

Disability and Affect

Proceedings of Two International Symposia about Art



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**Proceedings of Two International Symposiums
about Art**

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Acknowledgment

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Art and Disability
The cases from Africa and Asia

25 June 2017 (Sun.) 13:00 - 17:30

Multimedia Conference Room(304), Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Opening remark

Opening remark

Yukako Yoshida (ILCAA)

Thank you for coming to our International Symposium “Art and Disability: The cases from Africa and Asia”. This program is jointly hosted by our JSPS project “New Anthropological Approach to Affective Studies through Fieldwork of Critical Situations”, and ILCAA’s Core Project of Anthropology.

Today, three anthropologists explore the experiences of impaired artists or/and representation of disabilities and impairments in the arts.

One of the features of this symposium is that the art forms we analyze are not picture or sculpture, but performing arts and movies. We will talk about living body, the sounds, rhythms, and movements it produces.

Another feature of this symposium is that we study about so called non-Western world. By examining the cases from Sub-Saharan Africa, Japan, and Indonesia, I hope this symposium also illustrate cultural diversity regarding the conceptualization and perception of disabilities, bodies, and arts, as well as the commonalities among those different areas.

I have asked my presenters to bring some films or sound recordings today. By sharing those materials, I hope we can think and discuss together our theme “arts and disability” in the last session of today's program.

Hands of a Goze (blind female musician): the Tactile Culture of Visually-impaired People in Modern Japan

Kojiro Hirose (National Museum of Ethnology)

Introduction

A Goze refers to a blind female musician who traveled around Japan with shamisen (Japanese plucked stringed instrument). Although the associations of the blind musicians existed widely throughout the country in the early modern period, from the late modern period onward, only a handful of associations such as the one in Takada and one in Nagaoka continued to exist in Niigata Prefecture and engaged in the group activities. With the passing of Haru Kobayashi (1900-2005), who was known as the “last Goze,” the culture of Gozes that had been maintained by visually-impaired people disappeared completely from Japanese society in the 21st century. In the 1970s, the history of Gozes (who possessed valuable intangible cultural properties) and the actual conditions of their lives were broadly introduced through novels such as the one written by Tsutomu Mizukami and the paintings by Shinichi Saito, however, nowadays there are few young people who know about their existence.

Previously, the Goze issues were often discussed in the context of melancholy and tragedy such as “a disabled female who embraced life enduring discrimination” or “a lonely musician who was forced to continue traveling with a physical handicap.” After the World War II, with the expansion of the welfare service for the disabled and the enhancement of education in schools for the blind, their culture came to be recognized as the relics of the pre-modern times and the fact that there is no successor for it is also considered as the inevitabilities of history. To be sure, even if they became the full-fledged Gozes after ascetic training for many years, they tended to be in unstable living situations. It was not unusual for them to spend more than 300 days a year traveling. In addition, it is believed that there were many Gozes who fell dead on the street or died from an accident during their journey.

It is gratifying that the visually impaired go to universities as a matter of course and they have more career choices than ever before, though, gradually. However, would it be ok that the Goze culture will be forgotten completely? In this paper, I would like to focus on the “hands” of a Goze and approach the relevance and the possibility of the Goze culture from three different angles that are “touching the sound,” “touching the color” and “touching the heart.” Taking a hint from the Goze uta (Goze folk songs) which Gozes created and spread as their own oral traditions, I intend to clarify the role that the tactile culture of the visually impaired should play in today's society.

Touching the sound: training of a Goze

Kikue Sugimoto (1898-1983) who was the last oyakata (master) of the Takada-Goze and was also designated as an important intangible cultural asset holder, continued her journey as a Goze even

after the war, stating that she did not know other means of living. After being retired from the journey, she spent her quiet late years with two of her disciples at her home in Takada. It was after 1965 that she was picked up by the media and began to hold recitals in Tokyo and other places. Her last words shortly before her death were, “I’ve already forgotten the lyrics of the songs. There is no point in living.” For Sugimoto, who became blind in her childhood, her vocation as a Goze must have been the ultimate one, and there was no alternative but to work as an itinerant musician. With the earnest attempt by Sugimoto and many other Gozes toward the hard work and training acknowledging that there was no other choice, the Goze songs have been inherited.

Gozes in the early modern period composed a variety of the Goze songs by reconstructing the raw materials such as Sekkyo-bushi (sermon ballads) and Joruri (dramatic recitation accompanied by a shamisen). The narrative prayers called Saimon Matsuzaka (Danmono, traditional Japanese style of instrumental music for the koto) and Kudoki (oral recitation) are regarded as representatives and they involve recitation of long narratives to the accompaniment of a shamisen. The Goze songs were handed down from the masters to the disciples, from their hand to hand. A master took her disciple's hands into her own from behind and taught how to play the shamisen. Their hands became deformed and stiff by holding plectrums for many years. From their highly-trained hands and fingertips, the sounds with fine variations in intensity, tone (pitch) and length continued to be spun.



(Photo 1)

The narration of a Goze without words was passed down from mouth to ears, through the sense of touch and hearing. It is truly marvelous that they should have memorized a long list of narratives by immersing themselves to the task and by telling themselves that “there was no other way of living.” Furthermore, they changed the narrative styles flexibly according to the needs of the audience. The Goze songs abounded in ingenuity (improvisation and repetition) here and there in order to attract the audience. Although there is a wide-spread notion that “Goze songs are gloomy and sorrowful,” in reality, they often incorporated popular songs and comic stories with ingenuity to bring further entertainment to the parties.

Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904) who listened to the Goze songs in Kobe during the Meiji period wrote his impressions as follows. “I’ve never heard anything as beautiful as their songs. In the voice of a Goze, all sorrows and beauties in life and all pains and pleasure were vibrated.” Hearn who did not understand Japanese fully declared that the true nature of the Goze songs was the vibration (in the original text, he used the words “thrilled and quivered”). Probably Japanese people before the Meiji period appreciated the Goze songs as the pure “vibration of a sound, reverberation” transcending the language.

A wide range of repertoire of the Goze songs were imprinted in the bodies of blind women as the reverberations in a 7-5 syllable meter or the sounds in a 7-7 syllable meter with rhythm and melody by using the movement of their hands. In addition, the sounds of the Goze songs that were

incorporated into the hearts of the listeners also contained power to touch their heartstrings. Where does such power come from?

As can be seen in the quote of Sugimoto and from the sharp insight by Hearn, the Goze songs were not simply the music but the life of Gozes itself. Sugimoto also said, “I’m happy. I can do everything in old age and in the dark.” The sense of touch was considered the most important sense in her daily life. Being good at sewing, it is said that she could thread a needle in no time using her lips and tongue. Her house was always spick-and-span because she never failed to clean the floor. At meals while traveling, she always made sure there were no leftovers on her plate using her fingers with dexterity. The hands of a Goze often functioned better than the eyes of the sighted people.

A Goze song was composed of the voice of a blind woman and the sound of a shamisen on the surface, however, behind these auditory information, there was the reverberation of the life of a Goze different from the sighted people. The power of the Goze songs created by using the body sense other than a sense of sight, that is to say, every skin sensation of the whole body, attracted the sighted people who tend to rely solely on their eyes. The characteristics of the performing art by Goze who created the original reverberation with all their strength and heart could be described as “touching the sound”.



(Photo 2)

Touching the color: journey of a Goze

Chikuzan Takahashi (1910-1998), who gained considerable popularity as a Tsugaru shamisen player, said as follows. “I want to produce a sound that can evoke tangible images by listening to it closely and express a clearer, brighter and a bigger world than the visible world.” Takahashi adhered to the “sound representing Tsugaru just listening to the sound played by a Tsugaru shamisen” and polished his artistic skills all of his life.

It is a well-known fact that the history of Japanese music has been supported by the numerous visually-impaired people. The blind musicians created and nurtured the original melodies during the course of pursuing the world with no visual sense. It can be said that like the Tsugaru shamisen played by Chikuzan Takahashi, the Goze songs also belong to the same line of the blind music.

To begin with, “Heike Monogatari” (“The Tale of the Heike”) narrated by a biwa-hoshi (Japanese lute playing minstrel) which is the origin of the performing arts of the blind was established on the basis of the narration provided to propitiate the departed souls of the Taira family. In historical materials, it is recorded that the blind women in the medieval times considered as the roots of Gozes told the story of “Soga Monogatari” (“The Tale of Soga”) with the accompaniment of a tsuzumi (Japanese hand drum). “The Tale of Soga” was also a performing art in the medieval times on the subject of the memorial service for the departed soul. The afterworld controlled by the departed was a familiar existence for Japanese people in the pre-modern times that could be said to be the source of the world with no visual sense.

The indispensable element to add reality of the world with no visual sense to the Goze songs must have been the travel. Kikue Sugimoto traveled around villages in Niigata Prefecture and Nagano Prefecture repeatedly every year and gave a performance at various Goze-yados (places provided for Gozes to stay). While she commented positively about a trip to Shinshu (Nagano) that, “The wind was wonderful that made me feel as if I saw greenery with my eyes,” she also had a harsh experience of walking up the mountain in a snowstorm. It was common for the landowners of the respective villages to provide accommodation for Gozes, but welcoming the Goze's visit and preparing a place for them to give a recital (parties) became an economic burden on the part of the landlords. For this reason, providing accommodation for Gozes was considered a privilege as well as a kind of obligation for the landlords. The decline of landlords due to the land reform in 1947 which resulted in the decrease in the number of Goze-yados became a factor for the demise of the Gozes' travel.

As Chikuzan Takahashi stated his thoughts about his kadozuke (performance in front of the gate of houses) that, “I never thought I had a hard time. I just walked because I had no money,” there is no doubt that the travel was the last measures and the last resort to obtain food and money for the male blind art performers. On the other hand, the journey of Gozes was an indispensable element to develop and nourish the Goze songs. Gozes encountered the world with no visual sense through traveling and converted their feeling into the songs by their rich imagination and creativity.



(Photo 3)

In general, Gozes traveled in a small group of three to five people. Leading the group was a sighted woman called *tebiki* (guide) or a partially-sighted woman followed by the blind women. They carried a stick in their right hand and walked in a single line, each putting her left hand lightly on the baggage of a person in front of her. Even today, when more than two visually-impaired people walk together, they tend to walk in single file in a train formation. Standing abreast in a rank leads to increased risk of running into obstacles, so it is the wisdom of living to move ahead in a single file. By sensing the subtle movements (up and down or sideways) of the shoulders (or luggage) of the person walking in front of you, you can aware the uneven surface and the change of course.



(Photo 4)

The scene of the blind people traveling long distance in a group looked mysterious and had quite an impact for the sighted people. Gozes were awed as sacred visitors from the world with no visual sense. The cases where Gozes played active roles in practicing a folk religion in connection with the wishes for curing of diseases, abundant crops, sericulture and easy delivery, etc. are too numerous to count. The Goze songs were not confined to the level of the popular entertainment but they played complicated and unique functions.

It was also common practice for Gozes to make great use of their sense of touch while they were traveling. They gained an understanding of their surroundings by their skin sensation throughout the body. Although they could not see the actual sight, they could visualize the scene in their own way. The facts we see with our sense of sight only represent the part of the objects. Gozes closed in on the essence of the things and the truth of the world with no visual sense by a different pathway from the sighted people. As Sugimoto said that “I felt as if I were seeing the greenery,” the accumulation of numerous actual experiences added width and depth to the Goze songs.

At a time when there were no TVs, radios and the Internet, what one saw in the actual life was limited. The majority of the sighted people who were the listeners of the Goze songs seldom set out on a journey and spent their lives without leaving their villages where they were born and raised. It was the role of a Goze to provide various knowledge and comfort to these settled people. The information brought to people by Gozes covered a wide range of topics including legends, old stories, regional history and the incidents in the nearby villages. On the whole, the Goze songs were the powerful tool to make people feel as if they were able to feel the world with no visual sense. Not only did Gozes serve as messengers from the world with no visual sense, but they were also producers who gave the sense of actually seeing the truth that the sighted people had not seen before. It would be fair to say that the sensitivity capable of “feeling the unseen world as if you were seeing the world” can be rephrased as “touching the color.”

Touching the heart: direction of the Goze culture

As you can see from the previous description, the true nature of the Goze songs can be

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summarized in the two words, “touching the sound” and “touching the color.” The appeal of “touching the sound” and “touching the color” was cultivated and reproduced by the efforts of Gozes and more importantly, the Goze songs served as a trigger for the sighted people, the listeners to share the dynamics (reverberation) of “touching the sound” and “touching the color.” The audience of the Goze songs felt the reality of the world with no visual sense and relived the training of “touching the sound” and the travel of “touching the color.” That is why they supported Gozes by a tacit spirit of mutual assistance even under the harsh living environment in the pre-modern times.

Akiyamago (Sakae Village, Nagano Prefecture) which is famous as a rarely-visited region in Japan also received a regular visit from Gozes until the 1940s. It is said that every year in September Gozes stayed at different villagers' houses and enjoyed joining in the village festivals. An old man in his eighties who listened to the Goze songs in person said in retrospect “I'm thankful to a Goze-san for coming all the way to visit with us in Akiyamago. They're really respectable.” The hospitable welcome from the villagers must have amplified the vitality of Gozes who headed toward Akiyamago by walking up the tortuous cliff path. The culture of Gozes was a grand attempt by the blind women and the sighted people who went hand-in-hand together to make contact with the world with no visual sense.

It can be said that the Goze songs are the “art of the sense of touch” which integrates the skin sensation of the performers and the listeners. The Goze songs bring a comfortable feeling without the self-other distinction and put the listeners in a trance state. It is no coincidence that the impression and appreciation of the audience were expressed by the bodily reverberation including handclaps and applause. What is realized in the trial-and-error process of “touching the sound” and “touching the color” is the equal relationship between the blind people and the sighted people. The culture of Gozes can be defined as the blind people's positive contact with the sighted people and the interactive communication of “touching the heart”.

The modern period is the times when vision is dominant. To visualize the world with no visual sense by science is glorified as progress. In the advanced information society in which a slogan “the faster, the more, the better” is called for, the world with no visual sense came to be considered less serious. The bearers for the performing art of the blind are aging and even in the field of education of the schools for the blind, the history of biwa-playing minstrels and Gozes are lost in oblivion.

Another type of occupation for the blind which was established in the Edo period (17th century) was massage, acupuncture and moxibustion (sanryo in Japanese). The so-called sanryo (three therapies) is a manipulative therapy that examines the inside of the body (invisible world) on palpation using fingertips and palms. At schools for the blind after the Meiji period, the teachers have instructed people with visual impairments on the techniques of sanryo. Surely there was a transfer of culture from hand to hand.

