Toward a History of Aesthetics of the Twentieth Century

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In the realm of Aesthetics...even imperfection and lack of completion have their value. Robert Musil, "Address at the Memorial Service for Rilke in Berlin," 1927.

I. Introduction

Much thought and writing of significance to research in aesthetics has occurred in the twentieth century. It is time to look at these developments with a view of assessing their importance for our contemporary understanding of aesthetics and the arts. My aim in this essay is to offer a short examination of the history of aesthetics in the twentieth century. An overview of some questions that bear on our understanding of the history of aesthetics in general will serve as a beginning. The presentation includes a brief look at existing histories of aesthetics and their relevance to aesthetics in the twentieth century. Following is a short inquiry into reasons why a history of aesthetics for this period has not evolved. Then follows a review of current alternatives to histories of aesthetics in the forms of anthologies, journals, and internet sources, ending with discussion of the state of aesthetics as it has emerged today.

II. Preliminary Questions Concerning a History of Aesthetics

Before launching into a discussion of the major developments in twentieth
century aesthetics, it is necessary to look more carefully at the
enterprise of aesthetics itself on a more general level. One of the first ques-
tions to settle concerns who is eligible to participate? Visual artists,
architects, musicians, literary writers, choreographers, media artists all
make aesthetic decisions in the course of their work. Virtually everyone
encounters aesthetics in the course of everyday experiences from
cooking to organizing aspects of the environment in ways that engen-
der appreciation or spark the imagination.

Given its presence in both every day experience, and as a profes-
sional academic discipline, it is necessary to ask the question, what
social functions are provided by aesthetics? Underlying this query is
an assumption that some members of society find useful the kind of
understanding made available through aesthetics. In every day non-
thetical experience, aesthetics engenders appreciation and respect
for certain objects such as works of art and craft, well made buildings,
and urban developments. Similarly, a beautiful landscape featuring
mountains and water offers the opportunity for appreciation of nature.
There is also social value in recognition of cultural achievements.
Ascribing aesthetic value to the work of native American artists, for
example, fosters respect and appreciation for the makers and their cul-
ture. Advanced study in aesthetics as an academic discipline is not a
requirement for the aesthetic appreciation of these aspects of lived
experiences. And it is doubtful that artists rely directly on aesthetic
theories developed by philosophers in the creation of their art, because
their ideas are expressed mainly through the respective art media.
Nevertheless, a knowledge of aesthetic theory helps to explain and
validate the meaning and importance of the aesthetic in every day
experiences, as well as the work of artists whose task is to create art.
Thus aesthetics offers an important qualitative measure of success
and achievement for every enlightened culture.

III. Aesthetics as an Academic Discipline in the Pantheon of
Social Institutions

However, the application of aesthetics to art practices and daily life
experiences does not necessarily transfer directly into the theoretical
concerns of the sort that occupy the attention of philosophers and
other theorists. As it is the case with every form of specialized social
activity, entry into the field of aesthetics as a profession is not freely
accessible to everyone. Admission normally requires rigorous aca-
demic training in the history and methodologies of the discipline, criti-
cal and analytical philosophical skills, facility in communicating in writ-
ten and spoken word, and an in-depth knowledge of one or more artis-
tic discipline. With the influence of globalization and electronic means
of communications, understanding of the aesthetics of other cultures
East and West becomes increasingly important as well.

Where then does aesthetics fit in the pantheon of social institutions
of the twentieth century? Typically, aesthetics is classified as an aca-
demic discipline carried out within the context of a university, acad-
emy, or research institute. In Marxist-socialist societies where aesthet-
ic is closely related to political and educational policy, such as the
Soviet Union and its East European satellites during the post-World War II era, China during the Cultural Revolution era, and Cuba, official
policies concerning aesthetics may also fall under a governmental
department.

The next consideration concerns the location of aesthetics in the
domain of academic fields. The question here is whether aesthetics
consist of a single body of knowledge that might conceivably be con-
tained in the parameters of a particular academic discipline such as
philosophy or literary theory, or if it contains sufficiently diverse aspects
to warrant its being distributed among a variety of different academic
practices? The answer to this question is complex. In essence, aesthet-
ic as a field of inquiry, metaphorically speaking, can be consid-
ered a heterotopic entity analogous to Michel Foucault’s sense of the
term heterotopia, rather than a homogeneous enterprise. In the broad-
est sense, aesthetics as an academic discipline consists of a loosely
construed conceptual enterprise held together by its focus on ques-
tions pertaining to exploring the place of art in human understanding,
and to the objects and experiences both within and outside the arts,
with characteristics that can be called aesthetic.

