Articles

Mission

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Before you submit, please make sure your paper meets some basic academic standards, which include proper English. Some articles will be selected from the numerous papers that have been presented at the various annual international academic conferences organized by the different divisions and units of the Athens Institute for Education and Research.

The plethora of papers presented every year will enable the editorial board of each journal to select the best ones, and in so doing, to produce a quality academic journal. In addition to papers presented, ATINER encourages the independent submission of papers to be evaluated for publication.

The current issue of the Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts (AJHA) is the fourth issue of the sixth volume (2019). The reader will notice some changes compared with the previous issues, which I hope is an improvement.

Gregory T. Papanikos, President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

Athens Institute for Education and Research
A World Association of Academics and Researchers

11ᵗʰ Annual International Conference on Visual and Performing Arts
8-11 June 2020, Athens, Greece

The Arts & Culture Unit of ATINER is organizing its **11ᵗʰ Annual International Conference on Visual and Performing Arts, 8-11 June 2020, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of visual and performing arts, and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-ART.doc).

Academic Members Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Stephen Andrew Arbury,** Head, Arts & Culture Unit, ATINER and Professor of Art History, Radford University, USA.
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Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **5 November 2019**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **11 May 2020**

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The Social Program Emphasizes the Educational Aspect of the Academic Meetings of Atiner.

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- Athens Sightseeing: Old and New-An Educational Urban Walk
- Social Dinner
- Mycenae Visit
- Exploration of the Aegean Islands
- Delphi Visit
- Ancient Corinth and Cape Sounion

Conference Fees

Conference fees vary from 400€ to 2000€
Details can be found at: https://www.atiner.gr/2019fees

Athens Institute for Education and Research
A World Association of Academics and Researchers

5th Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology 25-28 May 2020, Athens, Greece

The [Humanities & Education Division](#) of ATINER is organizing its **5th Annual International Symposium on Religion & Theology, 25-28 May 2020, Athens, Greece**. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers of Religion, Theology and other related disciplines. You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair of a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-REL.doc).

Important Dates
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- Submission of Paper: **27 April 2020**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

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The Colossus of Rhodes: Its Height and Pedestal

*Robert B. Kebric**

This is one of several interrelated articles on the Colossus of Rhodes submitted to ATINER journals. No conclusive literary or archaeological evidence exists to demonstrate the exact height (or configuration) of the Colossus, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, or the nature of any pedestal on which the giant statue, the largest in the Greek world, was mounted. This study gathers together for the first time all the relevant ancient and modern evidence concerning these questions, offering fresh interpretations of the material and determining that the Colossus was at least 110 feet tall and stood on a three-tiered pedestal some fifty feet high-- a combined height of 160 feet. A related study printed in another ATINER journal on the Colossus' location, places the statue, a votive offering to Helios, God of the Sun and the island's patron deity, at the apex of the acropolis of Rhodes city among the island's other most sacred temples and monuments atop what is today known as Monte Smith. The latter, approaching a height of about 300 feet in antiquity, would have elevated the Colossus some 460 feet above the sea below and also made it an ideal light tower for vessels approaching and leaving Rhodes' five harbors. A number of photographs and illustrations complement the inquiry.

In another study,[1] I concluded that the best location for the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, was atop the sacred apex of the ancient Rhodian Acropolis on what is today known as Monte Smith. This inquiry reinforces that conclusion, but it is concerned primarily with the height of the Colossus and the pedestal on which it stood. While no exact figures are possible since nothing of the giant votive offering to Helios, patron deity of the island of Rhodes, remains, the most useful working numbers to be drawn from available evidence are a height for the statue of the Colossus of approximately 110 feet, and fifty feet for its pedestal: a total of 160 feet. When combined with an elevation of close to 300 feet for Monte Smith (which can only be approximated for ancient times), the Colossus in its entirety would probably have towered some 460 feet about sea level.

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1. Robert B. Kebric, "Lighting the Colossus of Rhodes: A Beacon by Day and Night," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies 5,* no.1 (January 2019): 11-31, https://www.athens journals.gr/mediterranean/2019-5-1-2-Kebric.pdf; and Robert B. Kebric, "The Colossus of Rhodes: Some Observations about Its Location," *Athens Journal of History* (forthcoming), 2019.

Part I: The Statue

Because of the various ideas about the height of the Colossus of Rhodes statue, most differing by only a few feet, this study will use the figure of 110 feet as a reasonable common denominator. This is slightly higher than most modern translations of figures given by Philo, Strabo, and Pliny (see below), the only remaining ancient sources on the subject, who all provide a similar height for the Colossus, standardized as 70 cubits. Likewise, the equivalent of that measure in modern terms has usually been 105 feet— based on an 18-inch cubit. However, standardization does not mean accuracy (see Figure 1 below), and, as others have previously noted,[2] the actual height of the Colossus was probably higher. Nonetheless, 110 feet is a reasonable mean measure to use for the statue here, and it has also been used in other studies.

Figure 1. *This "template" of human measurements from an actual building site in Ancient Greece is one of the few in existence today. It clearly demonstrates the "personal" quality of measurements for each project, probably including the Colossus-- and why, despite modern statements about standardization of measurements in ancient societies, it is impossible to calculate the latter's height accurately. Those for the Colossus may have been based on the physical characteristics of its sculptor, Chares, himself. The stone's figures are reproduced more clearly in the second graph (Archaeological Museum, Piraeus)*

5352. Stone engraved with standard measurements, giving metrical units in half an orgyia ("span"), which is the span of the open arms, the pechys ("cubit") (0,487m), the spithame (open palm) (0,242m), and two standards of the foot (0.0302m and 0.322m). The second of these, in form of a rule, was used as a basis for the calculation of the cubit, the palm and the span. There is another relief with standard measurements in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, though this was probably a dedication. Found built into a chapel on Salamis (4th c. BC)

(a) Philo

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2. Herbert Maryon, "The Colossus of Rhodes," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 76 (1956): 73, for example, makes it "a little over 120 feet." See, also, e.g., Reynold Higgins, "The Colossus of Rhodes," in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World*, eds. Peter A Clayton & Martin Price (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993), 130; cf., further, a listing of different heights in Matthew W. Dickie, "What Is a *Kolossos* and How Were Kolossoi Made in the Hellenistic Period?", *Greek Roman & Byzantine Studies (GRBS)*, vol. 37 (1996): 237-257, note 42, https://grbs.library.duke.edu/article/viewFile/2801/5855.

Philo of Byzantium, certainly to be identified with the third century B.C. writer of engineering treatises, was the earliest of the three sources for the Colossus' height. He would have been alive at the time the giant statue was standing. Philo includes it as one of the "Wonders" in his widely-known *De septem orbis spectaculis* (4.1-6) and would not otherwise have mentioned it had it already fallen. He came to work at Alexandria in Egypt, and was active there during the last third of the third century B.C.[3]

While Philo could not have had any first-hand knowledge about the Colossus's construction, he certainly, judging from his close relations with Rhodes, must have seen it before it fell in an earthquake around 226 B.C. Philo's introduction to his essay on the "Wonders", so very brief for all the attention it has received, clearly implies that he had seen it when he writes (presumably including himself) that, only a "few have seen all of them for themselves."[4] If he had not seen it but was, nonetheless, offering himself as an authority, he certainly expected his readers to be a tolerant lot-- willing to accept detailed descriptions from someone who knew little more, if any, than they did about the subject. It would also be difficult to understand why he would bother to take up the quill, busy as he was otherwise, to pen a work about spectacles had he not seen them all, himself, and wished to convey his own sense of wonder to a mixed audience that had little to no chance of ever seeing them. Clearly, he had been inspired to write.

Once published, Philo's booklet-- certainly inferior to his technical manuals, but not outside the interests he expresses in them-- became very popular and was often reproduced (no doubt, not always accurately). Living at Alexandria while people, like himself (many with families), were coming to the new capital from elsewhere in the Mediterranean, Philo simply may have wanted his pamphlet to be something of an armchair tourist brochure. It certainly has the tone of such. Through his descriptions, he could provide a literary treat for the mind. Perhaps he could help the recent arrivals adjust to their new environment by letting them know they were not as isolated as they might have first thought, and that there were amazing sights to see-- some close by, like the pyramids; others further afield at Rhodes, Halicarnassus, and Ephesus. Many new Alexandrians had undoubtedly come from the Greek peninsula and might already have seen Phidias' famous statue of Zeus; but probably only a few, many former soldiers, had ventured as far as the interior of the old Persian empire to Babylon— drawn there by their professions or by the many stories now circulating about Alexander

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3. For Philo's date and his association with, and presence on, Rhodes, see E.W. Marsden's convincing study, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Technical Treatises* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969; reprint, 1999), 7-9, 109 and note 8; cf., also, John & Elizabeth Romer, *The Seven Wonders of the World: A History of the Modern Imagination* (London: Seven Dials, Cassell & Co., 1995), 25-47, especially p. 36.

4. See Hugh Johnstone's translation in John and Elizabeth Romer, *The Seven Wonders of the World: A History of the Modern Imagination* (London: Seven Dials, Cassell & Co., 1995), 230.

the Great, their city's namesake, and by the fact Babylon was once the repository for his body. In fact, as previous studies have already noted, all of the Seven Wonders can be related in some way to Alexander. Interestingly, Philo does not include the Pharos at Alexandria in his list. Perhaps it was not fully complete at the time, or was not yet considered comparable with the others. Maybe it was because Philo thought there was no need to mention a local landmark that everyone could already see towering over the harbor at Alexandria.

The most realistic reason that Philo omitted the Pharos in his list of "Wonders" was that considering the state of "lighthouses" at the time the Pharos was built, most were little more than elevated platforms on which fires were placed to help guide mariners into port. Despite the fact that this was Alexandria, destined to become the greatest city in the Mediterranean world, in Philo's day it was still in a state of development. We are always in the habit of judging things from later images of what they looked like, and the same is undoubtedly true for the Pharos lighthouse. What it looked like when first built is unknown, but it certainly was not as grand as later illustrations make it to be— nor what modern romantic notions convey about its grandeur. The first meaningful insights about its appearance do not come until the Roman imperial period, beginning with the emperor, Domitian, when coins issued from the Alexandria mint depict it. Perhaps by deconstructing later Arabic descriptions of its ruins, we can surmise that it first was circular in shape before stronger outside walls encased it, and two more tiers raised its height to over 400 feet. It certainly was not so grand in Philo's time, probably just a more elaborate tower with a flaming beacon on top, as the contemporary Alexandrian epigrammatist, Posidippus, describes[5] —perhaps not yet worthy of "Wonder" recognition.

To complete his own list of "Seven," Philo included the walls of Babylon and the Hanging Gardens at Babylon. Philo's living in the third century B.C., would assure the tradition that the Gardens did exist, and from what he describes, he had probably seen them, himself. However, it is odd that Philo gives no specific location for them in his work. It has always been assumed that they were in Babylon, but Philo does not say exactly where. No trace of the Hanging Gardens has been found among the ancient ruins of Babylon, leading some to suggest that they existed elsewhere-- but courses of rivers change, flooding some areas and/or leaving others to decay; natural disasters cover or alter what was once perfectly clear; systematic, purposeful total destruction can occur; deterioration through neglect can, too; and there could be other reasons that the site of the Gardens has not yet been discovered. There are, after all, no traces of the Colossus of Rhodes.

The Gardens may have been so famous that Philo did not feel he needed to give more specific information. Everyone knew where they were. He would have

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5. A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams,* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 11; C. Austin and G. Bastianini, *Posidippi Pellaei Quae Supersunt Omnia* (Milan: LED, Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2002), 115.

known they were more than just some lingering romantic tradition. The Gardens were far more likely to have been located in Babylon than at the earlier Assyrian capital of Nineveh, as some have suggested. They would have attracted much less attention had they been anywhere else, "in so far as other sights," Philo relates, "can be seen just as much as these, but the admiration provoked for the Seven Wonders and for other sights is different."[6] Babylon was not Nineveh. It was Alexander's old capital— at which his body had lain for some time after his death, most assuredly, in a place equal to the man, himself. Such a place was within the grounds of the Hanging Gardens.

While at Alexandria, Philo also states that he frequently engaged in personal consultations with his counterparts on Rhodes. In his *Belopoeica* (51.10*)*, he says,

> We shall recount to you exactly what we discovered at Alexandria though much association with the craftsmen engaged in such matters and through intercourse with many master craftsmen in Rhodes, from whom we understood that the most efficient engines more or less conformed to the method we are about to describe. (Translation by Marsden)[7]

This passage clearly indicates Philo's interest in what went on at Rhodes, one that was also shared by the Ptolemies who ruled Hellenistic Egypt. Ptolemy I is thought to have earned his epithet "Soter" from his rescue of Rhodes during its siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes-- the event that led to the building of the Colossus as a votive offering to Helios, the island's patron god. Some decades later, the most generous offer made by Ptolemy IV to rebuild the giant statue after its collapse in an earthquake around 226 B.C. reaffirmed Ptolemaic desire to remain involved at Rhodes. Since Philo, a technological expert, was living in Alexandria at the time, he may even have been dispatched as part of a team to make a preliminary survey of the damage before Ptolemy IV made his offer. If so, nothing ever came of it.

Because Philo was not old enough to have any personal knowledge about how the Colossus was built, what he did write could only have been speculative-- based on what he, himself, saw, and what sources at Rhodes told him long after it had been completed. He did pose some questions about the Colossus in his small essay, but they are concerned more with its interior iron framework, which would have been completely covered at the time it was standing. It is not our interest, however, to enter into the drawn-out discussion over how the great statue was constructed--- although some pertinent details relating to Philo are not without interest.

While Philo's training was in applied mechanics—not colossal statues—he does show an interest in sculpture. At the beginning of his *Belopoeica* (50.5), he includes a comment that the renowned fifth century bronze sculptor, Polyclitus,

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6. Johnstone's translation, in Romer, *Seven Wonders,* 230.

7. Marsden, *Artillery*, 109.

had made about his own work: "that perfection was achieved gradually in the course of many calculations." Otherwise, careless small discrepancies could result in "a large total error at the end." Repeating Polyclitus' caution is clear indication of Philo's meticulousness in executing his own projects. He was not a careless technician-- and another passage indicates his expert sense of proportion, which also would have influenced his assessment of the Colossus:

> For instance, the correct proportions of buildings could not possibly have been determined right from the start and without the benefit of previous experience, as is clear from the fact that the old builders were extremely unskillful, not only in general building, but also in shaping the individual parts. The progress to proper building was not the result of one chance experiment. Some of the individual parts, which were equally thick and straight, seemed not to be so, because the sight is deceived in such objects, taking no account of perspective. By experimentally adding to the bulk here and subtracting there, by tapering, and by conducting every possible test, they made them appear regular to the sight and quite symmetrical, for this was the aim in that craft. (Marsden) [8]

These observations about building houses, including proportion and perspective, are not entirely out of character with the analysis we find in Philo's account of the Colossus. The problem in the latter case, however— besides its brevity-- was that while Philo could admire the Colossus' Polyclitan "perfection" in form, he lived too long after its completion to know all "the many calculations" (literally and figuratively) that Chares of Lindos, builder of the Colossus, had been compelled to make during its actual construction. A similar problem had faced the creator of the Statue of Liberty, which is often compared to the Colossus of Rhodes. What had appeared perfectly acceptable to French sculptor, Auguste Bartholdi, when working with small scale models of the Liberty, did not work at full scale, and "each time the form was blown up visual corrections had to be made to compensate for the new effects of the old form at greatly enlarged scale— decisions that could only be entrusted to the sculptor himself."[9] In his day, Chares would have experienced the same problem, and much of what he did "on the spot" was not recoverable. Even if it were, it was not preserved— an unfortunate fact of life during Philo's time that probably happened frequently and is clearly demonstrated elsewhere in his own work: When attempting to reproduce a "bronze-spring engine" invented by his immediate predecessor at Alexandria, Ctesibius, Philo discovered that "the constructional details had not been passed on" (67.25)--- lost even to "some of those who watched him [Ctesibius] inquisitively." The example does not say much for the continuity we might expect to find in the workshops of even the old masters. Undaunted, Philo and his colleagues determined not to lose the technology of a machine of

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8. Ibid., 109.

9. Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty*, (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 119.

such "excellence." They followed Ctesibius' original design as far as they were able and augmented it with their own ideas about how to make it work. The result, according to Philo, was an engine somewhat different in design, but just as effective as (or better than) Ctesibius' original.

Surely, when Philo was trying to reconstruct just how Chares had proceeded in building the Colossus, he would have been confronted with the same kind of "lost" constructional details. Over the twelve-year period it reportedly took to finish the statue, there must have been many things forgotten a half century later. Philo would have followed the same procedure he describes that he had done with Ctesibius' engine— following Chares' design as best he could, and then augmenting it with his own ideas. It was also Philo's practice to construct small-scale models, the measurements of which were then converted proportionnately to the final working product (55.10ff.). One would think he would have applied the same methodology to his understanding of how Chares, who also based his finished work on small-scale models, had gone about constructing his Colossus.

Working from such models to construct colossal statues continued in Pliny's day. The latter provides some interesting information about one such model used by Zenodorus for Nero's Colossus at Rome. Pliny (d.79 A.D.) even says he had seen the model in Zenodorus' studio, "not only to admire the remarkable likeness of the clay model but also to marvel as the frame of quite small timbers which constituted the first stage of the work put in hand" (34.18.45-46).[10] Pliny also says that the statue, (presuming still speaking of Nero's Colossus) showed how much the skill in bronze-founding had disappeared by his time, and seems to be saying that while Zenodorus was no less an artist than any of the old masters, that lack of knowledge caused him some hardship in completing his colossus— Nero was even ready to provide gold and silver, presumably in bulk form, to help complete the statue's outer skin.

It is not entirely clear what Pliny is saying here. If the old skill of bronze-founding had been lost and even metals like gold and silver were being offered by the emperor to complete it, of what was Nero's Colossus ultimately made? It has become regular practice to say it was "bronze," but perhaps this idea, reinforced by Fred Albertson's 2001 study,[11] needs further review. What Pliny appears to be saying is that Zenodorus, a craftsman equal to past great ones, had to struggle to produce his colossal figures in the first century A.D., because the art of working in bronze had so deteriorated. In other words, the comments of Pliny, which Albertson apparently believes confirm Nero's Colossus was made of

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10. Pliny, *Natural History,* ed. and trans. H. Rackham (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952; Reprint, 1995).

11. Fred C. Albertson, "Zenodorus's 'Colossus of Nero,'" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. 46, ed. Anthony Corbeill (The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 95-118.

bronze,[12] appear to be saying the exact opposite. For now, perhaps, a less definitive term, like "copper alloy," might be a better description for Nero's Colossus. Albertson's work is otherwise very useful for his discussion of Philo, the Colossus of Rhodes, and other relevant information, and all we can say is that Pliny's comments about the deterioration of bronze-working definitely affirm that the old way, the one used by Chares' to construct his bronze Colossus, had been lost.

A comment Pliny made in the same discussion about Zenodorus— regarding an earlier colossal statue of Mercury the latter had fashioned in Gaul, that took ten years to complete— does have immediate application, because it is useful as a comparison to the one Pliny made about Chares taking twelve years (34.18.41) to complete his Colossus of Rhodes. If correct, it demonstrates just how long these giant works took to complete.

Ultimately, what Philo did write in his brief analysis about how Chares proceeded in building the Colossus of Rhodes, probably seemed workable to him; but, unlike in the case of his artillery models, the scale of the Colossus far exceeded anything in Philo's own experience-- he had no way of knowing whether or not he had correctly understood. Philo, of course, did not need to, because, unlike with the precise engines whose effectiveness he had to prove to members of his profession (and his patrons), he did not have to build a Colossus. His *De septem* was not a technical manual but an uncomplicated piece, probably turned out in his leisure and meant to entertain a wide audience-- and what he had come up with in his recap of the Colossus' construction only needed to have the "feel" of the real thing. He simply did not know if (and could not prove) what he described would actually work, and no one was going to build another colossus based on his musings. He, himself, was aware that his explanations were not always easy for others to grasp, observing in his description of another, unrelated, mechanical engine that, "Perhaps what we have said appears incredible to you, as it has to many others" (70.35). Three centuries later, Zenodorus, it appears, was in a position not unlike that of Philo when he was attempting to build his own colossus without a proper "blueprint." No one seems to have understood the process of the building of the Colossus of Rhodes exactly, and the recurring problems faced by later sculptors might at least lead us to view whatever detractors have said about Philo's comments in a more sympathetic light.

As for how close Philo ever got to seeing the Colossus while it was still standing is another question. If, as we assert, it stood atop Monte Smith at the summit of the Rhodian acropolis, access may have been restricted-- as was typical for sacred structures and votive offerings. This was a particularly large one, and caution, alone, would probably also dictate how far anyone without authorization could approach (especially if it were also a working lighthouse). Weather conditions could also be a problem. The Colossus most likely was within an enclosed precinct, so perhaps the best view of it— one that would also display it

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12. Ibid., 97.

in all its glory rising above everything else-- was from a distance. Nonetheless, since Philo was so well known among colleagues at Rhodes, he may have been allowed closer access, which might have provided some additional hints about how it had been constructed. He was certainly privy to some tradition about it— but, a half century after its construction, anyone of importance who might have provided more definitive answers was dead. The best he came away with was what had become the prevailing tradition among the Rhodians, packed with remembrances of what individuals had been "told by their fathers" --and whatever else Philo might have ascertained by his own observations.

Ultimately, the Romers[13] have summed up the problems relating to exactly how the Colossus was constructed most sensibly:

> The most important thing, however, is that there is no need to imagine that Chares used a single method of construction for his statue…It is difficult to imagine that Chares' Colossus did not also have different parts of it made in different ways; a colossal brazen statue such as the world had never seen, held together with good craftsmanship and with experience that reached back for millennia to the beginnings of history.

It is the height of the Colossus, not its construction method (which we leave to those like Ursula Vedder in her 2015 summary, "Was the Colossus of Rhodes Cast in Courses or in Large Sections?"[14]) that most concerns us here (although Vedder does go as high as 114 feet). Curiously, while we today would think anyone would first be attracted by the Colossus' height, Philo does not seem overly interested about how tall it was. In fact, he mentions it only in passing and seems more intent on confirming that the giant statue did, indeed, represent Helios-- and in the amount of bronze used in its construction. After it had fallen, he and other interested visitors may have been able to see it closer as it lay on the ground-- viewing, as Pliny later described, some of its pieces and inner structure. By that time, however, Philo's pamphlet on the "Wonders" had itself already become a piece of literary history, reaffirming the fame of the once great Colossus and apparently encouraging enough readers to travel great distances just to see the huge pile of rubble it had now become-- "sacred" as it might still be. Pliny confirms that they did.

Philo's booklet became the ancient version of the modern "bucket list" of must-sees for many travelers. Both Strabo and Pliny later agree with him about the Colossus' height, but neither mention Philo by name. That might at first seem

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13. Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 39.

14. Ursula Vedder, "Was the Colossus of Rhodes Cast in Courses or in Large Sections?" in *Artistry in Bronze: The Greeks and Their Legacy: XIX International Congress on Ancient Bronzes,* eds. Jens M. Daehner et.al. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Conservation Institute, 2017), 21-27, http://www.getty.edu/publications/arti stryinbronze/downloads/DaehnerLapatinSpinelli_ArtistryinBronze.pdf.

an important omission, but there really was no reason why either would have mentioned him since neither's comments were focused primarily on the giant statue. They certainly had read other accounts from authors, whom they also do not cite. By their times, the Colossus was only an interesting memory, and for Pliny's Roman audience, at least, the colossal statue (formerly) of Nero (18.45-46) was now the "big thing" attracting people's attention. The Colossus of Rhodes' once impressive height had probably become little more than a listing in an ancient equivalent of a "Facts on File," an arcane statistic educated persons of the day could cite at random—or use in satire, as Lucian did. Nonetheless, as our most contemporary reporter, Philo's statement that the Colossus was 70 cubits tall, equated here to 110 feet, is probably as definitive a measure as we are ever going to get.

(b) Strabo

Strabo (c. 64 B.C.- after 21 A.D.) gave his source of information for the 70 cubit height of the Colossus as the "author of an iambic verse," an obscure reference suggesting to many that it came from the original dedication on the Colossus.[15] Considering Strabo's interests and opportunities to do so, there is no reason to believe that he had not seen the remains of the Colossus. He was from that part of the world, having been born in Pontus on the southern shore of the Black Sea. He also says (2.5.11) that he had traveled widely and that no one who had written geography had journeyed over a wider extent of countries than he had. Because Strabo spent an extended stay in Egypt (as Philo had done earlier), it is likely he would have traveled through Rhodes to get to Alexandria. Perhaps he had also done so as a stop on one of his visits to Rome. He did know that when one arrived by sea at Rhodes City, it is in a harbor on the eastern side, which likely comes from his personal knowledge. Whatever the case, his many travels certainly would have taken him to Rhodes, probably several times, which he thoroughly describes in his *Geography*.[16]

Two other items are revealing in respect to Strabo's presence at Rhodes. As a youth, he studied under Aristodemus of Nysa (14.1.48), who, at the time, Strabo says, was "in his extreme old age." Strabo had his "entire course" with Aristodemus at Nysa-- but also mentions that "my teacher" had another school at Rhodes and traveled between the two. Because he indicates a long tenure with

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15. Cf. Dickie, What Is a *Kolossos* and How Were Kolossoi Made in the Hellenistic Period, 253; also, Alexander Dale, "Lyric Epigrams in Meleager's Garland, the Anthologia Palatina, and the Anthologia Planudea," *Greek Roman & Byzantine Studies (GRBS)*, no. 50 (2010): note 53, https://grbs.library.duke.edu/article/viewFile/1461/1551.

16. Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. and trans. Leonard Horace Jones (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960). https://archive.org/details/Strabo08Geography17AndIndex.

Aristodemus-- and the latter would have to have traveled to Rhodes to teach at regular intervals if he wished to keep any students-- Strabo would necessarily have to have accompanied the old man. Otherwise, it would have been his own education that would suffer. It was also not unusual for such extended relationships between student and teacher to become more personal and reciprocal. There are a number of examples, especially from Roman times (e.g. Brutus), wherein teachers became life-long friends and advisors to former students-- and, because Aristodemus was so old, the companionship of a bright, young pupil like Strabo at both Nysa and Rhodes would have provided welcome comfort and support.

Strabo's statement at the beginning of his *Geography* (1.1.23) about how readers should judge the merits of his work is also interesting. He says they should look at it as they would the completed colossal works of a sculptor-- and not decide its worth from a minute inspection of random parts of the narrative. They should "look principally for perfection" in the whole of his *Geography*, the proportions of which most readers would agree were colossal. Strabo's comparison of his work to a colossal statue is a striking parallel by itself, especially from one who was not a sculptor but a geographer-- but his "whole instead of the parts" analogy is incredibly close to what one might expect from an individual who had actually seen the pieces of the Colossus of Rhodes, the greatest colossal statue of its time, lying scattered imperfectly on the ground. Perhaps as a boy, Strabo had heard nothing but positive things about the beauty of the Colossus— but after seeing it fallen in pieces, it no longer exhibited the "perfection" it once did as a whole. A passage from Lucian may help recapture something about how Strabo may earlier have felt about the great statue. The second century A.D. Roman satirist has the Colossus, himself, tell Zeus, "Rhodes…decided to make me on this enormous overblown scale," but, "in spite of my size, I'm very well done; I have artistic quality."[17] The fallen colossus no longer had "artistic quality."

Strabo may have been so discouraged when he first saw the scattered remains of the once glorious statue that he remembered the unhappy moment, later employing it as an analogy for readers of his own *Geography*: Do not look at the pieces but always view a work in its entirety. It may also have been on an early visit to Rhodes that Strabo first learned of the dedicatory verse that had mentioned the statue's impressive height of near 110 feet.