In recent years, due to the international trends of the inclusive education, quite a lot of children with visual impairments choose to attend a normal school instead of going to schools for the blind. If we aim to substantiate the inclusive society, maybe we should actively encourage people with visual impairments to attend a normal school. However, it should be noted that the schools for the



(Photo 5)

blind have functioned as bases for handing down the tactile culture of people with visual impairments from the past to the future since they were established. The blind schools in Japan have maintained the aspect of the “school for the blind” as well as the tradition of the “school of the blind.”

Following the recent policies worked out by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports and Technology of advocating the philosophy of special needs education, the name of the schools for the blind throughout the country was changed to the “schools with visual assistance.” As a proverb says, “Names and natures do often agree,” the schools with visual assistance focus on the education of “complementing the deficiencies” of the children with visual impairments. There is no place for consideration for teaching students the art of living without vision and the secret of “touching the sound” and “touching the color.” The one-sided idea of “assistance” involves risk of running into the logic of the strong that the majority (sighted people) teaches and assists the minority (people with visual impairments).

With the disappearance of Gozes and the seeming arrival of the welfare society where the rights of the people with disabilities are guaranteed, it is surely high time that we imagine their songs and reconsider the significance of the Goze culture of “touching the heart.”

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Photograph

Photo 1: Kikue Sugimoto playing the shamisen
(offered by Sakiko Sugiyama)

Photo 2: Kikue Sugimoto singing with her two disciples at the "myouonkou" (musicians' gathering to honor Myouonten, goddess of music) ceremony
(offered by Sakiko Sugiyama)

Photo 3: A Goze woman receiving rice at kadozuke (performance in front of the gate of houses)
(offered by the Joetsu City Culture Development Division)

Photo 4: Gozes in their traveling attires
(offered by Sakiko Sugiyama)

Photo 5: Performance at a Goze-yado (accommodation provided to Gozes)
(offered by Sakiko Sugiyama)

Imperfect Bodies and Comedy in Balinese Theater

Yukako YOSHIDA

(joint researcher: Miwako TANAKA)

Introduction

In this presentation I describe the performances of amateur artists who are physically impaired and join Balinese comedy theaters. Their impairment, physical features, unusual voices, and awkward movements are often used as a source of jokes. Watching their comical performances, Balinese people usually laugh without embarrassment or constraint. What cultural value or norm exists behind this playful attitude toward disability, physical difference, or imperfection? What do those performers achieve by provoking laughter? How is the meaning of their body formed, negotiated, or modified through such comical play? Dr. Miwako Tanaka from Higashi Nippon International University, who is specialized in disability studies, and I have been investigating those questions since 2012. Although she is not here today, most of this presentation is the outcome of our joint research.

An anthropological theory on clowns with “unusual bodies” in theater and ritual

Masao Yamaguchi (1985) pointed out that in many part of the world, people with physical defects, or those who imitate them, perform as clowns in dramas or at feasts. He argued that such people appear as outsiders who temporarily visit people’s worlds, and their deviant bodies and behavior bring fresh energy to the ordinary world where people are bound to social norms.

Cultural contexts of art and the body

Ingstad and Whyte (1995) argued that the categories, notions, and statuses of disabilities and people with disabilities are not universal. Furthermore, Kuramoto (2010) stated that when we analyze disability represented in artworks or artistic performances, we need to consider the context, rule, and form that are specific to each genre of the arts (10). By examining details of the performance, its artistic form, and the cultural context, I would like to show that Balinese clowns with physical disabilities or impairments are not reducible to alien visitors as described by Yamaguchi (1985).

Outline of my presentation

First, I provide a cultural background to the performances. After introducing some religious context, I analyze clowning in Bali in general. This part is about performances by so-called able-bodied actors who imitate impairments or disabilities. I then discuss cases of performers who have actual impairments or disabilities. Case one is an actress called Mrs. Nungah, who has dysarthria. Case two is a group of visually impaired singers and musicians called Rwa Bineda.

Impaired bodies in Balinese Hindu

In Balinese Hinduism, physical and mental defects are stigmatized and thought to be the result of bad *karma* or wrong conduct, especially in a person's previous life. Therefore, some families tend to think that having a child with a defect is a dishonor, and keep the child confined to their house. At the same time, the teaching of reincarnation can also lead to the belief that no human being is perfect. If a person were perfect he or she would be delivered from this world and become a god. Hence every human who has not yet reached the world of gods is imperfect.

Bondres, the Balinese clown

Such imperfectness in human beings is often reflected in Balinese theater and used as a source of humor. As an example, let me take the ritual masked theater "*topeng*." Topeng dramas describe the past legends of the Balinese Kingdom. In this theater, villagers are represented as comical, stupid, extreme, uncontrolled, and generally lacking in manners. In Balinese, such villager clowns are called *bondres*.

Balinese clowning and imitation of impairments

In a *bondres* comical scene, actors—who are usually "able-bodied"—often imitate physical impairments and disabilities such as paralysis, uncontrolled sudden movement, harelips, buck teeth, stuttering, and dysarthria. While it is obvious that many of the expressions used have evolved from observation and imitation of people with impairments in the real life, laughing at such jokes is not considered to be poor manners in Bali.

Laughing at "our" imperfect body

Several possible reasons exist for this:

- (1) A performer can show his acting skills this way, while switching between characters, and changing from mask to mask in the drama. I am often told by my informants that what the audience is appreciating is the theatrical skill of the actors; their laughter does not indicate any derision toward the represented disabilities appearing in real life.
- (2) In a sense, such *bondres* are described as "ordinary" villagers, and consequently familiar and beloved figures, in contrast to the divine kings and warriors who also appear in topeng drama. These clowns are a projection of the audience members themselves. As mentioned above, in Bali human beings are conceptualized as imperfect entities. Therefore, the act of laughing at those *bondres* can be seen as laughing at their own imperfections, even though they are depicted in a rather exaggerated way. I elaborate this point in another paper which will be published, hopefully, in the next year.

I will now move on to two case studies of performers who actually have impairments.

Case 1. Mrs. Nungah

She acts as a “Liku” (a stupid princess who often appears in Balinese theater) and received the “Best Liku Prize” in 2008 (from the *Bali Post*). She has had dysarthria since birth and cannot pronounce certain consonants, such as “s” and “r.” She was active in Balinese dance since childhood but had never played drama; in 2002 she was asked to join a theater and act as “Liku” by a neighbor who was intrigued by her voice. Nungah was told by the neighbor, “There is a star on your tongue.” Although she was advised to decline by her daughter, who did not want her mother to be laughed at, Nungah decided to join the group anyway. While working as a housewife, she now plays the role of Liku several times a month.

Nungah’s performance in 2013



(Photo 1)

The performance we will see on video today was produced as entertainment for a temple festival. Nungah was a guest performer and appeared with local, less experienced actors. Her role, Liku, is a stupid princess and is greedy, overly cute, and a man chaser. Her flamboyant costumes and excessive makeup also reflect her personality. It is important to note that no script was used and no rehearsal was held for this performance. This is the same for most Balinese theaters. Following a basic story line, performers improvise their characters.

Video (1)

As many of you may not be familiar with Balinese theater, I will explain what the actors are doing in this video before I play it. The first part shows the entrance of Liku. Behind a curtain, Liku is talking to her servant. The servant asks her to enter. Liku responds with *pesu* (“go forth” in Indonesian), but her servant hears *meju* (“shit” in Balinese). The second part is a scene where Liku makes fun of a member of the audience who served coffee before the performance started. In this part, Liku makes a joke about the audience member’s big buttocks. Here we can see how openly Balinese talk about people’s physical features. The third part is a scene where servants tease Liku’s pronunciation. Liku says *macam-macam* (“a messy affair” in Indonesian), but her servants hear

masam-masam (“sour”), then *manyam-manyam* (no meaning), and then *makam-makam* (no meaning).

Some features of Nungah’s performance

Her jokes are not restricted to slips of the tongue; her unusual voice adds a special comicality. She exaggerates her already poor pronunciation so that her utterances sound even more clumsy and inappropriate. Her co-stars also take part in making her voice sound intriguing and funny to the audience. They pretend to hear her words incorrectly and make the dialog confusing. It can be said that her joke is complete only when her fellow actors react correctly and “wrongly hear” in an amusing way. In this example, most of the actors had never performed with Nungah before, so they needed to spontaneously find a way they could make fun of her pronunciation. While being laughed at for her voice impairment, Nungah herself also makes jokes about other people’s physical features. Therefore the relationship between those who laugh and the one being laughed at is quite substitutable.



(Photo 2)

Art transforms a disability into an ability

I was told by Nungah that her motto is, “*dibalik kekurangan ada kelebihan*” (there is an advantage behind a disadvantage). Through the performing arts, her disability is transformed into an ability. It is important to note that for some audiences, whether her pronunciation sounds like it does “by nature” or is “made-up” is not clear. In Bali, there are traditions of “able-bodied” actors imitating dysarthria in clowning performances. In a sense, Nungah is following such traditions. The distinction between impairment and a skill becomes ambiguous through the performance.

Case 2. Mr. Masir and Rwa Bineda

Rwa Bineda is a group of visually impaired men and women. They play gamelan music, sing ritual songs, and perform *genjek*, an art form of comical singing originally performed when men drink alcohol. Rwa Bineda was founded in 1996 by their leader, Masir, who is blind, and a university graduate. Most members met each other at a blind school, and many of them are masseurs.

As an “able-bodied” musician, Mr. Mandra supports the group by providing free gamelan



(Photo 3)

lessons and also taking part in their performances. In the photo, we can see Mandra playing a drum. Especially when Rwa Bineda play accompaniment music for dance or drama, his assistance is necessary as the musicians need to match their music to the improvised movements of the dancers or actors. Mandra gives cues to the musicians through drumming sounds, thereby communicating when to start, break, provide accents, and so on.

Rwa Bineda's performance in 2014

The example that follows is a show performed to entertain guests who came to attend the rite of passage of a royal baby in Denpasar. A royal family member was a colleague of Mandra and thus has known Rwa Bineda for some years. He occasionally asks them to perform when his family require musicians. The ceremony was held at a palace. At first, Rwa Bineda planned to perform only *geguntangan*, ritual songs, and *genjek*. They rehearsed several times for the performance.

After Rwa Bineda's *geguntangan* and *genjek* performances, the following act involved two renowned clowns, who started a comical talk. They spontaneously asked Rwa Bineda to join their performance. Both *bondres* comedians are professional actors who also teach the subject as university lecturers. One of them is a relative of Mandra, and hence they are close friends of Rwa Bineda members. Rwa Bineda then accompanied their act, with some members taking part as singers.

Video (2)

The next video consists of three performances. The first one is *geguntangan*. This ritual singing was about the birth of Ganesha, a Hindu god. (This part I will exclude from my analysis). The second one is *genjek*, the drinking song. The lyrics were written by Masir. In the first part, they introduce themselves to the audience as people with visual impairments, who still want to contribute their performance to the ceremony held at the palace. The song moves on to the story of a blind man who lost his girlfriend because of a lie he told. The last part is *bondres*, a comedy duo. Two clowns appear on stage, and talk and sing. They continuously joke and occasionally mention Rwa Bineda. Sometimes they communicate with musicians directly. While the duo have many stock jokes that they

repeat, they basically perform spontaneously. Therefore no script is used.

Lyrics:

- <Man> Why is my destiny so bad? I am full of flaws. I am not handsome, not rich, but blind. That is me.
- <Woman> Hi darling, there are many regrettable things in this world. I know you are a young man with a lot lacking. But don't worry, I love you...
- <Woman> You said you owned a car. But why was it a rented car? You are a young man who pretends to be rich. But [don't worry], it's over.

Genjek: Tragedy and humor, and the spirit of Rwa Bineda

I will discuss the *genjek* first. Unlike Nungah's case, Rwa Bineda's impairment is not transformed into something positive. They sing about the hardship of living with visual impairment. We might interpret this as their message to the "able-bodied" members of the audience. However, at the same time, the overall atmosphere is very humorous. For example, they sing about a man with a visual impairment who is vain, and tries to catch the woman's attention but fails.

Humor is the core of *genjek* art. Using this art form, and by drinking beer in front of the royal audience during their performance, they present themselves as rambunctious and friendly people, rather than tragic victims. Rwa Bineda is not only the name of the group, it is also the name of an important Balinese Hindu concept: that the world consists of pairs of opposing elements, such as right and left, good and bad, and women and men. This also leads to a belief that every person has good aspects and bad aspects, with all people conceptualized as small universes (*buana alit*). Such a perspective on the human being is reflected in the ambiguous character of the blind man described in the song.

Rwa Bineda also represent themselves as a successor of traditional art. During the interview, Masir repeatedly told me that the purpose of their artistic activity is to preserve Balinese culture. Although it was not shown in the video, one of the lyrics includes the phrase "*Ajeg Bali*." This is a slogan used to call for appreciation and preservation of Balinese culture, as well as the solidarity of Balinese people. As Bali artistic culture is considered an important part of ethnic identity, the act of preserving the art is highly valued. By using that slogan, Rwa Bineda members insist that what they are doing is preserving Balinese culture, and thus they are also an important component of the society.

Comedy duo: Teasing and applause

While during the *genjek* performance the message from Rwa Bineda can be made clear, in the subsequent comedy the style is more interactive and therefore Rwa Bineda have less control over what happens. In the comedy, Rwa Bineda's impairments are used as a source of humor. For example, one of the clowns says, "I've been wondering. Visually disabled people play gamelan. How can they play gamelan in time to dance?!" The clowns also imitate the way that people with visual impairments commonly walk in line.

According to one of the actors, this joke originates from his daily observations of Rwa Bineda members. One day he saw a member of Rwa Bineda with weak eyesight leading a line of other members. With mocking intent, the leader went around in a big circle, taking them nowhere. The comedian was inspired while watching this and re-enacted it on stage. Although it is not mentioned on stage, the two clowns have a close personal relationship with Rwa Bineda, and that friendship seems to be reflected in the stage performance. While they make fun of Rwa Bineda members without restraint, the members also pleasantly surrender themselves to the duo. Rwa Bineda sometimes playfully fights back against the comedians by playing music in unexpected ways. When members of the audience laugh, the audience gets at least partly involved in their frank communication.

Furthermore, we also need to pay attention to the part where the clowns applaud Rwa Bineda. They recognize the abilities and skills that Rwa Bineda members have, and ask the audience to appreciate that. It is very common for Balinese comedy to include some form of moral lesson, especially when it is performed during a ritual. In the case of this performance, the clowns are educating the audience while appreciating the Rwa Bineda members.

Praising and teasing, the two comedians explore diverse ways in which they can interact with the visually impaired musicians. Rwa Bineda and the two clowns are both measuring and re-measuring the distance between each other and enjoy invading the space in between.



(Photo 4)

Analysis of the two cases: Joking and laughter evolve from a mutual interaction among actors and audience.

