

The background of the cover is a traditional Japanese ink wash painting (suiboku-ga) style illustration. It depicts a wide river with a long wooden bridge crossing it. On the bridge, several figures are walking, some carrying umbrellas. In the distance, a small boat with a person is on the water. The style uses fine, vertical lines to create texture and depth. There are two vertical red banners with Japanese calligraphy: one in the top right corner and one in the bottom left corner.

THIRD EDITION

# ART BEYOND THE WEST

MICHAEL KAMPEN O'RILEY

# ART BEYOND THE WEST







THIRD EDITION

# ART BEYOND THE WEST

THE ARTS OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD,  
INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, CHINA,  
JAPAN AND KOREA, THE PACIFIC,  
AFRICA, AND THE AMERICAS

MICHAEL KAMPEN O'RILEY

**PEARSON**

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Upper Saddle River  
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montreal Toronto  
Delhi Mexico City Sao Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

Editor in Chief: Sarah Touborg  
Editorial Assistant: Victoria Engros  
Director of Marketing: Brandy Dawson  
Executive Marketing Manager: Kate Mitchell  
Production Liaison: Brian K. Mackey  
Senior Managing Editor: Melissa Feimer  
Production Editor: Laurence King Publishing/Melissa Danny  
Senior Operations Supervisor: Mary Fischer  
Operations Specialist: Diane Peirano  
Text and Cover Designer: Paul Tilby

Photo Researcher: Peter Kent  
Senior Digital Media Editor: David Alick  
Lead Media Project Manager: Rich Barnes  
Full-Service Project Management: Laurence King Publishing/  
Kara Hattersley-Smith  
Composition: Laurence King Publishing  
Text Font: Weiss LT  
Printed in China

Cover image: Ando Hiroshige, *Obashi Bridge in the Rain*, from *One Hundred Views of Edo*, 1857 (detail).

Full-color woodblock print, height 13 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (35.5 cm). Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.  
The Bridgeman Art Library, London.

Frontispiece image: *The Beautiful Bodhisattva Padmapani*. Cave 1, Ajanta, India. c. late 5th century CE.  
Wall painting. Dinodia/Alamy.

Credits and acknowledgments borrowed from other sources and reproduced, with permission, in this textbook appear on page 362.



This book was designed by  
Laurence King Publishing Ltd  
361–373 City Road  
London EC1V 1LR  
[www.laurenceking.com](http://www.laurenceking.com)

---

Copyright © 2014, 2006, 2001 Laurence King Publishing Ltd

Published 2013 by Pearson Education, Inc. All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America.  
This publication is protected by Copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or likewise. To obtain permission(s) to use material from this work, please submit a written request to Pearson Education, Inc., Permissions Department, One Lake Street, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458, or you may fax your request to 201-236-3290.

---

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Kampen-O'Riley, Michael.

Art beyond the West : the arts of the Islamic world, India and Southeast Asia, China, Japan and Korea, the Pacific, Africa, and the Americas. -- Third Edition.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-205-88789-7 (pbk. : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-205-88789-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Art--History--Textbooks. I. Title.

N5300.K292 2013

709--dc23

2012026414

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This revised edition has benefited from the reviews of Kimberly Cleveland, Olawole Famule, Curt Heuer, Lillian B. Joyce, Kristy Phillips, and Marilyn Wyman.

I would like to thank the libraries of Western Carolina University and the University of North Carolina Asheville. Special thanks must also be given to the editorial and picture research staff at Laurence King Publishing, London, including Kara Hattersley-Smith, Melissa Danny, and Peter Kent, who oversaw the thousands of tasks that made this book possible.

MICHAEL KAMPEN O'RILEY  
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, 2012

# CONTENTS

1: Introduction: Art Beyond the West	10
2: The Islamic World	22
3: India and Southeast Asia	58
4: China	104
5: Japan and Korea	148
6: The Pacific	200
7: Africa	228
8: The Americas	270
9: Art Without Boundaries	344

<b>1: INTRODUCTION: ART BEYOND THE WEST</b>	<b>10</b>
NON-WESTERN ART AND AESTHETICS	12
COATLICUE IN CONTEXT	18
QUESTIONS	21
BOXES	
<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:     The History of Art: An Academic     Discipline</i>	13
<i>In Context: Wo-Haw between     Two Worlds</i>	16
<b>2: THE ISLAMIC WORLD</b>	<b>22</b>
INTRODUCTION	25
TIME CHART	25
Muhammad and Early Islamic Thought	26
The Qur'an and Islamic Art	27
BYZANTIUM AND THE UMAYYAD CALIPHATE (661–750 CE)	29
Jerusalem: The Dome of the Rock	29
The Hypostyle Mosque	30
Damascus: The Great Mosque	31
Pleasure Palaces and Secular Art	32
THE UMAYYADS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS IN SPAIN (711–1492)	33
Córdoba	33
Granada	34
THE ABBASID CALIPHATE (750–1258)	36
Baghdad and Samarra	36
IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA	38
The Saljuq Dynasty (1038–1194)	39
The Ilkhans (1258–1335)	41
The Timurids (1370–1501)	41
The Turkomans (1380–1508)	45
The Safavid Dynasty (1501–1722)	45
<i>Textiles</i>	48
ANATOLIA AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS (1453–1574)	50
Mehmed II and Hagia Sophia	50
Süleyman the Magnificent and Selim II	51
Recent Islamic Art	54
SUMMARY	55
GLOSSARY	56
QUESTIONS	57
BOXES	