(c) Pliny the Elder

Whether or not Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.D.) had actually been to Rhodes and seen the remains of the Colossus he describes cannot be known. It would

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17. Lucian of Samosata, "Tragopodagra," in *Selected Satires of Lucian*, ed. and trans. Lionel Casson (New York: Norton Library, 1968), 11.

certainly seem likely because of the scope of his curiosity (which contributed to his death in the 79 A.D. eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, just a few years after he had recorded his comments about the Colossus), and because of his official functions as a Roman magistrate. The latter caused him to travel extensively, mostly in Germany and Spain. His description of the pieces of the Colossus lying on the ground (34.18.41), however, appears to have been derived from personal conversations with-- or gleaned from the writings of-- a fellow magistrate, C. Licinius Mucianus. Mucianus' presence in the east allowed him access to the most famous tourist attractions, a special interest of his, and there is probably no reason to believe that Pliny did not base his comments about the Colossus and other statuary on Rhodes (34.17.36) on Mucinaus' observations.[18] Mucianus would, therefore, most probably have been Pliny's source for the Colossus' height of 70 cubits.

In his description of the fallen giant, Pliny records that the Colossus' fingers were bigger than most statues, and its thumb (was there only one thumb fashioned in the round— or that had survived?) was so large that most people could not encircle it with their arms. He also states that there were huge cavities in the Colossus' torso, where limbs had broken off, and one could see the stones inside that had been placed to steady the Colossus while it was standing. In his description, Pliny has curiously overlooked the supports of the iron frame interior, which, together with the stones, had helped hold the giant statue together. The framework is one aspect of the statue's complex inner construction about which Philo is adamant in his discussion of the Colossus. Philo was an accomplished engineer. Ironwork was a tradition on Rhodes (Strabo 14.2.7), and Philo had been in the arsenals on Rhodes, where he had visited colleagues working iron who knew of his interest in the Colossus. They would have passed on to Philo whatever they knew about the tradition of the iron used in the statue's construction. It was something of which they would have been proud. Philo may even have been allowed, as a professional courtesy, a look Inside the Colossus by those who maintained its interior.[19] In his brief discussion of the Colossus, Philo leaves a description: "the horizontal bars exhibit hammer-work in the Cyclopean fashion" and muses further, "What kind of fire-tongs were used, what size were

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18. T.F. Caldwell's very thorough recent Master's Thesis states: "The fragments [in Pliny] relating to the island of Rhodes could be derived from Mucianus' personal investigations…." However, Caldwell also cautions, "it is also possible that [Emperor] Titus served as [Mucianus'] source of information for the number of statues Rhodes…" [Thomas Francis Caldwell, "The Career of Licinius Mucianus," (Master's Thesis, University of Melbourne, 2015): 44. https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/bitstream/handle/11343/91093/Thomas_Caldwell_MA_Thesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y].

19. Just as my wife and I, by way of example, arrived unannounced some decades ago at the newly-discovered and closed-to-the-public, Tomb of King Philip of Macedon at Vergina, and were allowed the courtesy of an impromptu examination of the site by Professor Andronikos' thoughtful assistants.

the bases of the anvils, with what workforce was such a width of poles forged?"[20] Yet, Pliny is silent about its interior framework of iron "poles" that Philo had praised.

Some inside structure of iron poles or bars, as Philo noted, necessarily held the stones in place: "The artist [Chares] secured [the Colossus] from the inside with iron frames and squared blocks of stone." The latter could not have just been stacked loosely inside, if for no other reason than Rhodes was in earthquake country and the blocks would shift, possibly throwing the statue over. It is just possible that during the fatal earthquake of c.226 B.C., a large number of stones broke loose from the iron frame holding them and radically shifted the Colossus' weight. The Colossus' collapse would have been a singular event. Philo's description states that the stones were held in place—not loose-- and there is no reason to doubt an expert engineer, so familiar with the building techniques of his day.

Chares, too, already knew from his master Lysippus' work that colossal statues needed to be reinforced to protect them from natural threats (e.g. Pliny's remark [34.17.40] about Lysippus' 60-foot statue of Zeus at Tarentum, that was so well-balanced it could not be dislodged, either by human or natural force). If for no other reason, there would have to have been an iron frame inside the Colossus to hold stones in place so that workmen could move freely about the statue's interior to service and repair it on a routine basis: Some remains of the iron frame(s) should have been visible among the massive remains of stones. There is no way to explain Pliny's omission, although the reason for the missing iron may be simple Rhodian economics. It could hardly have been "cost effective" to leave the bronze pieces of the Colossus lying about, which the tradition, at least, attributed to an oracular caution to leave the sacred bronze remains where they fell. If that were indeed the explanation for why the bronze was not removed, it may not have applied to the iron frame inside-- a utilitarian structure that had never been visible from the outside, anyway, but was still worth a lot of money. The value of so much "wasted" metal that could be "recycled" would have been phenomenal. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the Rhodians did, indeed, "mine" the iron over the years through the openings in the colossal torso to use or sell elsewhere.

If, as Pliny observes, the Colossus' torso still laid virtually intact on the ground with stones visible through large cavities in its body; and, if his failure to mention any traces of the iron interior framework *is* an indication it had been removed— then that would be a compelling sign that the "skin" of the torso had been cast, as Philo suggests, rather than made from individual bronze "sheets." Otherwise, the "corpse" of the Colossus, with little left of its interior frame to keep its shape, would have collapsed in upon itself from its own weight while lying centuries on the ground. It apparently did not.

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20. Johnstone's translation, in Romer, *Seven Wonders,* 232.

Pliny leaves some detail that may be useful in reconstructing how the remains of the fallen Colossus were laid out. It was a votive offering and its pieces still had sacred significance, so it seems somewhat offensive that visitors were allowed to satisfy their curiosity about parts of the statue in what would seem a rather profane, "touristy" way. Perhaps to avoid what had undoubtedly become an immediate nuisance for Rhodian authorities, a perimeter wall restricted access to the main torso of the Colossus— a delineated sacred area, above which the gaping holes and stones inside the giant statue could still be seen. One would also think some such barrier would be necessary to prevent animals from seeking shelter in the ruins. The damage caused by birds, always an architectural pest, mice (e.g. Lucian's satirical comment [*Trag.* 8][21] about large statues supported inside by wooden frames becoming home to hordes of mice), as well as insects over the centuries can only be guessed-- and just maintaining the integrity of whatever metal survived would have been a persistent problem. Allowing general access to the entire remains could be very dangerous, and theft would also have been a concern. Perhaps the thumb and a finger or two of the Colossus that Pliny described were on display in an adjacent but separate area, where a few interesting pieces from the Colossus were arranged. It would have been rather difficult for visitors to try to place their arms completely around the giant thumb if it were lying flat on the ground. If the pieces were mounted on raised supports slightly above the ground, however, then at least the story becomes more credible.

The Statue of Liberty, which has frequently been compared with the Colossus and whose designer, Auguste Bartholdi, had Chares' "Wonder of the World" in mind while fashioning it, may also be useful in helping determine something about the Colossus' size. While the height of the Statue of Liberty is routinely given as 305 feet, the statistic always includes her pedestal. Liberty, herself, stands only 151 feet, less than half that total-- and this measurement also includes the torch rising high above her head. If she is measured only from heel to head top, her height is reduced to 111 feet, about the same size as the Colossus. What is also revealing is that Liberty's index finger is just over 8 feet long, and the middle joint of that same finger has a circumference of 3' 6", which would compare favorably with Pliny's comments about the circumference of the Colossus' thumb. Pliny had also said that the Colossus' fingers were taller than most statues— and most of the statues about which he was speaking were probably in the 6-8-foot range.

While such comparisons are, of course, imprecise, it would still indicate that the Colossus was on a scale close to that of the Statue of Liberty. No sculptor can reproduce exactly the "perfection" of a small-scale clay model in a colossal statue because alterations have to be made during the actual construction process. The Liberty's copper skin of 2.5 mm is, by most modern estimates, thicker than that of the Colossus, which would complicate any estimates based on Pliny's description of the precise size Colossus' thumb and fingers. Nonetheless, such comparisons

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21. Lucian, *Tragopodagra,* 8.

are valuable, and are at least helpful in confirming a height of well over 100 feet for the Colossus.

The more pressing problem in attempting to determine the correct height for the Colossus, however, is not so much with the ancient figures being incorrect, as it is, as shown earlier, in the attempts to equate them with modern standards. By way of example, the Romers' essay on the Colossus renders Philo's cubit calculation for the Colossus' height as 120 feet (although their statement that the 12-year project would have risen at a rate of 6-8 feet a year would seem to result in a shorter Colossus).[22] Varying ideas about what constituted a standard cubit in antiquity-- whether it be the length from elbow to wrist, or forearm to the small or middle finger (further complicated if an actual individual's [perhaps Chares, himself] body appendages were used) makes a precise calculation of the Colossus' height impossible.

There is also the added difficulty of not knowing whether the Colossus was measured from the soles of its feet to its shoulder, to its hairline— or to the very top of a radiant crown. So, too, it is also unclear whether either of the Colossus' arms extended above its head— and, if so, was this included in the ancient measurements. Nonetheless, when everything Philo, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder said about the Colossus of Rhodes is considered, 110 feet remains the most useful working number for its height. It certainly was no shorter.

Part II: The Pedestal of the Colossus

The height of any pedestal on which the Colossus once stood is nowhere so specifically stated as it is for the statue-- but modern estimates are about fifty-feet high, a height that would accommodate most of the problems associated with a 110-foot statue standing upon it. Philo is the only one of the three main sources who mentions anything about a base for the Colossus, saying it was "A base of white marble" and that "the soles of the [Colossus'] feet on the base were already at a greater height than other statues."[23]

Philo gives no dimensions for the base, but it was substantial enough to have kept the Colossus' giant feet anchored in place when the catastrophic earthquake of c. 226 B.C. hit (by way of comparison, the Statue of Liberty's feet are 25-feet long). Since Strabo specifically states (14.2.5) that the huge statue broke at the knees when it fell, that could have happened only if the feet remained firmly attached, holding the Colossus in place up to its knees. It would also mean that the "base" of which Philo speaks was substantial-- not just a larger version of the standard slab or block plinth on which smaller statues were typically placed. Internal supports of iron (and/or stone) would necessarily have to have run up

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22. Romer, *Seven Wonders,* 36.

23. Johnstone's translation, in Romer, *Seven Wonders,* 232.

from a much larger and stronger pedestal below-- through the feet embedded in the white marble plinth, and to the knees, where the strain became too great. At that point, the adjoining independent metal framework (and stone reinforcement) within the Colossus, that connected the larger upper part of the statue to the lower supports at the knees, was not strong enough to keep it upright— and it bent and fell.

Chares would have been fully aware that the Colossus could not be held in place simply by embedding its feet in a larger version of a plinth— and the system he ultimately designed had to have been technologically sound to keep the statue upright. Earthquakes were, and still are, a fact of life at Rhodes. There must have been a number that shook the island over the 66-year lifespan of the Colossus, probably even while it was being constructed. That the Colossus survived as long as it did in such an environment would demonstrate that Chares had indeed employed— successfully so, until the fatal earthquake-- a system of firm supports in an enormous pedestal on which the Colossus stood. There would also have had to have been compensation for thermal and all other atmospheric stresses, as, indeed, the engineers for the Statue of Liberty, including the brilliant technician Gustave Eiffel who built the Eiffel Tower in Paris, had to consider for the metal used in its construction.

Presumably, the Colossus would have continued to stand if not for its weakness at the knees (a vulnerable pressure point for humans, as well). A lower system of supports continued to hold the Colossus firmly in place, while what proved to be the weaker upper internal frame did not. It is doubtful that this was a design flaw. Chares would certainly have foreseen the problem area at the knees and followed the practice of his mentor, Lysippus, who provided independent support(s) for his own colossal statues (Pliny 34.17.40). The Colossus, however, was almost twice the size of Lysippus' tallest statue. Chares was moving into unknown territory in respect to what could happen to such tall statues. He probably believed that he had taken every engineering precaution— but an earthquake of apparently unprecedented magnitude proved him wrong. What is clear is that the Colossus would have to have had a huge masonry pedestal (with a massive internal system of iron and stone anchors) to support it, and that Philo's reference to a white marble base in which the Colossus' feet were embedded is also accurate— but, structurally, what he described could only have been the Colossus' plinth and not its pedestal.

Some idea about the character of a pedestal for the Colossus has been revealed in a recent study related to an ancient earthquake "technology" utilized in buildings in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean world. Earthquakes were always on the mind of ancient engineers and the study published by A. Bayraktar

et al.,[24] presents evidence to show such technology at work in surviving ancient structures from the same part of the world as Rhodes.

Whatever remains of these structures, some going back to the sixth century B.C., their survival after so long a time in better-than-might-be-expected condition appears to be the result of this technology. The study found consistent evidence in a variety of buildings to show that "three layers of orthostat stone, with no mortar between the layers, served to absorb earthquake waves, which are concentrated at the primary time causing less movement to be transferred to the superstructure." This "seismic resistance method" of three stone layers with no mortar, allowed the main earthquake shock waves to "play out" before hitting the structure mounted on top of the platform and destroying it. This simple technology appears to have become routinely employed in earthquake active environments, and there is no reason to suppose that it would not have been used in Chares' design of the pedestal for the Colossus. Of course, if the ground in front of the structure should shift or collapse, as the limestone cliff on which we maintain the Colossus originally stood on Monte Smith shows evidence of having done over the past centuries, nothing could prevent the statue from falling.

There is, then, enough conclusive evidence from structures contemporary with the Colossus to propose that its pedestal, too, was composed of three un-mortared tiers of stone, declining in size as they rose, as illustrated in the accompanying Figure 2 below. This was accepted earthquake technology in antiquity, and Chares and his engineers, some most assuredly from Egyptian background, would have employed it in their planning for the Colossus. The Giza Pyramids were also constructed mostly of layers of limestone blocks— with no mortar. They have survived thousands of years of earth movements beneath them.

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24. A. Bayraktar, H. Keypour, and A. Naderzadeh, "Application of Ancient Earthquake Resistant Method in Modern Construction Technology," in *Proceedings of the 15 WCEEE, Lisbon* (Portuguese Society of Seismic Engineering -SPES, 2012), 38: 30709-30718, https://www.iitk.ac.in/nicee/wcee/article/WCEE2012_5773.pdf.

Figure 2. *A. Gabriel's Earlier Reconstruction[25] of the Building Process for the Colossus. Few subsequent studies, if any, would agree with the posture of the Colossus, but, for illustrative purposes, his acceptance of a three-tier pedestal of about 50 feet, including a small base/plinth at the top like the one Philo described, is shown here. "Scaffolding" from Demetrius' Helepolis is also included in Gabriel's concept (see the discussion below).*
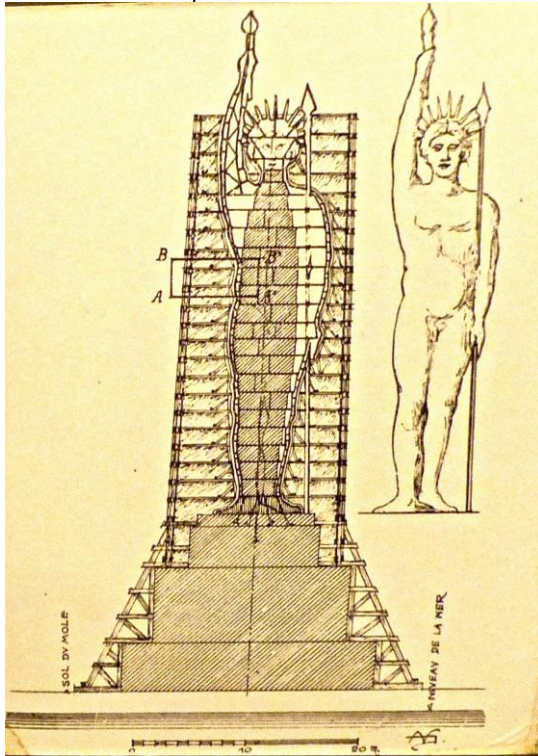
A three-tiered, fifty-foot high pedestal for the Colossus is not only contrary to Philo's previously discussed description for its base of white marble which we have determined could only relate to a large marble plinth in which the Colossus feet were embedded, but it is also controversial in another way. One would think it compulsory to have employed Rhodes' own native gray-blue marble, regularly quarried at Lartos, near Lindos, in any votive offering dedicated to its patron deity, Helios— this one for helping save the island from Demetrius' siege. In fact, one can imagine the citizenry's outcry, particularly at Lartos, if it were learned that white marble was being imported to use for the Colossus' pedestal instead of their island's native marble-- especially since it was routinely used on the island and widely exported, particularly for statue bases or pedestals. However, as explained earlier, Philo's "white marble base" can easily be reconciled if it were actually the plinth-- which rested atop the Colossus' much grander pedestal of

25. Albert Gabriel, "La Construction, L'Attitude et L'Emplacement du Colosse de Rhodes (The Construction, Attitude and Location of the Colossus of Rhodes)," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, no. 56 (1932): 337.

Rhodian gray-blue marble below. The famed Nike of Samothrace, now displayed in the Louvre Museum in Paris, provides a convenient illustration.

(a) The Nike of Samothrace

As seen in Figures 3a and 3b below, the well-known Nike of Samothrace's oared, ship-shaped base (and the additional elongated platform on which the latter sits) was made of Rhodian gray-blue marble. The marble was so well known on Rhodes for statue work that Philo could not have been referring to the Colossus' major pedestal when he mentions the "base of white marble" on which Chares "first set the feet of the Colossus up to the ankle-bones." He can only be alluding to the kind of white marble plinth, a large one in this case, that typically held a Greek statue's feet in place-- oftentimes resting on a larger pedestal beneath it. There are many surviving examples of ancient statues bases at Rhodes and elsewhere in which the imprints of the feet where full-size figures once stood are still fully visible.

Figure 3a. *The Nike of Samothrace. We use it here only as an illustration for a base of Rhodian gray-blue marble to show what its color would have looked like if it formed the marble pedestal for the Colossus-- and, also, as an illustration of a "white base" on which the Nike immediately stands. The base is a modern addition, designed to elevate the statue for viewing purposes at the Louvre, but it is included to help visualize how the much grander white marble base for the Colossus may have appeared. This arrangement of statue, small white marble plinth, and grander Lartos marble pedestal is probably similar to what Philo was describing for the Colossus. See, also, Figure 3b*

Figure 3b. *The white stone base, presumably marble, added by the Louvre staff for displaying the Nike of Samothrace atop the impressive Daru Staircase. Philo was probably speaking of something like this on a larger scale when he described "A base of white marble" in which the Colossus feet were embedded. It would have then rested on a significantly larger Rhodian gray-blue marble pedestal below it*

If Chares had not constructed the actual pedestal for the Colossus out of the native gray-blue marble, Helios' own unique stone (or at least faced the pedestal's exterior with it), not only would he have been insulting the island's inhabitants, but also the sun-god, himself, the patron of Rhodes, whose statue he was building. The contemporary Alexandrian epigrammatist, Posidippus, when speaking about the Colossus (AB 68), notes that the Rhodians were not satisfied with the height of Chares' giant statue and wanted him to make it twice as big. One can only imagine how they would have reacted if they learned that their own sculptor was purposely eschewing their native gray-blue Lartos marble to build the pedestal for his Colossus in favor of generic white marble from elsewhere. The pedestal must, necessarily, have been made of Lartos marble.

There are sometimes white veins in Lartos marble, but it would have been a painstakingly difficult process to mine enough of it to provide a fifty-foot high "white" pedestal for the Colossus— if only for its facing. The only plausible interpretation for what Philo meant when he said, "A base of white marble was laid down," is that he was referring to a version of a standard-sized plinth that was enlarged proportionately to secure the Colossus' large feet. By way of comparison, the Statue of Liberty's feet, each 25-feet long, also stand on a separate "plinth" resting atop the 40 x 40-foot apex of a much larger pedestal below. What Philo described in his account of the Colossus was a white marble plinth-- on top

of a fifty-foot, three-tiered pedestal of Lartos marble--- in which the Colossus' feet were embedded (as shown above in Figure 2).

The Colossus on its smaller white marble plinth interested Philo; the larger pedestal below did not. The latter was strictly utilitarian, a necessary but subordinate adjunct to the statue that formed no part of its artistic unity. To quote Marvin Trachtenberg in his *Statue of Liberty*, "Functionally, a pedestal is analogous to a picture frame: it isolates a work both physically and symbolically."[26] That does not mean that a pedestal cannot be decorative-- but, if it is, it cannot detract from what is ultimately displayed upon it. What caught Philo's eye stopped at the bottom of the white marble plinth which was still a part of the Colossus' artistic unity, reemphasizing his own sculptor's instincts in perspective and proportion. Today, people do not go to the Statue of Liberty to marvel at its 89-foot stone pedestal (and the 65-foot foundation it rests on). Liberty's pedestal is attractive as well as functional— but it is still only there to support and display the famous statue above it, which people do come to see. At night, it is Liberty-- not her pedestal-- that is fully illuminated.

Visually, how the Colossus was situated may ultimately have called to mind something like how the great *quadriga* of the nearby Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, another of the Seven Wonders, was displayed on a low "pedestal" set over a truncated pyramid below.[27] Chares' white marble plinth for the Colossus was large enough to be noticed but small enough not to cause distraction or local controversy. The same enlarged white marble plinth would have provided a nice visual contrast between the shining colossal bronze statue above it and the gray-blue pedestal below, faced with, or fully built of, the prized Rhodian marble.

The Nike of Samothrace is a useful example for this kind of visual contrast. Described as a "colossal work" in the Louvre Museum's own description of the famous Hellenistic statue, the Nike stands 18' 3" atop a ship whose keel rests on its original flat, elongated base. The Nike, herself, is nine feet tall. Although heavily restored, it is the closest surviving sculpture we have to compare to the points we are making here: It is a "colossal" statue; gray-blue marble from Lartos, Rhodes, was used to make the ship-shaped pedestal on which Nike alights; and, while some believe the Nike portion of the sculpture may have been fashioned elsewhere, most consider the monument originally to have been an *ex-voto* offering by the people of Rhodes to commemorate an important naval victory in the early second century B.C. The statue also has a small white stone block upon which Nike stands, appearing to defy the strong winds blowing against her (always a threat to large statues like the Colossus) as she alights on the deck, separating her from the ship and providing a dramatic contrast. All these things are illustrated in the photos above.

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26. Trachtenberg, *Liberty,* 151.
27. Ibid., 155.

The white stone (presumably marble) base of the Nike of Samothrace is, however, a modern addition, placed there by the Louvre staff in 1934 to display the Nike, now at the top of the Grand Daru Staircase, to its full advantage. We are, nonetheless, using it here for illustrative purposes, because it clearly demonstrates the marked contrast the addition of the white base has made between the statue of Nike and the original gray-blue Rhodian marble of the ship below it. While not the sculptor's original intent, the Museum's "addition" probably followed as closely as possible what he would have done if faced with their problem in displaying it. If the white stone base had not been added by the Louvre, the bottom part of Nike, mounted at the top of the Staircase, would have been obscured to viewers. Positioning is always crucial to best show off a piece of sculpture.

Although altered for practical purposes, the Nike of Samothrace, still provides a striking visual representation of what Philo probably saw when he made his comment about the Colossus: A huge statue, whose feet were set on a small white plinth of marble which rested directly on (and was secured to) a much larger pedestal of Rhodian gray-blue marble. Using a little imagination, the Nike can also illustrate what impact the white marble addition would have if she were descending on what was only a generic, functional large pedestal of gray-white marble instead of the more interesting ship-shaped one. No one would even have noticed it because it would have had no role in the artistic unity of the piece. The viewer's eye would have been concentrated entirely on Nike, and, unavoidably, the white base on which her feet were inevitably alighting. That is how we suggest that Philo viewed the bronze Colossus of Rhodes, standing on the white marble base he describes. Coins that depict another colossal statue, this one of Apollo at Apollonia Pontica,[28] show him standing on what appears to be something close to the kind of "base," or plinth, on which Philo said the Colossus stood and whose large feet were embedded (Figure 4). It also matches very well with the white stone base on which the Nike of Samothrace was set by modern restorers. For the Colossus, the "white marble base" would have been situated at the top of a fifty-foot pedestal.

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28. Coins minted at Apollonia Pontica show full standing, frontal representations of their colossal statue of Apollo-- considerably shorter than the Colossus of Rhodes at 45-feet and some two centuries earlier. They provide a splendid illustration of what the statue looked like standing on what is probably the same kind of "base of white marble" Philo had described for the Colossus. Specific photos of the coins (Stavri Topalov) may be viewed on-line, at, Ivan Dikov, "Bulgaria's Sozopol to Restore Ancient Statue of Apollo, 'Colossus of Apollonia Pontica', Not Unlike Greece's Plans to Rebuild Colossus of Rhodes," *Archaeology in Bulgaria* (portal), January 5, 2016, http://archaeologyinbulgaria.co m/2016/01/05/bulgarias-sozopol-to-restore-ancient-statue-of-apollo-colossus-of-apollonia-pontica-not-unlike-greeces-plans-to-rebuild-colossus-of-rhodes/.

Figure 4. *Feet of the colossal figure of Apollo, as represented on a coin minted at Apollonia Pontica, set on a base probably similar to the one Philo described for the Colossus of Rhodes*

The actual three-tiered pedestal on which the Colossus did stand with its feet secured in the smaller white marble plinth at the top, had to have been a very deep and substantial one. Such a gigantic statue, especially one described by Philo as being built from the bottom up, would have to have had massive supports built into its heavy pedestal foundation. Even had a shaft(s) been excavated into the native limestone rock plateau of Monte Smith on Rhodes (none has been located), like the one that can still be seen today on the Acropolis in Athens designed to stabilize the Athena Promachos, such a shaft(s) could never have been deep enough to secure a bronze statue the size of the Colossus. It was about four times the height of the Promachos, which, comparatively speaking, stood on a very small pedestal, remains of which can still be seen. So, too, the Colossus never could have been held firmly in place merely by a small white marble plinth set atop a larger pedestal.

Instead, the pedestal undoubtedly had a core of heavy limestone, faced with the Rhodian gray-blue marble. Such facing procedures remained standard even at the time of the Statue of Liberty, in order to protect the inner structural stones from damage and to provide a more attractive finished appearance. It would also have been less expensive than fashioning the entire pedestal for the Colossus out of marble. Inside, giant iron "poles," and/or monolithic columns of limestone, sandstone, or granite (like those routinely produced in Egypt over the millennia), were embedded deep in its heavy stone core-- and they would have extended up through the pedestal, the white plinth, and the Colossus' feet to its knees. There, they were securely joined to the statue's upper iron and stone interior frame.

