchamp asked Alfred Stieglitz to photograph the work, which was then titled "the artwork refused by the Independents, 'Madonna of the Bathroom'." The photograph and religious title integrated the artwork into both the history of Modernism, and the history of Western art. But this pun needs also to be replaced in the context of the First World War. On 1 February, President Wilson broke diplomatic relationships with Germany, which had declared "unrestricted submarine warfare." When a German U-boat sunk the *Vigilantia* on 19 March 1917, the US declared war on Germany. In this context, a cultural return to order was expected. *Fountain*, we contend, was a response to this historical situation, as well as a comment on the rampant nationalism of the international modernist field, and its progressive academicization.

"R. Mutt" pronounced with a French accent (Duchamp's accent), immediately calls to mind the German phrase "Ehre und Mut" (Honor and Courage).⁴⁸ Duchamp thus inscribed on a urinal, a virile motto of Pan-Germanism, not to say racial imperialism. The artist turned the "war heroes," who in 1914 perpetrated terrible crimes in Belgium, into ludicrous pissing figures. *Fountain* was also an ironical comment on the American modernists' neutrality, and most particularly against Stieglitz, who was favorable to the German cause, and his friend Mardsen Hartley, who was fascinated by Prussian militarism.⁴⁹ After the death of his lover, a German *Uhlansen* Officer, Hartley had made paintings that glorified the German cavalry and which Stieglitz had exhibited in New York in 1915. Duchamp asked Stieglitz to photograph *Fountain* in front of Hartley's *Warriors* (1913), which shows the Emperor on horseback leading his army from the top of a mountain. The cavaliers, wearing Prussian helmets, personified the ideals of *Ehre und Mut* and the belief in the superiority of the Germanic race. Stieglitz may not have understood what Duchamp meant, but the form of Hartley's mountain

recalls, strangely, the shape of the upside-down urinal. Alternatively, if *Fountain* were returned to its position of urinal and Hartley's canvas turned upside down, what would happen? Duchamp would be pissing on the great German Emperor, as well as on the modern art Stieglitz promoted in New York. Here it is important to remember that Duchamp was not only French but also that his two brothers were fighting against the German army. He also had a personal score to settle with the Germans regarding their promotion of Parisian Cubism. After having been excluded from the Cubist group at the 1912 Salon des Indépendants, where his *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1912) had been condemned as Futurist, Duchamp had gone to Munich. There, he had faced a similar, if not worse, narrow-mindedness and witnessed the market domination, via the German networks, of his competitors, in particular Robert Delaunay. His decision to withdraw from the Parisian art scene and to stop painting in 1913 was a direct consequence of his disgust, and the ready-made, its manifestation.⁵⁰

Neither innocent nor cut from the geopolitical reality of the world that surrounded them, the successful artists often benefited from the support of individuals who understood the international art field and its geopolitical stakes, and could thus position their works in an international art scene that was not necessarily open to them. Consequently, the transnational activities and strategies of dealers, curators, and other middlemen deserve to be studied at the same level as those artists. The importance of figures such as Harry Kessler, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Alfred Stieglitz, Pierre Restany, or Leo Castelli is well known, but not sufficiently studied in a geopolitical perspective. One little-known figure is the Swiss museum director Johannes Gachnang, whose activities made the comeback of European artists in the early 1980s possible, at a time when artistic developments outside the American modernist canon were dismissed as provincial and retrograde. Among those "provincial" approaches were a group of painters from Berlin including Georg Baselitz and Markus Lüpertz, whose models were Parisian *Informel* artists such as Wols, Jean Dubuffet, Henri Michaux, and Antonin Artaud—that is, an anticultural and *décalé* approach to art. These artists, who grew up during the war and witnessed the division of Germany, used art as the *Informels* had: as a way to negotiate not only between personal and historic events, but also navigate between their position in the Parisian market and their refusal of the system. Their works were consequently at odd with the then triumphant American pop and minimal art. Throughout the 1970s, museum director Gachnang elaborated a theory that would legitimize their work vis-à-vis the rest of contemporary art.⁵¹ Using a terminology that appealed to the Germans and Swiss, he explained that the modernist tradition that claimed a progressive reduction of form was only one *dialect* of modern art. In his mind, Baselitz and Lüpertz were speaking a dialect that was as legitimate as that spoken by American minimalists Donald

Judd or Carl Andre.⁵² As the director of the Kunsthalle in Bern, Gachnang convinced many of his European colleagues that provincialism provided a conceptual framework under which the works of the German artists could be considered as pertinent to the discourse as mainstream American art.⁵³

A geopolitical, circulatory approach also deconstructs the notions of progress and innovation that are at the core of the modernist narrative. When it comes to the beginning of abstraction, traditionally the main question is to decide who, between Wassily Kandinsky, František Kupka, and Robert Delaunay, invented abstraction. Yet once we start studying the circulations of artworks, the question appears in a different light. In 1911, Delaunay participated in the first exhibition of *Der Blaue Reiter* in Munich, and contributed to its *Almanach*. At the second exhibition of the *Blaue Reiter* in February 1912, he presented paintings with abstract titles. Delaunay began to paint completely abstract works in the summer of 1912. Yet he did not exhibit them in Paris, where he knew they would be poorly received. The *Blaue Reiter*, in contrast, welcomed such abstract experiments. In Paris, he exhibited figurative and political compositions, such as *La Ville de Paris* (Salon des Indépendants 1912) or *L'Équipe de Cardiff* (Salon des Indépendants 1913). In this painting, the Eiffel Tower, Louis Blériot's airplane, and the inscription "New York Paris" symbolized the prestige of French culture. For the 1914 Salon des Indépendants, Delaunay presented *Hommage à Blériot*, which commemorated the successes of the French aviator crossing the Channel in 1909. Only outside of France, particularly in Munich and Berlin, did Delaunay present his formal research and underline their philosophical and abstract dimensions. Outside of France those works were discussed, understood, and bought. The Berliner gallerist and critic Herwarth Walden was particularly useful in that regard. His gallery and his journal, *Der Sturm*, offered an ideal platform for the presentation of new esthetics. Thus, when Delaunay exhibited at Walden's, he sent abstract artworks accompanied with theoretical texts he did not publish in Paris. In Germany, and more generally in the international avant-gardes field, Delaunay wanted to be recognized as equal or even superior to Kandinsky and Picasso, whereas in France he was trying to appeal to the nationalist dispositions of the local press and collectors, hence the oscillation between his production and discourse on universalist abstraction and patriotic figuration.⁵⁴

Finally, the method we propose obliges us to reconsider the idea of the avant-gardes' autonomy. An analysis of the circulation of Surrealist artworks, for instance, puts in question the traditional narrative of Surrealism by highlighting its market and transnational support system, something that has not been the object of detailed scholarly research. As early as 1925, Surrealists were introduced to a wealthy, cosmopolitan elite whose prominent figures (including Charles and Marie Laure de Noailles and the network of the Ballets Russes) began to support them. In 1926, Serge Diaghilev commissioned

Max Ernst and Joan Miró for the decoration of his ballet *Romeo and Juliet*. By 1927, Surrealist paintings were regularly included in fashion magazines, from the catalogue of the Maison Dorine from Brussels in 1927 to that of the Maison Schiaparelli in 1936. The mundane and cosmopolitan success of Surrealist painting transformed Surrealism from an isolated, literary group into an international, artistic movement. The support of dealers interested in merchandising Surrealism, and the attraction that the Parisian Surrealist label represented for foreign artists in quest of recognition in their home country accelerated this internationalization. After 1934 a second period of internationalization started and was dominated by the international success of Dalí. Realizing the power of the international fashion networks, the Surrealists, in particular André Breton, organized international tours—something which would have been dismissed as a proof of heteronomy before 1930s. Those tours were prepared according to the latest marketing strategies. Examining the social and transnational circulations within Surrealism illuminates the inextricability between a movement, its theories, and the adoption of new practices of consumption and distinction in wealthy, cosmopolitan networks.

Conclusion: Towards a Geopolitics of Modernism

The geopolitical method is global in the sense that it offers an all-encompassing approach (“globalisante” in French) to the history of art, in contrast to more compartmentalized approaches which offer one-dimensional views of the art world and, despite their alleged geographical extension, do not take into account the phenomenon of artistic globalization. The geopolitical approach goes back and forth between different levels of analysis, between the local, the national, and the transnational, between the individual and the structural, between distant and close reading, etc. It is thus global in the sense of the Annales School legacy, especially in the ambitious project of a “total history” outlined by Fernand Braudel. We count, map, compare, and continuously shift the level of our analysis in order to escape local perspective and understand the process of internationalization, its agents, and the process of translation or even transformation that art underwent in different cultural contexts and traditions.

This approach might be specific to a given period and culture, namely the time that began in Western Europe when the Enlightenment and Romanticism reinvented the Judeo-Christian heritage to value the individual and its intrinsic worth;⁵⁵ a time also when technological innovations permitted the development of faster means of transportation and communication which led to always greater international exchanges and markets; but also at a time when the concept of national identities crystallized, resulting in two world wars and countless local conflicts. In other words, our method might be

specific to the modern industrial and postindustrial period and so may not become a model for World Studies of Art. But it offers a model to think of the dynamics at work in the modern art world and to write a different art history which takes into account every actor, place, and dimension of the art world. Such a story, we firmly believe, can lead to writing a global history of globalized art worlds.