<i>Materials and Techniques:</i>		<i>Religion: The Dalai Lama</i>	75	Architecture and Gardening	138
Byzantine and Islamic Mosaics	31	<i>Religion: Yoga Then—and Now</i>	79	Painting	141
<i>In Context: The “Hakim” and Renaissance Man</i>	35	<i>Religion: Hinduism</i>	81	MODERN CHINA (FROM 1911)	143
<i>In Context: Harun al-Rashid and Abbasid-Period Books</i>	38	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture: The Hindu Temple: Symbolism and Terminology</i>	84	SUMMARY	145
<i>In Context: Persian Poetry, Painting, and Shi’ite Thought</i>	42	<i>Religion: Jainism</i>	88	GLOSSARY	146
<i>Materials and Techniques: Islamic Carpets</i>	48			QUESTIONS	147
<b>3: INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>4: CHINA</b>	<b>104</b>	BOXES	
INTRODUCTION	60	TIME CHART	107	<i>In Context: Chinese Writing</i>	113
TIME CHART	61	INTRODUCTION	108	<i>Materials and Techniques: Chinese Piece-mold Casting</i>	114
THE INDUS VALLEY	62	THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD (C. 7000–2250 BCE)	110	<i>In Context: Xie He and His Canons of Painting</i>	123
The Aryan Migrations and the Vedic Period (1500–322 BCE)	64	THE XIA DYNASTY (C. 2205–1700 BCE) AND THE SHANG DYNASTY (C. 1700–1045 BCE)	111	<i>Religion: Chan (Zen) Buddhism, Enlightenment, and Art</i>	129
BUDDHIST ART	64	THE ZHOU DYNASTY (1045–480 BCE)	114	<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts: Marco Polo and the Mongol Court</i>	133
The Maurya Period (322–185 BCE)	64	THE PERIOD OF WARRING STATES (480–221 BCE) AND THE QIN DYNASTY (221–206 BCE)	115	<i>In Context: Guan Yu and the “Romance of the Three Kingdoms”</i>	135
The Shunga Period (185–72 BCE) and Early Andhra Period (70 BCE–first century CE)	65	The Tomb Complex of Qin Shihhuangdi	116	<i>Materials and Techniques: Porcelain</i>	136
The Kushan Period (30–320 CE) and Later Andhra Period (first century–320 CE)	70	THE HAN DYNASTY (206 BCE–220 CE)	118	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture: Feng Shui</i>	139
The Gupta Period (320–500 CE)	72	The Tomb of the Lady of Dai	118	<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts: Europe and “Chinoiserie”</i>	142
The Spread of Buddhist Art	73	The Cult of Sacred Mountains and the <i>Boshan Lu</i>	119	<b>5: JAPAN AND KOREA</b>	<b>148</b>
<i>Afghanistan</i>	74	THE PERIOD OF DISUNITY: SIX DYNASTIES (220–589 CE)	121	INTRODUCTION	150
<i>Nepal and Tibet</i>	74	The Wei Dynasty in Northern China (388–535 CE)	121	TIME CHART	151
<i>Sri Lanka</i>	77	Painting and Calligraphy	122	THE JOMON PERIOD (C. 12,000/10,500–300 BCE) AND YAYOI PERIOD (300 BCE–300 CE)	152
<i>Myanmar</i>	77	THE SUI DYNASTY (589–618 CE) AND THE TANG DYNASTY (618–907 CE)	124	THE KOFUN PERIOD (300–710 CE)	153
<i>Indonesia</i>	78	Painting	124	Burial Mounds	153
HINDU ART	79	THE FIVE DYNASTIES (907–60) AND THE NORTHERN SONG (960–1127) AND SOUTHERN SONG DYNASTIES (1127–1279)	128	Shinto and Shrines	154
Hindu Art and Architecture in Southern India	80	Painting	128	KOREA: THE THREE KINGDOMS PERIOD (57 BCE–688 CE)	156
Hindu Art and Architecture in Northern India	85	Ceramics	132	THE ASUKA PERIOD (552–645 CE) AND HAKUHO PERIOD (645–710 CE)	158
The Spread of Hindu Art	86	THE YUAN DYNASTY (1279–1368)	132	Temples and Shrines	158
JAIN ART AND ARCHITECTURE	87	Painting	133	THE NARA PERIOD (710–94 CE)	161
ISLAMIC INDIA	89	THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1644)	134	Architecture	161
The Taj Mahal	92	Ceramics	134	THE HEIAN PERIOD (794–1185)	162
Late Hindu Art in India	94	Lacquer	136	Esoteric Buddhist Art	162
COLONIAL INDIA	96	Painting	137	Pure Land Buddhist Art	162
MODERN INDIA	99	THE QING DYNASTY (1644–1911)	138	Literature, Calligraphy, and Painting	164
SUMMARY	101				
GLOSSARY	102				
QUESTIONS	103				
BOXES					
<i>Religion: Buddhism</i>	66				



THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185–1333) AND KORYO KOREA (918–1392)	167	TIME CHART	203	The Earliest Southern African Art	235
Painting	167	AUSTRALIA	204	Great Zimbabwe	236
The Shoguns, Daimyo, and Samurai	168	The Dreaming: The Spiritual World	205	EAST AFRICA	238
Sculpture	169	<i>Mimi</i> and the “X-ray” Style	205	Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya	238
Koryo: Korea	170	Recent Aboriginal Painting	206	Rwanda	239
THE MUROMACHI (ASHIKAGA) PERIOD (1392–1573)	170	MELANESIA	207	Ethiopia	239
Painting	171	New Guinea	207	CENTRAL AFRICA	240
Zen Gardens	172	<i>Papua: The Sepik River Area</i>	208	Chokwe and Kongo	241
THE MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1573–1615)	173	<i>Irian Jaya: The Asmat</i>	208	WEST AFRICA	242
Architecture and Painted Screens	175	New Ireland: The <i>Malanggan</i>	210	Nigeria	242
The Tea Ceremony: Architecture and Ceramics	178	MICRONESIA	211	<i>Nok</i>	242
Scroll Painting and Calligraphy	181	Pohnpei: The Ceremonial Complex of Nan Madol	211	<i>Ile-Ife and the Yoruba Style</i>	243
THE TOKUGAWA (EDO) PERIOD (1615–1868)	182	Architecture in the Mariana and Caroline Islands	212	<i>Benin</i>	246
Architecture	182	Textiles	213	<i>The Modern Yoruba and</i> <i>Their Neighbors</i>	250
Drawing and Everyday Life in Korea	184	POLYNESIA	214	Cameroon	254
Printmaking and the <i>Ukiyo-e</i> Style in Japan	184	French Polynesia: Tahiti and the Marquesas	214	Mali and Mauritania	256
<i>Utamaro</i>	185	Western Polynesia: Tonga and Samoa	216	POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA AND THE QUEST FOR CONTEMPORARY IDENTITIES	258
<i>Hokusai</i>	186	Hawaii	218	AFRICAN-AMERICAN ART	263
THE MEIJI RESTORATION (1868–1912)	187	<i>Sculpture and Featherwork</i>	218	SUMMARY	267
Printmaking and Painting	188	Easter Island	219	GLOSSARY	268
THE MODERN PERIOD (FROM 1912)	192	New Zealand: The Maori	220	QUESTIONS	269
Architecture	192	<i>The Te Hau-ki-Turanga</i> <i>Meeting-house</i>	221	BOXES	
Painting, Film, and Video	192	<i>Colonial and Postcolonial</i> <i>New Zealand</i>	224	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i> <i>What Is an Authentic African</i> <i>Work of Art?</i>	232
SUMMARY	197	THE PACIFIC ARTS FESTIVAL	224	<i>In Context: Artists and</i> <i>Attributions</i>	234
GLOSSARY	198	SUMMARY	225	<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts: Pablo</i> <i>Picasso and African Art</i>	235
QUESTIONS	199	GLOSSARY	226	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i> <i>Primitivism: An Art-Historical</i> <i>Definition</i>	236
BOXES		QUESTIONS	227	<i>Materials and Techniques:</i> <i>Lost-Wax Metal Casting</i>	244
<i>Religion: Zen Buddhism</i>	172	BOXES		<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i> <i>Yoruba Aesthetics</i>	245
<i>In Context: Japanese Poetry</i> <i>and Drama</i>	174	<i>In Context: The Spread of Art</i> <i>and Culture in the Pacific</i>	204	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i> <i>The Harlem Renaissance and Its</i> <i>Aftermath</i>	266
<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts:</i> <i>Westerners and Christianity</i> <i>in Japan</i>	175	<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts:</i> <i>Paul Gauguin and Polynesia</i>	214	<b>8: THE AMERICAS</b>	<b>270</b>
<i>Materials and Techniques:</i> <i>Japanese Woodblock Printing</i>	185	<i>In Context: Maori Images of</i> <i>“Art,” “Artist,” and “Art</i> <i>Criticism”</i>	223	INTRODUCTION	272
<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i> <i>Van Gogh and “Japonisme”</i>	190	<b>7: AFRICA</b>	<b>228</b>	SOUTH AMERICA: THE CENTRAL ANDES	274
<b>6: THE PACIFIC</b>	<b>200</b>	INTRODUCTION	230	TIME CHART: SOUTH AMERICA	274
INTRODUCTION	203	TIME CHART	231		
		THE HISTORY OF AFRICAN ART HISTORY	233		
		AFRICAN PREHISTORY	233		
		SOUTHERN AFRICA	235		