Figure 5. *A fanciful reconstruction (after Antonio Tempesta, 1608) of the moment that tradition, at least, says the Colossus was finally broken up by the Muslim conquerors of Rhodes and the bronze carted off to Syria, where a Jewish merchant from Edessa carried it away on 900 camels. Unfortunately, the illustration is of little value historically-- although in later centuries, it is not inconceivable that the Colossus' "white base," still embedded with vestiges of its feet and lower legs, was moved and set up as a monument to its former glory in the town center at Rhodes. The artist follows Strabo's tradition that the statue broke off at the knees, but the base shown (and reconstructed with the Colossus atop it in the background) could never have supported a statue of that size. Also, it is more likely that during the Muslim presence on Rhodes, there may have been a few pieces of bronze still attributed (incorrectly) to the Colossus, but it was probably more some popular tradition still circulating about the once great statue that started an erroneous story about where the bronze had originated. By that date, 654 A.D., it is extremely unlikely any verifiable pieces of the statue still survived. That it took 900 camels to carry it off is also pure fantasy, especially since nothing is said about how the bronze was transported (at least, in the version related by Constantine Porphorygenitus) to Syria in the first place. If there is any truth at all to the story, it was probably bronze collected from Roman statues in Africa and everywhere else in the eastern Mediterranean that the Muslims had overrun, that was disposed of as an auction "lot." Any publicity about the bronze once belonging to the still well-known Colossus was a good "selling" point. There are several variants to the story, and the tradition that Muslims sold the pieces to a Jew is too glaring an irony in itself*

Quis RHODII digné versú sublime COLOSSI
Cantet onus, raduansʠ, caput, coeloʠ minanteis   *Extensas immane manus? quas, pondere tanto*
Indignata, gruia decussit terra ruina.
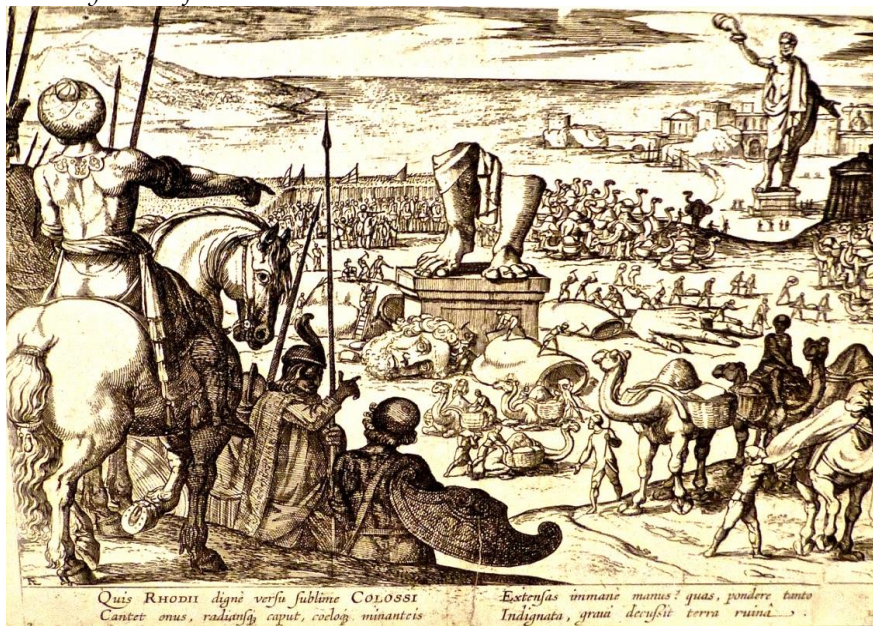
The procedure is much the same as that described for the Statue of Liberty, where the skeleton of the statue was so firmly attached to steel beams and girders

embedded in its pedestal[29] that it was said in jest (although it captures the general feeling of the designers) that if the monument ever turned over, the statue and pedestal would not separate as some might expect-- but the entire island on which it stood would turn over with it. The same feeling must have initially been attributed to how securely the Colossus had been "welded" to its pedestal, because every measure known to Chares and his staff of experts would have been employed to prevent its fall. To a large extent, their expertise was borne out: The Colossus stayed firmly in place on its pedestal up to and including the devastating earthquake of c.226 B.C. At that time, it was not the pedestal that failed but the structure above the statue's knees that did. The only way that could have happened was if all the measures that had been devised, both internally and externally, to keep the Colossus standing in place failed-- and the giant figure broke at the knees. It had to have been an earthquake beyond what Chares or anyone else had imagined.

Ironically, it may have been the same sturdy reinforcements Chares surely employed to safeguard the Colossus that contributed to its collapse. Even if he had used the three-tiered orthostatic earthquake platform system, which seems certain, the support columns embedded in the pedestal may have equally served as conductors, and the shock waves from this particular earthquake, instead of being dissipated, traveled straight up the supports to violently shake the statue and cause it to break at the weaker knee joints. It was the exact point in the statue's construction where the stronger pedestal reinforcements ended, and the Colossus' secondary iron and stone interior framework began.

(b) The Walls of Rhodes

Had the Colossus been standing at the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes' siege of Rhodes, its "knee problems" would not have mattered. The Rhodians had not been expecting such a devastating attack and were not prepared when it did happen. It is fair to say that, while precautions against earthquakes may have been taken, they would not have foreseen what could happen to a statue the size of the Colossus during war-- nor taken proper precautions to protect it. The Colossus would have been demolished by the direct fire of Demetrius' artillery. Who knows how many other "colossal" and regular-sized sculptures were actually destroyed during Demetrius' siege had they not been protected or temporarily stored-- like the bronzes unexpectedly recovered at Piraeus in 1959 that had been hidden during Sulla's siege of the Athens in 87 B.C. (and then forgotten) in secret "passages," like the ones Strabo describes at Rhodes (14.5). Later, when the Colossus was built, it could not be directly exposed to enemy missiles if the city were attacked again-- and, considering the militaristic atmosphere of the day, that was a realistic possibility. Anywhere the Colossus

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29. Trachtenberg, *Liberty*, 142-143, Figure 83.

was placed, at the very least it had to be protected behind the city's great walls. It also had to rise high enough above them to be seen in its entirety. Consequently, it is only logical that the pedestal on which it stood had to be at least as tall as the city walls. Perhaps, then, the walls of Rhodes will provide us with the best estimate of the height of the Colossus' pedestal.

It would only seem prudent that wherever the Colossus was placed, considering what had recently occurred with Demetrius' assault on the city, especially the harbors, the largest statue ever built in the Greek world would have the protection of the newly rebuilt walls. The same caution needed to be exercised if only to protect Helios' giant image from the frequent natural "assaults" that plagued the island. Nothing would be gained from building the pedestal of the statue into the new wall, itself. It might stabilize the Colossus' foundations, but it would still leave it open to a frontal assault by both man and nature and would certainly be less aesthetic in appearance. That being the case, two other alternatives come to mind: The Colossus was located behind the city walls, close enough to be protected by them but standing independently on its pedestal in the open; or, it could have stood in an enclosed precinct or sanctuary attached to the wall, ultimately enclosing it on all sides but with access gates (something like the remains of forts we still see along Hadrian's Wall in England). In fact, like the situation for the Statue of Liberty, it may have been built within the enclosure of an already existing fortress. The Liberty was built on Bedloe's Island directly on old Fort Wood, already permanently ensconced there and whose star-shaped bastions had to be incorporated in the final design of its pedestal.

An existing fortress, or fortress-like enclosure, may also have been involved in the Colossus' construction. Long after Monte Smith had served as the Rhodian acropolis, it had been a British observation post during the Napoleonic War, taking its name from Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith; and during World War II, the Italians had gun emplacements there in what appears, from allied reconnaissance photos, to be a fortress. High places in the earliest days of Ancient Greek communities were fortresses for protection, as well as religious centers. Usually, as the times became better, people moved down from the heights of their acropolises. Urban centers developed below them, and the acropolises continued to be sanctuaries for the city's gods. Since Monte Smith was undeniably a most strategic location and site of the acropolis of Rhodes, the suggestion that it also continued to serve as a protective fortress atop the heights of the city overlooking the main sea approaches to the city, is not just a suggestion— but an inevitable outcome. Thus, there could well have been a fortress (or more than one) located along the western high walls on the edge of Monte Smith that became less important with the subsequent reinforcement of the new city walls of Rhodes and whose new function became serving as a walled precinct for the Colossus. This would, arguably, be a natural evolution of such a venerable site. Whatever the case, the second of the above suggestions, accords best with all the requirements needed to build, protect, and maintain the colossal monument— and, also, with

its role as a lighthouse, which it has all the appearance of being (discussed at length in another study).

With walls enclosing it all around and gates providing access into and out of the interior, the Colossus would have stood on its pedestal in the middle of a large, open precinct on the spacious heights of Monte Smith (perhaps not unlike Suetonius' description about how Nero's colossus was originally to be displayed in a large vestibule of Nero's *Domus Aurea*)— near to, but separate from, the large Temple of Athena and Zeus, the largest on the island, and other religious structures in the immediate vicinity. Built into these walls (of appropriate thickness) could also be quarters for the large number of men constantly needed to service and maintain the Colossus (like the barracks Roman sailors apparently lived in near the Colosseum to deploy its Velarium and attend to it otherwise). Defensive towers could also double as housings for the high-standing service equipment that would be needed to service and repair the 160-foot Colossus on its pedestal. These must have included transformed siege towers of Demetrius, which were the only available engines at the time capable of serving all the needs of the giant statue, both inside and out (see discussion below). It had to be maintained on a regular basis. A separate shrine dedicated to Helios could also have been present— unless the entire complex were already viewed as such. As a lighthouse, the Colossus could also be run daily, and its probable sun-reflecting mirror(s) polished and serviced from such an enclosure-- its fiery night beacon(s), most likely fueled with pine-based wood from the copious forests of Rhodes, regularly supplied. In such a compound, everything would have been provided to meet the Colossus' needs. The question remains, however: How tall were the walls of Rhodes?

While ancient writers, including Strabo, speak glowingly about the great walls of Rhodes, no one mentions their height. In fact, it is just as difficult to discover mention of wall heights at other cities around the ancient Greek world. The walls of Rhodes City were destroyed, often by earthquakes, and rebuilt stronger on several occasions, so one would think somebody would have mentioned how high they rose— if only as a matter of pride. The walls would, naturally, have varied in size depending on their particular location around the city's perimeter, and there were also numerous towers that were higher than the walls. Even the display in the archaeological room of the Grand Master's Palace within the medieval walls at Rhodes that highlights the walls, provides only a note about the width of the base of a section of the ancient wall: 4.2 meters, or about 14 feet. It is not much to go on, but, proportionately, a base that thick would immediately eliminate 10- or 15-foot walls— probably even twenty. One does not build a wall thick enough to repel damage to its bottom from offensive machines only to make its height woefully inadequate from attack by towering siege machines. Twenty-five feet is probably the minimal height. That seems to be reasonable because it appears to be the average height from which the lower drawbridge of a typical 90-foot siege engine of the period crossed over to an

opposing wall. There was no reason to employ a drawbridge at this height if it were not going to provide its soldiers access to a wall of similar height. The second drawbridge on the same siege engine, designed for attacking the towers of a city wall, comes in twenty feet higher, at 45 feet. Both drawbridges were slightly higher than their targets so that they would come to rest atop the city walls and towers. These numbers are the result of E.W. Marsden's careful study of siege craft, in his work on *Greek and Roman Artillery*,[30] and are as definitive as the evidence allows.

Thus, the drawbridge levels of a typical siege engine of the day would put the tallest walls and towers at Rhodes in the 25-45-foot range at the time of Demetrius' siege. Afterward, when the walls were restored, everything indicates they were made even taller: The earlier walls had been inadequate to stop Demetrius, and if Ptolemy had not interceded, the city probably would have fallen. It was not a mistake the Rhodians would make again, and when the Colossus was built, the walls must have been in the 30-50 feet range. Hence, the Colossus' pedestal would have to have stood at least fifty feet high for the giant statue to be seen in its entirety above the new walls. Otherwise, the lower part of the Colossus would have been entirely obscured.

A century earlier, Dionysius of Syracuse, whose military innovations were legendary, protected his own city with the fortress of Euryalus, including the most up-to-date defenses. It can probably safely be said that his wall towers became the standard from which all subsequent designers based their own defenses at other cities, Rhodes included. The towers (and walls) were specifically designed for the military contingencies of the day, which included towers as high as five stories, containing appropriate artillery at all levels. Archaeological evidence indicates the towers were purposefully squared and as high as fifty-feet. This also "squares" well with what has been described here for the walls of Rhodes-- and there is no better evidence to reinforce it.[31]

Demetrius' *Helepolis*, the tallest and most famous of his siege engines,[32] was significantly higher than even the new walls at Rhodes— by almost 100 feet. There were not, of course (nor were there ever going to be), any city walls nine stories high or 144-feet tall-- but part of the reason for the size of the *Helepolis* was intimidation. It is not described as having any drawbridges because attempting to deploy them at such a height would probably have made it top heavy— and it would fall over. Its primary function in battle appears to have been to fire missiles over the main city walls and beyond any additional interior walls, like those the Rhodians had constructed, to the more vulnerable areas of the city behind them.

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30. Marsden, *Artillery*, vi; 87, diagram 3; and 89, note 36.

31. Peter Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War* (1981; Reprinted with revisions, London: Green Hill Books, 1998), 286-290. F.W. Walbank, and H.H. Scullard previously acknowledged Connolly's significant expertise on the ancient military.

32. Marsden, *Artillery*, 84, note 24.

However, the *Helepolis* never appears to have been successfully utilized, and Demetrius, apparently, by common agreement with the Rhodians, left it behind when he ended the siege and departed.

It would not do if the formidable *Helepolis*, a "colossus" in its own right among the sea of siege towers constructed for Hellenistic warfare, was not surpassed in height by the Colossus-- a commemorative votive offering to Helios constructed in honor of the terrible machine's own defeat. Also, the *Helepolis'* remnants were traditionally taken into the city and placed on display (Vitruvius, *de Architectura*, 10). The Rhodians had ample opportunity to examine the weapon from top to bottom-- and, almost 90 years ago, Albert Gabriel offered the very cogent suggestion that whatever technical and engineering lessons Chares had learned from his own examination of the *Helepolis*-- as well as its physical remains-- were employed during his construction of the Colossus.[33] Gabriel's reconstruction of the Colossus in Figure 2 reflects his ideas.

There is no good reason to question the idea that the *Helepolis*-- or, for that matter, any other siege engines left by Demetrius-- was used during the construction of the Colossus and that it and the other remaining engines continued in use, perhaps reduced in size for storage purposes, as maintenance and repair towers. Practically speaking, there was no better machine to employ both in building the Colossus and later in servicing it than the recycled siege towers. With space for many workmen at different heights, internal ladders, openings from bottom to top, rope and pulley machines-- as well as other equipment formerly used to move weapons and ammunition about-- and mobility, their usefulness in construction was just as valuable as in warfare by simply converting everything to peacetime use. There does not appear to be any other engineering tool available to do the necessary outside work at such elevations. There were no standard independently operated cranes so tall. The multi- purpose usefulness of these former war engines could not have been lost on builders of major non-military projects.

The same might be said for the construction of the Colosseum at Rome three centuries later. The Romans used siege craft at Masada in the Jewish Wars. They built the Colosseum and used Jewish slave labor soon after. Why would the Colosseum's architects and engineers not have realized the benefits of employing the same war machines used to defeat the Jews for peaceful reasons within the same decade? Siege towers were certainly superior and more functional than any other piece of construction equipment available. The recently discovered mosaic at the synagogue of Huqoq depicting the use of a giant pulley system to raise large stones for a scene depicting the construction the legendary Tower of Babel[34]

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33. Gabriel, *La Construction*, 338.

34. A photo of the pertinent mosaic may be viewed at, James Rogers, "Stunning Biblical mosaics Revealed in Detail for the First Time," *Fox News*, November 16, 2018,

is certainly a boon to our knowledge about standard ancient building techniques. However, the Jews had no knowledge of constructing huge siege towers, the mosaic is from the fifth century A.D., and the simple system depicted would only be useful for assembling lower levels of stone edifices. It never could have served in anything other than an ancillary role in the construction of the Colossus or the Colosseum, both about 160 feet high at their tallest point.

The employment of "siege" towers for large scale construction projects would also help fulfill the comment of Hopkins and Beard about how a "high level of technical and theoretical architectural expertise,"[35] lost to us today, went into the construction of the Colosseum. Some of the architects and engineers working on the Colosseum had to have been with Titus in Judaea and seen for themselves, if not helped build, the siege engines used there. After they returned to Rome, they would have recognized how easily such mechanical behemoths could be applied to civil construction projects-- as did Chares and the Rhodians while building the Colossus in the immediate aftermath of Demetrius' siege over three centuries earlier.

At 144 feet, the *Helepolis* was almost as tall as the 160-foot Colossus (with pedestal). We also know that siege towers in operation could be raised, as they had been by the Romans at Masada, as high as they needed to be by moving them upward on earthen ramps. From Marsden's careful calculations, we also know that the base of the *Helepolis* was an impressive 72 feet by 72 feet. Thus, a 144-foot tower needed a squared base of 72 to insure the necessary stability to keep it upright and effective in battle. Under normal battle circumstances, neither the *Helepolis* nor other siege towers appear to have had any problem moving or turning on their wheels, demonstrating that their height to base ratio was correctly calculated by their designers. If the same 2-1 formula of height-to-base for the *Helepolis* is applied to the Colossus, which, while not mobile, was even taller than the 144-foot *Helepolis* and still needed its weight distributed correctly from its top to its base, the 160-foot statue would have required a pedestal with a base about eighty-feet square in order to remain upright. Based on this scheme, a fifty-foot high pedestal with an eighty-square foot base may be the closest approximation for what was required to support the 110-foot colossal bronze statue of Helios on top of it. Interestingly, at one early stage in Richard Morris Hunt's designs for the Statue of Liberty pedestal, he also used the same ratio whereas its base to height was about twice as high as the width of its base.[36]

Demetrius' *Helepolis*, of course, was a single construction and moved as a unit, so the weight distribution at its bottom would have been calculated with

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https://www.foxnews.com/science/stunning-biblical-mosaics-revealed-in-detail-for-the-first-time.

35. Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum*, Wonders of the World, vol. 19 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 142-143.

36. Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty*, 160.

that in mind. The Colossus was not a single unit. It was standing on its pedestal, so the weight distribution was divided between the top of the pedestal that held the Colossus and the base of the pedestal, itself. How much difference that would have made, if any, is unclear, but the *Helepolis'* base had to bear the weight of everything above it, while its multiple stone wheels and axles were still able to be turned with apparent ease. The Colossus's pedestal was firmly joined to the statue, but one would surmise that it would still have had to distribute the weight at its base equally to keep the entire construction stable. Exterior support(s) or column(s), presuming Chares had followed his mentor Lysippus' practice, also helped to steady it.

Although a "single unit," the *Helepolis* was composed, like the Colossus, of sections built on top of one another and firmly attached to each other by wood and metal. At the height of 144 feet, the construction process used does not appear to have seriously affected the *Heliopolis'* movement and operation. Because we do not have corresponding details about how the Colossus was held together, we can turn to the method by which the engineers of the Statue of Liberty attached the skeleton of the Statue to its pedestal by joining it to steel beams or girders embedded in the latter that directly tied the two "units" together. It represented a new technology that combined iron and concrete.[37] Hence, the Statue was literally sealed into the heavy foundation base and permanently fastened to it— rendering it, as noted earlier, a single basic unit in regard to its weight distribution.

Until the nineteenth century, the same type of masonry construction used when the Colossus was built had not changed significantly. With the Statue of Liberty, concrete was also used on a massive scale for the first time, its greatest characteristic being its technologically superior ability, a quantum leap, to strengthen significantly the age-old process of embedding supports within a masonry structure. We have already suggested that a similar system of iron or stone "columns" fastened the Colossus firmly to its base, likewise sealing, as far as the technology of the day allowed, the statue into its heavy stone foundation: The fact that the pedestal and statue had started out separately appears to have made no difference because they were joined so completely that the entire stress would have been borne at the base of the pedestal.

By way of comparison with the Statue of Liberty, her copper base rests (along with her 25-foot feet) on the 40 x 40-foot top of an 89-foot pedestal constructed beneath her. That same pedestal at its base is 62 x 62 feet, where it is joined to the to the 66-7-foot squared top of the foundation, whose lowest level is below ground and ends in a squared bottom of 91 x 91 feet. The final dimensions of the Liberty's bases are, then, from bottom to top, 91 x 91 feet, 62 x 62 feet, and 40 x 40 feet-- and the total height of its foundation and pedestal together is 154 feet. However, the Statue of Liberty, itself, is only 151 feet high, including the extended

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37. Ibid. 151.

torch arm, leaving the measurement of the Statue from heels to head at 111-6 feet, approximately the same height as the Colossus of Rhodes.

Figure 6. *The 45-foot pedestal of Agrippa on the stairway to the Propylaea before entering the Athenian Acropolis perhaps provides something of a visual aid for our discussion about the Colossus' pedestal. This pedestal, as seen here, is from the time of Agrippa, whose favor toward the city was rewarded with his representation upon it. However, its history goes back much earlier, and it is thought that a quadriga was originally displayed on it. Without a statue today, most visitors pass right by it, reaffirming our earlier suggestion about how Philo would have paid little attention to the Colossus' pedestal. This pedestal is close in height to the one proposed for the Colossus, though it certainly is not substantial enough to display a 110-foot statue. Nonetheless, its construction still may be instructive. It has a multi-tiered base of about 15-feet, on which a tapering pedestal stretches up another thirty feet, with a plinth at the top to which the statuary was originally attached*
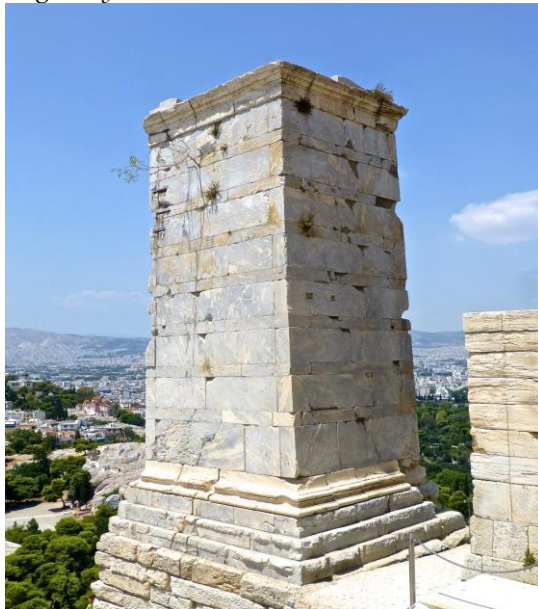
These figures are included for interest—but despite the differences of the two huge display platforms for the Colossus and Liberty in height and the raw materials used in their construction, from what has been proposed here they both end up with bottom bases of about the same dimensions and display colossal statues of about the same size. Engineering problems do not change appreciatively over time, nor do the laws of physics, weight distribution, and the need to adapt a project to the peculiarities of a structure's location. Nonetheless, the aforementio-ned figures for Liberty may provide an approximate impression of what the proportions may have been at the tops of the three tiers of the Colossus' pedestal as they ascended upward-- and the Statue of Liberty's 25-foot long feet on a 40 x 40-foot base is more than a good indicator since the white marble plinth on which

the Colossus directly stood similarly had to accommodate its feet, which must have been about the same size.

(c) A Circular Pedestal?

Finally, there is the lingering tradition that continues to place the Colossus of Rhodes on something of a circular base-- including speculative renderings like Salvador Dali's striking 1954 lithograph of the giant statue. Gabriel believed[38] that he had found the answer in the small harbor side circular Byzantine fortress of St. Nicholas, which stands at the mouth of Mandraki harbor at the end of the mole at Rhodes-- and the spot where the most famous (but entirely erroneous) depiction of the Colossus bestriding the harbor entrance placed his right foot. Gabriel found stone remains there which he identified as reused from the ruins of the Colossus and discovered enough evidence for a circular base to argue its validity (although this "circular character" is not clearly represented in his Figure 2 above). More recent work suggested that the fortress' core was built on a contemporary classical circular structure of about the same size needed to support a statue the size of the Colossus.[39] We can never be certain about anything regarding the Colossus, but aside from a few well-known small Greek circular structures at places like Athens, Olympia, Delphi, Epidaurus, and Cnidus, and smaller circular statue bases and pillars, the Greeks did not seem overly interested in large rounded constructions. They certainly posed more problems than the ubiquitous square cornered buildings— and that would definitely have included a pedestal large enough to hold the weight of the Colossus. The ultimate question is about why Chares would have troubled himself to experiment with the round shape-- especially when the Rhodians were refortifying their walls at that very moment and building 50-foot, squared, pedestal-like defensive towers.

Since a lighthouse stands today atop the St. Nicholas fortress' tower on the harbor at Rhodes, it probably would make more sense to interpret what Gabriel and others have found there that might be attributed to a pedestal for the Colossus as the remains of an early lighthouse-- perhaps constructed along the lines of the Pharos lighthouse at Alexandria, whose lower walls also encased a circular interior. Both it and the Colossus were planned/built during the first part of the third century B.C., when the Rhodians and the Ptolemies were especially close and shared ideas about many things— including engineering and architecture. A smaller lighthouse on Rhodes' major commercial harbor is not only likely but probable, even while the Colossus was standing elsewhere above it. Certainly, that is a more logical explanation for whatever the Hellenistic remains are that have been identified at St. Nicholas.

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38. Gabriel, *La Construction*, 347-359.
39. See discussion in Romer, *Seven Wonders*, 32-33.

There is also little compelling evidence to suggest that major ancient port cities were accustomed to erecting large colossal statues, whether on square or round bases, at their harbor entrances. We would think Pliny would have mentioned at least one, specifically, in his discussion of colossi (34.18.39-48). He does refer to the 45-foot bronze of Apollo at Apollonia Pontica (see, Figure 4) on the Black Sea but says nothing about it actually standing at the harbor entrance there, where moderns wishing to reconstruct it want to place it. Recent archaeology has shown that it was not at the harbor at all but on an island (modern St. Cyricus) across from the city with its temple. Pliny says little specific about the locations of the Greek colossi about which he speaks other than the names of the cities in which they stood when the Romans carried them off to the capital. His silence may, of course, mean nothing-- but, it could also be because there was little or no Greek practice of placing colossal statues at harbor entrances. Pliny does mention that the Romans failed to move Lysippus' colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum, a busy port— but he says nothing about that difficulty being caused because the statue was at the harbor entrance. It is more likely that the Greeks looked for more practical locations for their colossi than congested harbor entrances, where they always would have presented difficulties and been in the way. One would certainly think that Athens, at least, a city with well-known colossal statues, would have placed a huge statue of Athena at the entrance to the Piraeus, if it were normal Greek practice to do such things.

Even with the Colossus as the main light tower on top of Monte Smith high above Rhodes City on the acropolis, there would still have been a need for a harbor height lighthouse to guide ships directly into their moorings. That certainly seems a more reasonable explanation because at any given time, there would have been countless ships waiting to dock at one of the greatest ports in the Eastern Mediterranean. The "spillover" must have been tremendous, and it would have extended far outside the designated harbor areas and down the adjacent coasts. Today, there *is* a lighthouse on top of the old fortress at Mandraki.

There also could have been a large statue of Helios standing on the mole, as Gabriel speculated. None, however, could have been the size of the Colossus, whose complexity and special construction needs were daunting even on the more open grounds atop Monte Smith. To attempt to build such a statue in the center of what was one of the busiest harbor areas in the Mediterranean would not only have been a foolhardy but also an obstruction to sea traffic-- reputedly over a twelve-year period. During this same time, the entire port would have been completely exposed to another attack by Demetrius Poliorcetes or another Macedonian warlord while it was being built. The immediate sea water and effect of the salty sea air on the Colossus' exterior would have made its bronze skin difficult to maintain; corrosion to the more susceptible iron interior frame would have been devastating. Today,

the same deterioration process is seriously affecting bridge cables and the blades of giant wind towers in salt water locations, requiring constant inspection and maintenance and costing great sums of money. Ship traffic lanes for Rhodes could not have been much different from what they are today. Most ships still depart and arrive from the "blind side" of the main harbor. We would have to accept that Rhodians, many who were not regularly at sea, would have been content to see their Colossus only from its hind side because that would be the main landward view. As shown in the "enhanced" photo in Figure 7, the Colossus could only be seen fully if it did stand atop Monte Smith.

Realistically, it would be very difficult to recommend the placement of the Colossus on a circular, or any other type of pedestal, for that matter, on the harbors at Rhodes. There had never been anything like the Colossus built before and to experiment with it on the water's edge would have been impractical-- and dangerous. Even today with modern skyscraper construction in congested downtown areas, the work, now refined to textbook procedure, still affects for long periods the adjacent businesses, streets, traffic, and pedestrians below.

It is also interesting to note that circular-style designs for the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty-- which, as already seen, was inspired by the Colossus and shares common characteristics with what we know about it-- were discarded early on. At the time of the building of the Liberty, the aura of "The Seven Wonders" was still so much a part of the architectural atmosphere of the day that preliminary designs for its pedestal and foundation base included the "Pharos" series, intended to evoke the cylindrical core and circular upper tier of the Great Lighthouse at Alexandria. The so-called "Pharos Coins" from the Alexandrian mint of Imperial Rome, most produced during the second century A.D., also preserved profile views of the structure that made it look circular-- although the initial plan that the Liberty was also to act as lighthouse (the first American one to use electricity) was probably enough by itself to evoke the popular concept that all lighthouses, ancient or modern, had always been round towers with a light beacon at the top.

