A Critical Study of Modern Orthodox Scholarly Criticism of Western Art

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A Critical Study of Modern Orthodox Christian Scholarly Criticism of Western Art

Volume Two of Two

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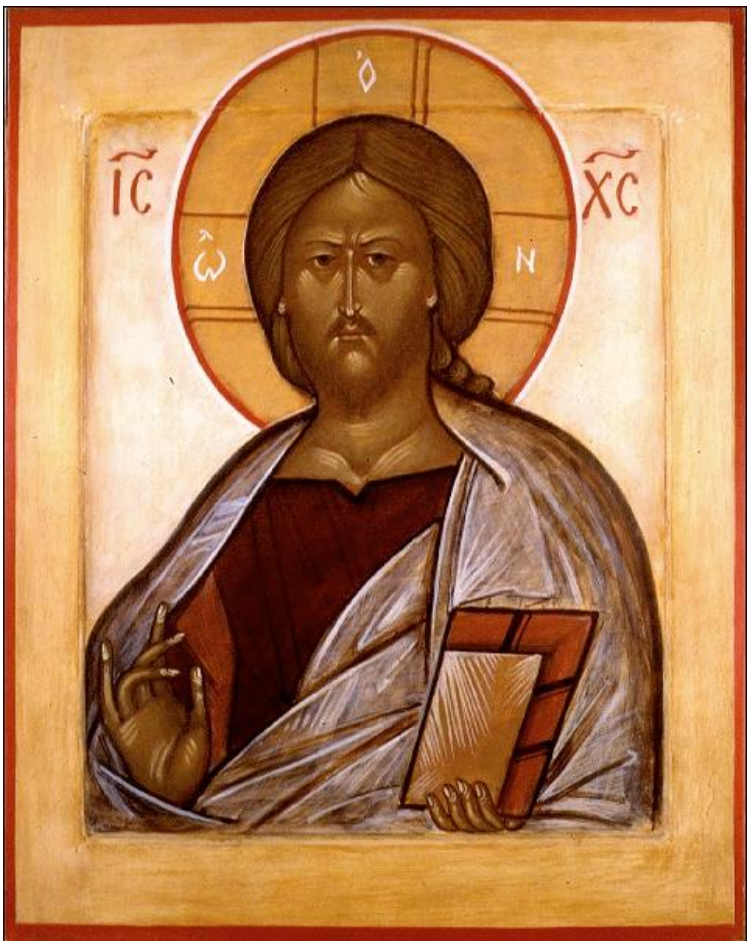

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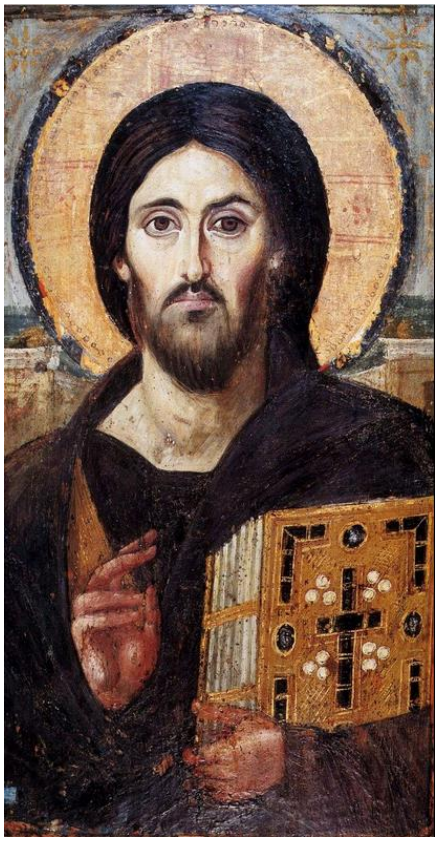

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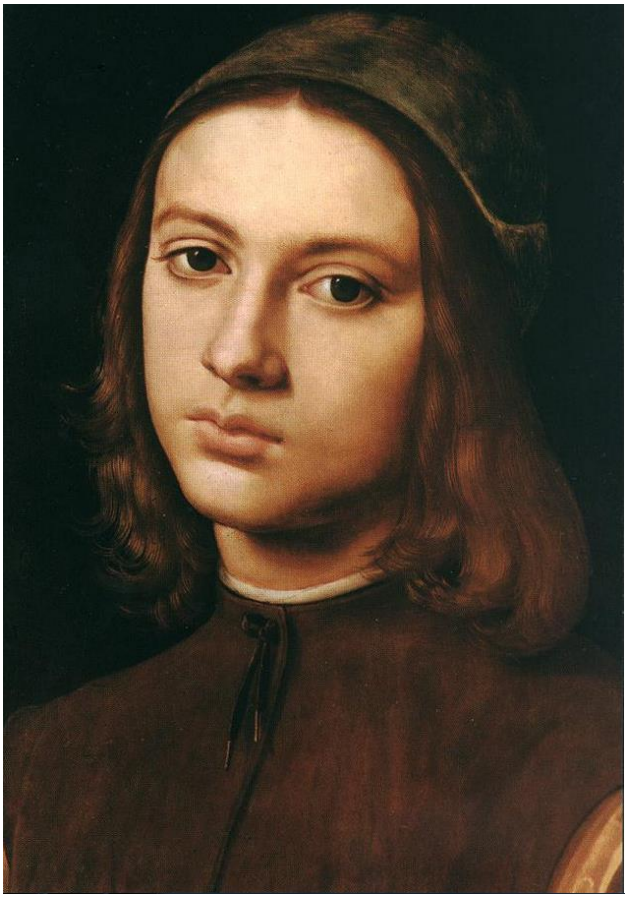

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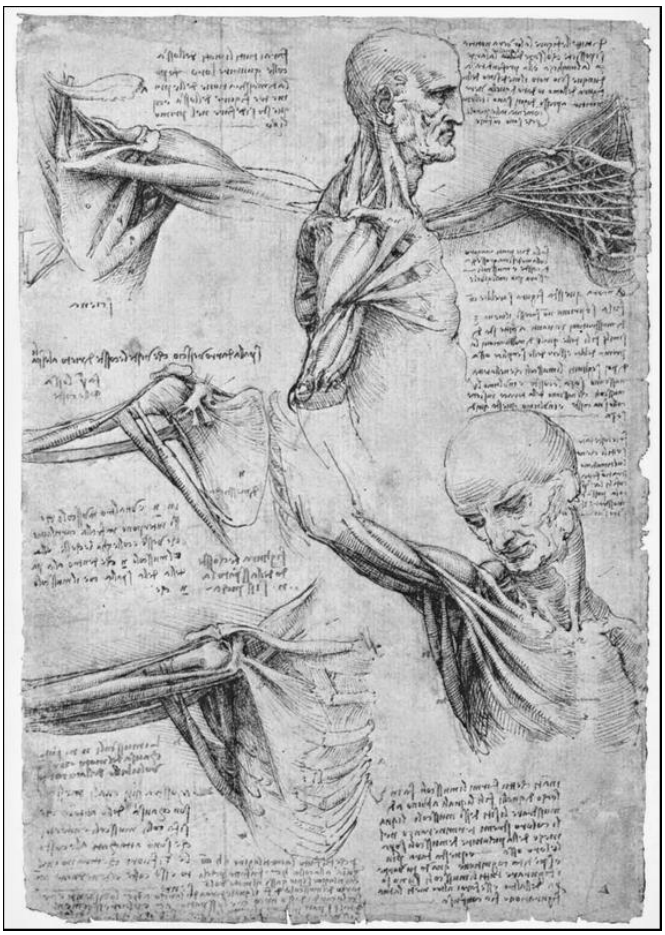

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The Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle

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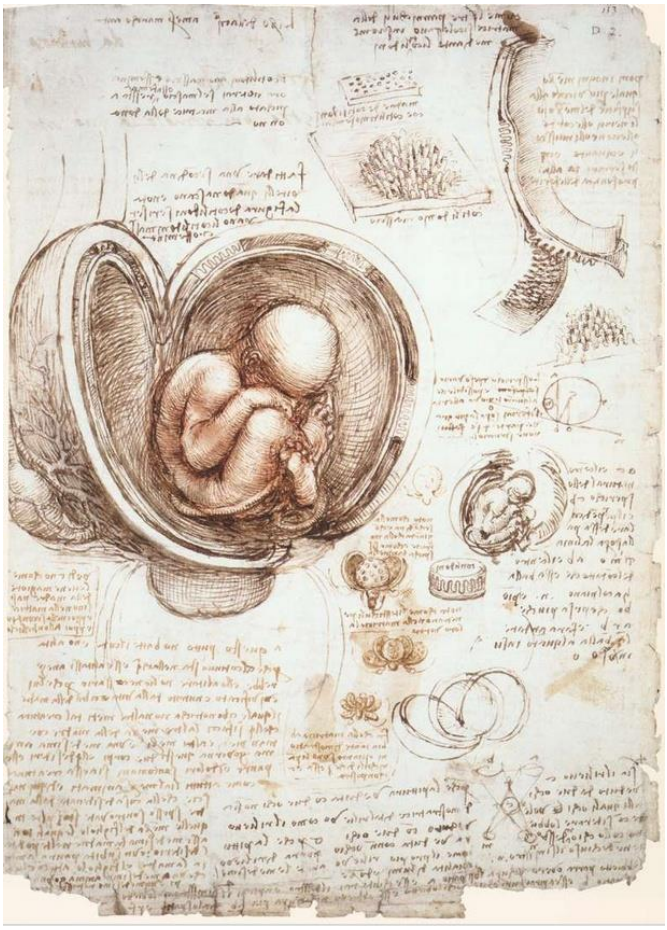

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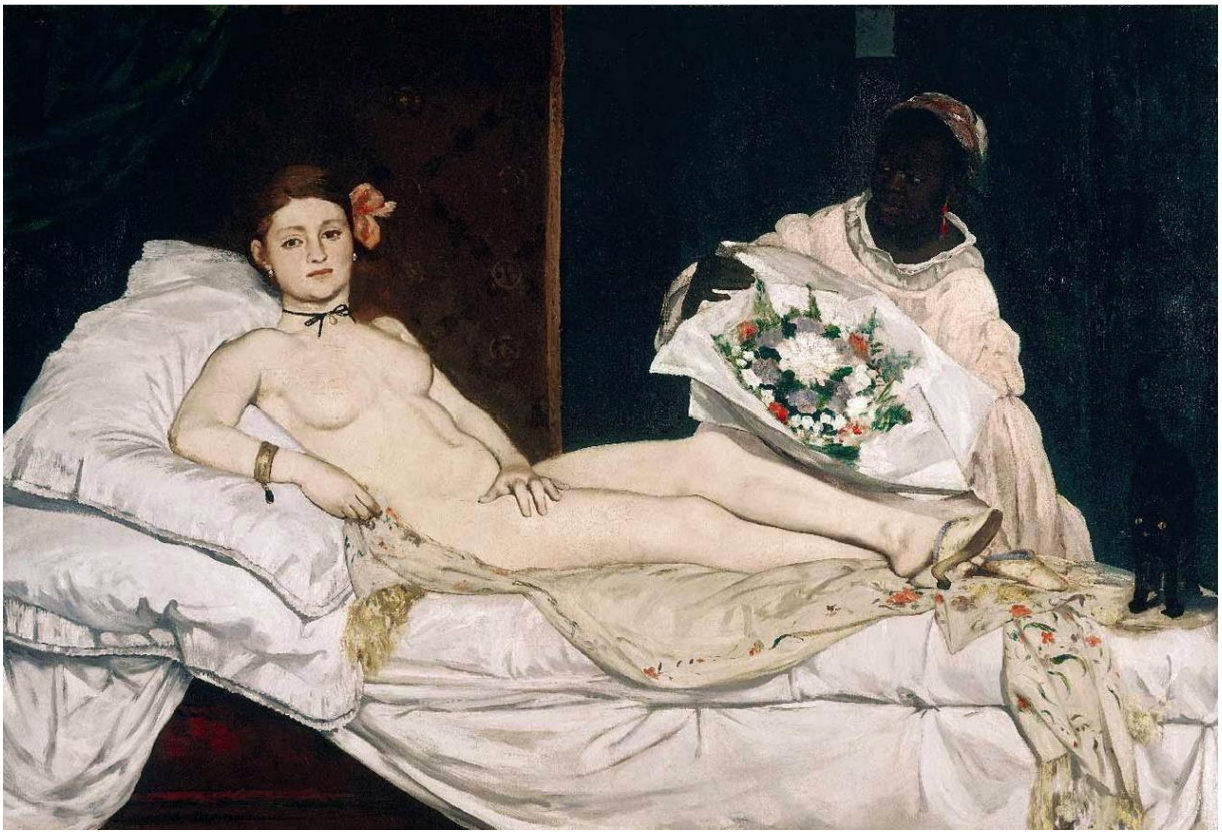

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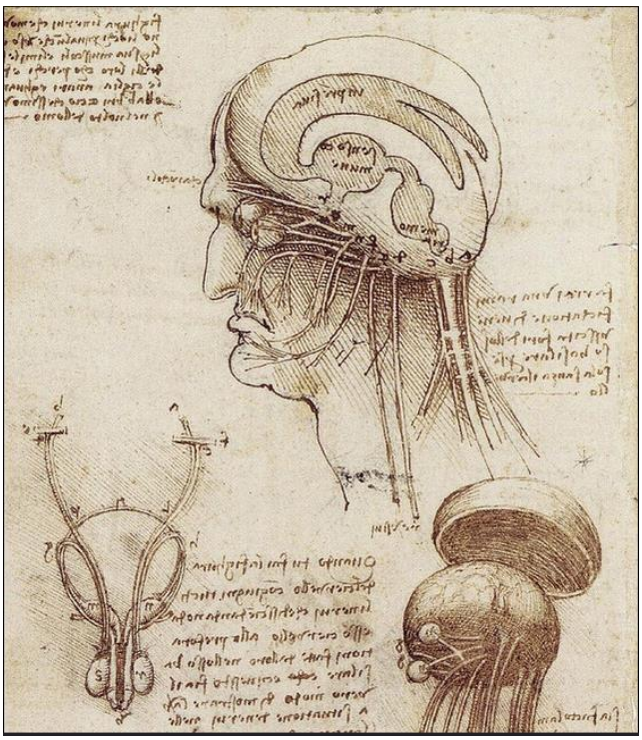

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Panel of Horses, c. 26,000 BP
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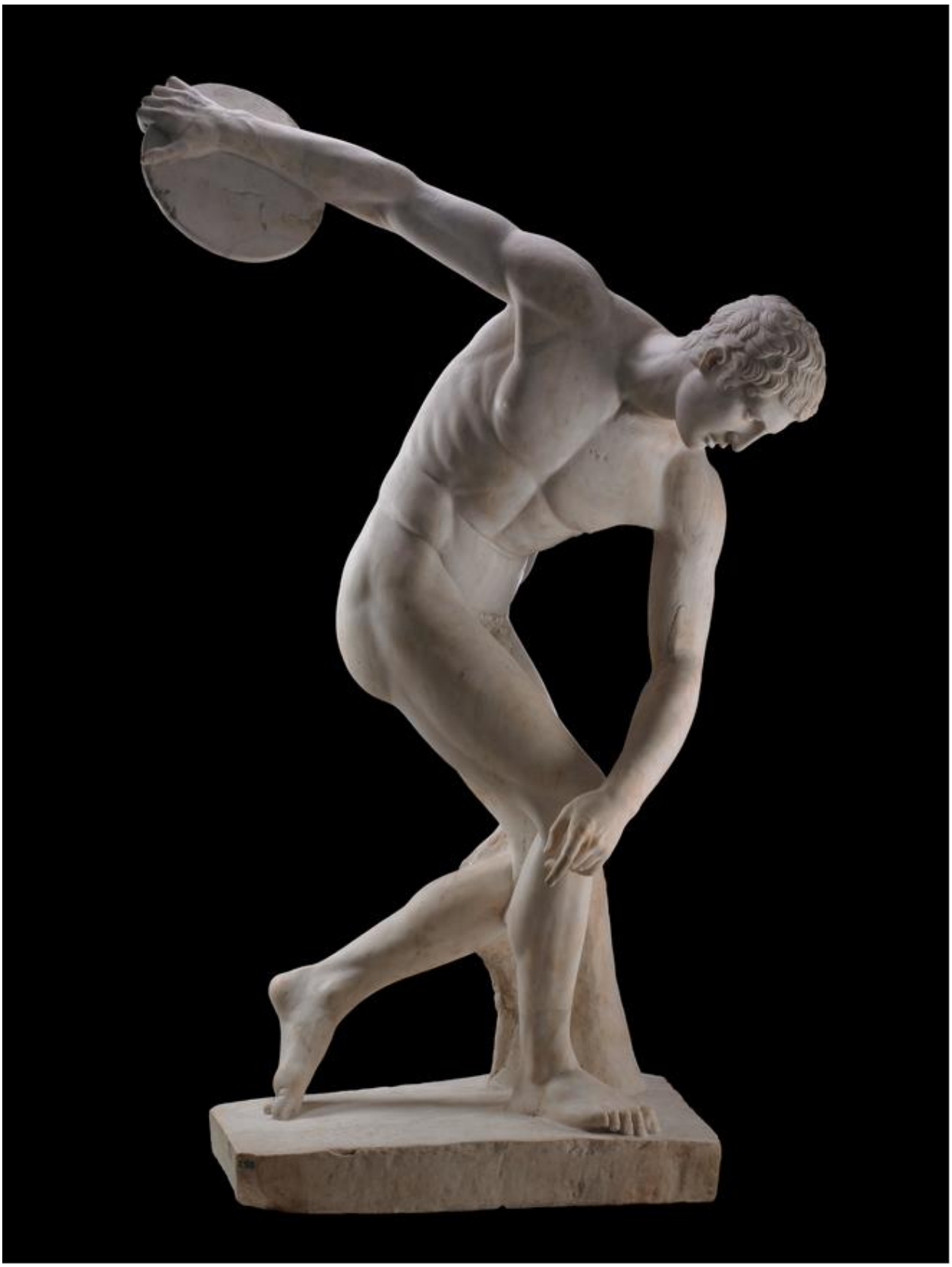

