Figs. 17-7 and 17-8 ***Theodora and Her Attendants*** **(top),** ***Justinian and His Attendants*** **(bottom), San Vitale, ca. 547.** Mosaic, each 8 ft. 8 in. × 12 ft.
CAMERAPHOTO Arte, Venice.

thin, a fact that lends them a heavenly lightness. And they are motionless, standing before us without gesture, as if eternally still. The Greek ideal of sculpture in the round, with its sense of the body caught in an intensely personal, even private moment—Nike taking off her sandal (see Fig. 16-23), for instance, or Laocoön caught in the intensity of his torment (see Fig. 16-26)—is gone. All sense of drama has been removed from the idea of representation.

Justinian's reign marked the apex of the early Christian and Byzantine era. By the seventh century, barbarian invaders had taken control of the Western Empire, and the new Muslim Empire had begun to expand to the east. Reduced in area to the Balkans and Greece, the Byzantine

Empire nevertheless held on until 1453, when the Turks finally captured Constantinople and renamed it Istanbul, converting Hagia Sophia into a mosque.

The Rise of Islam

What is the origin of the mosque and what are its chief features?

Born in Mecca on the Arabian Peninsula in about 570 to a prominent family, Muhammad, the founder of the Islamic faith, was orphaned at age six and received little formal education. He worked in the caravan trade in the Arabian Desert, first as a camel driver for his uncle, and then, after marrying a wealthy widow 15 years his senior at age 25, as head of his wife's flourishing caravan firm. But at the age of 40, in 610, he heard a voice in Arabic—the Archangel Gabriel's, as the story goes—urging him, "Recite!" He responded, "What shall I recite?" And for the next 22 years, he claimed to receive messages, or "recitations," from God through the agency of Gabriel. These he memorized and, probably later, scribes collected them to form the scriptures of Islam, the Qur'an (or Koran), which means "recitations." Muhammad also claimed that Gabriel commanded him to declare himself the "Seal of the Prophets," that is, the messenger of the one and only Allah (the Arab word for God) and the final prophet in a series of God's prophets on earth, extending from Abraham and Moses to Jesus.

At the core of Muhammad's revelations is the concept of submission to God—the word Islam, in fact, means "submission" or "surrender." God, or Allah, is all—all-powerful, all-seeing, all-merciful. Because the universe is his creation, it is necessarily good and beautiful, and the natural world reflects Allah's own goodness and beauty. To immerse oneself in nature is thus to be at one with God. But the most beautiful creation of Allah is humankind. As in Christianity, Muslims believe that human beings possess immortal souls and that they can live eternally in heaven if they surrender to Allah and accept him as the one and only God.

In 622, Muhammad was forced to flee Mecca when its polytheistic leadership became irritated at his insistence on the worship of only one God. In a journey known as the *hijra* (or *hegira*, "emigration"), he and his followers fled to the oasis of Yathrib, 200 miles north, which they renamed al-Medina, meaning "the city of the Prophet." There, Muhammad created a community based not on kinship, the traditional basis of Arab society, but on common submission to the will of God.

At Medina, Muhammad also built a house that surrounded a large open courtyard, which served as a community gathering place, on the model of the Roman forum. There, the men of the community would gather on Fridays to pray and listen to a sermon delivered by Muhammad. It thus became known as the *masjid*, the Arabic word for **mosque**, or "place of prostration." On the north and south ends of the courtyard, covered porches were erected, supported by palm tree trunks and roofed by thatched palm fronds, which protected the community from the hot Arabian sun. This many-columned covered area, known as a **hypostyle space** (from the Greek *hupostulos*, "resting upon pillars"), would later become a required feature of all Muslim mosques. Another required feature was the ***qibla***, a wall that indicated the direction of Mecca. On this wall were both the ***minbar***, or stepped pulpit for the preacher, and the ***mihrab***, a niche commemorating the spot at Medina where Muhammad planted his lance to indicate the direction in which people should pray.

The Prophet's Mosque in Medina has been rebuilt so many times that its original character has long since been lost. But not so at Damascus, where, in 705, the Muslim community had grown so large that radical steps had to be taken to accommodate it, and a Byzantine church was torn down, leaving a large courtyard (**Fig. 17-9**), the

Fig. 17-9 Courtyard of the Great Mosque of Damascus, 705–16.
Photo: Christopher Rennie, Robert Harding World Imagery.

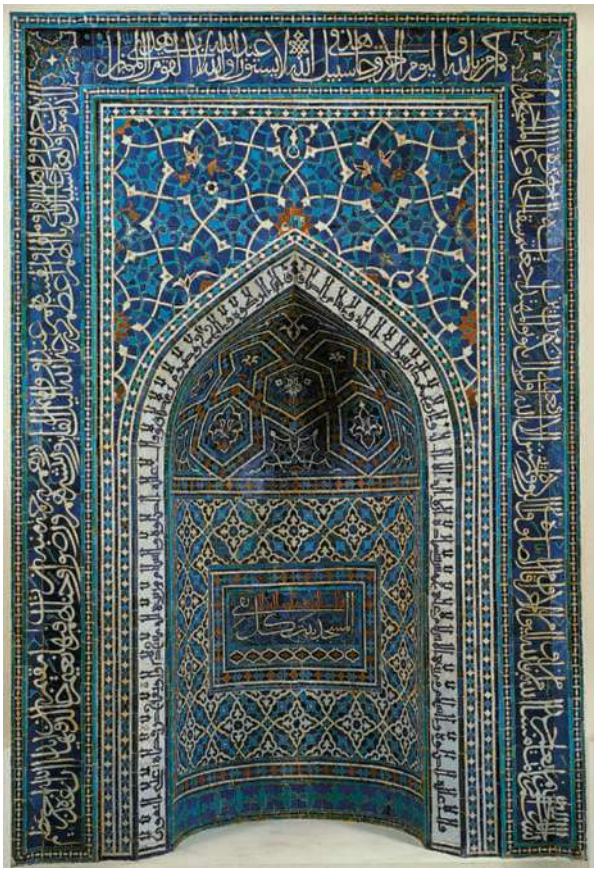


Fig. 17-10 Tile mosaic *mihrab*, from the Madrasa Imami, Isfahan, Persia (Iran), ca. 1354 (restored). Glazed and cut ceramic, 11 ft. 3 in. × 7 ft. 6 in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 19.20. © 2015. Image copyright Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

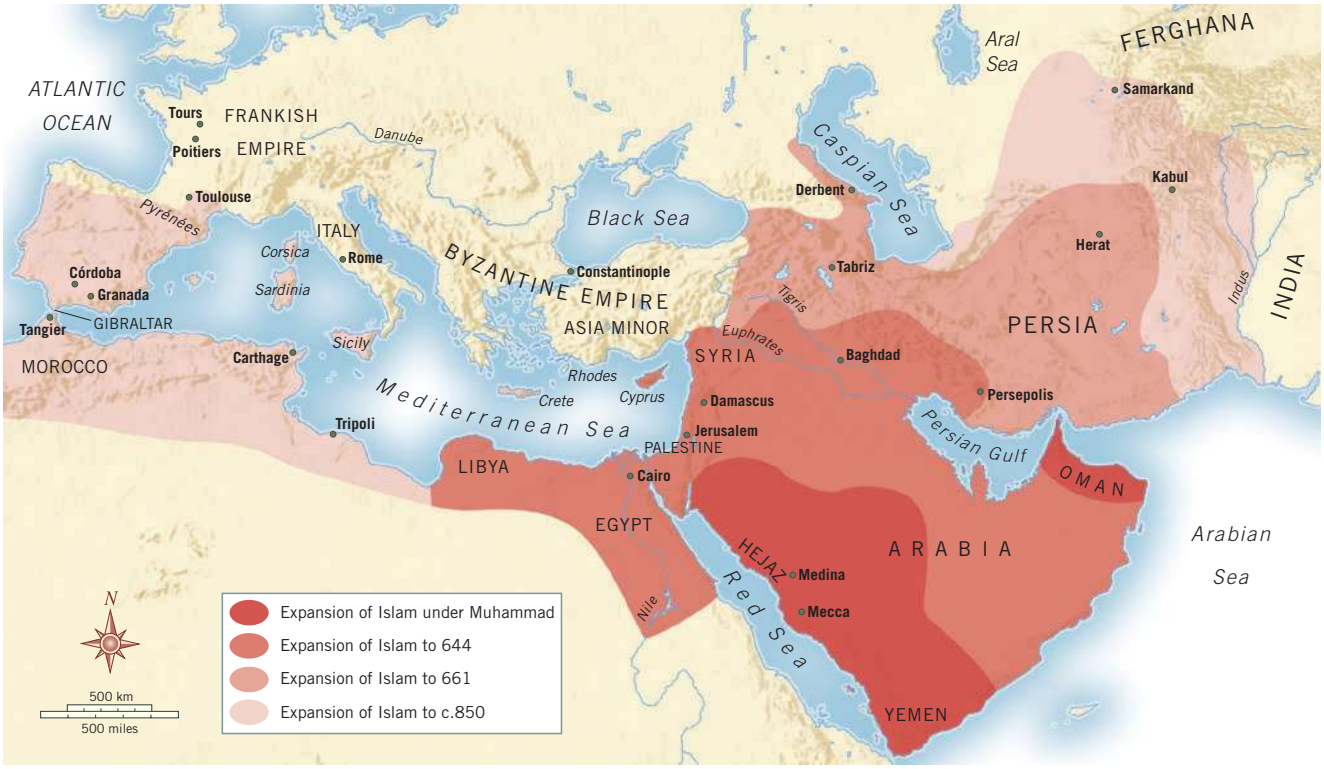
compound walls of which were transformed into the walls of a new mosque. A large prayer hall was constructed against the *qibla* wall and decorated with an elaborate mosaic facade, some of which is visible in the illustration, facing into the courtyard, while the street side of the mosque was left relatively plain.

One of the most important characteristics of Islamic culture is its emphasis on calligraphy (see Fig. 2-4), and the art of calligraphy was incorporated into Islamic architecture from the beginning. By the mid-ninth century, the walls of palaces and mosques were covered by it, and throughout the following centuries, the decoration became more and more elaborate. The mosaic *mihrab*, originally from a *madrasa*, or teaching college, in Iran, contains three different inscriptions from the Qur'an (**Fig. 17-10**). The outer frame is a description of the duties of true believers and the heavenly rewards in store for those who build mosques. The next contains the Five Pillars of Islam, the duties every believer must perform, including, at least once in a lifetime, a pilgrimage to Mecca. And, finally, in the center of the inner wall, the reminder: "The mosque is the house of every pious person." All of this is contained in a beautifully balanced and symmetrical design.

After the Prophet Muhammad fled Mecca for Medina in 622, the Muslim Empire had expanded rapidly (see **Map 17-1**, showing the expansion of Islam). By 640, Muhammad's successors, the Caliphs, had conquered Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. Two years later, they defeated the army of Byzantium at Alexandria, and, by 710, they had captured all of northern Africa and had moved into Spain. They advanced north until 732, when Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne, defeated them at Poitiers, France. But the Caliphs' foothold in Europe remained strong, and they did not leave Spain until 1492. Even the Crusades failed to reduce their power. During the First Crusade, 50,000 men were sent to the Middle East, where they managed to hold Jerusalem and much of Palestine for a short while. The Second Crusade, in 1146, failed to regain control and, in 1187, the Muslim warrior Saladin reconquered Jerusalem. Finally, in 1192, Saladin defeated King Richard I of England in the Third Crusade.

The Muslim impact on the culture of North Africa cannot be overstated. Beginning in about 750, not long after Muslim armies had conquered most of North Africa, Muslim traders, following the routes created by the Saharan Berber peoples, began trading for salt, copper, dates, and especially gold with the sub-Saharan peoples of the Niger River drainage. Gradually they came to dominate the trans-Saharan trade routes, and Islam became the dominant faith of West Africa.

In 1312, a devout Muslim named Mansa Moussa came to the throne of Mali. He built magnificent mosques throughout his empire, including the Djingareyber Mosque in Timbuktu (**Fig. 17-11**). Still standing today and made of burnt brick and mud, it dominates the city. Under Moussa's patronage, the city of Timbuktu grew in wealth and prestige and became a cultural focal point for the finest poets, scholars, and artists of Africa and the Middle East. To draw further attention to Timbuktu, and to attract more scholars and poets to it, Moussa embarked on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1334. He arrived in Cairo at the head of a huge caravan of 60,000 people, including 12,000 servants, with 80 camels carrying more than 2 tons of gold to be distributed among the poor. In fact, Moussa distributed so much gold in Egypt that the value of the precious metal fell dramatically and did not recover for a number of years.



Map 17-1 The Expansion of Islam to 850 CE.

Fig. 17-11 Djingareyber Mosque, Timbuktu, ca. 1312.

Fig. 17-12 Interior, Sanctuary of the mosque at Córdoba, Spain, 786–987.

In Spain, the center of Muslim culture was originally Córdoba. For its mosque, Islamic rulers converted an existing Visigoth church. The Visigoths, a Christianized Germanic tribe who had invaded Spain three centuries earlier, had built their church with relatively short, stubby columns. To create the loftier space required by the mosque, the architects superimposed another set of columns on top, creating two tiers of arches, one over the other, using a distinctive alternation of stone and red brick voussoirs (**Fig. 17-12**). The use of two different materials is not only decorative but also functional, combining the flexibility of brick with the strength of stone. Finally, the hypostyle plan of the mosque was, in essence, infinitely expandable, and subsequent Caliphs enlarged the mosque in 852, 950, 961–76, and 987, until it was over four times the size of the original and incorporated 1,200 columns. As in all Muslim design, where a visual rhythm is realized through symmetry and repetition of certain patterns and motifs, the rhythm of arches and columns unifies the interior of the Córdoba mosque.

Christian Art in Europe

What are the chief characteristics of the Carolingian, Romanesque, and Gothic styles?