This project of a global, total history of modernism needs to be a collective project. That is why we created ARTL@s, a project that gives scholars the means to apply a geopolitical approach through distant reading of serial data and cartographic techniques, and to study circulations collectively. ARTL@s is the outcome of an ambition to open art history to a more multidisciplinary approach, and to enable transnational studies. It is indeed essential to grant art historians access to (so-called peripheral) data that might otherwise be difficult to access (for example, Scandinavian, Eastern European, Latin American or African exhibition catalogues that are not available outside their countries of origin), and to allow them to study (even visualize) the data these catalogues contain, even if they cannot speak the languages in which they are written. This may permit art historians to discover that data *a priori* distant from their own objects of researches are in fact connected, thereby opening to them new transnational and global territories of inquiry. Finally, it is a result of the desire to see art historians collaborate, share, and exchange resources even if they do not meet personally and work in very different places on the globe. Because global art history should not just be about a global object of study; it should also be about a global way of working.⁵⁶

Notes

- 1 On the limited number of historians specializing in nineteenth- and twentieth-century art who are attempting to adopt a global approach, see Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Ce que l'approche mondiale fait à l'histoire de l'art," *Romantisme: La Mondialisation* 163 (March 2014).
- 2 For a detailed historiography of World History, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's contribution to the present volume.
- 3 For the purpose of this study, the term "Modernism" will describe an artistic tradition that began with nineteenth-century Realism and in which artistic innovation was valued for its own sake.
- 4 On this risk see James Elkins, "Can We Invent a World Art Studies?" in *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches*, ed. Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried Van Damme (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2008).
- 5 In particular, see Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1972); Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996). For art history, see Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Géopolitique des avant-gardes. Une histoire transnationale, 1848–1968*, 3 vols., Collection Folio Histoire (Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming).
- 6 Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, eds., *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand (XVIII et XIX^e siècles)* (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); Michel Espagne, *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).

- 7 Yves Lacoste, *La géographie ça sert d'abord à faire la guerre* (Paris: La Découverte, 1988); Yves Lacoste, *De la géopolitique aux paysages: Dictionnaire de la Géographie* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2003); Yves Lacoste, *Géopolitique: La longue histoire d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Larousse, 2006).
- 8 See, among others, Benedict R.O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006); Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales: Europe, XVIIIe–XXe siècle, L'univers historique* (Paris: Seuil, 1999); Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Michela Passini, *La fabrique de l'art national. Le nationalisme et les origines de l'histoire de l'art en France et en Allemagne, 1870–1933* (Paris: Edition de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2012).
- 9 Braudel, *The Mediterranean*.
- 10 Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*.
- 11 These maps can be found in Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Nul n'est prophète en son pays?" *L'internationalisation de la peinture avant-gardiste parisienne (1855–1914)* (Paris: Musée d'Orsay/Nicolas Chaudun, 2009); Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, *Géopolitique des avant-gardes. Une histoire transnationale, 1848–1918*, vol. 1, 1848–1918, Collection Folio Histoire (Paris: Gallimard, forthcoming), Annex.
- 12 Robert Jensen, *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-siècle Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Joyeux-Prunel, "Nul n'est prophète en son pays?".
- 13 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Jouer sur l'espace pour maîtriser le temps. La Géopolitique des Avant-gardes européennes (1900–1914)," *Espaces Temps.net* (December 2006), at <http://www.espacestems.net/document2118.html>; Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "L'art mobilier. La circulation de la peinture avant-gardiste et son rôle dans la géopolitique culturelle de l'Europe," in *Le temps des capitales culturelles XVIIIe–XXe siècles*, ed. Christophe Charle (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009); Joyeux-Prunel, "Nul n'est prophète en son pays?".
- 14 Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Apports, questions et limites de la prosopographie en histoire de l'art. L'exemple de l'élite moderniste européenne au tournant des XIXe–XXe siècles," in Bernadette Cabouret-Lauriou, ed., *La prosopographie au service des sciences sociales* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 2014), 339–57.
- 15 In reference to the work of the American painter John Singer Sargent (1856–1925).
- 16 Joyeux-Prunel, *Géopolitique des avant-gardes*.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Raymonde Moulin, *Le marché de la peinture en France* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1967), 451–525.
- 19 Julie Verlaïne, *Les galeries d'art contemporain à Paris: Une histoire culturelle du marché de l'art, 1944–1970* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013), 125. See also the comments of the Parisian dealers Moulin interviewed: Moulin, *Le marché*, 451–52.
- 20 Julie Verlaïne, "La tradition de l'avant-garde. Les galeries d'art contemporain à Paris, de la Libération à la fin des années 1960" (Doctorat d'histoire, Université Paris I, 2008), 652.
- 21 On these questions, see Catherine Dossin, "To Drip or to Pop? The European Triumph of American Art," *Art@s Bulletin* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 79–103.
- 22 In Spring 1964, Pontus Hulten, the director of the Moderna Museet of Stockholm, organized *Amerikansk Pop Kunst*, and Wim Beeren organized *Nieuwe Realisten* for the Haags Gemeentemuseum. On those events, see Catherine Dossin, "Pop Art, Nouveau Réalisme, etc. Comment Paris perdit le pouvoir de nommer les nouvelles tendances," in *Le nom de l'art*, ed. Vanessa Theodoropoulou and Katia Schneller (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013), 49–62.
- 23 For more information, see Catherine Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s: A Geopolitics of Western Art Worlds* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015).
- 24 *Op Losse Schroeven*, curated by Beeren, then curator of the Stedelijk Museum of Amsterdam, opened in March followed in September by Harald Szeemann's *When Attitudes Become Form*. Kynaston McShine's *Information* took place in New York City in the summer of 1970.
- 25 See Catherine Dossin, "Mapping the Reception of American Art in Postwar Western Europe," *Art@s Bulletin: For a Spatial History of Art and Literature* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2012): 33–39.

- 26 Catherine Dossin, "Pop begeistert: American Pop art and the German People," *American Art* 25, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 100–11.
- 27 "A Paris tout est totalement mort, ... C'est pour moi un fait certain que la nouvelle zone de culture est le Nord." Théo Van Doesburg, letter to Michel Seuphor, quoted in *Piet Mondrian* (Paris: Séguier, 1987), 127.
- 28 Note that the detour could be multiform: a distant field (Literary field), or a distant culture (such as the case of Paul Gauguin), or estrangement (with Vincent Van Gogh and his madness).
- 29 Guillaume Apollinaire, "Peinture espagnole moderne (*Les Arts*, July 6, 1914)," in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, ed. Pierre Caizergues and Michel Décaudin, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), 809–10.
- 30 René Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel: Self and Other in Literary Structure* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966).
- 31 If we consider the works that belonged to Peggy Guggenheim and were often presented in the early 1950s, we can see that a surrealist work such as *Circumcision* (142.3 × 168 cm; 1946) was bigger than the drip *Full Fathom Five* (129.2 × 76.5 cm; 1947). To take another example, *Bird of Paradise: Number 30* (1949) which was presented in Paris in 1951 as part of the exhibition *Véhémences confrontées* was rather small: 78.1 × 57.1 cm. The other work presented as this exhibition, *Number 8* (1950) was even smaller: 56 × 39 cm.
- 32 *Moon-Woman* had already been shown eight times before 1956.
- 33 Between 1948 and 1957, 52 percent of the Pollocks shown in Europe indeed came from her collections.
- 34 For more details on these questions including charts and maps, see Dossin, "To Drip or to Pop?."
- 35 Pierre Descargues, "Paris Pollock," *Lettres françaises*, 20 March 1952.
- 36 On the School of the Pacific and its importance in the French reception of American art, see Catherine Dossin, "A Fascination with the Pacific: The Reception of West Coast American Art in Postwar Paris," *Tsinghua Arts* (forthcoming in 2015).
- 37 Tapié was able to organize *Véhémences confrontées* in March 1951 at the Parisian gallery of Paul Fachechi, followed in March 1952 by a solo show of Pollock at the same gallery. The Pollocks were lent by the artist Alfonso Ossorio who lent three paintings from de Kooning's *Woman* series, Pollock's *Lavender Mist* (1950), *Number 30* (1949), and *Number 8* (1950). See Michael David Plante, "The 'Second Occupation': American Expatriate Painters and the Reception of American Art in Paris, 1946–1958" (PhD diss., Brown University, 1992), 305.
- 38 Although Jean-Paul Sartre never wrote on those artists, his ideas were ultimately more influential than Clement Greenberg's on the French original reception of American art.
- 39 Peter Paret, *Berlin Secession: Modernism and Its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Maria Martha Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn-of-the-Century Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- 40 See for instance Lieberman's introduction to the *Katalog der zweiten Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession* (Berlin: Cassirer, 1900), 13.
- 41 Translated from Gottfried Fliedl and Gustav Klimt, *Gustav Klimt: 1862–1918: die Welt in weiblicher Gestalt* (Cologne: Taschen, 1997), 62.
- 42 Joyeux-Prunel, "Jouer sur l'espace pour maîtriser le temps."
- 43 For more information on Kootz, see Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art*.
- 44 For more details, see Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "The Paris Avant-Gardes. 'A Prophet is not without Honor save in his own Country': A Cultural Transfer and its Cases of Mistaken Identity," in *Arts et sociétés*, 22 June 2006. URL: <http://www.artsetsocietes.org/a/a-jprunel.html>.
- 45 Karl Scheffler, *Henry Van de Velde* (Leipzig: Inseln-Verlag, 1913), 45–46.
- 46 Thierry De Duve, *Pictorial Nominalism on Marcel Duchamp's Passage from Painting to the Readymade* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
- 47 See William Camfield, "Marcel Duchamp's Fountain: Its History and Aesthetics in the Context of 1917," in *Dada/Surrealism* 16 (1987), 64–94; Clark S. Marlor, *The Society of Independent Artists, The Exhibition Record 1917–1944* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1984); and Thierry De Duve, *Résonances du ready-made Duchamp entre avant-garde et tradition* (Nîmes: J. Chambon, 1998), ch. 2.