The early "Pharos" design of Richard Morris Hunt, one of whose plans for Liberty's pedestal was ultimately selected, was described by Trachtenberg as "a classically rusticated cylinder"[40] and indicates that Hunt was at least trying to keep with the more established, but largely romantic, ideas about what the Pharos Lighthouse had once looked like. His original aspiration for the Liberty may have been a desire, as Trachtenberg also suggests," to combine the Colossus of Rhodes with the Pharos of Alexandria?"[41] Ultimately, such plans were abandoned in favor of a more practical "squared" pedestal and foundation-- tastefully decorated but not so distracting as to diminish the image of Liberty standing upon it. In the case of the Liberty, the final choice was the result of a

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40. Trachtenberg, *Liberty*, 158-159, especially Figures 88 and 90.
41. Ibid., 165.

number of considerations that were functional, aesthetic, and personal. They did not include a circular pedestal.

Figure 7. *Composite photo, illustrating how the Colossus would have been viewed from the harbors at Rhodes, if located atop the acropolis on Monte Smith. Its position there was also ideal to make it the primary lighthouse for Rhodes. (Note: Statue image is the approximate size of the actual Colossus, but its configuration is one of a number of modern speculations). Photo property of author*

Chares and his colleagues at Rhodes were just as much aware of the problems of a circular rather than squared pedestal supporting the massive weight of the Colossus, which included interior iron work and stones. There already were tall columns with statues mounted on their tops, but to build a "column" so large that it could support something the size of the Colossus was an entirely different proposition. Whether Chares ever experimented with the idea cannot be known, but local masonry construction favored the squared tower construction. The Rhodians were rebuilding their city wall towers at the very same time the Colossus was entering construction. Since that technology was so readily available, there is no reason to suspect that it would not also have been employed in building the pedestal for the Colossus—as if it were another 50-foot squared defensive tower, only tiered.

The short discussion of Rhodes' fortifications in the Grand Palace's archaeological rooms, quotes Aelius Aristides' much later description of the

towers of Rhodes' walls as looking "straight as candles" from the sea, seeming to suggest that, like the circular towers that are so familiar in the Medieval walls of Rhodes seen today, the towers in Aristides' day were also round. However, Aristides' *Rhodian Orations* date from four centuries after the Colossus and after Rhodes was devastated in another earthquake in 142 A.D. That makes Aristides' observations useless for our purposes.

The new siege techniques of the Hellenistic period also favored square wall towers. Squared towers had the advantage over round simply because of the additional space in a squared tower. One simply could not allow siege towers to get to the walls. As previously noted, Dionysius I's new fortress of Euryalus at Syracuse, the most siege proof fortress of the day and whose ruins are still impressive, had at least five squared towers, probably as high as 50 feet, the height proposed here for the towers at Rhodes. Catapults and other weapons needed to point at several levels in all directions from which attackers came. Mobile siege towers, the greatest threat of the day, had floors of weapons and were squared. One did not see Demetrius advancing upon the walls and towers of Rhodes in a round siege tower, 144-feet high. The fact that its surfaces were flat-faced also reveals that his siege towers were not designed to attack round towers.

The use of siege tower technology in peacetime construction projects also favors a square shape. Envisioning a 110- foot bronze statue placed on top of a 50-foot high "defensive tower" pedestal is certainly more acceptable than a massive circular masonry base. The columns at Karnak in Egypt were about as large as columns were going to get— and a singular unreinforced one to support the weight of the Colossus 50-feet above it would immediately present unwanted problems in stability— especially in earthquake territory.

The most definitive evidence against a circular pedestal for the Colossus perhaps comes from the architectural remains of the Pharos Lighthouse, itself, when it was described by an Arab explorer in the twelfth century. He relates that the base of the Lighthouse had an interior circular core and staircase, but the outside of the building was squared with a sloping incline as it rose up almost 58 meters. The architectural realities seem clear. The inside circular core could not endure standing on its own, and, subsequently, had to be reinforced by building strong masonry walls to reinforce the exterior. If it could not maintain its integrity as an independent circular structure, then neither could a circular pedestal for the Colossus.

Realistic considerations would appear to have eliminated any early ideas about a circular pedestal for the Colossus. Such an idea would certainly have been discarded in its planning stages— just as it was in the case of the Statue of

Liberty. A tower-like, squared, earthquake proof, three-tiered pedestal was the only sound decision— from both an architectural and engineering standpoint.[42]

Concluding Observations

Based on the evidence presented, the Colossus of Rhodes was at least 110-feet high, was mounted on a three-tier pedestal that was about 50-feet high, whose construction subscribed to the earthquake technology of the day. The dimensions of each tier would accord with how the weight of the statue would have been distributed. The bottom tier compares nicely with that of Demetrius' *Heliopolis*, which appears to have been close to the ultimate height of the Colossus and pedestal. The 50-foot height for the pedestal also appears appropriate when compared to the walls of Rhodes. The pedestal probably had a core of limestone blocks that was faced with native gray-blue Rhodian marble. At the very top was, as described by Philo, a white marble "base," or more correctly, plinth, in which the soles of the Colossus' feet were firmly embedded. Metal and/or stone reinforcements must have extended through the feet to the statue's knees from the pedestal below and have been anchored securely. Chares probably provided, as his master, Lysippus, had for his 60-foot colossus statue of Zeus at Tarentum, an additional anchoring "column(s)" of some appropriate design to further stabilize the Colossus. Whether it was built into the pedestal or was a short distance from the statue, it failed, too, to hold the Colossus erect during the fatal earthquake.

Figure 8. *The Circular Building near The Summit of Monte Smith, Above Rhodes City*

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42. Interesting to the discussion, nonetheless, is a circular building standing on Monte Smith today, not far from its summit and in the vicinity of where we place the actual location for the Colossus. Although its diameter looks to be only about 30 feet, World War II reconnaissance photos show it to be existing at that time. What is was, what it is, what was (and is) inside it, and what lies underneath it is anyone's guess-- impossible to know because it is now off limits, covered with protective wire, and closed to the public. I include a photo of it below (Figure 8) only for interest's sake, if anyone wishes to pursue it further.

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Tōru Takemitsuʾs "Spherical Mirror:"
The Influences of Shūzō Takiguchi and Fumio Hayasaka on his Early Music in Postwar Japan

Tomoko Deguchi
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The music of Japanese composer Tōru Takemitsu (1930-1996) eludes understanding by traditional musical analytical approaches. In his earlier works, the musical language Takemitsu employed is influenced by Debussy, Webern, and particularly Messiaen; however, his music defies successful analyses by Western analytical methods, mainly to find an organizational force that unifies the composition as a whole. In this essay, I illuminate how his music was made to be "Japanese-sounding," even though Takemitsu clearly resisted association with, and was averse to, Japanese traditional culture and quality when he was younger. I do this by examining Takemitsuʾs friendship with two individuals whom he met during his early age, who influenced Takemitsu at an internal level and helped form his most basic inner voice. The close friendship Takemitsu developed as a young composer with Shūzō Takiguchi (1903-1979), an avant-garde surrealist poet and also a mentor to many forward-looking artists, and Fumio Hayasaka (1914-1955), a fellow composer best known for his score to Akira Kurosawaʾs film Rashōmon, is little known outside Japan. In this essay, I discuss the following issues: 1) how Takiguchiʾs experimental ideas might have manifested themselves in Takemitsuʾs early compositions; and 2) how Hayasakaʾs mentorship, friendship, and ideals of the nature of Japanese concert music might have influenced Takemitsuʾs early pieces. I analyze some earlier compositions by Takemitsu to discuss the influences on his music by his two mentors, whose attitudes seemingly had come from opposite spectrums.

Introduction

The music of Japanese composer Tōru Takemitsu (1930-1996) eludes understanding by traditional musical analytical approaches. In his earlier works, the musical language Takemitsu employed is influenced by Debussy, Webern, and particularly Messiaen; however, his music defies successful analyses by Western analytical methods, mainly to find an organizational force that unifies the composition as a whole. I am a Japanese scholar, who was trained in the discipline of music theory in American institutions, and as a Japanese listener, I find Takemitsuʾs music to be "Japanese-sounding." In this essay, I illuminate on how his music sounds "Japanese," even though Takemitsu clearly resisted association with, and was averse to, Japanese traditional culture and quality

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when he was younger.[1] I do this by examining Takemitsuʹs friendship with two individuals whom he met during his early age, who influenced Takemitsu at an internal level and helped form his most basic inner voice.

The close friendship Takemitsu developed as a young composer with Shūzō Takiguchi (1903-1979) and Fumio Hayasaka (1914-1955) is little known outside Japan. Takiguchi was an avant-garde surrealist poet and also a mentor to many forward-looking artists in various mediums and genres. Hayasaka, a fellow composer, was best known for his score to Akira Kurosawaʹs film *Rashōmon*, among many other film scores and concert music.[2] At the time when Japanʹs identity and the sense of value were at a loss,[3] Takemitsu sought out guidance from them for his career in music composition. In this essay, I discuss the following issues: 1) how Takiguchiʹs experimental ideas might have influenced Takemitsuʹs compositional career. Takemitsuʹs affection for Takiguchi is evident in the titles and inspiration for two of Takemitsuʹs early compositions which were taken directly from Takiguchiʹs poems. 2) How Hayasakaʹs mentorship and friendship during Takemitsuʹs formative years might have influenced Takemitsuʹs early compositions through Hayasakaʹs ideals of the nature and aesthetics of Japanese concert music.[4] I will provide analyses of some portions of *Distance de Fée* for violin and piano (1951), the first movement of *Pause*

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1. Toru Takemitsu, *Confronting Silence: Selected Writings*, trans. and ed. Yoshiko Kakudo, and Glenn Glasow (Berkeley, California: Fallen Leaf Press, 1995), 142. Takemitsu wrote about his conflicting feelings towards Japanese traditional music, initially detesting any sound that reminds him of the old Japan. He considered himself as a composer who writes in modern Western style; however, he wrote, ʺI am not a composer who represents Japan, nor even a composer who is intentionally conscious of having Japanese nationality and incorporate Japanese elements into their music. But born and raised in Japan, even as I try to free myself from that influence, at the same time I became more aware that is impossible.ʺ He writes his early experience as a composer in his books such as *Toi Yobigoe no Kanatani* (*Beyond the far calls*) (Tokyo: Shinchosha Publishing, 1992).

2. *Rashōmon* was the first Japanese film that received good reviews internationally. It received the Golden Lion Award at the Venice International Film Festival in which Hayasakaʹs soundtrack was considered a contributing factor to the success of the film.

3. While Akira Miyoshi (b. 1933) was a guest lecturer in New York in 1993, he stated that, ʺbecause of the reversal of the sense of value simultaneous with the loss of war, because of the confusions that the adults showed, and because of the negation of the past and the loss of identity as a Japanese, us children in their teens felt a sense of nothingness.ʺ Quoted in Morihide Katayama, ʺSenzen, Senchuu, Sengoʺ (Pre-war, inter-war, post-war), in *Nihon Sengo Ongakushi, Jōkan* (*Japanese history of concert music after World War II, Book 1*), ed. Kōji Sano (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 2007), 51-52. My translation.

4. I define Japanese concert music as composed music by Japanese composers of which the stylistic features developed simulating the European classical music tradition. The Japanese music world discovered the European classical music after Japan ended national isolation in 1854. This term is used also in opposition to the Japanese traditional music and Japanese popular music.

Ininterrompue for solo piano (1952), and *Requiem for Strings* (1957), to discuss the influences on Takemitsu᾽s music by Hayasaka, whose attitudes seemingly had come from the opposite spectrum of Takiguchi. In the title of this essay, "Spherical Mirror" is taken from the final line of Takiguchi᾽s poem, but it comes to signify Takemitsu᾽s metaphorical mirror, in which he portrays himself as gazing into both the Western and Japanese cultural aesthetics.

Takemitsu and the End of World War II

The year 1945 was significant for Japan, not only because this year marked the end of the World War II, but also because this year started the political, economical, and cultural transformation that happened in Japan in various facets and marked the beginning of the formation of the foundation of the modern day Japanese society. Takemitsu emerged as a young composer during this time of dramatic change. Needless to say, the world of Japanese concert music did not suddenly switch to a new phase in 1945; Japanese concert music continued to be created as a continuum of pre-war and inter-war creative energy. However, the ending of World War II was a significant factor to initiate the transforming movements in the postwar years that changed the stylistic idioms, mediums, techniques, and ideology, which still support and influence Japanese concert music. Today, Takemitsu is renowned internationally and is considered one of Japan᾽s most successful composers who started their career in the midst of that time of transformation.

Takemitsu writes that he started his search for his own sound in the ruins after the fire of World War II. Perhaps somewhat fancifully, he recounts that as the war was approaching its end, he heard Lucienne Boyer singing the French chanson *Parlez-moi d᾽amour* from an old phonograph, and that it was the first time he became aware of the "beauty of music from Western culture." And it was this realization that brought about his desire to make a career of composing music in the Western style.[5] Takemitsu was among the first generation, in fact, caught in the confrontation between Japanese values and radical westernization. Defeat forced young Japanese to be exposed and to absorb the culture of the West, primarily that of America. While working as a busboy at the occupation base, he was infatuated with the Western music that he experienced through radio broadcasts at the American military base. At the age of 15 or 16, he was determined to become a composer, not exactly knowing what it would take to become one.

The two early pieces under consideration, *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue*, both composed during his 20s, demonstrate the inception of Takemitsu᾽s artistic individuality that came to fruition in later works. Both pieces

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5. Takemitsu writes about his early musical experiences in Takemitsu, *Toi Yobigoeno Kanatani*, 27-28.

were inspired by the two poems with the same titles by Takiguchi. Although the pitch derivation in these works utilizes Messiaen's pitch collections of limited transposition, notably the octatonic and nonatonic collections, the melodic writing in *Distance de Fée* exhibits an unmistakable Japanese quality, which consists of repetitions and embedding of patterns with similar contour. Hayasaka calls the resultant aural perception an "eternal form."[6] The melodic writing in *Distance de Fée* is further developed in the *Requiem for Strings*, which made Takemitsu a household name in Japan. The evolution of the usage of the harmonic language in the earlier works reflects the forward-looking attitude that Takiguchi portrayed as an avant-garde artist. I will discuss these two individuals below.

Musical Climate in Post-war Japan and Shūzō Takiguchi

During the pre-war through the inter-war years, Japanese composers in general continued to absorb the compositional idioms that stem from the European classical music tradition, from the Classical and Romantic styles to the Neoclassical musical idiom, along with the French impressionistic style. The one-hundred years of the Japanese compositional world since the country ended the national isolation was the epitome of the development of the Western concert music. It was after the war that the musical idioms developed by Boulez, Stockhausen, and Cage were introduced in Japan to the new generation of composers who were able to incorporate their styles only a few years after they were created.[7] Especially Cage's idea of aleatoric music is credited for the removal of the wall between the meter-oriented musical time and the Japanese perception of non-metric musical time and the concept of *ma*.[8] His aleatoric concept that divorces music from the meter and pulse freed the Japanese composers from the spell of European music.[9] The Japanese composers of the postwar generation were no longer concerned with mere imitations of European music; instead they searched for their own voices in the midst of the sudden surge of diverse

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6. I have discussed this characteristic of the traditional Japanese melody elsewhere.

7. Kōji Sano, introduction to *Nihon Sengo Ongakushi, Jōkan* (*Japanese history of concert music after World War II, Book 1*), ed. Kōji Sano (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 2007), 15.

8. See Timothy Koozin, "Toru Takemitsu and the Unity of Opposites," *College Music Symposium* 30, no. 1 (1990): 34-44 for more discussion on Eastern ideals and Western techniques that are unified in Takemitsu's music.

9. Sano, introduction, 23-25. Cage's first visit to Japan was in 1962 as part of the avant-garde music concert series called Sōgetsu series. All the works of Takemitsu I discuss here were written before Cage's arrival in Japan, at which point Cage's concepts swept away the Japanese compositional scene. However, I believe that Takemitsu's early works have already shown that he was able to bridge the wall between European and Japanese concept of musical time.

compositional approaches that poured in from the West. Takemitsuʾs generation initiated the development of their voices as composers of Japan.

In 1951, when Takemitsu composed his second completed work, *Distance de Fée*, he was 21 years old, and it was only six years since World War II had ended. Unlike many of his contemporaries, who were fortunate to have been in environments in which they were exposed to Western classical music before the war (such as Akira Miyoshi, who is three years younger than Takemitsu, took piano and violin lessons when he was a child), Takemitsu was mostly exposed to Western classical music after the war ended.[10] He studied music by endlessly listening to the American militaryʾs radio programs and by examining the scores of prominent composersʾ music at Civil Information and Educational Section library at the American General Headquarters. He has never studied composition formally at a music institution nor studied abroad.

Table 1. *Groups that Were Formed Immediately after World War II*

1946	*Shinseikai*新声会 Group New Voice "The Academics"	Ikuma Dan, Yoshirō Irino, Namio Shibata, Yūji Shigeta (all Saburō Moroiʾs students) and other composers and performers. Since 1949, the group became composers only.
1947	*Shin Sakkyokuha Kyōkai* 新作曲派協会 New Group of Composers "The Nationalist"	Yasuji Kiyose, Yoritsune Matsudaira, Fumio Hayasaka, and 6 others. Later Tōru Takemitsu and 2 others join. None of these composers studied at a music institution.
1948	*Chijinkai*地人会 "The Middleground"	Kishio Hirao, Kōmei Abe, Saburō Takada, and 3 others.
1951	*Jikken Kōbō*実験工房 Experimental Workshop	Tōru Takemitsu, Hiroyoshi Suzuki, Jōji Yuasa (all composition), Takahiro Sonoda (piano), Kuniharu Akiyama (music critics, poetry), Shōzō Kitadai (photography), Katsuhiro Yamaguchi (sculpture), Hideko Fukushima (painting), Naotsugu Imai (lighting), Hideo Yamazaki (technician). Joined by 5 more artists later.
1953	Sannin no Kai 三人の会 Group of Three	Yasushi Akutagawa, Toshirō Mayuzumi, Ikuma Dan.
1953	Yagi no Kai 山羊の会 Literally means Group of Goats inspired by the paintings by Picasso.	Hikaru Hayashi, Michio Mamiya, Yūzo Toyama. Toshiya Sukegawa joins later.

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10. Kazuyuki Tōyama, *Collection, Book 1* (Tokyo: Shinchosha Publishing, 1986), 265-271.

After the war has ended, like-minded composers formed groups for the purpose of promoting each otherˈs works. Table 1 lists the representative groups that were formed soon after the end of World War II, which contributed to the advancement of Japanese concert music. The first group formed was a group called Shinseikai (literally translates as Group New Voice). Founded in 1946, the group represented a new academism in postwar era made up of so-called "academic" composers. All were students of Saburō Moroi, who taught at one of the most prominent music institutions. In general, they followed the Western musical and technical idioms and their choices of compositional processes utilized Western formal archetypes by observing the importance of the organic developments of themes and motives. As a whole, they disliked the elements commonly associated with Japanese traditional music as compositional materials, since they believed they signified a cliché of Japanese folk music tradition.[11] In particular, composers Namio Shibata and Yoshirō Irino showed interest in serial techniques. Later, together with Toshirō Mayuzumi and Makoto Moroi, they formed the Institution of the 20ᵗʰ-Century Music and invited music critic Hidekazu Yoshida as the director of the Institution, who had just returned from Germany.[12] They were considered as leaders of the compositional world who advanced the heritage of the Western classical tradition during post-war Japan.

In the opposite spectrum, group Shin Sakkyokuha Kyōkai (New Group of Composers), formed in 1947, seemed to advocate for Japanese nationalism.[13] The members of the New Group of Composers included Yasuji Kiyose, who was Takemitsuˈs first and only private composition teacher.[14] He invited Takemitsu to

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11. *Nihon no Sakkyoku 20 Seiki*, 39.

12. Tōyama, *Collection, Book 1*, 269.

13. Here, the influence of Russian composer Alexander Tcherepnin, who advocated for Japanese nationalism, cannot be overlooked. Six of the founding members of the New Group of Composers were recognized by Tcherepnin and their music was published in Paris, Vienna, and New York through Tcherepnin edition. Alexander Tcherepnin was the son of composer Nikolai Tcherepnin who sought asylum in France at the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Alexanderˈs visit to China led him to reside in Shanghai for a few years. While in Shanghai, he developed a strong interest in Japan and Japanese composers that resulted in providing opportunities to many of them. Tcherepnin wrote a message to Japanese composers in a music journal *Ongaku Shinchou* (August, 1936) stating, "be faithful to your own culture. Express your own cultural life in music. You will build a true Japanese nationalistic music when you take inspiration from folklore, consider traditional culture as a strong foundation, and preserve folk tunes and Japanese traditional music and develop them in a multitude of ways. When your music is truly nationalistic, its international value should increase." My translation.

14. It is known that Takemitsuˈs lessons with Kiyose did not entail teaching of actual compositional techniques. They mostly spent time discussing the issues and topics of art

join the group where Takemitsu met Fumio Hayasaka for the first time, which led to a lifelong friendship. Takemitsu joined this group only to withdraw later and became one of the founding members of a more radical group called *Jikken Kōbō*, or Experimental Workshop. Experimental Workshop comprised of composers, performers, and artists from other genres, and formed under the guidance of Shūzō Takiguchi, who also named the group.

Takemitsu left the New Group of Composers because the group᾽s inclination to nationalism did not bode well with Takemitsu᾽s more forward-looking perspectives.[15] Perhaps it was not satisfactory for Takemitsu that the works presented at the concerts were mostly based on the existing idioms of Western form (mainly Neoclassicism) combined with Japanese elements such as the pentatonic folk-like melodies.[16] He likely resisted any vestige of the wartime compositions that combined Japanese tunes with orchestral harmonization by means of Western tonal syntax, with titles drawn from Japanese images, sceneries, or locations. The purpose of the nationalistic music during wartime was to enhance national prestige, thus works with references to Japanese traditional arts, texts, folk tunes, and locations enumerated the Japanese concert scene.[17] Takemitsu later recalled his feelings towards the New Group of Composers:

> When I joined the New Group of Composers, I came to realize that the principle I have to fight is the Japanese nationalism. My music started by denying the direction that the nationalism was taking. …I experienced physical repulsion towards the sounds from Japanese vernacular, and had a strong feeling, without any reason, that we need to reject music similar to the politically charged wartime compositions.[18]

Later Hayasaka also left the New Group of Composers, but he continued to promote the notion of pan-Asianism, culminating in his famous interview

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in general. See Jun Kobayashi, *Nihoneigaongaku no Kyoseitachi I* (*Bright stars in the Japanese film music I*) (Tokyo: Waizu Shuppan, 2001), 142.

15. Takashi Tachibana, "Takemitsu Tōru: Ongaku Souzoueno Tabi daisankai" (Tōru Takemitsu: Journey to music creation no. 3), *Bungakukai* (1992), 274.

16. Tōyama, *Collection, Book 1*, 269. Although Takemitsu᾽s first composition that was performed publicly titled *Lento in Due Movimenti* used pentatonic inspired melodies.

17. Some examples of the Japanese compositions that were on radio broadcast during wartime include: *The Land of the Rising Sun, Prelude of the Early Spring and March* by Yamada, *Looking up at Chiyoda Castle* by Eguchi, *Kimigayo* (Japanese anthem) *March* by Yoshimoto, *Ode to the East-Asia* by Takada, and numerous others.

18. Takemitsu, *Takemitsu Tōru Taidanshuugekan: Sōzō no Shūhen* (*Tōru Takemitsu᾽s collection of dialogue vol. 2: Around creation*) (Tokyo: Geijutsugendaisha, 1976), 145-146. My translation.

that was published in the popular music journal *Ongakugeijutsu* in 1954.[19] Considering the close friendship and admiration Takemitsu had for Hayasaka, there is no doubt that Takemitsu was influenced by his way of thinking. Hayasaka died young in 1955 at the age of 41 years old, but his vision was passed on to Takemitsu.[20]

Takemitsu continues from the above quote, "As a reaction (to the repulsion towards the sounds from Japanese vernacular), I jumped to the music that was imported fresh from Europe and America."[21] Takemitsu was one of the founding members of *Jikken Kōbō* or Experimental Workshop that was founded in 1951, a year before he left the New Group of Composers.

Experimental Workshop consisted of musicians, artists, and novelists, who promoted new and experimental directions in the arts, and Shūzō Takiguchi became the spiritual leader of this group.[22] Experimental Workshop was a congregation of artists who were truly the postwar generation; all of them were in the early 20s and none of them had any established place in the prewar and interwar periods.[23] The group was decidedly anti-academic biased, and in fact any kind of formal training was a barrier to its membership.[24] At that time, Takiguchi, twenty-seven years senior to Takemitsu, was already established as an avant-garde surrealist poet and visual artist since the 1930s. He is also famous for the décalcomanie production and his writings on art criticism as well. The formative years of the members of the Experimental Workshop coincided with the period in which Takiguchiʾs writings began to appear in art magazines and newspapers with increasing frequency.[25]

Takiguchiʾs poems *Pause Ininterrompue* and *Distance de Fée* published in 1937, from which Takemitsu borrowed the titles for his compositions, foreshadowed the dark age of military domination.[26] These two poems were included in

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19. Atsushi Miura, and Fumio Hayasaka, "Hayasaka Fumio to Han-Tōyōshugi Ongakuron" (Fumio Hayasaka and musical discussion on pan-Asianism), *Ongakugeijutsu* (August, 1954): 8-20.

20. Takemitsu composed the *Requiem for Strings* grieving for Hayasakaʾs death as well as his own fear of death by tuberculosis, as I will discuss below.

21. Takemitsu, *Takemitsu Tōru Taidanshuugekan*. My translation.

22. Miwako Tezuka examines *Jikken Kōbō* in relation to Japanʾs postwar rebuilding through its socio-historical context. See her dissertation Miwako Tezuka, *Jikken Kōbō (Experimental Workshop): Avant-Garde Experiments in Japanese Art of the 1950s* (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2005).

23. Ibid., 19.

24. Peter Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 39.

25. Tezuka, *Jikken Kōbō*, 26.

26. Shin Ōoka, *Mikurokosumosu Takiguchi Shūzō* (*Microcosmos, Shūzō Takiguchi*) (Tokyo: Misuzushobō, 1984), 33. The inter-war Japan was permeated by the aggressive militarism that hauled the nation to the eventual defeat and the totalitarianism that oppressed the individuals. See Katayama, "Senzen, Senchuu, Sengo", 47.

Takiguchi`s poetry book with illustrations also titled *Distance de Fée*. Around this time, the militarization in Japan proceeded at a fast pace. During the entire fifteen years in 1931-1945, Japan was involved in war to some extent. In 1941, Takiguchi was imprisoned for eight months for creating surrealistic poems and arts, which were deemed corrupted as they were being influenced by the West, thus his works considered unpatriotic by the Japanese government. Two factors worsened his reception in Japan in comparison to the works that expressed Japanese-style lyricism that boded well with the fascist government: 1) the fact that Takiguchi was always monitored by the military authorities after his release; and 2) his writing style is more personal with psychological expressions.[27] The poem *Pause Ininterrompue*, in particular, reflects the strained feelings of oppression. Here is a translation of this poem:[28]

> The endless fluttering of the wings
> Of the young moth tolerates the weight of the massive bottle
> The transient white bust freezes in the memories of snow
> The stars perch on the thin branch and adapt to the meager illumination
> Everything
> Motionless spherical mirror on top of the hill

With the second line, "Of the young moth tolerates the weight of the massive bottle," the poem expresses the oppressive atmosphere of the Japanese society. The line, "The stars perch on the thin branch and adapt to the meager illumination" illustrates the dim hopelessness of the time. The word "motionless" from the final line might evoke an image of death. Even the title *Pause Ininterrompue* might suggest death by implying the image of "uninterrupted sleep from never waking up." Takemitsu, who suffered from poor health when he was young, might have been anticipating death himself. Tsuruoka interprets the last sentence that the "mirror" reflects the expecting of the even harsher future.[29]

Takemitsu, though unconsciously, sympathized with this feeling of pressure reflected on his own situation, hence borrowing the titles of Takiguchi`s poems *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue* for his own compositions. Compared to Takemitsu`s predecessors and privileged contemporaries who were exposed to Western music since their youth and have been educated at various music institutions and many of them even studied abroad, Takemitsu did not have the similar opportunities towards his study in composition and it is easy to imagine that he might have felt a sense of inferiority. It is well known that his first publicly

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27. Yoshihisa Tsuruoka, "Kyouhakusareta Zettaizetsumei: 'Yousei no Kyori' kara 'Te' e" (The threatened serious crisis: from *Distance of Fairy* to *Hand*), *Hon no Techou* (August 1969): 430.