Until the year 1000, the center of Western civilization was located in the Middle East, at Constantinople. In Europe, tribal groups with localized power held sway: The Lombards in what is now Italy, the Franks and the Burgundians in regions of France, and the Angles and Saxons in England. Though it possessed no real political power, the papacy in Rome had begun to work hard to convert the pagan tribes and to reassert the authority of the Church. As early as 496, the leader of the Franks, Clovis, was baptized into the Church. Even earlier (ca. 430), St. Patrick had undertaken an evangelical mission to Ireland, establishing monasteries and quickly converting the native Celts. These new monasteries were designed to serve missionary as well as educational functions. At a time when only priests and monks could read and write, the sacred texts they produced came to reflect native Celtic designs. These

Fig. 17-13 Purse cover, from the Sutton Hoo burial ship, ca. 625. Gold with Indian garnets and cloisonné enamels, originally on an ivory or bone background (now lost), length 8 in. The British Museum, London.
1939,1010.3. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

designs are elaborately decorative, highly abstract, and contain no naturalistic representation. Thus, Christian art fused with the native traditions, which employed the so-called "animal style." Some of the best examples of this animal style, such as this purse cover (**Fig. 17-13**), have been found at Sutton Hoo, northeast of present-day London, in the grave of an unknown seventh-century East Anglian king. In this design two pairs of animals and birds, facing each other, are elongated into serpentine ribbons of decoration, a common Scandinavian motif. Below this, two Swedish hawks with curved beaks attack a pair of ducks. On each side of this design, a male figure stands between two animals. Note particularly the design's symmetry, its combination of interlaced organic and geometric shapes, and, of course, its animal motifs. Throughout the Middle Ages, this style was imitated in manuscripts, stone sculpture, church masonry, and wood sculpture.

In 597, Gregory the Great, the first monk to become pope, sent an emissary, later known as St. Augustine of Canterbury, on a mission to convert the Anglo-Saxons. This mission brought Roman religious and artistic traditions into direct contact with Celtic art, and, slowly but surely, Roman culture began to dominate the Celtic-Germanic world.

Carolingian Art

When Charlemagne (Charles, or Carolus, the Great) assumed leadership of the Franks in 771, this process of Romanization was assured. At the request of the pope, Charlemagne conquered the Lombards, becoming their king, and on Christmas Day 800, he was crowned Holy Roman emperor by Pope Leo III at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. The fusion of Germanic and Mediterranean styles that reflected this new alliance between Church and state is known as **Carolingian art**, a term referring to the art produced during the reign of Charlemagne and his immediate successors.

The transformation in style that Charlemagne effected is evident if we compare the work of an artist trained in the linear Celtic tradition to one created during Charlemagne's era. In the former (**Fig. 17-14**), copied from an earlier Italian original, the image is flat, the figure has not been modeled, and the perspective is completely askew. It is pattern—and the animal style—that really interests the artist, not accurate representation. But Charlemagne was intent on restoring the glories of Roman civilization. He actively collected and had copied the oldest surviving texts of the Classical Latin authors. He created schools in monasteries and cathedrals across

Fig. 17-14 ***St. Matthew*****, from the** ***Lindisfarne Gospels*****, ca. 700.** Manuscript page, approx. 11 × 9 in. British Library, London.

Fig. 17-15 ***St. Matthew*****, from the** ***Gospel Book of Charlemagne*****, ca. 800–810.** Manuscript page, 12¾ × 9⅞ in. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
Inv. SK XIII18.

Europe in which Classical Latin was the accepted language. A new script, with Roman capitals and new lowercase letters, the basis of modern type, was introduced. A second depiction of St. Matthew (**Fig. 17-15**), executed 100 years after the one on the left, demonstrates the impact of Roman realism on northern art. Found in Charlemagne's tomb, this illustration looks as if it could have been painted in Classical Rome.

Romanesque Art

After the dissolution of the Carolingian state in the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe disintegrated into a large number of small feudal territories. The emperors were replaced by an array of rulers of varying power and prestige who controlled smaller or larger fiefdoms (areas of land worked by persons under obligation to the ruler) and whose authority was generally embodied in a chateau or castle surrounded by walls and moats. Despite this atomization of political life, a recognizable style that we have come to call **Romanesque** developed throughout Europe beginning in about 1050. Although details varied from place to place, certain features remained constant for nearly 200 years.

Romanesque architecture is characterized by its easily recognizable geometric masses—rectangles, cubes, cylinders, and half-cylinders. The wooden roof that St. Peter's Basilica had used was abandoned in favor of fireproof stone and masonry construction, apparently out of bitter experience with the invading nomadic tribes, who burned many of the churches of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. Flat roofs were replaced by vaulted ceilings. By structural necessity, these were supported by massive walls that often lacked windows sufficient to provide adequate lighting. The churches were often built along the roads leading to pilgrimage centers, usually monasteries that housed Christian relics, and they had to be large enough to accommodate large crowds of the faithful. For instance, St. Sernin, in Toulouse, France (see Figs. 14-19 and 14-20), was on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, in Spain, where the body of St. James was believed to rest.

Thanks in large part to Charlemagne's emphasis on monastic learning, monasteries had flourished since the Carolingian period, many of them acting as feudal landlords as well. The largest and most powerful was Cluny, near Maçon, France. Until the building of the new St. Peter's in Rome, the church at Cluny was the largest in the Christian world. It was 521 feet in length, and its nave vaults rose to a height of 100 feet. The height of the nave was made possible by the use of pointed arches. The church was destroyed in the French Revolution, and only part of one transept survives.

With the decline of the Roman Empire, the art of sculpture had largely declined in the West, but in the Romanesque period it began to reemerge. It is certain that the idea of educating the masses in the Christian message through architectural sculpture on the facades of the pilgrimage churches contributed to the art's rebirth. The most important sculptural work was usually located on the **tympanum** of the church, the semicircular arch above the lintel on the main door. It often showed Christ with His 12 Apostles. Another favorite theme was the Last Judgment, full of depictions of sinners suffering the horrors of hellfire and damnation. To the left of Gislebertus's *Last Judgment* at Autun, France (**Fig. 17-16**), the blessed arrive in heaven, while on the right, the damned are seized by devils. Combining all manner of animal forms, the monstrosity of these creatures recalls the animal style of the Germanic tribes.

Fig. 17-16 Gislebertus, *Last Judgment*, tympanum and lintel, west portal, cathedral, Autun, France, ca. 1125–35. Stone, approx. 12 ft. 6 in. × 22 ft.

Gothic Art

The great era of **Gothic** art begins in 1137 with the rebuilding of the choir of the abbey church of Saint-Denis, located just outside Paris (see Fig. 13-15). Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis saw his new church as both the political and the spiritual center of a new France, united under King Louis VI. Although he was familiar with Romanesque architecture, which was then at its height, Suger chose to abandon it. The Romanesque church was difficult to light, because the structural need to support the nave walls from without meant that windows had to be eliminated. Suger envisioned something different. He wanted his church flooded with light as if by the light of Heaven itself. After careful planning, he began work in 1137, painting the old walls of the original abbey, which were nearly 300 years old, with gold and precious colors. Then he added a new facade with twin towers and a triple portal. Around the back of the ambulatory he added a circular string of chapels, all lit with large stained-glass windows, "by virtue of which," Suger wrote, "the whole would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light."

It was this light that proclaimed the new Gothic style. Light, he believed, was the physical and material manifestation of the Divine Spirit. Suger wrote: "Marvel not at the gold and the expense but at the craftsmanship of the work. Bright is the noble work; but being nobly bright, the work should brighten the minds, so that they may travel, through the true lights, to the True Light where Christ is the true door." As beautiful as the church might be, it was designed to elevate the soul to the realm of God.

Fig. 17-17 West facade, Chartres Cathedral, France, ca. 1134–1220; south spire, ca. 1160; north spire 1507–13.

As the Gothic style developed, French craftsmen became increasingly accomplished in working with stained glass, creating windows such as Chartres Cathedral's famous rose window (see Fig. 7-9). Important architectural innovations also contributed to this goal (**Fig. 17-17**). The massive stonework of the Romanesque style was replaced by a light, almost lacy, play of thin columns and patterns of ribs and windows all pointing upward in a rising crescendo that seems to defy gravity, even as it carries the viewer's gaze toward the heavens. Compare, for instance, the Romanesque south tower of Chartres Cathedral to the fully Gothic north tower, which rises high above its starkly symmetrical neighbor. Extremely high naves—the nave at Chartres is 120 feet high, Reims 125, and highest of all is Beauvais at 157 (the equivalent of a 15-story building)—made possible by flying buttresses (see Figs. 14-23 and 14-24) add to this emphasis on verticality. They contribute a sense of elevation that is at once physical and spiritual, as does the preponderance of pointed rather than rounded arches.

In Germany's Cologne Cathedral (**Fig. 17-18**), the width of the nave has been narrowed to such a degree that the vaults seem to rise higher than they actually do. The cathedral was not finished until the nineteenth century, though built strictly in accordance with thirteenth-century plans. The stonework is so slender, incorporating so much glass into its walls, that the effect is one of almost total weightlessness.

Fig. 17-18 Choir of Cologne Cathedral, Germany, 13th and 14th centuries. Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques.

The Gothic style in Italy is unique. For instance, the exterior of Florence Cathedral (**Fig. 17-19**) is hardly Gothic at all. It was, in fact, designed to match the dogmatically Romanesque octagonal Baptistry that stands in front of it. But the interior space is completely Gothic in character. Each side of the nave is flanked by an arcade that opens almost completely into the nave by virtue of four wide pointed arches. Thus nave and arcade become one, and the interior of the cathedral feels more spacious than any other. Nevertheless, rather than the mysterious and transcendental feelings evoked by most Gothic churches, Florence Cathedral produces a sense of tranquility and of measured, controlled calm. This sense of measured space is in large part a function of the enormous size of the dome above the crossing, the architectural feat of Filippo Brunelleschi.

The Gothic style in architecture inspired an outpouring of sculptural decoration. There was, for one thing, much more room for sculpture on the facade of the Gothic church than had been available on the facade of the Romanesque church. There were now three doors where there had been only one before, and doors were added to the transepts as well. The portal at Reims (**Fig. 17-20**), which notably substitutes a stained-glass rose window for the Romanesque tympanum and a pointed for a round arch, is sculpturally much lighter than, for instance, the tympanum at Autun, France (see Fig. 17-16). The elongated bodies of the Romanesque figures are distributed in a very shallow space. In contrast, the sculpture of the Gothic cathedral is more naturalistic. The proportions of the figures are more natural, and the figures assume more natural poses as well. The space they occupy is

Fig. 17-19 Florence Cathedral (Santa Maria del Fiore), begun by Arnolfo de Cambio, 1296; dome by Filippo Brunelleschi, 1420–36.

Fig. 17-20 Central portal of the west facade, Reims Cathedral, France, ca. 1225–90.

deeper—so much so that they appear to be fully realized sculpture in-the-round, freed of the wall behind them. Most important of all, many of the figures seem to assert their own individuality, as if they were actual persons. The generalized "types" of Romanesque sculpture are beginning to disappear. The detail of figures at the bottom of the Reims portal (**Fig. 17-21**) suggests that each is engaged in a narrative scene. The angel on the left smiles at the more somber Virgin. The two at the right seem about to step off their pedestals. What is most remarkable is that the space between the figures is bridged by shared emotion, as if feeling can unite them in a common space.

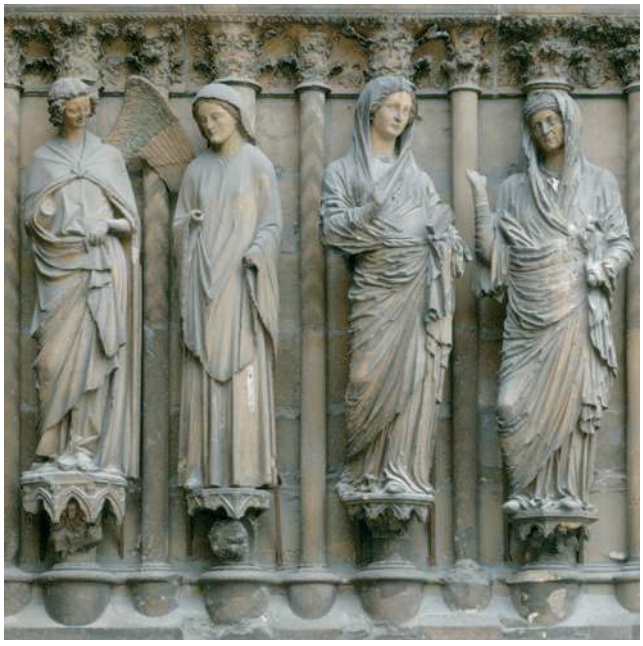


Fig. 17-21 ***Annunciation and Visitation*** **(detail), west portal, Reims Cathedral, France, ca. 1225–45.**

Developments in Asia

How do Indian art and architecture reflect the Hindu religion, and how is the Buddhist faith evident in the arts of China and Japan?

In Asia, Buddhism spread out of India and into China in the first century CE. By 600 CE, it had found its way into Japan. It would not take root in Southeast Asia until the thirteenth century. There, the dominant religion was Hinduism.

India

As early as 1500 BCE, Aryan tribesmen from northern Europe arrived in India, bringing a religion that would have as great an impact on the art of India as Islam had on the art of the Middle East. The Vedic traditions of the light-skinned Aryans, written in religious texts called the *Vedas*, allowed for the development of a class system based on racial distinctions. Status in one of the four classes—the priests (*Brahmans*), the warriors and rulers (*kshatriyas*), the farmers and merchants (*vaishayas*), and the serfs (*shudras*)—was determined by birth, and one could escape one's caste only through reincarnation. Buddhism, which began about 563 BCE, was in many ways a reaction against the Vedic caste system, allowing for salvation by means of individual self-denial and meditation, and it gained many followers.

From the *Vedas* in turn came the *Upanishads*, a book of mystical and philosophical texts that date from sometime after 800 BCE. Taken together, the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* form the basis of the Hindu religion, with Brahman, the universal soul, at its center. The religion has no single body of doctrine, nor any standard set of practices. It is defined above all by the diversity of its beliefs and deities.

As Hinduism developed, the functions of Brahman, the divine source of all being, were split among three gods—Brahma, the creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Shiva, the destroyer—as well as various female deities. Vishnu was one of the most popular. In his role as preserver, he is the god of benevolence, forgiveness, and

love, and like the other two main Hindu gods, he was believed capable of assuming human form, which he did more often than the other gods due to his great love for humankind. Among his most famous incarnations are his appearance as Rama, the ideal son, brother, husband, warrior, and king, who provides a model of righteous conduct, and as Krishna, a warrior who probably accounts in large part for Vishnu's popularity, since in the *Vishnu Puranas* (the "old stories" of Vishnu), collected about 500 CE, he is depicted as seducing one after another of his devotees. His celebration of erotic love symbolizes the mingling of the self and the absolute spirit of Brahman.

