New Worlds: Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias

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EDITORS

Table of contens

Introduction
Claudia Mattos Avolese, Roberto Conduru
[5]

Between Rocks and Hard Places: Indigenous Lands, Settler Art Histories and the 'Battle for the Woodlands'
Ruth B. Phillips
Carleton University
[9]

Transdisciplinary, Transcultural, and Transhistorical Challenges of World Art Historiography
Peter Krieger
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
[36]

Out of Place: Migration, Melancholia and Nostalgia in Ousmane Sembène's Black Girl
Steven Nelson
University of California, Los Angeles
[56]

The Global Dimension of Art History (after 1900): Conflicts and Demarcations
Joseph Imorde
Universität Siegen
[71]

Perspectives on Institutional Critique Lea Lublin and Julio Le Parc between South America and Europe
Isabel Plante
Universidad Nacional de San Martín
[85]

Historiography of Indian Art in Brazil and the Native Voice as Missing Perspective
Daniela Kern
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul
[101]

The Power of the Local Site: A Comparative Approach to Colonial Black Christs and Medieval Black Madonnas
Raphaèle Preisinger
University of Bern
[116]

Between Roman Models and African Realities: Waterworks and Negotiation of Spaces in Colonial Rio de Janeiro
Jorun Poettering
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales
[133]

Tropical Opulence: Rio de Janeiro's Theater Competition of 1857
Michael Gnehm
Accademia di architettura, Mendrisio / Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich
[146]

New Classicism Between New York and Bogotá in the 1960s
Ana M. Franco
Universidad de los Andes
[165]

Back and forward: Considerations about Artistic Relations between Mexico – United States (1988-2014)
Daniel Montero
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
[179]

Historiographies of the Contemporary: Modes of Translating in and from Conceptual Art
Michael Asbury
Chelsea College of Arts, University of the Arts London
[188]

Landscape Painting in the Americas: An Inquiry
Peter John Brownlee
Terra Foundation for American Art
—
Valéria Piccoli
Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo
—
Georgiana Uhlyarik
Art Gallery of Ontario
[202]

From Ethno-aesthetic to Socialist Realism, Aesthetic Practices in Africa and New Territories of Art History: The Role of Institutions
Romuald Tchibozo
Université d'Abomey-Calavi
[215]

Tonalá Ceramics in Seville
Alfredo J. Morales
Universidad de Sevilla
[232]

1492 in the Other Indies: Shifting Centers, Creating New Peripheries
Frederick Asher
University of Minnesota
[242]

European Architecture in Southeast Asia during the 18th century: between tradition and hybridization
Pedro Luengo
Universidad de Sevilla
[254]

Crafting Relational Activism: Political Potentials of Communal Making in Contemporary Australia
Katve-Kaisa Kontturi
University of Melbourne
[271]

Whose History? Why? When? Who Benefits, and Who Doesn't?
Claire Farago
University of Colorado Boulder
[283]

New Worlds: Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias — Introduction

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From Ethno-Aesthetic to Socialist Realism: Aesthetic Practices in Africa and New Territories of Art History: The Role of Institutions

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Introduction

Africa, a territory formerly marginalized from all intellectual currents because judged without writing and therefore, without tradition of thoughts was, nevertheless, the site of main big artistic and subsidiary cognitive experimentations for the last sixty years. Even if we still do not say it enough, it has participated in a decisive way in the construction of the new landscape of art history by becoming, despite itself, a privileged field. This state of affairs began at the time of the first contacts between Europeans and Africans along Africa's coast. Successive relationships developed from that moment which distributed not only Africans, but also their culture and artistic production throughout the world. This brought with it far-reaching consequences, of which we have only barely begun to study the implications. This is also one of the reasons, it seems to me, that motivated the choice of such an important theme for this conference. Regarding Africa itself, I will not rewrite its history here, but it is important to know that the various phases of the reception its artistic production were not favorable and held, for a brief moment, away from academic interests, including art history. That separation did not last long, because studies of any kind initiated by various fields of knowledge relatively contemporary with colonialism were deeply interested in different parts of the continent in order to try to understand its peoples, and the evolution of its aesthetic practices.