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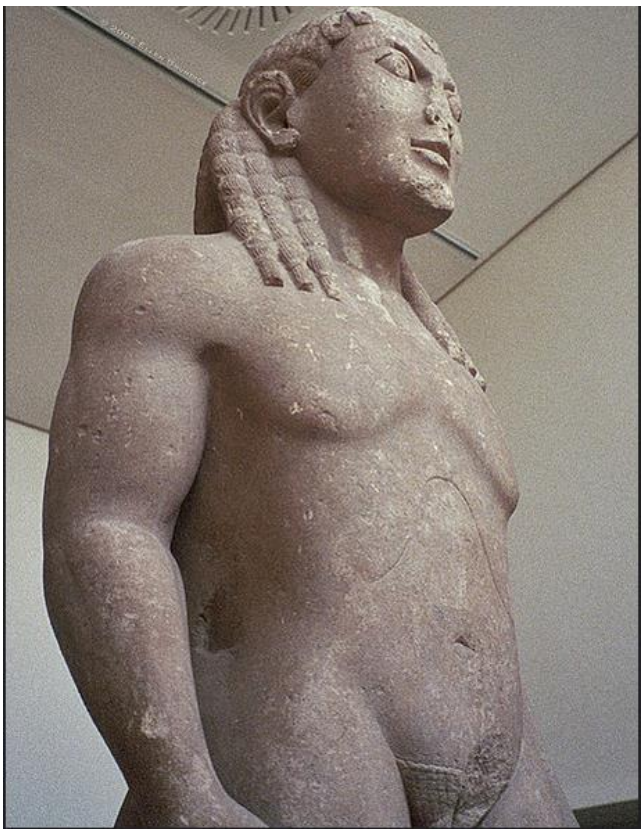
Myron, Discobolus, circa 460-450 BC
One of the copies preserved at the British Museum



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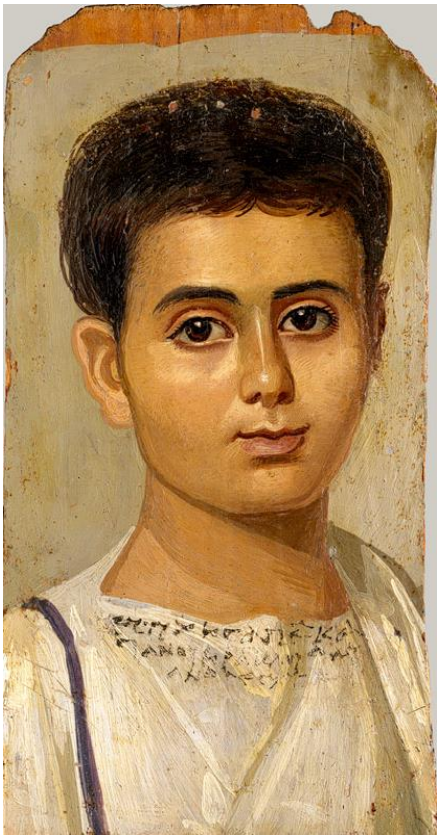

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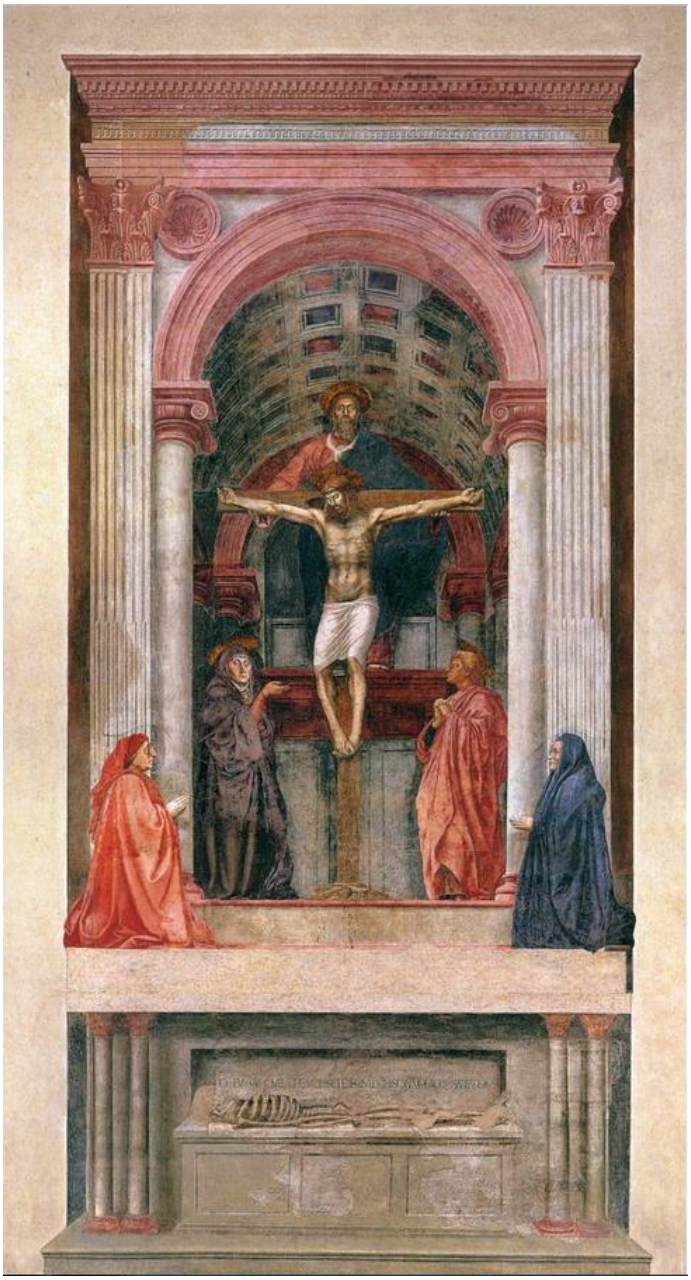

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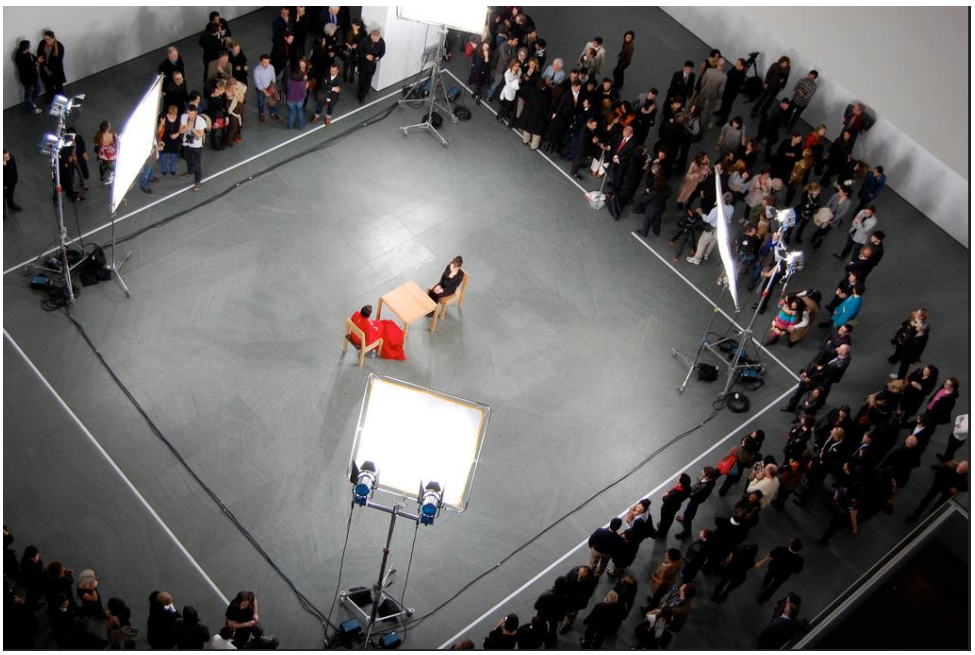

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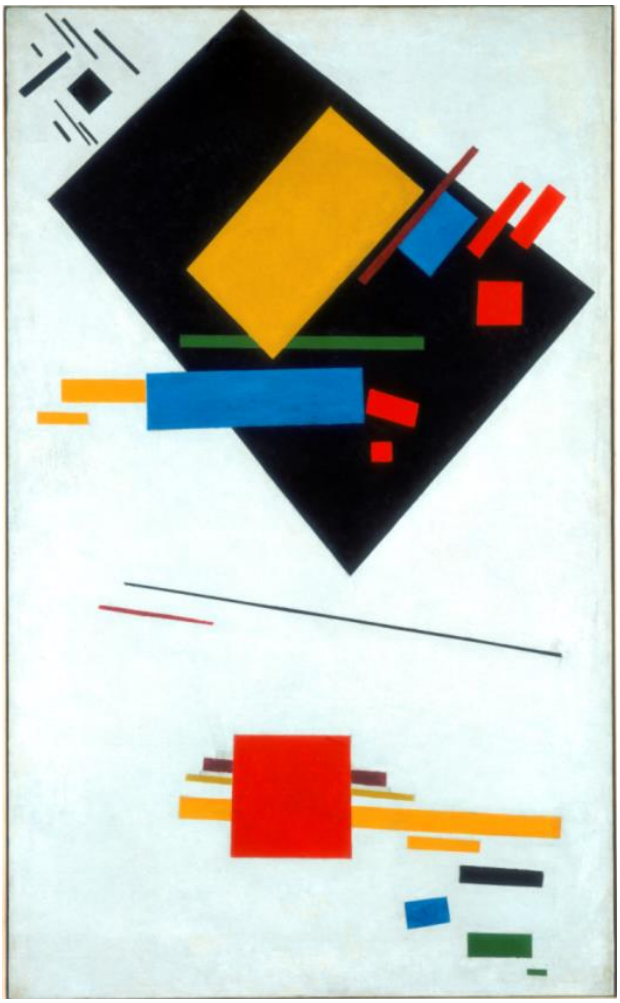

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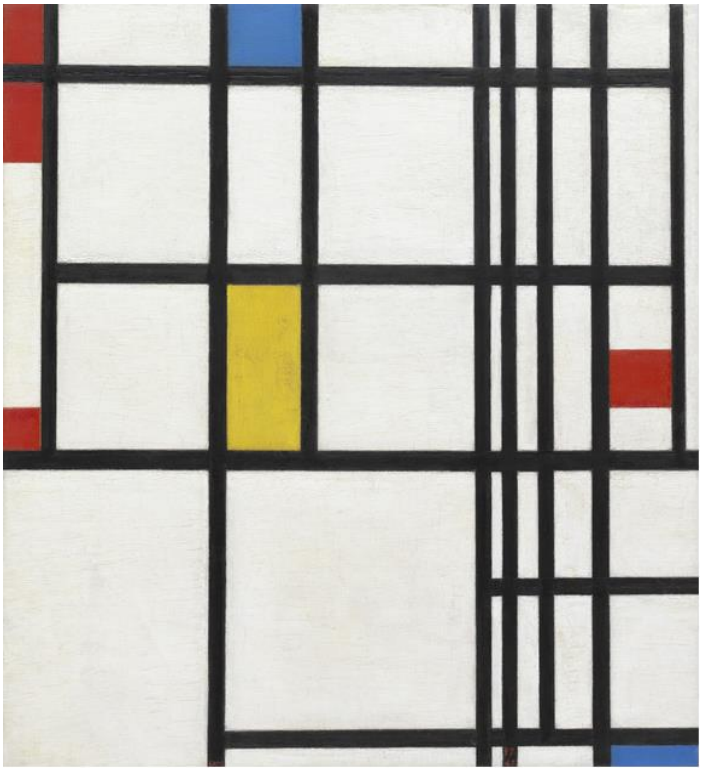

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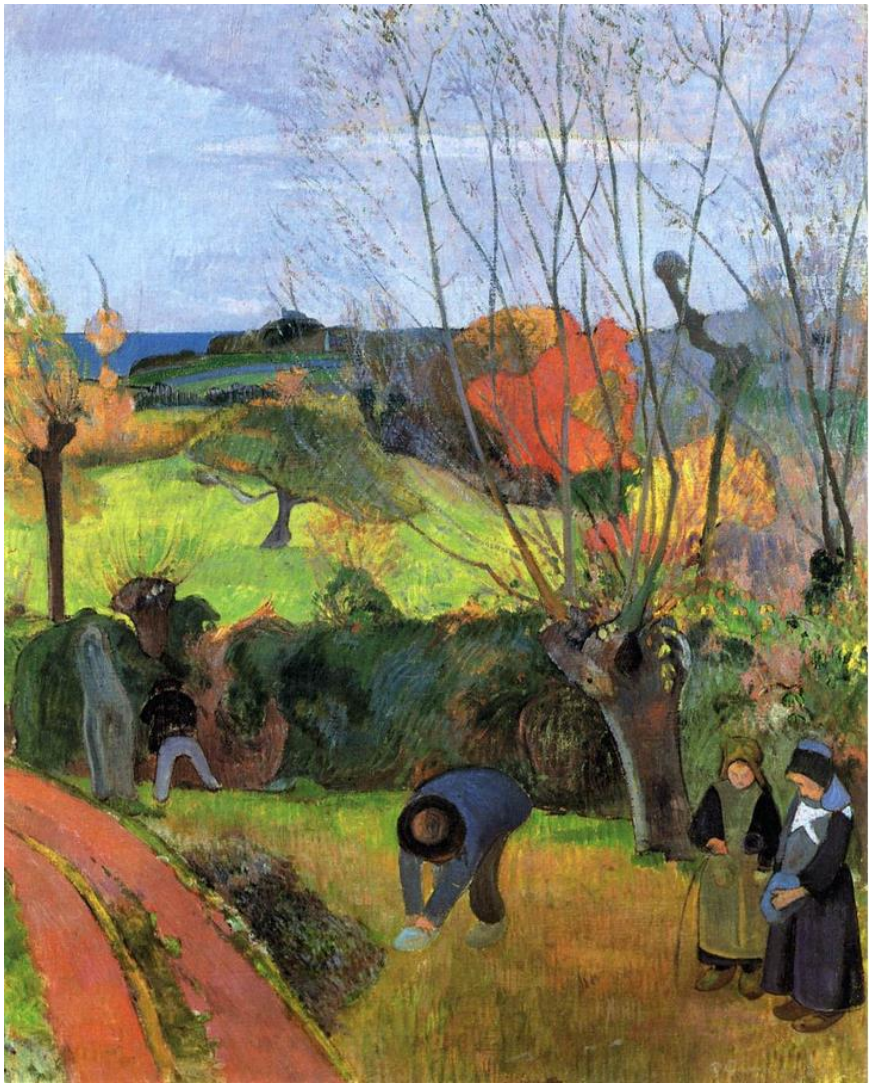