If Brahma is the creator of the world, Shiva takes what Brahma has made and embodies the world's cyclic rhythms. Since in Hinduism the destruction of the old world is followed by the creation of a new world, Shiva's role as destroyer is required, and a positive one. In this sense, he possesses reproductive powers, and in this manifestation of his being, he is often represented as a *lingam* (phallus), often carved in stone on temple grounds or at shrines. As early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, artists in the Tamil Nadu region of southern India began making large bronze and copper editions of Shiva in his manifestation as Shiva Nataraja, Lord of the Dance (**Fig. 17-22**). Such images were commissioned as

Fig. 17-22 ***Shiva as Lord of the Dance (Nataraja)*****, Tamil Nadu, India, Chola period (880–1279), ca. 11th century.** Bronze, 44½ × 40 × ¾ in. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1930.331. Photo © Cleveland Museum of Art.

icons for the region's many temples. Since Shiva embodies the rhythms of the universe, he is also a great dancer. It is said that all the gods were present when Shiva first danced, and they begged him to dance again. Shiva promised to do so in the hearts of his devotees as well as in a sacred grove in Tamil Nadu itself. As he dances, he is framed in a circle of fire, symbolic of both creation and destruction, the cycle of birth, death, and reincarnation.

Goddess worship is fundamental to the Hindu religion. Villages usually recognize goddesses as their protectors, and the goddess Devi is worshiped in many forms throughout India. She is the female aspect without whom the male aspect, which represents consciousness or discrimination, remains impotent and void. She is also synonymous with Shakti, the primordial cosmic energy, and represents the dynamic forces that move through the entire universe. Shaktism, a particular brand of Hindu faith that regards Devi as the Supreme Brahman itself, believes that all other forms of divinity, female or male, are themselves simply forms of Devi's diverse manifestations. But she has a number of particular manifestations. In an extraordinary miniature carving from the twelfth century, Devi is seen in her manifestation as Durga (**Fig. 17-23**), portrayed as the 16-armed slayer of a buffalo inhabited by the fierce demon Mahisha. Considered invincible, Mahisha threatens to destroy the world, but Durga comes to the rescue. In this image, she has just severed the buffalo's head and Mahisha, in the form of a tiny, chubby man, his hair composed of snake heads, emerges from the buffalo's decapitated body and looks up admiringly at Durga even as his toes are being bitten by her lion. Durga smiles serenely as she hoists Mahisha by his hair and treads gracefully on the buffalo's body.

The Hindu respect for sexuality is evident even in its architecture. The Kandariya Mahadeva temple (**Fig. 17-24**) represents the epitome of northern Hindu architecture. Its rising towers are meant to suggest the peaks of the Himalayas, home of the Hindu gods, and this analogy would have been even clearer when the temple was painted in its original white gesso. In the center of the temple is the *garbhagriha*, or "womb chamber," the symbolic sacred cavern at the heart of the sacred mountain/temple. Here rests the cult image of the Brahman, in this case the *lingam* of Shiva. Although it is actually almost completely dark, the *garbhagriha* is considered by Hindu worshipers to be filled with the pure light of Brahman.

By the twelfth century, Hinduism had spread from India southeast into present-day Cambodia, where

Fig. 17-23 ***The Goddess Durga Killing the Buffalo Demon, Mahisha (Mahishasuramardini)*****, Bangladesh or India, Pala period, 12th century.** Argillite, height. 5⅝ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Diana and Arthur G. Altschul Gift, 1993.7. Image copyright Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

Fig. 17-24 Kandariya Mahadeva temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh, India, Chandella dynasty, ca. 1025–50.

© Neil Grant/Alamy.

Fig. 17-25 Angkor Wat, Cambodia, early 12th century.
Andrew Gunners/Digital Vision/Getty Images.

Hindu art achieved a monumental imperial grandeur. In Cambodia, the Khmer monarchy established its capital at Angkor, about 150 miles northwest of present-day Phnom Penh. Covering about 70 square miles, the city was crossed by broad avenues and canals and filled with royal palaces and temples. The largest of these temples, Angkor Wat (**Fig. 17-25**), was created by Suryavarman II in the twelfth century. Five central towers, representing the five peaks of Mount Meru, the center of the Hindu cosmos, rise above a moat surrounding the complex. The approach to the galleries at the towers' base is from the west, crossing a long bridge over the moat, which symbolizes the oceans surrounding the known world. On June 21, the summer solstice and the beginning of the Cambodian solar year, a visitor to the temple arriving through the western gate would see the sun rise directly over the central tower. In this way, the symbolic evocation of the cosmos, so fundamental to Hindu temple architecture, is further elaborated in astronomical terms.

China

In China, and throughout much of Asia, Buddhism exerted the same power to stir the human imagination as Christianity did in the West. And as images of Christ became a central feature of art in the West, so too did images of the Buddha in the East.

The first Chinese Buddhist monk to set out on the Silk Road in search of Buddhist scripture to translate into Chinese was Zhu Shixing of Hunan province. His journey dates from about 260 CE. At the same time, far away on the Silk Road, a resident of Dunhuang (see Chapter 1) began his life's work as a translator of Buddhist texts. One of the most telling manifestations of the religion's spread is the appearance everywhere of images of the Buddha (**Fig. 17-26**). In early Buddhist art, the Buddha was never shown in figural form. It was believed to be impossible to represent the Buddha, since he had already passed to nirvana. Instead, his presence was symbolized by such things as his footprints, the banyan tree, the wheel (representing *dharma*, or the Wheel of Law), or elephants, symbols of mental strength. By the fourth century, during the reign of the Gupta rulers in India, the Buddha was commonly represented in human form. Typically his head is oval, framed by a halo. Atop his head is a mound, symbolizing his spiritual wisdom, and on his forehead is a "third eye," symbolizing his spiritual vision. His demeanor is gentle, reposed, and meditative. His elongated ears refer to his royal origins, and his

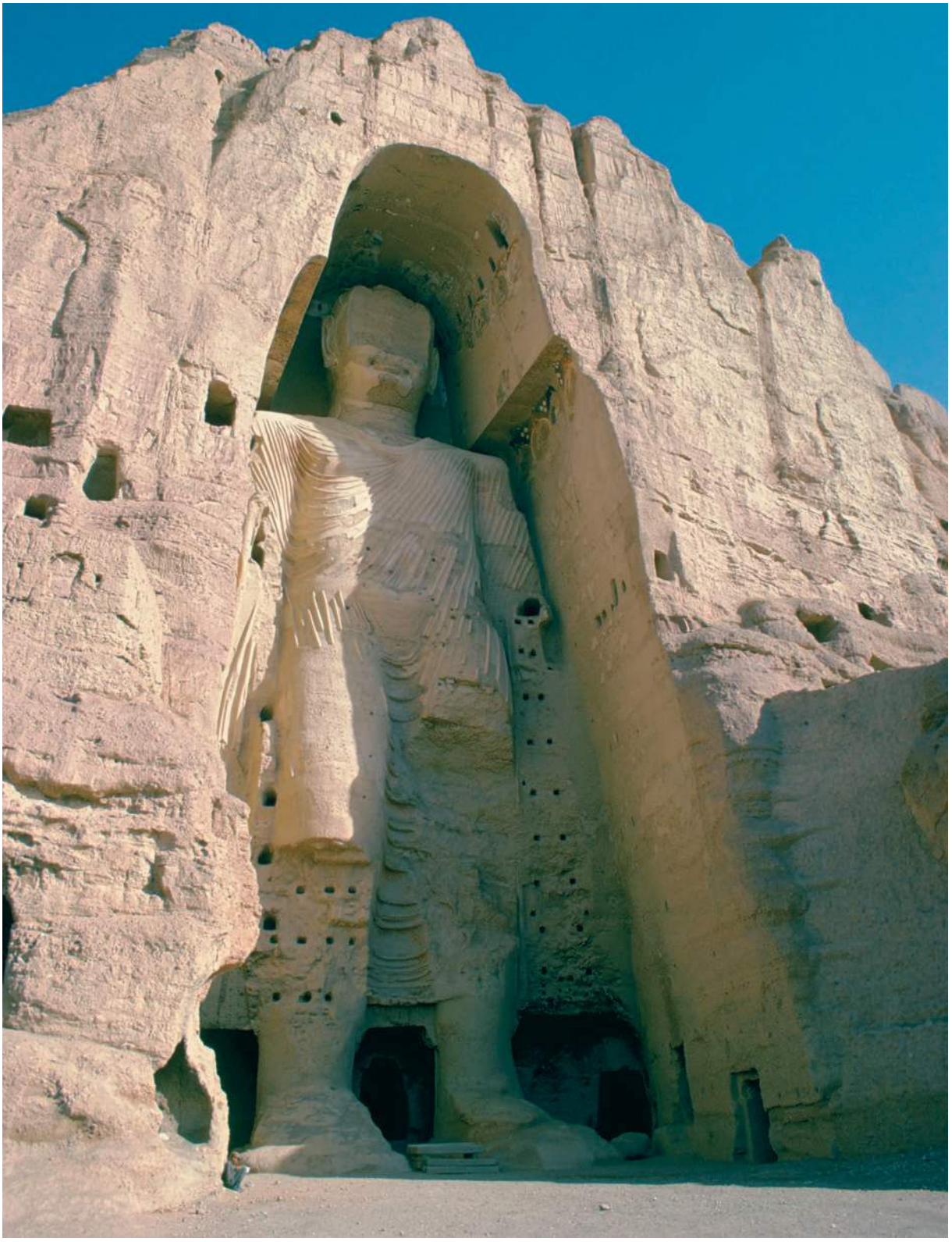


Fig. 17-26 Colossal Buddha, Bamiyan, Afghanistan, ca. 3rd century CE. Stone, height 175 ft.

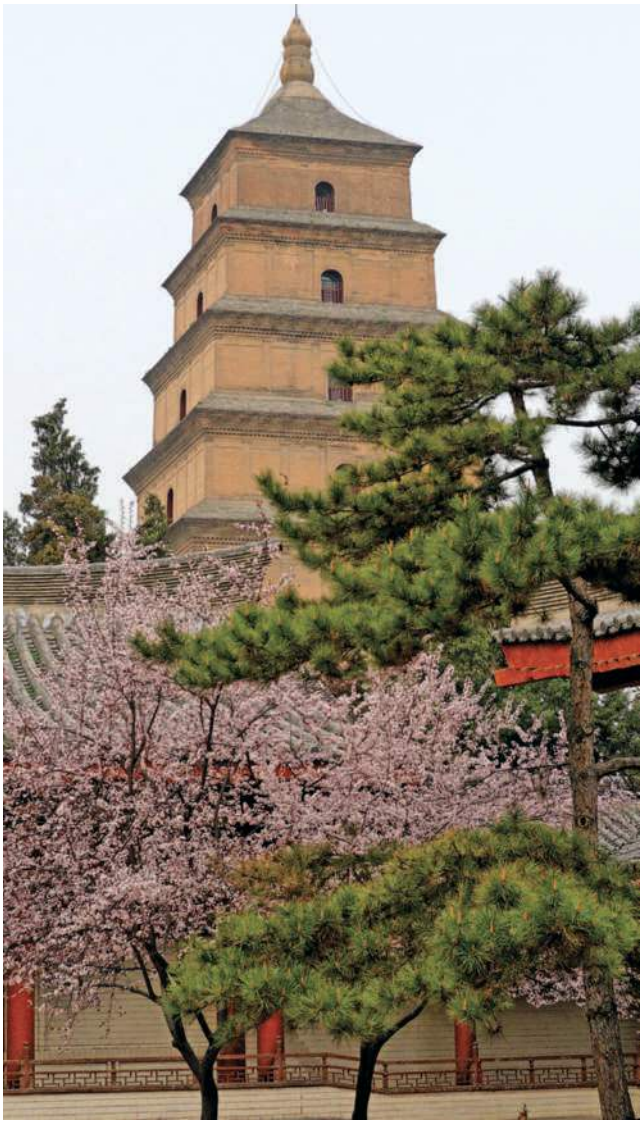


Fig. 17-27 Great Wild Goose Pagoda at Ci'én Temple, Xi'an, Shanxi, Tang dynasty, first erected 645 CE.
© Jean-Pierre De Mann/Robert Harding World Imagery.

Fig. 17-28 Guo Xi, *Early Spring*, Northern Song dynasty, 1072. Hanging scroll, ink, and slight color on silk, length 60 in. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C. © Corbis.

hands are set in one of several symbolic gestures, called mudras. At Bamiyan, on the Silk Road in present-day Afghanistan, two massive Buddhas, 175 and 120 feet tall, were carved into a cliff face in the third century CE. These figures were completely destroyed by the fundamentalist Islamic Taliban in 2001. However, many surviving replicas from the Silk Road era suggest that the hands of these Buddhas, which succumbed to natural forces long ago, were held up in the *Dharmachakra* mudra, the teaching pose, which symbolizes intellectual debate and is often associated with Buddhist centers of learning. Painted gold and studded with jewels, and surrounded by caves decorated with Buddhist wall paintings, these enormous images reflect the magnitude of the Buddha's eternal form, at which the earthly body can barely hint.

Beginning in 618, at about the same time that Islam arose in the Middle East, the Tang dynasty reestablished a period of peace and prosperity in China that, except for a brief period of turmoil in the tenth century, would last 660 years. During this period, the **pagoda** became a favored architectural form in China. A pagoda is a multistoried structure of successively smaller, repeated stories, with projecting roofs at each story. The design derives from Indian stupas, which had grown increasingly towerlike by the sixth century CE, as well as Han watchtowers. In fact, the pagoda was understood

to offer the temple a certain protection. The Great Wild Goose Pagoda (**Fig. 17-27**) was built in 645 for the monk Xuanzang, who taught and translated the materials he brought back with him from a 16-year pilgrimage to India. In its simplicity and symmetry, it represents the essence of Tang architecture.

Since the time of the Song dynasty, which ruled the empire from 960 until it was overrun by Kublai Khan in 1279, the Taoists in China had emphasized the importance of self-expression, especially through the arts. Poets, calligraphers, and painters were appointed to the most important positions of state. After calligraphy, the Chinese valued landscape painting as the very highest form of artistic endeavor. For them, the activity of painting was a search for the absolute truth embodied in nature, a search that was not so much intellectual as intuitive. They sought to understand a concept shared by both Confucian and Buddhist thought, the *li*, or "principle," upon which the universe is founded, and thus to understand the symbolic meaning and feeling that underlies every natural form. The symbolic meanings of Guo Xi's *Early Spring* (**Fig. 17-28**), for instance, were recorded in a book authored by his son, Guo Si, titled *The Lofty Message of the Forests and Streams*. According to this book, the central peak here symbolizes the emperor, and its tall pines the gentlemanly ideals of the court. Around the emperor, the masses assume their natural place, just as around the mountain, the trees and hills fall, like the water itself, in the order and rhythms of nature.