The end of World War II plunged the world into a new phase of its history with the formation of two power blocs: that of the West, led by the United States, and that of the East, presided over by the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The patterns of thought implemented after the war were obviously not the same in these two contexts, a disparity that extended to the theories of the arts that embodied each ideology. Most African countries at that time, whether still fighting for their independence or having gained independence after a bitter war, were open to this new dynamic, particularly a non-Eurocentric one that promised equality in relationships and, above all, considered the historic character of their evolution in opposition to that advocated by the competing Western theories.

Our approach to the topic avoids linear narratives, but a way to talk about simultaneous phenomena in a complex context characterized by three developments that, confusingly, occurred at the same time.

The purpose of this paper is to show the process of Africa's integration in the new geography of art history. It will also discuss the role of various institutions in different settings. But before that, I will introduce the three moments of aesthetic practice that will allow me to justify the moments of inclusion of the continent in different geographies of art history.

Three moments of African Aesthetic Practices

It is not easy to describe the three phases in the evolution of aesthetic practices in Africa because they took place at the same time, contrary to the apparent name given to each period. So when we talk about contemporary art in all its dimensions and diversity, exploration into so-called "traditional art" continued contemporaneously, taking as its basis the Euro-American practice of art history. Here, I will try to streamline the presentation of these different phases for a better understanding of what I want to elucidate.

So-Called Traditional Art

Strictly speaking, African art prior to the opening of relations with the West has not had any significant influence on the rest of the world beyond simply existing, except the last years of the fifteenth century, when we could spot a form of collaboration between early explorers and artists on the coast in the implementation of Afro-Portuguese ivories, which Suzanne Vogel (1989) has discussed at length. Thus, African art has been given the name of "traditional art" at the time of its encounter with other cultures of the world, including European culture. But it took several decades before African art was tolerated as "traditional" or "art premier"—that is to say, deemed worthy to enter in the intellectual logic of art history—and the process involved several steps. First, we can point to an attitude of curiosity that led to the creation of "cabinets of curiosities" in Europe. In the creation of these cabinets, though, Africa was already excluded from the field of art history, as these objects were nothing but exotic artifacts intended to serve

the glory of kings, princes, and rich merchants who invested in exploration. Next, the release phase was orchestrated by the institutions that had financed the collection of these objects and facilitated the creation of public museums, accepting African objects as donations from their first non-African owners. It will be useful here to recall that in this period, however, there were several theories that denied to Africa and Africans all faculties inherent in humans. One of the most famous, due to emanating from one of the most influential thinkers of his time, was reported by Ezio Bassani (1992), communicating a thought of Hegel from 1830:

> Africa is not interesting from the point of view of its own history, but because we see people in a state of barbarism and savagery that still prevents them from forming an integral part of civilization[1].

For the second time, the continent was removed from the field of art history. Elitist societies elsewhere in the world considered Africa's history uninteresting and unworthy of consideration. By extension, the elitists thought of Africa's people as "barbarians" who would not be able to produce works comparable to the masterpieces they were accustomed to seeing. African works were repeatedly dramatized in the European imagination as "rough drafts and hideous."[2] Since the history of these people was not interesting, how could the "curiosities" that they produced and, therefore, embodied be of interest? Moreover, the role assigned to these objects was clear: they were to provide data on a way of life and illuminate the early stages of development of civilization that Western societies could not otherwise directly observe. Paradoxically, that is the manifestation of the first scientific interest in African objects, consigned to the realm of ethnology, and justifies, in my opinion, the organization of universal exhibitions by most European colonizing powers: London in 1862, Amsterdam in 1883, Paris in 1878 and 1889, etc. On these occasions, not only the objects, but also the people of Africa were the testimony to "backward" cultures that civilized Europe wished to examine or display. Thus, this basic

1 Ezio Bassani, *le Grand Héritage, sculpture de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, p. 89, 106.

2 Jean Louis Aka-Evy, "De l'art primitif à l'art premier," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 39 (1999): 563–582.

idea would encourage the creation, in the second half of the nineteenth century, of ethnographic museums. This led Jean Laude to point out that:

> The foundation of the ethnology museum and the movement of ideas created in its favor meet economic and political needs as, progressively, defined an ideology aimed at interpreting the material evidence gathered in these museums in a previously defined meaning.[3]