- 48 Duchamp spoke German, which he learned at school, as did most French middle- and upper-class children. He spent several months in Germany where he had a correspondent. Consequently he could have known that "Ehre und Mut" had the same importance for the German elite as the formula "Blut und Boden" (Blood and Land). For more information on this phrase, see Otfried Ehrismann, *Ehre und Mut, Aventure und Minne: höfische Wortgeschichten aus dem Mittelalter* (Munich: Beck, 1995).
- 49 See James Timothy Voorhies, ed., *Dear Stieglitz: Letters Between Marsden Hartley and Alfred Stieglitz, 1912–1915* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002). See also Patricia McDonnell, ed., "Marsden Hartley's Letters to Franz Marc and Wassily Kandinsky 1913–1914," *Archives of American Art Journal* 29, no. 1/2 (1989): 35–44.
- 50 *Marcel Duchamp in München 1912* (Munich: Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 2012). See also Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, "Géopolitique des premiers ready-mades," *Revue de l'art* 85/2014-3: 27–33.
- 51 On this topic, see Werner's comments in Eve Mercier, "Daniel Templon, Michael Werner, l'art et la manière," *Le Journal des Arts*, October 1994: 46; Michael Werner, "Ich bin Kunsthändler und nicht Galerist," *Art*, May 1999, 66–71.
- 52 Michel Compton told Irving Sandler that during the selection of the Biennale de Paris in 1976, Gachnang had defended such a theory of provincialism. Irving Sandler, "Irving Sandler Papers" (Los Angeles: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities Special Collections and Visual Resources, 2000.M.43), 31, 22. A discussion of Gachnang's idea can be found in Dossin, *The Rise and Fall of American Art*.
- 53 See, for instance, Rudolf Herman Fuchs, *Markus Lüpertz Painting* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1997).
- 54 More generally, see Joyeux-Prunel, "Nul n'est prophète en son pays?".
- 55 While we assume the fact that our approach is chiefly concerned with a cultural zone traditionally described as Judeo-Christian and an international art market which was mostly "Western," we firmly believe that the West was never disconnected from the rest of the world, so much so that Western art should not be considered in isolation.
- 56 For more information on the ARTL@S project see Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, and Sorin A. Matei, "Spatial (Digital) History: A Total History? The ARTL@S Project," *Visual Resources: Digital Art History Special Issue* (Spring 2013): 47–58. Also see the website of the project: www.artlas.ens.fr.

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AFTERWORD

James Elkins

Circulations is an admirable and useful book, and I am grateful to Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel and Catherine Dossin for the invitation to write this Afterword. In the crowded field of writing on world art history, this book and the ARTL@s project stand out: both are full of cogent positions and new possibilities for research.

Before I begin I want to note the openness of the ARTL@s initiative. Discussions of world art history have tended to go in one of two equally unproductive directions. On the one hand, the principal writers on the subject are mostly friends or acquaintances, and so they tend not to write serious critiques of one another's work. On the other hand, this is a subject infused with nationalism and identity and entangled with art history's deepest purposes, so it sometimes provokes strong polemics. Given these two somewhat unhelpful alternates, I want to especially acknowledge Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's impeccably collegial manner, both in person and in print.

I have in mind a series of discrete topics, but I would like to begin by considering this book's fundamental themes. Chapter 1 raises the question of universal art history, and this book's final chapter justifies the interest in maps and quantitative information that are common both to *Circulations* and the ARTL@s project.

On the Possibility of Universal Histories, of Global Histories, of Transnational History, of World Art Histories

I very much appreciate Kaufmann's efforts to frame a "global art history," one that uses geographical data, not for "final answers," but to study questions of "cultural exchange, transfer, and assimilation." The book *Art and Globalization*, which I edited with the Bulgarian scholar Zhivka Valiavicharska,

is substantially richer because of Kaufmann's contribution: in 2007, when I organized the event that led up to that book, I was aware of the turn toward a kind of presentism in global art studies, which held that ours is the first truly global age, and that the global art market and the trailing academic institutions of art history, theory, and criticism have effectively no precedents. It was important, at that event, to have Kaufmann's perspective to counterbalance the rising presentism, because he rightly insists on globalizing moments before modernism, and on art's long-standing dependence on "trade, market, and conquest." (Historians should always be wary of claims that our present culture is unique: it is one of the most tempting sorts of ahistoricism.)

It is salutary for theorists of the global spread of art and art history to be reminded of "the connection of all parts of the globe c. 1500." Only a few other art historians—David Summers comes to mind, and Martin Powers—research these earlier moments of global trade, and it would be a pity if the discipline mistook their efforts for the universalizing Eurocentric tendencies of some nineteenth-century German histories of art. The field of Geography (especially in the UK) and the study of culture and geography have come a long way even since Clarence Glacken; and when the concept of geography is understood as capaciously as Kaufmann does, it can be a good model for a global art history.

I am also grateful for his contribution to this book's Introduction, which is a synoptic view of attempts at global histories, beginning in the nineteenth century and including several scholars directly or indirectly involved in this project, including Charle, Gruzinski, and Subrahmanyam. (I leave it to others to assess how closely the history presented in the Introduction approaches or represents what happens in this book, but these are early days for ARTL@s, and their focus will no doubt shift.)

So I am in broad agreement with things Kaufmann says especially about the period from the Renaissance to the later nineteenth century, and I have only two reservations about his approach. One has to do with modernism, and the other with the academic community.

I will come back to modernism. To get at what I think needs to be said about the academic community, let me skip ahead and quote from this book's final chapter, by the editors Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel and Catherine Dossin. They open their chapter by noting that attempts to include the world outside North America and Europe usually involve grafting ostensibly unfamiliar material onto the usual Western narratives. "Far from resulting in a global, or all-encompassing, history of the period, such an approach ends up merely Westernizing World art history," they write.

How can this pitfall be avoided? How can we think of the history of art in a truly global perspective? The study of transnational circulations and exchanges provides, we contend, a point of departure for a different global art history.

This is *Circulations'* most basic question, and its proposed answer. In the Introduction, Kaufmann, Joyeux-Prunel, and Dossin, writing together, propose a similar formulation: their purpose, they say, is "to write a global history of art for a globalized world" by "following the transnational circulations of artists, artworks, and styles."

Let me try to perform my duty as the writer of an Afterword, and step back a little from the editors' answer. Let us say you are an interested, but perhaps unconvinced, reader. Perhaps you are coming to this material from a very different vantage point; perhaps you have not been reading the literature that is cited in this book. And let me leave to one side, for the moment, the potential obstacle of that expression "transnational perspective," which for some readers will make the question itself hard to answer. For some historians, "global art history," "universal art history," or "transnational perspectives" are themselves so suspect that the discussion might be difficult to follow even before it has gotten underway.

What I would like to do, then, is imagine some other possible answers to the question "How can we think the history of art in a truly transnational perspective?" I can think of at least ten ways that question could be answered. I have deliberately scrambled them here, putting Joyeux-Prunel and Dossin's answer into the mix.

For some people, a global or transnational perspective would require a fundamental critique of the forms of modernist narrative; for others, it would mean abandoning or suspending the esthetic interests of art history in favor of socio-economic criteria; for others, an acknowledgment that the vehicle of any universal art history will itself be Western; for others, a genuinely global approach will require a turn in favor of scientific or evolutionary criteria; for others, it will entail a geopolitical study of circulations and exchanges; for others, it will mean a move in the direction of visual cultures in general, outside of fine art; for others, a transnational perspective might be made possible by rethinking the basic phenomenological terms of human experience in the world; and for still others, it will mean a re-grounding of the fundamental terms of anthropology.

You will recognize the position of *Circulations* in this list. To be even more inclusive, I should say that for some scholars, the idea of a global art history, or a "transnational perspective" is ideologically dubious because it depends on the assumption that cultures are commensurate and translatable one into the other; and for yet others, the idea of global art history is epistemologically or historiographically naïve because it requires cultures to share senses of time and space. Here is the full list, with names assigned to each of the ten positions:

1. A global or transnational perspective would require a fundamental critique of the forms of modernist narrative: this is my own position.

2. It would require abandoning or suspending the esthetic interests of art history in favor of socio-economic criteria: this is what is proposed, in effect, by post-colonial, subaltern, and area studies that concentrate on socio-economic criteria rather than esthetic or value criteria.
3. A global or transnational perspective would require acknowledging that the vehicle of any universal art history will itself be Western: this is also a position I have taken.
4. It would require a turn in favor of scientific or evolutionary criteria: this is John Onians's position, and in some respects it is shared by David Freedberg, Ladislav Kesner, and others.
5. A global or transnational perspective would require a geopolitical study of circulations and exchanges: this is the experiment that is elaborated in this book, and by the ARTL@s project.
6. It would necessitate a move in the direction of visual cultures in general, outside of fine art: this is exemplified by visual culture studies, as in the work of Nicholas Mirzoeff.
7. It would mean rethinking the basic phenomenological terms of human experience in the world: this is a way of describing what David Summers has done in *Real Spaces*.
8. It would entail re-grounding the fundamental terms of anthropology: this is Hans Belting's project in *Bild-Anthropologie*.
9. It would mean resisting a "transnational perspective" or a global art history because of a conviction that cultures are commensurate and translatable one into the other: this is the position Kaufmann associates with Michael Ann Holly.
10. It should be resisted, because a "transnational perspective" or a global art history requires cultures to share senses of time and space: this is the position Kaufmann identifies with Keith Moxey's recent work.

At this moment, in this Afterword, I do not want to start describing, defending, critiquing, or adjudicating any of these ten positions. I only want to make a simple point about academic communities. Kaufmann's position is strong and clear, but as it is stated it may risk alienating a fair percentage of people currently at work in the field. (I can imagine some who may have stopped reading back at the question "How can we think the history of art in a truly transnational perspective?") Kaufmann's chapter only mentions three of the ten positions I have listed here, and he does so just to exclude them as serious objections. Again I want to be clear that this is not a criticism of Kaufmann's position, but an observation about the larger

academic community and the place of this book, and ARTL@s, within it. For the purposes of further international conversation, I think it might be good to leave as many doors open as possible.

Let me speak first to the widest, or most radical, sort of misgiving that might be held about this project. The opening pages of Kaufmann's analysis, and the editors' closing chapter, already presuppose that the project of a global art history is a good one. Their question is how to do it well, not whether it should be done at all. Like Jim Cahill in the field of Chinese art, Kaufmann hears the call of the larger themes, the deeper history, and what Panofsky called the "megaperiods" of art history. But for many scholars who are interested in world or global art history, such an ambition is problematic from the beginning, and what needs to be done is something more on the order of a critique of the ambition itself, coupled with a search for new strategies of historical writing. Whitney Davis's work on David Summers, most of which is forthcoming, strikes a balance between admiration for Summers's book and awareness of what Davis thinks of as the Kantian foundations of art history's universalizing interests. My own reaction to Summers's book was balanced differently: I was mainly concerned with what remained Western in his approach, principally his belief that Latin and Greek etymological roots are sufficiently capacious to describe all the world's production of art. Again, I do not mean to represent these themes adequately in this context: I only want to suggest that even writers sympathetic with the project of "putting the world in a book," as John Onians once put it (in the Clark Art Institute conference that led to his book *Compression and Expansion*) tend to be wary of proposing a communal effort in which "we" (to use the inclusive pronoun Kaufmann favors) "start to think about how to write such a huge history."