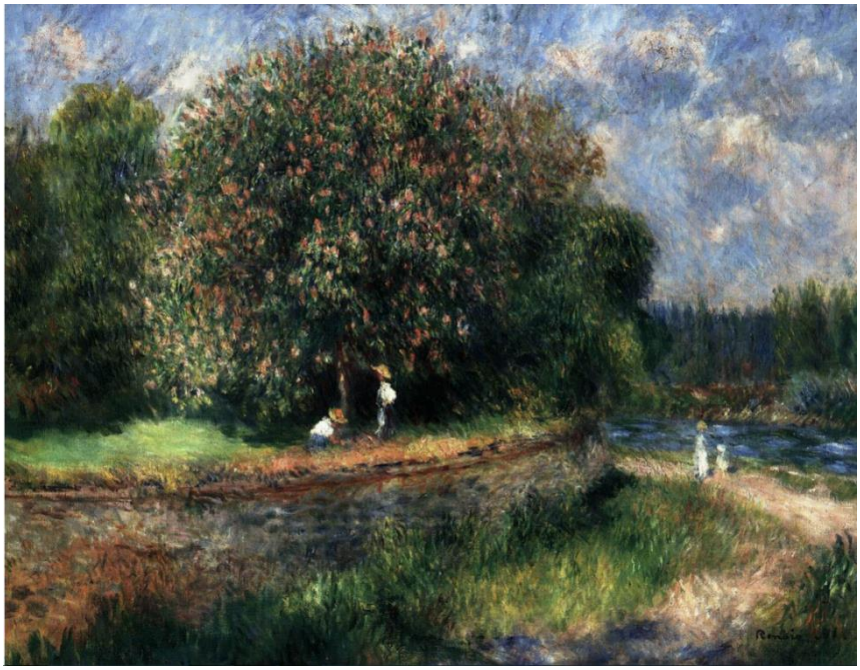

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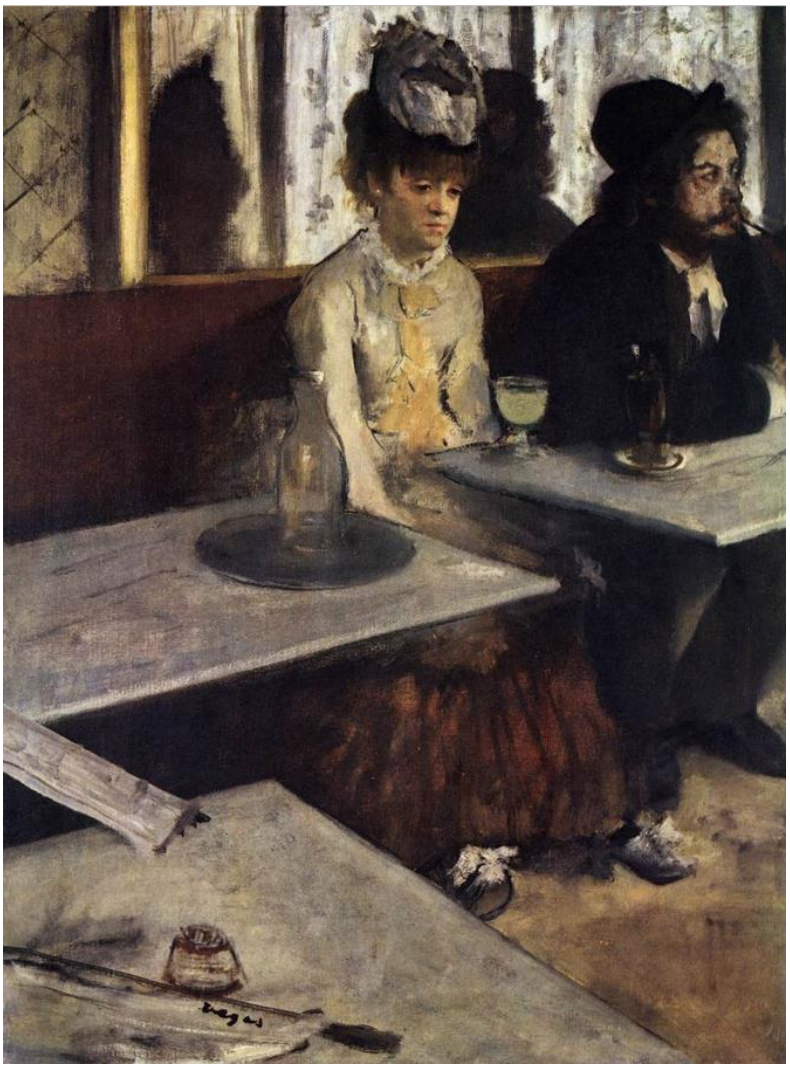

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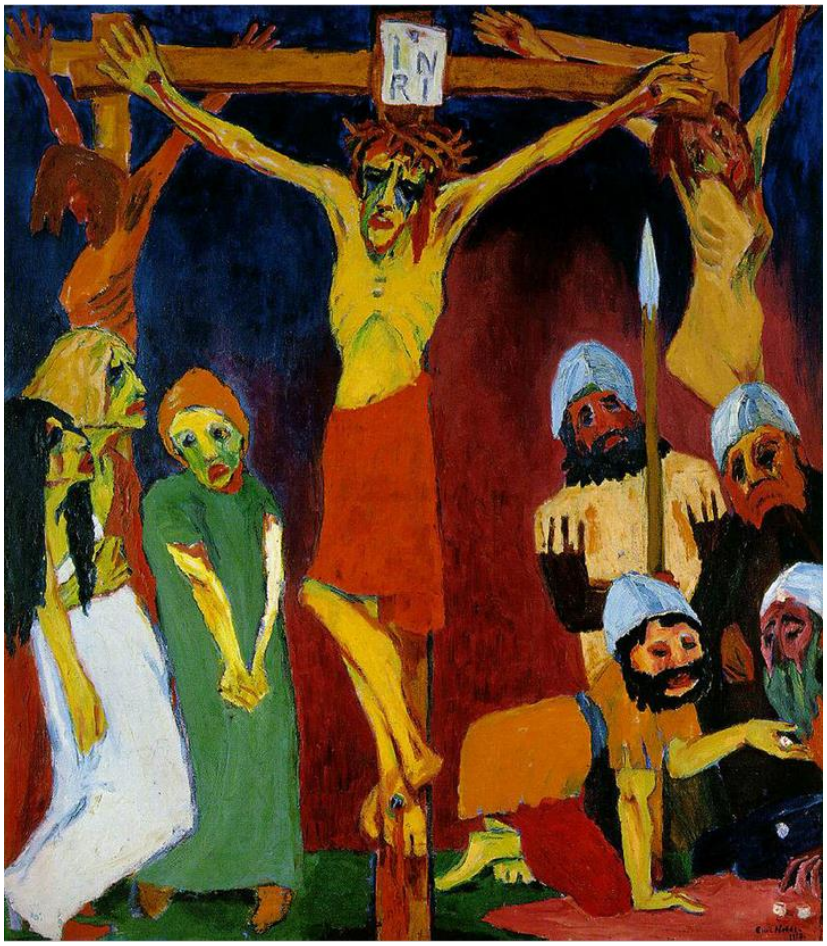

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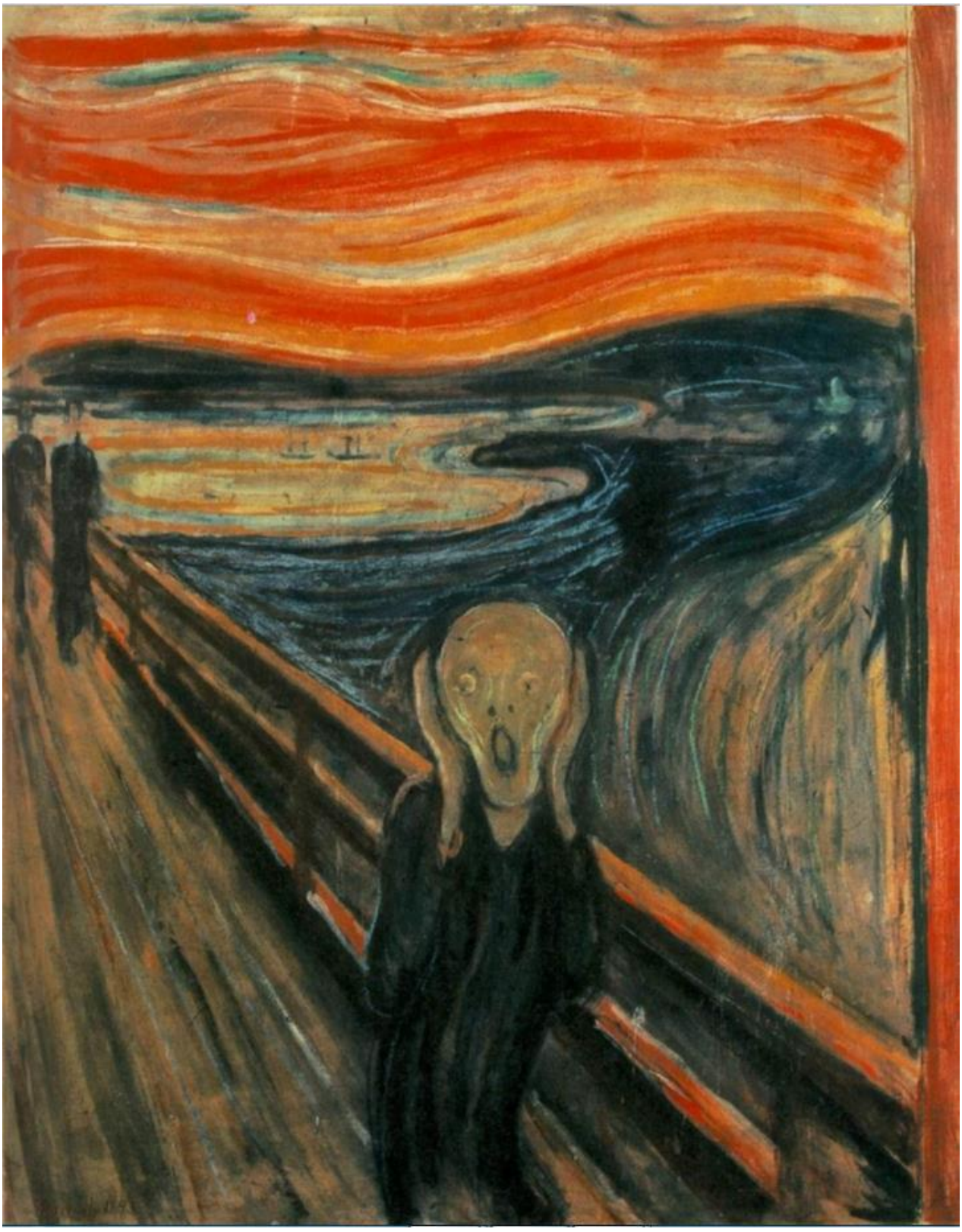

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Oil on linen, 53 x 55 cm
The artist's private collection

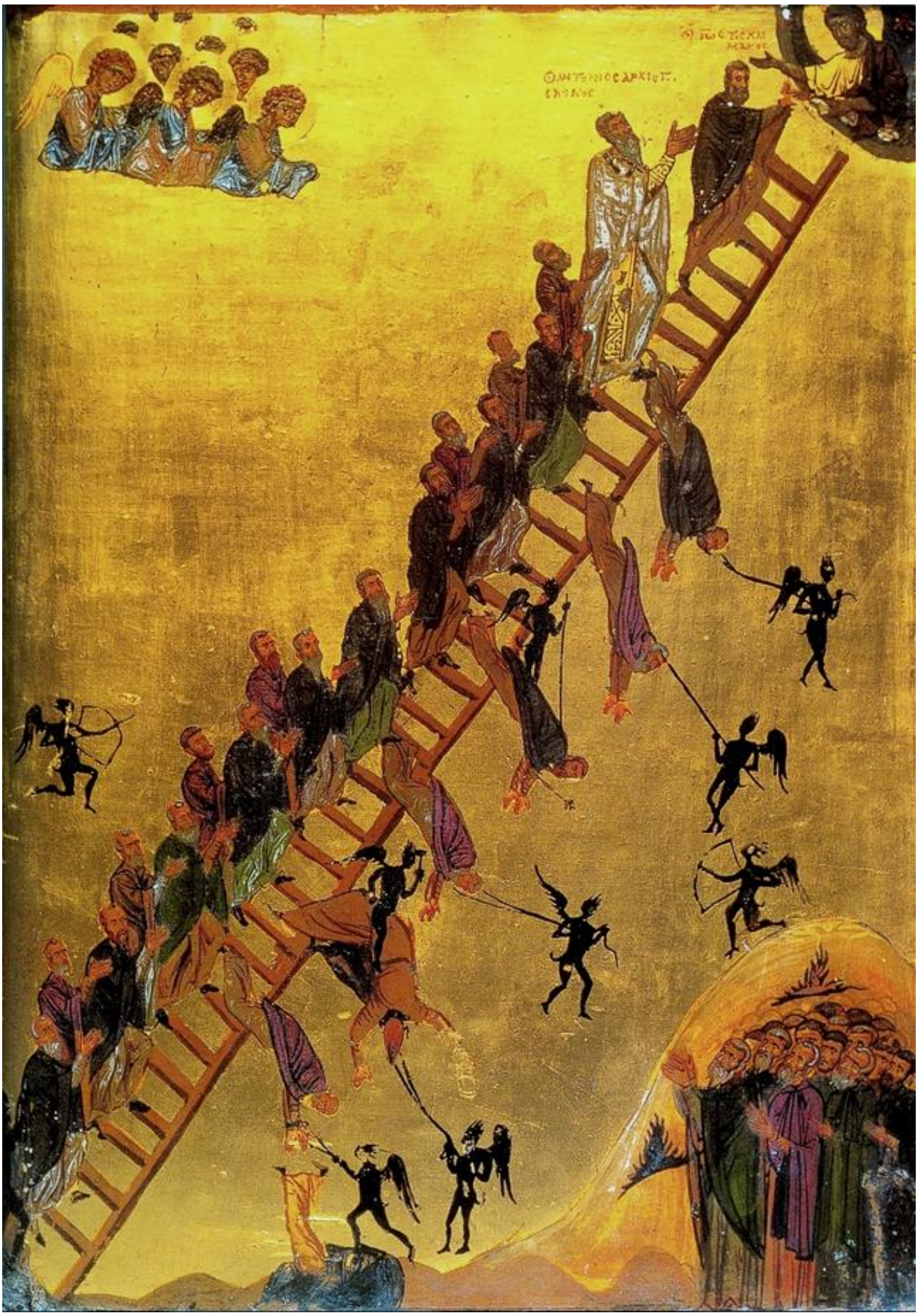

Illustration № 77
The Ladder of Divine Ascent described by John Climacus, late 12th-century.
Monastery of St Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt

Illustration № 78

Boris Kustodiev, *The Bolshevik*, 1920
Oil on canvas, 101 x 141cm
The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia

Illustration № 79

Andy Warhol, *Marilyn*,1967
Screenprint on paper, 910 x 910 mm
Tate Gallery

Illustration № 80

Jackson Pollock, *One: Number 31*, 1950
Oil and enamel paint on canvas, 269.5 x 530.8 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York

Illustration № 81

Albert Gleizes, *Maternite*, 1936
ink on Paper, 27.3 x 18.4 cm
F.L. Braswell Fine Art

Illustration № 82

Marc Chagall, *White Crucifixion*, 1938
Oil on canvas, 154.6 x 140 cm
Art Institute of Chicago

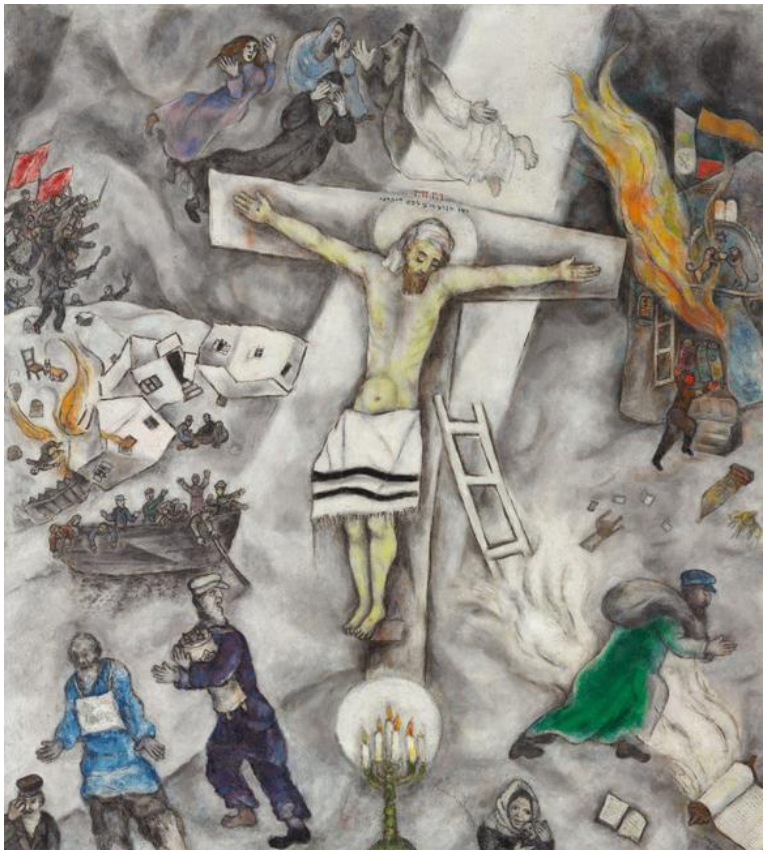

Illustration № 83

Jan van Eyck, *Man in a Turban*, 1433
Oil on wood, 25,5 x 19 cm
National Gallery, London