The development of aesthetics as an academic enterprise depends
on the commitment of a body of scholars world wide who dedicate
their research and teaching to problems in aesthetics. As the scholars
engage in the process of thinking and writing about these problems,
such as understanding beauty, the concept of art, aesthetic experi-
ence, and the social roles of the arts, for example, various theoretical
positions emerge. Among these are representational, expressionist, formalist, and empiricist, theories of aesthetics. Other theories of aesthetics have been formulated in relation to Semiotics, Marxism, Psychoanalysis, and Post-modernism.

Although aesthetics can be considered from the perspective of various disciplines, the principal ones seem to be philosophy and literary theory. I will focus here mainly on aesthetics in the context of philosophy. Despite a long tradition of philosophical writings on the subject, aesthetics is often given a lower priority than other topics in philosophy such as epistemology, metaphysics, or ethics. This is true, especially in many contemporary Western philosophy departments. Yet, the inclusion of aesthetics as a division of philosophy, alongside these other areas of its divisions, is important because it draws attention to the role of the arts and aesthetic experience in the broader context of human understanding.

Apart from its primary location in universities and research institutes located across the world, aesthetics as an academic discipline also relies upon the support of national and international societies. Among these are the International Association for Aesthetics founded in 1988, the European Society for Aesthetics, founded in 2008, the Mediterranean Congress of Aesthetics, founded in 2000, and over 25 National Societies.

III. The Relation of the Past History of Aesthetics to Twentieth Century Aesthetics

Before turning to existing histories of aesthetics, it is necessary to take note of some important differences in how scholars choose to approach the investigation of aesthetics. One division concerns the split between scientific and philosophical approaches to aesthetics, which began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the work of Alexander Baumgarten and others. Another division among Western writers concerns a disagreement among those who see aesthetics as embracing the reflections of philosophers on aesthetics and the arts from Classical times to the present, and those who see aesthetics as a discipline that began in the eighteenth century. Some aestheticians also contend that, while philosophers paid attention to the arts earlier, the concept of art was first introduced in eighteenth century Europe. The arguments for this view are not convincing. The terms aesthetics and philosophy of art already have a history, which includes philosophical writings on aesthetics as early as Plato and Aristotle in the West, who introduced general concepts such as *technē* (making or doing through art) and *mimesis* (imitation, representation, mimicry) to refer to the arts. Aristotle’s theory of *catharsis* offers an early account of aesthetic experience in the form of emotional purging provided by the art of Greek tragedy. Similarly, writers in China developed their own concepts to express aesthetic ideas: for example, in China, *la* (a spiritual quality of naturalness) and in India, *rasa* (emotional flavor crafted into a work).

IV. Existing Histories of Aesthetics


Writing in the intellectual context of Great Britain at the end of the nineteenth century, Bosanquet offers a rich and insightful examination of natural and artistic beauty, taste, and the fine arts from classical times to the end of the nineteenth century, as seen in the context of German idealism (Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer and their followers) and British art and criticism (John Ruskin and William Morris). Bosanquet understands his own approach to aesthetics as a further development of ideas found in Hegel’s writings. He argues that aesthetic consciousness involved in creating and experiencing art, including the experience of beauty and its opposite, involves a synthesis of feeling or spirit as its content and its expression in a medium. Bosanquet identifies two different approaches to the history of aesthetics. One approach focuses
on the science of aesthetics (empiricism) by careful examination of the substantive content of actual natural and artistic beauty as manifest in human experience and in the unfolding history of art and civilization. In the first approach, the opinions of the philosophers are not considered a part of the subject matter of aesthetics, as they relate more to each other than to the actual subject matter of beauty and the arts. The other approach consists of a chronicle of abstract philosophical opinions on such topics.8