For many, then, the ambition itself may need framing, and some writers on the worldwide spread of art history might feel themselves excluded by the way Kaufmann sets up his project. It is possible to agree that

some of the arguments for what is now called multiculturalism, among them the thesis that points of view may depend on the cultures of the authors from which they come, should in any event also not negate the possibility of searching for common threads in what used to be called reality (and humanity) ...

but at the same time be sympathetic to what scholars like Keith Moxey and Michael Ann Holly are doing. I am not sure that readers who agree with what Moxey has attempted in the book *Visual Time*—and I am one of them—will see his project as a misreading of Kubler, or think his position on time is effectively answered by Jörn Rüsen. Michael Holly's new work, which Kaufmann takes as an example of the doctrine of cultural incommensurability, is similar in that the interest in incommensurability (setting aside for a moment the claims she makes, or implies) is, I think, more widely held than the interest in universality.

I imagine a number of readers of this book will acknowledge that

while many critics in the Humanities may take such ideas as multiculturalism, incommensurability, or heterochronicity as pointing to a necessarily fragmented picture of knowledge or reality that seems impossible to make whole, and regard such issues as presenting irresolvable conundrums, scholars in other intellectual fields of inquiry are actively searching for solutions in a common ground and in common theoretical bases

but such readers might at the same time wonder if Kaufmann's critique of Moxey, Holly, and others, on the specific points of incommensurability and heterochronicity (and with the support of Rüsen, Gombrich, Popper, and Kubler) are helpful or persuasive.

(The College Art Association meeting to which Kaufmann refers when he discusses Michael Holly was an interesting forum—I was also there—but calls from the audience that “principles used to study art history [are] valid anywhere” are in my experience a common response when historians who feel disenfranchised speak to those who are considered central. Assertions that time is effectively universal, and that cultural discontinuities can be overlooked, are sometimes based more on political and economic self-interest than on consideration of the philosophic issues.)

These issues of the scholarly community are difficult to get right, because they depend on shifting positions. I could have expanded my list of ten positions to fifteen or twenty; I did not mention Terry Smith, Timotheus Vermeulen, T.J. Demos, Susan Buck-Morss, David Carrier, John Clark, Julian Stallabrass, Andreas Huyssen, Kitty Zijlmans, or dozens of others whose perspectives differ from the ones I listed. My principal worry is that the positions articulated in this project will be perceived as outliers, outside some conversations on cultural difference in art history. I hope these opening pages might convince such readers to give this book a second try, because it has—aside from the veracity of its claims—the rare virtue of conceptual clarity.

Special Problems of Modernism

Modernism is the second subject I want to raise in relation to Kaufmann's chapter. At the ARTL@S conference in Purdue in 2012, Kaufmann gave an extensive lecture focused on my own positions, which remains unpublished. I found I did not disagree with any of his observations on cultural exchange and the possibilities of global art histories until he reached the subject and period of modernism. For me, the particular claims made by modernists in the first half of the twentieth century make it difficult to study modernism as a decentered phenomenon of many interconnected circulations. That is so, I think, because modernism involved universalizing claims that tend to preclude the study

of provincial, belated, or even simultaneous modernisms outside the central narrative. Pollock, for example, considered his work in relation to painting in general, and many modernists, from Paraguay to Uzbekistan, spoke and wrote the same way. In one sense it is true that modernism had many streams that moved at different speeds; in another sense that way of picturing modernism does a necessary disservice to what the artists hoped and imagined they were doing. I consider this to be a profound problem, and one that is specific to modernism. It cannot be solved, I think, by paying increasingly close attention to local contexts, because the very terms that modernists set themselves prohibit accounts that picture local situations as being different but equal. The book *Art Since 1900*, which is becoming the de facto textbook for twentieth-century art around the world (it is currently being translated into Farsi) does not exclude Eastern European, South American, and Asian modernisms just because its authors are uninterested (although that may also be the case): it excludes them because the generative modernist values of the avant-garde, innovation, difficulty, and complexity make it structurally impossible to present multiple narratives as having equal interest.

To a large degree this problem is invisible in the current literature, for at least two reasons: because there are so many studies of local art practices around the world that it can appear as if the years from c. 1905 to the advent of postmodernism are in fact adequately understood as a series of different but comparable contexts; and because theories of different temporalities (represented in the book *Art and Globalization* by Harry Harootunian), heterochronicities, and multiple modernisms have made it seem as if the “master narratives” of modernism have been effectively deconstructed.

This argument requires more space than I have here. It is made, for example, in the Afterword to *Art and Globalization*. Essentially, I agree with the scholar of Pakistani modernism Iftikhar Dadi that the twentieth century presents two faces: the modernist period, which remains obdurate to globalizing initiatives, and the postmodern or international period, including contemporary art, which can be productively studied on a global scale. It is only the period of modernism that presents the particular problem I have tried to sketch here.

My Own Position

It may be helpful here to make an equally condensed account of my own position on these issues, so that it does not seem that I have some mysterious perspective outside the universe of academic disputes.

My ideas regarding heterochronicity, incommensurability, historicism, and universality are more radical than Moxey's or Kaufmann's in the sense that I find that theorizing on these issues, whether it seeks to limit incommensurability, contextualism, and relativism, or whether it is interested in exploring the

limits of universal histories, remains culturally contextualized—"Western"—in certain crucial ways. Arguments for or against global art histories or transnational perspectives are presented in art historical contexts that are only comprehensible and potentially persuasive to people who are already well within what I prefer to call North Atlantic art history. (This is the title of my own contribution to this subject, which has the working title *North Atlantic Art History and Its Alternatives*.)

This is my main point of divergence from the project outlined in this book. In the Introduction the editors note that the "universal or global approach has been accused of representing a culturally determined, hence political, prejudice, determined by its unconscious geopolitical orientation." That is true, but from my perspective the qualifying clause ("determined by its unconscious geopolitical orientation") is not right: the reason attempts at global art histories have been identified with specific politics and cultural contexts is not because of unconscious proclivities, but because they are written by scholars who are familiar with the protocols, narratives, forms of argument, modes of citation, standards of evidence, historiographic precedents, publication standards, conference etiquette, uses of theory, sense of neighboring disciplines, range of references, current interpretive methods, principal scholars, and modes of employment and advancement, of what I call North Atlantic art history. The problem is more pervasive than a hidden ideology; it is more insidious than unconscious. This is why I do not think, as the editors go on to say, that "study of circulations allows for an escape from the Western ... limitations of art historical questions, methods, and institutions." From their rhetoric to their references, from their publishers to their readers, from their concepts to their modes of argument, texts for and against global art histories are parts of a geographically and economically small part of the world. This is not to say that there are no audiences for international conversations on art history all around the world: but the conditions under which these arguments seem plausible, compelling, or necessary are themselves not global.

On the one hand this means I do not often feel I have a stake in these conversations, because from my perspective texts like this book, or the others I have mentioned, are specific to their European and North American origins. On the other hand it means I seek out art historical contexts that are wider than some that Kaufmann, Moxey, and others find rewarding. For example in summer 2013 I was in Uganda, at Makerere University in Kampala, talking to art historians whose sense of the field puts them well outside these discussions. One historian was telling me about his interest in "serious difficult books," sparked by *The Da Vinci Code* and augmented by a reading—I think online—of something of Umberto Eco's. What is art history in contexts like those? I imagine after a year or two of reading, that particular scholar could join the discussions in this book, but from my point of view that would mean he would also have taken on board any number—really, an uncountable number—of

assumptions about art history as it is practised in the North Atlantic. I am interested in contexts like that, and others less severely disconnected, because they also count, in their nations and institutions, as art history.

Hence I tend to listen to discussions like the ones I have been listing without taking sides. I am more interested in the ways that globalism, universalism, and the local are spoken about than I am in advocating or critiquing any given sense of incommensurability, relativism, or historicism. World art history is a complex and quickly evolving subject, and for me it is more than enough to try to understand how we talk and what we hope to claim, even before we begin writing new historical accounts. I will give just one example here, because it is pertinent to the central project of thinking outside “Western limitations.” China is important in discussions of global art history and cultural circulations, not because of its growing economic influence but because it is the site of the world’s oldest continuously practised, historiographically self-aware tradition of writing on art. Regarding China, Kaufmann writes:

World art histories in fact have recently been published outside of Europe or North America. These latter have been shaped evidently without the Eurocentric (or even culturally centric) biases that Elkins claims must be inherent even in Chinese historiography. However, Chinese world art histories do not focus on European art history, but include volumes devoted to East and South Asian countries, as well as African and Latin American countries. In addition, they give broader coverage to Europe (in their attention to central and eastern Europe including Russia) than most European or American books do. These books apparently also consider China as a multicultural country composed of many ethnicities, with a greatly diverse art, resulting from the exchanges and mutual influences between regions and groups—not at all the uniform model of Chinese art, nor one recapitulating “Western” historiographic biases. Certainly the Chinese from their supposedly vastly different cultural perspective do not regard art history as incommensurable in different “cultures”. Recent initiatives to establish world art history in Taiwan and Beijing, and by Chinese scholars with institutes around Florence, suggest rather the opposite.

For several years now I have been working on a list of Chinese art history texts, and another of art history books translated from all languages into Chinese. The Chinese world art histories Kaufmann mentions are only “Chinese” in the sense that they are produced in China: actually the more conservative strands of Chinese art historical textbook production are heavily influenced by Soviet histories of art, and more recent textbooks have been directly influenced by Gombrich and by a number of European and North American models, including Helen Gardner’s textbook, which is the world’s market share leader in textbooks, ahead of Janson’s *History of Art*.

The list of art history books translated into Chinese shows how North Atlantic senses of art history have infused Chinese practice. The last sentence in the paragraph I have quoted is supported by a footnote, in which Kaufmann observes that many Chinese scholars have visited Princeton to discuss topics

in art history, including world art history. It is certainly true that in China, the majority of art historians, critics, and theorists are interested in North Atlantic models of art history: but that is not evidence that “the Chinese” way of understanding art is commensurate with sense of art history as it is practised in North America: it shows, rather, the thoroughgoing dissemination of European and North American models of art history into the Chinese academic system. In China there are a number of attempts to return to older, allegedly more purely Chinese ways of writing and thinking about art—including the manner of Zhang Yanyuan, a ninth-century historian of painting—but those attempts have so far not produced work that can be recognized as art history, or (in the test I think is most pertinent) that can result in jobs in art history departments outside of China.