Illustration № 84

Harmenszoon van Rijn
Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait*, 1669
Oil on canvas, 86 x 71 cm
National Gallery, London

Illustration № 85

Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas with Violin and Glass Ball*, 1628
Oil on panel, 36 x 59 cm
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Illustration № 86

Edouard Manet, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, 1881-82
Oil on canvas, 96 x 130 cm
Courtauld Gallery, London

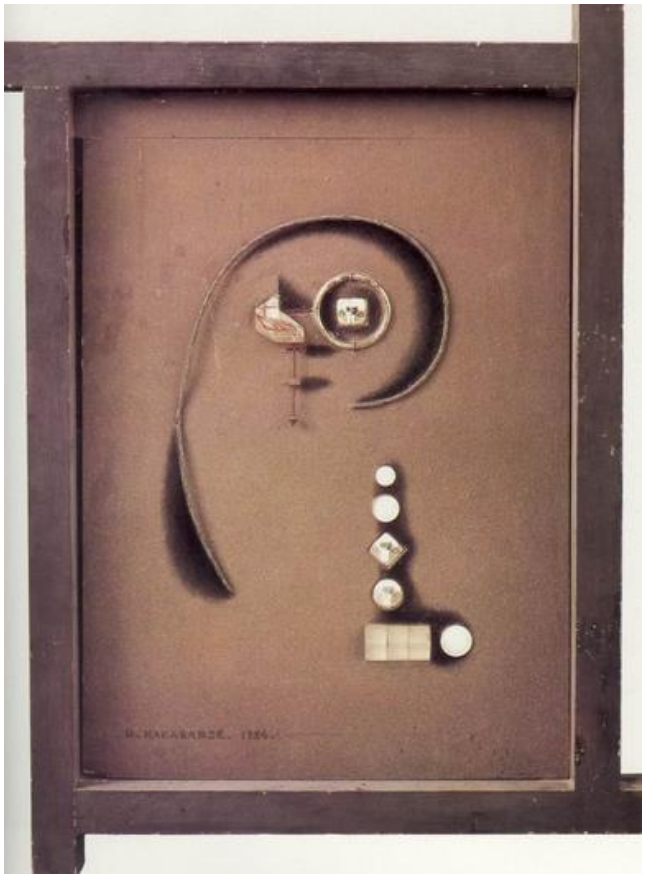

Illustration № 87
David Kakabadze, *Constructive-Decorative Composition*, 1924
Wood, glass, metal, tempera, 75 x 60 cm
The artist's private collection, Tbilisi, Georgia

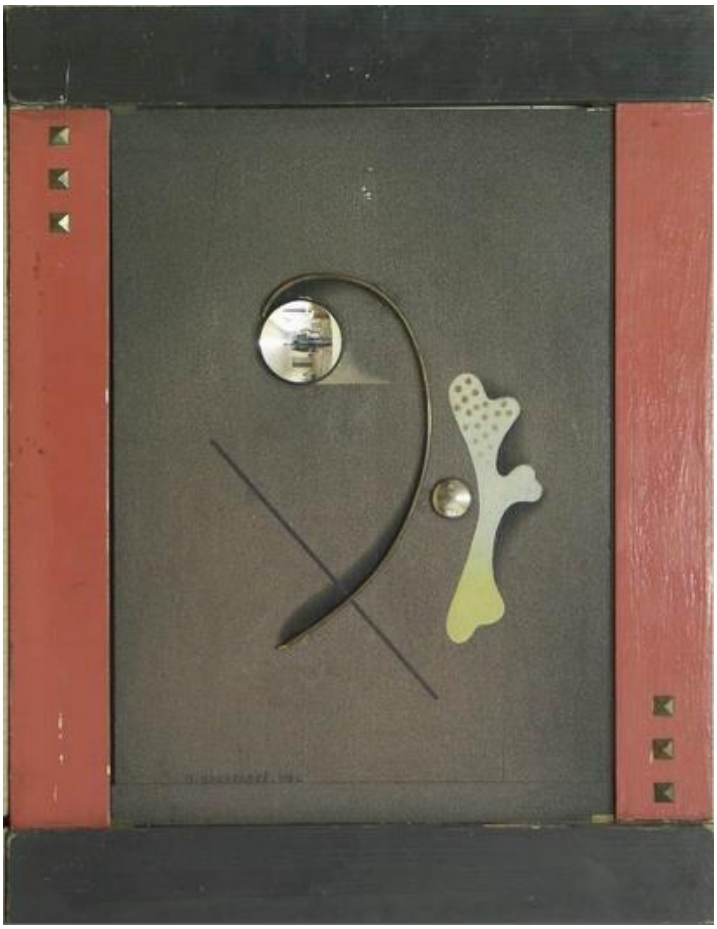

Illustration № 88

David Kakabadze, *Constructive-Decorative Composition*, 1924
Wood, oil, glass, metal, 50x35cm
The artist's private collection Tbilisi, Georgia

Illustration № 89

Henry Moore, *Reclining Figure*, 1951
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

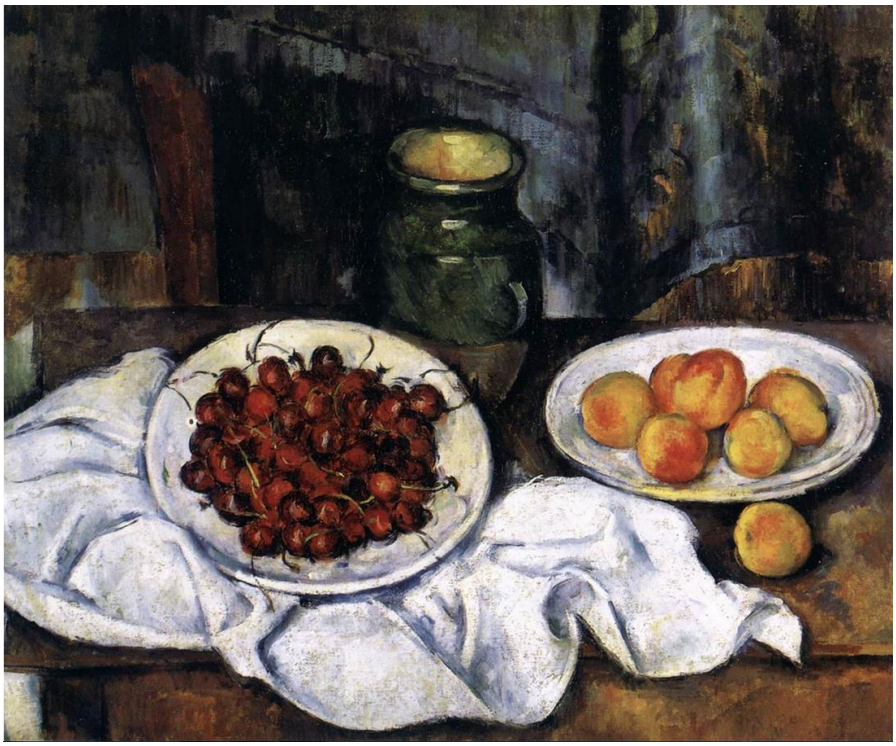

Illustration № 90
Paul Cézanne, Cherries and Peaches,1883-87
Oil on canvas, 50x61 cm
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles

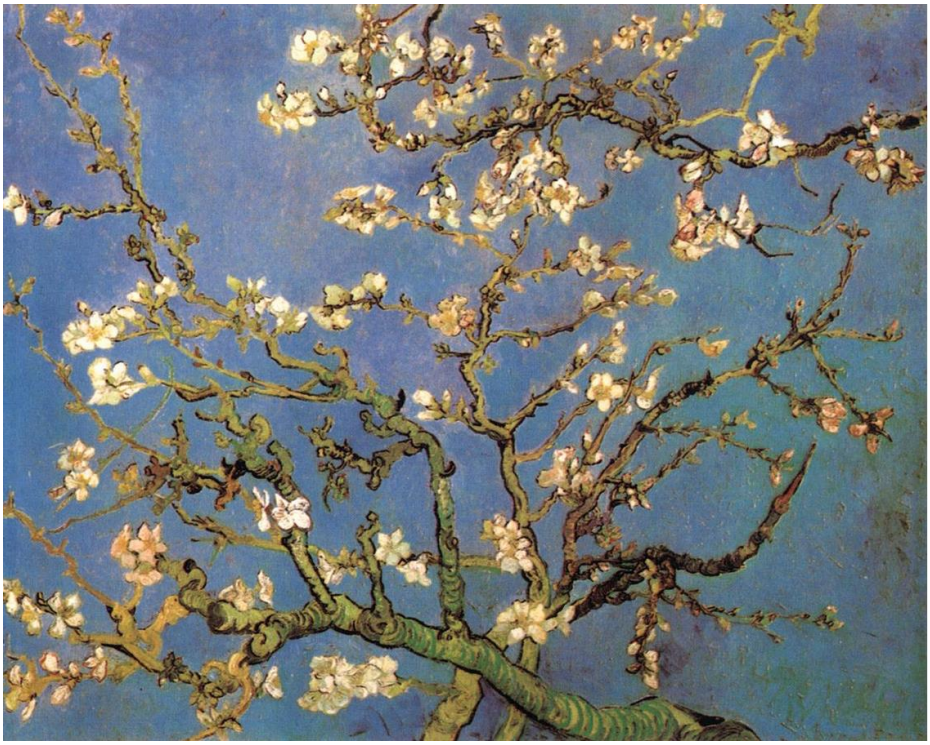

Illustration № 91

Vincent van Gogh, *Blossoming Almond Tree*, 1890
Oil on Canvas,
73.5 cm × 92 cm
Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

Illustration № 92
Fritz von Uhde, *Christ with Peasants*,1887-1888
Oil on wood, 50 x 62 cm
Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Illustration № 93

Mark Rothko, *No.14*,1960
Oil on canvas, 290 x 268 cm
Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco, CA, USA

Illustration № 94
Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape with Stone Carriers*, 1620
Oil on canvas, 86 x 127 cm
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Illustration № 95

Georges Rouault, Clown, 1912,
Oil on canvas, 89.8 x 68.2 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York

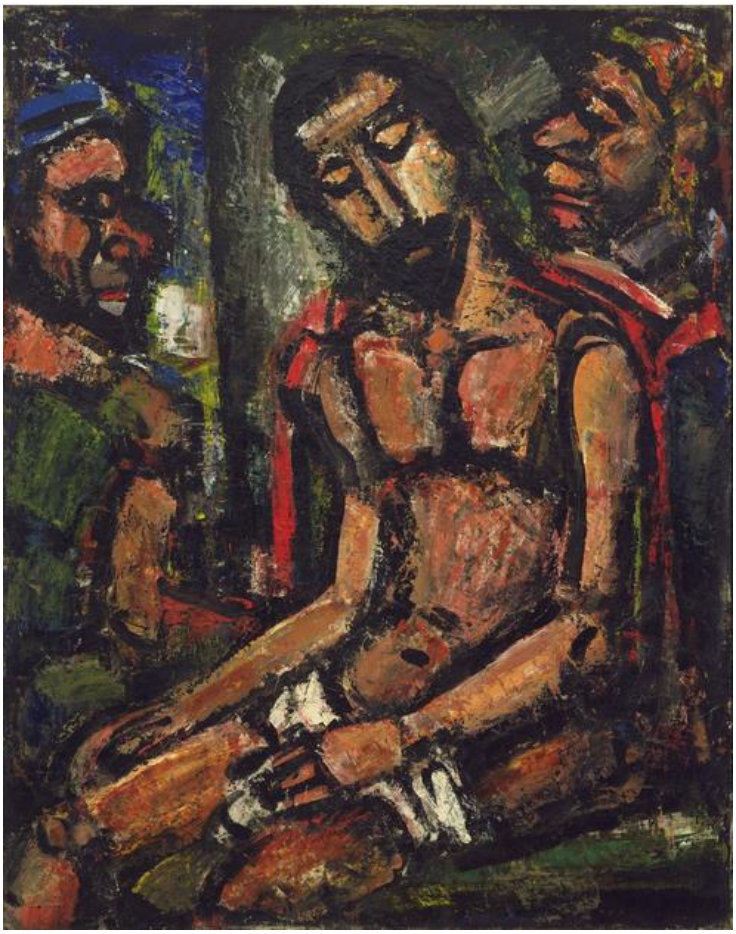

Illustration № 96

Georges Rouault, *Christ Mocked by Soldiers*,1932
Oil on canvas, 92.1 x 72.4 cm
Museum of Modern Art, New York

Illustration № 97

Jan Steen, *The Fat Kitchen*, 1667-69
Oil on panel, 36x45cm
Liechtenstein Museum, Vienna

Illustration № 98

Dong Qichang, *Chinese Landscape*, 1630
Album of eight paintings; ink on paper, 24.4 x 16 cm
Edward Elliott Family Collection, Gift of Douglas Dillon in 1986

Illustration № 99

Paul Cézanne, *Still-Life with a Curtain*, 1895
Oil on canvas, 55 x 75 cm
The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

Illustration № 100

Our Lady of Vladimir, First third of the 12th century
Wood, tempera, 104 x 69 cm
The State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

APPENDICES

Appendix to chapter 1

Russian intellectuals under the Soviet regime

1.1. Alexey Losev[1]

Another, rather later and celebrated, Russian philosopher, Alexey Losev, who was a disciple of Pavel Florensky and a friend of Nikolai Berdyaev, evaluated Soloviev's way of thinking. Losev's earlier, rather honest and open philosophical thoughts about aesthetics caused his exile to Northern Siberia in 1931, from which he was rescued by his fellow writers. Both Losev and his wife, persecuted by the Soviet government, embraced a secret monastic way of life. Losev, until his death, had to include the words 'Lenin' and 'Marxism' as compulsory in his books, as did all other scholars under the Soviet regime. In 1920 Losev already intended to write a fundamental work on systematic aesthetics, though it was not possible until 1927 when he published the first part of his dialectics of artistic form. Losev was interested in unveiling the 'logical skeleton of art'. This he sees as the first scholastic step in aesthetics. He gives a clear picture of the formation of *eidos* (form), which he defines in terms of the essence that has been revealed. This process of formation, the multi-levelled incarnation of *eidos* in the sphere of otherness, generates the *expression*, without which no movement of the idea is imaginable. The rest of his definitions rely on the idea of expression. Losev argues that it is precisely expression that is the object of aesthetics. Losev argues that every meaningful materiality already contains, potentially, its own relevant expression. Meaningful materiality itself longs to be expressed through otherness and to obtain its essential meaning. For this reason an artist serves only as an instrument, and all he has to do is to be passive in his own action, and open to the expression of, not his own self, but to the self of the artistic form. The merit of the quality of an artwork, according to Losev is the passivity of the artist for the sake of letting the form express its own self. An active interference of the author's self can easily ruin and distort the form. The essence of good art is to be able to be as passive as possible at the right time. Therefore Losev's idea of the artistic will is a great passivity and infinite self-denial. This idea of artistic selflessness and passivity is also highly valued in the writings of

[1] 1893-1988.

the four theologians, but unlike them, Losev does not make a difference between an iconographer and a secular artist, but he speaks in terms of great art and the good artist.

Even in the appreciation of music Losev distinguishes between qualitative appreciation and aesthetic appreciation. Every experience is a movement from 'I' to the subject, as it is formulated by so-called intentionalism. Psychology differs from sciences by its subject. Science deals with material objects, while the subjects of psychology are feelings, emotions and experiences. Losev defines three crucial elements in the process of intentional appreciation of an artwork: the 'I', the act of communication, and the 'subject' that provokes the response. These three elements are in complete unity in the process of appreciation, and they cannot be separated from each other, while the main function here has the process and the quality of formation. In other words, it can be said that Losev fully appreciates the artwork for the sake of the observer and not just for the sake of the artist's self-expression, even if many artists themselves think that they are expressing themselves. He thinks that every art and every artistic form relies on the dialectics of conscious and unconscious. He suggests that if anyone has any doubt about the existence of unconscious consciousness or the conscious unconsciousness, all they need to do is to look at or hear any piece of great art.