These two cases are very different. For a start, the first is about a single performer and the second is about a group of musicians. Also different is the degree of seriousness of their impairments and the difficulties they face because of them. Members of Rwa Bineda are obviously more strongly affected than is Nungah. In addition, Nungah performs often and earns a suitable amount of money for her performance, while Rwa Bineda members are invited to the stage less often and tend to have financial difficulties in maintaining their activities. However, there are also some similarities. To illustrate these I will now reply to one of the questions I raised at the beginning of this presentation.

What do these performers achieve by provoking laughter?

(1) Comedy as a means of social involvement.

Regardless of how well it pays, the act of participating in a show for a ritual ceremony is considered to be “*ngayah*,” which can be translated as “ritual volunteer service.” It is a way of showing devotion to a god and also a contribution to the worshipping community. Each time they perform they receive a warm reception. Hence through the performing arts, they create an important channel for social engagement.

I should also add that in Bali the skill of making people laugh is highly valued. On this island, where population density is high and solidarity is quite important for the local community, expressing anger and getting emotional in public are considered to breach the norm. Avoiding confrontation by joking is a highly appreciated manner or strategy for people in daily life. Therefore comedians and other artists who can bring laughter to the stage are highly respected within Balinese society.

(2) Messages behind the humor

Humor can attract the attention of an audience and thus make the voice of a performer with an impairment heard. They can consequently insert messages into their comic routines, as Rwa Bimeda did in their *genjek* performance. But what is more striking to me is the uncertainty of the message that the performance brings.

(3) From “self-expression” to the process of negotiation and exploration

One cannot make a joke without a fellow performer or an audience to respond to it. In both cases considered here, they represented their impairments in a humorous way, but the participation of other performers and the audience was indispensable for such humor to work. For example, Nungah’s joke is completed only when other performers mishear her words and tease her or respond in an intriguing way. In addition, if the audience does not laugh at the joke, then the teasing words sounds more offensive.

Hence their performance should be analyzed as a mutually collaborative process rather than a “self-expression” of performers with impairments. Each performance is open to many possibilities. What is eventually highlighted on the stage is a relationship between performers and other performers, and the audience. Given the freedom of improvisation, Nungah, Rwa Bimeda, and the other performers explore the ways they appreciate and enjoy the differences the impairments bring. The performing arts, and especially comic theater offer a space for such exploration while involving the audience members who react with laughter or not.

Acknowledgement

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Photograph

Photo 1: Mrs. Nungah as Liku

(taken by Yukako Yoshida)

Photo 2: Mrs. Nungah and her audience

(taken by Yukako Yoshida)

Photo 3: Rwa Bineda performing genjek

(taken by Yukako Yoshida)

Photo 4: The comedy duo and a member of Rwa Bineda

(taken by Yukako Yoshida)

7th Art and Disability in Sub-Saharan Africa: Staging Altered Bodies and the Process of Normalization.

Aggée Célestin LOMO MYAZHIOM (University of Strasbourg)

Cinema is a powerful and fertile social analyzer. During the 20th Century, disability became a social issue, and despite obstacles encountered, the new dogma in international public policies is to move away from a biomedical centered perspective to a coherent, integrated approach that is “respectful of human rights”, dignity and the principle of accessibility for disabled persons (UN 1975, OAU 1979). It is this context that permits certain filmmakers to circumvent standards, free themselves from imposed social norms, and break down barriers. It allows filmmakers to create “singular” characters, sometimes comic, sometimes dramatic, and to invent situations that cannot be staged by so-called “normal” actors. The major benefit of globalization is that it allows filmmakers to influence each other. For example, Senegalese filmmaker Sembène Ousmane, inspired by French realistic cinema, featured stigmatized bodies in his movies. We can also find this “cinema of the real” in the 2010 documentary-fiction film “Benda Bilili”, which narrates the adventure of Congolese musicians (DRC).

This project provides a historical and a sensory anthropological perspective, questions continuities and ruptures, and aims to: (1) explore cinematic social representations of disabilities, (2) analyze disabled ‘actors’ movie performances; and, (3) examine ‘global audiences’ and disabled persons reception of these works. This study will examine the function of image and its effect on the transformation of mentalities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

After a brief overview of movies in Sub-Saharan Africa, this research focuses on movies in Senegal and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Art and Affect in Africa

19 Aug 2017 13:00-17:30

Hall 301, Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Opening remark

Yutaka Sakuma (ILCAA)

Before introducing the individual communications, let me explain this symposium's objective. The anthropology research team of ILCAA, this symposium's organizer, is currently leading a cooperative research on several themes, one being entitled "Affect".

In general, to evoke affect, we can say that it is a phenomenon related to human subjectivity through feelings and emotions; and according to social context, we call it "passion", "emotion", "feeling" or "sense". In the modern system of thought of Western Europe, passion is considered as something opposed to reason and that must be controlled, drawing its essence from "passio—passive nature". We must acknowledge that these past years, some interdisciplinary movements have been emerging. They offer a different perception on the question of human existence based on affect. In other words, it is a "turn(ing) affective—an affective turn".

Some key results were obtained in different research fields of natural and life sciences such as neuroscience and cognitive psychology. For example, A.R. Damasio introduced the idea of a "physical" approach in the neuroscience field; he proved that emotions acted as the result of a kinetic phenomenon between body and brain, and not just a simple physiological or psychological phenomenon. Moreover, the discovery of mirror neurons has revealed the primates' empathic ability toward their own, and that even at a neuronal level. This discovery demonstrated the possibility that Man may have acquired sociality through empathy experienced mutually with others, before reaching a level of contractualization reared by reason.

In contrast, in the field of humanities and social sciences, some research focus on the fact that affect is a social phenomenon that cannot be dismissed as appearing physiological and psychological reactions. In other words, it is an attempt to grasp affect as a "thing that moves us—affectus" (according to Spinoza) arising from the influence it exerts or suffers from others: and it doesn't find completion within the individual, but in relation to the group. In this context, affects and emotions such as pleasure or displeasure felt by the individual are not subjective and are considered like intersubjective events, focusing on the community of affects that extends beyond an individual's body. In political science and in sociology, those perspectives are applied to lead research on chauvinism, nationalism, mass media, social media, and some very convincing results have been obtained.

That being said, this intersubjectivity theorized by humanities and social sciences calls into question the large part of subjectivity inherent in research, and the "subjects that analyze affect relative to rationally conducted research" had a tendency to brush aside the intersubjective nature. In that sense, we believe there is a point where anthropology can bring its original contribution to research on affect.

Anthropology is not experimentation, nor reduced to bibliographical review. It is based on the methodology of fieldwork as its main investigative pillar; it is an art based on the body and the sensitivity of the researcher "here and now" to elucidate the situation on the

ground.

Based on these perspectives, we conduct comprehensive research on three aspects of affect encountered in the following situations: daily life, crisis, and festive aspects. Art, the topic of today's symposium, is seen under the angle of "festivity". Here, while we are not dealing with a commonplace situation, which we can thusly differentiate from daily routine, celebration is a creative situation that even allows us to overcome crisis. In the broad sense, ceremonies, sports, games, etc. can be seen under the festive aspect in addition to the artistic side, but we can say the latter is unique in view of the social action to which affect contributes.

Whether it is visual arts, performing arts, language arts, or acoustic arts, the experience related to the appreciation of works of art falls under sensitivity and affect, far more than under thought and/or reason. It is not about thinking, but about feeling. Should we draw a recent example of debate on the topic of anthropology, we could refer to Alfred Gell's theory of agency. Unlike some artistic research led by anthropologists in the past, which were concerned with semantically deciphering hidden meaning, on the contrary Gell underlined the importance of the effect that art could elicit: affective reactions, such as wonder or fear. In other words, the object is not solely reduced to a passive existence that must be observed externally, in unilateral fashion, but an agency that intervenes in the act of observation and that influences the observer. Looking for the dynamic correlation between object and person is, in a sense, the role of artistic research. It goes without saying that the intersubjective action of affect is important.

If we are putting forward research on art as the central theme this year, it is because the artistic field is important in this research. As a matter of fact, in June, we also organized an international symposium entitled "Art and Disability" around Professor Lomo, who was in attendance. The main theme of that symposium was performing arts, such as dance and song. In today's symposium, we are going to talk about visual arts such as paintings, masks and sculptures.

That being said, why isn't the theme of this symposium other than Art and Affect "in Africa"? While there is not theoretical reason, it would be honest to say that it happened in the process of things. I will introduce the moderator of this symposium, and the other people on this stage.

As indicated on the poster you are holding, an international symposium is happening from August 22 to 24, 2017, on the topic of "Présence Africaine" a culture magazine of the Black world that greatly influenced independence movements in Africa. An exhibition on this magazine is currently held on the ground floor of ILCAA, and it is an interesting topic even from an artistic point of view, so please do not hesitate to make a visit during the break. As mentioned in "Présence Africaine" magazine, art has been an extremely important theme throughout scientific research and political movements. We have invited Roger Somé, who is in charge of the ethnological collection at the University of Strasbourg and who has skills in the fields of artistic and anthropological African studies. With Professor Somé in Japan, we agreed to hold a symposium on the topic of anthropology. I strongly hoped that African art would be considered from an aesthetic viewpoint, and not only anthropological, and that is the reason why I called upon the individuals present here to make statements.

Opening remark

That is why Fumiaki Yanagisawa from Tokyo University is present, along with Mr. Bruce Clark, who is not a researcher, but a fine artist and photograph. His art is related to Africa. As you can see, with these multidisciplinary presenters (anthropology, aesthetics, art), we have decided to focus on Africa.

In short, this symposium has been organized according to the individuals we wanted to hear from, beyond a theoretical perspective. In the process, during the planning of this symposium I was not directional, I just suggested to the presenters some vague, quasi-abstract themes around the general topic of “Art and Affect in Africa”, without adding any in-depth request. In itself, that was as if I was making a bet. Of course, I knew about the work of each presenter, and that convinced me there would be no dissonance between them: I could organize this project in a raw fashion, yet, looking at the manuscripts I received ahead of time, I noticed that a resonance going beyond my wildest imagination was happening. I am convinced that you will all be able to notice it as well as you listen to the three individuals, and as a clue, I am allowing myself to share my personal opinion first, as a brief introduction to the three presenters. There are common points of debate in their work about art and affect in Africa. They are about “actions”, or “movement”. That might seem strange at first glance! The sculptures and paintings mentioned in this symposium, unlike performing arts like song or dance, are motionless, and it would be normal to associate them with “motionlessness”. However, that is not necessarily true.

First, the focus of attention in Mr. Somé’s presentation, “creation, emotion, and reception of artwork in Africa” is on African masks. Dogon masks (West Africa) appear on the poster (of the symposium). However, Mr. Somé does not discuss the meaning of the social or symbolic functions of these masks, as past anthropologists would have. The mask’s value, its fabrication, the dance, and the audience watching and evaluating: that is all happening in a dynamic relationship. More precisely, for example, Mr. Somé highlights that the dance, which is performed with a mask, is an element of the mask itself. As he mentions, his analysis is based on an “analysis of the mask in its relation with movement”. From this analytical point of view, the relation between sculptor and mask is similar to the relation between scene director and actors.

In Professor Yanagisawa’s presentation, entitled “Emotive Sensitivity: from Fry’s Formalism to Senghor’s Humanism”, the main topic is the singular thought of Léopold Sédar Senghor, well-known poet and first president of the Republic of Senegal, about “sensitivity to emotivity”. What seems very interesting to me is that Senghor, who referred to the formalist critique of British painter and art critic Roger Fry, through African sculptures, considered that Africa had “rhythm” as a base concept. It is a rhythm created by a succession of similar parts, and at the same time, rhythms repeated from one work to another, with sculpture, music, poetry, or literature being disciplines that propagate these rhythms. While Professor Somé argues that forms are created in action, Professor Yanagisawa might debate on rhythm, that is to say, on the action that dwells in objects.

In “Fighting against Ghosts—visual arts and contemporary history in Africa”, the third presenter, Mr. Bruce Clark, will show creative activities that have been developed to resonate with contemporary African history: the activities of a group of artists fighting against apartheid in South

Africa from 1978 to 1985, the creation of collaborative works of art in remembrance of the Rwandan Tutsi genocide in 1994, and now actual events occurring (people losing their life in the Mediterranean Sea). Thinking about such creative activities, we have a tendency not to relate them with the solitude that the creator faces as he works. Mr. Clarke's presentation focuses on the idea that creation is happening in relation to history, and the violence that such a process could engender. In that sense, it is rather a collective effort than a solitary one, and he may point out that "art must become a process", a movement.

Professor Akira Okazaki (former instructor at Hitotsubashi University and specialists of East Africa anthropology and performing art studies), along with Mr. Kazuhiro Nakatani from the Kyoto University (studying in Japan and in Denmark the performing arts among people bearing mental or physical disabilities) will share a few words on these three presenters.

Creation, Emotion and Reception of Artnetwork in Africa

Roger Somé (University of Strasbourg)

Conceiving an art of any kind cannot be understood without the intervention of our senses, and therefore of our affects. From the viewpoint of creation, the emergence of art is the formatting of our senses, or the act of making sensitive facts that previously were displaying little to no sensitivity, according to various sensibilities. Once the artwork has been brought into being, its enjoyment happens through the senses by which man is affected. Indeed, by his receptiveness, man is touched by all that surrounds him, and therefore by works of art, so far as they represent phenomena. While man is a reasoning being, he is a being of sensations and of emotions as well. Thus, pleasure or displeasure, taste or distaste, is always a sentiment as a manifestation of the emotion that a fact or an object evokes in a subject. From this perspective, the existence of art only has worth in the existence – and consequently in its manifestation – in the subjects' affects. Then, it becomes possible to claim that, as strange as it may seem, artistic creation is beholden not to the artist, but to the audience. Such is the idea that Duchamp translated into his now legendary claim: “A work of art is dependent on the explosion made by the onlooker”. This proposition, which creates a relationship of dependency between doing and looking, between the act of bringing into existence and the action of looking, is a very strong and very loaded formula that places the essence of art in emotiveness and affects. In other words, what brings into existence, what makes an object change from its technical, scientific or nondescript status into a work of art, is the spectating subject. Considered in its multiple and diverse forms, this subject becomes the audience. Consequently, what would art be, if not the condition of the aesthetic as a possibility to make being appear in its materiality, and the opportunity of a possibility to manifest the enjoyment of sensitive forms by man!