Japan

Until the sixth century CE, Japan was a largely agricultural society that practiced Shinto, an indigenous system of belief involving the worship of *kami*, or deities believed to inhabit many different aspects of nature, from trees and rocks to deer and other animals. But during the Asuka period (552–646 CE), the philosophy, medicine, music, food, and art and architecture of China and Korea were introduced to the culture. At about this same time, Buddhism was introduced into the country. According to the *Kojiki*, or *Chronicles of Japan*, a collection of myths and stories dating from about 700 CE, a statue of the Buddha and a collection of sacred Buddhist texts were given to Japanese rulers by a Korean king in 552. By 708, the Fujiwara clan had constructed a new capital at Nara and officially accepted Buddhism as the state religion. Magnificent temples and monasteries were constructed, including what would remain, for a thousand years, the largest wooden structure in the world, the Todaiji temple (**Fig. 17-29**). It houses a giant bronze, known as the Great Buddha, over 49 feet high and weighing approximately 380 tons. According to ancient records, as many as 2.6 million people were required to aid in the temple's construction, although that number represents close to half of Japan's population at the time and is probably an exaggeration. The original temple was twice destroyed by warring factions, in 1180 and again in 1567. The current Buddha is in fact a 1691 reconstruction of the original, and the Todaiji temple is itself a reconstruction of 1709. The restored temple is considerably smaller than the original, approximately two-thirds its size, and now stands 188 feet in width and 156 feet high.

As early as the seventh century, Buddhist doctrine and Shinto had begun to influence each other. In the eighth century, the Great Buddha at Nara became identified with the principal Shinto goddess Amaterasu, from whom all Japanese emperors are said to have descended, and Buddhist ceremonies were incorporated into Shinto court ritual. But, between 784 and 794, the

Fig. 17-29 Todaiji temple, Nara, Japan, 752, reconstructed 1709.

Fig. 17-30 ***Night Attack on the Sanjo Palace*** **(detail), from the** ***Scrolls of Events of the Heiji Period*****, Kamakura period, late 13th century.** Handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 16¼ in. × 22 ft. 11½ in. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
Fenollosa-Weld Collection, 11.4000. Photo © 2015 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

capital of Japan was moved to Heiankyo—modern-day Kyoto—inaugurating the great elegance and refinement of the Heian period. Heiankyo quickly became the most densely populated city in the world. According to records, the move occurred because the secular court needed to distance itself from the religious influence of the Buddhist monks at Nara.

During the Heian period, the emperors had increasingly relied on regional warrior clans—samurai (literally, "those who serve")—to exercise military control, especially in the countryside. Over time, these clans became more and more powerful, until, by 1100, they had begun to emerge as a major force in Japanese military and political life, inaugurating the Kamakura period, which takes its name from the capital city of the most prominent of these clans, the Minamoto.

The Kamakura period actually began when the Minamoto clan defeated its chief rival, the Taira, in 1185, but the contest for power between the two dominated the last years of the Heian period. The complex relationship between the Fujiwara of the Heian era and the samurai clans of the Kamakura is embodied in a long handscroll narration of an important battle of 1160, from the *Scrolls of Events of the Heiji Period*, painted by an unknown artist in the thirteenth century, perhaps 100 years after the events themselves. In 1156, Go Shirakawa ascended to the head of the Fujiwara to serve in what had become their traditional role as regent to the emperor, the highest position in the government. But Go Shirakawa resisted the Fujiwara attempt to take control of the government, and in 1157, they recruited one of the two most powerful samurai clans, the Minamoto, to help them stage a coup and imprison the emperor. *Night Attack on the Sanjo Palace* (**Fig. 17-30**) depicts the moment troops led by Fujiwara Nobuyori attacked the emperor's palace, taking him prisoner and burning his palace to the ground. This is the central scene of the scroll, which begins with the army moving toward the palace from the right and ends with it leaving in

Fig. 17-31 Armor ***(yoroi)*****, late Kamakura period, early 14th century.** Lacquered iron and leather, silk, stenciled leather, copper-gilt, height 37½ in., weight 38 lb. 3 oz. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Gift of Bashford Dean, 1914.100.121. Image copyright Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

triumph to the left. The chaos and violence of the events are captured by the sweeping linear ribbons of flame and smoke rising to the upper right and the confusion of horsemen, warriors, fleeing ladies, the dead, and the dying in the foreground, all framed by an architecture that falls at a steep diagonal to the bottom left.

The samurai warriors, dressed in elaborate iron armor, were master horsemen and archers. In this scene, many hold their bows, the lower portions of which are smaller than the top in order that they might pass over a horse's neck. They wore a special armor, known as *yoroi*, made of overlapping iron and lacquered leather scales (**Fig. 17-31**). A breastplate and backplate were strapped together with leather thongs, and a separate piece of armor protected the right side, particularly vulnerable when the archer raised his arm to draw his bow. A four-sided skirt was attached to the armor to protect the upper legs. And the helmet was made of iron plates from which a neckguard flared sharply outward. Diagonal bands of multicolored lacings originally decorated this *yoroi*, a symbol of the rainbow and a reminder that both beauty and good fortune are fleeting. Stenciled in the leather breastplate is an image of Fudo Myo-o ("The Immovable"), one of the five great guardians of the Buddhist faith. Because he is unshakable in his duty, fierce in his demeanor, and exercises strict mental discipline, Fudo Myo-o was a figure venerated by the samurai.

Fig. 17-32 *Head of a King* (*Oni*), Ife culture, Nigeria, ca. 13th century. Brass, height 11⅞₁₆ in. Museum of Ife Antiquities, Ife, Nigeria.
Photo © Dirk Bakker/Bridgeman Images.

The Cultures of Africa

What are some of the characteristic works of the Ife, Shona, and Zagwe cultures?

Just as in Europe and Asia, powerful kingdoms arose across Africa in the early centuries of the second millennium. As we have seen, the influence of Islam helped to establish a powerful culture in the kingdom of Mali (see Fig. 17-11). Farther south, along the western coast of central Africa, the Yoruba state of Ife developed along the Niger River. Near the southeastern tip of Africa, the Shona civilization produced urban centers represented today by the ruins of "Great Zimbabwe." On the eastern side of Africa, the Zagwe dynasty maintained a long Christian heritage introduced in the first millennium from the Middle East.

By the middle of the twelfth century, Ife culture was producing highly naturalistic brass sculptures depicting its rulers. An example is the *Head of a King* (or *Oni*) (**Fig. 17-32**). The parallel lines that run down the face represent decorative effects made by scarring—**scarification**. The hole in the lower neck suggests that the head may have been attached to a wooden mannequin, and in memorial services the mannequin may well have worn the royal robes of the Ife court. Small holes along the scalp line suggest that hair, or perhaps a veil of some sort, also adorned the head. But the head itself was, for the Ife, of supreme importance. It was the home of the spirit, the symbol of the king's capacity to organize the world and to prosper. Ife culture depended for its welfare on its kings' heads.

Inland from the southwestern coast of Africa, the Shona people built an entirely indigenous African civilization in the region of today's Zimbabwe beginning in about 1100. As trade developed along the African coast, the Shona positioned themselves as an inland hub where coastal traders could travel to procure goods for export. From surrounding regions they mined or imported copper and gold, and received in return exotic goods such as porcelain and glass from Asia and the Middle East.

Fig. 17-33 Bird carved from soapstone, Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, ca. 1200–1400. Height 13½ in., atop a stone monolith, total height 5 ft. 4 in. Great Zimbabwe Site Museum, Zimbabwe.

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Shona erected the massive stone buildings and walls of a city known today as Great Zimbabwe. The origin of the Shona word *zimbabwe* is debated, but a composite of various meanings suggests that it referred to the "palaces of stone" in this city. A huge city for its time, the ruins cover 1 square mile and are believed to have housed a population of somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000. Great Zimbabwe has several distinct, separately enclosed areas with ceremonial platforms decorated with carved geometric patterns and tall rock monoliths topped by carved birds (**Fig. 17-33**). The bird topping this monolith is not a recognizable species and includes certain human features, such as toes instead of talons. This has led to speculation that the figure may represent deceased Shona rulers who were believed to have the power to move between the spirit and human worlds. A crocodile, possibly another symbol of royalty, climbs up the front of the monolith.

One of the dynasties of greatest cultural importance in medieval East Africa was that of the Zagwe, who reigned for approximately 150 years, from the early twelfth century to 1270. They carved massive churches into the soft rock of the region (**Fig. 17-34**). The most famous of these was commissioned by the emperor Lalibela. In the town now known by his name, he ordered the construction of a series of these sunken rock churches. Engineers had to conceive of the completed building in advance, including decorative details, because subtractive techniques such as carving do not allow for repair of mistakes. Once the shell of the building was carved, the interior was hollowed out into rooms for use in Christian worship and study.

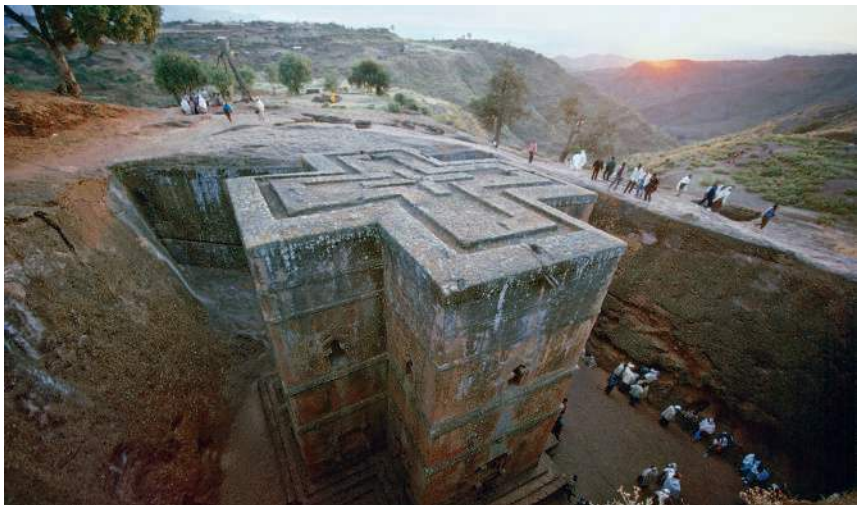


Fig. 17-34 Beta Ghiorghis (House of St. George), Lalibela, Ethiopia, 13th century.

Thinking Back

17.1 Describe the principal architectural and decorative features of early Christian and Byzantine places of worship.

The emperor Constantine chose to make early Christian places of worship as unlike Classical temples as possible. He chose a rectangular building type called the basilica, which the ancient Romans had used for secular public functions. Early Christians and, later, Byzantines also used circular buildings, which derived from mausoleum architecture. What is an ambulatory? What was most notable about the worshiper's experience of Hagia Sophia? How is San Vitale decorated?

17.2 Explain the origins of the mosque and describe its chief features.

At Medina, Muhammad built a house that surrounded a large open courtyard, which served as a community gathering place, on the model of the Roman forum. There, the men of the community would gather on Fridays to pray and listen to a sermon delivered by Muhammad. It thus became known as the *masjid*, the Arabic word for mosque, or "place of prostration." Covered porches were erected to protect the community from the hot Arabian sun. This many-columned area, known as a hypostyle space, would become a standard feature of mosques. Mosques are required to have a *qibla*, a wall that indicates the direction of Mecca. What is a *minbar*? What is a *mihrab*?

17.3 Describe the chief characteristics of the Carolingian, Romanesque, and Gothic styles.

Soon after Charlemagne assumed leadership of the Franks in 771, he was crowned Holy Roman emperor by Pope Leo III at St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. The fusion of Germanic and Mediterranean cultures reflected a new alliance between Church and State that resulted in a Carolingian style of art. How does the illustration of St. Matthew from the *Gospel Book of Charlemagne* reflect this new style?

Romanesque architecture is characterized by its easily recognizable geometric masses—rectangles, cylinders, and half-cylinders. Romanesque buildings have large vaulted ceilings, which require massive walls, typically lacking windows. The art of sculpture began to reemerge in the Romanesque period. What role did the pilgrimage route play in church-building? What is a tympanum, and how would it be used in church decoration?

Light is a defining feature of Gothic buildings. Unlike Romanesque structures, Gothic buildings are well lit. Light was believed to serve as a manifestation of the divine. Gothic buildings are defined by an emphasis on verticality. What role did Abbot Suger play in the development of the Gothic style? How does the Gothic style in Italy differ from the French Gothic style?

17.4 Describe how Indian art and architecture reflect the Hindu religion, and how the Buddhist faith is evident in the arts of China and Japan.

Hinduism is defined above all by the diversity of its beliefs and deities, all of which were, together with lesser gods, often depicted in sculpture. How is the Hindu respect for sexuality reflected in its architecture? By the fourth century, the Buddha was commonly represented in human form. How does the Great Goose Pagoda reflect a Buddhist heritage? What is *li*, and how is it manifest in Guo Xi's *Early Spring*? By 600 CE, Buddhism had reached Japan. How did it merge with the indigenous Shinto religion? How did the samurai reflect its values?

17.5 Describe some of the characteristic works of the Ife, Shona, and Zagwe cultures.

Ife art is distinguished by its brass sculptures depicting its rulers. What importance do the Ife attach to these heads? The Shona people of Zimbabwe were great traders, and between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries they built a great city known as Great Zimbabwe. What is unique about the churches of Lalibela?

Chapter 18

The Renaissance through the Baroque

Learning Objectives

18.1 Explain how humanism informs the art of both the Early and High Renaissance.

18.2 Discuss some of the ways that the encounter with other cultures impacted the long-established artistic traditions of China and Japan, the Americas, and Africa.

18.3 Describe how the Mannerist style is different from that of the High Renaissance.

18.4 Define the Baroque as it manifests itself in both art and architecture.

During the period extending from about 1400 to 1500—that is, as the Gothic era waned—Western European culture experienced a rebirth of Classical learning and values. For this reason we call the period the **Renaissance**, from the Italian *rinascita*, "rebirth." By the middle of the fourteenth century, the Italian poet Dante Alighieri had picked the ancient Roman poet Virgil as his guide through his fictional Inferno and Purgatory, another Italian poet Petrarch was busy amassing his own Classical library, and the author of what might be thought of as the first short stories in Western literature—the Florentine writer Boccaccio, who, like Dante, wrote in the vernacular Italian instead of Latin—was also learning Greek. Where the Romans had once copied many of the greatest Greek sculptures from antiquity, now those same sculptures were being unearthed in Rome, and served as models for a new generation of Renaissance artists.