Croce's history of aesthetics appears in part II of his Aesthetic, which begins with a treatise outlining his own perspective on the subject. A key element of his approach to the history of aesthetics is his insistence on the idea that there is no value in a history of this subject, which has not been written from a particular authorial point of view. Croce develops his own views, maintaining that aesthetics is the science of the expressive (representative or imaginary) activity. According to Croce, art, unlike science, does not develop along a single line of progress. Shakespeare does not represent an advance over Dante. Similarly he dismisses the notion that Oriental art is inferior to European art because it lacks a proper balance between idea and form, as was proposed in Hegel's division of the history and ontology of the arts into symbolic (oriental), classical (Greek) and romantic (beginning with Medieval) epochs. A second tenet of Croce's aesthetics is that art is a form of intuitive knowledge, which means that it is knowledge of the individuality of something as opposed to concept-based knowledge. According to Croce, aesthetics, understood as the science of expression or intuitive knowledge, is closely linked to the philosophy of language.9

Gilbert and Kuhn approach the history of aesthetics as a search for the meaning of aesthetic terms such as art and beauty. This does not mean limiting of the search to absolute definitions or confinement of the search to any fixed philosophical system. Rather, their aim is to find the best way to satisfy the desire for understanding aesthetic terms. And such understanding, according to Gilbert and Kuhn, will be discovered in "the dialectic of the whole manifold of philosophical systems and styles".10 Their History of Aesthetics exists mainly as a chronicle of the philosophers' views and the dialogue that takes place among the views. It extends into the early parts of the twentieth century, introducing some of the major philosophers of that era. Among these are Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), George Santayana (1863-1952), R.G. Collingwood (1889-1943), Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945), Henri Bergson (1859-1941), D.W. Prall (1886-1940), A.N. Whitehead (1861-1947), John Dewey (1859-1952), and Susanne Langer (1895-1985). Gilbert and Kuhn also include references to major cultural figures such as art historian Erwin Panofsky, art theorist Herbert Read, and urban designer Lewis Mumford. With its emphasis on the meaning of aesthetic terms, their work points to the emergence of analytic philosophical aesthetics, which is to be one of the dominant schools of aesthetics in the twentieth century. However, their history, published first in 1939, appears too early for discussion of the analytic philosophers who write on aesthetics. Similarly, Gilbert and Kuhn's history does not offer consideration of principal Continental developments in aesthetics such as phenomenology and Marxist aesthetics.

Tatarkiewicz offers a complementary model for examining developments in aesthetics that will find favor among many practicing aestheticians looking at the developments of the field during the past fifty years. His approach is to recount theory when it is available, but to also rely on artistic practices and on particular works of music, poetry or other art forms where theory has not caught up with practice in the arts. In a review of Tatarkiewicz's three volume work covering ancient, medieval, and modern aesthetics thru the seventeenth century, Beardsley offers his own thoughts on the subject of aesthetics. Among the questions to be considered are these: Must aesthetics be connected to metaphysical, epistemological or other principles deriving from cultural, political and economic themes that shape our world views? Is aesthetics to include the examination of substantive questions concerning beauty, aesthetic experience, and art? Is it limited to meta-critical theory?

Beardsley would agree that a twentieth century approach to aesthetics must draw upon both philosophical reflections and analysis, and also attend to the arts. In Beardsley's words, "aesthetic ideas stand on a border; they look to philosophy, but also to the arts, whose existence and nature ...gave impetus to aesthetics in the first place".11 It is thus necessary that theorising in aesthetics be undertaken in close connection with the on-going practices in the arts, and in accordance with the changes in the arts with respect to artistic styles and taste. Beardsley's history of aesthetics ends with a division of the subject into two main camps: investigations that aim to treat aesthetics as an empirical scie
ence and those that invite a reexamination of its foundations through the methods of philosophical analysis. As in the previous century, empirical aesthetics frames its inquiries so as to draw upon the methods of psychology, histories of the arts, sociology of art, cultural anthropology, and other empirical investigations. Analytic aesthetics, which is one of the dominant approaches to aesthetics in the twentieth century, focuses instead on the logic and language used in discourse pertaining to art. By contrast, a phenomenological approach to aesthetics might focus on qualitative investigation of the lived experiences of artists and spectators involved in the creation of works of art and their interpretation.