Losev considers music, like every other work of art, as coming from the depths of non-being, from the non-depictable; all art is incarnated in sound or a visual form for the mortal eyes and ears: "we hear not aerial waves but the world and life and this attitude is perfectly factual".[2] It is factual because music relies on the fluctuation of waves, but the experience and understanding of them has nothing to do with that. A work of music has a special, physical form of being. In other words, Losev's view of artistic creativity shows his willingness to see the creative act as some kind of mystery that works in hidden ways in spite of artists' intentions. The passivity of an artist helps and enables the work to break through the captivity of one's limitation and embrace a universal truth.

Both Soloviev and Losev, in spite of their different approaches to western aesthetics, share the same vision of artistic experience as sacred, that is, as having a universal meaning that cannot be reduced to a particular religious tradition.

[2] Losev 2008, 638.

1.2. Father Alexander Men[3] was another clergyman who lived under the Soviet regime and surprised his contemporaries by his unconventional approach to spiritual life. It was obviously not without reason that he complained about a dangerous prejudice against creativity in his own days. He pointed out that many people assumed that, as they enter the world of Christian ideas and spiritual life, they are crossing a dividing line that they think separates the Church from the world. He was particularly concerned about the fact that people renounce works of art as somewhat sinful and, with the sole exception of ecclesiastical art, "think of creativity as belonging to the fallen world. Accordingly, the true Christian should not paint, write or engage in any other creative enterprise".[4] Father Alexander's personal adoption of musical performances also demonstrate his broader vision of art and creativity outside the liturgical boundaries of the Church.

1.3. Russian *émigrés* on western art and aesthetics

The views of the Russian intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th centuries greatly affected the intellectual openness and evolution of people living under the Soviet regime. The sense of beauty present in the western art of the earlier periods became a blessing in disguise in the hands of faithful philosophers. They used it as a weapon against the totalitarian regime and challenged the authorities by focusing on the positive power and the moralistic and didactic effects of beauty as such without having to explicitly point towards its ultimate end. Therefore modern scholars rightly note that when the Russian intellectuals arrived as émigrés in Paris in the 1920s they "must have felt more at ease with the French avant-garde than did most Parisians".[5] Western art was a ray of light in their consciousness even before they emigrated from their homeland. It provided that nourishment that fed people's intellect and let them survive under the godless system.

1.4. Nikolai Berdyaev[6] was the most ardent apologist of the creative impulse. Berdyaev stands out with his rebellious and unconventional attitude against all the dogmatic convictions around art and traditionalism claimed by some Orthodox. Before the emigration, Berdyaev considered carefully the legacy of orthodox Christian thinking and came up with his own status, not as a theologian, but as a religious philosopher that allowed him to embrace wider horizons than those expected of him by the local Church authorities.

[3] 1935 – 1990.
[4] Men 1989.
[5] Lock 2008, 31.
[6] 1874-1948

Berdyaev started working on his book *The Meaning of the Creative Act*, when an irresistible reaction against the Orthodox circles of Moscow began to grow within him. [7] Some of his contemporaries like Vasily Rozanov and Vyacheslav Ivanov were supportive towards Berdyaev's book, though Orthodox Moscow met his views on creativity with great suspicion and objection. Berdyaev believed that even his contemporary émigré Sergius Bulgakov called his book "demonic, titanic and humanistic" in his book *The Light that Never Fades.*[8] His unconventional views were not welcomed and rejected as daring and rebellious against the tradition. However, if considered carefully, there is not much that Berdyaev says against the Orthodox tradition; he rather fights against the conventional views that possessed the Russian Church in his time and increased the power of Church authorities over the laity. Berdyaev's protest against the notion of individual creativity as a threat to Orthodox spirituality obviously derives from the standard attitude that prevailed in his modern Russian 'spirituality'.

When it comes to particularly western art as such, Berdyaev is not concerned about the difference between iconography and western art but he finds it important to discuss what went wrong in the Renaissance on its own terms, and why it ceased to be Christian art *per se*. Instead of condemning the western artists, Berdyaev expresses his sorrow over the failure of the Renaissance, which he saw as the "dawn of a new age in which the Christian soul became conscious for the first time of a will to creation". [9] He saw its failure as "the most sublime, significant and tragic failure ever experienced by European man".[10] Berdyaev's idea of the reason why the Renaissance failed differs from the ideas of his contemporary theologians. Its failure, according to Berdyaev, was caused by the fact that it attempted to combine the incompatible: the art of classical antiquity, that perfectly and ideally realized itself here on earth, and on the other hand a mystical Christianity that strived towards heaven. In other words it was not realism that was the problem, but precisely idealisation, using realistic expression that did not go along with the true Christian spirit. On the contrary, Berdyaev sees the salvation of creativity in the use of symbolism or metaphor. He sees the meaning of symbol almost as a bridge thrown from a human creative act to the sacred, ultimate reality.

[7] Berdyaev 1962, 9.
[8] Berdyaev 1950, 212, refers to a specific passage in Bulgakov's Book, although the reference seems inaccurate as instead, Bulgakov calls the book 'Feuerbachian'. See Bulgakov 1917, 161.
[9] Berdyaev, 1950, 211.
[10] Ibid.

Berdyaev reasonably believes that modern Orthodoxy somewhat misunderstands and underestimates the value of human creativity, or at best tolerates it in a superficial way. He sees the reason for neglecting it in modern Orthodox communities as rooted in a tendency towards forming an "organized social collective, with its norms, taboos, prohibitions and conventions. The creative impulse, on the other hand is absolutely unique, unbidden and lawless".[11] Berdyaev acknowledged the sad presence of sectarianism among the extreme conservative wing of Orthodox believers. He discerned among them a tendency to break away from 'cosmic breadth' and a refusal to accept the universal responsibility for all. He saw a sectarian element in this modern Orthodox tendency towards exclusion from the rest of humanity when he pointed out that "a sect wishes to be saved alone; it does not wish to be saved together with the world".[12] Berdyaev also correctly concluded: "Sectarianism is worse than individualism, for it produces an illusion of universalism; it appears to offer an escape from separatism".[13] Berdyaev is perfectly aware that not all creativity is divinely inspired and has positive ends: "Just as there may be evil imagination, calling up before us evil images and phantasms, so there may be false or illusory creative acts. Man is capable of responding not only to the call of God but also to the call of Satan".[14] However the fear of evil cannot diminish the spiritual potentials involved in creativity. In fact, Berdyaev sees the Orthodox Church as called to embrace the world instead of being scared of it. He sees its greater potential as a force for good over the whole of the world, a potential neglected and rejected by the sad presence of fear and insecurity. Therefore it can safely be argued that Berdyaev by no means fights against the Orthodox tradition but on the contrary: he challenges the modern Orthodox hierarchs for abandoning the spirit of Orthodoxy and adopting a sectarian legalistic consciousness alien to the spirit of the Orthodox tradition.

Berdyaev takes the idea of creativity as the highest calling and even the heart of human existence. He rightly believes that "creativity stands in no need of justification from the religious or any other point of view; it is its own justification in virtue of the very existence of man".[15] Berdyaev, as the others did, argues that the Creator himself passed the spirit of creativity to humans. Yet, he, unlike the others, takes a step further and suggests frankly that creativity, as a way of embracing the cosmic life of beauty is a sure way of obtaining

[11] Berdyaev *1950,* 218.
[12] Ibid 145.
[13] Ibid 145.
[14] Ibid 218.
[15] Ibid 207.

God's likeness. The artist there can "obtain the likeness of God the Creator, the Greater Artist, and by his help achieve to break through the earthly ugliness of life and get into the higher cosmic life in beauty".[16]

Berdyaev relates the idea of creativity to the fundamental Christian truth of God-manhood. He adopts the early Christian rationale of artistic creativity as based upon the dogma of the Incarnation: "The idea of God is the greatest human idea, and the idea of man is the greatest divine idea. Man awaits the birth of God in himself, and God awaits the birth of man in himself. It is at this level that the question of creativity arises".[17] While emphasising the idea of harmonic unity between God and man, Berdyaev evaluates the Orthodox concept of synergetic co-operation between man and God as an ultimate principle of salvation. He takes Soloviev's way of considering artistic activity to be theurgic. He sees theurgic art as universal phenomenon embracing the cosmos rather than only reflecting a cultural or social state reality. Theurgy for him is creating not art, but a new being, it is supra-cultural, the art that creates a new world, the other being, other life with beauty as its essence. Theurgy defeats the tragedy of creation; it directs man's creative energy to the new life: "Theurgy is an act of man together with God – God-creation, god-man creation".[18] Berdyaev is a firm believer in synergetic cooperation as the only way to salvation: "Though man can be degraded and defiled by sin, there can be no redemption and no salvation without man's response to God".[19] However, man's response to God for Berdyaev does not consist in the lifestyle of a churchgoer and daily rituals, but rather in man's willingness and openness to the word of God in any level that is required of him.

The other interesting point that sharply opposes his thoughts to Kontoglou's is the freedom of creative will. Kontoglou saw creative freedom as a flight from the tradition and a rebellion against it. Berdyaev sees creative freedom precisely as obedience to God's freedom. He contrasts creativity with evolution, which is "a process in accordance with certain laws immanent in or transcending the world, whereas creativity issues from freedom and is not subject to any laws whatsoever".[20]

[16] Berdyaev 1962, 283.
[17] Berdyaev 1950, 209.
[18] Berdyaev, quoted by Bychkov, 2004, 31.
[19] Berdyaev 1950, 213.
[20] Berdyaev 1950, 217.

Berdyaev juxtaposes freedom and necessity; the true freedom of creative will is "something that proceeds from within, out of immeasurable and inexplicable depths, not from without, not from the world's necessity".[21] Therefore in Berdyaev's vision necessity is immanent while true freedom is transcendental, it is the "flight into the infinite" that "transcends the finite towards the infinite".[22] As opposed to Kontoglou's version of *freedom from*, Berdyaev believes in the *freedom to* as the true and authentic version of freedom that enables on to grow and communicate with the divine through the creative act.

1.5. Sergei Bulgakov[23]

The views of Berdyaev's contemporary émigré and fellow philosopher Father Sergei Bulgakov differ somewhat from Berdyaev's views on art in general. The foundation of Bulgakov's theological research usually refers to his rather controversial theory of sophiology, his teaching about Sophia as divine wisdom, which appears to him incomprehensible and an supra-logical mediator between God and the world. His sophiology appeared controversial and attracted official condemnation. The icon occupies the central place in Bulgakov's aesthetics. Bulgakov sees in it a principally antinomic phenomenon, it enables the "Visibility of the invisible and the depictability of the undepictable".[24] Therefore, he uses the term icon in two different ways: with strictly cultic meaning and with a broader aesthetic meaning. He continues to give, in the sphere of art, three instances of being: the ideal "fore" or "pre-image" of the object, the very material object itself and the icon of the object, i.e, the artistic image as such, which longs to express the fore-image as precisely as possible. This task was fulfilled to the utmost in the icon precisely in its cultic use as an orthodox icon. In the icon the knowledge of God and the spiritual world is opened up in an exceptional way. It is the knowledge of what is inaccessible by any other means of understanding, it is the knowledge of that which is principally inaccessible, and the faculty of mental (intellectual) perception lies at the heart of the icon.

Bulgakov followed Florensky's views when he thought that the icon owes its highly spiritual power to its canonicity: the same thing that Orthodox theology calls Church tradition that keeps the spiritual experience of the Church. The Church preserves its artistic

[21] Berdyaev 1962,134-135.
[22] Berdyaev 1950, 209.
[23] 1871 – 1944.
[24] Bulgakov, 1996, 48.

tradition as a 'canon of iconography', which is seen as a keeper of the living memory of the Church. Bulgakov sees the canon not as an external force or the collection of rules but the inner norm, organically contained within the spiritual world which carries the iconographic symbolism. Therefore, Fr Sergei sees the icon as more than art and the iconographer for him is not an artist but a "religious, contemplating theologian".[25] The point where God's and the iconographer's visions meet seems to Fr Sergei to be "achievements and discoveries of iconography exceed[ing] in power any intellectual and visionary theology as well as non-religious art". The icon, according to Bulgakov, is the ideal revelation of the '*sophianism'* of the creation.[26]

Bulgakov's idea of *sophianism* was the revelation of an initial form in the material appearance within the material world. The main quality distinguishing an object with its *sophianism* from other objects is the sense of beauty, which appears as the revelation of the holy spirit in matter; "it is the sinless, sacred sensitivity and tangibility of the idea".[27] Bulgakov emphasises the major role of 'soul and bodily-ness' in art. Beauty is perceived by an artist as the sacred materiality incarnated. He believes that this was achieved with almost perfection by the ancient Greeks in their idealized nude statues as well as by the medieval Orthodox iconographers. Bulgakov believes that this is precisely why they define it as "the erotic meeting of matter and form, their loving unity, the idea felt and turned into beauty; this is the shining ray of Sophia in our world".[28]

Bulgakov's ideal is art not as a compilation of technical-virtuosic tricks, but as the life in beauty, incomparably wider than our human art. The whole world is a work of art being permanently in the process of forming and shaping, which reaches its fulfilment in man because of his central position in the world. Only through him as the king of the Creation is the cosmos complete.[29]

In spite of Bulgakov's clear dislike of Picasso's paintings as opposed to that of the Impressionists,[30] his general attitude to western art suggests a positive judgement. The fact that he sent his young disciple Julia Reitlinger, later Mother Joanna to study art in the

[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid 83-96
[27] Ibid.
[28] Bulgakov 1917, 254.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Bulgakov 1976, 67.

studio of Maurice Deni indicates his willingness to benefit from western artistic experience even in iconography without letting an icon lose its authenticity and traditional spirit. Bulgakov as a theologian departs from the theological worldview when he declares his preference for Matisse over Picasso. The wholeness and holistic vision that he discerns in the paintings of Matisse and Renoir, regardless of the context behind their works, appeals to him in the spirit of the resurrection, while Picasso's dark themes reflect the fragmentation and decomposition of the modern world. The only real problem with his article is that Bulgakov blames art for the way it represents the world and takes representation for approval rather than a protest against it. Bulgakov overlooks the fact that the reasons behind the fragmentation of the world are in the soul of the modern man rather than in the artistic protest against it. It is alas clear that Bulgakov cannot escape the traditional path of considering western art through iconic 'lenses', in other words blaming western art for producing something else than icons.

1.6. Paul Evdokimov[31]

Another Russian émigré theologian and a thinker Paul Evdokimov spent his most productive years in Paris together with Fr. Sergei Bulgakov, Nikolai Berdyaev, Olivier Clement and Lev Gillet. Evdokimov' vision of art flows out of his vision of modernity and its challenges. Michael Plekon described him as "Cosmopolitan, urbane, brilliant, he was most at home in the liturgy, surrounded by the company of the saints of the icons, wrapped by the swirl of the incense and liturgical chant, transported to heaven though still firmly planted on earth, in our time".[32] His approach to western aesthetics presented in *The Art of the Icon: A Theology of Beauty* demonstrates his vast knowledge of western art with a particular reference to modern art.

Unlike the others Evdokimov addresses his criticism specifically to Italian Renaissance and the Avant-garde emerging slowly since the Impressionism. His judgment applies particularly to the cheapening and exteriorizing the 'religious subject' in the art of Italian masters as well as to distorting the vision of the authentic world by modern artists. Evdokimov wisely locates the problem of Italian Renaissance in the superficial application of "religious subject" in plastic manner, in which "the breath of the Transcendent is no

[31] 1901-1970.
[32] Plekon 1995, 15.

longer felt".[33] Since western art turned down the symbolic language of iconography it "lost the ability to directly grasp and portray the Transcendent".[34] The loss of liturgical language excluded western paintings from the liturgical practice of the Eastern Church and deprived them of not only of sacred nature but also the sense of credibility and authenticity.