In this perspective, artistic creation is indeed an aesthetic, that is, a path from idea to appearance, from the absence of a physical form to the presence of a being with boundaries by which it can be distinguished from other beings, from the invisible to the visible, from the inaudible to the listening of a sound. Artistic creation is thus an often complex process of putting into shapes sentiments and emotions which, by then becoming perceptible physical beings, can communicate with other non-physical beings – or, more exactly, to a physicality that is not immediately perceptible – coming from men and which are the affects, that is, some other sentiments and emotions by which man is granted an opening into those other physical beings that are called works of art. Then, artistic creation is an enjoyment; enjoyment that belongs equally to the one who is commonly considered the creator, namely the artist, and to the one considered the subject who consumes the art, and who nonetheless appears as the one through which art occurs. He is the one in which art draws the quintessence of its existing, namely the subject who is observing and looking, who is substantially the audience. Without the audience – that is to say, without that source, which it is, of the expression of sentiments, a source which includes the maneuver, the one who shapes the forms –, what would art be? What would all those artifacts become – whether they be paintings, sculptures, music, theatrical

representations, cinema, performances, installations, conceptual, minimalist or video pieces – in the absence of affects, of these states, of these specific modes of being as a result of which they touch a subject and, in that way, gain meaning? Certainly, the debate is set. Some will say that the author of a work of art is not the audience, but is obviously the artist. Be that as it may! But what is an art without an audience? What is a work of art without an interpretation? What is a film, a representation, a concert, in short an exhibit, without a spectator? What is literature or poetry without readers. Aren't we claiming loud and clear, nonstop, that the digital revolution is killing books!

In any case, whatever we may think about it, Ernst Cassirer traces for us a path in this thought process of the audience as the artist. Here is what he precisely says about artistic creation: art is not “a simple reproduction, or a simple imitation of a ready-made, given, exterior reality” (E. Cassirer, 1995: 137, unofficial translation). Obviously, Cassirer here is referring to the Aristotelian words (“art imitates life”), but his thought continues beyond this historical reference. For Cassirer, a creative power lies in art, a “productive imagination” that he distinguishes from the “passive” fact that is “reproductive imagination”. This power, as an action that speaks to art as an “expression”, is not an action reserved to the typical creator; it can also be found within the spectator, as “to enjoy the forms of things, we must create these forms” (*Ibid.*: 141, unofficial translation). Consequently, this enjoyment certainly relies on the presence of forms, but mostly on one's faculty to create these forms in himself, that is to say, to take them in, to represent them, to make them “function”, as Nelson Goodman would say. Furthermore, if art is an expression, then it supposes an interpretation, which means that the work of art allows us to apprehend the world in a variety of ways: it always grants us new possibilities to decipher our environment. In this sense, it is possible to say that imitation does not truly exist, because the copy, including its Platonic understanding, always gives us a different interpretation of reality. Then, La Fontaine was an imitator, but *The Wolf and the Lamb* (*Le loup et l'agneau*) is not Λύκος και άρην. La Fontaine was the modern imitating the ancient Aesop. In our recent art history, we find similarities with this quite ancient tradition (if “Cézanne's space was the impressionists”, “the object of Picasso and Braque is Cézanne's”, writes J-F Lyotard (1982: 365, unofficial translation).

We find here a manifestation of the very essence of art, where the “great mimetic game” (F. Warin, 2007: 231, unofficial translation) constantly unfolds. In any case, the topic is far more complex than it seems, and Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe suggests an illumination where the *imitation of the moderns* is a “repetition”, as a rewriting, of the ancients. Hence La Fontaine repeats Aesop, Hölderlin repeats Sophocles, but it is a repetition in which there is a quest for the origins; it is the motive of *deconstruction*, and a sufficient explanation for Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe for which postmodern discourse (unlike J-F. Lyotard who, nonetheless, sees the postmodern in modernity) is without a doubt a discourse of modernity, that is, a *mimesis* (Cf. *À Jean-François Lyotard – Où en étions-nous ?* (1986: 257-285, unofficial translation).

This *mimesis* is very much a *mimesis* of the senses, thanks to which the work happens, and as such, in other words, as *mimesis*, it repeats itself through different eras and different subjects, thus giving a proof of humanity's unity and diversity. This *mimesis* of the senses highlights all the

importance of affectivity that occupied, if not preoccupied, the unappreciated philosopher of his time that was Baruch Spinoza. For him, affectivity cannot be separated from the subject. There is not an affective subject on one side, distinct from a rational subject, a sensitive subject separated from an intelligent subject. What is fundamental in this posthumous work (*The Ethics*), and that relates to the question examined here, is that the order of the sensitive and the order of the intelligent draw from the same ontology. To say it in layman's terms, the mind and the apparent have the same source, that is to say, they come from the same being. Thus, in the third part of the work (*On the Origin and Nature of the Emotions*), from the beginning, and in particular in the scholia of proposition 2, Spinoza clearly defends the idea of an absolute interdependency between body and soul: "mind and body are one and the same thing, conceived first under the attribute of thought, secondly, under the attribute of extension" (Spinoza, 1983 [1965]: 137) In Spinoza's lexicon, this means that there is only one substance, and that it is the being, the phenomenon.

To say it in other words, the question of affects is that of the possibility of knowing through the senses, or, more broadly, through the body; that is, in western philosophical vocabulary, and since Descartes, the *attribute of extension*, or physical matter even, that is, the substance which opposes itself to another substance that is named Reason, Mind, Idea, or even Soul. In fact, in the history of western thought, the senses have always been considered as elements unable to lead the subject to knowledge. The latter could only be elaborated from the mind's faculties; reason being the one that imposes its legislation, and that proclaims what is truth, and what isn't. Nevertheless, man does not gain knowledge uniquely through reason. Logic is not the only path through which man can reach truth. It turns out that babies, since their birth, explore the world thanks to smells and to their mouth. That is what allows them to find their mother and notably the breast that will feed them. Likewise, in order of appearance, the hands are the first sensing organs that grow in humans. Furthermore, how would it be possible that, in man, Idea and Mind, could exist before matter and body? The brain, before being a spiritual space, is physical matter. We can therefore say that man's existence begins with his corporeal body, that is to say, this sensitive being, source of the affects. Moreover, it is also thanks to the senses that man carries the affects as faculties through which he can aptly explore the world in a manner that is other than rational. It is known, since the works of Antonio Damasio, that emotional behaviors are not ordered by the brain, but instead are present in the brain as a reflection of what is happening in the human body. In other words, observable changes in the body when emotional sensations occur are transmitted and interpreted by the brain, instead of the opposite (1999; 2003). Thus, not all knowledge is rational (we still have to agree on the meaning of rationality!), but that does not yet mean it lacks basis or truthfulness. That is precisely the case of knowledge through the affects of which works are approached or received, if not all materiality.

From this conceptual and metaphysical framework, is it possible to present the relation to creation and to emotion in the reception of works that is specific to Africa? While Europeans are still looking for, notably on the matter of art, what is specific to Africa, as they see in *primitiveness* the added artistic value of African works, a primitiveness that can regenerate European art, Africans are, on the other side, seeing in the way of doing, in the European way of doing, the model to follow. From

this perspective, the African way of doing is almost always the result of a combination, so that the African being includes often enough, if not always, some European influence. We could say that the African way of doing, at least starting from the colonial fact, is a postmodern way of doing, in the sense that it is conceived in terms of multiplicity of references. However, and in this multiplicity, it is possible to circumscribe a fact that could present a specificity. That specificity is the production of classical African art, this art that is said to be traditional – as if the traditional should only belong to Africa –, this art whose authenticity is based on the relation, if not its submission, to the effective experience of ritual religious practices, this art of masks and statues.

The production of African masks is undoubtedly based on the possibility and on the capacity of a manifestation of emotions granting meaning to objects. The dance of the mask, as it happens, is a reflection of the rhythm of the music, a component of the same mask. In other words, the mask as a whole includes the costume, the dancer, the dance sticks (sometimes), the guide (some masks require a guide), the music, and quite obviously the dance. It is through all this aggregate that the divine presents itself to mankind. This aggregate, which moves to the sound of drums and whistles that compose the music, responsible of the movement that can summon the god, owes its existence to affects. In absence of sensitivity, the god could not show itself. It is for that reason that in the case of religious ceremonies, the act through which a defunct human being enters the divine sphere, a sensitive presence is necessary. From there emerge the sculptures of ancestors, as is the case with the Dogon and their androgynous statue which, symbolizing humanity by the presence of a being that is both feminine and masculine, constitute the Dogon ancestor who, in this way, furthermore, presents the Dogon concept of the person as a twin-like being that has both sexes until initiation, the moment when the individual is determined as feminine or masculine, depending on the case.

Besides the mask, the statue, in its bending at the knees, is an artistic production that implements movement, a flexion movement that appears for Ivorian choreographer Alphonse Tiérou as the base position of the African dancer (1995). Essentially, whether it is sculptures, masks, music, or dance, artistic production in the classical African realm refers back to a semantic that nevertheless proceeds through the senses and the affects. African objects are then ideograms, for which the possession of interpretation codes is necessary to understand their messages. But what is mostly important, from the perspective of an anthropological as well as philosophical understanding of the sensitive, of the affects, is the understanding that these ideograms always appeal to our perceptual sense, as the object must be put in context, in movement even, to deliver its meaning or its efficiency. It is notably the case with the mask, with all its symbolical, and all its meaning, residing in the dance and/or in the music, as pointed out above. Let's listen to Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe:

“When he [Edogo, the carver] had finished carving the face and head he had been a little disappointed. There was something about the nose which did not please him [...]. But the owners of the work had not complained; in fact, they had praised it very highly. Edogo knew, however, that he must see the mask in action to know whether it was good or bad” (1965: 250-251).

There is in the attitude of the sculptor, as described by Chinua Achebe, the expression of an aesthetic of the movement, of which the essence resides in the coincidence between beauty and appropriateness (M. Leiris, 1967). Better than a coincidence, beauty and appropriateness express two different ways of identifying a reality that is one and the same. Indeed, seeing the mask in action in order to judge its efficiency, which is to present the divine by representing it, is also to judge the aesthetic beauty of the movement susceptible of accounting for the inherent beauty of the object. This beauty is told in terms of appropriateness. In this, the action of the mask is a presentation of representation. In the mask appears the god; an appearance that is appreciated through movement or, more exactly, through the quality of the movement that is executed. In this context, the substantial quality of the mask, that is, the appropriate execution of its function, does not rely on the responsibility of the sculptor. Actually, the aesthetic quality of the mask – which reveals itself in the movement and which, in this way, determines the recognition of its substantial quality – further relies on the bearer of the mask, or dancer. Nevertheless, it is the sculptor who worries that the mask could be bad. It is him who, in creating an aesthetic shape, is already perplexed toward some of its aspects, because they could impede the realization of adequate movement. It is Edogo, the sculptor, who is undergoing feelings of dissatisfaction toward the shape of the nose on the mask on which he just sculpted the face. It is as if he were already himself in the movement, while he is in the process of executing what will be bearing the movements, the mask.

In this occurrence, we can compare the mask sculptor to a stage director. Just like a sculptor is unable to judge the quality of a mask before the dance, the stage director is preoccupied with the acting of the comedians before the representation, in the case of a theater play, for example. Regardless of the trust given to the actors, the scale and the quality of the rehearsals, the stage director remains worried before the real representation. He will think about, for example, the necessary accordance between the movements of the body and the diction of the lines of the text that, together, must get into harmony with the natural breathing of the actors, in relation with the intensity of the acting and with the text. He may also worry about the movement of the actors on the scene; in other words, that the space they occupy must be in equilibrium with the entire scenery.

This analogy makes apparent a point of the data that is not very well considered in African sculpture. That data point relates to the form in itself, which is generally neglected in favor of an understanding of the “object” with regards to its signification and its role in the society to which it belongs. In the best-case scenario, the form holds importance to the extent that it contributes to an interpretation of the social organization of the group: it is the semiotic aspect that often draws interest. All happens as if the sculptor was entirely constrained only to the social or religious norm.

Nonetheless, without deviating from the rule, he implements technical knowledge with the aim that the sculpting of the mask, once complete, will likely be in accordance with its intended purpose. In this accordance with its intended purpose, that does not mean that the mask is abstracted from any belonging to sensitiveness. There is something in it that escapes its sacred nature, something that withdraws the mask from the sacred and that, precisely, from this withdrawal, grants it the faculty of being in the sacred while remaining distinct from it. This singular standpoint can be explained, on

the one hand, from the belonging of the mask to the material, and on the other hand, by the action of the sculptor, which bridges the material to the spiritual. Thus, there is in the work of the sculptor a *je ne sais quoi* that edges between the respect of the norm and the exercise of his inherent faculties, such as his specific perceptivity. It is this *je ne sais quoi* that allows him to recognize in his work a potential failure that is not perceptible by anyone. This particular, hard to identify thing – that lies within Edogo, for example, and grants him the ability to prejudge the mask, to express an opinion on it before it is seen in movement, thus his perplexity – is conceived, nevertheless, as a particularly sensitive *genius*. However, this genius is quite singular. As it expresses just as well this *incommunicable* power – thanks to which Edogo brings to life, in wood, unique forms – as the possession of the knowledge worthy of the initiated. The union of these two powers (communicable and incommunicable, scientific and artistic, if not sentimental) defines the genius of the African sculptor. It allows him to see, in the emerging form, what could be the movement, in the case of the mask.

As a result of the union of these powers, the African sculptor remains a scene director of religious and social practice and, consequently, a poet, notably of the forms, within the scope of application of the affects. The poetry that comes from the sculptor (and the same applies to the painter) is not *logos* in the true sense of the term. If it can be called *logos*, it is *logos* in limited, shaped matter. This *logos* is nowhere else than in the forms, the images, even in the colors. The poetic discourse of the sculptor is thus a discourse to decrypt; it is not perfectly immanent in its container, as it does not make itself immediately understood without an external intervention. This discourse being in the created forms, the form of the African “object” also refers to delectation, in other words, to that which is completely abstracted from the religious. Whether there is predestination or not, this delectation is inscribed in it, as the form itself is taken up by a sensitivity, and thus cannot escape the judgment of the subject as soon as it comes into view.