Circulations is an apposite term for what is currently happening in China, as some scholars try to emulate North Atlantic styles of art history, while others work at creating hybrids, and still others try to reinvigorate older Chinese concepts and older Chinese ways of writing art history (which are very different from current forms of art history, in China or in the West). But there are many discussions of incommensurability, and the Chinese world art textbooks are perhaps best understood as attempts at emulation, rather than contributions to these themes.

The claim about “Chinese historiography” Kaufmann attributes to me here does not represent the argument in the book he cites, which is *Chinese Landscape Painting as Western Art History*. That book is an attempt to make a general claim, which I hope is true of other cultures, by means of an extended example—in this case the tradition of Western writing on the subject of Chinese landscape painting. I had the idea that if I wrote at length and in detail about one cultural context, I might be able to make a more forceful argument, by implication, regarding other cultural encounters. It strikes me now that was probably not a wise strategy, because the book’s readers have mainly been Chinese specialists. At any rate the argument in the book, and the only one of my positions that I want to articulate here, is that the subject, “Chinese landscape painting” only appears in art history—anyone’s art history—as a Western construct. The reason is the infusion of European and North American art historical methods, concepts, interpretive agendas, scholarly protocols, and disciplinary concerns, into art historical writing in China. Beginning in the 1920s, European art historians began the work of interpreting Chinese landscape painting, and even though many of the findings of the first generations of scholars—the earliest ones were German, Scandinavian, and English—have been superseded, the accounts they built remain the scaffolding for current scholarship. My book ends this way: “The cardinal overconfidence of some recent writing, both in Chinese studies and in art history as a whole, is that self-reflexivity, critical analysis, and the turn to new subjects will yield an effectively new narrative, shorn of Western

perspectives. I doubt it." This is how I would develop the third point on the list of ten positions, which is acknowledging that the vehicle of any universal art history will itself be Western. This matters because the models of art history are so pervasive in our ways of writing, thinking, and speaking, that they can prevent us from noticing how our supposedly trenchant critiques actually leave the enormous apparatus of art history effectively untouched. We produce North Atlantic-style discourse with moments of self-correction, and we find it difficult to recognize or value writing that comes from outside our criteria, our habits, and our practices.

Kaufmann only cites my book in passing, and this example of Chinese art histories is only incidental to his larger argument, but I mention these points because the book *Chinese Landscape Painting as Western Art History* contains arguments that are pertinent to the questions he is pursuing. But now I want to return to *Circulations* and other people's perspectives.

What Limits Might There Be to the Idea of Circulations?

As in any new project, it is useful to ask about the leading concepts, to see what work they do, and what potential limitations each might have. The remainder of my comments are on specific concepts, in no particular order.

Perhaps the most direct application of the concept of "circulations," this book's leading trope, is Michele Greet's chapter, and especially her observation that "demographics and mapped evidence of physical presence can start to challenge the canonical stories of art history." This certainly happens in her project, although the results she reports also work to question her own project, as in the wonderful example of the critic Raymond Cogniat, who "decided to claim Picabia as a Latin American artist" despite Picabia's own description of his transnationalism, and despite his long-term residence in Paris. As Greet asks, "in the project of mapping whose voice to do we listen to, that of the artist or the critic?" Projects that involve mapping produce results that not only question the status quo in art history, but question the mapmaker herself, her intentions, and her concepts. For several contributors, "circulations" refers primarily to the decentering of hierarchies, and to the possibilities of studying reciprocal relations between centers: but it may be that the most promising sort of circulation in this book is the one in which the mapmaker sees that her map suggests different starting places for the next inquiry. There is an external circulation among artistic centers, and there is an internal one between the scholar's assumptions and her unexpected results.

Circulations, as a concept, are also elaborated in Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel and Catherine Dossin's chapter. They discuss "distant" and "close" kinds of circulation, drawing on Braudel and Foucault, respectively. One possible

limit of the concept of circulation emerges early in their chapter, when they write that “Such a comprehensive approach provides the foundations for a global history of modern art that is circulatory and inclusive, instead of hierarchical and exclusive.” I wonder if it might be prudent not to assume that the circulatory necessarily vitiates the hierarchical. The hierarchical may well be too deeply entangled in the enterprise of art history, and in specific artistic contexts, to be uprooted by studies of circulation, which can end up being epiphenomenal in relation to ideas such as “center” and “periphery.” A note of caution here might also be sounded by some philosophic relatives to circulation: I think, for example, of Merleau-Ponty’s mutual touches, and Deleuze’s “rhizomes”: neither one is entirely non-hierarchical. Rhizomes, for instance, are rarely just tangles of hyphae without direction or order. Normally they have centers and directions: literally speaking, rhizomes are attached to roots, and therefore to trees. In aerodynamics and atmospheric science, too, vortices and other circulations have measurable axes, directions, and velocities. I mention these examples just to suggest that circulations may themselves have “centers” and “peripheries.” But even where they are effectively anti-hierarchical, it is not necessarily the case that discovering them will allow historians to “escape the hierarchization and exclusion that underlies the narrative of modern art.”

Joyeux-Prunel and Dossin’s chapter is full of richly detailed findings. Centers of artistic activity in Europe are re-evaluated: Brussels, for example, “became a major center of exhibitions in the 1880s, hence a major actor in the circulation of modern painting.” There is a great deal of material here for future work, and I think both scholars deserve congratulations for having gathered so much new information. My reservation here is contingent, because I have no objection to the data: I am interested, as I think they are, in what happens next. At one point they write:

A network analysis of the commonly reproduced artists and of the contributors writing in those modernist magazines shows that in 1925–26 Paris was not the main center of interest and polemics. Whereas the official story of Modernism claims that Parisian Surrealism imposed itself as the new avant-garde of the time, it was in fact isolated and quite at odds with a mostly constructivist *Europe des avant-gardes*.

But notice this leaves the master narrative untouched: I can imagine Hal Foster, or Benjamin Buchloh, reading this and thinking: well, it may be statistically true that Parisian Surrealism was not central until “the rise of European fascisms and the consequent emigration of German and Central European artists to Paris,” but conceptually and artistically—and therefore historically—what mattered was happening in Paris.

There is a lot of information in this chapter about the European role in disseminating American postwar art:

The first museum exhibitions which introduced American Pop art in Europe were organized in 1964 by European curators who had discovered the new American art at the Parisian gallery of Ileana Sonnabend. In the case of American Postminimal and Conceptual art the involvement of Europeans was even greater since the movement was, for the most part, introduced in Europe by Europeans, mostly Germans, who, like Kasper Koenig, Paul Maenz and Piero Gilardi, had been to the US and discovered artists whom they brought to the attention of European dealers, curators, and collectors.

The challenge, I think, is in knowing what kinds of conclusions are appropriate. The provisional conclusion the authors offer here—that these results highlight “the importance of the so-called peripheries” and especially German dealers, collectors, and writers—is true, but it is only part of what this kind of information might do in, or to, art history. I think results like these are potentially more subversive than a geographical and political rearrangement.

First, they raise the issue of the art’s own intrinsic properties. Quantitative sociological data like this always opens the question of value. American art of these decades spread in Continental Europe because “writers, dealers, and collectors” took an interest in it. But why did they take an interest? I can imagine a number of research papers devoted to that question; I can also picture that they would answer it in the ways Piotrowski, Charle, or Guile do, by specifying the constructions of national and regional identity that drove the dealers’ and writers’ interests. But would that be the end of the story? I can imagine modernists like Michael Fried or Rosalind Krauss reading this and thinking, well, that short-circuits the art’s own properties and qualities, in favor of a study of ideas people have had about the art. Art with interesting or compelling properties eventually traveled, and that is what matters. Or, outside of modernist art history, I can imagine Tim Clark or Karl Werckmeister reading this (I am naming two people who have sometimes been antagonists, just to conjure a wide range of socially committed art historians) and thinking, well, this opens new opportunities to think about moments of reception, but it is only half the story. If the reception of Pop art and other postwar American movements at a given moment depended on “a European take,” then what was that take? How exactly did the German dealers rethink postwar American art?

This is all by way of saying that demonstrating these unnoticed circulations, new patterns, new maps, unexpected centers, and altered dates, may not in itself “decenter” art historical explanations. It is not the identification of circulations that does the work here: the work that is required is interpretive and, as the authors know, much remains to be done.

There are moments, for example, when Joyeux-Prunel and Dossin could pursue the kinds of doubt that Greet mentions in the case of Picabia. “Prosopography,” they write, “moves art historical discussion beyond rehashed questions of influence, like between Fauvism and Die Brücke for

instance.” As in any mapping or statistical study, the scholar has to first know what her categories and subjects are: the groups, practices, and categories have to be generated in advance in order to gather data. The results might then suggest a revision in those same groups, practices, and categories. I can imagine, for example, that a second generation of scholars, whose starting point is the maps generated in these projects, might have a good chance at undermining the “hierarchies” of traditional accounts.

The second half of this chapter changes direction, and presents several more detailed case studies, on Duchamp’s *Fountain* and on Surrealism. I want to make two brief comments on those sections that bear on the question of scholarly communities, especially Anglo-American ones. The authors approach socio-economic studies of art when they note that not all modernist movements are to be explained by recourse to esthetics:

The Secessions in Berlin and Munich reflected less an esthetical agenda than a rejection of cultural provincialism and conservatism of the local salons. Inviting foreign (mostly Parisian) artists was a way to foster artistic quality among their members, as painter Max Liebermann stressed in the press of the time.

This is the socio-economic kind of study that is compatible not only with sociologically oriented history and sociology, as in Braudel and Bourdieu, but with Anglo-American social art history, post-colonial theory, and area studies. The difficulty that such studies encounter is that, sooner or later, it becomes necessary to say why the historian has chosen a particular subject. Why study German impressionism at the turn of the century? Why not equally study the effects of nationalism and vanguardism on carpets, lighting fixtures, stationery, or styles of hedges?