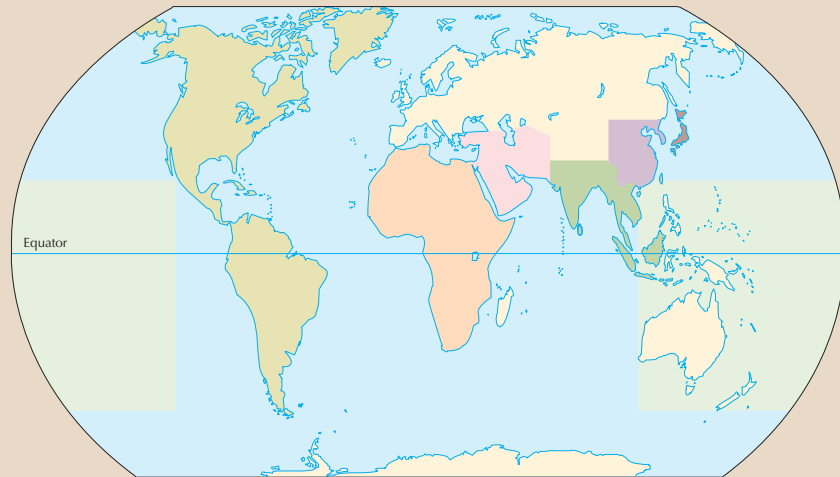
Chavín de Huántar	276	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i>	
Paracas and Nazca	277	The Mesoamerican Ball Game	294
Moche and Chanchan	279	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i>	
Tiahuanaco and Huari	282	Teotihuacán: City Planning,	
The Inca	282	Pragmatics, and Theology	302
<i>Cuzco</i>	283	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i>	
<i>Machu Picchu</i>	284	Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, and	
<i>Postconquest Cuzco</i>	285	Aztec Culture	310
MESOAMERICA	286	<i>Analyzing Art and Architecture:</i>	
TIME CHART: MESOAMERICA	286	A Formal Analysis of the	
Preclassic Art: The Olmecs	286	Northwest Pacific Coast Style	322
Classic Art	289	<i>Materials and Techniques:</i>	
<i>The Maya</i>	289	Basketmaking	326
<i>Xibalba and Maya Painting</i>	290	<i>Materials and Techniques:</i>	
<i>Xibalba and Maya Architecture</i>	293	Beadwork	328
<i>Tikal</i>	295	<i>In Context: Bury My Heart at</i>	
<i>Palenque</i>	296	Wounded Knee	329
<i>Copán and Bonampak</i>	297	<i>Cross-Cultural Contacts: Two</i>	
<i>Classic Mexico</i>	299	Pueblo Clay Artists	334
<i>Teotihuacán</i>	299	<i>In Context: “Hozho” as the</i>	
<i>The Gulf Coast and El Tajín</i>	301	Stalk of Life	336
Postclassic Art	305	<i>In Context: The “Pow Wow”</i>	340
<i>The Mixtecs</i>	306		
<i>The Aztecs</i>	307		
<i>Aztec Art and Thought</i>	308		
NORTH AMERICA	312	<b>9: ART WITHOUT</b>	
TIME CHART: NORTH AMERICA	312	<b>BOUNDARIES</b>	<b>344</b>
The Eastern and Southeastern		PAINTING AND SCULPTURE	347
United States	314	ARCHITECTURE	351
<i>The Archaic Period (3000–</i>		MULTIMEDIA EXPRESSIONS	354
<i>1000 BCE)</i>	314	SUMMARY	356
<i>The Woodland Traditions:</i>		BIBLIOGRAPHY	357
<i>The Adena and Hopewell</i>	315	PICTURE CREDITS	362
<i>The Mississippi Period (900–</i>		INDEX	363
<i>1500/1650)</i>	317		
The Northwest Pacific Coast	320		
<i>Haida Totem Poles</i>	320		
<i>The Tlingits</i>	322		
The Great Plains	324		
The Southwestern United States	330		
<i>The Pueblos</i>	330		
<i>The Navajo</i>	335		
NATIVE AMERICAN ART IN THE			
TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST			
CENTURIES	338		
GLOSSARY	342		
QUESTIONS	343		
BOXES			
<i>In Context: Shamanism and</i>			
the Arts	273		
<i>Materials and Techniques:</i>			
Fiber Art and Weaving	275		
<i>In Context: The Lord of Sipán</i>	281		