28. My translation.

29. Tsuruoka, "Kyouhakusareta Zettaizetsumei", 435.

presented piece received a harsh criticism as "pre-music."[30] He must have felt isolated from some of his contemporaries such as the academics who studied at top-notch institutions under established composers, who utilized the German-style serialism, French impressionistic style, and/or Neoclassicism. For instance, the members of the Group of Three were already gaining national attention, who had been enthusiastically promoting and also had the means to fund their large orchestral works.[31] The Experimental Workshop gave Takemitsu an opportunity to belong and to work with like-minded artists, at the time he felt as an outsider to the highly conservative world of the institutional Japanese academic establishment.[32]

Experimentation was Takiguchi's conviction. His belief in experimentation was expressed by titling one of his collections of poems *Poetic Experiment*. In the new age of the postwar, armed with the fresh view of the world and developments in the new media and technology, Takiguchi believed that the time had come to attempt new experiments that combined different genres. Experimental Workshop included not only musicians but also visual artists and stage technicians who had strong determination to start something "new." "Experiment" is the spirit that Takemitsu inherited from Takiguchi.[33] Takiguchi

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30. Kuniharu Akiyama, *Nihon no Sakkyokukatachi: Sengokara Shin no Sengotekina Mirai e* (*Japanese composers: from post-war to truly post-war like future*) (Tokyo, 1979), 356. It is well known that the music critic Ginji Yamane wrote in the Tokyo Newspaper that Takemitsu's maiden work *Lento in Due Movimenti*, written in 1950, is "pre-music," meaning that the work sounded as if written by an amateur. Kōji Sano writes that he had asked the late composer Namio Shibata (1916-1996) about this remark by Yamane. Shibata replied, "Yes, we agreed. We did not think the *Two Lentos* as music." Sano asked the same question to Makoto Moroi (b. 1930) and he replied, "We did not think they were written by professionals. However, there were aspects that were very agreeable." See Sano, introduction, 31. *Distance de Fée* was written soon after *Lento*.

31. By the early 1950s, the three members of Group of Three, Ikuma Dan, Yasushi Akutagawa, and Toshirō Mayuzumi, were already enjoying the status as young and promising composers. They have seen great success in providing music to mass media such as films and journalism. The purpose of this group was to compose and fund the performance of their compositions that will speak to the society apart from commercialism and overt academism, which they believed did not connect with the general public. See Satoru Takaku, "Sengosedai no Taitou" (The rise of the post-war generation), in *Nihon Sengo Ongakushi, Jōkan* (*Japanese history of concert music after World War II, Book 1*), ed. Kōji Sano (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 2007), 207.

32. Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*, 39.

33. Even after the Experimental Workshop ceased its activities and the group dissolved, Takemitsu continued his quest to experiment with different genres, styles, and medias. The music he composed in his career included chance music, tape music, music concrete, and works with Japanese traditional instruments, and all were part of his experiments. Soundtracks for films were also a perfect medium to experiment with sound effects. Believing in his instinctive choice of sounds, he used these compositional resources

encouraged the members to consider the importance of the act and creation of the art work itself, rather than the perfection of the end result. Japanese artists had always been obsessed with the stylistic newness of imported "-isms" from the West and had been easily allured into their imitation, and Takiguchi encouraged to overcoming that.[34] Following Takiguchiʾs guidance, the members felt free to create within their own sensitivity rather than to pursue specific methods, trends, or idioms. Takiguchi entrusted to them the task of reviving and continuing the avant-garde movement that once flourished around him but was halted during the war.[35]

Fumio Hayasakaʾs Belief on Japanese Sensibility

The reaction for Takemitsu was to go against the nationalistic movement when the war ended.[36] His bitter experiences during the war, and his admiration of Western culture led to what Takemitsu described as "gazing only into the mirror of Western music and Western art."[37] However, at the same time, traces of subtle but unmistakable Japanese qualities can be seen in Takemitsuʾs music, even in the early pieces in which Takemitsuʾs compositional style was modeled after the Western composers. Although Hayasaka had never provided composition lessons for Takemitsu, it is said that Takemitsu learned orchestration hands-on while Takemitsu assisted Hayasaka with the sound tracks for films.

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to create and experiment in order to further search for his own sound. Eventually he returned to the more traditional settings of instruments and used less technology and fewer traditional instruments.

34. Tezuka, *Jikken Kōbō*, 28.

35. Ibid., 29.

36. For a discussion on the neonationalist movement in postwar Japan, see Judith Ann Herd, "The Neonationalist Movement: Origins of Japanese Contemporary Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (1989): 118-163. Unlike Takemitsu, the members of Yagi no Kai (Group of Goats) actively pursued the wealth of resources in Japanese traditional music. Their model was Béla Bartók who, according to one of the members Hikaru Hayashi, "composed music that avant-garde and realism co-existed, and whose perspective originated from both international and ethnicity based on strong technical foundation" (Sano, *Nihon Sengo Ongakushi, Jōkan*, 210). Following the historical development of nationalism, it was natural for the members to adapt collected folksongs and dances to utilize in the thematic materials, structural models, and inspiration, which they called neonationalist movement (Herd, "The Neonationalist Movement", 132). The members of Sannin no Kai (Group of Three) also brought back the idea of deeply rooted Japanese-ness incorporating Japanese literary themes, unusual blends of timbre and texture, and the principle of asymmetry in Japanese arts as limitless potential sources (Herd, "The Neonationalist Movement", 138).

37. Takemitsu, "Contemporary Music in Japan," *Perspectives of New Music* 27, no. 2 (1989): 201.

Hayasaka would teach Takemitsu about Japanese traditional performing arts such as *Gagaku* and *Nō,* and in return Takemitsu would tell Hayasaka about newly encountered music such as Messiaenʾs compositions. Takemitsu became deeply influenced by Hayasakaʾs notion of pan-Asianism.

In June 1954, a music journalist Atsushi Miura visited Hayasaka and interviewed him for two and a half hours.[38] The interview appeared in the journal *Ongakugeijutsu*. Here, Hayasaka summarizes his belief to instantiate the Japanese qualities into compositions. By Japanese quality, he did not refer to the pre- and inter-war techniques of referring to Japanese arts, locations, or tunes in the compositions, but to search for the simple, primitive beauty, on which the Japanese culture was founded and developed. The following is among Hayasakaʾs ideas:

> ʺMy wish is to come up with a new form of music that can compete with music from the Western tradition. As a Japanese composer, I want to write music that has a combined quality of 20th-century musical style and Japanese sensibility. For me, Japanese quality means simplicity, endlessness, irrationality, two-dimensional, and plant-like. These qualities can be contrasted to the Western qualities of complexity, conclusiveness, rationality, architectural, and with human emotions... For instance, we donʾt have concepts such as dialectic development as seen in Sonata form. Our way of thinking is that rather than taking interest in the correlation of two or more things, there is only one thing to focus on. To express this aesthetic, we can refer to Noh Theater or picture scrolls. It is ultimately a form of ʺno-form.ʺ The Western architecture builds up by piling structure up, but the Japanese architecture consists of combining two planes. We have to adapt and reflect this kind of aesthetics to harmonic and rhythmic construction, combining of voices, melodic formation, and the overall pacing of the music.ʺ[39]

For the three Japanese qualities Hayasaka mentioned above, irrationality is the opposite of rationality as represented by serial technique, which he criticized it as an epitome of the rational German music constructed by theoretical functionality that Japanese composers should avoid. By the quality of two-dimensional, he contrasted the differences in Western and Japanese architectural style in that Japanese traditional architecture is built by combining two individual planes. This is to emphasize the importance of the parts rather than the whole, as the whole is the result of combining the parts. It relates to the form of music in which Hayasaka points to the similarity to the picture scroll. He advocates for the music whose form is an amalgamation of related parts that are independent by

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38. Yūichirō Nishimura, ʺ*Kurosawa Akira to Hayasaka Fumio: Kaze no youni Samurai wa*ʺ (*Akira Kurosawa and Fumio Hayasaka: Samurai like the wind*) (Tokyo: Chikumashobō, 2005), 745-746.

39. Miura, and Hayasaka, ʺHayasaka Fumio to Han-Tōyōshugi Ongakuron, 13.

themselves.[40] By the quality of plant-like, I believe he meant that the music should not be aggressive or overtly emotional.

In the same interview, Hayasaka talked about rhythm that "it is appealing when the music adopts the Japanese sense of rhythm that is not immediately notable. The fascination is in the complexity of combining the strict and freer rhythm as seen in *Nō* Theatre."[41] Hayasaka advocated for atonality in that "it is not possible to express the Eastern sensibility with tonality. But the Japanese composers՚ use of atonality has to accommodate the Eastern sense and cannot be systematic."[42]

It was not Hayasaka՚s intention to compose music that "sounds like Japanese," nor is he against music that follows intellect or logic. He has never devised any concrete compositional methods or systems that reflect his ideas of the Japanese quality. As a composer with a vast knowledge of Japanese traditional cultures such as visual art, architecture, and literature, Hayasaka believed that Japanese composers must cultivate Japanese sensibilities through other Japanese arts in order to achieve that goal. Many Japanese composers were influenced by this attitude. Hayasaka also states, "if the Western culture is a culture of existence, the Eastern culture is a culture of nothingness. My ultimate goal is to express this nothingness."[43] This concept is not new according to the philosophers of the Kyoto School (especially Masaaki Kōsaka), who had greatly influenced the young intelligentsia during the inter-war. According to Kōsaka, there were no concepts as "eternal existence of the only god," or "human absolutism." If there is no "absolute existence," then there is only "nothingness" that the universe started from. This is what Hayasaka and the others claimed that they should follow as Japanese composers.[44] Even though Takemitsu detested Japanese nationalism as something related to the war and the old constitution of pre- and inter-war Japan, Hayasaka՚s desire to retain Japanese sensibilities in postwar concert music is reflected in Takemitsu՚s compositions.

Takemitsu՚s strong fondness of Messiaen is evidenced in his compositions *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue*, as they incorporate Messiaen՚s modes of limited transposition, especially the octatonic collections. Below, first I will discuss the harmonic construct of these works in order to show Takemitsu՚s experimental spirit at the early stage of his career by trying out new compositional materials influenced by Messiaen՚s harmonic construct. However, some

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40. Hitomi Sano, "Takemitsu Tōru to Senzen no 'Minzokuha' Sakkyokukatachi: Kiyose Yasuji, Hayasaka Fumio to 'Nihon tekina mono' no Ninshikinitsuite" (Toru Takemitsu and 'Ethnic' Composers of the Prewar Period in Japan: Yasuji Kiyose, Fumio Hayasaka, and their Recognition of 'Japanese' Music), *Hyougenbunkakenkyū* 10, no. 2 (March 2011): 178.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Miura, and Hayasaka, "Hayasaka Fumio to Han-Tōyōshugi Ongakuron".

44. Katayama, "Senzen, Senchuu, Sengo", 50.

obscurities of pitch derivation contribute to the sense of obscure boundaries that reflect Hayasaka׳s ideal of the Japanese sensibility. Then, in contrast to the harmonic construct that originated in Western techniques, I will show Takemitsu׳s melodic writing in *Distance de Fée*, which reveals Japanese sensibilities that continues to be exhibited in the melodic writing in *Requiem*.

Takemitsu׳s Early Music

Figure 1 shows the first three measures and a half in *Distance de Fée*. In the piano accompaniment, the chords in mm. 1-3 are all comprised of octatonic collection I,[45] except for the circled pitch A in mm. 1-2 and pitch Eb that doubles the violin in m. 3. Takemitsu utilizes the property of the octatonic collection from which he constructs the familiar tertian chords. Pitch A acts as a foreign object foretelling the later emergence of collections II and III. Collection II is utilized explicitly in the violin melody starting with the anacrusis pitch to m. 3 to the first half of m. 4, and collection III is utilized explicitly in the violin melody starting from the second half of m. 4 to m. 6 (Figure 2). The first two pitches in the violin melody, pitch-classes 5 and 8, are common tones between the two collections I and II, thus blurring the boundary of the regions of the two collections. The piano accompaniment׳s melodic segment, E-F-G-Ab as top notes in m. 1 are restated combining the piano and violin melodies in mm. 2-3. Also, the first 5-note chord in the piano in m. 4 shows ambiguity in that it includes three invariances between collections I and II, thus obscuring the pitch resources.

Figure 2 shows the second half of m. 4 to m. 6 of *Distance de Fée*. Similar to the first measure, the traditional tertian chords in the second half of m. 4 are derived from collection I, except for pitch-class 9, this time foreshadowing collection III. In the beginning of the violin melody in figure 2, Takemitsu alternates the pitches that are derived from collections III and II (pitch-classes 9 and 0 are common-tones between collections II and III), again obscuring the boundary of the two collections. In m. 5, Takemitsu uses pitch resources other than the octatonic collections. The first chord in m. 5 is a subset of Messiaen׳s mode 3 (that I call the nonatonic collection, which is a complementary set of the augmented triad). Subsets of Messiaen׳s mode 3 are utilized even more in Takemitsu׳s *Requiem*. The second large chord in m. 5 is a member of set-class 7-33 [012468T], which is a whole-tone collection plus one pitch. Takemitsu utilizes this chord in many of his compositions, which Peter Burt identifies as

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45. I adopted the numberings of the collections from Peter van den Toorn׳s book on Stravinsky׳s *Rite of Springs*. Oct I: {1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, T, E}, Oct. II: {0, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, E}, Oct. III: {0, 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, T}.

Takemitsuˋs signature chord among the composerˋs harmonic vocabulary.[46] The other pitches in m. 5 and all pitches in m. 6 derive from collection III, where the melodic motion signals the end of the first section of this piece. This sectional ending is signified by the unification of the pitch derivation utilizing collection III in both the melodic and the harmonic construction. The same method is also used in the *Requiem*.

Figure 1. *Distance de Fée,* mm. 1-4

Source: *Distance de Fée*, 1951.

Figure 2. *Distance de Fée,* mm. 4-6

Source: *Distance de Fée*, 1951.

46. Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*, 34. Burt shows Takemitsuˋs usage of this chord in the composerˋs other works throughout his book.

Figure 3 shows the first two measures of the first movement of *Pause Ininterrompue*. Takemitsu no longer uses a time signature with this piece. The score for *Pause Ininterrompue* is one of the first instances of the usage of extended beams and undefined pitch duration, however, here, I incorporated the usual note durations for clarity. In this example, the three octatonic collections are presented successively, and at times simultaneously. Smooth connections are achieved by a pitch in the extreme register (most of the time), which acts as a common tone to move away from one collection to another. In the beginning, pitch Cb4 belongs to both collections I and II, D5 belongs to collections I and III, and A3 belongs to collections II and III. Both in *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue*, the pitch resources are obscured by means of invariances and by superimposition of two different octatonic collections, sustaining the coexistence of different planes.

Figure 3. *Pause Ininterrompue*, I, mm. 1-2

Source: *Pause Ininterrompue*, 1952.

Contrasting with Takemitsu's desire to utilize the Western techniques of pitch structure, his melodic construction of *Distance de Fée* is influenced by Hayasaka's notions of Japanese qualities. Figure 4 shows that the melodic line consists of embedded three-note or four-note melodic patterns that are defined by the intervallic contour.[47] In this figure, + and - signs indicate the direction of pitch

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47. Peter Burt also shows the recurring harmonic and melodic construction in *Distance de Fée*. In example 8 in his book *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*, Burt shows that the long melodic line is constructed out of recurrent smaller motives, which in turn provide

motion by semitones. The same process of melodic writing can be seen in *Requiem* composed in 1957.

Figure 4. *Distance de Fée*, Violin Melody in mm. 2-6

1: -2, +3	2: -4, -2, +3	3: +3, -2, +3	4: -2, +5, -2	5: -4, -2	6: +3, -4

Source: *Distance de Fée*, 1951.

The year 1957 is another significant year for the Japanese concert music scene. The *Karuizawa*[48] Contemporary Music Festival started in 1957, which was hosted by the above-mentioned Institution of 20th-Century Music, where Japanese composers, musicians, and audience were exposed to the works of European and American composers. Also a group called *Hōgaku Yonin no Kai* (literally translates as "a group of four people who play traditional Japanese music") was formed, which actively sought out and commissioned compositions that use traditional Japanese instruments. By the year 1957, aversion to traditional Japanese instrument was mostly faded and many composers started to incorporate traditional Japanese instruments in their music. Japan as a country has increased confidence after signing the Peace Treaty with the Allies, officially regaining the sovereign power with economic recovery.

The *Requiem for Strings*, commissioned by Tokyo Symphony Orchestra, was a composition that changed Takemitsuʼs life. The premiere, however, was not received well by the critics, until Stravinsky visiting Japan for the first time in 1959 having heard the *Requiem*, gave it highest praise that brought Takemitsu widespread recognition. The Japanese conductor Hiroyuki Iwaki writes that without Stravinskyʼs praise, Takemitsuʼs compositional path might have been quite different.[49] Takemitsu was critically ill while composing the *Requiem*, and

new materials. See Burt, *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*, 35-38. My example shows the smaller motives overlapping each other or embedded in larger motives.

48. Karuizawa is located in the mountainous Nagano prefecture and is renowned as a summer resort for wealthy people who appreciated concert music and arts.

49. Hiroyuki Iwaki, *Sakkyokuka Takemitsu Toru to Ningen Mayuzumi Toshiro* (*The composer Toru Takemitsu and the human being Toshiro Mayuzumi*) (Okayama, Japan, 1999), 27.

Hayasaka had just passed away.[50] Both events deeply affected Takemitsu, prompting him to compose a work titled "*Requiem.*"

Figure 5. *Requiem for Strings*, some Examples of the Three-note Figures in the Melodic Line

Source: *Requiem for Strings,* 1957.

When describing the *Requiem*, Takemitsu says the work has no clearly differentiated beginning or end, thereby lacking the kind of articulations

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50. Takemitsu, *Toi Yobigoeno Kanatani*, 45.

necessary for our usual definition of musical form.[51] Using one of his favorite metaphors, he states that he simply "sliced off a piece of stream of sound" that flows eternally and pierces through the world that surrounds human beings.[52] As the piece is dedicated to Hayasakaʾs death, this metaphor fits well with the eternal flowing image. Although octatonic and nonatonic chords are utilized throughout, ambiguities in the pitch derivations in the harmony, together with metric ambiguity, also contribute to this impression. However, it is the melodic writings in the *Requiem*, that mostly contribute to the impression of "the stream of sound." Numerous repetitions–both large scale and small scale–often overlap or are embedded with one another in the similar way they do in *Distance de Fée*, and it is this specific feature that creates a complexity in the perception of form.

In *Distance de Fée*, three or four notes patterns are embedded in the melodic contours. In *Requiem*, however, the listeners can identify one or more prominent and memorable three-note figures that serve to characterize the melodies. Figure 5 is an example of some three-note figures recurring throughout the piece. In this example, R before the letter name indicates that the three-note pattern is in the retrograde form of the original pattern. Many of the figures are triplets, and if not, in many instances two of the three notes are part of a triplet. These three-note figures recur throughout the piece but they do not develop, but rather contract or expand in time and reappear in a variety of combinations with other three-note figures. As a result, all melodic lines sound similar in character. These melodic lines continue one after another without clear sectional boundaries.

This characteristic of melodic lines has much in common with the melodic lines in Japanese traditional music. Hidekazu Yoshida describes the music of the Japanese traditional instrument *shamisen* (three-string instrument) as follows:

> The music seems to be made up of the repetition of the same thing; however, it changes gradually, moving forward accordingly. Then in the next moment, suddenly it seems to return to an earlier moment. It is hard to tell if it has shape or not. Rather, it is music that from time to time expands or contracts and that keeps our attention by gradually transforming its form and color. The parts of music are interchangeable, and it is possible to start anywhere and end anywhere. It is essentially different from Western music, whose parts or sections have their definite formal position.[53]

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51. In his book *The Music of Toru Takemitsu*, Peter Burt describes the overall structure of the *Requiem*, showing a diagram clearly in ternary form (p. 56). I have described elsewhere the roughly ternary form of the *Requiem* is not immediately evident because of the intricate repetitions and overlapping of the small melodic patterns.

52. Takemitsu, *Toi Yobigoeno Kanatani*, 46.

53. Mitsuo Aki, "Takemitsu Tōru to Nihontekinamononitsuite" (About Tōru Takemitsu and the Japaneseness), in *Takemitsu Toru no Sekai* (*The world of Toru Takemitsu*), ed. Shinji Saito, and Maki Takemitsu (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1997), 129. My translation. I have used the same quote to describe the characteristics of the traditional Japanese flute elsewhere.

In traditional Japanese music, each section seems to be a ceaseless repetition of a similar pattern; however, as time passes, the pattern sometimes expands or contracts according to how the energy flows. Different from a Western style that has a definite beginning and melodic goals, thematic and motivic development, a Japanese style cultivates a perpetual transition of parallel events without a defined framework. It is sometimes metaphorically characterized as a flowing of water, and this is what Hayasaka calls an "eternal form."[54]

Finally, the works I have discussed here do not have a clear sense of pulse or even a sense of periodicity.[55] Many writers discussed the concept of *ma* evident in Takemitsuʹs music as meaningful silence between musical events, another aspect that alludes to ever flowing water or the rhythm of nature.

Conclusion

Although the works I discuss here were composed before Takemitsu produced the so-called "avant-garde" pieces (such as *musique concrete* works, music with graphic notation, and chance music, which blossomed in the 1960s and the 70s), Takemitsu undoubtedly inherited the experimental spirit from Takiguchi more than anything else. Tezuka writes that Takiguchi entrusted with the members of the Experimental Workshop with the task of reviving and continuing the avant-garde movement that once flourished around him but was halted during the war.[56] Takemitsu was quick to test the compositional styles that he learned from Western composers. This is also true with his earlier pieces, in which he experimented with the octatonic collections and other modes of limited transposition that he learned through Messiaenʹs compositions. Even with the utilization of the octatonic collections, we can observe Takemitsuʹs stylistic development in a short amount of time between *Distance de Fée* and *Pause Ininterrompue*. Takemitsuʹs interest in the dodecaphonic method is observed in the beginning of the first movement of *Pause Ininterrompue*, and later, the serial procedure is attempted in the second and third movements of *Pause Ininterrompue*, and in some parts of *Piano Distance*.

Influences from Hayasaka in Takemitsuʹs music instantiate as ambiguities in harmonic procedures, and the melodic writing demonstrates the "stream of sound" in which Takemitsu claims that the piece has no clearly differentiated beginning or end. The musical events are in some way variations or varied repetitions of each other that occur continuously without any hierarchical positioning between these events. The music is heard from one sonority to

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54. Ibid., 84.

55. I have discussed the obscurities of the rhythmic and metric perception of the *Requiem* elsewhere.

56. Tezuka, *Jikken Kōbō*, 29.

another in time, obscuring the boundaries of the beginnings and endings without a clear goal or climax. Hayasakaʾs idea translates in music as non-functional and non-developmental harmonic and melodic lines whose continuation emulates the Japanese picture scroll. This might be what Hayasaka means by two-dimensional and what Takemitsu called the "stream of sound" that he pursued. Starting in the 1960s, Takemitsu sought new possibilities in incorporating traditional Japanese instruments in his music, most famously integrating the Japanese traditional instruments *shakuhachi* and *biwa* in *November Steps* (1967) that was commissioned by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.[57] Although Takemitsu less frequently incorporated Japanese instruments in his music during the last two decades of his career, he was always conscious of projecting Japanese sensibilities in the formal procedure and temporality in his music.

Takemitsuʾs pieces with the titles from Takiguchiʾs poems might strive for the surrealistʾs principles in this way: to deny transparent communication, and to advocate for coexistence of conflicting realities. These qualities manifest themselves in the music as ambiguous perception of periodicity, and also as ambiguous referential pitch resources. Harmonic and melodic constructions are obscured by means of invariances and by superimposition of two different octatonic collections as pitch derivations. The purposeful overlapping and obscurities of pitch derivation in the *Requiem* might embody the surrealistʾs principle of coexistence of multiple realities.

For Takiguchi, the final line in *Pause Ininterrompue*, "Motionless spherical mirror on top of the hill," depicts the isolation he has been feeling as the society became more oppressive. Takemitsu described his Western and Eastern compositional inspiration as gazing into the Western and Eastern mirror. For Takemitsu, "the spherical mirror" might symbolize his mirror that has no direction of reflections as Western or Japanese, but reflects any world that could be seen from the top of the hill, which results in his music the coexistence of the two different worlds; Western but also retaining an unmistakable Japanese quality.

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[57]. This double concerto brought Takemitsu international recognition.

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Ethics and Pseudepigraphy –
Do the Ends Always Justify the Means?[1]

*Luc Bulundwe Lévy**

Building on the memory approaches of the New Testament, this article analyses the link between pseudepigraphy and ethics. It aims to demonstrate that the period of turmoil of the first communities was a sufficiently destabilising situation that supported and shaped the use of pseudepigraphical literature in the New Testament. The originality of this paper lies in the specific consideration of ethics in pseudepigraphical literature. Focusing on two pseudepigraphical letters of the New Testament –2 Tim and 2 Pt – this study shows that the loss of the Apostles around 60 CE raises a double challenge for the Christian communities. They had to establish clear indications in a chaotic situation and to translate specific ethical concepts in order to be understood and accepted in a hostile environment. Pseudepigraphy gave them the ability to face this double challenge by calling on authoritative figures of the past so as to call their fellow believers to order. Hence, the specific relevance of this paper is to consider the possibility of a conscious use of pseudepigraphical literature in the post-apostolic period.

Introduction

It is not uncommon to find pseudonymous works in ancient literature. Some authors sign their writings by taking on the name of another. This phenomenon is also referred to as pseudepigraphy. The New Testament is no exception in that regard, especially the epistles. For instance, in the thirteen epistles whose authorship is ascribed to the apostle Paul, most commentators distinguish seven authentic epistles (in the canonical order: Rom, 1 and 2 Cor, Gal, Phil, 1 Thess, Phlm) from up to six pseudepigraphical epistles (Col, Eph, 2 Thess and the Pastoral epistles).[2] Although the phenomenon is common in ancient works, it may seem surprising that it is equally found in writings considered as Holy Scriptures. However, there is a widespread idea in exegesis

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1. The subtitle is based on Niccolo Machiavelli's quotation: "although the act condemn the doer, the end may justify him," *cf.*: Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio (Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy), first book, chapter 9.