Another Anglo-American discourse the authors approach is Marxist social art history as it is practised for example in the UK. Toward the end of the chapter they mention social contexts:

As far as the artist is concerned, the geopolitical, circulatory approach challenges the image of the isolated genius, engrossed in a world of painting, or in supposedly formal and esthetical considerations. Instead of being “stupid as a painter,” as the saying goes, the artists emerge as political individuals who reflect on the artistic, social, and geopolitical situation of their times not only to meet the expectations of their different audiences, but also to comment on those situations in their works, and deconstruct them.

And they mention Duchamp and Surrealism as being in particular need of this kind of work:

Finally the method we propose obliges us to reconsider the idea of the avant-gardes’ autonomy. An analysis of the circulation of Surrealist artworks, for instance, puts in question the traditional narrative of Surrealism by highlighting its market and transnational support system, something that has not been the object of detailed scholarly research.

Here, for the only time in this Afterword, I have to speak for Anglophone scholarship in particular and say that for some North American and UK scholars, this kind of claim may seem implausible. On Surrealism, for example, there is David Hopkins's *Dada and Surrealism: A Very Short Introduction*, T.J. Demos's *The Exiles of Marcel Duchamp*, his "Circulations: In and Around Zurich Dada," in *October* 105 (2003), and his contribution to the book *Dada Seminars*; Keith Eggenger's "'An Amusing Lack of Logic': Surrealism and Popular Entertainment," in *American Art* 1993 (on the creation of a US market for Surrealism); Leah Dickerman's 2006 *Dada* exhibition catalogue, and work by Dawn Ades. (I thank my colleague Annie Bourneuf for these citations.) I do not mean to give a list of missing references: I mean that these last few pages in Joyeux-Prunel and Dossin's discussion may well read, to a North American or UK art historian, as a turning of this project from promising quantitative mapping and statistical revisions to a kind of comprehensive and inclusive "geopolitical" art history that promises to deliver what the North American or UK reader may feel has already been done in Anglophone scholarship. The "isolated genius" who works on "formal or esthetical considerations" may sound, to such a reader, like a caricature of an older art history, not a problem in need of addressing.

(I hesitated writing this part of my analysis, because I do not want to imply that *Circulations* is in any crucial sense Francophone: it is genuinely and very refreshingly international. But different regions of the world have different art histories, and conversations with North American and other Anglophone scholars are more likely to get started based on the first half of their chapter.)

One other chapter in this book is equally important when it comes to the concept of circulation. Michel Espagne's contribution is mainly focused on the possibility of considering the historiography of art history as an example of cultural circulation. "It is interesting," he writes, "to re-read the historiography of art from the standpoint of the accent placed on exchanges." This seems reasonable and interesting as an expansion of the study of the circulation of artworks, artists, materials, and methods. Espagne reviews the claims of Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, Franz Kugler, Carl Schnaase, Wilhelm Vöge, Julius Meier-Graefe, and a dozen more from this vantage, stressing the cultural circulations they promoted or suppressed. I can see the interest of claiming the historiography of art "is already in itself a phenomenon of cultural transfer," because it might be a way of avoiding the obviously nationalist motivations of many nineteenth-century historiographers (a purpose admirably brought out by Hans Belting in *The Germans and Their Art*). At the moment this is more a hypothesis than a developed reading: it would be necessary to expand this approach, showing how nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography of art can be adequately re-read as a history of proposed circulations.

These comments refer to the bulk of Espagne's essay. I am less convinced by the beginning. He opens with some strong assertions regarding what Kaufmann calls "incommensurability":

The Amerindian masks or African statues that we happily describe as Indian or African art do not have the same function in their original context as the sculptures exhibited in European museums. Were Rodin and Praxiteles really committed to the same activity that we designate as the art of sculpture?

This is close to the claims I listed as numbers 3 and 9. "But," he concludes, "if definitions and thus functional values are different, the circulation of artworks, their integration into common discourses on the development of forms, necessarily disturb the accepted partitions." To me this reasoning seems incomplete. Can the relativism, or incommensurability, of different cultures really be "disturbed" by turning attention to circulation of artworks? It seems rather that a study of circulation might postpone questions of incommensurability or relativism, leaving them undisturbed in favor of other problems and questions. Nor am I entirely sure how this applies to historiography, which does not usually involve relativisms or incommensurable understandings of art's contexts or functions: rather historiography involves incommensurable claims about priority and significance. Can they be "disturbed" by focusing on circulation? I look forward to seeing how this line of inquiry might develop.

Another chapter that develops the concept of circulation is Monica Juneja's study of "modern Eurasia." She places the concept of circulation in the wider compass of the move away from "linguistic and territorial boundaries"; "the notion of circulation which forms the organizing principle of this collection," she writes, "can be viewed as one more avatar of the move to critique the notion of localized, bounded cultures." This is an interesting opening move, especially because she then notes that the term "circulation" has been in circulation in Southeast Asian studies for a decade, at least since the book *Society and Circulation. Mobile People and Itinerant Cultures in South Asia 1750–1950* (2003). Her next sentences, I think, are exemplary. She mentions Appadurai's interest in "a world with dissolving boundaries, marked by global flows," Gruzinski's development of *métissage*, and "similarly connoted terms such as hybridity and creolization," and then she notes that even "hybridity," perhaps the most-used of these, summons "'pure' cultures which then somehow blend or merge into a 'hybrid' that is treated as a state beyond enunciation or articulation." Circulation, she says, is "an important entry point," but more is needed.

It is always interesting to read a critique of a book in the book itself, and here she recommends "precise language to theorize the morphology of the many possible relationalities that are engendered by mobility and encounter," and a descent "into the thicket of localities." Her preferred term

is "transculturation," first used by Fernando Ortiz in *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar* (originally published in 1940) and more recently by cultural theorists including Finbarr Barry Flood. For Juneja transculturation means giving up even implicit starting points of the kind implied by "hybridity." "Historical units and boundaries cannot be taken as given," she writes. Concepts like nation and place cannot be given "mechanically following the territorial-cum-political logic of modern nation states." Rather they "have to be constituted as a subject of investigation, as products of spatial and cultural displacements," so that they "are continually defined as participants in and as contingent upon the historical relationships in which they are implicated." Space and time become "non-linear and non-homogenous."

It is not entirely clear to me how she moves from this formulation, which implies that an attention to the "thicket of localities" can meliorate or adjust the stabilities and given terms in studies that employ concepts such as circulation or hybridity, into her central claim, which is "vision itself needs to be a subject of historical investigation rather than assuming it to be a factor common to human societies." Just before Juneja introduces that claim, she proposes a spectrum of approaches from "the view which considers ways of seeing as constituting a human universal" (which she associates with John Onians) and "the extreme relativist position which advocates the use of each cultural tradition's core concepts of visuality and the image, whose incommensurability and fixity are assumed" (which she associates with my work). Naturally, as an author, I would want to adjust that description, but I do not see how it follows that "as distinct from these positions," it is necessary to take "vision itself" as "a subject of historical investigation rather than assuming it to be a factor common to human societies." Both Onians's work and my own involve forms of "historicizing vision," and the move itself is not clearly related to her earlier critique of the shortcomings of the metaphor of circulation, or the need to dive "into the thicket of localities."

The body of Juneja's contribution, on the specific forms of painting that show traces of European and Asian practices, follows directly from her interest in finding a middle ground in the study of vision between universalism and "extreme relativism." She is interested in avoiding typical older art historical formulations that see perspective and realism as logical aims for art, and picture non-European artists struggling to achieve effects of naturalism. "The challenge of historicizing vision by eschewing the poles of human universals and radical cultural relativism," she concludes, "involves examining interactive moments when mobile images and objects enter into complex relationalities engendered along the routes they travel"—in other words, in being alert to transcultural changes in the meanings of practices. The paintings she studies "could be regarded as a condensation of temporal moments, which then act as a space to make difference encountered through

circulation visible, a site on which to negotiate and theorize about it." This is an admirable goal: she does not want to give up on larger patterns and shared meanings in the name of incommensurability, and she does not want to lose sight of historical inquiry by looking too much at purely local, unreproducible detail.

I am in sympathy both with Juneja's reservations regarding the concept of circulation (and its related ideas), and also her misgivings about the unpromising polarity between "human universals" and "radical cultural relativism." (Although I wish she had not associated me with the idea that when it comes to local concepts, "fixity is assumed.") But I wonder about her escape plan. The "thicket of localities," the "complex relationalities," the "precise language," and the "condensation of temporal moments" are moves from the general and abstract—ultimately, the universal—toward the local, the contingent, the contextual, the detailed—ultimately the "incommensurable." But is that a plan to escape from the limitations of circulations, or to embrace the metamorphoses of the transcultural? I see it rather as an instance of another contemporary discourse, on the relation between the global and the local, which I will be exploring in the next few pages. I can easily imagine a long book on one of the paintings Juneja discusses: it would go into excruciating detail on every passage of the painting; it would suspend all certainty about meaning; it would avoid European art historical interests in naturalism; it would be attentive to the utterly precise language of the image: but it might still be about circulations and influence; it might still draw on stable pre-existing notions of nation, art, and practice; and it might still be, ultimately, a European art historical inquiry. Detail and context, in other words, may not dismantle large-scale conceptualizations.

As Juneja rightly observes, circulations is one of several equally intriguing concepts. Greet also puts this well: "Networks, constellations, encounters, circulations: these concepts express the new multicultural and global direction of art history that can be more fully elaborated with digital tools." It is a sensible and straightforward conclusion, and it makes me think that she may have found the titles of the next few ARTL@s volumes to follow this one. Personally I would love to see a book called *Constellations*, and another called *Networks* ... perhaps in ten years there can be an ARTL@s book series to articulate these new formations.

The Terms "Globalization," "the Global," "Globalism," "Western," and "Non-Western"

I want to say just a few specific things about these sprawling and problematic terms. I will be succinct because, in my experience, discussion of these terms tends more to distract serious scholarship than to promote it.

Serge Gruzinski's chapter resonates with the great movements of culture in the sixteenth century. It is not news, but it is still amazing, to be reminded that the colonial cathedrals built in the New World in the sixteenth century housed, and played, European music, and "this is how Western music was born." The emergence of the concept of Western art by means of its emulation outside Europe is a salutary reminder of the hackneyed post-structural notion of the interdependence of difference and identity. How can we define Western art? Gruzinski asks. "By an evident tendency to reproduce as faithfully as possible the modes, styles and tastes of the old lands of Europe." This is, of course, a definition of the *idea* of Western art. The *practice* was what happened in Spain, Portugal, and elsewhere in Europe.