The different theoretical positions represented in these various histories typically correspond to one, or another philosophical position such as Realism, Idealism, and Empiricism. For example Bosanquet and Croce represent Idealism. In the twentieth century Naturalism, Semiotics, Marxism, Phenomenology, Analytic Philosophy, and Post-structuralism emerge as the dominant forms of aesthetic theory. These various philosophical positions do not necessarily represent contradictory practices, but they do result in differing approaches, depending mainly on the philosophical methodologies adopted and the substantive topic of inquiry. For example, empiricist based aesthetics limits its inquiry to topics that can be addressed using the methodologies of the empirical sciences such as psychology. British-American analytic philosophers approach questions in aesthetics by analyzing the language and logic of concepts and forms of logical reasoning used in aesthetic discourse. Accordingly, analytic philosophers avoid, or reconfigure speculative, metaphysical theories of art that were important to pre-twentieth century aestheticians.

V. Twentieth Century Neglect of the History of Aesthetics

Apart from Beardsley’s brief history, Aesthetics from Classical Greece to the Present and a chapter of Gilbert and Kuhn’s History of Aesthetics, the history of aesthetics has received relatively little attention in the works of most twentieth century writers on aesthetics. Hence, there is need for an historical overview of the important developments in twentieth century aesthetics to augment the many collections of readings and the topical approach of writers such as Stephen Davies provides in his introductory text on aesthetics.  

Apparently, this neglect of history in twentieth century aesthetics has been an on-going concern in the field. Elmer Duncan, American aesthetician, has recently commented on this issue in an essay, “The Lack of Historical Perspective in Aesthetics”.  

Duncan argues for the importance of history to understanding the current state of aesthetics. Before launching into an updated history of aesthetics covering the twentieth century, it is necessary to ask why there has been so little attention given to the history of aesthetics during this period. The problem does not seem to be a lack of interest in the subject itself. Clearly, there has been no dearth of works published in aesthetics as anthologies, monograms, source books and even encyclopedias. Anthologies in aesthetics enjoy a proliferation that arguably exceeds need or demand. Yet anthologies lack the connective elements that a comprehensive historical perspective might offer.

The reasons for this neglect are open to speculation. Perhaps it is easier to paste together the writings of others with brief introductory commentary than to engage in careful assessment of the main currents of one’s own time, or those of the recent past. A preference for direct access to original sources may also be a factor. Or perhaps there are theoretical, or even ideological reasons for the current neglect of the history of aesthetics. Some theorists, Arthur Danto for example, might argue that the period in question already represents a state of culture when history has completed its task and is no longer relevant to the current state of culture. Perhaps a more cogent answer is that the dominant philosophical methodologies in aesthetics during the mid to late twentieth century, that is, semiotics, Anglo-American analytic philosophy, and phenomenology mainly have not expressed interest in the history of the subject. For the most part these approaches to aesthetics have preferred particular topics in aesthetics, or more in depth studies of major figures to the task of developing a linear narrative covering the flow of ideas and historic figures of the century. Ted Cohen’s essay on the state of aesthetics published in Social Research in 1980 offers a brief report on studies focusing on past figures such as Immanuel Kant, David Hume, G.W.F. Hegel and others. Paul Guyer’s extensive writings on Kant’s aesthetics, Peter Kivy’s contribution to the study of Francis Hutcheson, and Richard Shusterman’s writings on John Dewey’s Pragmatism are noteworthy examples.

Also of interest for contemporary aesthetics is Thierry de Duve’s innovative interpretation of Immanuel Kant with reference to Marcel
Duchamp and developments in late twentieth century art theory. De Duve purports to show the relevance of Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* to questions relating to the discussion of art and aesthetics today. Arthur Danto’s revisiting of Hegel’s theories of fine art and history offers key concepts for the development of his understanding of developments in aesthetics and the contemporary arts. Among Continental aestheticians Gilles Deleuze has devoted several books with references to aesthetics in his discussion of earlier historical figures including Leibnitz and Spinoza, Kant and Nietzsche, and Bergson, drawing upon these historical sources for the development of his own contemporary views on aesthetics.