2. Janssen and Frey claim that the seven Pauline letters are the only writings on the twenty-seven of the New Testament that are signed by their true author. The others are either anonymous or pseudonymous. [Martina Janssen, and Jörg Frey, Introduction to *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (*Pseudepigraphy and Author Fiction in Early Christian Letters*), ed. Jörg Frey, Jens Herzer, Martina Janssen, Clare K. Rothschild, with the collaboration of Michaela Engelmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 4.]

according to which antiquity was indifferent to pseudepigraphy and the notions of scientific accountability were not the same as today.[3] In spite of the fact that there is a significant temporal gap and that the contemporary situation, especially regarding plagiarism, cannot be compared to that of the antiquity, some documents support the denunciation of some pseudonymous writings as "false writings."[4] Recently, this perspective has been updated and reinforced in Ehrman's well-researched monograph: Forgery and Counterforgery.[5] Consequently, Amsler claims that about pseudepigraphy the question is now whether this method is "fraudulent" or not.[6] Considering that this question cannot just be dismissed out of hand, this study presents the different opinions that emerge in the literature. However, as the key question to date tends to focus on the consequences of pseudepigraphy, this paper tries instead to pinpoint the causes. What accounts for the use of pseudepigraphy in the New Testament writings? This is the central question the following shall address.

As the literature on the subject is extensive, we shall begin by presenting an overview of the various hypotheses proposed to explain the use of pseudepigraphy in the history of research. Second, we shall attempt to tackle the question in the light of the historical context of two *pseudepigrapha* of the New Testament - 2 Tim and 2 Pt - to show its implications in the development of such a literature. The choice fell on these two letters as they represent canonical legacies of two major apostolic figures: Peter and Paul.[7] As we shall see, a

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3. Burnet identifies Ferdinand Christian Baur's work on the Pastoral Epistles (1835) as one of the first to have addressed the issue of New Testament pseudepigraphy in detail. According to Burnet, Baur's study expanded the idea that intellectual property was absent in antiquity. [Régis Burnet, *Épîtres et lettres. Ier-IIe siècle. De Paul de Tarse à Polycarpe de Smyrne* (*Epistles and Letters. I-II Century. From Paul of Tarsus to Polycarp of Smyrna*) (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2003), 202.]

4. Wolfgang Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (*The Literary Falsification in Pagan and Christian Antiquity: An Attempt at Their Interpretation*) (Munich: Beck, 1971), 68-80.

5. Bart D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery. The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

6. Frédéric Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe. Retour sur une pratique ancienne à la lumière de la mémoire culturelle" (Pseudepigraphy and Apocryphal Literature. Comeback on an Old Practice in the Light of Cultural Memory), *Études théologiques et religieuses* 91 (2016): 541.

7. The two letters are often considered as wills and testaments, *cf.* for example the two following articles: Luc Bulundwe, "2 Timothy 4:6-8 as Paradigm of the Apostle Paul's Legacy," *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 4 (2017): 420, for 2 Tim, and Bulundwe, Analyse de l'éventuelle responsabilité des disciples de Jésus dans le retard de la parousie (2 Pierre 3,3-13) (Analysis of the Possible Responsibility of Jesus' Disciples in the Delay of the Parousia (2 Peter 3:3-13)), in *Game Over? Reconsidering Eschatology*, ed. Christophe Chalamet, Andreas Dettwiler, Mariel Mazzocco, and Ghislain Waterlot (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 56-59.

relationship could be established between a decisive historical change, its implications on theology and the development of parenetic writings. Finally, it will be determined whether the historical context surrounding the production of *pseudepigrapha* may in itself account for these parenetic writings. This last paragraph may show that the focus on ethics, rooted in apostolic memories in a period of turmoil, could be a plausible hypothesis for the rise of pseudepigraphy. Let us begin with the literature review.

Overview of the History of Research

Key Definitions and Benchmarks

In light of recent development about pseudepigraphy, key terms appear of particular concern. In the introduction, a first definition has been established: a writing whose author explicitly signs by the name of another is considered as a pseudepigraph.[8] The concepts of anonymity and pseudonymity are close but express different writing processes. Anonymity is the absence of signature, whereas pseudonymity is the attribution of a name other than that of the author but not necessarily ascribed by the author himself. Therefore, pseudepigraphy may be considered a subset of pseudonymity. Based on this definition, 2 Tim and 2 Pt may be treated as *pseudepigrapha*.[9]

In the literature review, one can distinguish three different points of view about pseudepigraphy:[10] (1) pseudepigraphy as a forgery; (2) pseudepigraphy as

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8. Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom dʾun autre? Hypothèses sur le phénomène de la pseudépigraphie néotestamentaire" (Why Write Under the Name of Somebody Else? Hypotheses on the Phenomenon of New Testament Pseudepigraphy), *Études théologiques et religieuses* 88 (2013): 476.

9. According to Burnet, 90% of the scholars consider the Pastoral Epistles (1 et 2 Tim; Titus) as *pseudepigrapha* and 2 Pt can also be considered such. [Burnet, *Épîtres et lettres. Ier-IIe siècle*, 200-201.]

10. Amsler presents an overview of Gamble's study also presented by Aune, in the same collective book. In his paper, Aune seems to use pseudonymity and pseudepigraphy as synonyms. [Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 543-544; Harry Y. Gamble, "Pseudonymity and the New Testament Canon," in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (*Pseudepigraphy and Author Fiction in Early Christian Letters*), ed. Jörg Frey, Jens Herzer, Martina Janssen, Clare K. Rothschild, with the collaboration of Michaela Engelmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 333-362; David E. Aune, "Reconceptualizing the Phenomenon of Ancient Pseudepigraphy. An Epilogue," in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (*Pseudepigraphy and Author Fiction in Early Christian Letters*), ed. Jörg Frey, Jens Herzer, Martina Janssen, Clare K. Rothschild, with the collaboration of Michaela Engelmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 797.]

promoting authority more than authorship; (3) pseudepigraphy as a common practice in antiquity.

Since 2013, the concept of forgery became so widespread with Ehrman's monograph that it appears difficult, if not impossible, to consider another opinion. Ehrman's general conception of forgery is "a writing whose author falsely claims to be a(nother) well-known person."[11] Moreover, updating Speyer's hypothesis, Ehrman claims that already in antiquity "forgery was indeed understood […] to be a form of lying and deceit."[12] Aune and Burnet share the same opinion that "the notion of deception is intrinsic to pseudepigraphy."[13]

Nonetheless, these exegetes recognise different degrees in pseudepigraphy, from the mistaken attribution of authorship by a third party to the thoroughly intentional fabrication of a new literary world.[14] As a result, Amsler[15] qualifies the statement about forgery and considers that, even if deliberate, pseudepigraphy is not necessarily fraudulent. This paper follows Amsler's precaution and focuses on the hypotheses about the development of *pseudepigrapha* rather than the discussion on whether pseudepigraphy is a deceitful process or not.

To classify the different hypotheses, it may be useful to distinguish between works deliberately written as pseudepigraph and others that became *pseudepigrapha* through the reception and on which the author has no influence.[16] As the latter occurs in the reception, the next steps of the literature review will put emphasis on the first category – works deliberately written as pseudepigraph –, in order to respect the above definition of pseudepigraphy.

Building on Kaestli's study,[17] Burnet[18] and Amsler[19] describe two hypotheses about the rise of pseudepigraphy in antiquity: the ancient school's phenomenon and the inspiration theories.

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11. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery*, 1, note 1.

12. Ibid., 532.

13. Aune, "Reconceptualizing the Phenomenon of Ancient Pseudepigraphy, 792; Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom dʾun autre?, 477.

14. Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom dʾun autre?, 479.

15. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 549.

16. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 547.

17. Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "Mémoire et pseudépigraphie dans le christianisme de l'âge post-apostolique" (Memory and Pseudepigraphy in Christianity of the Post-Apostolic Age), *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 43 (1993): 41-63.

18. Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom dʾun autre?, 484.

19. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 548.

From Apostolic Schools to the Source of Pseudepigrapha

First, in the New Testament, most of the debates on pseudepigraphy focus on the Pauline epistles. The most popular theory on the formation of the Pauline canon postulates that the epistles were gathered by a Pauline school. This school was reportedly built around the apostle and was based on the model of ancient philosophical schools.[20]

Conzelmann[21] and Bornkamm[22] appear to be the first having raised the hypothesis of a Pauline School on the model of Hellenistic philosophical schools,[23] especially for the Pastoral Epistles. It could have been the same process for a Petrine School.[24] The aim of this Pauline school would have been to perpetuate, interpret and even prepare Paul's legacy in the light of a specific context and new challenges, especially through the use of pseudepigraphical writings. However, a slight qualifier must be added to the notion of "school." Dettwiler[25] underscores that although it is possible to establish a connection with ancient philosophical schools, not only does the New Testament present no indication relating to the existence of such a school but deutero-pauline literature does not present a homogeneous legacy of the Apostle either. In addition, Burnet[26] claims that there is no clear evidence of these schools before the third century C.E. Nonetheless, this hypothesis stresses the decisive notion of actualisation, to be defined in the following paragraphs.

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20. Gamble, "The New Testament Canon: recent research and the status quaestionis," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee Martin McDonald, James A. Sanders (Peabody Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers: 2002), 286 quoting Schenke 1975.

21. Hans Conzelmann, "Paulus und die Weisheit" (Paul and the Wisdom), *New Testament Studies* 12 (1966): 231-244.

22. Günther Bornkamm, *Paul. Apôtre de Jésus-Christ* (*Paul, Apostle of Jesus-Christ*), trans. Lore Jeanneret (Genève-Paris: Labor et Fides-Librairie protestante, 1971).

23. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 550.

24. Karl Matthias Schmidt, Die Stimme des Apostels erheben. Pragmatische Leistungen der Autorenfiktion in den Petrusbriefen (The Voices of the Apostle Raised. Pragmatic Achievements of Author Fiction in the Epistles of Peter), in *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen* (*Pseudepigraphy and Author Fiction in Early Christian Letters*), ed. Jörg Frey, Jens Herzer, Martina Janssen, Clare K. Rothschild, with the collaboration of Michaela Engelmann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 625-644.

25. Andreas Dettwiler, L`école paulinienne: évaluation d`une hypothèse (The Pauline School: Evaluation of a Hypothesis), in *Paul, une théologie en construction* (*Paul: A Theology Under Construction*), ed. Andreas Dettwiler, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and Daniel Marguerat (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2004), 421.

26. Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom d`un autre?, 488.

Truly Inspired Literary Works

Second, interpretation attempts focused on the notion of inspiration. This led to the creation of a category of truly inspired literary works which contained works considered to have resulted from an authentic inspiration experience.[27] The interpreters of such works classified them in the category of myths and considered them as rational literary works deliberately written under the name of another person so that they are not qualified as deliberate false attribution.[28] The aim is to shift the debate to the content of a text and not only the historical circumstances surrounding its writing. Speyer has identified these writings in pagan traditions as well as those derived from Judaism but far from Christianity. This disqualified Christian pseudepigraphs thereby considering them as fraud. They were allegedly written for an apologetic purpose in a context of controversy. However, this verdict is biased. In the first place, such an analysis does not take into account the authorʾs intention, which is nearly impossible to reconstruct. Moreover, it is based on a unilateral line of argument. The arguments put forward by any opponent could only have been indirectly constructed. In other words, the criteria to distinguish a sincere pseudepigraphy from a fraudulent one seem to be insufficient and reflect subjective viewpoints, if not a value judgement.[29]

A Pseudepigraphical Literature Specific to the New Testament

In addition, still in the inspiration theories, exegetes such as Aland[30] defended a "pseudepigraphical literature which is specific to the New Testament" driven by the conviction of the Christian authors to be regarded as key figures in a larger history.[31] Buttressed by this belief, these authors, in some cases, may not have signed some of their works and in other cases, signed on behalf of the apostle to which they referred. This specificity of the New Testament *pseudepigrapha* would make them inapplicable to the category used by

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27. Speyer, "Fälschung, pseudepigraphische freie Erfindung und 'echte religiöse Pseudepigraphie'," (Falsification, Pseudepigraphical Free Invention and 'Real Religious Pseudepigraphy'), in *Pseudepigrapha I. Pseudopythagorica – Lettres de Platon – Littérature pseudépigraphique juive* (*Pseudepigraphical Jewish Literature - Letters from Plato*), ed. Kurt von Fritz (Vandoeuvres-Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1972), 331-335.

28. Ibid., 340-345.

29. Ruben Zimmermann, "Unecht – und doch wahr? Pseudepigraphie im Neuen Testament als theologisches Problem" (False – and Yet True? Pseudepigraphy in the New Testament as Theological Problem), *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 12, no. 2 (2003): 28.

30. Kurt Aland, "The Problem of Anonymity and Pseudonymity in Christian Literature of the First Two Centuries," *Journal of Theological Studies* 12 (1961): 39-49.

31. Kaestli, "Mémoire et pseudépigraphie, 48.

Speyer or any other comparison out of the New Testament canon given their specific character as Christian writings. Also, it would not be appropriate to qualify them as false.[32] Aland's argument attempts to respond to exegetes who rely on the historical context surrounding the production of New Testament *pseudepigrapha* and especially to synchronic approaches, which compare them to other *pseudepigrapha* of the same era and derived from Jewish and pagan literature. This point of view also favours the value judgements and seems to be driven by a strong theological belief rather than well-founded exegetical arguments.

Pseudepigraphy as a Way to Actualise the Apostolic Tradition

This overview shall end with a presentation of Meade's work: Pseudonymity and the Canon[33] which have received significant attention. The author postulates that pseudepigraphy is a form of actualisation of tradition.[34] According to him, the pseudepigraphy of the New Testament, like wisdom, prophetic and apocalyptic traditions of the Hebrew Bible, acknowledges a revealed authoritative tradition which is remembered and actualised after the death of the apostles. Therefore, the New Testament pseudepigraphy should essentially be post-apostolic. This actualisation of an authoritative model of the past grants a certain specificity to the biblical pseudepigraphy. The key issue of this hypothesis lies in the interpretation of the New Testament pseudepi-graphical writings as an actualisation of first and normative tradition.

Meade builds on the work of Zmijewski[35] and, according to Burnet,[36] more globally on the hermeneutic of Gadamer. Meade's book has influenced numerous *pseudepigrapha* specialists. To begin with, Kaestli[37] considers pseudepigraphy as a legitimate form of memories of Christian origins. Norelli[38] continued the research hypotheses of Meade and Kaestli by building on the

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32. Aland, "The Problem of Anonymity and Pseudonymity.

33. David G. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon: An Investigation into the Relationship of Authorship and Authority in Jewish and Earliest Christian Tradition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986).

34. Ibid. 216-218.

35. Josef Zmijewski, *Die Pastoralbriefe als pseudepigraphische Schriften – Beschreibung, Erklärung, Bewertung* (*The Pastoral Letters as Pseudepigraphic Writings – Description, Explanation, Evaluation*) (Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, 1979), 97-118.

36. Burnet, "Pourquoi écrire sous le nom dʾun autre?, 489.

37. Kaestli, "Mémoire et pseudépigraphie.

38. Enrico Norelli, La notion de "mémoire" nous aide-t-elle à mieux comprendre la formation du canon du Nouveau Testament? (Does the Notion of "Memory" Help Us to Better Understand the Formation of the New Testament Canon?), in *Le canon des Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne* (*The Canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian Tradition*), ed. Philip S. Alexander, Jean-Daniel Kaestli (Prahins: Zèbre: 2007), 169-206.

works of Maurice Halbwachs[39] about collective memory (first edition in 1950). As such, he interprets the connections between pseudepigraphy, memory and canon. As regards the notions of memory and pseudepigraphy out of the canon, the recent contribution of Amsler[40] is particularly valuable for the step from actualisation to memory approaches. Concerning the construction of an apostolic memory in pseudepigraphical writings, the recent articles of Butticaz[41] are also rich, especially for the analysis of 2 Pt and 2 Tim.

To summarise, the research shows that memory approaches could strengthen Meade's study and lead to a solid hypothesis about the reasons for the use of pseudepigraphy in antiquity. This now has to be experienced in the two texts – 2 Tim and 2 Pt. Before, a brief overview of memory approaches appears useful.

The Memory Approaches: Overview

In 2015, Keith published two articles that offer a detailed state of research about memory approaches in the field of the New Testament gospels.[42] He presents not only their origin but the reason why it took so long for them to penetrate the field of biblical studies. For the use of these approaches in the New Testament epistolography and the early Christianity literature, two other monographs, published after 2015, are also essential: the one edited by Tucker and Baker[43] and the other edited by Butticaz and Norelli.[44] Memory approaches have entered many fields of studies and this overview could not be exhaustive. Nonetheless, in biblical studies two features can be noted.

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39. Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (*The Collective Memory*) (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997).

40. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe.

41. Simon Butticaz, "The Construction of Apostolic Memories in the Light of Two New Testament Pseudepigrapha (2 Tm and 2 Pt)," *Annali di storia dell`esegesi* 33, no. 2 (2016): 341-363; Butticaz, "Mémoire, fiction auctoriale et construction de l`autorité: l`exemple de la Deuxième lettre de Pierre" (Memory, Auctorial Fiction and Authority Construction: The Example of the Second Letter from Peter), *Études théologiques et religieuses* 91 (2016): 685-701.

42. Chris Keith, "Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part One)," *Early Christianity* 6, no. 3 (2015): 354-376 and Keith, "Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research: The First Decade (Part Two)," *Early Christianity* 6, no. 4 (2015): 517-542.

43. J. Brian Tucker, and Coleman A. Baker (ed.), *T&T Clark Handbook to Social Identity in the New Testament* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

44. Simon Butticaz, and Enrico Norelli (ed.), *Memory and Memories in Early Christianity. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Universities of Geneva and Lausanne (June 2-3, 2016)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018).

Firstly, thoughts about collective or social memory come from sociology and cultural anthropology. Keith[45] identified the first allusions about memory in the field of biblical studies around 1971. Secondly, three important scholars are Halbwachs, Assmann and Schwartz. In short, Halbwachs brought the concept of collective memory, Assmann the difference between the communicative and cultural memory and Schwartz the embodiment of memory in authoritative figures. The collective memory looks for the external levers of memory in the society, specifically among the living members of a group. The communicative memory is Assmann's way to express the collective memory. Conversely, the cultural memory goes beyond death and is close to the concept of tradition. The impact of Schwartz's studies is obvious as memory approaches in the New Testament studies are focused on the figures of Jesus and the apostles. In the biblical sciences, cultural memory is the most fruitful as the others describe a living process in a sociological perspective. Hence, the notion of cultural memory is interesting to understand the construction of the group identity. One will see in 2 Tim and 2 Pt that the identity of the group seems to spring from the memory of its founders at a time when the said memory was starting to fade.[46] It will be particularly interesting to note the emphasis on the parenetic dimension of the authoritative figures of the past.

The Need for an Apostolic *Ethos* after a "Break from Tradition"

Taking up Keith's study,[47] who applied Assmann's work[48] to the origins of Christianity, Butticaz shows that the primitive Church experienced a "significant crisis in its collective memory" during the first century of our era. This crisis was mainly caused by the death of the first Christian generation in the early 60s.[49] In the words of Assmann, this loss caused a "break from tradition" (*Traditions-bruch*).[50] Against this backdrop, the successors of the Apostles implemented what Butticaz refers to as "A Twofold Safety Mechanism"[51]. The transition from oral to written traditions about the life of Jesus and the development of

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45. Keith, "Social Memory Theory and Gospels Research (Part One), 355.

46. Amsler, "Pseudépigraphie et littérature apocryphe, 541.

47. Keith, "Prolegomena on the Textualization of Markʾs Gospel: Manuscript Culture, the Extended Situation, and the Emergence of the Written Gospel," in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: A Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. Tom Thatcher (Atlanta: SBL Press), 2014.

48. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (*Cultural Memory and Early Civilisation: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*) (Munich: Beck, 1992).

49. Butticaz, "Mémoire, fiction auctoriale et construction, 692.

50. Butticaz, "The Construction of Apostolic Memories, 342.

51. Ibid., 342-344.

pseudepigraphical literature, which made it possible to actualise, stabilise and perpetuate the memory of the apostles.

The need for stability is a result of the shock wave which ensued after the death of the apostles. This agitation gave rise to power struggles which influenced the governance, theology and ethics of Christian communities. This is seen in pseudepigraphical literature, which appears controversial at times and fights against the infiltration of some doctrines later considered as heretical as illustrated by 2 Pt and 2 Tim.

In addition, the demise of this generation may have made the authors put the apostolic tradition into question. Consequently, the mobilisation of apostles *a posteriori* aimed at reactualising, if not reconstructing, an apostolic *ethos*.[52] The focus on the *ethos* corresponds to the chaotic situation. The author of pseudepigraphical writings seem to use the apostles' figures to call to order their communities. This process becomes clear through the lens of memory approaches. The development of *pseudepigrapha* does not only take place after the death of the apostles historically, it relies on their memories. 2 Tim and 2 Pt are two good examples to illustrate this process as each of these letters contains traits which are specific to Peter and Paul, two key figures of early Christianity. Special attention was given to the two epistles in the study of New Testament *pseudepigrapha*. Indeed, as literary legacies they symbolically represent the end of the Pauline and Petrine traditions, at least in a canonical perspective. For each epistle, the analysis shall comprise a brief account of the issues pertaining to pseudepigraphy and a presentation of parenetic notices.

Ethical Solutions to the Post-Apostolic Crisis

2 Peter - Canonical Testament of Apostle Peter

After an introductory section (1:1–11), the second epistle of Peter mainly focuses, in the body of the letter (1:12-3:16) on the delay of the Parousia (3:3-13) before a brief doxology. It should be noted that there are no greetings contrary to the Pauline epistles or the first letter of Peter (1 Pet) as well as a proximity to the epistle of Jude.

As concerns the content, the epistle falls in line with the apostolic tradition not only of Petrine (1:12-15) but Pauline literature as well (3:15-16). Emphasis is

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52. Dettwiler's preferred scope of study is that of Pauline receptions. In his article, he demonstrates that this *ethos* is highlighted in the "auto-recommendation" or "epistolary auto-presentation" (cf. Col 1:24-25; Ep 3:1-13; 2 Tim 1:6-18). [Dettwiler, Auctoritas Pauli selon la littérature deutéro-paulinienne et l`œuvre lucanienne (Auctoritas Pauli according to the Deutero-Pauline Literatur and the Acts of the Apostles), in *Reception of Paulinism in Acts*, ed. Daniel Marguerat (Leuven-Paris-Walpole: Peeters, 2009), 306-307.]

put on the importance of prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible as well as the Christ who is referred to as Lord. Peter is presented at the "threshold" of his death (2 Pet 1:14). This is typical of the testamentary literary genre,[53] as well as the controversy against false teachers (2:1 and 3:3). One can equally notice an eschatological dimension[54] but they particularly mark "an urgent appeal to remain faithful to the teachings received."[55]

This call illustrates the author's use of an authoritative figure to present a "way forward" to his contemporaries after the Apostle's death (1:15). In order to do that, the author mobilises the addressees' remembrance of Peter the apostle.[56] There are other elements in favour of pseudepigraphy, such as the emphatic auto-recommendation on the figure of Peter (1:12-18), his status as an eye and ear witness of Christ (1:16-18). These remarks about the eye and ear witness are here to give the epistle Peter's authority, to inscribe it in the apostolic doctrine and to confirm its continuity.[57]

An Ethical Answer to the "Delay of the Parousia"

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53. Dettwiler, *Die Gegenwart des Erhöhten: Eine exegetische Studie zu den johanneischen Abschiedsreden (Joh 13,31-16,33) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihres Relecture-Charakters* (*The Presence of the Most High: An Exegetical Study on the Johannine Farewell Discourses (John 13:31-16:33), with Special Reference to their Relecture Character*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 17-18. Dettwiler presents in the farewell speeches of St. John (John 13-17) general characteristics of farewell speeches in the antiquity. He builds on Winter's (1994) model. [Martin Winter, *Das Vermächtnis Jesu und die Abschiedsworte der Väter. gattungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Vermächtnisrede im Blick auf Joh. 13-17* (*Jesusˋ Legacy and the Farewell Words of the Fathers. Genealogical Investigation of the Farewell Speeches in View of John 13–17*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).] For 2 Pt *cf.* also Fuchs and Reymond and for the characteristics of farewell speeches based on 2 Tim, *cf.* Weiser; Wolter. [Éric Fuchs, and Pierre Reymond, *La deuxième épître de saint Pierre. L'épître de saint Jude* (*The Second Letter of St Peter. The Letter of St Jude*) (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1980), 25-26; Alfons Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus* (*The Second Letter to Timothy*) (Düsseldorf-Zürich: Benziger Verlag-Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 30-44; Michael Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition* (*The Pastoral Epistles as Pauline Tradition*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 222-241.

54. Dettwiler, *Die Gegenwart des Erhöhten*, 18.

55. Fuchs and Reymond, *La deuxième épître de saint Pierre*, 25.

56. With regard to memory, 2 Pt 3:1-2 is particularly interesting. To open the debate about "the delay of the Parousia," heart of the problematic, the author calls his addressees to "remembrance" (ὑπόμνησις). Moreover, the following arguments are placed in the memory (μνησθῆναι) of the prophets and, above all, the teaching of the apostles.

57. Ernst Käsemann, Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie (An Apology of Early Christianity), in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* (*Exegetical Experiments and Reflections*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 141-142.

2 Pt is considered as one of the oldest documents that use pseudepigraphy and illustrate a dispute between orthodoxy and heterodoxy within the canon of the New Testament.[58] Ethical exhortations mainly surfaced in this controversial context. The testamentary tone therefore confers a strong symbolic authority to the arguments. In 2 Pt, these arguments are centred on the "delay of the Parousia." It is interpreted by opponents not only as a denial of Christ's promises (cf. Mk 13:30; Mat 10:23 and 24:34; Lk 21:32) but also as the denial of a creative God given the cosmic immutability.[59] By supporting such assertions, opponents start to consider that which was the foundation of an ethical behaviour as a relative concept. However, the author rhetorically points out the need for a negative answer.[60] Is the Lord late? No, according to 2 Pt. However, patience must be exercised (μακροθυμία) for all mankind to seek repentance (μετάνοια) (3:9). The concept of God's patience gives value to the present time. At the same time, the Petrine author takes the risk to introduce the question of man's role in the delay of the Parousia.[61] Several authors (cf. Frey[62] and Ngayihembako[63] have discussed this issue by highlighting the link between 2 Pt (3:9.11-12) and a rabbinic tradition. According to this tradition, it is humanly possible to "hasten God's coming." The theocentric lexical field of 2 Pt, as well as the use of Jewish sources (Isa 60:22b; Sir 36:10; 2 Apoc Bar 20:1-2; 54:1; 2 Chron 7:14) may support the interpretation of σπεύδειν (to hasten). Bauckham[64] describes a controversy in rabbinic Judaism mentioning this possibility. Would it be Israel's repentance? Israel's repentance would urge God to hasten his coming. The eschatological discourse would then culminate in the parenesis.[65]

In 3, 12, the author asserts (own translation): "waiting (προσδοκῶντας) and hastening (σπεύδοντας)[66] the Parousia (coming) of God."[67] This active waiting

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58. Ibid., 137.

59. Fuchs and Reymond, *La deuxième épître de saint Pierre*, 111.

60. Jörg Frey, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus* (*The Letter from Jude and the Second Letter from Peter*) (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlangsanstalt, 2015), 318.

61. For a detailed discussion about this topic, *cf.* Bulundwe, Analyse de lʾéventuelle responsabilité.

62. Frey, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus*, 351.

63. On the non-canonical Jewish sources, *cf.* also Daniel von Allmen, "L'apocalyptique juive et le retard de la parousie en II Pierre 3,1-13" (The Jewish Apocalyptic and the Delay of the Parousia in 2 Peter 3:1-13), *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 16 (1966): 263; Käsemann, Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie, 145; Samuel Ngayihembako, *Les temps de la fin. Approche exégétique de lʾeschatologie du Nouveau Testament* (*The Times of the End. Exegetical Approach to New Testament Eschatology*) (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1994), 362.

64. Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (Waco Texas: Word Books, 1983), 325.