Evdokimov's negative approach derives from the bizarre nature of contemporary art the beginning of which he sees in the very art of the Impressionists. The western separation from the traditional manner of portraying the sacred, pushed a western artist into the need to search for "sur-subject' or 'sur-reality', since for him simple reality is no longer directly expressible".[35] Evdokimov appropriately assumes that "in a very heroic but desperate way, the artist tries to find the secret side of the things of this world, that side of things which has been 'evicted' from its own dwelling".[36] Even though there can be a slight exaggeration when Evdokimov speaks of all modern artists seeking "to portray perpetually unsatisfied spiritual and psychological states",[37] yet the truth is that he speaks of the art of the 19th and 20th centuries in which artists respond to the state of the world and express the terror coming out of it. Evdokimov considers modern artistic presentations of this terror as a passive declaration of the fact that the world has become ugly. This passivity demonstrates that man no longer tries to put nature's anarchistic tendencies in order but "simply registers them and in fact contributes to their chaos by refusing to intervene".[38]

Evdokimov like many other modern theologians sees the fragmentation of modern art as a tendency towards disintegration and destruction of matter rather than its affirmation. Evdokimov speaks of Paul Klee in whose way of thinking he finds more search for the "'world' before the world" than in anybody else's while attributing the abstract artistic searches for the higher world including Kandinsky, Malevich and Mondrian to the "theosophical" and occult realm.[39] He sees abstract art as more plausible for iconoclasts who would never see its spirituality in conflict with their theories. Evdokimov juxtaposes abstract art with an icon and concludes that it is inferior by asking a question: "Can we feel a desire to pray in front of Malevitch's square?"[40] Contrasting abstract art with iconography

[33] Evdokimov 1972, Kindle Loc. 1303.
[34] Ibid 1290.
[35] Ibid 1339.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid 1347.
[38] Ibid 1365.
[39] Ibid 1441.
[40] Ibid 1533.

implies to a hidden desire to see icons as an ultimate model for every art. Yet, he argues that the need for juxtaposing them comes from the sacred and religious claims of abstract art without which it would only be decorative and architectural. The liturgical consciousness according to Evdokimov "teaches us today more than ever before that art decomposes not because it is the child of its time but because it refuses its priestly functions: to create a *theophanic* art and to set the icon in the middle of buried and disappointed hopes, the icon which is the Angel of the Presence, dressed in a coat of many colours' the sophianic beauty of the Church".[41] Yet he also applies a rather eschatological view to the same modern artistic declaration of facts suggesting that "Van Gogh's nostalgia of Botticelli's Venuses as well as the sadness of his Madonnas will find their serene fullness when those who hunger for the two worlds will be filled".[42]

Evdokimov's specific analysis of modern arts appears to be picking only negative aspects and elements, which are undeniably present and therefore disquieting. This type of art is the "Taboric light without Christ".[43] Evdokimov considers the sophialogical conception among the various possible philosophical approaches most capable of defining the nature of abstract art. Yet he does not totally reject abstract art as a "minor art, which has a certain pedagogical importance for the catechumens who are still in the antechamber of the mystery".[44] Abstract art, he believes, "can help us all to understand that we are in the presence of beauty, not when there is nothing more to add but when there is nothing left to take away".[45]

Evdokimov's criticism of modern art carries a clear suggestion that it would have been better if western art did not take the path it did. Nevertheless the author took an enormous time and effort to study the history of modern western art and examine it from the perspective of an icon. In spite of his criticism of the Renaissance religious paintings and modern art, Evdokimov is not negative about the great masters of the west somewhere between the renaissance and modernity. The great masters, he believes, had the feeling unlike the modern painters, that "when they touched any piece of being, they held the whole world in their hands, a world wriggling with life. Today however, the world is

[41] Ibid 1646.
[42] Ibid,
[43] Ibid 1470.
[44] Ibid 1619.
[45] Ibid.

shrinking into the poverty of a few fragments, and we see this world portrayed across immense canvases and billboards".[46]

Yet, Evdokimov applies a rather universal vision to the beauty that God speaks through to us and relates to us. One may wonder what is particularly liturgical about the masterpieces of western art since they do not fit into the accepted standards of Orthodox liturgical art. Evdokimov found the answer in the universal meaning of beauty that instead of fascinating by prettiness fades away while it leaves us face to face with the absolute… "In Mozart's Mass or Requiem, we hear Christ's voice, and our elevation acquires the liturgical value of his presence".[47] His liturgical appreciation of artistic beauty depends on its authenticity to refer to "liturgical origins, even outside of the liturgy".[48] Ultimately in spite of Evdokimov's just protest against considering modern western art as sacred and religious, he is prepared to embrace the whole world as "If every person is created in the image of God and is a living icon, *earthly culture* is the *icon* of *the Kingdom of Heaven*".[49]

1.7. Anthony Bloom,[50] on the other hand, who became later the Metropolitan of Sourozh, shared more of Soloviev's and Berdyaev's approach. His openness to artistic creativity could not be limited to iconography or liturgical art but he saw the whole of creation as a 'kind of introduction to God's creativity'.[51] Metropolitan Anthony was absolutely convinced that instead of setting faith and the teaching of the Church against the world, we as Orthodox Christians should teach future generations that through literature, art and science "the mystery of God opens up more deeply and widely".[52] He was absolutely convinced that anything that is the object of our research is part of theology. He even saw these disciplines as a way of having "a deeper understanding of the world, than the world has of itself".[53] Metropolitan Anthony quotes Bulgakov without entirely agreeing with him who said once: "When God creates, he pours Himself into that, which is not yet existent and in the very moment when He enters the non-existence, His creation comes into existence"[54]. He adds himself: "When God creates, He creates something *ad extra,* but the

[46] Ibid 1391.
[47] Ibid 1259.
[48] Ibid 1267.
[49] Ibid 1267.
[50] 1914 – 2003.
[51] Bloom 1999, 223.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid, 224.
[54] Bulgakov 1917, 163.

creation has His own print. The Creation cannot be separated from him by anything else other than by human sin, which separates from God that which is inseparable from Him".[55]

For Metropolitan Anthony the only way to be a Christian in the world is to "look through the eyes of an artist or of a saint".[56] Metropolitan Anthony, like Berdyaev, rejected the idea of limiting a believer's creativity to liturgical art or sanctity alone. He believed that this pressure may do more harm than good, while a man might stop being creative and not be able to become a saint.[57] Metropolitan Anthony's thoughts on creativity, as already noted, are closer to those of Berdyaev, but unlike Berdyaev, Metropolitan Anthony applies his vision to the space inside the Church rather than protesting against the distortions in the Church as if those distortions were the authentically orthodox. His views may sound controversial to the conservative wing of Orthodox scholars but his confidence in Orthodox teaching can hardly be questioned.

1.8. Archimandrite Sophrony Sakharov[58]

The views on art of father Sophrony Sakharov, who arrived in Paris as an émigré artist in 1921, are quite close to those of Bulgakov, with whom he studied for a year at the newly-founded Institut St-Serge. Fr Sophrony then embraced the monastic path, spent about twenty years on Mount Athos and afterwards founded the monastery of St John the Baptist in England. Father Sophrony felt indebted to his artistic past, which eventually led him to monasticism.[59] He applied his efforts to transforming his artistic zeal into the zeal for making icons.[60] He never wrote a fundamental work on art as such, but his views expressed in his letters are quite in line with the ideas of the traditional thinkers. In spite of acknowledging the role of his past as an artist in his present as a monk, Fr Sophrony, like Trubetskoi, Florensky, Ouspensky and Kontoglou, saw western art as inferior to iconography. Fr Sophrony, like the four theologians, obviously saw western art as a threat to liturgical art. He was perfectly right in differentiating secular art "whether it is opera or painting", which "by no means coincides with the spirit of the temple and divine sacramentality", from sacred art. Appearance of this kind of secular art in a church context

[55] Bloom 2007, 711.
[56] Bloom 1999, 224.
[57] Ibid, 227.
[58] 1896 – 1993.
[59] Sakharov 2003, 131.
[60] Ibid.

provoked in him the same unpleasant feeling of irrelevancy which may be experienced if "by a chance the kitchen smell penetrates the Church".[61] In contrast he believed that Orthodox temples were "(and enjoyed) by all tastes whether it is spoiled, sophisticated or simple".[62] However, one may wonder how this concern might have been applicable to his presence in Europe where Western European art was celebrated on its own without a reference to iconography or even less threatening it. Since Fr Sophrony has no special writing on this subject, it is hardly possible to argue whether he did or did not have a negative view of all western art as such. Yet, his views are obviously more inclined to the conventional Orthodox position than to that of the Soloviev, as followed later by Berdyaev.

In the writings of Sakharov, it is obvious that he is not as much concerned with art since becoming a monk as he cares about making one's self as an image and likeness of God. Fr Sophrony's image of creativity embraces the ascetic longing for God's likeness rather than limiting it to artistic creativity alone. He considers it in the context of prayer and pastoral work. Father Sophrony who was well aware of the peculiarities of the creative process compared it to the hesychastic practice of contemplation. He remembers his Athonite life when his mind was so much occupied with the thoughts of another side of being that there was no room for any other art, except "the 'art' of getting close to the divine eternal love of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit".[63] Father Sophrony sheds a pastoral light on the process of making, and compares it with the need for moderation in spiritual life: "We know throughout the whole history of acts that very few have achieved the state of not losing the power of expression while bringing the work to certain technical end".[64] As an artist can ruin the work by changing it endlessly so can one miss the point if one relies excessively on the importance of one's own efforts and prayer: "Usually it is more sensible for an artist to stop on a stage where it is more or less breathtaking. It is frightening to go further, since in most cases it will catch something from 'death'".[65] In spite of Fr Sophrony's thinking that his experience as an artist was only a short path which led him to the monastery, it is quite clear that the artistic experience enlightened and sophisticated his spiritual senses which served him later in his pastoral work as a spiritual father.

[61] Ibid 133.
[62] Ibid 132.
[63] Ibid 133.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid 133.

1.9. Nun Maria Skobtsova[66]

Berdyaev's and Metropolitan Anthony's views were very much adopted and appreciated by Mother Maria Skobtsova who is a canonized saint of the Orthodox Church. Maria Skobtsova's way of monastic life by no means fits into a traditionalist understanding of monasticism, however, its authenticity can also hardly be doubted. The most distinctive feature of Mother Maria is that she lived the most creative and extraordinary life among all the monastics actively engaged in create activities such as painting, embroidery, poetry... Her theoretical views unite the elements of the rebellious humanism of Berdyaev, the rather abstract theology of Bulgakov's Sophia, and the idea of creativity as making one's self like Sophrony Sakharov. Mother Maria looks at personalism and individualism in art as the evil art; it is the type of art which is separated from the community and isolated in one's selfish self. Evil art is like a false art and it has nothing to do with the artistic quality of the work. She lived the most unconventional life, but her views are more traditional than Orthodox authors discussed earlier who claimed to hold a traditional approach to art. She sees the model of the holy Trinity as the way out from that evil creativity which lies at the heart of individualism and selfish expression, and makes an interesting point that while confusion of languages at the tower of Babel is seen as a negative event, at the same time the New Testament speaks of the gift of languages which is the gift of the Holy Spirit at the Pentecost: two similar events can have two different ends. The first resulted in separation, the second in unity. The origin of good art is God, while the origin of bad art is self-centredness. At this point Mother Maria is proposing the way of good art as maximum self-emptiness and self-silencing, which sounds similar to what Losev articulated as a great passivity.[67] It would be tempting to think that Mother Maria is following the path of the same monastic devotion that proclaims the icon as the only and superior art. However, her example of Leonardo's Bacchus makes it clear that she does not limit the creative openness to God and togetherness (*sobornost'*) to iconography alone. Therefore Mother Maria, like Soloviev, Berdyaev and Metropolian Antony, sees the divine origin of every creative act transforming the evil element contained in the human world into the good. Mother Maria is an exception among Orthodox monastics who accept the broader vision of God's creativity

[66] 1891–1945.

[67] Losev, quoted by Bychkov, 2004, 147. However, Losev's suggestion applied to letting the form express its own self, rather than letting God speak through one's creative act, which might have been his hidden message as well, though not possible to be said explicitly.

present in human creativity even beyond the boundary separating liturgical art from so-called secular art. She would agree with Father Sophrony on the point that: "Entering the creative act itself is communion with the life eternal that is sought by humans".[68] The difference in her opinion is that access to that kind of creative act is not limited to Orthodox iconographers or liturgical artists.

1.9. Vyacheslav Ivanov[69]

Another Russian Émigré to Europe of the time was Vyacheslav Ivanov, even though it may be problematic to list him among Orthodox religious thinkers after his conversion to Roman Catholicism. However, in the realm of poetry Ivanov has been more traditionally Orthodox than any other writers who ever wrote on art. A symbolist poet, Ivanov, after having travelled to Europe many times, sought inspiration from the ancient and medieval past, especially Byzantium, the art of which poets rarely looked at. He finds in it authentic symbolism, organic art, which he juxtaposes with the bourgeois culture reflected in the art of earlier symbolists. Ivanov as a theorist often criticized the presence of decadence and impressionism in the art of earlier symbolists. Ivanov sees precisely the theurgic element of art in the element of symbolism: Artist ought to grasp the essence of an object or an event and help it break through the skin of materiality. In this case it becomes a bearer of a divine revelation. According to him, the task of symbolists was to get away from the personal and intimate in art and create a national, synthetic art, which would avoid illusion and the present objective reality. The poet, according to Ivanov, should not be solitary but ought to be the 'voice of people'. Ivanov condemns the elements of 'art for art's sake' and strives to find a sense of communality in religious art; he aims at realistic symbolism as opposed to idealistic.

The main themes in Ivanov's poetry are the themes of death followed by the resurrection, despair followed by hope. Themes of the resurrection as glorifying sacrificial suffering distinguishes Ivanov's poetry from the poetry of earlier symbolists who stressed the state of hopelessness. In the art of Vyacheslav Ivanov the optimistic end obviously prevails. Ivanov replaces the themes of suffering and despair with celebration of sobornost, seeking of God, Revelation, mystical love that conquers death. In other words Ivanov's optimism

[68] Sakharov 2003, 33.
[69] 1866–1949.

theoretically is in full accord with the spirit of Orthodoxy that never sees the Cross detached from the Resurrection.

As we see, Ivanov had a rather romantic view of Byzantine symbolism and saw it as safeguarding art from becoming fragmented and narrowed down to the temporary state of the world. The sense of conciliarity, which he believed he saw in Byzantine symbolism, was the salvation of art. Therefore Ivanov's views resemble the views of the four theologians, though not in terms of seeing western art as a threat to liturgical culture. Ivanov rather sees modern art itself as exhausting artistic potentials and turning into a pseudo-art, if it is not enriched with the theurgic experience of holistic vision that was evidently characteristic to Byzantium. Ivanov, more like Bulgakov, does not imply that Church art is in any way superior to any other art. Rather he points to a possibility of engaging the corporative symbolic language for the sake of saving modern art from pending destruction.

1.10. Ivan Ilin[70]

Another Russian religious thinker, Ivan Ilin, was forced to leave Russia in 1922; he moved first to Germany, and then to Switzerland after the Nazis came to power in Germany. Ilin studied the general theory of Christian culture, considering especially the role of art and the artist. By culture (kul'tura) he meant a way of life, a mysterious determination of human existence based on inner, deep and organic principles of existence. Culture is created from within; it is the creation of soul and spirit. He distinguished it from civilization which is more external, superficial and based on the soulless acts of science and technology. Therefore Christian culture is the culture that is based on the spirit of Christianity, which Ilin defines as the spirit of interiorization, the spirit of love, the spirit of prayer and contemplation. It is the spirit of living and organic content. It is the spirit of honest and embellished form, spirit of perfection and material service to God on earth and acceptance of the world.[71]

According to Ilin the formation of Christian culture started centuries ago but it never reached its true goal. Christian culture is created by the people who receive it from the Spirit of Christ, which is also the spirit of creative power. Art occupies in Christian, and

[70] 1883 – 1954.
[71] Ilin 1993, 308-312.

every other, culture one of the most significant places next to science, state and economy. In the process of artistic contemplation or meditation, the artist penetrates into the major secrets of existence. Art explores the nature of God, world and people. Art incarnates its spiritual experience into the new reality – a work of art. The artist uses the medium, to establish a go-between between people and the sacred mystery, which he grasps in the depths of his soul. The essence of the world and man created by God is conveyed through the artist. Therefore art in Ilin's thought, serves as an artistic form of mystical theology. Ilin places a special emphasis on artistic creativity, meaning the unity of contemplative effort and the artistic talent of an artist. Ilin's trust in a creative impulse involving the spirit of humanity and conversing with the divine mystery is very close to Berdyaev's thoughts. Instead of limiting high expectations to the ones who are enlightened by the Orthodox Church, he, like Soloviev and Berdyaev, believes that any true and great art is service and joy, for the true artist always feels called to special service, inspired by God and a great creative mystery. The creative impulse is free and is guided by artistic need alone. And when his soul suffers enough to the point of being conquered and illuminated, then he obtains the feeling of the enormous joy of creating. Ilin, unlike many other authors, does not raise any expectations about artworks, rather he expects an observer to see the work of art through Christian lenses. In fact he gives an equal responsibility to both an artist and the observer in the making of art. Ilin most rightly sees the harm of 'aesthetic bolshevism'[72] in people's irresponsibility in not taking an artwork seriously and not going much more deeply than mere comfort.