# 1

## Introduction: Art Beyond the West



Non-Western Art and Aesthetics

12

*Coatlicue* in Context

18





# Introduction: Art Beyond the West

This text surveys the art produced beyond the West—in the Islamic world, India and Southeast Asia, China, Korea and Japan, the Pacific region, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Americas—from the earliest times to the present day. This vast geographic area, far larger than the Western world, is home to many cultures with very ancient roots in the distant past. Some of the earliest rock art in Africa and Australia predates the famous Paleolithic cave paintings in France and Spain. The Indus Valley Civilization, Shang-dynasty China, and the earliest Native American ritual centers in South America were contemporaneous with New Kingdom Egypt and early Babylonia in Mesopotamia. (The ancient, pre-Islamic traditions in the arts of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and adjacent lands along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea lie beyond the West, but they played important roles in the development of Western art in antiquity and they are usually included in studies of Western art. Thus, they are not included in this book.) Directly or indirectly, these and other ancient non-Western civilizations gave birth to the cultures and art styles discussed in this text, many of which represent cultural ideas that remain vital forces in the modern world.

Some early Asian cultures coalesced into large states or confederacies, as in India and China, while the cultural units in Africa, the Pacific Islands, and Native America generally remained smaller and were organized more discretely around regional leaders and deities. But all of these groups, large and small, celebrated their identities through the arts, with religious rituals that often included prayers, chants, songs, dances, elaborate forms of costuming, portable art forms, and, at times, monumental art and architecture. Together, these non-Western cultures represent the majority of the land, people, and works of art produced around the world from prehistoric times to the present day, and some of them are poised to become leaders in the international art world of the twenty-first century.

Chapters Two through Eight of this book are devoted to the arts of these indigenous traditions, each of which was built around distinctive sets of religious and philosophical ideals. The latter include what Western thinkers call aesthetics, a branch of philosophy dealing with art, beauty, and how we perceive it. Aesthetics and other key art-related issues are discussed at the outset of each chapter,

in the Introduction, while box features contain important information that lies outside the mainstream text. The first box, *Analyzing Art and Architecture: The History of Art: An Academic Discipline*, appears opposite and discusses further the methodology used in this book. The glossaries at the ends of the chapters list and define important terms that were highlighted in **boldface** when first introduced in the main text. The questions take up the most important ideas introduced in each chapter.

Below, we will take a brief introductory look at these non-Western traditions and their core ideas, chapter by chapter. Many of these ancient ideals remain sacred to billions of people around the world today.

## NON-WESTERN ART AND AESTHETICS

Our survey begins with Islamic art, a tradition inspired by the Qur'an, the teachings of Allah as revealed to Muhammad (c. 570–632 CE), his Prophet. Restrictions in the Qur'an against making visual images of Allah, along with other Islamic injunctions against idolatry, discouraged early Islamic artists from following the long-standing figural traditions in the arts of their Persian and Byzantine neighbors. Instead, they developed many highly innovative and intricately structured nonrepresentational art forms such as interlaces and arabesques, which they applied to a wide variety of materials and objects, including their religious and secular architecture. By the sixteenth century, groups of Persian poets known as *zarifs* (dandies, dilettantes, or connoisseurs) had developed a vocabulary of formal or aesthetic terms to discuss the arts. In this, *jamil* (beauty) is related to *ajib* (that which is astonishing), and is dependent on *itidal* (symmetry) and *tanasub* (harmony or unity). *Musanabah* (balance), *maqadir* (measure), and *bayadat* (spacing) were also important elements in composition. These ideas reflect the emphasis placed upon nonobjective forms in Islamic art and help us understand the aesthetics of that tradition as it developed in tandem with the spread of the religion and culture from the Arabian Peninsula as far east as Indonesia and west to Spain and Portugal.

Some of the oldest and largest religions in the world today emerged from the very ancient literary traditions of

## THE HISTORY OF ART: AN ACADEMIC DISCIPLINE

Writers in the West had been commenting on the arts since antiquity, but Art History as an academic discipline and philosophy did not begin to emerge until the late eighteenth century. As part of this complex intellectual movement, scholars began to see the visual arts in terms of a succession of styles that reflected the larger picture of Western history. In the process, they also began to regard “style” as an entity with a life of its own and some writers equated regional period styles with the human cycle of birth, life, and death. In their histories, the key monuments or works of art (“characters”) acted their roles in the drama of the period styles (“chapters”) that formed part of the epic narrative of Western art.

For some art historians, the formal analysis of period styles has remained an end in itself, and they regard such analysis as synonymous with Art History in its purest sense. For others, that analysis is simply the first step toward a fuller definition and understanding of such styles—why they emerged and what they tell us about the cultural contexts in which they once “lived.” The most far-sighted of these scholars realize

that the visual arts do not exist in a vacuum, or in passive relationships with the world around them. Art has always had a very active, give-and-take relationship with its cultural context. In this autocatalytic process, the arts absorb ideas from religion, philosophy, politics, society at large, and every other area of thought. With their distinctive material qualities, the visual arts reshape these ideas into new forms of expression, which then influence the sources from which they came and every other conceivable aspect of the cultural context around them.

This form of contextualism differs significantly from the much-maligned *Zeitgeist* philosophy. *Zeitgeist* is a loan word from German meaning “time-spirit” or “spirit of the times,” and suggests that the general cultural, intellectual, political, and spiritual climate of any given time and place has a certain essence or uniformity. Seeing the visual arts as part of this *Zeitgeist* can imply that they are merely passive parts and lowly cogs in the greater cultural context of that “spirit of the times.” However, this other philosophy of context, as I have described it above, gives the arts full credit for what they

have always been—discrete and active ingredients in the recipe for culture, giving it their own distinctive flavor. The visual arts “say” things in ways other art forms cannot. That is the true meaning of period styles—they tell us their version of the culture of which they were active parts, and in so doing add depth to our understanding of that culture.