65. Frey, *Der Brief des Judas und der zweite Brief des Petrus*, 350.

66. The ommitted 1611 syh manusicripts add φεύγοντας (run, flee) but we prefer the *lectio brevior*.

67. Quite a few manuscripts have κύριου for θεοῦ. The latter however seems *difficilior* and may represent a theocentric context.

can be interpreted as encouragement to maintain an ethical conduct beyond reproach. Through Peter memory (2 Pt 1,12-15), the author plays on his addressees' willingness. Placed in Peter legacy, this ethical urging becomes an order. In 11b, addressees are encouraged to live holy (ἁγία ἀναστροφή) and godly (εὐσέβεια) lives. Verse 13 discusses justice in the moral sense (δικαιοσύνη) and in verse 14 the parenetic line of argument reaches a climax as the addressees are explicitly encouraged to make every effort (σπουδάζειν) to be found spotless and blameless (ἄσπιλοι καὶ ἀμώμητοι), contrary to the opponents described in 2:13 with their blots and blemishes (σπίλοι καὶ μῶμοι).

In a nutshell, the post-apostolic author of 2 Pt is concerned about encouraging his addressees to have an ethical behaviour which is without reproach (cf. 1:5-7; 3:12-14). The possibility of a "delay of the Parousia" would be caused by an ethical laxity resulting from a questioning of repentance (μετάνοια).[68] God, in his patience, gives time for repentance. This interpretation of the verb σπεύδειν is based on Jewish apocalyptic thought.[69] It underpins the will to restore a discipline which during the apostles' lifetime was based on a potentially imminent Parousia (1 Thess 4:12). The mention of Paul (3:15-16) at the end of the epistle gives a quasi-ecumenical dimension to 2 Pt[70] and undoubtedly spreads its authority. It also shows that after his death, the apostle of nations joined Peter among the "pillars" of an emerging Christianity (cf. Ga 2:9).

2 Timothy - Apostle Paul's Canonical Testament

2 Tim as well as 1 Tim and Titus constitute the corpus known as the Pastoral Epistles. The epistle is classically structured. It comprises an introduction in which the apostle's auto-recommendation (1:6-18) follows the address, greetings and thanksgiving (1:1-5). In the corpus of the letter (2:1-4,8), there are two warnings against heresy. These warnings introduce the necessity to adopt a certain ethical conduct in an eschatological dimension (2:14-26 et 3:1-17). After the greetings, a blessing closes the epistles (4:22). 2 Tim is considered as a letter of friendship written in the form of a testament (cf.: Wolter; Weiser; Redalié).[71] The exchange is more personal. Paul is presented at the threshold of death (4,6-8) as the only apostle after Jesus (1:9-10; 2:11-13). His succession falls on Timothy in

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68. Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 313.

69. Käsemann, Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie, 145.

70. Butticaz, "The Construction of Apostolic Memories, 358.

71. Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*; Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an* Timotheus; Yann Redalié, Les épîtres pastorales (The Pastoral Epistles), in *Introduction au Nouveau Testament: Son histoire, son écriture, sa théologie* (*Introduction to the New Testament. Its History, its Writing, its Theology*), ed. Daniel Marguerat (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2008), 329-348. For a detailed presentation of the literary genre of 2 Tim *cf.* Bulundwe, "2 Timothy 4:6-8, 416-417.

the form of a deposit (παραθήκη) (1:12-14). According to Wall and Steele,[72] this framework reveals "the occasion of these letters." The two letters would better be "understood as a response to the crisis of Paul's departure (cf. 1 Tim 1:3; Tit 1:5) and the effect his absence may have on his unproven associates." The remembrance appears to be as much important as in 2 Pt. The aim of the author is to address the issues on the basis of Paul's teaching remembered. As for 2 Pt, this is in the semantic field since the beginning of the epistle.[73]

To consider 2 Tim as pseudonymous is the majority but not unanimous position.[74] In this perspective, the fact that this writing was connected to Paul seems to have aimed at placing Christianity in the prevailing culture[75] and creating a Pauline legacy which relies on proto-pauline literature and reinterprets it in a post-apostolic context. Parenesis therefore falls in line with the figure of Paul. Like in 2 Pt, it takes on a strong and nearly solemn symbolic dimension. The literary genre – a letter of friendship written in the form of a testament – aims for a lively memory of Paul's willingness. This stresses the significance of the ethical exhortation.

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72. Robert W. Wall, and Richard B. Steele, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 7.

73. See the different verbs that introduce the first exhortation in 1:3-6: I have in remembrance (ἔχω μνείαν), Remembering (μεμνημένος), To call to remembrance (ὑπόμνησιν λαβών), I remind you (ἀναμιμνήσκω σε).

74. The consensus around the Pastoral letters has been questioned for close to twenty years especially by Johnson in the American exegesis and Herzer in the German exegesis who supported Johnson's view point in a bid to open the debate in an article significantly and programmatically titled: *Abschied vom Konsens*. [Luke T. Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); Jens Herzer, "Abschied vom Konsens? Die Pseudepigraphie der Pastoralbriefe als Herausforderung an die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft" (Farewell to the Consensus? The Pastoral Epistles Pseudepigraphy as Challenge to New Testament Studies), *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 129 (2004): 1267-1282.] Towner cannot be left out [Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006)]. Those who support the authenticity of part of the Pastoral letters argue that research on these letters conflates the debate on the unity of the corpus and the pseudonymity of the letters since the 19th century and the works of Friedrich Schleiermarcher on 1 Tim. As such, Herzer believes that only 1 Tim would have been written later and pseudonymously. For Johnson, whose commentary mainly builds on the patristic tradition, the three epistles are authentic. [Michel Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée: La lettre à Tite* (*The Two Letters to Timothy: The Letter to Titus*) (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2009), 43-46.]

75. Raymond F. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. A Commentary* (Louisville, Westminster: John Knox Press, 2002), 200.

A Parenesis Made of Contrast

In the body of the letter, there are no less than eighteen singular imperatives which underscore not only the personal but the exhortative dimension of the epistle as well. The exhortations unfold in a contradictory argumentation between the advocates of the "to be continued" tradition. It comes from God through Christ, Paul, Timothy but equally Onesiphorus (1:15-18) and Luke (4:11) and oppose the "not to be continued" tradition, that is, those who deserted Paul: those of Asia including Phygelus and Hermogenes (1:15) or Demas (4:10). These two directions prepare parenetic instructions which are also made of contrast. In addition, following the auto-recommendation of 1,6-18, in which the figure of Paul is ideally described, the parenesis becomes one of the "exit points" of the figure of Paul.[76]

The two main pericopes concerning the parenesis are 2:22-26 and 3:10-17. The preceding excerpts (2:14-18 et 3:1-9) could also be incorporated[77] but the exhortation to adopt an ethical conduct beyond reproach abounds in these verses. The previous sections are used to create a contrast. They present a list of vices that are opposed by the highlighted pericopes which contrast them with the following virtues; 2:22: "pursue righteousness (δικαιοσύνην), faith (πίστιν), love (ἀγάπην), peace (εἰρήνην)..." and 3:10-11a: You, however, know all about my teaching (τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ), my way of life (τῇ ἀγωγῇ), my purpose (τῇ προθέσει), faith (τῇ πίστει), patience (τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ), love (τῇ ἀγάπῃ), endurance (τῇ ὑπομονῇ), persecutions (τοῖς διωγμοῖς), sufferings (τοῖς παθήμασιν). Furthermore, this list of virtues worth emulating is preceded by two verbs highlighting some prescriptions: v. 22, φεῦγε (flee); v. 24a, οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι (must not be quarrelsome). This contrast underscores the author's desire to present alternatives to forms of conduct which he must certainly have identified and abhorred.[78]

As 2:22-26, 3:10-17 is built in contrast with the description of opponents whose *ethos* is presented antithetically in a list of vices (cf. 3:1-9) which stands as an ideal-typical counter-example of the parenesis of 3:10-17. However, there is a change in tone from verse 3:1. It focuses on the "last days" (ἐσχάται ἡμέραι), and presents a context described as "terrible times"[79] (cf. 3:1). This eschatological

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76. Redalié, *Paul après Paul: Le temps, le salut, la morale selon les épîtres à Timothée et à Tite* (*Paul after Paul: Time, Salvation, Morality according to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus*) (Geneva: Labor and Fides, 1994), 45.

77. Gourgues, *Les deux lettres à Timothée*, 286; Helmut Merkel, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (*The Pastoral Epistles*) (Göttingen, Germany, and Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 65; Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus*, 514.

78. Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus*, 226.

79. The symbolic dimension of this marker is highlighted by the use, in verse 3:1 of the time καιρός (καιροὶ χαλεποί). It is not a historical time (χρόνος) but a spiritual season in the symbolic sense.

motive opens the final exhortations of the epistle. As 3:1-9 shifts from the historical background toward an eschatological dimension, it gives a peremptory nature to the instructions given in 3:10-17, which goes beyond any historical contingency.

The reference to the Holy Scriptures (ἱερὰ γράμματα) strengthens the apocalyptic dimension[80] of the pericope. It may even be connected to Paul whose letters were known, in a post-apostolic perspective. The reference to the Scripture also reveals the will to disseminate some *topoi* already discussed in veterotestamentary literature undoubtedly by Paul.[81] The Scripture becomes a way to disseminate the parenesis which is no longer addressed to Timothy alone but any servant of God (ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ) for good works (πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν). In 2 Tim 3:14-17, it is presented as a means to lead to salvation in Christ Jesus.

The parenesis is built on the memory of the two central figures of Timothy and Paul. The master-disciple couple becomes an ethical example worth emulating. This may show a *Sitz im Leben* breaking from the Greco-Roman culture and philosophy which revolved around charismatic figures (Plato, Aristotle, et al.). Faced with the Greco-Roman culture and in a context likely characterised by persecution (cf. 3:12), the *auctor ad Timotheum*, would therefore aim at explaining its faith in terms accepted by the political, religious and intellectual authorities of the prevailing culture. In the remaining section of the epistle, other terms like ἐπιφάνεια and σωτήρ, which qualify Jesus, reinforce this view. Two terms that recall the worship of the emperor in Rome.[82] Consequently, the "youthful passions" which must be fled in 2:22 are seemingly not exclusively related to sexual impurity but may holistically refer to a form of immaturity that is contrary to the cardinal virtues of Aristotle and Plato (courage (ἀνδρεία), justice (δικαιοσύνη), moderation (σωφροσύνη), wisdom (φρόνησις or σοφία) often associated in the culture of the time, with experience and maturity, specific to πρεσβύτεροι (1 Tim 5:1.2.17.19; Tt 1:5). This contrast to strong urges (ἐπιθυμίαι), related to natural passions, is typical of stoic circles especially.[83] However, the Christian characteristic of this ethic is highlighted in the theological convocation in 2:25-26.

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80. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. A commentary*, 254.

81. This desire of the author of the Pastoral letters to disseminate some Pauline motives has been presented by Trummer, Wolter, and Merz as the creation of a tradition. [Peter Trummer, *Die Paulustradition der Pastoralbriefe* (*The Pauline Tradition of the Pastoral Epistles*) (Frankfurt, Bern, Las Vegas: Peter Lang, 1978); Wolter, *Die Pastoralbriefe als Paulustradition*; Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus. Intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe* (*The Fictitious Self-Interpretation of Paul: Intertextual Studies on the Intention and Reception of the Pastoral Letters*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).]

82. Collins, *1 & 2 Timothy and Titus. A commentary*, 203.

83. Ibid., 239.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to answer the following question: how can one account for the use of pseudepigraphy in the New Testament writings? To answer this question, the first section of the work presented an overview of the main hypotheses formulated in the history of research. Among several hypotheses, Meade's hypothesis[84] on the reactualisation of the past clearly held a place of prominence. His model, which is followed by several contemporary exegetes, was extended to show how a memory of origins was stabilised and preserved in a post-apostolic period. Building on his works, through the lens of Assmann's concept of cultural memory, we showed that this memory reactualisation also reached the construction of an apostolic *ethos* in a period when, as Donelson[85] states "the diversity of opinions about the character of the Christian life was, to some minds at least, out of control."

The study of 2 Pt and 2 Tim revealed that this reactualisation, or reconstruction, through the apostolic memory served a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it aimed at re-emphasising the importance of the present time in an eschatological perspective, which was the challenge of the author of 2 Pt. The goal was to give clear parenetic instructions to the addressees based on the concept of repentance (μετάνοια). On the other hand, to preserve this legacy, there was the need to explain in terms authorised in the culture that prevailed in the new persecuted communities, what the author of 2 Tim was striving to implement. In other words, one can conclude that this double challenge posed by the historical context of the New Testament *pseudepigrapha* authors required extraordinary means. If it is absolutely true that apart from this specific context pseudonymity may be inconceivable, in such periods considered as the end times, it may seem to be a brilliant idea. Or, to put it another way, answering to the subtitle question, contrary to widespread perceptions about pseudepigraphy, it seems that the end may sometimes justify the means.[86]

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84. Meade, *Pseudonymity and Canon.*

85. Lewis R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and ethical argument in the Pastoral Epistles* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 201.

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Contemporary Aboriginal Art from Australia᾽s Desert: Context, Debates, and Analysis

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The interest in Aboriginal art in Europe and in the whole Western world has grown exponentially since the late 1980s. Larger and smaller, more and less prestigious institutions and galleries are staging Aboriginal art, trying to simultaneously remove it from the ethnographic field, and introduce it into the global art market. Visual accordance between Aboriginal art – especially acrylic paintings from the Desert – and Western modernist painting makes the former desirable objects on the art market, but it also leads to laziness in learning about their real meaning within Aboriginal culture as well as to debates on their artistic and anthropological significance, interpretations, and values. In this article, I briefly present ongoing debates on the artistic character of Aboriginal artefacts and the aesthetic values of Aboriginal paintings from the Desert, in order to argue that the specific conditions of the painting production process should be considered in their interpretation. These conditions have their roots and explanations (I prefer narratives here) in Aboriginal traditions related to the Dreamtime, that is, their mythical past in which their ancestors created the land, which is not past history, but the continuous past-present influencing contemporary forms of life. I will address four important features of acrylic paintings from the region of the Desert. First, the change of medium – from coloured sand in the desert, to acrylic painting on canvas laid on the ground. Second, the realistic character of representing landscape in the form of painted topographic maps. Third, the importance of the use of traditional images and stories, and the simultaneous impossibility of using sacred images and symbols, which develops the discussion about the originality of Aboriginal paintings. Fourth, the collective method of artistic work. These issues are broadly discussed in Australian artistic research. However, they are sometimes overlooked in Western presentations of Aboriginal art. Our understanding of Aboriginal art should not devalue it by forcing it into our ready Western concepts of art, for example, those of modernist painting. Instead, we should explore its histories more deeply and examine Aboriginal within its own context

Introduction

Aboriginal contemporary art in Australia is simultaneously old and new. Its roots reach into the ancient past of the Dreamtime. Elaborated in a specific way nowadays, it brings delight to people around the world; at the same time, there are problems in its interpretation developed within and by the Western world. Interest in this art has been growing since 1971, when the Papunya Tula art movement was born. Its popularity increased in the late 1980s, with the first large-scale appearance in the United States being the exhibition *Dreamings. The Art of Aboriginal Australia*, held in the Asia Society Galleries in New York City from October 6 to December 31, 1988. The exhibition combined major types (genres) of Aboriginal art, presenting mostly bark paintings and sacred sculptures from the

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Cape York Peninsula and acrylic paintings and shields from the Western Desert region of Central Australia. It was recognised as "a milestone for Australian Aboriginal art and coming-of-age in the representation of peoples of colour."[1] It was also well received by the public, whose interest continues to grow in the horizon of postcolonialism and transculturalism in the contemporary global and mobile world.

An earlier exhibition that could also be mentioned is: "*Primitivism*" *in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*," displayed at MoMa in New York in 1984. However, as Beatrice Persson reveals in her research on contemporary Aboriginal art, this exhibition presented Aboriginal art as still primitive, and not as contemporary. It juxtaposed Aboriginal 'primitive' – or, as I prefer, tribal – works of art with Western modernist works to highlight "the affinity between modern art and primitive aesthetics (…) show[ing] (…) how modernist art had been influenced by non-Western works of art."[2] Another important exhibition was "Magiciens de la terre" held in Paris at the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Grand Halle at the Parc de la Vilette in 1989, presenting Western and non-Western artists side-by-side, where Aboriginal paintings were also present. The curator Jean-Hubert Martin specifically set out to do away from ethnocentrism, although debates arose if he managed or not. These exhibitions show the growing interest in Australian Aboriginal art, which belongs to non-Western culture that gains great interest nowadays – I do not think about ethnological investigations, but about interest in contemporary cultural and artistic development and values of non-Western societies.

The growing popularity of Aboriginal art in Australia and in the Western world has raised, as mentioned above, many discussions considering its artistic or ethnographic status: whether we should talk about works of art or artefacts,[3] how to understand its cultural background,[4] how to appreciate its aesthetic values,[5]

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1. Francine Farr, "The Art of Aboriginal Australia," *African Arts* 22, no. 3 (May, 1989), 84-85.

2. Beatrice Persson, *In-Between: Contemporary Art in Australia. Cross-culture, Contemporaneity, Globalization* (Goteborg: Goteborg Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2011), 1919-1920.

3. See for example, the discussion between Denis Dutton and Arthur Danto on art and artefact and on Dutton᾽s critiques of Danto᾽s philosophical experiment with Pot People and Basket People – Denis Dutton, "Tribal Art and Artifact," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art. Criticism* 51, no. 1 (Winter 1993), 13-21. Danto᾽s argument was developed in: Arthur C. Danto, "Artifact and Art," contribution to the exhibition catalogue for *ART/artifact* (New York: Center for African Art, 1988), 18-32.

4. Howard Morphy, "On representation of ancestral beings," in *Animals into Art*, ed. Howard Morphy (London: Unwin/Hyman, 1998), 144-160; Morphy, *Ancestral Connections: Art and an Aboriginal system of knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Morphy, "Encoding the Dreaming – A Theoretical Framework from the Analysis of

and how to decide what is an "authentic" Aboriginal work of art versus an "inauthentic" one.[6] Many of these critical discussions have appeared as a series of cases, broadly discussed in literature and popular media, to which I refer further on in the article. In the following pages I will address these debates, focusing on contemporary Aboriginal painting from the Desert in Australia. These paintings are a focal point for all the issues mentioned above.

To propose a deep analysis of them, which attempts to retain their cultural and aesthetic sense and meaning, I enter into discussion with various theorists, among them Howard Morphy, Dennis Dutton, Arthur Danto, Joseph Margolis, Barbara Glowaczewski, and Elizabeth Burns Coleman.

The Beginnings of Contemporary Aboriginal Painting from the Australian Desert: From Sand to Acrylic Paint

Aboriginal contemporary art originated in 1971 at Papunya, a government settlement 260 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs, which is strikingly beautiful desert country flanked by two hills – one of which is Papunya Tula, an important Honey Ant Dreaming site shared by Aboriginal tribes in the Central Australian Desert.[7] Geoffrey Bardon came there from New South Wales to take up a teaching position at the school and had noticed children drawing specific designs in the sand. He motivated the children, and later also the elders, to start drawing these designs, first on walls and small boards, and subsequently on canvas with acrylic paint, giving rise to the Papunya art movement that included mostly people from the Luritja and Pintupi language groups, but also from the Anmatyerr, Warlpiri, and Kukatja groups.

The impetus of the movement was very strong. Over six hundred and twenty paintings were produced in the first historic year, including the famous painting of the Honey Ant Dreaming on the Papunya School wall painted by Aboriginal elders, among them Billy Stockman Tjapaltjarri and Long Jack Phillipus Tjakamarra. Today, there are more than a hundred artists painting in Papunya and in various settlements scattered westwards, because following the Land Rights Act from 1975 the land west from Papunya was returned to its original owners, who have often moved back there from Papunya.

Representational Processes in Australian Aboriginal Art," *Australian Archaeology* no. 49 (December, 1999), 12-22.

5. Elizabeth B. Coleman, "Appreciating 'Traditional' Aboriginal Painting Aesthetically," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 62, no. 3 (Summer 2004), 235-247.

6. Coleman, "Aboriginal Painting: Identity and Authenticity," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 59, no. 4 (Autumn, 2001), 385-402; Ross Bowden, "What Is Authentic Aboriginal Art?," *Pacific Arts* no. 23/24 (July 2001), 1-10.

7. Gabriele Pizzi, "Contemporary Aboriginal Desert Paintings," in *Catalogue for the exhibition shown at the Plimsoll Gallery, Painting from the desert. Contemporary Aboriginal paintings* (Tasmania: University of Tasmania, Centre for the Arts, 1990), 4.

Some other communities painting in Central Australia are Yuendumu, a primarily Warlpiri settlement three hundred kilometres northwest of Alice Springs; the Balgo Hills, situated on the edge of the Great Sandy Desert; and Alywarre and Anmatyerre women from Utopia, two hundred and forty kilometres northeast of Alice Springs.[8]

Aboriginal paintings from deserted Central and Western Australia have a complex background. They are based in ceremonial ground designs elaborated during rituals, for instance, in rituals of initiation which are traditionally realised with an accompaniment of chanting and dancing. Together, the varied actions play the performative function of invoking Ancestral Spirits and passing (in this example) the initiate into maturity.[9] But contemporary Aboriginal art would not have been able to come into existence without the oppressed history of Aboriginals in Australia who – thanks in part to Geoffrey Bardon's sensibility and dedication – have started to recover their own culture and practices, transforming them according to new social and economical conditions. This does not mean that contemporary Aboriginal art in general, or Aboriginal painting from Australian deserts, are the same as their ritual antecedents. Aboriginal paintings on canvas are relatively new phenomena, despite the long history underwriting them.

Modernist or Realistic Aboriginal Paintings?

Aboriginal paintings from the Australian Central Desert are elaborated with dots in concentric circles and other forms invoking the desert landscape. These paintings have a flickering character, shimmering like sand and stones in the burning sun. Their visuality reminds one of abstract painting, but the formal, superficial resemblance to modernist paintings of the 20th century

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8. Ibid., 7.

9. Ibid., 4-5: "Ground paintings vary considerably in dimension and structure and they have been known to measure up to a hectare in size. Their execution is complex and intensely ritualistic and is rarely witnessed by the uninitiated. The ground is first flattened by tribal elders after which a traditional blood letting is performed, and then as the young initiates gather close the intricate and deeply spiritual ceremony unfolds. The earth is often moulded three dimensionally after which the ground design is slowly executed. Natural ochres of various colours, mixed with wild desert cotton are dotted across the surface of the ground, forming a mosaic of half circles, circles, dots, and wavy lines. The chanting of the accompanying song cycles reveals the innermost core of Aboriginal law to the young initiates who have at this stage been deemed sufficiently mature and responsible to receive the sacred knowledge, to guard it and to transmit it to the next generation when considered opportune. The shuffling, stomping feet of dancers moving across the sand obliterates the ground design but as in all Aboriginal ceremonies and also in Aboriginal art the importance lies in the execution. Material permanency is not a traditional Aboriginal concept but it is through regular ritual performance that the Ancestral Spirits are invoked, so assuring cultural perpetuity."

causes many problems in the process of interpretation. On one hand, some art critics claim, like Kay Larson in 1988 in *New York Magazine*, that:

> "[m]odernism has allowed us to comprehend the Aboriginal point of view… Aboriginal art at its best is as powerful as any abstract painting I can think of. I kept remembering Jackson Pollock, who also spread the emotional weight of thought and action throughout the empty spaces of his canvas."[10]

The visual similarity between modernist and Aboriginal painting should not however make us impose Western categories on non-Western art, aesthetics, and attitude.[11] Different cultures enjoy different worldviews, histories, conditions, and contexts, so their concepts, ideas, and images are rarely fully compatible. Some similarity found between art of for example Pollock and Tjapaltjarri should not drive us to easy conflation of their styles, and blind us to the different modes of production of their works and the different sets of symbolic meanings in which their works are embedded.

The fact that Aboriginal paintings from the Desert are close to a Western modern aesthetic sensibility should not lead to the assumption that Aboriginal artists have the same forms of expression as modernists, or that the meaning of Aboriginal art can be interpreted fully within the tradition of modernism. As Beatrice Persson aptly states,

> "the incorporation of indigenous art on the basis of form alone neglected its history, as well as the contemporary significance of its cultures of origin, which still very much is the case."[12]

To conform to two demands in one moment – the recognition of Aboriginal works of art as pertaining to fine arts, and the recognition of cultural specificity and meaning of these works – is very challenging. For example, the exhibition at the Zamek Cultural Centre in Poznań, Poland, *Signs and Traces. Contemporary Aboriginal Art* curated by Karolina Leśniak, presented works of such artists as Emily Kame Kngwarreye, Johnny Warangkula Tjupurrula, Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri, Turkey Tolson Tjupurrula, and Don Ellis Tjapanangka, all the paintings from the Australian Desert came from the Dutch collection of Leslie Smith Gallery (now Smith Davidson) in Amsterdam and were shown without their original titles. They were only given numbers, thus depriving these

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10. Kay Larson, "Their Brilliant Careers," *New York Magazine* (4 October 1988), 148-150.

11. I argue against the imposition of European categories on Non-European art on the example of contemporary South African art and its relation to European Avantgarde and avantgarde art – Aleksandra Lukaszewicz Alcaraz, "Can We Talk about Contemporary Avant-garde outside Western Cultures? The Case of Contemporary Art in the Republic of South Africa," *Art Inquiry. Rercherchers sur les arts* 19, no. 28 (2017), 171-185.

12. Persson, *In-Between: Contemporary Art in Australia*, 18.

paintings of any meaning other than that associated with modernist Western abstraction. The lack of direct descriptions of the maker and his or her painting supposedly helped visitors to focus on the works᾽ aesthetic and artistic qualities. This lack was mitigated by boards (panels?) with information on Aboriginal history and culture, but they still left the impression that more information or explanation was still needed, for example on how to connect the paintings with their background that obviously condition (or shape) their meanings. Fortunately, the exhibition catalogue, *Signs and Traces. Contemporary Aboriginal Art*, contains some theoretical and historical discussions on Aboriginal painting in Australia, along with short descriptions of the selected major Aboriginal painters.[13] Despite these, however, the direct relation between the painting and the Australian landscape to which it is intimately related was gone. The geo-specifity of the painting was lost in translation. Unlike their alleged Western counterparts, Aboriginal paintings from the Desert are not in fact abstract. They are often strongly representational, but within a different order of representation, unfamiliar to the West. While representing landscape they have topographic perspective, similar to a map made with shining dots and rounded forms, which reflects to a high extent the impression of looking on the deserted land with its sand, stones, holes, and snakes, which in the strong sun flickering in the eye gains and loses precise forms, transforming the landscape and maintaining it through the internal movement.

Trying to fit Aboriginal art into Western categories used in artistic and philosophical discourse is just one more example of Western hegemony. Examining this relationship critically and acknowledging that the dominant culture᾽s discourse is very often unaware of this unequal relationship even when acting with good intent to recognise and argue for the value of Aboriginal painting, one concludes that the modernist lens is ineffective in trying to grasp the specificity of these paintings.

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13. *Signs and Traces. Contemporary Aboriginal Art* 2015 [exhibition catalogue] (Poznań: ARTYKWARIAT, 2015).