Among the very few English publications to offer a historical perspective on recent developments in aesthetics are Volumes 51 Numbers 2 and 3 of the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* (JAAC) published in 1993. Lydia Goehr, guest editor of 51:2 provides a summary history of the development of aesthetics in the United States between the founding of the American Society for Aesthetics in 1942 and its Fiftieth anniversary in 1992. Goehr observes that the understanding of aesthetics during this period evolved from a broad and encompassing view embracing “philosophic, scientific, and other theoretical studies of the arts” articulated by Thomas Munro, one of the society’s founders, to a time in the 1970s when aesthetics became largely dominated by philosophers. *Philosophy and the Histories of the Arts* (JAAC 51:3), considers aesthetics from the perspective of its relation to art history. In this volume, Noël Carroll, one of the contributors, advances the thesis that the driving force in the philosophy of art or aesthetics is the evolving historical narratives found in the innovative *avant garde* art practices. According to Carroll, aesthetics thus derives not from a historical construction originating in the minds of the philosophers, but from the need to account for the new and emerging art.

In the absence of an overarching history of developments in aesthetics during the past century, perhaps the most comprehensive view of aesthetic activity during this period is found in the four volume *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, edited by Michael Kelly and published in 1998 by Oxford University Press. Kelly states that, “The purpose of this encyclopedia is to contribute to a discursive public sphere in which people representing the disciplines and traditions engaged in aesthetics will be able to articulate their perspectives on the field.” Despite its extensive coverage, the history of twentieth century aesthetics as such, is limited to an addendum of ten pages by Paul Guyer which appears in the second edition.

VI. The End of the Century and the Future State of Aesthetics

As analytic philosophy loosens its grip on aesthetics toward the end of the twentieth century, there is a notable shift from questions centering on the logic and language of aesthetic discourse to revisiting questions about substantive matters asking questions about the role of art in understanding the larger questions of human existence. This shift has brought about renewed interest in historic theories such as Hegel’s views on the end of art and John Dewey’s pragmatism. Apart from these more general concerns in contemporary aesthetics, there is interest in a wide range of specialized issues. Beauty, once considered a topic only of historic interest among twentieth century aestheticians, now enjoys renewed interest in the writings of Mary Mothersill, Arthur Danto and others. Additional topics of notable interest include these: languages of art (Goodman), the art world (Danto and George Dickie), the end of art (Danto), art and morality (Carroll and Martha Nussbaum), narrative (Carroll, Gregory Currie), fictionality (Kendall Walton), cognitive science and aesthetics (Arneheim, Goodman, Currie), feminist aesthetics (Carolyn Korsmeyer), and environmental aesthetics (Arnold Berleant, Allen Carlson).

Also important during this period are the aesthetics of the particular arts including architecture, dance, film, mass art, music, the visual arts, and literature: (Rudolf Arneheim – visual arts and dance; Noël Carroll – film and mass art; Stanley Cavell – film and literature; Curtis Carter – dance and visual arts; Gao Jianping - Chinese painting; Frederic Jameson – literature; Peter Kivy and Jerrold Levinson – music; Merleau-Ponty – painting; Richard Shusterman – popular arts and somaesthetics; Francis Sparshott – dance; Dionysis Zivas - architecture, to mention a few).

VII. The Role of Change in the History of Aesthetics

As we examine developments in twentieth century aesthetics, increasingly one of the central issues that influences the developments is rapid change. Generally speaking, the changes that have occurred
involve abandonment or modification of traditional thought and practice in favor of experimentation and innovation. The changes affecting aesthetics include broad political, economic, and life-style changes as well as the consequent shifts in the ecology of natural and built environments. Frequent shifts in artistic styles throughout the century from modern art styles including Futurism, Expressionism, Cubism, Dada, Surrealism, and Abstract Expressionism marked the first half of the Twentieth century. These innovative movements have now become a part of history as even more variant styles including Pop Art, Minimalism, and a plethora of Post-Modernist pluralisms continued thru the second half of the century. On another level, the popular arts including rock and hip hop music and film draw increasing attention for their aesthetic interest. Philosopher-aestheticians, with rare exceptions, are somewhat removed from these forces of popular culture. However, increasingly in aesthetics, one finds the lines between popular culture and the traditional arts become blurred as artists and the arts institutions endorse pluralism. Increasing marginalization of the fine arts and challenges to the traditional separation between popular culture and high culture invite aestheticians to take a fresh look at the boundaries of their discipline and to explore new territories including erosion of previous boundaries between the popular arts and the fine arts.