Thus, without really meaning to, Europe drew a new geography of art history by engaging non-European civilizations, particularly Africans, in its concerns, despite not having a scientific consciousness of this at the time. Museums, according to the Western evolutionary scheme then in vogue,[4] studied, compared, and ranked each object in a series according to its degree of technical and artistic evolution. This led Laude to write: "[African objects] are integrated into a system of thought already constituted within ready-made categories."[5]

Schools Established by the Europeans'

Closer to today, in the 1950s, although non-Western and African sculpture in particular had greatly influenced the artistic renovation in Europe, Europeans still often attempted to prove, as was so well demonstrated by Castelnuovo and Ginzburg (1981), that Africa remained the periphery. The continent was thought to be where backwardness was permanent and where Europeans still had to bring the "learning of creation" and, therefore, docility. The center of innovation is still, according to the Euro-American representation of the practice of art history, in Europe and North America. Therefore, the relationship between the global and the local is perfectly distorted. In Africa, there was no more properly local process of aesthetic practice, at least none that was not subtly imposed from the outside. Thus, European initiatives led to the construction of schools throughout the continent, intended to teach African talent how to make

3 Jean Laude, *La peinture Française (1905–1914) et "l'art Nègre"* (Paris : Klincksieck, 1968), cited by Ezio Bassani, *Le Grand Héritage, sculpture de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1992, p.95.

4 T. Ernest Hamy, *Les Origines du musée d'ethnographie. Histoire et document* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1890).

5 Jean Laude, *La peinture Française, op. cit.*, 44–50

1. Geledes Mask manufactured according to traditional principles. Ethnographic Museum of Porto-Novo. Photo by the author.

art in another way, as in the West, according to market logic. It should be noted that this was a great moment in the history of humanity, even viewed casually. This process inaugurated the globalization of cultures more than what happened during the fifteenth century with Afro-Portuguese Ivories, and later in early twentieth century with the European and North American phenomenon of internationalization of the canonical modernism[6]. Europe tried to impose its modernity as the norm and did not accept a possible plurality of alternative modernities. The most emblematic of these institutions were the school of Poto-Poto in Congo, the Osogbo School in Nigeria, the Dakar school, and the Margaret Trowell School in Tanzania. Since colonization contributed to weakening the foundation of sculptural practic-

6 See Christian Kravavagna, « Toward a postcolonial art history of contact », in *Texte zur Kunst*, *Globalismus, Globalism*, 91, September 2013, p. 114.

2. Khaema Ndweng, 2013.

es in Africa, taking what it could and demonizing the rest, the schools held that they must steer artistic production in another direction. That was the mission of such schools, which Busca (2000) frames in these terms:

> The idea that underlies the encouragement of such behavior, particularly within the schools of fine arts, is that an autonomous artistic practice cannot exist in Africa that is not an 'Africanized' tracing of European art.

But these developments automatically included Africa in a new geography of art history in the sense that, scientific works were dedicated to African production and, on the other hand, the arts produced on the continent entered into the same logical framework as those made in the West. This rough assimilation had important theoretical implications. However, these were not the only influences that governed art production on the continent.

Development of Relations with the Socialist Countries

At almost the same time, in the early 1960s, another influence on artistic practices in Africa imposed itself – one that was very offensive, but subtler. The consequences of World War II created the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), which, to extend its international influence, got closer to Africa's freshly independent countries. Its strategy involved denouncing the abuses and methods of the old colonizing powers, and in doing so, making the people of the continent aware of the danger of believing in the good intentions of these countries, which, according to the GDR, would only continue to exploit them. To this end, the GDR entered into strong friendships with popular and cultural organizations throughout Africa and reinforced its economic relations with countries including Algeria, Uganda, Mali, Dahomey (Benin), Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Ivory Coast. Such diplomatic relations would allow the GDR to build an alternative strategy to support countries still in the process of independence, getting them acclimated to GDR culture, and thus art in this context became a weapon of liberation.

A report uncovered in the archives of the former GDR clearly stipulated the approach to be taken to strengthen cultural relations with African countries. It mentioned that diplomats must first impart information on cultural development using the GDR as a model. This could influence these young states, which would discard colonial cultural influence and work on developing their own national cultures and, most importantly, turn away from the harmful influence of modernism. An extensive program, it advocated the substitution of the Communist theoretical model for capitalism. This goal could not be achieved across all of Africa; instead, the GDR tempered its ambitions and exerted its influence on the neediest part of the continent. A handful of emerging states would now be the target of this shrewd cooperation, which also focused on exerting artistic influence. Alternative artistic production in Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and subsidiary Angola strongly reflects this influence. Proof of the importance of this relationship is seen in their regular participation in Inter-Grafik, the most important arts trade fair of the former Eastern Bloc, where the selection of artworks was based on adherence to socialist realism.