This analysis of the mask in its relation to movement leads us to note that form, in African sculpture, is never uniquely driven by the requirements of myth, neither by necessity of expressing the social organization of a group. It is also the fact of an individual gift whose expression is combined with the possession of traditional knowledge. For that reason, any person is not sculptor, nor is any individual in the community granted the power to judge the “objects”. And as if to confirm, here is the conclusion of the story, and the facts that result from it:

“Looking at it, now that it was animated, the flaw was not visible. It even seemed to make the rest of the face look fiercer. Edogo went from one end of the ilo to the other, hoping that someone would draw the parallel he was expecting, but no one did. A lot of people praised the Mask, but no one thought to compare it to the famous Agaba of Umuagu, not even to say that this one was not made as nicely. Had Edogo heard someone utter such a thought, he would only have been happier. He had not given himself the goal to outmatch the best sculptor of Umuaro, but he had held the hope that someone would bring their two names together. He began to resent himself for not sitting in the okwolo. It was there, among the notables, that he would have been the most likely to hear the kind of conversations he wanted to hear. But it was now too late.” (1978: 262, unofficial translation)

This second excerpt from *The Arrow of God (La flèche de Dieu)* clearly indicates that, among the *Ibo*, the evaluation framework of the mask is the being in action. It is thanks to the movement, the animation, that the mask will be called good or bad, close or distant from the one of the great sculptor Umuaro, in the particular case of Edoگو's mask. But such appreciation cannot come from any speaker. That appreciation is reserved to specific speakers, and Edoگو seems to have forgotten the reach of this fact: hence the disappointment of his hope. Such manner of speaking belongs to "the notables in the okwolo", a highly exclusive space where such words can be pronounced upon seeing the mask in action. All the content is thus within the mask while it is in movement. Thereby the signifier is gesture, movement, and action, particularly in their aspect, and the signified cannot be expressed by any individual, as it also belongs to the initiated.

In this sense, African art can be defined as a space to produce emotions and signification, or, more exactly, as a framework to produce meaning through sensitivity. Then, creation and emotion are necessarily interdependent. If creation and emotion maintain a relationship in the production and in the enjoyment of art, the latter in its receptive form and, in particular, what relates to the reception of artwork in Africa, remains problematic. Actually, the contemplative interest of works in Africa does not relate to the place that is given to affects in the subject. If there is a worldwide art market, it remains almost non-existent in Africa, and current artists are notably forced to entrust their works to temporary loans in ministries, and to rely on other subsidy exchange structures to try and make a living. That is one of the reasons why it seems difficult to talk about an African art that, for the time being, is only produced for others, particularly for Westerners and which, thusly, is African only in the territorial belonging of the artists, should "African" designate one who is born on the continent, and/or who recognizes himself in it.

With this argument, while important and interesting, I suspend here my examination of the issue; it will be resumed and further developed in the editorial version of this intervention, which was specifically designed for the *Art and Affects* symposium.

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Emotive Sensitivity: from Fry's Formalism to Senghor's Humanism

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Introduction

It is at the beginning of the 20th century that the Western world discovered the *aesthetic value* of African sculptures. The latter, as *works of art*, will be the topic of various appraisals and critiques. From the 1910s to the 1920s, we see the appearance of formalist critiques, which favor the aesthetic side, instead of focusing on the content or the religious function of African sculptures. Starting from the 30s, we began to question whether traditional art critique could genuinely apply to African sculptures; consequently, field studies that analyze, for example, the symbolic value, have become dominant; but it is important to highlight that, despite that, formalist critiques did not disappear completely.

Our communication proposes to bring to light what formalist critique is to Léopold Sédar Senghor, who was a young intellectual and politician at the end of the 30s. This study does not limit itself to retracing the history of formalist critique; it will also show that the analysis of African sculpture is integral to Senghor's thought, especially for his conception of "Emotive Sensitivity".

1. Roger Fry's analysis of African sculptures

First, I would like to present the main issues in the reflections of Roger Fry, who is an emblematic figure of formalist critique at the beginning of the previous century. Because his work decisively influences "Harlem Renaissance" intellectuals, notably Alain L. Locke and Albert Barnes, through the intermediary of Paul Guillaume, the French art merchant.

In his work "Negro Sculpture", published in 1920, Fry points out that "They [specimens of negro sculpture] have indeed complete plastic freedom; that is to say, these African artists really



Negro Sculpture
Collection Guillaume
Vision & Design, 1^{re} ed. Chatto & Windus, 1920

Illustration of « Negro Sculpture », reproduced in *Vision & Design* (1920)



Negro Head.
By kind permission of H. Coleman, Esq.
Vision & Design, 2nd ed. Chatto & Windus, 1923



II.1 Yoruba sculpture. Wood.
Vision & Design, Oxford University Press, 1981

conceive form in three dimensions¹”. Furthermore, Fry underlines that the black artist “manages to give to his forms their disconcerting vitality, the suggestion that they make of being not mere echoes of actual figures, but of possessing an inner life of their own²”. The expression “mere echoes of actual figures” refers here to realistic representation, such as in Greek sculptures, for example. Given that African sculptures are far from being realistic representations, they are based on another rule.

Analyzing a sculpture attributed to Yoruba, Fry writes: “Without ever attaining anything like representational accuracy they [these African sculptures] have complete freedom³”. Fry himself explains the words “plastic freedom”. While ancient Western sculptures are defined by relief, that is to say, by two dimensions, African sculptures are defined, on the contrary, by three dimensions, by the abstraction of different parts of the human body⁴. According to Fry, “The sculptors seem to have no difficulty in getting away from the two-dimensional plane. The neck and the torso are conceived as cylinders, not as masses with a square section. The head is conceived as a pear-shaped mass. It is conceived as a single whole, not arrived at by approach from the mask, as with almost all primitive European art. The mask itself is conceived as a concave plane cut out of this otherwise perfectly unified mass⁵”. African sculptures, freed from the two-dimensional, pay little attention to the “square section” that refer back to relief, and favor “cylinders” and “pear-shaped mass[es]” instead. To highlight the three-dimensional character of their work, African sculptors represent the head as a “concave plane”.

On the other hand, this “plastic freedom” suggests that African sculptures have no traditional preference toward the body parts. If Western artists try to represent the human body according to a kind of tradition, that is because Westerners see in body parts some “physical symbols”, they enjoy finding, through appearances, in the interior of man, “agility” or “a pensive brow”. On the opposite, African sculptors work only with their intuition of “pure plastic design”. Let’s listen once more to Roger Fry: “For instance, the length, thinness, and isolation of our limbs render them extremely refractory to fine plastic treatment, and the negro scores heavily by his willingness to reduce the limbs to a succession of ovoid masses sometimes scarcely longer than they are broad⁶”. According to Fry’s formula, African sculptors are remarkable in the sense that they design parts of the human body not in real terms, but in aesthetic terms; through that process, they achieve an impressive succession, despite radical transformations to the object.

This “plastic freedom”, which is explained by these two arguments, serves to palliate African sculptures against prejudice. Fry strives to appreciate them on their formal aspect only; from his point of view, African sculptures distinguish themselves through their “pure plastic design”, in opposition to the realistic representation of Western sculptures. Heads and torsos perceived as “pear-shaped

1 Fry, “Negro Sculpture” in : *Vision&Design*[V&D], Dover, 1998[1920], p. 71.

2 Fry, V&D, p. 72.

3 Fry, V&D, p. 71.

4 This remark is somewhat reminiscent of C. Einstein’s reflection, without being explicitly named in Fry’s article.

5 Fry, V&D, p. 71.

6 Fry, V&D, p. 72.

mass[es]”, or body parts conceived as a “succession of ovoid masses”; Fry refers to these key terms, to appreciate and understand, in a formalist fashion, African sculptures.

2. Expanding the formalist critique of African sculptures

Has Fry's work encountered a mutation of sorts? Considering the “succession of ovoid masses” as “pure plastic design”, Fry's reflection influences, through the intermediary of Paul Guillaume, an art merchant from Paris, mostly Alain L. Locke or Albert Barnes, who belong to the lineage of “Harlem Renaissance” proponents. In fact, in his journal “The New Negro”, Alain L. Locke dedicates an article to African sculpture, quoting the work of Fry. He writes: “The most authoritative contemporary Continental criticism quite thoroughly agrees with this verdict and estimate⁷”. It is very likely that Senghor, a diligent reader of *The New Negro*, knew Fry's work through this journal, or through Locke himself⁸.

It should be noted that, alongside “The New Negro”, Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro's book, entitled “Primitive Negro Sculpture”, is at the origin of Senghor's formalist critique. This work seems quite important, not only because they consider Fry's work as “the best⁹”, but also because this work, often quoted by journals in the 20s, is largely known not only among Afro-Americans, but also among Caribbean and African blacks¹⁰. Senghor actually adds this book to the bibliography of his essay “What the Black Man Contributes”, which I will talk about later.

Paul Guillaume and colleagues analyze African sculptures according to various points of view¹¹, but, in regards to their formal analysis, they continue the work of Fry: they oppose the proportional Western sculptures to the distortion that makes up African sculptures. At first glance, Western observers are unable to grasp, looking at African sculptures, the representation of a human body that is marked by distortion. However, “Once let him [any observer] learn to detect the plastic relations, and the distortions will appear as necessary in their interest. His habits of preference may have become so fixed that no design will be enough to compensate for the damage to both natural and ideal human proportions¹²”. The distortion of African sculptures is often distracting to Western observers; it must therefore be understood relative to “plastic relations”.

However, in what form do these “plastic relations” appear in sculpture? Paul Guillaume writes: “Every part in a typical, fully realized negro statue functions as an element in plastic design: an embodiment, a repetition in rhythmic, varied sequence, of some theme in mass, line or surface¹³”.

7 Locke, “The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts”, *The New Negro* (ed. A. L. Locke), Touchstone, 1997[1925], p. 261.

8 cf. Senghor, “Problématique de la négritude”, *Liberté III*, Seuil, 1977, p. 274, 276.

9 “The best of these is Roger Fry's article *Negro Sculpture* (1920) in *Vision and Design*”. (Paul Guillaume and Thomas Munro, *Primitive Negro Sculpture* [PNS], p. 3).

10 See for example “Opportunity” (may 1926) and Pierre-Baye Salzman, “Paul Guillaume”, n°1, Feb. 1928, in *Dépêche africaine*.

11 Today, we consider this work as the result of collaboration between Albert Barnes and Thomas Munro. cf. Christa Clarke, “Defining African Art; Primitive Negro Sculpture and the Aesthetic Philosophy of Albert Barnes”, *African Arts*, spring 2003, pp. 40-51, 92-93.

12 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 32.

13 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 35.

While Western sculptures elaborate “proportion” from a ratio between the part and the whole, African sculptures often find “proportion” in the succession of each part, especially “a repetition in rhythmic”; this *distortion* then appears as an aesthetic repetition. Paul Guillaume explains that this changing succession of parts with the following words: “To the eye, to the hand, to both together moving over the surface, the statue is like music in its succession of repeated and contrasting sensuous forms, its continuities and subtle alterations of a theme¹⁴”.

“Primitive Negro Sculpture”, while continuing the work of Fry, analyzes in detail the relations between individual parts and the whole in African sculptures. Fry favors the succession of geometrically simplified parts at the expense of realistic representation; Paul Guillaume, for his part, gives importance not only to repetition, to succession, but also to dynamic movement, that is, to the contrasting effect, to the variation that characterizes, according to Guillaume, African sculptures.

Formalist critique, inherited from Fry to Guillaume by way of Locke, is holding a particular place in “What the Black Man Contributes”, published in 1939, one of Senghor’s first important works. We know that this work deals with society, politics, philosophy, and then black art, and that he aims to restore Africa’s dignity, in opposition to the Western world, whose culture must be completed by Africa. As such, this work is considered a starting point of Senghor’s conception of “negritude”, to the point that it will be used as the basis for various articles published after the Second World War¹⁵. We are struck by the differences that his work from 1939 establishes with his work from the 50s: while the latter dedicates several pages to poetry and literature, the former focuses on fine arts and music, leaving literature aside because, in the words of Senghor, it could “take us too far¹⁶”.

Senghor points out two major characteristics of African sculpture: on one hand, it emphasizes the ancestors and the transcendent spirit that dominates reality; on the other hand, it focuses less on the subjectivity of the sculptor than on the materials and on the entity of the object. This process of subjugation from one being (or one object) to another, Senghor calls it the “ordering force” and the “rhythm”. The writer thus links up rhythm and African sculpture:

This ordering force that creates the Negro style is rhythm. It is the most sensitive and the least material thing. It is the ultimate vital element. It is the primary condition and the sign of art, like a breath of life; a breathing that hurries or slows down, that becomes regular or shallow, following the being’s tension, its degree and quality of the emotion. Such is the primitive rhythm, in its purity, as it is in the masterpieces of Negro art, particularly in sculpture. It is created from a theme – a sculptural form – that is opposed to a brother theme, like inhalation and exhalation, and that rebounds within itself. It is not symmetry that generates monotony; the rhythm is alive, free. Because a rebound is neither a duplication nor a repetition. The theme is resumed in another place, on another plane, in

14 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 33.

15 cf. Senghor, “L’esthétique négro-africaine”, *Liberté I*, pp. 202-217; “L’Afrique noire. La civilisation négro-africaine”, *Liberté I*, pp. 70-82 ; “Eléments constitutifs d’une civilisation d’inspiration négro-africaine”, *Liberté I*, pp. 252-287.

16 “The study of African literature and of early Afro-American literature, as interesting as it may be, would take us too far”. (Senghor, « Ce que l’homme noir apporte », *Liberté I*, p. 33, unofficial translation).

another combination, in a variation; and it gives another intonation, another timbre, another accent.¹⁷

What is essential in African sculptures, is a *succession*, in which a “theme”, in other words, a “sculptural form”, appears in opposition to a “brother theme”. That is what Senghor calls “rhythm”. In the “masterpieces of Negro art, particularly in sculpture”, the theme is far from being a simple repetition; quite the opposite, it is developed in its relation with “another place”, “another plane”, or “another combination”. It is clear that the importance granted by Senghor to the aesthetic character draws upon the works of Fry and Guillaume, these two critics who, as I remarked earlier, underline that a succession of each part leads to “pure plastic design”.¹⁸ Certainly, Guillaume’s book, “Primitive Negro Culture”, had already observed the importance of resemblance in each part that generates the dynamics of African sculptures. However, from our point of view, Senghor has developed the conception, to the extent that he sees in this “succession” an almost organic vitality, and that he considers this succession as the origin of an “intonation”, a “timbre”, an “accent”. By reformulating the formalist critique that Fry and Guillaume applied to African sculptures, Senghor elaborates his conception of the “rhythm” that appears, according to him, in the variations of a theme.

3. From formalist critique to “emotive sensitivity”

We have briefly retraced the history of formalist critique that focuses on African sculptures. However, we would be simplifying the issue exceedingly, were we considering it only as the history of an art critique. Because Senghor links formalist analysis to another critical dimension. And that is where the concept of *emotion* reveals its importance with Senghor. Before reflecting on that, I will examine the role that emotion played in formalist critique.