Picture 1. *Ngupulya Pumani, Maku inmaku pakani, 2014. Synthetic polymer paint on canvas. Molle Gowing Acquisition Fund for Contemporary Aboriginal Art, 2014*
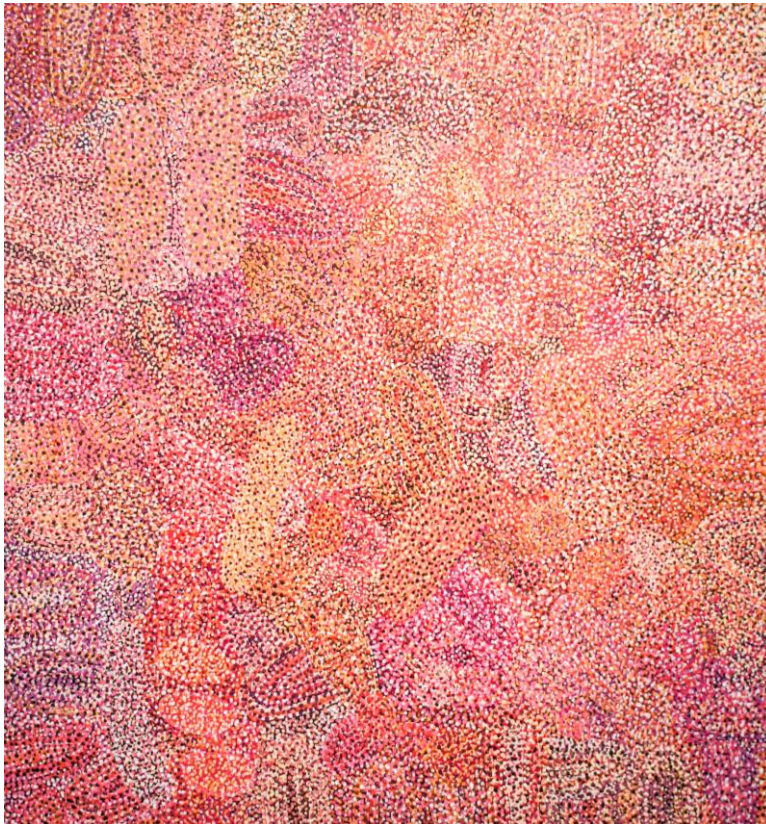
Source: Aleksandra Łukaszewicz Alcaraz.

A Work of Art or Artefact? Artistic Status of Aboriginal Paintings and Their Aesthetic Qualities and Originality

The specificity of Aboriginal art has generated various discussions on its interpretation on different levels: artistic, anthropological, and cultural. On an artistic level, the predominant issue regards the status of Aboriginal art as 'fine art' and the aesthetic qualities of Aboriginal paintings.

A Work of Art or an Artefact?

Denis Dutton presents some interesting considerations on the question of if and when we should interpret the indigenous art object as an artefact, and when as a work of art. His argument encompasses a widespread range of non-Western traditions, not limited to Aboriginal art from Australia, or even to his major point of inquiry into indigenous tribal art from the Sepik region in

Papua New Guinea. The American philosopher and evolutionary aesthetician attempts as his major objective to determine whether it is possible to use aesthetic criteria in evaluating indigenous art, and argues against Arthur Danto᾿s claim that the traditions of art and utilitarian artefact are indiscernible.[14]

Dutton exposes how Danto takes indigenous perception and understanding as irrelevant to the aesthetic appreciation of the object; it is on this basis that Danto claims that there is no perceptible difference between a tribal work of art and an artefact. Danto᾿s exercise with a little (supposedly Western) girl who perceived no difference between works of Pot People and Basket People – both tribes produce pots and baskets, but Pot People endow their pots with rich symbolic significance, while Basket People do not do the same with their baskets – ignores important questions such as: "Did the object move its makers? Is it a good one in the tribe᾿s eyes? Is it a piece of special spiritual significance? Is it a purely utilitarian object? A piece of tourist kitsch?"[15]

Dutton argues that indigenous works of art are not indiscernible from indigenous artefacts[16] and that a competent viewer can detect inherent formal qualities of excellence together with their meaning, such as aesthetic perfection, superior medium or material used, and so on. For example a specific way of elaboration can indicate that the object was created with a spiritual meaning and not with an utilitarian one, as Dutton shows in a philosophical experiment involving the Jungle People and the Tourist People – clearly an analogue to Danto᾿s Pot People and Basket People. The Jungle People, who produce carvings for ritual ends, and the Tourist People, for sale to tourists.[17] It is very probable that the competent viewer discerns a ritual object from a tourist commodity, because of the type of material, details of elaborations, level of workmanship visible in the form, because it is differently made. These observations show how different contexts and different means drive the carvings made by Jungle People and Tourist People – sacred and economic – providing their meaning. This leads Dutton to understanding that aesthetic perception is embodied and conditioned culturally, an so discards the claim of indiscernibility between art object and artefact.

Danto᾿s argument on the perceptual indiscernibility between a work of art and a work of non-art has also led to other polemics, such as an excellent one by Joseph Margolis: Margolis shows that the argument for perceptual

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14. Dutton, "Tribal Art and Artifact," 17.

15. Ibid., 15.

16. For Dutton also the comparison by Danto of a tribal work of art and an artefact to the famous case of Warhol᾿s The Brillo Box is wrong, because Warhol᾿s piece is parasitic on an everyday object, which is not the case with a tribal work of art. Tribal art can be differently connected to quotidan objects and discernible from them – Dutton, "Tribal Art and Artifact," 15.

17. Ibid., 16.

indiscernibility is based on purely sensory data, simplistically, like a fruit fly᾽s senses. Margolis argues against Danto often, but his sharpest criticism against perceptual indiscernibility is developed in his 1998 article, "*Farewell to Danto and Goodman*." According to Margolis, the ontology of a work of art is based neither on just matter, nor is it purely conceptual (as Danto believed); it is instead complex and hybrid. Works of art are intentional entities, physically embodied and culturally emergent, and their qualities are perceptible, though not always reducible to sensory data.[18] Viewing the work of art, we not only *know* that it is a work of art, but we *see* the work of art itself, and not just a box for washing powder, a pot, or a coloured piece of material. Intentional properties of cultural entities are perceivable, though non-sensory.[19] For Margolis Intentionality is the interpretability, the quality of having some meaning, place in the discourse, which appears with the invention and development of language.[20] This quality demands materiality, but is not reduced to what it best shows, a process of aesthetic judgement described by Roman Ingarden in his phenomenological aesthetics. According to Ingarden we come to perceive meaning and aesthetic values of the work of art stemming from material objects, which initiates the aesthetic experience having its contemplative and reflective moments. Then we *see* a work of art such as Venus de Milo and not just a piece of marble shaped specifically.[21] Margolis goes further than Ingarden and talks about not only works of art, but about different cultural entities, such as various institutions and identities. The meaning of the institution is not the same as of that of blocks, and the meaning of identity is not the same as material body (though it is embodied). Then, as Margolis shows, any refusal to admit that we *see* a work of art rather (as opposed to) than a non-art object would:

> "drive us to say that we never see anyone᾽s *doing* anything, we see no more than 'bodily movement' (or, sense data answering to them), which we imaginatively invest with the intentional features of human actions. If that were true, we should never hear speech: we should hear no more than sound."[22]

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18. Joseph Margolis has developed this view in many of his writings, for example: Joseph Margolis, "Works of Art as Physically Embodied and Culturally Emergent Entities," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 14, no. 3 (1 March 1974), 187-196; Margolis, *What, After All, Is a Work of Art?: Lectures in the Philosophy of Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Margolis, *The Arts and the Definition of the Human: Toward a Philosophical Anthropology* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

19. Margolis, "Farewell to Danto and Goodman," *British Journal of Aesthetics* 38, no. 4 (October 1988), 369.

20. Margolis, "Intentionality, Institutions, and Human Nature," *The Monist* 69, no. 4 (October 1986), 546-567.

21. The whole description of aesthetic experience you can find in: Roman Ingarden, *Studia z estetyki 1* (*Studies in aesthetics 1*) (Warsaw: PWN, 1957).

22. Margolis, "Farewell to Danto and Goodman," 370.

Luckily, we do not perceive just sensory data, but we hear meaningful voices, we see persons, meaningful gestures, and works of art. Our perception is embodied and synthesising, making sense out of the world, and this dimension cannot be separated into mind and matter. Then we may perceptually differentiate between artefacts and artworks, if we are competent and know the context well enough. Of course we have to remember that to be a work of art outside Western culture does not necessarily mean to be art for art's sake. The pure non-functional ideal of art was created in 18th century in Europe and later it was hegemonically imposed on other cultures with other definitions of art that include usefulness, ornamentation, ritual purposes, etc.

Although Dutton, like Margolis, rejects Danto's argument on perceptual indiscernibility, he preserves Danto's differentiation between the work of art and the artefact based on systems of means and ends into which they fit. Dutton repeats after Danto that art objects are a compound of thought and matter, and that: "[t]o be a work of art (…) is to embody a thought, to have a content, to express a meaning, and so the works of art that outwardly resemble primitive artefacts embody thoughts, have contents, express meaning, though the [artefacts] they resemble do not."[23]

Aesthetic Qualities of Aboriginal Paintings

Examining the artistic character of Aboriginal paintings and asking about their aesthetic qualities is often confined to the Kantian perspective without reference to their original meanings and modes of production. This approach to Aboriginal paintings supports and conditions the recognition of Aboriginal paintings as works of art from the universalistic, transcendental point of view. The reasoning for this perspective is broadly presented in the publications of Elizabeth Burns Coleman, who claims that in order to claim Aboriginal art as art in a strict sense, we have to recognise the works' aesthetic qualities, without referring to the cultural and spiritual dimension.

> "[T]he Aboriginal values that people suggest should be used as the standards for judging classical Aboriginal art are either based on a religious knowledge system that is not open to most non-Aboriginal people or are not aesthetically relevant."[24]

However, I do not agree with the above argument, as this version cuts off cultural embededness in favour of contemplating aesthetic beauty in the Kantian model of

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23. Danto, *Beyond the Brillo Box: The Visual Arts in Post-Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 112.

24. Coleman, "Appreciating 'Traditional' Aboriginal Painting Aesthetically," 238.

disinterestedness. This claim is not so strongly defended in Colemanʾs paper, and she seems to wobble on the line between acknowledging the importance of culturally fixed identity of Aboriginal paintings and discarding them from the aesthetic point of view. She does not want to overemphasise the stylistic resemblance of Aboriginal paintings to Western abstract art, but at the same time she states that we should appreciate these works from a broader perspective than that of solely Aboriginal political and moral values.[25]

Colemanʾs problem seems nonetheless to be bound too tightly to a Kantian and analytic philosophical tradition, precluding aesthetics in a broader sense that embraces all the senses and embodied consciousness. This broad understanding, in explicit discord with Kantʾs view, is advocated by Arnold Berleant – not resigning from sensible, visual experience, but not limiting aesthetic feeling to it. In place of disinterestedness, Berleant proposes the aesthetics of engagement,[26] that interpenetrate each other, thereby enriching human aesthetic experience. Having an aesthetic experience is not just about a visual pleasure. 'Aesthetic' derives from the Greek word *aisthēsis*, which means perception from the senses, and it involves the whole human being, together with his/her consciousness. Approaching aesthetic experience from this stance allows us to think about paintings from the Desert as perceived and evaluated aesthetically without cutting them off from their Aboriginal meaning, modes of production, and dissemination.

Duttonʾs, Margolisʾ, or Berleantʾs approach to aesthetics makes it much easier to argue that Aboriginal art is simultaneously aesthetically valuable and culturally meaningful, and that these values are intermingled in the aesthetic experience.

Other Interpretative Problems with Originality of Aboriginal paintings from the Desert

Omitting the obstacle of trying to impose Western categories on Aboriginal painting, we may easily stumble over another problem in trying to essentialise Aboriginal contemporary painting, binding it too strongly with Aboriginal heritage and not allowing for any reconceptualisation of it, even by Aboriginals themselves. Barbara Glowaczewski examines this issue, showing that we should abandon myths of both "the good savage" and "the primitive cannibal" in relation to indigenous peoples. On the basis of her long-term research on Aboriginal people in Australia and cross-cultural analysis, she

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25. Ibid., 246.

26. There are many books in which Berleant discusses the aesthetics of engagement, but an essential one is: Arnold Berleant, *Art and Engagement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993).

claims that "[a]mong the most pressing needs today is the need to accept everyoneʼs right to redefine their cultural identity," and that only after this step is it possible to proceed with "proper analysis of the relationship between Aboriginal cosmology and the environment" and Aboriginal art.[27] This issue is of a great significance, because it tackles one side of the problem in the debate over the authenticity of Aboriginal art. *Real* Aboriginal art – some claim – cannot differ too much from its original, traditional form, which comes from defining West as progressive and non-West as traditional and as a subject of concern to upkeep the heritage. Apart from recognizing that this mapping is not necessarily correct, we have to notice that *real* contemporary Aboriginal art is and cannot be the same as rituals and images, from which it emerged. Although, if the canvas shows forms and designs considered too secret or sacred, Aboriginal elders may protest fiercely against their being displayed to the uninitiated, as witnessed after the exhibition mounted in Alice Springs in 1971, when:

> "Elders protested that custodial rights to paintings were being flouted by a number of artists. There were accusations of 'dream poaching' as artists were found guilty of painting Dreamings over which they had no authority or custodianship and were also depicting sacred mythological details that should only be accessible to initiated men. A meeting was called and it was decided to eliminate elements that were considered sacred and consequently unsuitable for the uninitiated."[28]

The line on which one walks therefore is therefore then is very thin, avoiding non-Aboriginality while equally protecting secrets of Aboriginal life and cosmology. Nevertheless, we should admit these difficulties in Aboriginal paintings and not try to dissolve them through the imposition of anthropological concepts of originality that, preventing change from the traditional medium to a new one, from secret or sacred designs to more secular forms, and from individual to participatory modes of production.

Aboriginal visual expression in paintings – from hectares of moulded ground covered with coloured sands, to acrylic paintings on canvas – is a move to which Aboriginal people are entitled. As the holders of their heritage, they are free and able to transform it according to their rules and needs. Canvas and acrylic paints have been chosen for their endurance and the relative ease of mobility of the images created with them. Thanks to this development, images can be seen by more people than just the tribe in question[29] the paintings can

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27. Barbara Glowaczewski, "Dynamic Cosmologies and Aboriginal Heritage," *Anthropology Today* 15, no. 1 (February 1999), 3-9.

28. Pizzi, "Contemporary Aboriginal Desert Paintings," 5.

29. Although the word ʿtribeʾ in relation to Aboriginality spurs anthropological debates in mixed spirit of political correctness and post-modernism, Aboriginals

travel, be exhibited, and sold for the community˼s benefit. All are positive elements, allowing a broader audience to become acquainted with Aboriginal art and culture, and providing necessary funds to indigenous communities. I argue that this transformation should not be judged negatively as leading to allegedly ˼inauthentic˼ art. The myth of authenticity should here be abandoned, although – as discussions in research literature, TV programmes, and other popular media demonstrate[30] – it still is full of life, especially when we relate it to the art of indigenous cultures.

The acrylic paintings in the Central Desert region of Australia are painted in a way that is both traditional and non-traditional, constituting a way that is individually and collectively a meaningful transformation of both Western methods of elaborating paintings, and of traditional Aboriginal designs. The works are painted not on stretched canvas on a stretcher placed on an easel, but on canvas placed directly on the ground, without any stretcher. Painters kneel or squat on them, painting dots and forms, so that there is a kind of continuity of painting directly *on the ground*. This continuity in the mode of production experiences also a discrepancy, in that the ground is not moulded and used for the painting itself, but serves only as the support. This allows the canvas from to be taken from the ground and *later* placed on a stretcher, in order to make them portable and marketable. The fact that there is not only no stretcher but also no easel is connected with a different mode of perceiving the depicted reality. Renaissance painters started the Western tradition of painting with an easel, looking at the object of the study through the lens of geometric perspective (as described so precisely by Pierro della Francesca),[31] which later also became the mode for photographic vision. The Renaissance˼s physiological or rational gaze came to overrule the medieval˼s more symbolic one. However, Aboriginal painters are not looking at the object straightforwardly, placed somewhere in relation to the horizon or vanishing point. Instead, they look to the ground – from a top-down perspective, a kind of topographic view depicting landscapes of their homeland by actually touching the ground.

The mode of production – loose canvas laid on the ground and painted in an aerial perspective by the person above it – is then very meaningful. It relates these paintings directly to their origin, but without equating them to the anthropologically authentic artefacts. It also shows the importance of contact with the earth as forming part of the artistic process, and testifies to

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themselves have reclaimed the word, rejecting its negative denotation of society without political structure – Glowaczewski, "Dynamic Cosmologies and Aboriginal Heritage," 3-4.

30. Much commotion was raised with an Australian television documentary report by Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC): "Art from the Heart" (1998) and "Dot for Dollar" (1999).

31. Pierro della Francesca, *De prospectiva pingendi. O perspektywie w malarstwie* (*De prospectiva pingendi. About the perspective in painting*), ed. Ryszard Mirek (Kraków: Universitas, 2016).

serve as a clue to understanding the realistic character of these paintings, so that we stop treating them as mere abstract dotted patterns, flickering aesthetically in eyes of the viewer. The phenomena of touching and its connection to seeing is very important, for example, in contemporary paintings from the Balgo region in the Western Desert.[32] Balgo contemporary painting originated from the Papunya Tula movement, after which original members of Papunya were allowed to diverge in the 1980s, as illustrated in Christine Watsonꞌs research. Watson explains how jabbing, knocking, and pattering during ceremonial rituals shows that touch cannot be disconnected from its visual and auditory side. This allows us to recognise the multisensorial nature of sign-making,[33] for instance, in a work from 1990 by Donkeyman Lee Tjupurrula, "Yata Yata Tjarinpa, West from Lake Mackay" (1990), and Hectorꞌs Burton piece "Arumara Tjukurpa" (2011) where concentric, geometric but fluent forms in red, yellow, white, and black give a very strong plastic impression of three-dimensional topographically structured landscape space, which has tactile, atmospheric, audible, and fragrant characteristics.

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32. Balgo contemporary painting originated from the Papunya Tula movement, after which original members of Papunya were allowed to diverge in the 1980s.

33. Christine Watson, "Dotykając ziemi. Ku estetyce współczesnego malarstwa Balgo" ("Touching the earth, towards the aesthetics of contemporary Balgo painting"), in *Estetyka Aborygenow. Antologia* (*Aboriginal aesthetics. Anthology*), ed. Monika Bakke (Kraków: Universitas, 2004), 128.

Picture 2. *Hector Burton, Arumara Tjukurpa, 2011. Synthetic polymer paint on canvas. Purchased with funds provided by the Aboriginal Collection Benefactors' Group 2012*

Source: Aleksandra Łukaszewicz Alcaraz.

Different Forms of Representation

What, then, are Aboriginal paintings about? Aboriginal paintings encode Dreaming in their dotted flickering forms and designs. Howard Morphy, one of the most prominent figures in researchers on Australian Aboriginal art in Australia (mostly being focused on a different region than I examine here, but not exclusively, on Arnheim Land) conjectures that in Australian Aboriginal art "referential meaning is primary (...) [and] partly explains its sacred nature."[34] The designs present in Aboriginal paintings are not just a spontaneous artistic creation, but originate from the Ancestral Beings, who in the mythological past travelled the land, creating the landscape with their actions. This mythical past is not just the past, it is not dead, on the contrary, it is ever – this is the mythical past come to life in the present, because if the Ancestral Beings were not active as forces in the landscape, the landscape would collapse, the waterholes and hills would disappear; as expressed, for example, in the painting by Tommy Watson

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34. Morphy, "Encoding the Dreamming, 13.

from Papunya (born c.1935) *Wipu rockhole* from the year 2004 (Il. 2). The painting – covered with mostly red, white, yellow, and black dots organised in seemingly abstract forms – represents Watson᾽s grandfather᾽s country and the numerous rockholes to be found there, which were created together by the activity of an ancestral snake, who remains present as an unseen force within the land.

Paintings from the Desert are usually representations of the landscape from a topographic yet also symbolic birds-eye points of view. They are often made not as individual objects, but as sets formed according to two principles: "on the basis of their reference to a particular place or area, and on the basis of connection to some Ancestral track."[35] This is applicable in the case of paintings by Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri (c 1929-84) from Papunya,[36] for example his *Kooralia* (from 1980) (Il. 3). The piece offers a view of Tjapaltjarri᾽s birthplace in Napperby Creek, where "[a]ltering bands of colour show the ripples of sand in the creek bed, surrounding which are a number of other sites with varying topographies or vegetation,"[37] but they also refer to Seven Sisters or Pleiades. However, the structure of the surface of the painting does not depict the appropriate actual scale of the actual spatial relationships between features of the landscape or rather the whole environment as the image also embraces the starry sky. As Morphy states, "Rather it encodes mythologically significant features of that landscape and affects the way the landscape is understood and perhaps even the way that it is seen."[38]

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35. Morphy, "Encoding the Dreamming, 15.

36. Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri was born in Napperby Creek and grew up around Napperby Station in Anmatyerr country, to the northwest of Mparntwe (Alice Springs), but moved to Papunya with his young family in the late 1950s.

37. Description of the piece in the Gallery of New South Wales.

38. Morphy, "Encoding the Dreamming, 16.

Picture 3. *Tommy Watson, (b c 1935), Pitjantjatjara, Irruntju (Wingelina), Southern Desert region, Wipu rockhole, 2004. Synthetic polymer paint on canvas. Purchased with funds provided by the Aboriginal Collection Benefactors꞉ Group 2004*

Source: Aleksandra Łukaszewicz Alcaraz.

Sacred and Secular Designs

In Aboriginal paintings, various forms provide means by which the designs are transformed and transferred from the sacred sphere to the secular. This transformation is multifaceted, as Francoise Dussart demonstrates exhibits in her research paper on *Translations of Painting on the Body*. The first transfer is a translation from mythic Dreamtime to designs and rituals, within which designs appear and play a function; these designs that appear here are on a body and on the ground. The second transfer is from a body and/or ground to canvas and acrylic paint: this transfer allows a social dialogue to develop with the world outside of the community by means of paintings,[39] and also possesses much needed economic advantages has the advantage of profitability to the artists and to their settlements. The third transfer is from painting to film, which is described

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39. Francoise Dussart, "Translacje malowidła na ciele" ("Translation of paintings on the body"), in *Estetyka Aborygenów. Antologia* (*Aesthetics of Aborigines. Anthology*), ed. Monika Bakke (Kraków: Universitas, 2004), 91.

by Dussart in her article, also the documentary film titled: *Warlukurlangu: Artists of Yuendumu.* Here she considers work not created by Aboriginals themselves, but by a film maker with large experience in work with Aboriginal communities. Again we see evidence to support disembodying the painting on a body.[40]

Picture 4. *Tim Leura Tjapaltjarri, (c 1929-1984), Antmatyerr, Papunya, Central Desert Region, Kooralia, 1980. Synthetic polymer paint on canvas. Gift of the Art. Gallery Society of New South Wales 1995*

Source: Aleksandra Łukaszewicz Alcaraz.

In this process of transforming of the secret and sacred designs, what matters most is the authority of the person who creates the painting, and the intended purpose of the design or designs used. Many paintings are not done not for a ritual purpose, and thus do not have ritual power. Traditionally – for example, in the Warlpiri community – only men possessed the pertinent authority on ritual designs, in which forms and meanings are more difficult to negotiate, causing an obstacle for a for public display and dissemination of the designs outside the community; while women had access to more designs which were proper for the uninitiated. As a result, paintings made by Walpiri women had less restrictions

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40. Ibid., 95.

on sale than those by men.[41] Also important to note is that in the late 70s, elder men passed to women elders the right to use the dotted background – which is an adaptation of birdsʾ and plantsʾ fluff, traditionally restricted to paintings on menʾs bodies. Since then, these forms can be used by both genders, for both commercial and non-commercial aims.[42] For example, various artists from the community paint Dreamings like: Dreaming Fire (Molly Nampijnpa Langdon, 1984), Water Dreaming (painted by many, including: Leavannia Watson Nampijinpa), or Flying Ant Dreaming (Maria Brown Nampijinpa, 2018), with segments of iconography painted by women on bodies in the rituals and motifs that are adapted from designs painted by men.

The forms and designs of the secret and sacred sphere do not need to be reproduced in paintings in order to make them "originally" Aboriginal or "authentic." These paintings from the Desert, regardless of their intended public, are authentic and keep the connection with Ancestral paths alive. Contemporary Aboriginal artists have the opportunity to reshape their cultural heritage and should not be obliged to identify themselves in an essentialising, traditional way, a point of view fiercely defended by Barbara Glowaczewski.[43] Glowaczewski decries the absurdity of an instant demand put on Aboriginals willing to take part in national development, that they should be identified in an Aboriginal way and they should formulate this identity in the form dictated by Whites. She decries the fact that "they are asked to prove their spiritual continuity with the land while being prevented from returning there."[44] Aboriginal people should be able to reconfigure their common future by participating in cultural and economic growth, and not be forced to prove some kind of ethnographic authenticity in contrast to debate on authenticity and originality held since the mid-1990s for about a decade.

Participatory Mode of Production

The controversies over authenticity that are a big part of contemporary discourses on Aboriginal art, also stem from the fact that Aboriginal artists very often collaborate with others or even sometimes sign works done by others. Famous cases that brought up this discussion on forgery and authenticity came strongly to the fore in the case of from Kathleen Petyarre (who received the 1996 Telstra Award for the work *Storm in Atnangkere Country II*, painted largely by her Welsh-born partner Ray Beamish) and Ginger Riley, the widely exhibited Northern Territory Aboriginal painter who acknowledges signing paintings brought by a group of Aborigines who received substantial gifts in cash and

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41. Ibid., 93.
42. Ibid., 92.
43. Glowaczewski, "Dynamic Cosmologies and Aboriginal Heritage," 3-9.
44. Ibid., 5.

similar in exchange.[45] These issues have been discussed on in television programmes like documentary report "Art from the Heart" (1998) and "Dot for Dollar" (1999) by Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) which raised critical reflection.

While the focus point of the debate was again the concept of authenticity, as Elizabeth Coleman explains, this debate was laden with three untruths: "a false understanding of the nature of authenticity as tradition"; the myth of a pre-contact world and "unspoiled" natives; and the art/craft distinction.[46] These untruths condition the belief that authentic Aboriginal art should be not evolve from its original form and function, and lead to accusations that this Aboriginal painting is often inauthentic. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind one more set of variables, namely that there is no singular agreed-upon definition of authenticity in art, and that there exist different definitions of it. Originality, authorship, ownership, and authority are just some of the elements by which we consider a piece as Western art or contemporary Aboriginal painting from Australia.

In Australia, an authentic painting is one realised by a person with authority over a Dream and designs connected to that Dream, or by other persons under the supervision of that authority. Ross Bowden acutely observes that:

> "In Aboriginal societies traditionally, where paintings and other artworks were produced primarily for ceremonial display, an 'authentic' work was one done by a person, or at the request of a person, who 'owned' the motifs appearing in it. In Aboriginal societies traditionally visual images, as well as myths and even rituals, were typically owned by particular groups – though rarely if ever by individuals – and only members of a group that held copyright to an image had an automatic right to reproduce it, or to authorise its reproduction."[47]

Conclusion

Superficial perception of Aboriginal paintings misses the point and does not permit full understanding of their richness. The trial to confirm the status of contemporary Aboriginal paintings from the Australian Desert as pertaining to fine arts, by means of denying the recognition of their cultural significance, both demonstrates the dominance of the Western perspective, and is futile in approaching their meanings and values, unless we broaden and decolonise the definition of art. It is important to gain knowledge about the modes and

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45. Bowden, "What Is 'Authentic' Aboriginal Art?," 2-7.
46. Coleman, "Aboriginal Painting: Identity and Authenticity," 386.
47. Bowden, "What Is 'Authentic' Aboriginal Art?," 7.

conditions of production of these paintings in order to fully understand and appreciate them.

I would like to conclude by reiterating three critical pathways to move beyond the present impasse on Aboriginal art. The first one directs us to necessary recognition of the cultural embededness of contemporary Aboriginal art, without reducing it to the status of a set of artefacts understood ethnographically. The second, taking up a post-Kantian view as proposed in aesthetics of engagement presented by Berleant, who shows perceptual, environmental and social rootedness of aesthetical values, and prevents us from overemphasising the stylistic resemblance of Aboriginal paintings to Western abstract art in order to appraise them aesthetically.

We can appreciate Aboriginal paintings considering also political, moral, and cultural conditions, without losing the aesthetic value – if we get rid of Kantian disinterestedness. As Elizabeth Coleman put it: we should search "for criticism that is 'more attuned' with Aboriginal cultural standards and values."[48]

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48. Coleman, "Appreciating ˙Traditional˙ Aboriginal Painting Aesthetically," 237.

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