Africa: New Space of Art History?

If I take into account here the fairly restrictive definition of European art history in the nineteenth century as an institutionalized discourse on the arts, practiced within a set of facilities such as museums, galleries, and universities, it would not be easy to talk about Africa as a place of art history. However, if I should rather retain the broadest definition of the discipline as a field of reflection on artistic traditions, issues of value of works, studies of artistic canons, etc., it would be easy to conclude that everywhere there is artistic production, there is an equally organized discourse with a highly complex vocabulary.[7] From this perspective, the continent has paradoxically become a new territory of art history coexisting vicariously with the so-called traditional arts. There is no assumed position originating directly within Africa; rather, narrative forms are introduced from outside the continent. This is sadly to be expected, for the continent had quickly been stripped of all its masterpieces, now preserved in ethnographic or universities museums around the world, which could have provided the basis for the creation of this discourse. Primitivism, now considered the history of relations between European modern artists and so-called "primitive arts", was first the story of the invention of such arts. Without going into detail at this level of reflection, I could say that the first form of ethno-aesthetic, with all the epistemological implications it generates, includes the long transformative process dating from the nineteenth century related to the history of colonization, anthropology, and art history. This was followed by the adoption of socialist realism in art works that were not intended solely for African production, and is involved in the questioning of a dominant discourse.

During the development of these theories, African intellectuals who had not given up entirely on art history as a discipline of autonomous thought were busy fighting against long-standing *clichés* developed on the continent. They fostered intellectual works on Africa as a land of history and art, but these were grounded in traditional and prehistoric practices. These works, were subject to all of the controversy generated by these *clichés* and, therefore, it was once again the others who ensured

7 Matthew Rampley, "From Big Art Challenge to a Spiritual Vision: What 'Global Art History' Might Really Mean," in *Is Art History Global?* ed. James Elkins (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2007).

the African position from which otherness was typical. The first writings in this vein were those of Ki-Zerbo, who wrote: "Where humans appear, there are tools, but also artistic production. Homo faber, homo artifex. This is true in African prehistory."[8]

Is this concept dense enough to establish a position, creating a new relationship between the works and ideas in progress and giving birth to a new form of narration?

Ethno-Aesthetics

The epistemological battles between ethnology, anthropology, and the philosophy of art following the creation of ethnographic museums did not give a clear idea of what Europe thought about African artistic productions until 1915, when Carl Einstein published *Negerplastik*. This work revived the controversy until another key date, 1965, when the Musée de l'homme in Paris organized the exhibition *Masterpieces from the Musée de l'homme*. In the book of the same title that accompanied the exhibition, there are chapters on black Africa by Michel Leiris and Jacqueline Delange. The first indulged in real recognition of African art, emphasizing its qualities and particularly how it was useful for solving the artistic crisis in Europe. The second underlines its intrinsic qualities. It is Delange who outlined at the end of her article the conditions of admission of African art to the world stage, writing:

> If an ethnological museum exhibits the most beautiful of its art works and exhibits them primarily as such, it can be said that the time has come when they can, similar to the masterpieces of historical civilizations, be admired for what they are beyond their direct scientific interest, the perfect expressions of aesthetic values specific to the cultures they come from.[9]

Here, two essential elements that deserve our attention appear. First, the institution (museum, university, etc.) is as an instrument of "legitimization of these arts." Through the prac-

8 Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "L'art préhistorique africain," in *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique1* (Paris: UNESCO, 1999), p. 693.

9 Jacqueline Delange, *Chefs-d'œuvre du Musée de l'Homme*. Paris : Musée de l'Homme, 1965, p. 45.

tice of exhibitions, the institution insinuates itself into the scientific debate and puts existing practices into perspective as Prod'hom (1999) emphasizes. Second, we see the formal recognition of the aesthetic expressions of non-European cultures and, thus, a confirmation of the extension of art history to other cultures that started with Einstein's *Negerplastik*. This suggested to Delange (1967) the ethno-aesthetic theme, which Lucien Stephan developed shortly thereafter for a better understanding of its implications.