At least in his works on African sculptures, Fry said almost nothing regarding the relation between emotion and the enjoyment of sculptures. However, in his article entitled “An Essay in Aesthetics” (1909), collected in *Vision and Design*, Fry analyzes the way to arouse emotion in the viewers. Fry calls “emotional elements of design” the factors that can stir up emotion in the viewers. And he quotes as examples: “rhythm of the line”, “mass”, “space”, “light and shade”, and “color”. Given that, according to Fry, “nearly all these emotional elements of design are connected with essential conditions of our physical existence¹⁹”, it is possible, at any time, for *emotion* to be transmitted between the artist and the viewer, through the intermediary of aesthetic design. Fry explains: “When the artist passes from pure sensations to emotions aroused by means of sensations, he uses natural forms which, in themselves, are calculated to move our emotions, and he presents these in such a manner that the forms themselves generate in us emotional states, based upon the fundamental necessities of our physical and physiological nature²⁰”. For Fry, aesthetic design, notably the rhythm of lines and the mass, are mediators of emotion between the artist and the viewer.

17 Senghor, *Liberté I*, p. 35.

18 In his article “L’esthétique négro-africaine”, Senghor considers the repetition of spherical patterns as “rhythm”. Refer to Senghor, “L’esthétique négro-africaine”, *Liberté I*, p. 214.

19 Fry, *V&D*, p. 24.

20 Fry, *V&D*, p. 26.

The same point is found in Guillaume's work, "Primitive Negro Sculpture", which I just talked about. While recognizing that African sculpture instills fear in Westerners, the authors of that book claim that such fear results from ignorance, that is, an ignorance of the aesthetic character of African sculptures. And they pose this fundamental question: "why and how it is that certain forms, rhythms, musical chords, colors, can produce in us the profound and distinctive emotions they do²¹". According to Guillaume, it is neither ethics, nor religion, nor metaphysics, but essential human impulse that is at the origin of an emotion. "Nothing can justify art as good except its power of giving pleasure to someone, of satisfying and fulfilling the natural aesthetic impulses of a human being²²". Through this argument, we see a conception take shape, of universal impulse toward aesthetic and musical characters. Of course, this universality applies to the enjoyment of African art. As such, people can feel emotions such as pleasure or joy, when they find themselves facing the aesthetic design of African sculptures: "He [observer] must be able to select and organize, to disregard some parts for the moment, to notice only the resemblance between several distant parts and the pattern they form; to follow a curve with the eye, to feel a series of similar lines, planes or masses as a rhythmic succession. (...) Based on such perception, aesthetic feeling toward an object is firmly grounded, organized and nourished by contact with reality²³ 23".

We can identify in the text the Western centralism that sets aside the cultural and religious context of African sculptures, for the benefit of human universalism. We know that this attitude will be criticized later. But what I find interesting here, is that the emotion as defined by "Primitive Negro Sculpture" is based on pleasure and joy, and that it is the knowledge of aesthetic design: mass, form, rhythmic succession, etc. which allows the viewer to feel these emotions. Clearly, African sculptures are expected to lack realistic representation; however, if Western viewers are aware of their aesthetic design, they can experience pleasure or joy, as a result of an innate impulsion toward beauty.

Then, with Senghor, what is the relation between emotion and the aesthetic analysis of sculptures? Emotion in Senghor's work has already been the topic of numerous studies, especially in his poetics²⁴. But, talking only about "What the Black Man Contributes", we must underline, as I previously did, that the author leaves poetry and literature aside. On the other hand, Senghor does not make explicit the relation between formalist analysis of African sculpture and emotion: at least, he does not mention emotion as defined by Guillaume and Munro. However, if we set his conception of African sculpture in his overall thinking framework, and if we examine Senghor's thought in depth, we can understand that this writer is far from neglecting emotion: quite the contrary, he aims to develop this concept of emotion, to rethink the formalist analysis of African sculptures.

Senghor's argument assumes that emotion and sensitivity define the concept of the black world. That explains his famous formula: "Emotive sensitivity. Emotion is Negro, as Reason is

21 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 44.

22 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 44.

23 Guillaume and Munro, PNS, p. 45-46.

24 Pius Ngandu Nkashama, *Négritude et poétique*, L'Harmattan, 1992.

Hellenic²⁵". We know that Senghor was aiming to relativize Western values and to re-establish the values of Black Africans, and we also know that his conception of "negritude" was built from a dichotomy between reason and emotion, a dichotomy that he ceaselessly returned to²⁶.

To get a clear idea of the relations between this well-known formula and his conception of African sculpture, we must refer to the text that follows the formula I just quoted: "the very nature of emotion, of the sensitivity of the Negro, explains the latter's attitude in front of the object, perceived with such an essential violence. It is an abandonment that becomes a need, an active attitude of communion, if not identification, as long as the action is strong, I would say the personality of the object. Rhythmic attitude²⁷". The "emotion" and the "sensitivity of the Negro", as defined by Senghor, are far from being limited to "violence", they put in play the attitude of a subject in front of an object; "emotive sensitivity" is nothing else, for Senghor, than the subjugation of a subject to the object, their communion and the movement of identification between the two. The succession and identification of a subject to an object, from myself to a thing, from a presence to another presence, all this calls into being, according to Senghor's words, "emotive sensitivity" and the "rhythmic attitude" that is proper to the "Negro"²⁸.

Senghor's reflections in "What the Black Man Contributes" are built around "emotive sensitivity", which supposes a fusion between subject and object; and this work aims to emphasize the conception of the black world, and their attitude toward the world, which underpins religion, society, politics, and the entire arts of Africa, including music. Three perspectives thus appear: first, Senghor synthesizes the conception of the black world and formalist analysis, of which "succession" and "rhythm" are familiar to African blacks; second, emotion which, according to Guillaume, was only pleasure and joy evoked in the viewer by a sculpture, occupies a more fundamental place in Senghor's thought, as he was aiming to rethink the aesthetic character of African sculptures; third, through these two processes, formalist critique gained the status of philosophy.

Formalist critique has the merit of setting aside prejudices toward African sculptures, which are non-realistic yet quite rich in line and mass; in that regard, the influence of formalist critique on Senghor's thought is undeniable. Furthermore, this perspective exceeds, with Senghor, the art critique framework, to merge with another dimension: the main characteristics of African sculptures, in other words, at least with Senghor's, the succession, the repetition of a theme, appear like a philosophy, like a worldview, for the times to come.

Of course, this worldview is not limited to explaining the character of the "Negro". The title, "What the Black Man Contributes", is quite illuminating: Senghor was hoping that the entire world

25 Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte", *Liberté I*, Seuil, 1964, p. 24.

26 cf. "European reason is analytic in its use, while Negro reason is intuitive in its participation. That is saying the sensitivity of the black man, his emotive strength" (Senghor, "L'esthétique négro-africaine", *Liberté I*, p. 203, unofficial translation).

27 Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte", *Liberté I*, p. 24, unofficial translation.

28 Refer to Fumiaki YANAGISAWA, "Représentations des Noirs à travers le 'rythme' : les images panafricaines apportées par les "arts nègres" (Black representation through 'rhythm': pan African images contributed by 'negro arts' ", *Cahiers du Créilac*, Université Assane Seck de Ziguinchor, n°1, pp. 37-54

would share “emotive sensitivity” as a new worldview. According to his own word: “The service provided by the Negro will have been to contribute along with other peoples to re-creating the unity of Man and the World: to link flesh with the spirit, man with his fellow men, a pebble with God. In other words, the real with the spiritual surreal – through man, not as the center, but the hinge, the navel of the World²⁹”.

With Senghor, the succession of parts in an aesthetic design is conceived as the succession of various dynamic movements; and the writer synthesizes the analysis of sculptures, the identification between subject and object, and the identification of man and the world. Senghor links the aesthetic design of African sculptures to emotive sensitivity, and to the fusion between subject and object that distinguishes black society, politics and philosophy; in doing this, Senghor aims to open up avenues to a new relation between man and the world.

Conclusion

The analysis of African sculpture that develops in “What the Black Man Contributes” is almost entirely based on formalist critique, and therefore on aesthetic design. In contrast, Senghor’s later reflections will focus on the theme of each sculpture, in other words, in the functions of gods, of the ancestors, to grant rhythm its value. Therefore, granting a great importance to formalist analysis might simplify Senghor’s thoughts excessively. On the other hand, while it may be true that the expression: “Emotion is Negro”, which characterizes his notion of the black world, has close links with formalist critique, it is difficult to confirm whether formalist analysis of African sculpture, notably Fry’s take on it, directly brought this wording to Senghor. Because such a distinction stereotypes between whites and blacks, between reason and sensitivity³⁰, or the representation of the primitive society by his contemporaries, largely influences Senghor’s motto.

In any case, what remains clear is that African sculpture seems, at least to me, a fascinating theme for francophone readers. And the “succession” of parts, a conception valued by formalist analysis, could probably be used as a base for Senghor, whose reflections on the conception of the black world are structured around “emotive sensitivity”. I will end my talk by underlining this point.

29 Senghor, *Liberté I*, p. 38.

30 See for example, Gabriel Entiope, *Nègres, danse et résistance*, L’Harmattan, 2000.

Fighting against Ghosts: Visual Arts and Contemporary History in Africa.

Bruce Clarke (Artist, Photographer)

A few words of introduction. I have no pretense here at globally describing how visual arts grasp hold of history in Africa, I will limit myself to a few concrete examples of art attempting to grip with history, with or without affects.

The title, “Arts and Affects”, requires clarification: it is very broad, exceedingly so. “Arts”, thus, becomes “visual arts” for me. (I am a visual artist – I will talk about my field – but perhaps it would have been preferable that I see things more broadly...).

“Affect”, a word that connotes emotion, evocation, visceral perceptions, etc. Communication and non-verbal sentiment.

“Emotion is negro, as reason is Hellenic (Greek)”, said Senghor. – I do not agree, and besides, I have no desire to revive this theoretical debate that is abstract and sometimes abstruse, and which had more relevance, if not irrelevance, in another era and in another historical context.

The essential for me is: how can the arts invoke society and history with affect, yet intelligently. In other words, how can affect help us think, and even act, on the real world. Because what interests me above all else, is the practice that takes shape – and influences –the real world, if not history.

MEDU – South Africa

In 1982 at Gaborone in Botswana on the South African, a symposium entitled “Culture and Resistance”, that was extremely important for the fight against apartheid in South Africa, -- gathering more than 2,000 people - artists from all fields, citizens, activists – took place to try and articulate the role of culture in a democratic South Africa, and above all to talk about its “mission” in the fight against apartheid and in the emancipation of the people.

The objective was also to create ties between artists and civic organizations – women associations, trade unions, student organizations, even with progressive churches, and with community cultural structures.

The organizer of the festival was called the MEDU Art Ensemble – which defined itself as a group of cultural workers. These cultural workers refused the label, which they considered elitist, of “artist”. The “Culture and Resistance” Festival was a rare opportunity to exchange experiences between exiles and for people living inside the country and in different regions of South Africa, who had few opportunities to be in contact with one another.

Writers like Nadine Gordimer and Wally Serote, musicians, such as Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand), visual artists and dancers took part and adhered to the new role assigned to culture, and to a new vocabulary, too: they became “cultural workers”, and culture henceforth became “a weapon in the fight”.

MEDU played a role in the cultural scene between 1978 and 1985, with roughly fifty artists at its core that managed 6 departments: graphic arts, music, theatre, literature, etc. Despite its short

existence, it is considered a precursor in its actions and in its thought. Its influence can still be felt today in the cultural scene in southern Africa and elsewhere in Africa.

Its work was often the result of collective discussions, and sometimes of collective practices. Those who worked in the theatre department could take part in discussions with the department of fine arts and graphic arts, for example. Theatre plays were submitted to the critique of all members, not only to writers.

Artistic work was not limited to the members of MEDU, but open to visitors - South African exiles who were passing through Botswana, or quite simply Botswanan neighbors. The main role that MEDU assigned itself was to fight against the apartheid regime with “cultural weapons” in order to elevate political consciousness, and forge an anti-apartheid culture through traveling public performances, concerts, and the production of activist posters that they tried to export throughout the world and that they smuggled into South Africa. As an independent structure, it was closely aligned with the liberation movement, the ANC.

Thami Mnyele, one of the founders of MEDU, and head of the department of graphic arts, used to say: “(For me, the act of creating art is inseparable from protecting my family or freeing my country and my people. That is what culture is)”

And then:

“Art must become a process – a loving, growing thing that people can relate to, identify with, be part of, understand; not a mysterious world a universe apart from them.”

MEDU organized workshops and training in theatre, filmmaking, graphic arts, etc. in order to give theoretical and real communication tools to cultural actors, to civic associations, to citizens. And toward the end of its existence, MEDU distributed suitcases that contained small screen-printing workshops that were smuggled into South Africa to print posters in the townships.

During its cultural activities, MEDU closely monitored the situation on the ground in South Africa: this analysis pushed it to adopt a more radical political position, as described by Thami Mnyele as well.

“It is clear now that the artist cannot be happy with an isolated artistic practice, because it can never replace a real political practice. It is clear now that the revolution will not be made with drawings and poems, however radical they might be.”

As the struggle became militarized, so did the content of the posters.

Some members of MEDU left for Angola, Mozambique, and elsewhere to receive military training in the armed branch of the ANC – Umkonto we Sizwe.

In June 1985 – a South African air strike on Gaborone, capital of Botswana, followed by a ground assault against the bases of the ANC and its activist structures, including MEDU, took place... Many activists, artists and civilians were killed. In a famous televised intervention, a member of the

Fighting against Ghosts: Visual Arts and Contemporary History in Africa.

South African secret service showed posters made by the MEDU Art Ensemble, which were found in the rubble of destroyed homes, to prove that the strike was indeed done against terrorists.

Thami Mnyele and 12 other members of MEDU were killed. MEDU ceased to exist.

The current logo of the ANC – ruling party and former liberation movement – is a drawing done by Thami in 1984.

Rwanda

Now, let's head to Rwanda. The genocide of Tutsi Rwandans took place in 1994, at the same time as the first democratic elections in South Africa.

After the genocide, and before letting philosophical questions on “What must be done, how can it be done” mature, I knew *something had to be done*; I was an artist, I had fought against and rubbed shoulders with this major event: an announced genocide. I had no choice but to make an artistic act.

The question, for me – after the genocide – was how to turn a work of art into an act of remembrance. The intention, the aim, was to create something that would resonate with the suffering, and at the same time would meet the requirements of memory. Art might be insignificant, and yet it is absolutely necessary.

My second intention was to underline that this genocide was not solely the concern of Rwandans, but mattered to the whole of humanity.

For those of us who lived in France, there was also the particularity, as highlighted by Boris Boubacar Diop, that beyond our shared belonging to humanity, the history of the Tutsi Genocide in Rwanda was not only part of our general history, but a specific component of French history.

Yet the task was delicate:

The living, surviving people we were working with, the survivors, were genuinely worried and apprehensive to discern ignorance, denial or contempt, if not any other sign of opportunism as opposed to the brutal exposure of their absolute, abominable experience. At first I had the impression that I was walking on eggs, if not on bodies.