But in many ways, the Gothic era might in fact best be seen not so much as a coda to the Middle Ages but rather as a long overture to the Renaissance, and we can see, perhaps, in the sculptures at Reims Cathedral (see Fig. 17-21), which date from the first half of the thirteenth century, the beginnings of the spirit that would develop into the Renaissance sensibility. These figures are no longer archetypal and formulaic representations; they are almost real people, displaying real emotions. This tendency toward increasingly naturalistic representation in many ways defines Gothic art, but it is even more pronounced in Renaissance art. If the figures in the Reims portal seem about to step off their columns, Renaissance figures seem to share our space as if part of our world. By the time of the Limbourg Brothers' early fifteenth-century manuscript illumination for *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (**Fig. 18-1**), human beings are represented, for the first time since Classical antiquity, as casting actual shadows upon the ground. The architecture is also rendered with some measure of perspectival accuracy. The scene is full of realistic detail, and the potential of landscape to render a sense of actual space is fully realized.

The Renaissance

How does humanism inform the painting of both the Early and the High Renaissance?

In December 1347, rats infested with fleas carrying bubonic plague arrived on the island of Sicily. Within months, the disease spread northward, through the ports

Fig. 18-1 The Limbourg Brothers, *October*, from *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, 1413–16. Manuscript illumination. Musée Condé, Chantilly, France.
Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (domaine de Chantilly)/René-Gabriel Ojéda.

of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, across Italy, southern France, and eastern Spain. The disease began in the lymph glands of the groin or armpits, which slowly filled with pus and turned black. The inflammations were called buboes—hence the name bubonic plague—and their black color lent the plague its other name, the Black Death. Since it was carried by rodents, which were commonplace even in wealthy homes, hardly anyone was spared. In Tuscany, the death rate in the cities was near 60 percent. In Florence, on June 24, 1348, the feast day of the city's patron saint, John the Baptist, 1,800 people reportedly died, and another 1,800 the next day—about 4 percent of the city's population in the space of two days.

After the Black Death, it seemed possible, even necessary, to begin again. In politics, feudal rule gave way to centralized forms of government. City-states flourished, strengthened by the influx of workers migrating from the countryside, as manufacture and trade supplanted agriculture as the basis of the European economy. The Church, which in medieval times had been the very foundation of Western culture, found itself challenged on all fronts. Politically, European monarchs questioned its authority. Philosophically, a growing class of intellectuals challenged its long-held doctrines. Morally, many of these same intellectuals denounced the behavior of its clergy and called for reform.

The Early Renaissance

But perhaps above all, the Renaissance was the era of the individual. As early as the 1330s, the poet and scholar Petrarch had conceived of a new **humanism**, a belief in the unique value of each person. Petrarch argued that the birth of Christ had ushered in an "age of faith," which had blinded the world to learning and thus condemned it to darkness. The study of Classical languages, literature, history, and philosophy—what we call the "humanities"—could lead to a new, enlightened stage of history. People should be judged, Petrarch felt, by their actions. It was not God's will that determined who they were and what they were capable of; rather, glory and fame were available to anyone who dared to seize them.

Embodying this belief is a sculpture by Donatello, which turns its attention directly to the Classical past. His *David* (**Fig. 18-2**) was, in fact, the first life-size nude sculpture since antiquity. He is posed in perfectly Classical *contrapposto* fashion. But the young hero—almost anti-heroic in the youthful fragility of his physique—is also fully self-conscious, his attention turned, in what

Fig. 18-2 Donatello, *David*, ca. 1425–30. Bronze, height 5 ft. 2¼ in. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

appears to be full-blown self-adoration, upon himself as an object of physical beauty. Writing in 1485, the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola—Pico, as he is known—addressed himself to every ordinary (male) person: "Thou, constrained by no limits, in accordance with

thine own free will . . . shalt ordain for thyself the limits of thy nature. We have set thee at the world's center . . . [and] thou mayst fashion thyself in whatever shape thou shalt prefer." Out of such sentiments Donatello's *David* was born, as were the archetypal Renaissance geniuses—men like Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci—but also Niccolò Machiavelli's wily and pragmatic Prince, for whom the ends justify any means, and the legendary Faust, who sold his soul to the devil in return for youth, knowledge, and magical power.

Donatello had traveled to Rome in 1402 with his friend Filippo Brunelleschi, the inventor of geometric, linear perspective (see Fig. 4-13), a system Brunelleschi probably developed as he studied the ruins of ancient Rome. It was Brunelleschi who accepted a commission to design and build a dome over the crossing of Florence Cathedral (see Fig. 17-19). The other great innovator of the day was the painter Masaccio, who died in 1428 at the age of 27, having worked only six years. He was 15 years younger than Donatello and 24 years younger than Brunelleschi, and learned from them both, translating Donatello's naturalism and Brunelleschi's sense of proportion into the art of painting. In his *The Tribute Money* (**Fig. 18-3**), painted around 1427, Christ's disciples, especially St. Peter, wonder whether it is proper to pay taxes to the Roman government when, from their point of view, they owe allegiance to Christ, not Rome. But Christ counsels them to separate their earthly affairs from spiritual obligations—"Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matthew 22:21). To that end, Christ tells St. Peter and the other disciples that they will find the coin necessary to pay the imperial tax collector, whose back is to us, in the mouth of a fish. At the left, St. Peter extracts the coin from the fish's mouth, and, at the right, he pays the required tribute money to the tax collector. The figures here are modeled by means of chiaroscuro in a light that falls upon the scene from the right (notice their cast shadows). We sense the physicality of the figures beneath their robes. The landscape is rendered through atmospheric perspective, and the building on the right is rendered in a one-point-perspective scheme, with a vanishing point behind the head of Christ. All of these artistic devices are in themselves innovations; together, they constitute one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of art, an extraordinary change in direction from the flat, motionless figures of the Middle Ages toward a fully realistic representation.

In the north of Europe, in Flanders particularly, a flourishing merchant society promoted artistic developments that in many ways rivaled those of Florence. The Italian revival of Classical notions of order and measure was, for the most part, ignored in the north. Rather, the

Fig. 18-3 Masaccio, *The Tribute Money*, ca. 1427. Fresco. Brancacci Chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence.

Fig. 18-4 Rogier van der Weyden, *The Deposition*, ca. 1435–38. Oil on wood, 7 ft. 1⅝ in. × 8 ft. 7⅛ in. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

northern artists were deeply committed to rendering believable space in the greatest and most realistic detail. *The Mérode Altarpiece*, executed by Robert Campin (see Fig. 9-14), is almost exactly contemporary with Masaccio's *Tribute Money*, but in the precision and clarity of its detail—in fact, an explosion of detail—it is radically different in feel. The chief reason for the greater clarity relates to medium. Northern painters developed oil paint in the first half of the fourteenth century. With oil paint, painters could achieve dazzling effects of light on the surface of the painting—as opposed to the matte, or nonreflective, surfaces of both fresco and tempera. These effects recall, on the one hand, the Gothic style's emphasis on the almost magical light of the stained-glass window. In that sense, the effect achieved seems transcendent. But it also lends the depicted objects a sense of material reality, and thus caters to the material desires of the north's rising mercantile class.

If we compare Rogier van der Weyden's *The Deposition* (**Fig. 18-4**) to Piero della Francesca's *The Flagellation of Christ* (**Fig. 18-5**), the differences between northern (Flemish) and southern (Italian) sensibilities become evident. Virtually a demonstration of the rules of linear perspective, Piero's scene depicts Pontius Pilate watching as executioners whip Christ. Although it is much more architecturally unified, the painting pays homage to Masaccio's *Tribute Money*. Emotionally speaking, Rogier's *Deposition* has almost nothing in common with Piero's *Flagellation*. It is as if Piero has controlled the violence of his emotionally charged scene by means of mathematics, while Rogier has emphasized instead the pathos and human feeling that pervade his scene of Christ being lowered from the cross. While Piero's composition is essentially defined by a square and a rectangle, with figures arranged in each in a basically triangular fashion, Rogier's composition is controlled by two parallel,

Fig. 18-5 Piero della Francesca, *The Flagellation of Christ*, ca. 1455. Tempera on wood, 32¾ × 23⅓ in. Palazzo Ducale, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

deeply expressive, sweeping curves, one defined by the body of Christ and the other by the swooning figure below him. Next to the high drama of Rogier's painting, Piero's seems almost static, but the understated brutality of Christ's flagellation in the background of Piero's painting is equally compelling.

But all in all, the Early Renaissance, in Italy at least, could be said to be the work of the Medici family. For 76 years, from 1418, when they became bankers to the papacy, until 1494, when irate citizens removed them from power, they molded and manipulated, controlled and cajoled, persuaded and provoked the Florentines into becoming a citizenry befitting the city they envisioned, a city founded on humanist values. The family's power was fully cemented by Cosimo de' Medici, who, as banker to the papacy, secured Florence's domination over rival Siena. Cosimo surrounded himself with humanists. He collected ancient Greek and Roman art, bringing to Florence the finest examples of sculpture he could find. He also sought the humanists' guidance about what books and manuscripts of the ancients he ought to collect, and commissioned translations of Greek philosophy and literature, since he himself could not master the language. But it was his grandson Lorenzo, known as *il Magnifico*—"the Magnificent"—who fully transformed Florence into a model humanist city, the envy of all Italy, after assuming responsibility for leading the family and the city in 1469.

Cosimo had founded a Platonic Academy of Philosophy in Florence and Lorenzo continued to champion it. There, Lorenzo and his close friend and contemporary, the painter Sandro Botticelli, studied a brand of Neoplatonic thought that transformed the philosophic writings of Plato almost into a religion. According to

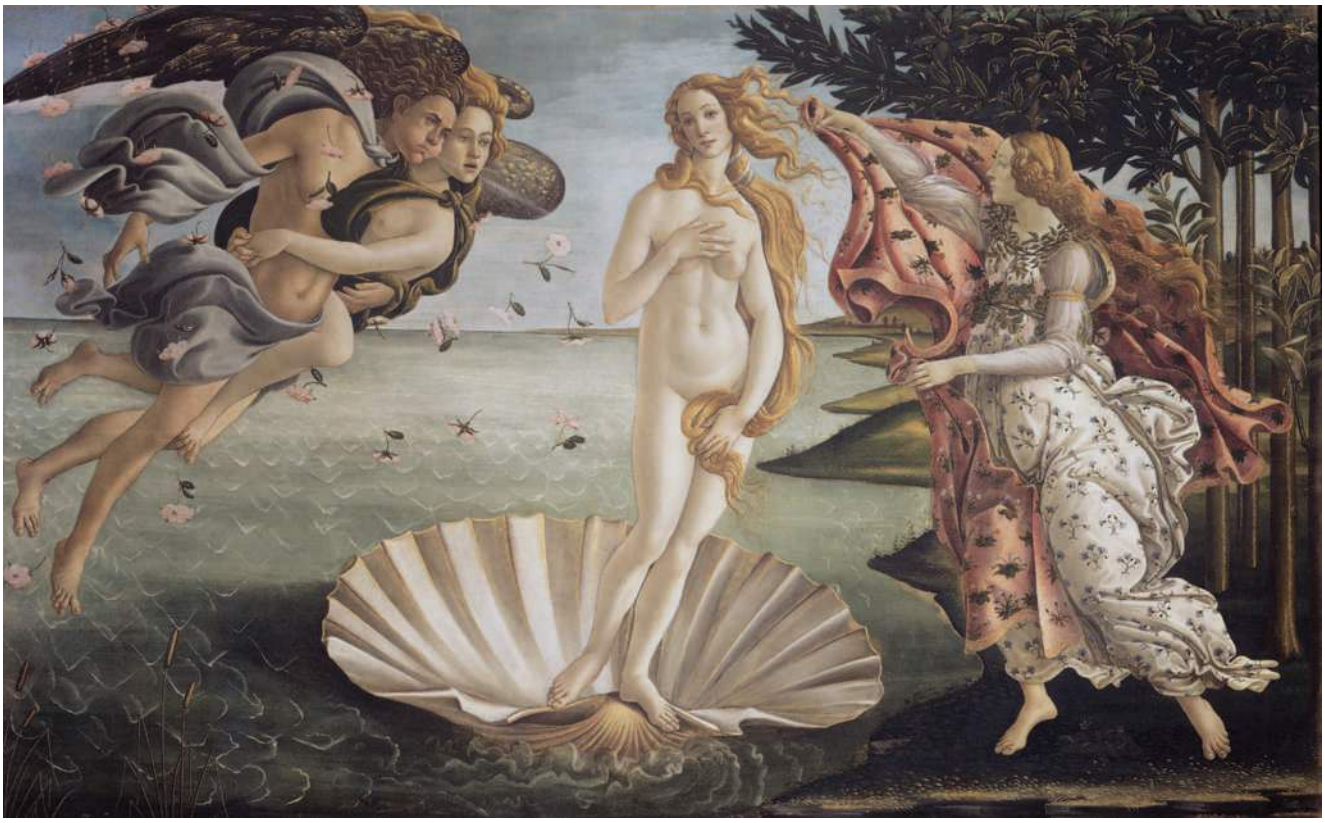


Fig. 18-6 Sandro Botticelli, *The Birth of Venus*, ca. 1482. Tempera on canvas, 5 ft. 8⅞ in. × 9 ft. 1⅞ in. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

the Neoplatonists, in the contemplation of beauty, the inherently corrupt soul could transform its love for the physical and material into a purely spiritual love of God. Thus, Botticelli uses mythological themes to transform his pagan imagery into a source of Christian inspiration and love. His *Birth of Venus* (**Fig. 18-6**), the first monumental representation of the nude goddess since ancient times, represents innocence itself, a divine beauty free of any hint of the physical and the sensual. It was this form of beauty that the soul, aspiring to salvation, was expected to contemplate. But such meanings were by no means clear to the uninitiated, and when the Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola denounced the Medicis as pagan, the majority of Florentines agreed. In 1494, the family was banished.

The High Renaissance

Still, for a short period at the outset of the sixteenth century, Florence was again the focal point of artistic activity. The three great artists of the High Renaissance—Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael—all lived and worked in the city. As a young man, Michelangelo had been a member of Lorenzo de' Medici's circle, but with the Medicis' demise in 1494, he fled to Bologna. He returned to Florence seven years later to work on a giant piece of marble left over from an abandoned commission. Out of this, while still in his twenties, he carved his monolithic *David* (see Fig. 1-28). But, in 1505, Michelangelo was commanded to leave Florence for Rome by Pope Julius II to serve in the pope's plans for rebuilding St. Peter's Basilica and the Vatican. It was for Pope Julius II that Michelangelo painted his Sistine Chapel ceiling (see Figs. 5-24 and 9-10), one of the masterpieces of the High Renaissance.