This book places great emphasis on contextualism, the autocatalytic process by which art interacts with its cultural environment. In order to do this, it sets out to demonstrate how the arts in each region developed around core ideas that fueled that process and uses those core ideas throughout each chapter to discuss the key monuments in that tradition. Most of these ideas are discussed in the opening pages of this introductory chapter under the heading “Non-Western Art and Aesthetics.” In each case, they reflect some of the most basic, important, and long-lived philosophical and religious ideals of a particular region, and thus provide a solid platform from which we can understand the art selections in context.

the land that constitutes present-day India. A complex philosophy of art likewise emerged from the group of related religious practices known in the modern world as Hinduism. Key among these is *rasa* (juice or essence), an emotional reaction of satisfaction experienced when looking at art that leads to *brahman*, pure consciousness or bliss, the abstract Absolute. The highest form of *rasa* creates *bhakti*, a bond and intimate relationship between observer, work, and the gods it represents. In some Hindu sects, *bhakti* overlaps with

*darsana* (vision of the divine). These highly abstract terms, discussed at greater length in Chapter Three, will take on their full meaning when we apply them to the works of art examined in that chapter and we see how they are displayed in places of worship—microcosms of the universe encompassing the world of humankind and that of the gods.

The second major Indian religion, Buddhism, is well known for its many sculptures of the Buddha, carved in styles that emphasize the inner peace he discovered while

meditating on his path to enlightenment. The Buddhists also developed a complex religious iconography in their pictorial arts and illustrated a large number of divine individuals known as *bodhisattvas*—those who have *bodhi* (wisdom) as their goal and are dedicated to helping humankind. Early on, they also built outdoor places of worship known as stupas, symbolic World Mountains that are diagrams of the Buddhist cosmos. Later, they used their own *chaityas* (assembly halls) as models and carved monumental rock-cut replicas of these structures into stone cliffs, so when you are within that “bubble” of space, you have the illusion of being inside a masonry building.

About the time the arts of these native traditions began to lose some of their original inventive vigor, the Islamic Mughals conquered parts of India and created spectacular fresh Indo-Islamic styles of painting and architecture that flourished for centuries until the British extended their control there. In 1858, Queen Victoria became Empress of India, ushering in nearly a century of direct colonial rule that lasted until 1947. During this period, traditional forms of Indian art coexisted, and in some cases began to fuse, with Western art.

While the great religions were emerging in India, the Chinese were developing their own spiritual and philosophical ideals that would shape indigenous visual art forms there in the centuries to come. Confucius (c. 551–479 BCE) believed that one could achieve *li* (perfect harmony) and *ren* (human-heartedness) in this life by imitating the otherworld of the gods. His near-contemporary Lao Zi (“Old One”) (born c. 604 BCE) meanwhile taught and wrote about the *Dao* (“The Way”) and the need to live in harmony with nature and the universe. In *ming*, the ultimate inward vision, the vital forces of nature, *yin* and *yang*, become one in the Daoist’s experience of the oneness of all creation. A later writer, Xie He (active c. 479–502 CE), said artists must have a “sympathetic responsiveness” to the *qi*, a term that can mean many things, including the “spirit of nature.” In the centuries to come, elite groups of Chinese thinkers known as the *wenren* (literati or scholars) debated these issues alongside the philosophy of the Chan (later Zen in Japan) Buddhist sect, which, like Daoism, stressed the importance of meditation, instinctive actions, living in harmony with nature, and creating works of art that express those values. These were often paintings, quickly executed in moments of intense inspiration, or pieces of calligraphy—literally, “beautiful writing”—produced in the same explosive manner.

Western traders arrived in China by 1514, and by the eighteenth century Chinese art had become so sought-after in Europe that the vogue for its aesthetics gave rise to a style of art known as *chinoiserie* (French for “Chinese-style things”). While China was never colonized by the West, foreign involvement there triggered a series of rebellions and

damaging wars, followed by a Communist revolution, all of which stymied home-grown traditions in the arts. However, these have revived along with the Chinese economy in new and vigorous forms in the early twenty-first century.

Japan’s ancient native religion, Shintoism, and the art it inspired draw on the unpretentious values of Japan’s early agrarian society. Japanese writers use several key terms to describe and explain Shinto aesthetics: *wabi* (purity and humility) and *sabi* (stillness and rusticity). When Buddhism later arrived in Japan via Korea, it brought with it well-developed Chinese styles of architecture and traditions in the pictorial arts, which the Japanese eventually adapted to their own tastes. The so-called “four ideals” of Japanese aesthetics, based on both indigenous and imported traditions, are: the importance attached to suggestion—that which is not fully shown, said, or done but only implied; impermanence—the fleeting or ephemeral nature of existence, which adds a tragic note to art and life; irregularity—which gives art a natural, almost accidental look; and apparent simplicity—which belies the true complexity of art and thought. These principles are examined in greater detail in Chapter Five and are used to examine the key works illustrated there.

Together, these ideals created an art of subtle refinement and restrained beauty with universal appeal. The vogue for Japanese art and aesthetics in the West in the late nineteenth century gave rise to *japonisme* (a French word used to describe the fascination with Japanese-style things). Meanwhile the Japanese art that emerged from the meeting of East and West preserves many traditional Japanese ideals even as it comments on the role of Japan in the contemporary world.

In the Pacific, vast stretches of open water separate thousands of small islands and island groups, many of which developed distinctive, localized religions and art forms. *Mana*, a complex spiritual ideal often simplified in translation as “power,” combined with the notion of *tapus* (from which the English term “taboo” is derived), restrictions on the use of that power, helped create distinctive regional philosophies of art. The hundreds of giant stone heads with small torsos carved by the Easter Islanders and erected around the island reflect this philosophy of art and power, and have become internationally recognized symbols of Pacific art and culture. The European maritime powers later colonized many parts of the Pacific, damaging cultural and artistic traditions there. Happily, these are once again being revived and celebrated today.

In Chapter Seven, we move on to sub-Saharan Africa, where many small ethnocultural groups have long performed complex multimedia rituals involving dance, music, prayers, and chants designed to transport performers to a

more spiritual plane of being. Traditionally, most African art has been made of wood and other perishable materials, so very few ancient works used in these ceremonies survive today. In Nigeria, however, artists sculpted clay and cast metals, which means that we have the necessary materials to allow us to study their stylistic development over the centuries. The Yoruba of Nigeria had one of the world's great courtly traditions in the arts, creating a long series of idealized portrait heads of their leaders which embody complex ideas about earthly and spiritual beauty (FIG. 1.1).