In the end, we could say that the very process of doing an act of remembrance – for me as the artist, and for the Rwandan survivors in the post-genocide context – to dive into the innards of the genocide – was at least as pedagogical and useful as the final creation of the work of art. Cathartic to some, this process could also represent the beginning of a grieving process to others.

The long and perilous path toward places and acts of remembrance thus turned out to be a long journey with an uncertain end.

It was obviously primary to take into account the advice of Rwandan survivors, their sensitivity, if not their susceptibilities, without denying my status as an artist with a distance (and a subjectivity) of my own, necessary to any work of art. I fully embraced the role of the artist: to demonstrate and not to illustrate.

And what better material to use as a base than stone? Its solidity, its permanence? A persistent trace to anchor memory.

The Garden of Memory

Wole Soyinka, a Nigerian Nobel Prize in literature winner, accurately highlighted that when one person is killed, it is a tragedy, but that if a thousand people are killed, it is only a statistic. The dehumanization of the victim is at the core of the genocidal project.

Culture is specific to mankind, an exclusive distinctive sign that separates us from the animal kingdom. And in Rwanda, this primary truth – that culture makes us human – is the gateway to the process of reconstituting humanity in the victims to remove them, rightly, from the inhumanity where the killers had displaced them.

Any project on the memory of victims had to put faces (in the figurative sense) on them. To name them, to individualize them, to finally recognize the humanity in each, and to have them (re)live, at least in the memory of future generations.

In order to go beyond the limits of an individual work, which could not be a response to a mass crime, the notion of collective creation became inevitable to me: the creation had to be done with Rwandan civil society (survivors associations, woman's associations). The persons most marked in their flesh by the genocide. Such a process thus represented for me an attempt to articulate a collective reflection on the preservation of memory of events, by the communal involvement in the creative act, which was right at the limit of a cathartic collective therapy.

The basic concept is quite simple: to undertake an individual act of remembrance, in memory of one victim.

This individual act, which had to be undertaken by a person close to the victim or a family member, was made manifest by posing a stone marked with a distinctive sign. The person marking the stone was not required to explain its meaning. Whether it represented the name of the person who was dead, or something more abstract, the mark honored the memory of a victim. It is this individual act that we wanted, “quite simply”, to multiply by a million: create a work from a million stones, each individualized and posed by a relative of a genocide victim.

Individual acts of grieving, each taking part in collective mourning, and in a collectively made work of art, according to a predetermined geometric design. Memory is constructed in an affective community – memory having as a major characteristic the creation of ties between the individual and the group.

It is precisely that link (between the members of a group) that had been the target of the genocidal project and its accomplishment. The Garden modestly aspires to weave back together links between the individual and the group.

In designing this project, I took an opposite approach to the first choices for places of remembrance that had been created by the new institutions in Rwanda. Those choices were dominated by showcasing “the raw material” of the genocide: the construction of gigantic necropolises, presented differently according to the location of the massacres, before they ultimately became more nuanced.

As an artist and as a foreigner, I chose to replace the real with a powerful symbol:

The “Garden” symbolizes rebirth after death, but the “eternal” feature of the stone signifies permanence against negation, which interrogates our emotions over time.

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In June 2000 in Rwanda, we posed the first stones. Solemnly.

While the Garden has progressed, it is not complete. During the annual commemorations in Rwanda, the garden hosts ceremonies, which contribute to further construct the garden, anchoring the memory in the physical and psychic landscape of the country and of the people.

For the 20th commemoration

For the 20th commemoration, the “Upright Men” project, of which I am the author, has proposed the creation of a strong (orm of visual art to illustrate the dignity and the rectitude of men, women and children facing the future without forgetting the past, painted on the real places of massacre and of remembrance in Rwanda.

Men, women, and children, standing, larger than life – up to 7 meters tall – are symbols of human dignity in the face of the dehumanization that genocide implies. The role of these “upright men” is to stand as the witnesses of a painful history. The goal was to give back a presence to those who have disappeared, and to restore the victims’ individuality, to return their dignity. Another objective was to mark the actual places of the massacres with these symbolic presences so that no one, upon seeing the work, could forget that what happened, happened.

This image’s signification is that says, the Rwandan people remain indisputably standing and dignified. It declares: we did not let ourselves be crushed by the *génocidaires*.

The second aspect aimed to give an international reach to the work of remembrance of the 1994 genocide and to the “Upright Men” project.

In the context of the 20th commemorative ceremonies, we presented (I say “we”, because even though I am the designer and artist of this project, it could not have been brought to fruition without the support of a collective that we created, based in Switzerland – *The Collective for Upright Men*, and which provided logistical support to the project) *Upright Men* in other symbolic locations throughout the world. Genocide, a crime against humanity, should remain in the space and in the consciousness of all mankind.

This project has been presented in approximately twenty cities worldwide, and dozens of organizations and institutions have followed us. First Cotonou in Benin, then Bègles, Lausanne, Geneva, Brussels, Limoges, Lille, Paris, Ivry, Luxembourg... and Kigali.

And the Ghosts I am referring to in my title... are not only the Ghosts of Rwanda; they are also the Ghosts of the Sea.

To conclude, briefly, I would like to show you some images of a recent project I am working on: *The Ghosts of the Sea*.

Ghosts of the Sea is an artistic project that pays tribute to the economic and political refugees that suffer from Trans-Mediterranean human trafficking.

I do not judge the reasons that compel so many people to migrate; for me, there is no hierarchy between what we call “economic migrants” and “political refugees”. Someone who flees, such a high cost, facing so many risks, is doing so for reasons that are all worthy. In the media, in forums and in political discourse, economics dominates the debate on the merits of a person’s reason

to flee, his right to seek asylum. I preferred to bring back the debate to the notion, slightly outdated for sure, of *humanity*, which morally obligates us to rescue and to welcome whoever is in need.

Quite simply because we can, *and*, because we belong to the same humanity.

In their attempt to cross the Mediterranean from Africa, many people were and will be exploited, raped, mugged, dehumanized. Many have drowned in that sea, many are drowning in it right now, and many will drown there in the future. Their only crime is to search for a life free from political or economic persecution. They are the invisible of the modern world. My modest intention was, is, to make them visible.

We estimate the number of people lost at sea in 2016 to be around 4,500 – without complaint, and often without a grave, as numerous victims die at sea in total anonymity.

I want to give a visual presence to the victims, the ordinary people, by painting them and exhibiting them behind a metaphorical curtain of water. This fragile water curtain, beautiful and extremely dangerous, might be their saving shroud, or their final resting place. The exhibition is made from these symbolic representations of migrants who became “ghosts of the sea”. The images do not ask for pity, they are neither moralizing, nor trying to give lessons. No warning, simply the representation of people lost at sea, to make their presence known to us.

My goal is to present these images in cities where migrants come from, Dakar, Nouakchott, Tanger... in Western and Northern Africa. They will also be shown in destination cities in Southern Europe, in Malta, in Sicily or Lampedusa (Italy), in Lesbos (Greece)... stopover cities for these travelers on the margins, in order to foster dialogue around the question.

I use visuals to initiate a debate on the question of “the invisibles”, these ghosts of modern life whose very presence is denied. We want the spectators who come to these exhibitions to become witnesses and to be able to say, “*Yes, now I know that ghosts exist.*”

I will end with a few words on my technique, but by the way, let me tell you that for me technique is secondary. And to further help, I will show you a short little film...

Here are, as well, a few examples of my pictorial works. Each image is made from layers of collages, words, materials, newspapers that dissolve in layers of paint, to the point where we can hardly distinguish where one ends and another begins. My aim is to create a surface of combined layers, where one area of the painting is not given any more importance than another. Like in a palimpsest, I work on the depth of the surface. Because everything in a painting is nothing but surface, in other words, illusion.

Se battre contre les fantômes
(arts visuels et histoire contemporaine en Afrique)

Bruce Clarke, plasticien

①



L'Art de la Résistance

②



THAMI MNYELE

« Pour moi l'acte de créer une œuvre d'art est complémentaire à l'acte de protéger ma famille ou libérer mon pays et mon peuple. La culture, c'est ça. »

③



SADC

CO-OPERATION GIVES US POWER TO BUILD OUR FUTURE

④



NOW YOU HAVE TOUCHED THE WOMEN YOU HAVE STRUCK A ROCK YOU HAVE DISLODGED A BOULDER YOU WILL BE CRUSHED

ADAPT. SA WOMAN'S DAY

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FREE SOUTH AFRICA

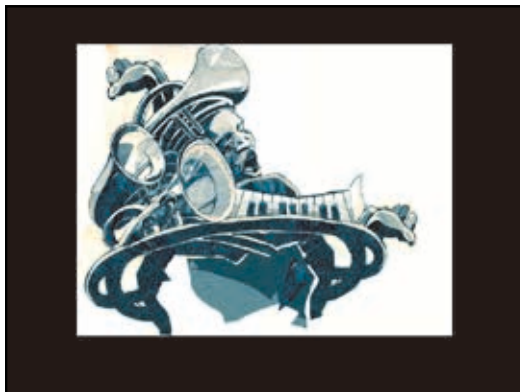
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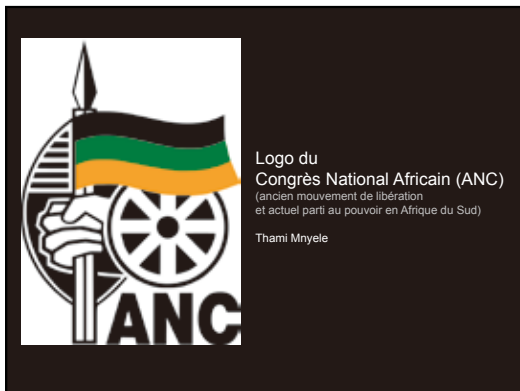
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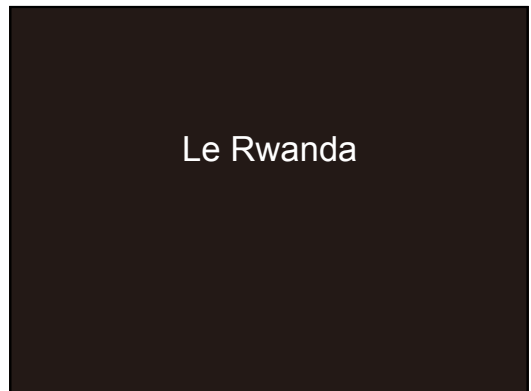
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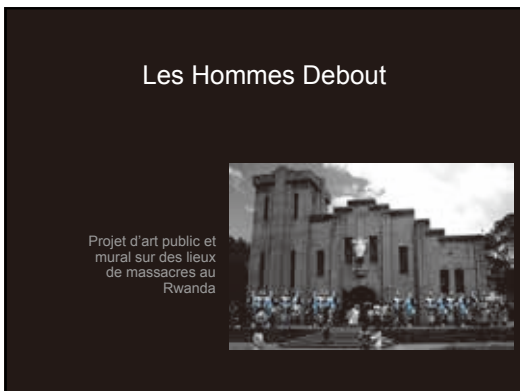
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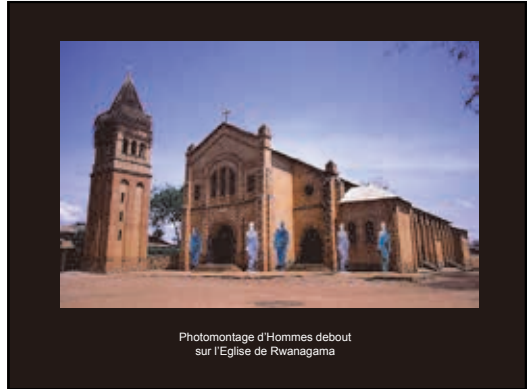
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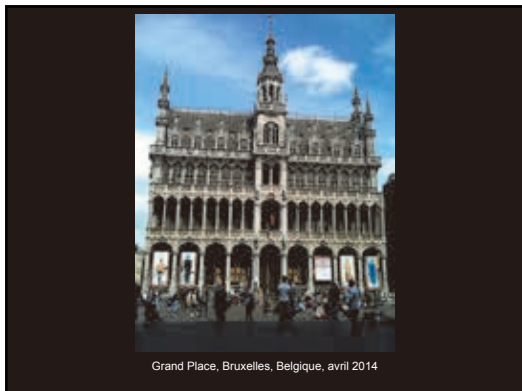
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Grand Place, Bruxelles, Belgique, avril 2014

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UNESCO Paris, France, avril 2014

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Place des Nations, ONU, Genève, Suisse, avril 2014

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Ville d'Ivry, France avril 2014

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Bibliothèque nationale, Kigali, Rwanda

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Fantômes de la Mer, Dakar Sénégal, 2016

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Fantômes de la Mer, Dakar Sénégal, 2016

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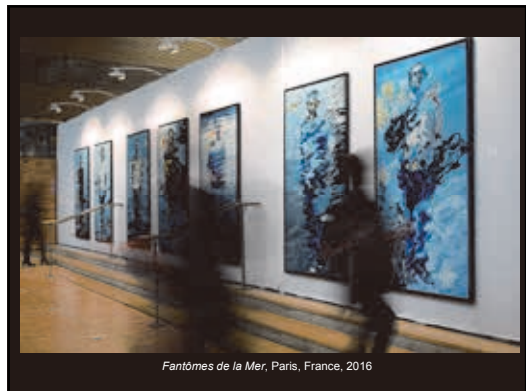
Fantômes de la Mer, Nouakchott, Mauritanie, 2016

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Fantômes de la Mer, Nouakchott, Mauritanie, 2016

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Fantômes de la Mer, Paris, France, 2016

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Fighting against Ghosts: Visual Arts and Contemporary History in Africa



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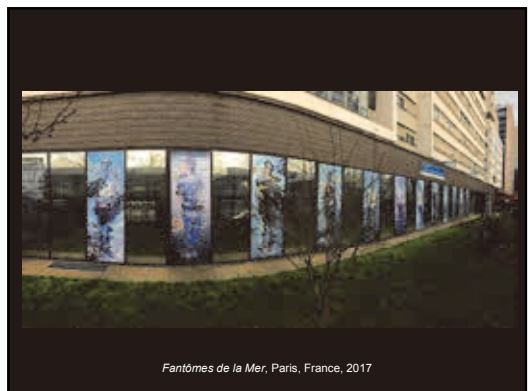
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⑤4

Oeuvres plastiques

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56



Just Waiting, acrylique et collage sur toile, 114 x 200 cm, 2017

57



Moi, chose, aquarelle et collage sur papier, 50 x 70 cm, 2016

58



Déjà, acrylique et collage sur toile, 89 x 130 cm, 2015

59



Tensions aux marches de l'empire, aquarelle et collage sur papier, 40 x 90 cm, 2016

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Commentary 1

Akira Okazaki (ILCAA)

Under the theme of this symposium, “Art and Affect”, the arguments in the presentations focused on fine arts. As for myself, I have been doing anthropological fieldwork in Africa since 1972, mainly about rituals, dreams, laughter, the otherness in oneself, the trickster, civil wars and refugees. In relation to art, I have instead done research on popular art: popular music, dance, etc. So as a commentator, I was unsure of my ability to appropriately respond to the research of specialists on African fine arts.