Gruzinski modifies this by distinguishing between Westernization and globalization. The former is local, and involves all sorts of adjustments to local traditions, resulting in such things as mestizo practices. The latter is "more subtle," because it names the process of developing European practices largely without conflict with indigenous practices, resulting in art that sometimes "ended up being in a sense 'purer' or more Eurocentered than its European source or reference." Globalization, in Gruzinski's sense, "demonstrates the existence, behind the frontal strategies of Westernization, of a quite different kind of diffusion, restraining cross-fertilization by sheltering models of European origin from any 'contamination.'" To these two concepts, Gruzinski adds a third, "Americanization," which is the process by which art practices found new themes and new possibilities. He does not mean this "in the narrow conventional sense of the effects of the culture of the US on the rest of the world," although if the concept is extended to the present that is exactly what its significance would be. Many historians of contemporary art, from Julian Stallabrass to Terry Smith, have said as much: consciously or not, contemporary art often expresses North America. Gruzinski ends his chapter with a brief note about twentieth-century music from Latin America, as an example of "Americanization" in this sense: but his analysis could also be a tripartite model for the dissemination of art in other media up to the present. The only difficulty I see here is that "globalization" is not usually used the way he uses it, so it would be confusing or difficult to adapt it in other texts. Given the debates about "globalism" and "globalization"—see Caroline Jones's contribution to *Art and Globalization*, and Charlotte Bydler's *The Global Artworld Inc.*—it might be best to invent a new term: perhaps "Western purism."

One of the touchstones of global art history in the last twenty years is the catalogue *Global Conceptualism* (1999). Piotr Piotrowski mentions this, praising the way it combines "geographical and historical" perspectives, but saying that "in terms of global comparative art studies, however, one has to go further":

Luis Camnitzer drew a geohistorical panorama of conceptual art, a kind of world atlas of such a practice. What we need to do is to compare East European and South American conceptual arts on a more detailed level.

The question here is what the “more detailed level contributes” to art historical methodology, to “breaking down the dominance of the Western paradigm in analyzing conceptual art,” or to re-conceptualizing the global. Piotrowski first notes that “East European conceptual art” was not “homogeneous,” and neither was “South American conceptual experience.” He registers the “interesting paradox” that “anti-Soviet attitudes, although shared by almost everyone, did not produce any common transnational platform for subversive art in Eastern Europe.” Piotrowski also makes distinctions among the reasons for conceptualism in different parts of the world:

Mari Carmen Ramirez is more specific on this issue, and has polemicized against Benjamin Buchloh’s famous essay which sees the origins of conceptual art within the “administrative drive” of late capitalist society. Following Marchan Fiz, she repeats that, unlike the Anglo-Saxon self-referential, analytical model, Latin American conceptualism was “ideological” and revealed social realities.

As Piotrowski’s argument develops, it begins to seem plausible that an extended inquiry into conceptualisms in Poland and Uruguay, and in Eastern Europe and Latin America in general, will reveal differences so deeply informed by local contexts that the very project of studying global conceptualism (or even global conceptualisms, in the plural) will itself begin to fragment. This possibility appears, for example, when Piotrowski writes, near the end of his chapter, that “neutral, purified, tautological projects such as Valoch’s ... or Kozłowski’s ... gave them universal, worldwide circulation, but their meaning came from local circumstances, making them entirely different from Latin American political projects.” Piotrowski concludes by mentioning “the limits of reception of circulating ideas.”

For me, this is one of the most interesting passages in this entire book. On the one hand, the comparison of conceptualisms in different places is made “more detailed”; on the other hand, that very detail threatens to make local and regional differences more important, more fundamental, than whatever label is used to link them in books like *Global Conceptualism*. Like circulation, globalism only makes sense at a certain level of generality and scope: but if the drive of the art historical inquiry is toward greater detail, which is the case with several of the chapters in this book, then the “discordance between contexts of production” (Christophe Charle’s expression) overrides similarities, and circulation gives way to local meanings.

Last, but not least, under this heterogeneous heading are the terms “Western” and “non-Western.” Given that this is such a large and intractable subject, and especially given the fact that a paper I sent to the 2013 ARTL@s conference in Paris was apparently not well received on this point, I would

like to refer readers to a work in progress for more information. I am writing a book called *North Atlantic Art History and Worldwide Art*; it is being written online, and I am crowdsourcing it by posting drafts live on the Internet and Facebook. The chapter on Western and non-Western is here: tinyurl.com/oobvffw, and the full book is here: tinyurl.com/porh9vj.

Here I will restrict myself to just one comment, which is inspired by Piotrowski's paper. It can often be useful simply not to worry the concepts of "Westernness" or "the non-Western" too much. Piotrowski provides several good examples of this. Both Uruguay and Poland in the 1970s, he writes, "worked at the margins of Western culture," and in general "both Latin American and East European art are somehow Western." I like the "somehow," which allows his argument to proceed without hobbling it by overly rigid definitions. Often, but not always, "Western" and "non-Western" are best treated as placeholders—words without special emphasis, inserted to ensure grammatical correctness. I pursue this idea, and other rhetorical dimensions of the terms, in the online book project. All comments are welcome there, even after the book is published.

The Terms "Center," "Margin," "Periphery," "Border," "Borderland," "Provincial," "Parochial," "Regional"

Next to "circulations" and "globalization," the next most important concepts in this book are probably the group around "center" and "periphery." A good way into these is provided by Carolyn C. Guile's chapter on early modern architecture on the Polish-Lithuanian borderland. First comes the question of political geography, which so often confuses or obscures artistic practices. She notes that "the artificial divisions of regional architectures created by state or national boundaries obscure the often multiethnic or multid denominational, or transitory, migratory component of these architectures." In particular borders should be considered "as inherently porous and multivalent in their consequences for cultural circulation." (In this she echoes Monica Juneja's approbation of "porous boundaries, mobility, fuzziness, flows, entanglement, hybridity, *métissage*, creolization, in-between-ness and the like.") Once the discourse of art history is liberated by the geography of art—and here Guile takes her cue from Kaufmann's *Toward a Geography of Art*—then "we can consider visual expression in the realms of artistic phenomena and architectural development as regional matters first and foremost."

Terminology becomes important here as the focus shifts from borders and borderlands to regions. The term "vernacular," for example, "becomes more than simply a designation for a 'lesser' account of the periphery that cannot fully grasp the diffused formal and theoretical language of a center." But "vernacular" is a term that is often mixed with indigenous and autochthonous

(Gruzinski's term), and these words lead to talk about regionalism (as in the sentence I quoted just above), provincialism, and parochialism. Nor does the absence of talk about political borders make it less necessary to define "periphery," "margin," "center," or for that matter "borderland." I have some suggestions to make about these terms: for example it can be helpful to use *regionalism* for cases in which the artists or craftsmen are aware of the art in neighboring areas, but choose to continue making art in a certain way. *Parochial* practices occur when the artists are reticent or afraid to find out too much about the art of some center, and prefer to continue working without discovering too much about what is done elsewhere. Psychologically, that is a common state in a number of local practices of contemporary art. And *provincial* could be reserved for cases where the artists or workers are actually prevented from knowing about the art that is taking place in the center; that was a common condition, for example, in the Balkans during the Soviet regime. Distinctions like these, I think, might be the productive focus of future conferences, in order to help individual scholars connect to one another's subjects.

"Center" and "periphery" are theorized in my online project *North Atlantic Art History*, so I will not rehearse the arguments that are made there. Instead I want to mention an issue that is developed in Sophie Cras's chapter. She opens by recalling that the book and exhibition *Global Conceptualism* were founded on the rejection of the center. The exhibition, she says,

suggested "a multicentered map with various points of origin" in which "poorly known histories [would be] presented as equal corollaries rather than as appendages to a central axis of activity." The very notion of centrality was altogether repudiated, as Stephen Bann made it clear in his introduction: "The present exhibition ... explicitly rejects the customary practice of plotting out the topology of artistic connections in terms of 'center' and 'periphery'."

Cras also notes Peter Wollen's claim, in the catalogue, that conceptualism had no center, and therefore did not disseminate outward, so that its manifestations are all potentially equal. Her argument is that negating "the notion of an opposition between center and periphery in favor of a supposedly de-hierarchized panorama is problematic at three levels at least":

First, artists of the time ... effectively perceived the artistic scene in terms of centers and periphery, if only to contest its structural inequality. Second, leveling practices ... does not allow an understanding of the process by which some established themselves historically while others had to wait for a belated rehabilitation ... Third, this proscription of the notions of center and periphery ... does little justice to the discipline of geography

It is necessary, Cras argues, to retain "center" and "periphery," but to consider "circulations between these spaces ... dynamically and dialectically" in order "to understand processes of emulation, domination and exclusion." Centers

"create, or feed on, their peripheries," creating a "dialectical tension," and the idea of multiple simultaneous equally important centers is a rhetorical move, a hope rather than a reality. Her chapter includes an excellent succinct criticism of Lucy Lippard's *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* by contrasting Lippard's claims of the "decentered internationalism" of conceptual art with maps of the places she mentions, which turn out to have "defined centers and peripheries."

I agree almost entirely with Cras's criticisms of *Global Conceptualism* and of Lippard's book. Almost, but not entirely, because what interests Cras the most seems to be the conceptualists' inexhaustible experimentation with maps. The many photocopied maps in On Kawara's 12-volume collection *I Went* "suggest the endless possibility of other places, rather than the fixity of this or that art center or art capital." Here Cras is attracted by the "visually striking ... diversity of maps, scales, typographies, and alphabets," records of the artist's endless circulation. I would just be wary of the difference between a critique of the claim that "center" and "margin" do not apply, and a celebration of endless circulation or the poetry of forgotten "nonsites" or deserted places like the ones shown in Art & Language's *Map of a 36-Square-Mile Area of the Pacific Ocean*, or Ger Van Elk's *La Pièce* (a blank map of part of the North Atlantic Ocean). On Kawara's interminable wandering and Art & Language's or Van Elk's poetics suspend talk of "center" and "periphery" just as much as Camnitzer's project. The real critique, as Cras says, is in the arena where "center" and "periphery" are still very much present, and circulations are finite and specifiable rather than endless.