Looking at these highly idealized Yoruba portrait heads, we might have made a guess that they were images of semidivine leaders shown at their best so that they might be considered worthy companions of the gods. When we come to interpret the sculptures, however, we have further assistance because Yoruba-speaking scholars, working with modern Yoruba groups, have collected many of the traditional terms that describe their philosophy of beauty as manifested in these regal heads. Yoruba aesthetics center around the phrase *iwa l'ewa* ("character is beauty" or "essential nature is beauty"). The basic Yoruba word for beauty, *ewa*,



1.1 Head of an *oni* (king). From the Wunmonije Compound in Ife-Ife. 11th–12th century. Zinc and brass, height 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ " (31 cm). National Commission for Museums and Monuments, Nigeria

incorporates *ifarabon* (clarity of line and form), *jibora* (relative likeness), and *itutu* (a calm, collected, and cool quality), a virtue of the gods. The chapter on African art will explore these ideas in greater depth.

The slave trade, colonization of Africa, and resulting diaspora sent Africans and their cultural traditions around the world. In most places, the colonial period ended in the late twentieth century. In the postcolonial period artists have begun to discover new and creative ways to combine the indigenous and colonial sides of their heritage.

The highly diverse topography of the Americas—deserts, woodlands, prairies, tundras, and mountains—and the ethnocultural diversity of Pre-Columbian (that is, before the arrival of Christopher Columbus and European culture more generally) America combined to produce a wide variety of regional religious systems and styles of art. This text divides this large landmass into South, Meso-, and North America, and examines the regional traditions within each area.

The desert groups along the Peruvian coast in South America had plentiful supplies of clay, built large structures using sun-dried adobe bricks, and were highly skilled in the modeling of clay, producing thousands of highly realistic sculptures depicting themes from their religious and daily lives. Many other groups in and around Peru became technically skilled weavers and so accustomed to composing forms and images within the right-angled warp-and-weft patterns of the threads on their looms that they developed what we may call a "textile aesthetic." The taste for simplified geometric and repeating forms in textiles reappears in other forms of pictorial art incorporating abstracted images of animals and people. They even used these abstracted images to create monumental geoglyphs, drawings or markings on the ground. The short-lived Inca Empire was in the process of building on these and other traditions when the Spanish conquered South America in the sixteenth century, but many of the Pre-Columbian art forms in and around Peru have survived to this day as regional folk traditions.

As Mexico, Canada, and the United States extended their reach into North America, they encountered a wide variety of indigenous artistic traditions flourishing across the continent. Some of the most vital and well-studied art styles come from the southwest of the modern United States, where one sees the large pueblos (Spanish, "villages") and more scattered groups of Navajo living in small hogans, or houses, in the countryside. The Navajo see art and life as a corn plant, with *hozho* ("a world of perfect beauty") as its stalk. *Hozho* can also mean "happiness," "health," "beauty of the land," and "all things in perfect harmony with one another." No one is called an "artist" because, in Navajo thought, everyone has creative powers and can make



## WO-HAW BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

In 1875–77, an insightful Native American Kiowa artist illustrated the plight of his people in a remarkably telling image, *Wo-Haw between Two Worlds* (FIG. 1.2). Following their defeat in one of the many one-sided Indian Wars, most of the Kiowa were forcibly relocated to reservations while a small group of warriors, including Wo-Haw, was shipped east to a prison, Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida. Kiowa artists had traditionally drawn and painted on animal hides, but not having such materials to hand in prison, they used the pencils and pieces of discarded ledger paper they received from the prison officers instead. Thus,

this type of work is known to us as Ledger Art.

With the sun, moon, and a shooting star as his witnesses, in the image Wo-Haw extends peace pipes to a buffalo (the Native American past) and a domesticated cow (the colonial present). He plants one foot near a miniature buffalo herd and a *tipi* or teepee, a conical tent of hides supported by long thin poles, and the other by cultivated fields and the frame house of a white Euro-American settler. The picture combines remnants of earlier Native American styles of drawing and decoration with Wo-Haw's knowledge of the Western images he

had seen in newspapers, magazines, and advertisements while he was in prison. The Ledger image looks to us now like a strikingly prophetic statement, describing the experience of Native American and other non-Western artists around the world as Western influences increasingly came to challenge their ancient traditions and they searched for suitable forms in which to express their experiences caught “between two worlds.”

There was no easy and logical solution to larger cultures they represented. Wo-Haw and his people could not return to their past; their society was in ruins. Not only had their buffalo herds been decimated, some of their communities had been destroyed as well, and many of their traditional social customs no longer existed. But fully embracing all things Western would mean simply giving up their cultural identity. They therefore had to ask: What Western influences can we embrace and mix with our heritage and still maintain our traditions? Some artists in colonized or otherwise Western-dominated societies around the world tried to make their problem its own solution—they accepted the duality of their heritage as a reality and looked for creative combinations



**1.2** Wo-Haw, *Wo-Haw between Two Worlds*. 1875–77. Graphite and colored pencil on paper, 8 × 11" (20.3 × 27.9 cm). Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis

of their indigenous and colonial cultures that would express their current situation in an accurate and meaningful manner.

Until the late twentieth century, however, Western power-figures in the arts tended to reject such “hybridized” forms as aesthetic failures. Traditionally, surveys of non-Western art have stopped shortly before Wo-Haw and other artists around the world found themselves straddling two worlds, creating dual and distinct aesthetic footprints. An early work of Wo-Haw painted on a buffalo skin might have been included in such a survey as an authentic Native American work of art, but not his Ledger Art. Western authorities wanted to see works that spoke exclusively of one culture and a single philosophy of art. The cutoff date for the end of these non-Western traditions varied from place to place. In Latin America, it came with European colonization in the sixteenth century. In many parts of Asia, the terminal date was around 1850, and in the Pacific, Africa, and North America, it came anywhere from about 1850 to 1900. Today, however, writers on art around the world increasingly see great value in non-Western colonial and postcolonial art, and that material is included here with the surveys of fully indigenous art in Chapters Two through Eight. Thus, this image has become a potentially meaningful one for colonized cultures around the world as they reevaluate and attempt to revitalize some of their old traditions.

beautiful, aesthetically pleasing things. *Shil hozho* means “with me there is beauty,” and *shaa hozho*, “beauty radiates from me.” But *hozho* coexists with *hochzo* (“that which is evil and ugly in the world”). When *hochzo* begins to dominate one’s spirit, it is time to conduct a healing ceremony in which all the Navajo art forms are used (FIG. 1.3).