Leonardo, some 23 years older than Michelangelo, had left Florence as early as 1481 for Milan. There, he offered his services to the great duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, first as a military engineer and, only secondarily, as an architect, sculptor, and painter. Ludovico was embroiled in military matters, and Leonardo pronounced himself the military engineer

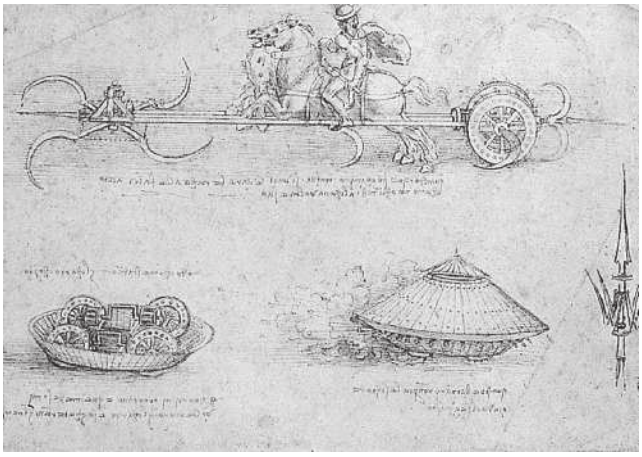


Fig. 18-7 Leonardo da Vinci, *A Scythed Chariot, Armored Car, and Pike*, ca. 1487. Pen and ink and wash, 6⅜ × 9¾ in. The British Museum, London.
1860,0616.99. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Ludovico was looking for, capable of constructing great "machines of war." Leonardo's restless imagination, in fact, led him to the study of almost everything: natural phenomena like wind, storms, and the movement of water; anatomy and physiology; physics and mechanics; music; mathematics; plants and animals; geology; and astronomy, to say nothing of painting and drawing. His drawing of *A Scythed Chariot, Armored Car, and Pike* (**Fig. 18-7**) is indicative of his work for Sforza. "I will make covered vehicles," he wrote to the duke, "which will penetrate the enemy and their artillery, and there is no host of armed men so great that they will not be broken down by them." The chariot in the drawing is equipped with scythes to cut down the enemy, and the armored car, presented in an upside-down view as well as scooting along in a cloud of dust, was to be operated by eight men. But Leonardo's work for Sforza was not limited to military operations. From 1495 to 1498, he painted his world-famous fresco *The Last Supper* (see Fig. 4-15), which many consider to be the first painting of the High Renaissance, in Santa Maria delle Grazie, a monastic church under the protection of the Sforza family. Leonardo left Milan soon after the French invaded in October 1499, and by April he had returned to Florence, where he concentrated his energies on a life-size cartoon for *Madonna and Child with St. Anne and Infant St. John the Baptist* (see Fig. 8-4). This became so famous that Florentines flocked to see it. At about this time he also painted the *Mona Lisa* (**Fig. 18-8**). Perhaps a portrait of the wife of the Florentine banker Zanobi del Giocondo, the painting conveys a psychological depth that has continued to fascinate viewers up to the present day. Its power derives, at least in part, from a manipulation of light and shadow that imparts a blurred imprecision to the sitter's features, lending her an aura of ambiguity and mystery. This interest in the psychology, not just the physical looks, of the sitter is typical of the Renaissance imagination.

When Raphael, then 21 years old, arrived in Florence in 1504, he discovered Leonardo and Michelangelo locked in a competition over who would get the commission to decorate the city council chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio with pictures celebrating the Florentine past. Leonardo painted a *Battle of Anghiari* and Michelangelo a *Battle of Cascina*, neither of which survives. The young Raphael was immediately con-

Fig. 18-8 Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*, ca. 1503–05. Oil on wood, 30¼ × 21 in. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
Photo © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/Michel Urtado.

Fig. 18-9 Raphael, *The School of Athens*, 1510–11. Fresco. Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican Palace, Vatican City.
Photo Fine Art Images/Heritage Images/Scala, Florence.

fronted by the cult of genius that in many ways has come to define the High Renaissance. Artists of inspiration were considered different from everyone else, and guided in their work by an insight that, according to the Neoplatonists, was divine in origin. The Neoplatonists believed that the goals of truth and beauty were not reached by following the universal rules and laws of Classical antiquity—notions of proportion and mathematics. Nor, given the fallen condition of the world, would fidelity to visual reality guarantee beautiful results. Instead, the artist of genius had to rely on subjective and personal intuition—what the Neoplatonists called the "divine frenzy" of the creative act—to transcend the conditions of everyday life. Plato had argued that painting was mere slavish imitation of an already existing thing—it was a diminished reality. The Neoplatonists turned this argument on its head. Art now exceeded reality. It was a window, not upon nature, but upon divine inspiration itself.

Raphael learned much from both Leonardo and Michelangelo, and, in 1508, he was awarded the largest commission of the day, the decoration of the papal apartments at the Vatican in Rome. On the four walls of the first room, the Stanza della Segnatura, he painted frescoes representing the four domains of knowledge—Theology, Law, Poetry, and Philosophy. The most famous of these is the last, *The School of Athens* (**Fig. 18-9**). Raphael's painting depicts a gathering of the greatest philosophers and scientists of the ancient world. The symmetry of the composition is reminiscent of Leonardo's *Last Supper*, but the perspectival rendering of space is much deeper. Where, in Leonardo's masterpiece, Christ is situated at the vanishing point, in Raphael's work, Plato and Aristotle occupy that position. These two figures represent the two great, opposing schools of philosophy: the Platonists, who were concerned with the spiritual world of ideas (thus, Plato points upward), and the Aristotelians, who were concerned with the matter-of-factness of material reality (thus, Aristotle points over the ground upon which he walks). The expressive power of the figures owes much to Michelangelo, who, it is generally be-

lieved, Raphael portrayed as the philosopher Heraclitus, the brooding, self-absorbed figure in the foreground.

Raphael's work in Rome is typical of the rapid spread of the ideals of the Italian Renaissance culture to the rest of Italy and Europe. In Venice, however, painting developed somewhat independently of the Florentine manner. The emphasis in Venetian art is on the sensuousness of light and color and the pleasures of the senses. The closest we have come to it so far is in the mysterious glow that infuses Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, but what is only hinted at in Leonardo's work explodes in Venetian painting as full-blown theatrical effect. Building up color by means of glazing, as Leonardo did in his soft, luminous landscapes (see Fig. 5-3), their paintings, like the great palaces of Venice whose reflections shimmered on the Grand Canal, demonstrate an exquisite sensitivity to the play of light and shadow and to the luxurious display of detail and design.

The mysterious qualities of Leonardo's highly charged atmospheric paintings are fully realized in Giorgione's *The Tempest* (**Fig. 18-10**). The first known mention of the painting dates from 1530, when it surfaced in the collection of a Venetian patrician. We know almost nothing else about it, which contributes to its mystery. At the right, an almost nude young woman nurses her child. At the left, a somewhat disheveled young man, wearing the costume of a German mercenary soldier, gazes at the woman and child with evident pride. Between them, in the foreground, stands a pediment topped by two broken columns. A creaky wooden bridge crosses the estuary in

Fig. 18-10 Giorgione, *The Tempest*, ca. 1509. Oil on canvas, 31¼ × 28¾ in.
Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.
CAMERAPHOTO Arte, Venice.

Fig. 18-11 Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, 1538. Oil on canvas, 47 in. × 5 ft. 5 in. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

the middle ground, and lightning flashes in the distance, illuminating a densely built cityscape. What, we must ask, is the relationship between the two figures? Are they husband and wife? Or are they lovers, whose tempestuous affair has resulted in the birth of a child? These are questions that remain unanswered, but which the deeply atmospheric presentation of the scene sustains.

The almost comfortable sensuality of the scene—even its suggestion of outright sexuality—would become one of the chief subjects of Venetian art. When Giorgione died of the plague in 1510, at only 32 years of age, it seems likely that his friend Titian, ten years younger, finished several of his paintings. While lacking the sense of intrigue that his mentor captured in *The Tempest*, Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (**Fig. 18-11**) is more frankly addressed to the sexual appetites of its viewers. Painted for Duke Guidobaldo della Rovere of Urbino in 1538, this "Venus"—more a real woman than an ethereal goddess, and referred to by Guidobaldo as merely a "nude woman"—is frankly available. She stares out at the viewer, Guidobaldo himself, with a matter-of-factness that suggests she is totally comfortable with her nudity. (Apparently the lady-in-waiting and maid at the rear of the palatial rooms are searching for suitably fine clothing in which to dress her.) Her hand both covers and draws attention to her genitals. Her dog, a traditional symbol of both fidelity and lust, sleeps lazily on the white sheets at her feet. She may be, ambiguously, either a courtesan or a bride. (The chest from which the servant is removing clothes is a traditional reference to marriage.) In either case, she is, primarily, an object of desire.

In the north of Europe, the impact of the Italian Renaissance is perhaps best understood in the work of the German artist Albrecht Dürer. As a young man, he had copied Italian prints, and, in 1495, he traveled to Italy to study the Italian masters. From this point on, he strove to establish the ideals of the Renaissance in his native country. The first artist to be fascinated by his own image, Dürer painted self-portraits throughout his career. In this act, he asserts his sense of the importance of the individual, especially the individual of genius and talent, such as he. Meaning to evoke his own spirituality, he presents himself almost as if he were Christ (**Fig. 18-12**). Yet not even Dürer could quite synthesize the northern love for precise and accurate naturalism—the desire to render the world of real things—with the southern idealist desire to transcend that same world.

Fig. 18-12 Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait*, 1500. Oil on panel, 26¼ × 19¼ in. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

The Era of Encounter

In what ways did the encounter with other cultures impact the long-established artistic traditions of China and Japan, the Americas, and Africa?

When, in 1488, Bartolomeu Dias, investigating the coast of West Africa, was blown far south by a sudden storm and, turning northeast, found that he had rounded what would later be called the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian Ocean, and when, four years later, Christopher Columbus sailed westward, into the Atlantic Ocean, fully anticipating that he would soon arrive in Japan, an era of cultural encounter like none previously known was inaugurated. In China and Japan, the Americas, and Africa strong cultural traditions were already in place, but they were transformed by their encounters with European culture, even as Europe was itself transformed by contact with them.

Art in China and Japan

Already, in 1275, a young Venetian by the name of Marco Polo had arrived in Beijing, China, and quickly established himself as a favorite of the Mongol ruler Kublai Khan, first emperor of the Yuan dynasty. Polo served in an administrative capacity in Kublai Khan's court and for three years ruled the city of Yangchow. Shortly after his return to Venice in 1295, he was imprisoned after being captured by the army of Genoa in a battle with his native Venice. While there, he dictated an account of his travels. His description of the luxury and magnificence of the Far East, by all accounts reasonably accurate, was virtually the sole source of information about China available in Europe until the nineteenth century.

At the time of Marco Polo's arrival, many of the scholar-painters of the Chinese court, unwilling to serve under the foreign domination of Kublai Khan, were retreating into exile from public life. In exile, they conscientiously sought to keep traditional values and arts alive by cultivating earlier styles in both painting and calligraphy. According to the inscription on Cheng Sixiao's *Ink Orchids* (**Fig. 18-13**), this painting was done to protest the "theft of Chinese soil by invaders," referring to the Mongol conquest of China. The orchids, therefore, have been painted without soil around their roots, showing an art flourishing, even though what sustains it has been taken away.

In 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang drove the Mongols out of China and restored Chinese rule in the land, establishing

Fig. 18-13 Cheng Sixiao, *Ink Orchids*, Yuan dynasty, 1306. Handscroll, ink on paper, 10⅛ × 16¾ in. Municipal Museum of Fine Arts, Osaka.
Galileo Picture Services, LLC, New York/PPS.

the dynasty called the Ming ("bright" or "brilliant"), which lasted until 1644. Late in the Ming dynasty, an artist, calligrapher, theorist, and high official in the government bureaucracy, Dong Qichang, wrote an essay that has affected the way we have looked at the history of Chinese painting ever since, although many scholars, even in Dong Qichang's time, viewed it as oversimplistic. It divided the history of Chinese painting into two schools, northern and southern, although geography had little to do with it. It was not place but the spirit in which the artist approached his painting that determined to which school he belonged.

Hundreds of Birds Admiring the Peacocks (**Fig. 18-14**) by Yin Hong, a court artist active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is an example of the northern school, conservative and traditional in its approach. It is defined by its highly refined decorative style, which emphasizes the technical skill of the painter, the rich use of color, and reliance on traditional Chinese painting—in this case the birds-and-flowers genre extremely popular in the Song dynasty. Like Guo Xi's Song dynasty painting *Early Spring* (see Fig. 17-28), Yin Hong's painting also takes on a symbolic meaning that refers directly to the emperor. Just as the central peak in Guo Xi's painting symbolizes the emperor himself, with the lower peaks and trees assuming a place of subservience to him, here the emperor is symbolized by the peacock around whom "hundreds of birds"—that is, court officials—gather in obeisance.

Fig. 18-14 Yin Hong, *Hundreds of Birds Admiring the Peacocks*, Ming dynasty, ca. late 15th–early 16th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 7 ft. 10½ in. × 6 ft. 5 in. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, 1974.31. Photo © Cleveland Museum of Art.

Fig. 18-15 Shen Zhou, *Poet on a Mountaintop*, leaf from an album of landscapes, painting mounted as part of a handscroll, Ming dynasty, ca. 1500. Ink and color on paper, 15¼ × 23¾ in. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: William Rockhill Nelson Trust, 46-51/2. Photo: John Lamberton.

The southern style was unorthodox, radical, and inventive. Thus, a painting like *Poet on a Mountaintop* (**Fig. 18-15**) by Shen Zhou radicalizes the traditional Chinese landscape. For the southern artist, reality rested in the mind, not the physical world, and thus self-expression is the ultimate aim. Here, the poet stands as the central figure in the painting, facing out over an airy void in which hangs the very image of his mind, the poem inscribed in the top left of the painting:

White clouds like a belt encircle the mountain's waist
A stone ledge flying in space and the far thin road.
I lean alone on my bramble staff and gazing contented into space
Wish the sounding torrent would answer to your flute.

Fig. 18-16 Sesshu Toyo, *Haboku Landscape*, 1400s–early 1500s. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 28¼ × 10½ in. The Cleveland Museum of Art.
Gift of the Norweb Foundation, 1955.43.
Photo © Cleveland Museum of Art.

Fig. 18-17 School of Kano, *Namban* six-panel screen, 1593–1600.
Kobe City Museum of Namban Art, Japan.
Galileo Picture Services, LLC, New York/PPS.

The southern style ideally synthesizes the three areas of endeavor that any member of the cultural elite—or literati, the literary intelligentsia—was expected to master: poetry, calligraphy, and painting.