There is a common theme that links Cras's and Guile's chapters with the chapters I mentioned in connection with the term "circulations": the expectation that an emphasis on cultural exchanges might itself remove or solve the traditional focuses of art history or "escape the hierarchization and exclusion that underlies the narrative of modern art." The more I read in this book, the more I felt that emerging as my principal concern.

Multiple Temporalities, Multiple Modernisms

I will end with a subject that I feel especially strongly about: the possibility that modernism, in particular, can be rethought by dividing its monolithic narratives into many different occasions, so that the single modernism people like Clement Greenberg knew would be replaced by multiple modernisms, each moving at its own speed, each in its own nation or region. For many scholars (outside this book), this has been an especially tempting solution for the continuing hegemony of the single canonical modernist narrative, and concepts of circulation make it doubly attractive. I doubt it will work, and I will try to explain why.

I will introduce the subject via Christophe Charle's excellent chapter. Charle offers several detailed case studies to counterbalance the "accepted idea, conveyed by the thematics of modernization and globalization," that "any process of interconnection of spaces is accompanied by a growing cultural internationalization." In fact, as he shows for nineteenth-century opera, theater, and novels, many local, sociological, and political factors have to be taken into account. Studying the dissemination of theater, for example, involves "countries producing a lot and countries producing a little, languages with a large theater market and those with a small one, states that respected legal rules and spaces in which literary piracy was common," and "cultures in which theater occupied either a desirable or a despised position in the hierarchy of genres." The "virtual absence and total failure of Victor Hugo and the other more demanding French romantic authors (such as Vigny) in the German theater" cannot be understood without noting that their rejection sprang in part from "an anti-French" sentiment, in which the absence of Hugo and others expressed "a symbolic revenge on the defeated former enemy." Charle also notes the importance of "mediators as catalysts" who can "shift perceptions at a propitious moment," and for that he provides the wonderful example of Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, who brought the Russian novel to late nineteenth-century France, and from there to its wider dissemination in Western Europe in the twentieth century.

I mention these examples in detail because that is how Charle's analysis proceeds, after an introduction that broaches some very large methodological issues. In particular, he reminds us that his recent book *Discordance des temps, une brève histoire de la modernité* is an attempt to correct and generalize current notions of modernity that rely on fine art. (He notes that "people tend to privilege because of its visibility in debate and the famous writings of critics fetishized by the modernist tradition.") In contrast he proposes "to interpret the advent of the notion of modernity ... not simply as the result of a new conception of the historicity of art, but more broadly as a new relationship to historical time." The French Revolution was the origin of the condition of disparate and unequally distributed temporalities that themselves constitute our senses of modernity. It is those temporalities, and not the simple geographic relations between art events, that underlie both what comes to be called modernity and what is taken as globalization. In particular, temporal discontinuities give rise to "discordances and hierarchies" that are crucial for understanding the spread of modernism.

Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, for example, was hoping to counteract the "materialist and scientific" approach of novelists such as Emile Zola by introducing French translations of Russian authors who were thought to be "inspired by a spiritualist and Christian perspective"—this despite the fact that Tolstoy and others "were well-known for their opposition to the conservative and religious power of the official Russian autocracy."

Charle's study is a helpful corrective to simple notions of cultural transfer, and his examples from opera, theater, and the novel might well be borne in mind by scholars looking at the spread of modernisms. At the same time the work raises its own methodological issues. In my reading these spring from the emphasis Charle puts on the term "discordance." It can be useful, particularly in considering modernism, to distinguish between discordances of "context and production," on the one hand, and discordances of temporality, on the other. I take it that it is Charle's argument that a discordance of temporality is the condition under which the French reception of the Russian novel could have proceeded along the lines that de Vogüé advocated. But in that case, it could also be asked if discordances of "contexts of production" could exacerbate or even create discordances of temporality. "The discordance between contexts of production" of the novel in France and Russia at the time made de Vogüé's project possible, but it is an open question whether such "sharp gradients" in temporality caused or were caused by the differing political and literary contexts in the two countries.

I mention this somewhat abstract point, which I do not think obviates Charle's claims, because it bears on current interests in "multiple modernities," including the heterochronologies that Kaufmann notes in Moxey's work. Scholars such as Andreas Huyssen, Harry Harootunian, Terry Smith, and others, have argued that modernity can be reconceived as a number of uncorrelated temporalities, moving at different rates, producing a pluralism of temporal lines that is itself constitutive of modernism. These accounts contrast themselves with what is taken to be the older, canonical sense of modernism, in which a single meliorist chronology leads modernism forward. That is the narrative, for example, of the book *Art Since 1900*, which even in its new second edition pays virtually no notice to Latin America, China, the rest of Asia, Eastern Europe, or Africa. In the new sense of temporalities, that canonical "master narrative" is multiplied, fragmented, accelerated or decelerated, excerpted, and dispersed among an uncountable number of historical contexts.

The historical truth of such claims is indisputable: Rembrandt, for example, was first taught in Lhasa in the late 1950s, a gap of nearly three hundred years. (For this see Claire Harris's entertaining book *In The Image of Tibet*.) The ethical and political truth of such claims is equally strong: it is no longer justifiable to teach a history of modernism without noticing the world outside Western Europe and North America. But the multiple modernisms theory is counterintuitive because the "master narrative," for all its blindness, still provides the language, the concepts, and the judgments that support and make sense of the study of modernism itself. Without concepts such as formalism, abstraction, cubism, innovation, and the avant-garde, modernism would lose its crucial concepts and cease to be a coherent field of study. It would simply become the study of individual artists and practices. (For some

writers and curators that is normal and sufficient; but in the long run, it begs the question of why the artists are being studied, why their art is valued, and how it fits into wider histories.)

The “master narrative” was universalist and ahistorical—it spoke only of *the avant-garde*, or art that was “demanding,” “difficult,” “obscure,” or “challenging.” That universalism means that when the study of modernisms comes to contexts like Lhasa in the late 1950s under Han rule, the language of modernism needs to be altered in order not to foreground the fact that modernism in Lhasa at that time was belated and provincial. The world is full of examples of modernist movements that are belated or provincial by standards of *Art Since 1900*—by standards of the master narrative of modernism—but whose artists understood themselves, often passionately, as participants in the single worldwide project of modernism. It is the disconnect between the artists’ sense of themselves, and their marginalization in the master narrative, that concerns me. It is the reason I reject multiple modernisms as an adequate response to the growing awareness of the complexity of modernism throughout the world.

In Charle’s account, “sharp gradients,” local temporalities, and temporal differences, which spring ultimately from the French Revolution, account for the complexities of cultural circulation in modernism. I do not object to this formulation, provided that the temporalities are not taken as an adequate model or explanation of multiple modernisms. Temporalities do not model modernisms because the people who practised those modernisms in their different contexts did not perceive themselves to be following isolated or uncalibrated temporal streams. And temporalities do not explain multiple modernisms because political and social issues drive the unexpected and unequal circulations of art practices, as Charle’s own account shows: to say those issues are in turn driven by temporal differences is not an explanation but an abstraction.

All this leads to an even more difficult, more abstract question, regarding abstraction itself. I admire aspects of Charle’s account, and also Harootunian’s, and especially Moxey’s. I can see how the study of temporalities can be taken as fundamental, and how it can seem to be the only way to avoid labeling some modernist practices as belated or marginal or otherwise unimportant. But articulating the study of modernism as the study of temporality raises two questions, the first one practical and the other abstract. In practical terms, it is not clear how a very sincere, hopeful modernist in Asunción, Lahore, Bucharest, Lhasa, Tbilisi, or Bombay will understand a narrative that frames his or her life’s work as the product of a “sharp gradient” in temporality, or as an example of modernism’s “heterochronologies,” because it will be easily apparent to that modernist that such a narrative covers over the exact faults she or he hoped above everything to avoid: the faults of provincialism and belatedness. The other problem raised by framing the study of modernism as

the study of temporalities is the more difficult and abstract one. I agree that multiple temporalities are the strongest available analytic tool to comprehend what happened to visual art from the end of the nineteenth century (with the unequal dissemination of impressionism in many parts of the world) to the 1960s (with the rise of the international art market, which erased many of these issues). But what price is paid by abstraction? Or, as Heidegger asked, who—among the artists of the world—thinks abstractly? I wonder if this new scholarship on temporalities might not be listening more to the academic discourse on time, which began with Kant and continues through writers as diverse as Merleau-Ponty, Gottfried Boehm, Alain Badiou, Marc Augé, and Jean-Luc Nancy, than it listens to the ways that modernist writers, critics, and artists spoke and wrote about what they hoped they were doing.

Let me end this somewhat abstract argument with some concrete examples. Antonín Procházka, Emil Filla, Bohumil Kubista, and Václav Špalá did not think they were building a belated eastern European version of cubism in Prague. Regionalist North American painters like James Butler, Bob Timberlake, LaVere Hutchings, Arden von Dewitz, or Richard Bolton do not think they are making work that is 100 or 150 years out of date. Contemporary marine painters like William Powell, Bill Hanes, Byron Pickering, Ian Lynch, Larry Johns, Paul Geatches, Gordon Bauwens, or Edward Betts do not imagine they are locked in a parochial practice that has been abandoned by the art world for over two hundred years. The wonderful Romanian modernist painters Nicolae Grigorescu, Stefan Luchian, Gheorghe Petrascu, Theodor Pallady, Nicolae Tonitza, and Stefan Dimitresc were not despondent at their distance from the centers of modernism, or their lateness, or their conservative styles.

Needless to say there are tens or hundreds of thousands of examples like these: I just wanted to close with some particulars, as a reminder of the distance between our own academic theorizing and some of the practices we may want to explain.

Envoi

I hope I have said enough to open doors between this book and other conversations on the worldwide spread of art history, on global art histories, on cultural circulation and exchange, and on the possibility of using quantitative information, like mapping, to move art history forward. It is not often that a book like this appears: it is full of information, of historical *matter*, but it is also rich in theories and methods. In that sense it is an ideal model for the future of the discipline.

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