Many of the Navajo and pueblo traditions in the arts of the Southwest have survived, but those of the less sedentary Native American groups on the Great Plains to the north have not. Their portable works of art included buffalo hides painted with pictorial symbols representing each year in their recent past. Storytellers used these symbols to instruct their kinsmen in their ancient cultural traditions and to keep those traditions alive as the newcomers on the prairie began destroying their buffalo herds and fencing off their hunting grounds. The symbols spoke of old values, living in harmony with nature in a rapidly disappearing world. The story of that Plains tradition is discussed in *In Context: Wo-Haw between Two Worlds* (see opposite).

Because there are so many important regional aesthetic and philosophical ideals relating to the arts in the Americas, not all of them can be discussed in the chapter’s Introduction. Instead, they are introduced in step with the specific arts to which they relate.

Scholars use the term “Mesoamerica” to refer to an area extending south and east from northern Mexico through the Yucatán Peninsula to Honduras and El Salvador. The Maya in and around the Yucatán Peninsula have been studied with particular interest because they were the only fully literate people in Pre-Columbian America. Their



1.3 Navajo sand painter. Shiprock, New Mexico. 2005



inscriptions, pictorial arts, architecture, and literary traditions all worked together to express the power of the gods and their ruler-regents on earth. In their belief system, the Maya rulers traveled from this world to the otherworld of the gods through “portals” in their religious structures; their architecture therefore had a cosmic dimension to rival that of the Hindu and Buddhist temples in India.

Like the Chinese, the Maya placed high value on fine brushwork, which they used to write about their gods and rulers and paint images of them holding court in the otherworld. In fact, the Maya use the same verb for “to paint” and “to write” (*ts’ib*) in all the regional dialects of their language, and an ancient inscription from the eighth century CE refers to the *ab ts’ib* (royal artist-scribes), members of the Maya elite who wrote about and painted the courtly world around them. About half of the Maya glyphs can still be read, and given the stunning beauty of their brushwork, it is to be hoped that some day linguists will discover the Maya word(s) for “beauty” and begin to reconstruct their thinking about aesthetics.

As the Maya declined, the Aztecs built a large empire at the other end of Mesoamerica covering the central part of present-day Mexico. Around 1500 CE, they had begun to absorb the earlier artistic traditions of the peoples they had conquered. Some of this work was directed by an elite class of poet-priests called the *tlamatinime* (“those who know”), who held gatherings to share their poetry and discuss matters of art and philosophy.

Using these two linked tools—general philosophical ideals about art and aesthetics, and the specific words that explain those ideals in their original linguistic and cultural context—we will attempt to see art around the non-Western world as it was seen and understood by the people who created it. For most groups, their art was religious, representing divine themes, beings, and other religious concepts. Those religious philosophies helped shape what we now call their aesthetic values and concepts of beauty, because the latter are

tied to qualities attributed to the spiritual beings the works were designed to revere and worship. Often, they include the ideals of “goodness” and “high moral character.” That is why the Introduction to each chapter in this book focuses on the most important religious ideals that shaped the art examined in that chapter and, where possible, uses the terms of reference used by those who actually created the art.

In summary, as opposed to being ethnocentric and looking at non-Western art from the outside, we will try to see it from the “inside out.” In the following section, we will return to the Aztecs and to the thinking of the *tlamatinime*, their sages, in order to look at an important Aztec sculpture in its cultural context, from the inside out, and try to see that important monument as Mexicans have from the time the *tlamatinime* first looked upon it right down to the present day.

## COATLICUE IN CONTEXT

Around 1500 CE, artists working for the Aztec leaders completed a set of very large sculptures honoring an important Aztec goddess, Coatlicue (“She of the Serpent Skirt”), and installed them in a prestigious location, near the main temple in their capital, Tenochtitlán, present-day Mexico City. The vastness of that city—one of the largest in the world at the time—is evident in a mural painted by the twentieth-century artist Diego Rivera in the National Palace, Mexico City (FIG. 1.4). The most completely preserved sculpture is a memorable monument in its own right, but, impressive as it may look in reproduction here, no book illustration can convey the experience Aztecs would have had seeing this towering 11-foot (3.4 m) image of Coatlicue in the heart of Tenochtitlán, or the feeling we have today viewing “She of the Serpent Skirt” in the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City mounted on a pedestal under bright spotlights (FIG. 1.5).



1.4 Diego Rivera, *The Great City of Tenochtitlan*. 1945. Detail of the mural in the patio corridor, National Palace, Mexico City

Coatlicue was an earth goddess associated with the dual themes of life and death. She was called “mother of the earth who gives birth to all celestial things” and “mother of the gods,” but it is her death symbolism that is most evident here in the necklace she wears of human hands and hearts with a beady-eyed skull pendant—signs of human sacrifice. The life-and-death aspects of her being are not contradictory, but go together hand in hand and explain the importance of human sacrifice in Aztec thought. Their myths say the gods created this world and everything in it, including humankind, out of their own bodies and blood. Thus, the Aztecs believed that they were born in debt to the gods and had to repay that debt in kind, with their own bodies and blood, for mother earth to be fertile and nourish her children. According to records from this time, people considered it an honor to die for this cause. Many of the bloody sacrificial rituals took place at the main temple in the center of Tenochtitlán (see FIG. 1.4), near where *Coatlicue* and her companion pieces originally stood. Thus, for those attending the rituals—or participating in them—the sculptures were a dramatic reminder: These sacrifices are necessary to keep your world alive! Given this information, do we understand this statue of Coatlicue? Not completely—yet.

The devoutly religious Spanish Catholics, who conquered Tenochtitlán and the rest of Mexico around 1520 in the name of Christendom, were appalled by the Aztecs’ pagan religion, with its goddesses like the serpent-covered Coatlicue and its human sacrifices. In the process of demolishing Tenochtitlán and building a new capital over its ruins, the conquerors buried the sculptures of Coatlicue and other unwelcome reminders of the pagan past. The Spanish even made it a crime punishable by death for Aztecs or other Native American people to own non-Christian works of art, so very few reminders of Coatlicue and her world survived the conquest. Most of the Aztec myths and legends were metaphorically buried as well, but the few that were recorded after the European conquest tell various and contradictory stories about the goddess.