In the thirteenth century in Japan, Zen Buddhism, the Japanese version of Chinese Chan Buddhism, began to take hold. The question of the extent of the influence of Zen on Japanese art is a problematic one. As has often been pointed out, the features normally associated with Zen (Chan) Buddhism in the arts—simplicity of design, suggestion rather than description, and controlling balance through irregularity and asymmetry—are also characteristic of indigenous Japanese taste. Still, a number of Japanese artists, usually Zen monks themselves, turned to China and its Chan traditions for inspiration. In order to acquaint himself more fully with Chinese traditions, for instance, Sesshu Toyo, a Zen priest-painter, traveled to China in 1468–69, copying the Song dynasty masters and becoming adept at the more abstract forms of representation practiced by the Chinese Buddhists. *Haboku Landscape* (**Fig. 18-16**) is painted in the Zen Buddhist manner known as *haboku*, meaning "broken or splashed ink," the application of one layer of ink over another "breaking" the initial surface or description. No mark on this painting could actually be thought of as representational. Rather, the denser ink suggests trees and rocks, while the softer washes evoke tall mountains in the distance, water, and mist.

The presence of foreign traders in Japan, principally Portuguese and Dutch, soon made itself felt in Japanese painting, particularly in a new genre of screen painting known as *namban*, literally, "southern barbarian," referring to the "barbarian" Westerners who arrived from the south by ship. In the most popular theme of this genre, a foreign galleon arrives in Kyoto harbor (**Fig. 18-17**). The ship's crew unloads goods, and the captain and his men proceed through the streets of the city to Nambanji, the Jesuit church in Kyoto. The priests themselves are Japanese converts to Christianity.

The uniqueness of these paintings is that they present a convergence of cultures—encouraged by the prospect of trade, not only with Europeans but with the peoples of other Asian countries—unparalleled in world history. The Portuguese, with the help of slave labor from Africa, had established a base in Macao, which they had been ceded by the Chinese in return for suppressing piracy on the Chinese coast, and they served as the conduit between China and Japan, exchanging Japanese silver for Chinese raw silk, which the Japanese processed into textiles, particularly kimonos, of remarkable quality.

Art in Mexico and South America

By the time Christopher Columbus arrived in what he dubbed the "New World" in 1492, many significant cultures, like that of the Olmec (see Fig. 16-16), had already come and gone. By the fourth century CE, Teotihuacán (**Figs. 18-18** and **18-19**) had become an important commercial center inhabited by a people of unknown ethnic identity. As opposed to the later Mayan cities, many of which were quickly forgotten and overgrown in the jungle, Teotihuacán remained, a thousand years after it flourished, the mythic center of Mesoamerican civilization, the site of pilgrimages by even the most important Aztec rulers.

The city is laid out in a grid system, the basic unit of which is 614 square feet, and every detail is subjected to this scheme—the very image of power and mastery. A great broad avenue, known as the Avenue of the Dead, runs through the city. It links two great pyramids, the Pyramids of the Moon and the Sun, each surrounded by about 600 smaller pyramids, 500 workshops, numerous plazas, 2,000 apartment complexes, and a giant market area. The Pyramid of the Sun is oriented to mark the passage of the sun from east to west and the rising of the stellar constellation, the Pleiades, on the days of the equinox. Each of its two staircases contains 182 steps, which, when the platform at its apex is added, together total 365. The pyramid is thus an image of time. This representation of the solar calendar is echoed in another pyramid at Teotihuacán, the Temple of Quetzalcóatl, which is decorated with 364 serpent fangs.

At its height, in about 500 CE, the population of Teotihuacán was perhaps 200,000, making it one of the largest cities in the world. Scholars believe that a female deity, associated with the moon, as well as cave and mountain rituals, played an important role in Teotihuacán culture. The placement of the Pyramid of the Moon in front of the dead volcano Cerro Gordo (see Fig. 18-19) supports this theory. It is as if the mountain, seen from a vantage point looking north up the Avenue of the Dead, embraces the pyramid in its flanks. And the pyramid, in turn, seems to channel the forces of nature—the water abundant on the mountain in particular—into the heart of the city.

To the south, another culture, that of the Maya, both predated and postdated that of Teotihuacán. The Maya occupied several regions: the highlands of Chiapas and Guatemala; the Southern Lowlands of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Belize, and the Mexican states of Chiapas; and the Northern Lowlands in the states of Yucatán, Campeche, and Quintana Roo. They were never unified into a single political entity, but rather consisted of many small kingdoms that engaged in warfare with one another over land and resources. An elaborate calendar system enabled them to keep track of their history—and, evidence suggests, predict the future. It consisted of two interlocking ways of recording time, a 260-day calendar and a 365-day calendar. The 260-day calendar probably derives from the length of human gestation, from a pregnant woman's first missed menstrual period to birth. When both calendars were synchronized, it took exactly 52 years of 365 days for a given day to repeat itself—the so-called calendar round—and the end of each cycle was widely celebrated.

Fig. 18-18 Teotihuacán, Mexico, as seen from the Pyramid of the Moon, looking south down the Avenue of the Dead, the Pyramid of the Sun at the left, ca. 350–650 CE.

Fig. 18-19 The Pyramid of the Moon, looking north up the Avenue of the Dead.

Fig. 18-20 *Coatlicue*, Aztec, 15th century. Basalt, height 8 ft. 3 in. National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City.
De Agostini/G. Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images.

Particularly among the Aztecs, who traced their ancestry to the merging of Mayan and Toltec cultures at Chichen Itzá, on the Yucatán Peninsula, the calendar's tie to the menstrual cycle required blood sacrifice. Coatlicue was the Aztec goddess of life and death. In this sculpture (**Fig. 18-20**), her head is composed of two fanged serpents, which are symbolic of flowing blood. She wears a necklace of human hearts, severed hands, and a skull. Her skirt is made of interwoven serpents which, to the Aztecs, represented both childbirth and blood—that is, fertility and decapitation.

In 1519–21, the Aztec Empire of Mexico was conquered by the Spanish *conquistador* ("conqueror") Hernán Cortés and his army of 600 men through a combination of military technology (gunpowder, cannon, and muskets), disease inadvertently introduced by his troops, and a series of lies and violations of trust. The Aztecs possessed neither guns nor horses, nor much in the way of clothing or armor, all of which made them appear, if not uncivilized, then completely vulnerable. They

Fig. 18-21 Aztecs confront the Spaniards, from Diego de Durán's *History of the Indies of New Spain*, 1581. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
Bridgeman Images.

were also vulnerable because other native populations in Mexico deeply resented the fact that the Aztecs regularly raided their villages to obtain victims for blood sacrifice.

Anthropological evidence suggests that just before Cortés's arrival, in about 1450, the Aztecs, in their thirst for blood sacrifice, had wiped out the entire population of Casas Grandes, near present-day Chihuahua in northern Mexico, a trading center containing over 2,000 pueblo apartments. Given such Aztec behavior, other tribes were willing to cooperate with Cortés. One of the most important documents of the Spanish conquest, the 1581 *History of the Indies of New Spain*, by Diego de Durán, a Dominican priest fluent in Nahuatl, the Aztec language, includes an illustration depicting Cortés's technological superiority (**Fig. 18-21**). Here, an army led by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortés's generals, confronts the Aztec military orders of the Eagle and the Jaguar. The Spanish wear armor and fight with crossbows and firearms, while the Aztecs have only spears. Durán's *History* is the product of extensive interviews and conversations with the Aztecs themselves. It represents a concerted effort to preserve Aztec culture, recounting Aztec history from its creation story through the Spanish conquest.

As in Mesoamerica, complex cultures developed in South America during the period corresponding to the Middle Ages in Europe, particularly in the area of present-day Peru. Moche culture flourished there for a thousand years, from about 200 BCE to 800 CE. The Moche built large mound temples made entirely of adobe bricks, sun-baked blocks of clay mixed with straw. The largest, located in the Moche Valley, from which

Fig. 18-22 ***Moche Lord with a Feline*****, from Moche Valley, Peru, Moche culture, ca. 100 BCE–500 CE.** Painted ceramic, height 7½ in. The Art Institute of Chicago.
Kate S. Buckingham Endowment, 1955.2281. © Art Institute of Chicago.

the culture takes its name, is the so-called Pyramid of the Sun. It is over 1,000 feet long and 500 feet wide, and rises to a height of 59 feet. In these pyramids, people buried their dead, accompanied by gold earrings, pendants, necklaces, and other ornaments, as well as elaborately decorated ceramic bowls, pots, and bottles. The most distinctive bottles depict scenes representative of Moche culture as a whole (**Fig. 18-22**), usually on bottles with distinctive stirrup spouts that curve elegantly away from the body of the vessel. The list of the subjects depicted is almost endless—animals of all kinds, from seals to owls, warriors, plants, musicians, homes, children at play, women weaving, couples engaged in sex, a man washing his hair—as if the culture were intent on representing every facet of its daily life. Recent research suggests, however, that every one of these scenes has a ritual or symbolic function. The image shown here, for instance, may well represent the warrior-priest who presided over Moche sacrifice ceremonies, in which prisoners captured in battle were sacrificed and their blood drunk by elaborately dressed warriors.

About 800 CE, the Moche suddenly vanished, many believe as a result of floods brought about by a series of weather events related to El Niño. This major temperature fluctuation of the waters of the eastern Pacific Ocean causes substantial changes in rainfall levels both regionally and worldwide. The resulting political vacuum lasted for over 400 years until, around 1300, the Inca culture emerged. The Inca were, above all, sublime masons. Working with stone tools and without mortar, they crafted adjoining granite blocks that fit so snugly together that their walls have, for centuries, withstood earthquakes that have destroyed many a later structure.

Original Inca walls are still visible at one of the most elaborately decorated of all Inca sites, Cuzco's Coricancha (literally, "the corral of gold"), the Inca Temple of the Sun facing the main plaza (**Fig. 18-23**). Dedicated to Inti, the sun god, the original temple was decorated with 700 sheets of gold studded with emeralds and turquoise, and designed to reflect the sunlight admitted through its windows. Its courtyard was filled with golden statuary. After their conquest of Peru, the Spanish quickly adapted the foundations of the Inca temple to their own purposes, constructing a Dominican church and monastery on them. The Inca traditionally gathered to worship at the curved, circular wall of the Coricancha, and thus

Fig. 18-23 Original Inca stone wall of the Coricancha with a Dominican monastery rising above it, Cuzco, Peru, Inca culture.
© Richard Maschmeyer/Robert Harding World Imagery/Corbis.

the apse of Santo Domingo was deliberately constructed above it to emphasize Christian control of the native site.

African Art of the Encounter

After Portugal began to explore the west coast of Africa, starting in 1488, evidence of their presence quickly appeared in African art. The Portuguese enjoyed a certain status as divine visitors from the watery world, the realm of Olokun, god of the sea. They were considered to be the equivalent of the mudfish, because they could both "swim" (in their boats) and walk on land. The mudfish was sacred to the Benin people, who lived in the Niger River basin just south of the Ife, and who saw it as a symbol of both transformation (it lies dormant all summer on dry mudflats and is seemingly "reborn" each fall when the rains come) and power (it can deliver strong electric shocks and possesses fatal spines). Likewise, the Portuguese seemed to be born of the sea and possessed fatal "spines" of their own—rifles and musketry. A remarkable example of this association of the mudfish with the Portuguese is an alternating mudfish/Portuguese decorative design that forms the tiara of an ivory mask worn as a hip pendant by a West African queen (**Fig. 18-24**).

Fig. 18-24 Mask of an *iyoba* (queen mother), probably Idia, Court of Benin, Nigeria, ca. 1550. Ivory, iron, and copper, height 9⅜ in. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Michael C. Rockefeller Collection, Gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1972, 1978.412.323. © 2015. Image copyright Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/Scala, Florence.

Fig. 18-25 *Portuguese Warrior Surrounded by* Manillas, Court of Benin, Nigeria, 16th century. Bronze. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

At first Benin had traded gold, ivory, rubber, and other forest products for beads and, particularly, brass. The standard medium of exchange was a horseshoe-shaped copper or brass object called a *manilla*, five of which appear in an early sixteenth-century Benin plaque portraying a Portuguese warrior (**Fig. 18-25**). Such metal plaques decorated the palace and royal altar area particularly, and here the soldier brings with him the very material out of which the plaque is made. If his weapons—trident and sword—suggest his power, it is a power in the service of the Benin king, at least from the Benin point of view.

The Mannerist Style in Europe

How does Mannerist painting differ from that of the High Renaissance?

Shortly after the Spanish conquest of separatist states within Spain in 1519 and the death of Raphael in 1520, many Italian painters embarked on a stylistic course that came to be known as **Mannerism**. Highly individualistic and *mannered*, or consciously artificial, this style was dedicated to "invention," and the

technical and imaginative virtuosity of the artist became of paramount importance. Each Mannerist artist may, therefore, be identified by his own "signature" style. Where the art of the High Renaissance sought to create a feeling of balance and proportion, quite the opposite is the goal of Mannerist art. In the later work of Michelangelo, for example, particularly the great fresco of *The Last Judgment* on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel (**Fig. 18-26**), executed in the years 1534 to 1541, we find figures of grotesque proportion arranged in an almost chaotic, certainly athletic, swirl of line. Mannerist painters represented space in unpredictable and ambiguous ways,