1.11. Vladimir Veidle

In contrast, another émigré Vladimir Veidle, who published his book *The Dying of Art*[73] (*Умирание Искусства*) focused his attention on the particular problem in western art as an obstacle for an Orthodox appreciation of it. His views largely derive from his professional interest in art history and they are also formulated by his position as an Orthodox thinker. He views aesthetics rather negatively arguing that an aesthetic approach is unacceptably superficial, so that the emergence of the concept of aesthetics marks the death of art.

Veidle, like many other scholars of his time, anticipated an enormous crisis in art and even its approaching death. The beginning of this crisis he already discerns as taking place in the

[72] Ibid, 5.
[73] First published in French in Paris,1937.

end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries: in Romanticism first of all, and culminating in the art and literature of the first third of the 20th century. The core of the crisis relates to the increase of scientific-technological and logical-rationalistic tendencies, which gradually pushed out faith, religious consciousness and the human soul and subsequently artistic spirit. The gradual destruction of the foundation started with the separation of form and meaning, soul and body, personality and talent in the life and fate of an artist.[74]

Acording to Veidle, art, beginning from romanticism, started losing a sense of style, which is its essence and foundation. Style in art is understood as some supreme expression of the inner depths of artistic creation, its spirit. It is immanent in the inner world of every artist of any epoch: this is the deep predefinition of his art. Style is neither made by a particular person, nor is it a result of the many; it is rather an external discovery of the internal agreement of souls, their supra-intellectual spiritual unity; it is the incarnation of artistic *sobornost*. When *sobornost* is extinguished, it automatically puts out the style and no other attempt can light it again.[75] *Sobornost*, as we have already seen, springs directly from ecclesiastical consciousness: it is one of the most significant and characteristic features of art. Veidle uses the term *Sobornost* in this sense.

Art's loss of style, the prevalence of scientific and technological progress, the dominion of rationalism and mechanisation, the separation of man from nature: all this according to Veidle is ultimately the result of the loss of faith. “Reason kills art, pushes away the supreme reason that belonged to the artist since ancient times.” The art of the present, in his view, is always “inseparable from religion on an inner level in its essence, because artistic experience is the most religious experience, because a revelation of faith cannot *not* be contained in every creative act, because the world, in which art lives, is fully transparent only for religion”.[76]

Even the most basic definitions of the meaning of art originate from the religious. He uses definitions involving concepts such as transfiguration, incarnation, mystery, wholeness. They are attributed to religion as well as to art. Art and religion are connatural in their essence. The logic of art is the logic of religion, but they do not replace each other, but

[74] Veidle1996, 86.
[75] Ibid, 87.
[76] Veidle 1996, 158.

rather fill and strengthen each other. In modern times not all artists have been religious in a strictly ecclesiastical sense, but they were in the world, permeated by hidden religion, truly human and guided by conscience. The artist, even if he was not a believer, was still creating mystery in his art, the justification for which is religious. For artists, the performance of their artistic "sacrament" was supported by the sense of style, the sense of unity with the world and people. Mystery can be offered by sinful hands; modern art is falling apart, not because the artist is sinful, but because, whether consciously or unconsciously, he refuses to perform the sacrament.[77] Therefore, logical reasoning, the refusal of artistic invention, the replacement of life with mechanics, the loss of the sense of miracle in the artistic process, the loss of perceiving things and events in their primordial wholeness, in their deep mysteriousness, formalism in modern art: all these are the symptoms of the death of art.

Veidle forms his own position as a professional art critic and art lover, but on the whole his attitude is negative to aesthetics and the aesthetic. The aesthetic for Veidle is an inexcusably superficial attitude. Aesthetics is a science that got its name as a sign of the dying of the last traces of style in an art that had no rules. Veidle envisages the crisis (dying) of art, that has flourished at least from Greek antiquity. Veidle sees the crisis starting from the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, as we have seen. He puts the essence of crisis down to the fact that since the Enlightenment art has seen an increase of scientific-technological, calculative-rationalistic tendencies, which gradually took over faith and religious consciousness. He sees the signs of separation between meaning and form, soul and body in art, between personality and talent in the life and fate of an artist. Art since Romanticism, according to Veidle, started losing the sense of style which is supposed to be its essence and foundation.

Veidle's fear of the death of art is based on the modern tendency towards fragmentation, breaking the harmonic unity between people, between the human and the world, a rationalization that pushes away the highest reason… the loss of *sobornost* in its broader sense.

Even a non-religious artist creates mystery/sacrament in his art, the justification for which is religious. Offering the sacrament in art takes place through the sense of style, sense of connection between the world and people. The sacrament can be fulfilled even with sinful

[77] Ibid, 160.

hands. Modern art is in a state of decomposition not because artists are sinful, but because whether consciously or unconsciously they are refusing to perform the sacrament.

1.12. Wasily Kandinsky

A special place in the history of Orthodox thinking on the subject of art among the émigrés has to be given to the Russian artist who became the founder of the abstract art movement in Europe. Vasily Kandinsky, an artist and an art theorist, started his career in rather non-artistic professions. After studying law and economics, he gave up the career of a businessman and moved into the art world. Kandinsky also stood at the roots of the expressionist movement as an editor of the almanac, *Der Blaue Reiter* (*The Blue Rider*), which united many expressionists around it. However, Kandinsky went further than any of his contemporaries in his artistic search. He articulated and developed the artistic longing for dematerialization and liberation of colour and form from the dictation of narrative. Kandinsky's art theory was formed within the atmosphere of a quest for the spiritual, theosophic, anthroposophic and symbolist, which emerged in European intellectual circles at the beginning of the 20th century. The 20th century is probably one of the most complex and traumatizing periods in the history of humankind with its new scientific discoveries and introduction of relativity and quantum theories, the foundation of psychoanalysis, and a political chaos leading to revolution in Russia and to two world wars. Kandinsky saw the horror of the world challenging artistic potential and demanding new forms and expressions from it.

Kandinsky formulated his basic ideas in his books: *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1911), which is still often considered as the key work on the art of the 20th century, *Steps* (called «Rückblick» in the first German edition, 1913), *Point and Line on a Plain Surface* (1926) and numerous articles. Kandinsky, being an Orthodox Christian himself, by no means tried either to paint icons or to speak about iconography. Rather he made it his task to discern the art of the future that would spread spiritual values in the modern world of soullessness. He tried to conceptualize his own art by laying out his theory of the meaning of art *per se*. Kandinsky called his reader to perceive the spiritual essence of the material and abstract forms conveyed by art. Kandinsky saw his preceding epoch, the 19th century, as one of those that rejected the spirit and lost the ability to feel it. In the new epoch he envisaged the coming of the great epoch of spirituality that required art to produce adequate forms of

expressing the spirit. Kandinsky continues the line of the philosophers like Soloviev, Berdyaev and Bulgakov when he grants art the highest place in human life. He believed that art is a child of its epoch and as part of the spiritual life it possesses an awakening and prophetic power. An artist is given the gift of a deeper vision. He is a prophet and a clairvoyant, who has been given a higher knowledge of the way. Accompanied with scorn and hatred, he is always guiding up and forwards the trapped carriage of humanity. Kandinsky observed the surrounding world as an accelerated sounding cosmos of spirituality, the infinite symphony of the soul. An artist is the one who hears the sound of the world and expresses it in a visual form. He believed that usually children perceive this sound of the cosmos particularly well and they honestly and genuinely express it in their own drawing and paintings. Therefore, the true artist, according to Kandinsky, is the one who hears the inner sound of the cosmos and sees the sacred life of every particular object; the artist tries to incarnate the mystical life of objects through the means of art accessible to him. Kandinsky firmly believes that content has the primary significance in art, and form is only secondary. He sees the main aspect of art in what it expresses rather than how it expresses it.

Kandinsky is against all formalism and the idea of 'art for art's sake'.[78] He believed that content designs its form. Kandinky suggests that one should not appreciate the qualities of the form alone, but only in the context of its content, by which he meant not the literary content or a story, but the degree of excitement reached by artistic means. Kanindsky's meaning of the content is what an artwork conveys to the observer rather than what it narrates. This idea of 'content' Kandinsky considers as the soul of art, without which its body would never live a full and healthy life. The universe is in need of creativity. The Creative Spirit, which Kandinsky calls 'abstract spirit', penetrates into the soul of an artist and turns into an irresistible inner force there. In fact, the artist is producing not out of external causes but he creates exclusively by listening to that commanding sound, that is the call of the Lord, in front of whom he bows down and whom it serves.

Kandinsky was well acquainted with German philosophy. His views of the inspired artist are very close to Neoplatonic aesthetics as interpreted by the German Romantics. Artistic form is transitory and subjective. It bears the stamp of the personality of an artist, the style

[78] Ironically, the legacy of abstract art movement founded by Kandinsky later led to painting for art's sake producing abstract expressionism as its successor.

of the epoch, though it incarnates the pure and eternally artistic element. The choice of form and its manipulations are predetermined only by an inner necessity, which, as a rule, exists in artists unconsciously and intuitively. Kandinsky thinks that the time has come for an artist to enjoy indefinite freedom in forms of expression. However, he also reminds us that this freedom is at the same time one of those great non-freedoms which are enjoyed by all these opportunities between the two poles. The freedom of the artist is not precisely how it looks to the wider audience. Kandinsky claims that the artist is bound by a sense of objectivity, which stands close to Soloviev's vision of the artist being bound by the sense of objective beauty. The special element, that both an artist and an observer perceive in art as created according to the rules of inner necessity, is felt as beauty or inner beauty. Beauty, Kandinsky says, has nothing to do with the externally pretty; it may even be completely opposite to it. The beautiful, on the other hand, is born out of inner necessity. Therefore, every colour is beautiful since it causes the vibration of the soul and every vibration enriches the soul. Kandinsky refuses any chance of involving something artificial in the process of the intellectual search of form for some kind of invented content. Everything is organic and unconscious in the art of a true artist. He argues that the birth of every masterpiece is already a mystery. The living soul of an artist, not his judgement, finds the right form. Kandinsky's theories will be evaluated further and employed in the future arguments of this thesis.

Kandinsky points to the two poles in the expression of inner content: great abstraction and great realism. The field between them is full of infinite opportunities from pure abstraction to the pure realism. He rightly believes that art always contained both elements—purely abstract and purely realistic—and their combination was the one that made the great masterpieces, while employing the second to serve the first. He reminds us that the artistic freedom of which he speaks is at the same time one of those great non-freedoms which are enjoyed by all these opportunities between the two poles of abstraction and realism. The main goal of every art has always been to achieve artistic being, which Kandinsky discerns in the pure image only available in the abstract nonmaterial harmony of colour and form. He is not diminishing and rejecting the material or even realistic art. But he sees its

weakness in the fact that the external image of objects distracts the mind from perceiving the third element, which he calls 'the pure artistry" that "will remain forever'.[79]

Kandinsky believed that abstract art is a new and higher step in the development of art without rejecting previous steps. He sees it as a logical continuation of previous experience of art in general. The coming of abstract art in the place of realistic art Kandinsky compares to the replacement of the Old Testament by the New Testament of Christ, which did not destroy the Law of Moses but deepened it and refined it further. If the Law of Moses applied more to the external deeds of man, New Testament ethics addressed inner deeds. It considered mental sins as well as actions. Kandinsky proposed something similar for art, but he did not make his claim for the art of Russia or Orthodox art at all. Instead, he saw art of the past as western art as much as any other art, anything that truly bears the sign of the purely and eternally artistic.

The views of the discussed Orthodox authors more or less falls into two categories. The Orthodox theologians like Trubetskoi, Florensky, Ouspensky, and Kontoglou cannot escape sharing views of the Old Believers of Russia in the 16th century as they understandably see western art as a threat to Orthodox worship and liturgical practice. They see art as only the means of applying their doctrine to the visual realm, or of expressing doctrine. There is no place for a personal search in artistic creativity. They were concerned about making and preserving intact the art of the Church, and saw true art exclusively at the service of the Church. The other wing, the majority of which consisted of lay people and secular philosophers, showed a greater interest in a general and wider meaning of art even outside the liturgical boundaries. They, on the contrary, see art as a way of searching for truth rather than proclaiming the doctrine of the Church.

In conclusion a few points may be made about the materials of the Russian intelligentsia of the 19th and 20th centuries that were influenced by Soloviev's thought.

It is obvious that the religious thinkers of the 20th century had a powerful experience of the inseparable link between art and religion, which feeds every creative process. They saw the essence of artistic expression in the objectification of the existing spiritual world. They pointed to the real contact between an artist and this spiritual world in the creative process. The religious philosophers tend to observe the meaning of human creativity in a broader

[79] Kandinsky 2012, 34.

universal context. However, their understanding of art as linked to religion is very much informed and inspired by the essential features of one of the most significant phenomena of Orthodox culture and the main category of its aesthetic consciousness - the icon. When it comes to appreciation and valuation of art they are aware of the dramatic separation between aesthetic and religious consciousness while perceiving an artwork: it is not taste that matters so much as Christian ethics. The stress on the meaning of *theurgy* takes artistic creativity out of the boundaries of art into life, transformation of life *per se* according to aesthetic and spiritual laws of creativity, yet relying on divine assistance.

Appendix to chapter 2

2.1. Western debates over the melancholy genius and inspiration

The 'demonology' of artistic inspiration was particularly appealing to the West by the time of Renaissance. The problem rose especially when the peculiarity of an individual artist was identified as *melancholy* that in Avicennian psychiatric terminology[1] meant the same as today's term for depression causing serious mental disturbance in humans. The term melancholic often referred to those bizarre artists who refused to do any work until they felt moved by their fantasies and generally to the people who "in their sadness perpetually seek out the darkness, flee the light, hold the customs of men in hatred, are suspicious of all things, and enjoy solitary places".[2] The oddity of an isolated individual was particularly appalling to Renaissance society that sang praises to communal life and deliberately undermined the phenomenon of ascetic solitude. The artists and ascetics both attracted the disapprobation of Renaissance society as they both needed solitude in order to conduct their office properly. They were seen as hostile to community rather than needing isolation for their particular way of life. Even in these circumstances some Florentine physicians considered melancholy as the result of the sorrow of parting from the beloved and they believed that ascetics were no exception to this rule.[3]

The idea of separation from God in the image of the beloved seems to project the dualism in Western Medieval thought as well as it evaluates the Renaissance Neo-Platonist dualism that contrasts the two realities: this world and the world beyond – earthly and divine. Flesh here appears as a burden to the soul and an obstacle to embracing the heavenly reality as if body was inherently sinful and evil and therefore separated from God; according to this theory the Western ascetic had to long for God in his sorrowful penitence even though excessive sorrow could also lead to a sinful passion. In the Western debates "elevation of the soul proceeds from sadness which is according to God, because of the adjoined hope of the remission of sin".[4]

[1] Avicenna, in Abu-Asab 2013, 493:1000, 538:1103, 542:1109.
[2] Benedetto Vettori, quoted by Brann, 2001, 191.
[3] See Brann 2001, 44.
[4] Thomas Aquinas 1993, I, IIae, qu37, art 2 ad 1.

The dualism in understanding the origin of genius and development of 'demonology' in Western society in the Renaissance period also stepped into the debates over the source of genial inspiration. The debates over the natural melancholy of the witches and their origins, also conditioned the debates over the origin of artistic genius, which is inherently bound up with the demonic question through the supposition that extraordinary powers of mind, whether put to evil or to good ends, ultimately owe to an origin located either within or above nature. In the Italian society of The Renaissance demonology presented but the dark side of the idea that "all true genius is ultimately to be referred to a supernatural origin".[5] Dante and Ficino even went as far as astrology and suggested the planet Saturn to be the origin of the genial inspiration.

Some thinkers saw it as a possibility of the human mind to transcend the finite limits of material nature while others saw genius bound by the finite boundaries of nature. The first group considered it as a supernatural miracle originating from the divine realm, while the others regarded it as the natural expression of the psyche. Renaissance debates over the concept of genius owed a great deal to the Platonic and Aristotelian disagreement over the subject of inspiration. Plato's supernatural 'frenzies' or agitations which generated from the place above the finite nature confronted with Aristotelian principles of idealization resting within rather than above the finite natural world and conceived genius as flowing out of the natural sphere, rather than originating from a place beyond.