For Stephan (2010), the term "ethno-aesthetic" is characteristic of a set of studies dedicated to non-European arts. It is designed to express the double ideas of collaboration between two disciplines, but is preferred to "aesthetics" and "ethnology of art," which refers to a specialization of ethnology. Until a better term can be coined, ethno-aesthetic could be defined as a discipline that focuses on the aesthetic of the arts and the production of objects among the groups studied by ethnology. It is this theory that has started to recover the evolution of aesthetic practices in Africa, although it denies any character of artistic movements as seen in the West, insisting instead on tribal studies. However, William Fagg, who organized the 1961 Munich exhibition *Nigeria, 2000 Jahre Plastik* and the exceptional *Africa, 100 tribes, 100 Masterpieces* (Berlin, Paris, 1964), proposed to apply the methods of art history to African art. Through these and other efforts, a few centuries of the art history of the Kingdom of Benin has been gradually restored. In addtion, subsequent studies by Willett (1967; 1971) and Tchibozo (1995) have added a historical sequence by assembling Benin art as part of a sequence on the art of Ife and gone yet further by adding to it a current ethnic group, the art of the Yoruba. This theoretical evolution seems to correspond to what was said by Edgar Wind, a thinker close to Warbung, who defined the outline of iconology:

> The artistic vision fulfils a necessary function in the whole of civilization. But he who wants to understand how vision works cannot isolate other functions of culture, and he has to ask how important for the visual imagination of culture are the functions such as religion and poetry, myth and science, society and the state? How important is the image to these functions? One of Warburg's essential theses is that every attempt to

> separate the image from its links with religion, poetry, worship, and drama dries up the source of its life-giving sap.[10]

Is the study of traditional African art far from this conception?

Socialist Realism

As I have shown, the involvement of the former GDR in the cultural field in Africa would change the representation characteristic of known artistic production until that time. This change was imposed by the almost constant participation of artists from some African countries in the largest known arts fair from the Eastern Bloc, the InterGrafik. The theoretical basis of this aesthetic practice was socialist realism. I will not repeat here the history of this theory, but it is important to know that it was born in the aftermath of the revolutionary victory in Russia in 1918. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party recommended the creation of a "realistic propaganda art of the revolutionary which must be understandable to the masses[11]." The aesthetic practice promoted by the Association of Revolutionary Artists had the task of presenting in both an artistic and a solemnly documentary way the major changes made since the revolution. The daily life of peasants and workers was staged, showing the happiness of the proletariat. The valor of the Red Army soldiers and party leaders' portraits, designated as "heroic realism," was highlighted, and subsequently, subjects prevailed over form. In 1933, the term "socialist realism" became official and artists were directed to "serve the ideals of the Communist party and contribute in this way to the construction of socialism[12]." Thus, socialist realism transformed from a freely adopted method into a compulsory official doctrine in the field of arts. In 1967, the Moscow philosophy dictionary defined socialist realism:

> Its essence lies in fidelity to the truth of life, painful though it may be, expressed in artistic images considered through a communist perspective.

10 Edgar Wind, cited by Jan Bialostocky, *Le discours sur l'art, l'iconologie*, Encyclopedia Universalis, 2010.

11 Socialist realism as defined by John Berger, Howard Daniel, Antoine Carrigues, in Encyclopedia Universalis, 2016. Refer to http://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/realisme-socialiste

12 *Ibid*.

> Artists must be devoted to the communist ideology. The fundamental ideological and aesthetic principles of socialist realism are: devotion to communist ideology; using its activity to serve the people and the spirit of the Party; binding tightly to the struggles of the working masses; socialist humanism and internationalism; historical optimism; and rejection of formalism, subjectivism, and the naturalistic primitivism[13].

This last part of the definition confirms the contrast between this theory and those art theories of the West, and the manifestation of its rejection in Africa. It is useful here to ask what is the responsibility of institutions in this context.

Responsibility of Institutions

Although I cannot go into details in this paper, it is important to understand that in general, institutions within the colonial metropolis have had a great influence on the creation of the new history of art spaces, not as new centers, but rather integrating spaces into a governing center. It is also necessary to know that the process has been different in both cases I present here. In the West, theories were born after the secular accumulation of objects, while in the East, the birth of theories promoted accumulation. To elaborate, I will quickly mention the case of the Trocadero.