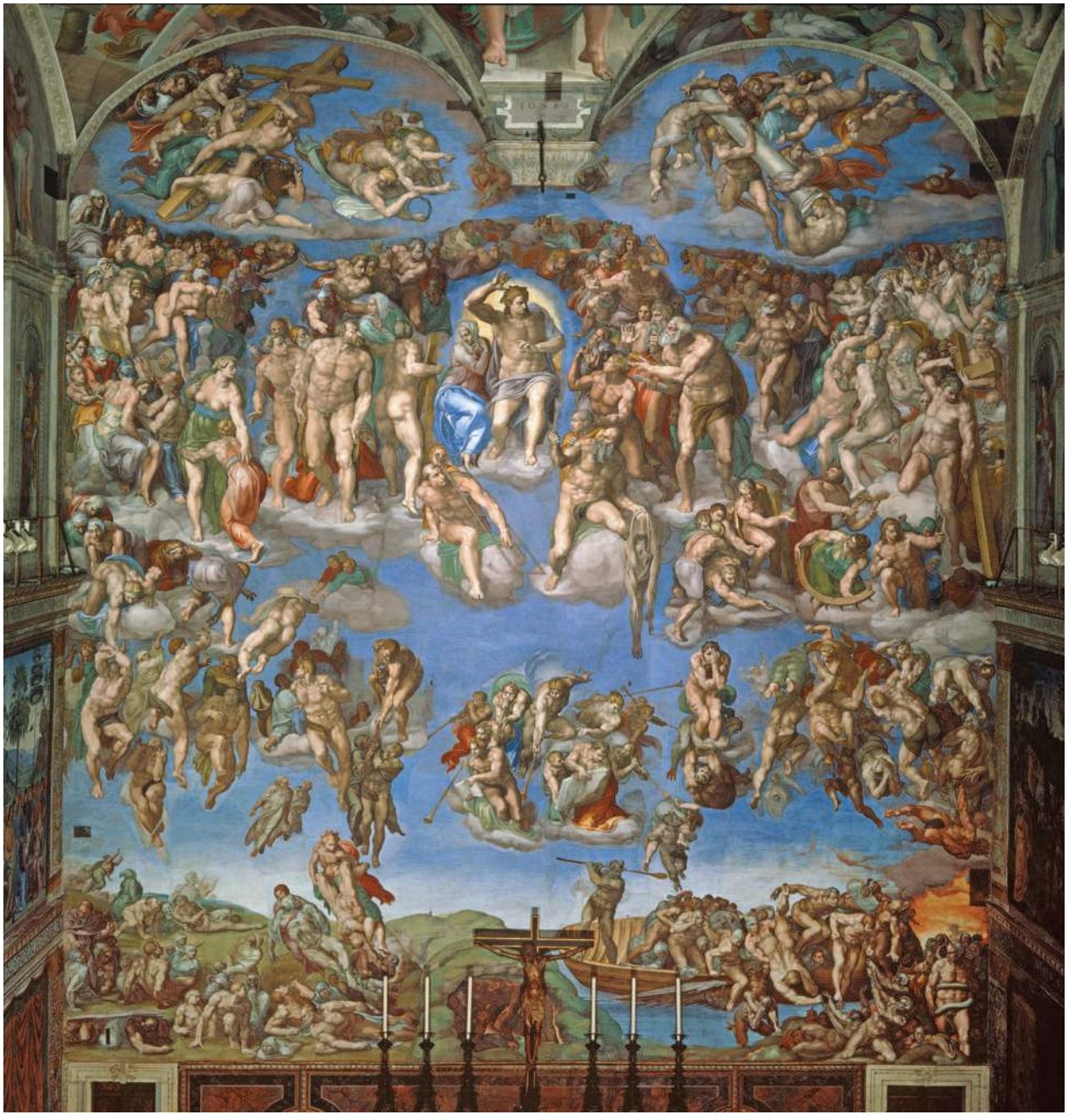


Fig. 18-26 Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, on altar wall of Sistine Chapel, 1534–41.
Fresco. Vatican Museums, Vatican City.
Vatican Museums,Vatican City/Bridgeman Images.

Fig. 18-27 Tintoretto, *The Miracle of the Slave*, 1548. Oil on canvas, approx. 14 × 18 ft. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Cameraphoto Arte Venezia/Bridgeman Images.

so that bodies sometimes seem to fall out of nowhere into the frame of the painting, as in Tintoretto's *The Miracle of the Slave* (**Fig. 18-27**). The drama of Tintoretto's painting is heightened by the descent of the vastly foreshortened St. Mark, who hurtles in from above to save the slave from his executioner. The rising spiral line created by the three central figures—the slave, the executioner holding up his shattered instruments of torture, and St. Mark—is characteristic of Mannerism, but the theatricality of the scene, heightened by its dramatic contrast of light and dark, anticipates the Baroque style which soon followed.

Often, the space of a Mannerist painting seems too shallow for what is depicted, a feeling emphasized by the frequent use of radical foreshortening, as in the Tintoretto. Or the figure itself may be distorted or elongated, as in Bronzino's *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid* (**Fig. 18-28**). The colors are often bright and clashing. At the upper right of Bronzino's painting, Time, and, at the upper left, Truth part a curtain to reveal the shallow space in which Venus is fondled by her son, Cupid. Folly is about to shower the pair in rose petals. Envy tears her hair out at center left. The Mannerist distortion of space is especially evident in the distance separating Cupid's shoulders and head.

As in El Greco's *The Burial of Count Orgaz* (**Fig. 18-29**), Mannerist painting often utilizes more than one focal point, and these often seem contradictory. Born in Crete

Fig. 18-28 Bronzino, *An Allegory with Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1540–50. Oil on wood, approx. 5 ft. 1 in. × 4 ft. 8¾ in. National Gallery, London. Bought, 1860, Inv. 4993. © 2015. Copyright National Gallery, London/Scala, Florence.

Fig. 18-29 El Greco, *The Burial of Count Orgaz*, 1586. Oil on canvas, 16 ft. × 11 ft. 10 in. Church of Santo Tomé, Toledo, Spain. © 2015. Photo Scala, Florence.

and trained in Venice and Rome, where he studied the works of Titian, Tintoretto, and the Italian Mannerists, El Greco moved to Toledo, Spain, in 1576, and lived there for the rest of his life. In the painting we see here, the realism of the lower ensemble, which includes local Toledo nobility and clergy of El Greco's day (even though the painting represents a burial that took place more than 200 years earlier, in 1323), gives way in the upper half to a much more abstract and personal brand of representation. El Greco's elongated figures—consider St. Peter, in the saffron robe behind Mary on the upper left, with his long piercing fingers on a longer, almost drooping hand—combine with oddly rolling clouds that rise toward an astonishingly small representation of Christ. So eclectic and individual is this painter's style that it is difficult to label it even as Mannerist.

Fig. 18-30 St. Peter's, Rome; nave and facade by Carlo Maderno, 1607–15; colonnade by Gianlorenzo Bernini, 1657. Ikona.

The Baroque

How does the Baroque manifest itself in both art and architecture?

The **Baroque** style, which is noted particularly for its theatricality and drama, was, in many respects, a creation of the papacy in Rome. Around 1600, faced in the north with the challenge of Protestantism, which had grown steadily more powerful ever since Martin Luther's first protests in 1517, the Vatican took action. It called together as many talents as it could muster with the clear intention of turning Rome into the most magnificent city in the world, "for the greater glory of God and the Church." At the heart of this effort was an ambitious building program. In 1603, Carlo Maderno was assigned the task of adding an enormous nave to Michelangelo's central plan for St. Peter's, converting it back into a giant basilica (**Fig. 18-30**). Completed in 1615, the scale of the new basilica was even more dramatically emphasized when Gianlorenzo Bernini added a monumental oval piazza surrounded by colonnades to the front of the church. Bernini conceived of his colonnade as an architectural embrace, as if the church were reaching out its arms to gather in its flock. The wings that connect the facade to the semicircular colonnade tend to diminish the horizontality of the facade and emphasize the vertical thrust of Michelangelo's dome. The enormous scale of the space can hardly be inferred from a photograph such as the one reproduced here.

As vast as Bernini's artistic ambitions were, he was comparatively Classical in his tastes. If we compare Bernini's colonnade at St. Peter's to Francesco Borromini's facade for San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome (**Fig. 18-31**), we notice immediately how symmetrical Bernini's design appears— despite its magnificent scale, it is positively conservative by comparison. Borromini's extravagant design was immediately popular. The head of the religious order for whom San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane was built wrote with great pride, "Nothing similar can be found anywhere in the world. This is attested by the foreigners who . . . try to procure copies of the plan. We have been asked for them by Germans, Flemings, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, and even Indians." We can detect in these remarks the Baroque tendency to define artistic genius increasingly in terms of originality, the creation of things never before seen. Bernini's colonnade makes clear that Classical virtues were upheld, but emerging for the first time, often in the work of the same artist, is a countertendency, a sensibility opposed to tradition and dedicated to invention.

One of the defining characteristics of the Baroque is its insistence on bringing together various media to achieve the most theatrical effects. Bernini's Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria (**Figs. 18-32** and **18-33**) is perhaps the most highly developed of these dynamic and theatrical spaces. The altarpiece depicts the ecstasy of St. Theresa. St. Theresa, a nun whose conversion took place after the death of her father, experienced visions, heard voices, and felt a persistent and piercing pain in her side. This was caused, she believed, by the flaming arrow of Divine Love, shot into her by an angel: "The pain was so great I screamed aloud," she wrote, "but at the same time I felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the pain to last forever. . . . It was the sweetest caressing of

Fig. 18-31 Francesco Borromini, Facade, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Rome, 1665–67.

the soul by God." The paradoxical nature of St. Theresa's feelings is typical of the complexity of Baroque sentiment. Bernini fuses the angel's joy and St. Theresa's agony into an image that depicts what might be called St. Theresa's "anguished joy." Even more typical of the Baroque sensibility is Bernini's use of every device available to him to dramatize the scene. The sculpture of St. Theresa is illuminated by a hidden window above, so that the figures seem to glow in a magical white light. Gilded bronze rays of heavenly light descend upon the scene as if from the burst of light painted high on the frescoed ceiling of the vault. To the left and right of the chapel are theater boxes containing marble spectators, witnesses—like us—to this highly charged, operatic moment.

The Baroque style quickly spread beyond Rome and throughout Europe. Elaborate Baroque churches were constructed, especially in Germany and Austria. In the early years of the seventeenth century, furthermore, a number of artists from France, Holland, and Flanders were strongly influenced by the work of the Italian painter Caravaggio. Caravaggio openly disdained the

Fig. 18-32 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Cornaro Family in a Theater Box*, 1647–52. Marble, life-size. Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.

Fig. 18-33 Gianlorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of St. Theresa*, 1647–52. Marble, life-size. Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome.
Canali Photobank, Milan, Italy.

great masters of the Renaissance, creating instead a highly individualistic brand of painting that sought its inspiration not in the proven styles of a former era but literally in the streets of contemporary Rome. When viewing his work, it is often difficult to tell that his subject is a religious one, so ordinary are his people and so dingy and commonplace his settings. Yet despite Caravaggio's desire to secularize his religious subjects, their light imbues them with a spiritual reality. It was, in fact, the contrast in his paintings between light and dark, mirroring the contrast between the spiritual content of the painting and its representation in the trappings of the everyday, that so powerfully influenced painters across Europe.

Caravaggio's naturalism is nowhere so evident as in *The Calling of St. Matthew* (**Fig. 18-34**), which was painted, somewhat surprisingly, for a church. The scene is a tavern. St. Matthew, originally a tax collector, sits counting the day's take with a band of his agents, all of them apparently prosperous, if we are to judge from their attire. From the right, two barefoot and lowly figures, one of whom is Christ, enter the scene, calling St. Matthew to join them. He points at himself in some astonishment. Except for the undeniably spiritual quality of the light, which floods the room as if it were revelation itself, the only thing telling us that this is a religious painting is the faint indication of a halo above Christ's head.

Fig. 18-34 Caravaggio, *The Calling of St. Matthew*, ca. 1599–1602. Oil on canvas, 11 ft. 1 in. × 11 ft. 5 in. Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesci, Rome.
Canali Photobank, Milan, Italy.

Though not directly influenced by Caravaggio, Rembrandt, the greatest master of light and dark of the age, knew Caravaggio's art through Dutch artists who had studied it. Rembrandt extends the sense of dramatic opposition Caravaggio achieved by manipulating light across a full range of tones, changing its intensity and modulating its brilliance, so that every beam and shadow conveys a different emotional content. In his *Resurrection of Christ* (**Fig. 18-35**), he uses the contrast between light and dark to underscore emotional difference. He juxtaposes

Fig. 18-35 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Resurrection of Christ*, ca. 1635–39.
Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 26⅜ in. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

the chaotic world of the Roman soldiers, sent reeling into a darkness symbolic of their own ignorance by the angel pulling open the lid of Christ's sepulcher, with the quiet calm of Christ himself as He rises in a light symbolic of true knowledge. Light becomes, in Rembrandt's hands, an index to the psychological meaning of his subjects, often hiding as much as it reveals, endowing them with a sense of mystery even as it reveals their souls.

In northern Europe, where strict Protestant theology had purged the churches of religious art and Classical subjects were frowned upon as pagan, realism thrived. Works with secular, or nonreligious, subject matter—still-life painting (see Fig. 9-16), representations of everyday people living out their lives (genre painting), and landscapes—became extremely popular. In Spain, where the royal family had deep historical ties to the north, the visual realism of Diego Velázquez came to dominate painting (see Fig. 7-16). Spurred on by the great wealth it had acquired in its conquest of the New World, Spain helped to create a thriving market structure in Europe. Dutch artists quickly introduced their own goods—that is, paintings—into this economy, with the Spanish court as one of its most prestigious buyers. No longer working for the Church, but instead for this new international market, artists painted the everyday things that they thought would appeal to the bourgeois tastes of the new consumer.

Of all the new secular subject matter that arose during the Baroque Age, the genre of landscape perhaps most decisively marks a shift in Western thinking. In Annibale Carracci's *Landscape with Flight into Egypt* (**Fig. 18-36**), the figure and the story have become incidental to the landscape. Joseph has dreamed that King Herod is searching for the infant Jesus to kill him, and he flees into Egypt with Mary and the child, to remain there until after Herod's death. But this landscape is hardly Egypt. Rather, Carracci has transferred the story to a highly civilized Italian setting. This is the pastoral world, a middle ground between civilization and wilderness, where people can live free of both the corruption and decadence of city and court life and the uncontrollable forces of nature.

Fig. 18-36 Annibale Carracci, *Landscape with Flight into Egypt*, ca. 1603. Oil on canvas, 4 ft. ¼ in. × 8 ft. 2½ in.
Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome.
Canali Photobank, Milan, Italy.

Fig. 18-37 Claude, *A Pastoral Landscape*, ca. 1650. Oil on copper, 15½ × 21 in.
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.
Bequest of Leo C. Hanna, 1959.47. Image courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery.

One of the most idyllic of all landscape painters goes even further. Claude Lorrain—or just Claude, as he is usually known—casts the world in an eternally poetic light. In his *Pastoral Landscape* (**Fig. 18-37**), he employs atmospheric perspective to soften all sense of tension and opposition and to bring us to a world of harmony and peace. In this painting, and many others like it, the best civilization has to offer has been melded with the best of a wholly benign and gentle nature.

Landscape painters felt that, because God made the earth, one could sense the majesty of his soul in his handiwork, much as one could sense emotion in a painter's gesture upon canvas. The grandeur of God's vision was symbolically suggested in the panoramic sweep of the extended view. Giving up two-thirds of the picture to the infinite dimensions of the heavens, Jacob van Ruisdael's *View of Haarlem from the Dunes at Overveen* (**Fig. 18-38**) is not so much about the land as it is about the sky—and the light that emanates from it, alternately casting the earth in light and shadow, knowledge and ignorance. It is significant that rising to meet the light is the largest building in the landscape, the church. The beam of light that in Caravaggio's painting suggests the spiritual presence of Christ becomes, in landscape, a beam of light from the "Sun/Son," a pun popular among English poets of the period, including John Donne. By