It was a common view that melancholy was "the Devil's bath" and exploited for evil purposes, but many thinkers also came up with the idea that, if melancholy was rightly regulated, it could be employed by the soul as an aid to resisting demonic incursions. An important role in the debate belongs to Cardinal Bessarion who was a Byzantine émigré to Florence and who was elevated to the rank of a cardinal after his failed efforts of reuniting the Eastern and Western Churches. Bessarion had a rather different view of the divine frenzy of a genius. It was part of his attempt to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy in general. He pointed out the potential benefits of natural melancholy and observed that Aristotle in his argument was using the examples of knowledgeable people like Empedocles, Plato and Socrates and described them as melancholic. The philosophical love of knowledge as Bessarion pointed out, (before Ficino), "constitutes a special case of

[5] Brann 2001, 7.

the problem of love in general".[6] Bessarion distinguished between two types of love in the thought of Plato: 'Terrestrial and vulgar' and 'heavenly and completely divine' and characterized the latter as "an amorous and divine madness that, ensuing from a certain divine instinct, embraces him by rapture of the mind and the contemplation of the beauty of a certain divinity"; it "issues from a certain divine alienation of the mind".[7] Therefore he believed that natural melancholy could assist the divine alienation.

Ficino chose to be clearer in pointing out that genius can turn to ill as well as to good. And suggested that "depending on which species of divine frenzy is working in cooperation with melancholy- mystical, prophetic, poetic, or love frenzy … the result will be differing manifestations of genial forms".[8] According to him while the two kinds of inspired genius, divine and demonic, are opposed in one way, they are related by being outwardly motivated by forces originating beyond nature. With the help from Michael Psellos (+1050) Ficino also revalidated the principles of demonology that was a distinctive facet of ancient Neoplatonism. Ficino gave intellectual respectability to the view that Devil is able to stir up melancholy in his victims when it suits his evil purposes. Ficino included in his demonology the good demons, traditionally called angels by Christian theology as well as evil ones. Melancholy in Ficino's thought became a usable element to divinely inspired genius. He made a smooth transition from demonology to the exploration of the divine element in inspiration.

Even though Ficino followed the traditional dualistic path of the Christian-Platonic axiom that the human mind, while temporarily dwelling in the perishable body, in essence belongs to an immortal eternal realm existing above and beyond the body, yet, at the same time, he acknowledged that the attempt at realizing one's 'divinity' also allows a use of corporeal means through material causes, including the means of melancholy.[9] Ficino developed the Aristotelian idea of catharsis: When melancholy "excessively abounds or glows, it vexes the brain with assiduous trouble and deliriousness, and perturbs the judgement of the soul", whereas moderately cultivated, it is capable of raising the mind to states of unexcelled profundity and clarity of thought.[10] A little later a Paduan Physician Ercole Sassonia

[6] Brann 2001, 79.
[7] Cardinal Bessarion, see Brann 2001, 79.
[8] Brann 2001, 82.
[9] Brann 2001, 93.
[10] Ficino, see Brann 2001, 100.

declared "The human mind by the consent of all men, is born for divine knowledge, wisdom, art and prudence" and he agreed with Ficino that "it has been endowed with the love of immortal and mortal things".[11]

A Renaissance humanist Equicola also linked melancholy with love and treated it as a condition to be cultivated rather than cured or removed. He suggested that the melancholic alienation called ecstasy was in fact an intense meditation, a prerequisite for an artistic contemplation of perceived beauty that was "the object of love".[12]

The prolonged debates over the centuries about the origin of melancholy produced a certain collaboration between zealous demonologists and physicians who were sure that melancholic personalities were neither demons nor possessed by demons. Medieval theologians applied a certain purging role to melancholy, while the physicians saw the 'cure' not in its removal, but in its regulation and putting it to a positive use.

Western thought evaluated and continued the search for explanation for the mystery of genial inspiration: Edward Young suggested that genius is the god within the poet and guides him in the creative process towards finding right forms and images without the rules of the learned.[13] Kant on the other hand appreciated the absolute freedom of genial inspiration and believed that genius "is a talent for producing that for which no definite rule can be given"; he defined the "Spirit" as the defining property of the genius, as the 'faculty of presenting aesthetic ideas'.[14]

The theme of interconnection between genius and insanity gained particular popularity among the romantic poets of the nineteenth century; Charles Baudelaire suggested that his melancholic despondency was in some way bound up with his rare powers of literary expression".[15] Romantic poets Coleridge and Shelley believed that the divine inspiration came to a poet because the poet was attuned to the divine or mystical 'winds' and because his soul is able to receive such visions. The ecstatic state of an artist was seen in his openness and receptivity to divine inspiration. Romantics saw the origins of inspiration in the same way as did the Greeks, as divine madness and irrationality.

[11] Ercole Sassonia, see Brann 2001, 189.
[12] Equicola, Brann 2001, 139.
[13] Young 2009, 15.
[14] Kant, see Cooper 1997, 89.
[15] Baudelaire, Brann 2001, 452.

Like the division between Platonic supernaturalisms and Aristotelian naturalism on the subject of genius in the late Renaissance, the 20th century saw the emergence of a division in modern psychological and anthropological theory, with two theoretical positions: Freudians and the Jungians. Both schools of psychoanalytical theory echo the Kantian theory about a melancholic having 'a feeling of the sublime'. It has been suggested that in his version of the melancholy reaction to sublimity, Freud seems to be essentially in agreement with the naturalist principle of the Aristotelian tradition, whereas Jung chose archetypal explanations closer to the supernaturalist explanations of Plato.[16] And yet the Freudian influence on art also encouraged the perspective of the animal nature of the human person rather than following the Aristotelian idea of catharsis. According to Freud sorrow and melancholy were triggered by the libidinous desire and psychic ambivalence.[17] Accordingly, he located inspiration in the inner psyche of the artist and saw it as derived from the libidinous desire or from an unresolved childhood trauma. Freud developed the Kantian idea of genius as an example for future geniuses, but in his own unique way, and presented the artist as narcissistic without exception, which he ascribed to childish limitation rather than to egotism *per se*. According to Freud when the artists do not possess the means for obtaining these things in their every day life, then they turn all their energies towards the fantasy world. In all cases the inspiration came from the subconscious. Freud saw artists as fundamentally special and fundamentally wounded that conditioned their particular openness to artistic inspiration. Even though the Freudian analysis of the nature of artistic inspiration might have been intended to revive the Aristotelian concept of *catharsis*, it is nonetheless clear that he was subjectively misunderstood by artists themselves. Freud thought that he had found the key in his procedure of deriving the work of art from the personal experiences of the artist. His suggestion that the origin of inspiration is to be found in the subconscious influenced greatly the whole idea of Surrealism; his work with free association, dream analysis, and the unconscious was of the primary importance to the Surrealists in developing methods to liberate imagination from a rationality that they regarded as something false. The Surrealists turned to their dreams in the search of the source of inspiration that, they believed, would liberate them from rationality. Salvador Dali presented his eccentricity as a claim for his genius rather than an underlying mental condition. He declared: "There is only one difference between a madman

[16] Brann 2001, 459.
[17] Freud 2009, 427-46.

and me. I am not mad".[18] As a matter of fact Freudian theories discovered and liberated animal instincts in the human person and never managed to rationalize subconscious inspiration or point to a greater point of artistic inspiration as was done in the case of Aristotle.

In these debates inspiration is often tangled with the question of motivation or the urge to create. In spite of Bessarion's and Ficino's attempts to reconcile the idea of divine frenzy with Aristotelian views, The West seems to have confined itself to an ambivalent dualism on the subject of inspiration. The genius either has to be inspired by a divine spark and do his creative work in ecstasy without knowing what he is doing or his inspiration has to be coming from his childhood traumatic experiences or biological dysfunctions. In both cases the clash between body and soul points to the Western tendency towards the struggle between body and mind, spiritual and earthly that ultimately led to either mysticism or materialism. The Western middle ages faced this dualism where the struggle against the body involved rather harsh treatments of it. The western anti-body tendency is evident even in the adoption of the Aristotelian ideas of the corporal origin of creative inspiration, by focusing on the prevalence of bodily nature even while considering the question of aesthetic perception. Yet, these observations always tend to be one sided without advocating the other viewpoint.

Carl Jung extended his experiments to archetypal mentality rather than case-studying an individual pathology. Jung believed that the artist is the one who was attuned to racial memory, which encoded the archetypes of the human mind. The Jungian term 'racial memory' implies something impersonal, something outside of the individual experience. From the Jungian point of view, melancholy is but a natural response to an impulse, which exists in an archetypal realm embracing the space beyond the bounds of nature.[19] Therefore, according to Jung inspiration comes from the archetypal sphere of the human mind that includes his famous concept of the collective unconscious.

Another Post-Freudian psychoanalyst Otto Rank whose disagreement with Freud occurred precisely on the subject of the origin of human creativity came up with a different proposal about the origin of inspiration which he also searched for within the human psyche. He

[18] Dali 1990, entry: May 1952.
[19] Jung 1967,160.

explored the socio-psychological lines as a common spiritual root for the meaning and origin of collective ideologies and discovered that this root was based on the belief in immortality and saw "the individual will to art as a personal urge to immortality".[20] Rank dismisses the Freudian explanation of the causes of the artistic urge and instead argues that it is the fear of life, the irrational fear that leads to creative activity in the mind of the one who is striving towards immortality. The immortality that an artist longs for is not understood by Rank as a fame and glory bestowed by others. Instead Rank suggests that the artist searches for immortality through eternalizing the reality that he perceives and the reason for this urge is the fear of mortality. He contrasts the artist with a neurotic and unlike the Renaissance thinkers sees their difference precisely in the neurotic's inability to create.[21] Otto Rank admits on many occasions the fact that he had been inspired by Freud initially especially when he regarded the artist as psychologically intermediate between the dreamer and neurotic.[22] Yet after their conflict Rank, in contrast with Freudian psychoanalysis, discovered that creativity "has something positively antisexual in its yearning for independence of organic conditions".[23] Rank opposed to Freudian sexualisation the idea of eternalization which in Christian terms sounds more convincing for its sacred nature. According to Rank the artist is motivated by his "individual urge to the eternalization of the personality",[24] which he finds an inherent principle *in the art-form itself* and even its essence.

Rank daringly refers to a neurotic "as a failed artist… For the artist overcomes this isolating fear socially, by getting society's sanction for his personal immortality-symbolism, whereas the neurotic fails to overcome his mortal fear because he has nothing to compensate it, either individually (in love) or collectively (in religion) or least of all, socially".[25]

[20] Rank 1923, xxvi.
[21] Rank 1923, 100-101.
[22] Rank 1923, xxi.
[23] Rank 1923, xxiii.
[24] Rank 1923, 11.
[25] Rank 1923, 100-101.

Appendix to Chapter 4

4.1. Kantian concept of aesthetics

The introduction of the concept of Aesthetic taste in Western philosophy derives substantially from the work of Immanuel Kant. In his aesthetic philosophy, Kant denies any standard of good taste, which would be the taste of the majority or any social group. For Kant, beauty is not a property of any object, but an aesthetic judgement based on a subjective feeling. He claims that genuine good taste does exist, though it could not be empirically identified. Good taste cannot be found in any standards or generalizations, and the validity of a judgement is not the general view of the majority or some specific social group. Taste is both personal and beyond reasoning, and therefore disputing over matters of taste never reaches any universality. Kant stresses that our preferences, even on generally liked things, do not justify our judgements.

While idealist philosophers such as Schopenhauer, Schelling, and Hegel tried to objectify beauty by identifying it with some higher truth, the usual procedure amongst empiricists was to settle for inter-subjective validity, as the best that can be hoped for. Hume asserted that the physical organ of taste is the same for all human beings – sweet is sweet and bitter is bitter, but in the case of aesthetic appreciation what is required is the discovery of universal standards of taste that will reflect the inter-subjective agreement that already exists. Whatever pleases is good universally and is universally good. [105]

Hume firmly rejects the principle of the natural equality of taste in favour of the idea of the competent judge. The judge of a taste must be distinguished by possessing 1) delicacy of taste and discernment, 2) freedom from all prejudices and 3) a wide experience and a wide area of knowledge that allows him to judge by comparison.[106]

4.2. Kantian impact on the formulation of the concept of *Art for Art's Sake*

Kant's definition of a *proper* aesthetic attitude is "disinterested and sympathetic attention to and contemplation of any object of awareness whatever".[107] Cooper believes that Kant himself employed the term 'disinterest' in order to distinguish the aesthetic judgement of beauty and sublimity from mere pleasantness.[108] Kant insists that judgement of beauty should be independent of emotion since the feeling of the sublime is 'a powerful outflow of the vital force'.[109] In fact, the Kantian concept of 'disinterest' can be interpreted as reserved or even rational objectivity as opposed to the subjectivity of taste which frequently takes over in

[105] Hume 1965, 236.
[106] Hume 1965, 243.
[107] Kant in Stolnitz 1960, 34-5.
[108] Cooper 1995, 23.
[109] Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, §14 (Walker, 2009, 62).

aesthetic judgement. One's vision can be considered as 'disinterested' when will and desire are in abeyance. Yet, Clive Bell drew a rather radical conclusion out of Kantian 'disinterest' and suggested that the work of art should be treated as if it were not representative of anything, implying that there should be no concern for content and meaning since this, it is held, would contradict the required indifference to matters of existence and conceptualization.[110] According to this theory the proper response to art is not emotional, but something like Kant's restful contemplation. Therefore, the Kantian 'disinterest' has been widely invoked in support to the idea of 'art for art's sake', which historically associates with the cult of beauty rooted in Kantian aesthetics and the Romantic movement. The phrase first emerged in 19th century France, and subsequently became central to the British Aesthetic movement. In part it was a reflex of the Romantic desire to detach art from the increasing stress on rationalism symptomatic to the epoch. These forces, it was believed, threatened to make art subject to demands for its utility - for usefulness of one kind or another. The very idea of 'fine arts' stressing aesthetic preference over utilitarian ones is essentially a nineteenth century invention that emerged as a reaction against the materialistic values of the industrial age. The phrase was taken up by writer Theophile Gautier who argued that the appreciation of beauty in its pure sense did not exist in art prior to the eighteenth century. The concept subsequently attracted the support of figures such as Gustave Flaubert, Stéphane Mallarmé and Charles Baudelaire. The phrase became popular in the Aesthetic Movement in Britain later, which influenced painters such as James McNeill Whistler and Lord Leighton, and writers such as Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde.

According to Andre Malraux's definition the very fact of having viewed the art of all times, all places, all cultures as pure aesthetic objects divorced from their original purposes and functions, we have entered into 'an entirely new relationship with the work of art' where 'the work of art has no other function than to be a work of art' in 'a museum without walls' that we have created.[111] The nineteenth century clearly and sharply distinguishes the notion of art as a final value, from all other final values, such as morality, religion, knowledge etc. The nineteenth century philosophers were eager to have "religion for religion's sake, morality for morality's sake, as with art for art's sake... the beautiful cannot be the way to what is useful, or to what is good, or to what is holy".[112] In a sense, the concept of aestheticism and 'art for its own sake' was a product of the nineteenth century's reductivist tendency towards storing each concept into a system of separate boxes. Even though the concept of aestheticism emerged as an opponent to rational thinking by pointing towards the direction of feelings and emotions, it still remains as a

[110] Bell 1949, 32.
[111] Malreaux 1978, 15.
[112] Cousin 1853, pt 2.

product of the age of enlightenment and could not escape undergoing endless theoretical changes and modifications.

The association between the phrase 'art for art's sake' and the Aesthetic Movement meant that, when that movement declined, the popularity of the phrase declined with it. Nevertheless, it continued to be used - though more casually and loosely - and the idea it comprises continues to be important.

The concept of ‘art for art’s sake’ acquired a somewhat controversial character in the twentieth century, when a tendency toward abstraction took over in artistic presentation. Although the phrase itself has been little used for fear of causing misunderstandings, its legacy has been at the heart of the *isms* developed in the 20th century avant-garde and in abstraction in particular. The concept was an important impetus encouraging the development of abstract art and Abstract Expressionism, and it particularly influenced the high modernist theories of art critics such as Clement Greenberg and Michael Fried.

Yet, in spite of possible external prejudices against western aesthetics, the westerners themselves were not altogether reconciled with the idea of art for art’s sake and aesthetic fascination for its own sake. George Sand wrote in 1872 that *L'art pour l'art* was an empty phrase, an idle sentence. She asserted that artists had a "duty to find an adequate expression to convey it to as many souls as possible", ensuring that their works were accessible enough to be appreciated.[113] Modern aesthetics also note that the art for art’s sake approach is too restrictive.[114] In order to understand the work of art adequately, one needs to consider the work of art and its values from more than one perspective. Limiting one’s judgement to aesthetic values only leads to diminishing rather than enriching one’s appreciation and is destined to falling into a kind of aesthetic Puritanism.

[113] Sand 2012, 242.
[114] Cooper 1995, 9.