Musée de l'homme : Instrument of Diffusion and Influence

The *Musée de l'homme* at the Trocadero in Paris is a significant Western institution as regards Africa. This is the museum that triggered the confluence of specialized circles of study regarding the continent. Not only has it organized exhibitions of its most beautiful pieces from different scientific missions, it has set up an influential association of friends of the museum, among which could be counted, for example, a certain Picasso. Parties organized in this framework gave rise to important debates and brought specialists to write about these objects (Leiris, 1965). On the topic of the museum's influence on the acceptance of African art, Ladislas Segy wrote:

13 Dictionary of Philosophy, Moscow, 1967, p. 62.

> Picasso said, speaking of cubistic works, "when the form is realized, it is there to live its own life." This plastic quality also makes African art able to live its own life in our civilization without any reference to its tribal origin. That means that having an affinity with the African carvings, we can appreciate them not because they come from Africa but because their artistic realization is of such high communicative quality. [...] Art history books and courses began to pay greater attention than before to the so-called primitive arts from all over the world and thus the African museum material became a valuable subject for the students of art history [...][14]

So before the slow and long process that linked the universities to these objects took shape, the *Musée de l'homme* was one of the first institutions to engage art history on the African field. This was followed, as I mentioned above, by the birth of a narrative form regarding these productions. Later, the galleries would take over and publications on African art by Jacques Kerchache, Paudrat, Stephan, and Françoise Stoullig Marin would give a new dimension to this tacit integration of the continent in the new geography of art history. In particular, after the enormous work of Carl Einstein and Jean Laude, Jacques Kerchache contributed to bringing the comprehension of African art into the theoretical sphere, introducing the possibility of thinking about such art, not as motto, but as serious study. His influence in the creation of Musée du Quay Branly is well known.

Influential Position of the Leipzig Museum

To the East, as I also mentioned above, the Leipzig museum assumed the task of diffusing socialist realist theory in Africa, and of accumulating pieces from the continent. It is important to note that in this context, the institutions were centralized, and specifically, that after all exhibitions in conjunction with African countries, the pieces were systematically sent to the museum, as the institution bought on behalf of the state. Moreover, the museum organized its own thematic exhibitions throughout the former GDR, concentrating on symbolic cities and districts such as Karl-Marx-Stadt. In 1960, for example, there was a symptomatic great

14 Segy Ladislas, Aspects of African Art for the Museums," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 1 (1960): 126–127.

exhibition entitled *Anti-Kolonialismus-Ausstellung* (*Anti-colonialism Exhibition)*, a traveling exhibition that stopped at the six greatest enterprises in Leipzig. In 1967, another exhibition organized by the museum clearly showed its position. *Karl Marx und die Völkerkunde* (*Karl Marx and the Peoples' Ethnology)* indicated the thinker's theories and ideologies, then elucidating the thoughts of the former GDR's state machine. Thus, well before it became an issue for ethnographic museums around the world to try to find places for all kinds of art work, Leipzig's museum was one of the first institutions to refrain from creating a marginal line between so-called traditional art and contemporary art in its collection policy, dating from the time it was part of the former GDR. This policy was crafted with the aim of combating the theories of static and ahistorical societies very much in vogue in European scholarship on Africa. Above all, it worked for the respect of the principle of socialist realism, which held that art has never belonged to a single class. Moreover, it upheld the political function of these institutions, demonstrated by an interview I uncovered about fifteen years ago with one of the leaders of a German institution, *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, who affirmed that culture is a tool of diplomacy.

Conclusion

The inclusion of Africa in a new geographical map as a place of art history is older than we think. Archaeological discoveries in Nigeria between 1910 and 1912 by Frobenius aroused very early scientific analysis, including the works of Matvejs. This was the second major art historian after Carl Einstein who spoke in 1919 of these productions as artistic. According to Zoe Strother for Matvejs: "Frobenius, even despite his scientific controversiality, was the one who proved that Africans also had a history (and art history)."[15] Finally, in 1961, Laude wrote that it was unacceptable to assimilate African sculpture and fetishes, and held that this mistake of some thinkers was the logical consequence of the ethnographic knowledge produced in this period.[16]

15 Markov, cited by Zoe S. Strother, (2011).

16 Jean Laude. *La peinture Française, op. cit*. p.88.

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