Mythologies are created and perpetuated by talented and often competing storytellers who in their quest to outperform one another add new twists to the old tales they have inherited. Perhaps that is why this statue belonged to a set of at least four images of Coatlicue: The Aztec leaders probably wanted to illustrate the various different aspects of the goddess the people knew through the many colorful myths circulating at the time. For instance, another of the statues has a skirt made up of human hearts taken from sacrificial victims, perhaps illustrating another element of the Coatlicue symbolism.

Our statue seems to fit a myth that casts Coatlicue as an elderly guardian priestess of a shrine north of the valley of



1.5 *Coatlicue*, Tenochtitlán (present-day Mexico City). Aztec. c. 1487–1520). Stone, height 11'4" (3.45 m). Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City

Mexico, where she became pregnant when a ball of hummingbird feathers touched her breasts. To restore their family honor, Coatlicue’s four hundred children decided to kill their pregnant mother, but as they were cutting off her body parts the male child she was carrying leaped forth and killed them all. This was Huitzilopochtli (“Hummingbird on the Left”), who became the Aztec god of war and the sun. The sculptors show us the blood of Coatlicue spurting forth from her wounds, some of which turns into serpents. A pair of very large opposed serpents rise from her severed neck. Thanks to our knowledge of the myth, we are thus able to speculate further about the meaning of this particular image of this goddess. However, this by no means exhausts all the things we need to know about Aztec thought and Coatlicue in connection with this statue.

Aztec society included elite groups of leaders and high-ranking poet-priests—the *tlamatinime* mentioned above, who knew far more about Aztec philosophy and religion than the general public. Post-conquest records tell us that the *tlamatinime* held gatherings to discuss metaphysical issues in the arts. They referred to statues such as this one as a *totecatl*



("finely crafted luxury item") and used the phrase "flower and song," a general term for beauty and the arts, when discussing them. The stonemasons were probably Toltecs, one of several ethnocultural groups the Aztecs had themselves conquered and then employed as artists, but the *tlamatinime* had a clear hand in the statues' design.

Works of art showing Coatlicue were designed to deliver at least two religious messages. We have already looked at the first—how the fearsomeness of the giant woman of the "serpent skirt" was designed to ensure public support for the ritual of human sacrifice. The second message is more complex: It is aimed at the gods and their high-ranking Aztec regents on earth and deals with creativity and immortality. In their poetry, the *tlamatinime* tell how the ability to create art is a gift from the gods, and how those who use this creative power to honor the gods through "flower and song" will in turn receive yet another gift from the gods—immortality. While the *tlamatinime* did not actually wield the tools and cut the stone, as elite members of Aztec society and patrons of the arts, they nonetheless made artworks honoring the gods possible, instructing the Toltec sculptors before they began their labors. In the manner of architects and artists in charge of large projects, they, not the workers, had their names attached to the project. Thus, the *tlamatinime* could take credit for Coatlicue, the sacrificial victim-gifts she inspired, and hopefully receive the gift of immortality from the gods. (The *tlamatinime* were also poets, creators of their own "flower and song" that honored the gods, so they might have had yet another claim to immortality.)

After Coatlicue was finished, the *tlamatinime* and other Aztec sages and storytellers looking upon the dramatic, towering images of the serpent goddess probably used the visual experience to revise and build upon the stories they had told about Coatlicue in the past. We must remember that mythology is not history; it comes from revelation, new experiences, and the art of storytelling developed in context with the art and culture around it. In the autocatalytic, or self-propelling, process of cultural dynamics, stories influence the visual arts, which in turn influence stories, songs, rituals, and future works of art in an unending cycle of cultural exchange and development. Had the Spanish not conquered the Aztecs shortly after the Coatlicue sculptures were finished, the excitement they created and the new stories they spawned might have inspired Aztec patrons to commission even more dramatic statues of the goddess, illustrating and embellishing yet other aspects of her complex symbolism, which would have inspired more myths and legends about her, *ad infinitum*.

While the paragraphs above emphasize the thinking of those who created Coatlicue and the reactions of the work's original audiences, the full meaning of any work of art for

us now also depends upon the way that work has been received by audiences over the ages. Workers digging near the Cathedral of Mexico City unearthed the statue in the eighteenth century, but reburied it shortly thereafter. Its location was recorded, and in the years to come Coatlicue was unearthed several times, but the sculpture was not put on permanent display until the Mexican Revolution (1910–20), when the pro-Mexican or native *Mexicanidad* forces in the Revolution recognized the power of Coatlicue as an object of Native American cultural pride. Millions of Mestizos—Mexican descendants of the Aztecs and other Native Mexican groups with relatively little Spanish blood—were trying to shake off four hundred years of aristocratic, Hispanic rule and so Coatlicue was adopted as a powerful symbol of the power in their Aztec-*Mexicanidad* bloodline.

Since that time, for about a century, the statue of Coatlicue has remained an important symbol of the Native American heritage of modern Mexico. In the 1960s, it helped inspire the Mexican government to build a new National Museum of Anthropology, where Coatlicue has long been a popular tourist attraction.

It might seem that we have now exhausted the subject and know precisely what our monumental carving means, but—once again—there is more. At the same time that the symbolism of Coatlicue has changed over time, the world's view of Aztec art has changed as well. Until the late twentieth century, writers on art and history treated most of the works illustrated in this book as cultural documents and ethnographic curiosities, but not as works of art worthy of standing alongside the sculptures of Michelangelo or paintings of Rembrandt. When exhibited in museums and galleries, the arts of the Pacific Islands, Africa, and Native America were often titled "tribal" or "ethnic" art. Relatively few colleges and universities offered classes in Aztec or other forms of non-Western art history.

However, after the construction of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico in the 1960s as well as other venues where such works were displayed as art, Western attitudes began to change. Though much Asian art had long been accepted in the West as art, its seeming exoticism and sheer "foreignness" meant that it was ghettoized and restricted to the back and upper galleries of art museums, as if it were not quite "fine" enough to be displayed up front with the works of Western masters. That too has changed, and most museum directors, curators, art historians, and art critics around the world now agree that the arts from every corner of the world should stand together on a level aesthetic playing field. Academic classes in art appreciation and history, and the textbooks used to teach them, have started to incorporate non-Western art so that the key monuments ("characters") and period styles ("chapters") from beyond