Increasingly artists are adopting new media as rapidly as it is produced by technology. Culture paradigm shifts resulting from technological innovations: film, video, computer, the internet (and now in the twenty-first century the iPod) require attention to rethinking the canons of art media. As a consequence of these advancing technologies, the role of the media arts, photography, film, video, and digital electronic arts made accessible thru the internet, become more central both to daily life and to the advancement of the arts. As well some artists extend their explorations to collaborations with science and community based social action projects. For the most part it remains for aesthetics to catch up with these changes in art practices.

Also important to understanding the changes in aesthetics occurring throughout the twentieth century are the major social, political, and economic developments. The emergence of Feminism as an important social movement has also created a change in the way that certain problems in aesthetics are addressed. For example, the relative absence of attention to women artists in the history of art is being challenged as substantial attention turns to examining the reasons for this neglect and a re-assessment of the many contributions of women in the arts and their role in developing past and future arts. There is already the beginnings of a corresponding development of feminist understanding in aesthetic theory especially in the works of authors such as Carolyn Korsmeyer and others. Ethnic difference and race also increasingly command attention for aesthetics in the writings on cultural criticism including the writings of the Hispanic Guillermo Gómez Peña and the African American Bell Hooks. Also requiring attention is the increasing importance in the globalization of the art world. Transient art fairs and international art expositions represent important changes in the public presentation of the arts that now compete with established local museums' roles in this sphere. Hence, there is a need to investigate the implications of such major social changes in the art world for the future of aesthetics.

As the century has ended, aesthetics again finds it necessary to consider possibilities for a common ground with the scientific community, calling for investigations of developments in the cognitive sciences relating to the functions of the brain and nervous system as they affect our understanding of the creation of art and the interpretation of aesthetic experiences. As artists move further and further away from the traditional arts of painting and sculpture to explore experimental installations in non-traditional settings such as scientific laboratories and environmental settings, it becomes increasingly necessary to rethink the concepts of aesthetics so as to incorporate these new efforts. Artist's concerns with major social problems such as the influences of urban pollution on climate changes again point in the direction of openness to new theoretical developments in the field.

Conclusion

In the previous pages, I have attempted to establish the context for the larger task of my book length treatment of the main developments in Twentieth Century Aesthetics. Among the existing histories in English the works of Bosanquet, Croce, Gilbert and Kuhn, and Beardsley are most notable. Yet none of these offer a comprehensive overview. The challenges of writing a history of aesthetics that would embrace the twentieth century are compounded by the unprecedented elements of
change that have occurred. Changes resulting from the introduction of alternative approaches to philosophy are but one aspect of what is engaging in this century. Naturalism, Pragmatism, Semiotics, and Marxism in the beginnings of the century followed by British-American analytic philosophy, together with French and German Phenomenology, and Post-structuralism/Post-modernism each introduces different ways of thinking about the problems of aesthetics. Examining how these different philosophical schemes relate to the radical changes in the arts themselves almost ceaselessly over the century poses another challenge. Taking note of new possibilities that have emerged from linking art and aesthetics to the sciences, and to environmentally based or other social projects is another part of the challenge. Major life-style changes and broad cultural shifts resulting from the implications of globalization and new patterns of urbanization also affect how we think about aesthetics arising during the twentieth century.

For aesthetics to remain socially relevant beyond narrow academic circles, it is not sufficient to communicate only in language and issues accessible to a small self-perpetuating community of specialists. To fulfill its broader social purposes, the knowledge acquired though research in aesthetics must be communicated by means accessible to artists and scholars in other disciplines, as well as to interested members of the public. Writing, discourse among artists and aestheticians, educational experiences in the classroom and the museums, the internet, and other systems of education at all levels of society must all contribute to defining the place of aesthetics and establishing or sustaining its social relevance.

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16. Some writers today prefer to limit the term aesthetics to general theories concerning art that began in the eighteenth century when aesthetics was linked in philosophy to the arts. In the present context, aesthetics and the philosophy of art are considered as interchangeable. Hence, the terms aesthetics and philosophy of art encompass the reflections of philosophers and writers from other disciplines including art history, the sciences, criticism, and culture theory, whether ancient, modern or contemporary, on such matters as the making and interpretation of the arts, as well as their societal roles.