Furthermore, to be honest, given that the term “art”, like “religion”, has its origins in the ruling class in the West, it cannot be used as a neutral term. Likewise, expressions such as “African”, or “Africans”, cannot be used simply, considering the diversity of African society. As a commentator, I was worried I would spoil the atmosphere with these preoccupations. And not only that – considering the incidents that happened in Charlottesville in the United States last week, and as the Black Lives Matter movement continues its fight, I remain quite perplexed toward how we should deal with Senghor's “Negritude” theory, which includes his statement, “Emotion is Negro, as Reason is White”.

Despite these concerns, reading the translations of the three presentations that I received ahead of time, I gradually found points that allowed me to create ties with my own research and experiences, and it is from these ties that I wish to share a few remarks.

I would first like to focus on one point in Mr. Roger Somé's presentation. At the beginning of his paper, he says: “as strange as it may seem, artistic creation is beholden not to the artist, but to the audience”, referring to the famous words of Duchamp: “a work of art is made by the onlooker”. In the second half of his presentation, on the topic of African masks, he says: “the substantial quality of the mask [...] does not rely on the responsibility of the sculptor [...] [it relies on the dancer]”. He mentions that the value and the meaning of the work of art, instead of dwelling within the object, amalgamate in the movement of its user, in the dance, in the music, in the audience's affect, as if the divine was being presented. In other words, instead of a simple interpretation of the object, split from the observer, to really grasp a work of art, it seems that we must approach it from the dynamic forces that appear when the affect that is roused in the observer by the object, as well as the affect that is projected in the object by the observer, become mutually inseparable one from the other. This kind of argument resembles, Alfred Gell's notion of agency, but I wish to further investigate this issue by relating to the discussion about the term “passiones” that is briefly mentioned by Mr. Sakuma at the beginning of the symposium, by Lienhardt, in relation with the characteristics of emotional experiences in the Dinka People, a community in Sudan, Eastern Africa, in a work published quite a while ago, in 1961 that is, and entitled “Divinity and Experience: The Religion of the Dinka”.

While he admits that he ‘can discuss only inadequately’, Lienhardt abruptly asserts: “The Dinka have no conception which at all closely corresponds to our popular modern conception of the ‘mind’, as mediating and, as it were, storing up the experiences of the self.” In response to that, several of Lienhardt's contemporaries criticized him, saying that his claim that Africans were

“mindless” was inexcusable, instead of considering the issue that general notions of self and mind, so precious to Westerners, might be a regional, non-universal development, that Western Europe inherited from its history. Linked to the absence of a general notion of mind, Lienhardt also says: “They do not make the kind of distinction between the psyche and the world”. For example, he says: “what we should call in some cases the ‘memory’ of experiences, and regard therefore as in some way intrinsic and interior to the remembering person and modified in their effect upon him by that interiority, appear to the Dinka as exteriorly acting upon him, as were the sources from which they derived. Hence it would be impossible to suggest to Dinka that a powerful dream was ‘only’ a dream, and might for that reason be dismissed as relatively unimportant in the light of day, or that a state of possession was grounded ‘merely’ in the psychology of the person possessed.”

If experiences like the Dinka’s seem difficult to understand to us, we can say that it is rather because we are not aware of the historical circumstances that lead us to consider as obvious the Western contemporary representation of the self, the “mind”, as autonomous from the external world. Lienhardt thus references the Latin term “passiones”, and says: “It is perhaps significant that in English usage we have no word to indicate an opposite of ‘action’ in relation to the human self. If the word ‘passions’, *passiones*, were still normally current as the opposite of ‘actions’, it would be possible to say that the Dinka Powers were the images of human *passiones* seen as the active sources of those passions.” (For more information, please refer to my article “Making sense of the foreign’: Translating Gamk notions of dream, self and body” T.Maranhao & B.Streck (ed.) *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding*, The University of Arizona Press, 2003.)

While there is no direct link between works of art and Lienhardt’s analysis, I wanted to reconsider, by using the argument on “passiones”, the topology of art established in the discussion about Duchamp and in Professor Somé’s presentation: that is the dynamic forces that appear when the affect that is roused in the observer by the object, as well as the affect that is projected in the object by the observer, become mutually inseparable one from the other. In doing so, with the somewhat mysterious words of Duchamp, “a work of art is made by the onlooker”, I hoped to challenge the conventional approach to observing art, as it became fixed in contemporary Western culture, and manage to recapture the claim according to which art usually is a locus of interaction and affect. In other words, following the concept of “passiones”, it is not only our experiences of works of art, but also many other different emotional experiences that we could tackle from an entirely new angle. For example, we may at times go through uncontrollable fits of anger, love, shame, anxiety, etc. Despite that, we persist in continuing to believe that these experiences are self-sustained in ourselves. To return to Professor Somé’s presentation, if he prefaced his introduction with the sentence “as strange as it may seem...”, it was, I believe, because he was aware of the stubborn prominence of the traditional way to describe the observation of art in the West.

Then, about Mr. Yanagisawa’s presentation, his account of how the description of African sculpture evolved in the West, as well as his portrayal of how Senghor built his concept of Negritude in contrast with Western thought, were written clearly, and there were several interesting points, as

well as ideas to investigate further. I believe that the most important point was: if Senghor thought about Africa's special characteristics starting from a mirror image of the West, to what extent he could relativize the West? Toward the end of M. Yanagisawa's speech, while it seems obvious that Senghor's thesis "Emotion is Negro", which characterizes the black people's world view, has been profoundly influenced by Fry's theory of formalism in his overview of African sculpture, it seems difficult to pinpoint what Senghor extracted from Fry's formalist model of African sculpture. That is because, as Yanagisawa suggests, we can identify, as the context surrounding Senghor's thesis, the profound impact of the thought and of the symbols describing the "primitive" aspect of the black world at that time, as well as the history and conventional stereotypes that associate white men with rationality, and black men with sensitivity. So I would suspect that he failed to relativize the Western civilization.

Regarding this point, I still wish to ask whether there wasn't in Senghor's work some kind of element suggesting a relativist theory similar to Hegelian master-slave dialectic or postcolonial theory on mimicry (Taussig). In other words, I would like to know whether Senghor expressed any interest toward the argument that the slave, or the colonized individual, instead of expressing upfront resistance, could imitate the colonizer, emulate his words, as if to display his obedience, and through this excessive imitation, make the imitated colonizer aware of his grotesque image, scare him with perfect mimicry, as if to inflict some kind of defeat in him. Several examples along these lines are discussed in Gabriel Entiope's work "Nègres, danse et résistance" (Negroes, Dance and Resistance), which we also find in the annotations of Mr. Yanagisawa's presentation. For example, without constantly attempting to rebel against his master, the slave will instead stroke his master and make fun of him in song, without him noticing, and absorb aspects of the new music introduced by the colonizers to make it into his own. Again, it was said that some seduced their master through dance; at the same time, the master could become obsessed with the idea that the slave, who showed the most devotion toward him and would take advantage of the preferential treatment he or she would receive, might try to kill him with a secret African poison (for more information, refer to my article "Dansu Koshi ga Kataru – Afurika Kara Sekai he, Soshite Afurika He" (Dance – What the Hips Reveal – from Africa to the World, and from the World to Africa) in Kazue Nakamura(ed.)Sekaijû no Afurika he Ikou 'Tabi suru Bunka' no Gaidobukku (Cultural travel guide – Let's go to Africa), Iwami Shoten, 2009.)

In other words, my question is; whether Senghor failed to pay attention to the history of slavery characterized by rehashing and relativizing, and, as he develops in his text "What the Black Man Contributes", whether he simply tried to restore the cultural values of the so-called "Negro" Africa – including her society, her politics, her philosophy and her arts – and to infuse them with positive values as a supplement to the Western system of values, and therefore whether he simply positively affirmed that. Furthermore, was it a particular view that was limited to the black elite...

On the other hand, there is a fascinating similarity between Lienhardt's argument on "passiones", and Senghor's discussion on the "fusion between subject and object in emotive sensitivity". As Mr. Yanagisawa briefly mentioned, at that time of history, it seems that Senghor had

in mind the notion of “mystical participation” developed by Lévy-Bruhl. If that is indeed the case, I sure would like to one day develop the points by putting together the notions of affect argued by these three intellectuals towards a cross-fertilizing affect theory based on “mystical participation”!

I would also like to raise a question about something else. I am underlining a critical aspect with this question. When discussing African sculpture, and that is not only Senghor, but in the end many writers have a tendency to use the word “rhythm” quite lightly, and this use makes me somewhat uneasy. I believe that it is because when we use the term “rhythm” when talking about fine arts, in comparison to the use of “rhythm” in music, and particularly to describe tangible rhythmic characteristics in African music, there are important differences. The distinctive aspect of African musical rhythm is not a consecutive repetition, instead there is a syncopated quality, a moment that deviates from the steady rhythm, and that infuses some vivaciousness to the mood of the place. However, when the term “rhythm” is used in the context of discussing fine arts, for objects such as sculptures, it would simply claim that there is some kind of continuous repetition. In other words, the term “rhythm” is simply used, so to speak, to metaphorical ends. There is no doubt that this metaphorical approach can make a first contact with African art easier to understand among such beginners, however, I am afraid that such an approach tends to preserve the stereotype, that is, “Negro African art is essentially about rhythm”.

Finally, I must admit that I found Mr. Clarke’s presentation too “heavy”. His project is to make visible the issue of “invisible people” by means of visual arts; for example, these modern life ghosts whose very existence we deny, in the anti-apartheid fight in South Africa, in the Rwandan genocide, as well as all those people who die “exploited, raped, mugged, dehumanized” in their attempt to cross the Mediterranean Sea from Africa. I don’t believe that such themes can be discussed, or criticized, if not consumed, in the academic apparatus, so I’d like to talk in a different way here. Actually, I was surprised to notice that I had encountered similar kind of people focused by Mr. Clarke during a certain period of my life. So I’d like to provide some kind of “moral support” to Mr. Clarke’s project, by talking a little about these experiences, with the aim of making these “invisible people” visible.

First, about apartheid in South Africa, in 1973, I hitchhiked from Kenya, to make my way to Cape Town, on the South African coast. There, I lived with a family in a district for people of “colored”. At the time, I was a neophyte in my early -twenties, and in the process of hanging out with young people of my age, a month quickly passed by without my noticing. I without a doubt lived the best time of my youth there. From there, I biked back to Kenya, and returned to Japan. A few years later, I received letters from friends who were living in that district; these former companions had participated in anti-apartheid demonstrations, and I learned that many of them had come under fire and had been killed.

In 1981, during a boat trip on the Nile from Juba, heading from South Sudan to North Sudan, I met a young Hutu refugee, and we traveled together for several weeks. He seemed to have gone through a lot of hardships: as a child, he had been separated from his parents during the Burundian Civil War (indeed, before the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, a massive killing of Hutus by Tutsi soldiers

had happened in the neighboring country), he had been wandering from one place to another throughout Eastern Africa, finally ending up in Nairobi, where He had a terrible time as an undocumented youth among street children. Eventually, under a stroke of genius, he began to create collage art work using withered banana leaves of various colors, arranging them like mosaics. Following this successful initiative, he began to nurture the dream of emancipating from Africa, dedicating himself to saving money by selling works, in order to gain the means of taking the road to Europe. However, upon arriving in Khartoum with me, all his attempts to secure any visa proved fruitless. Prostrated with disappointment, he soon encased himself in silence. At that time, I had completed the various procedures of my fieldwork, and we each went our separate ways, and I don't know what happened to him afterwards. To reach Europe from there, it is essential to cross the desert and the Mediterranean Sea, and those who do not have a visa have to move furtively, and it is very likely to be taken advantage of by an ill-intentioned smuggler. It is quite unfortunate, but aside from the elite, for the majority of Africans, Africa remains "a closed continent". Even though it is possible for foreigners who, like me, are fascinated by Africa, to come and go as we please, Africans do not have access to the same privilege. (For more information, please refer to my article "Aru Burunji Nanmin to 'Tozasareta Tairiku' (A Burundian Refugee and the 'Closed Continent') ", Myūjikku Magajin (Music Magazine), No. 5, 1982.)

Considered from another point of view, aspects tied to "high art" were at the center of three presentations of this symposium. As I mentioned at the beginning, I am interested in popular African art. Consequently, I would like to touch on a few events that took place in recent years in that field to conclude my commentary.

In 1991, a large-scale exhibition on Twentieth Century African art entitled "Africa Explores" was held in New York. On this occasion, a great number of works created by Africans for the African masses, and that were not necessarily recognized as art at that time, were shown. For example, store signboards, advertising posters, sample haircut illustrations in barbershops, illustrations hung on bar or restaurant walls, portraits created in photography studios, illustrations of political events or civil wars, drawings with explanatory comments, wood -made models of cars and laptop computers, sculpted caskets to illustrate the likes of the deceased, decorative paintings placed on the sides of public transportation buses, and so on. The ingeniousness and wisdom of the masses overflowed from these numerous objects.

15 years later, an internationally traveling exhibition called "Africa Remix: Contemporary Art of a Continent" was shown in Japan in 2006... and I found it extremely disappointing. While the organizers proudly claimed to present the point of view of today's Africans, the objects they gathered did not reflect in any way the outlook of the African masses. Even if there were several works that, at least on the surface, seemed identical to what had been glimpsed 15 years earlier, the works that were previously created for the masses in Africa were now created for the Western art market. (For more information, refer to my article " (Popular Art)" M. Matsuda(ed), Afurika Shakai Wo Manabu Hito No Tame Ni (For those who study African society), Sekai Shisousha, 2014.)

Commentary 2

Kazuto Nakatani (Kyoto University)

I am Nakatani from Kyoto University. My major is cultural anthropology, and I have focused especially on the area of art. Concretely, I have been conducted the ethnographic research on “the art practices of people with mental or physical disabilities” in Denmark and as well as in Japan.

Today I would like to make remarks on the reflections that came to mind while listening to the presentations, first on the anthropology of art, and finally on the point of view of anthropology itself.

I will first share my general impressions. While they all come from different fields, I got the impression that all three presenters today, as if by coincidence, shared the same posture: they all have in common the same *generative* view of art. In other words, they are not considering art as the symbolic representation of what already exists in reality, but instead take the position that art is the very production of reality itself.

Curiously, the same year that Roger Fry’s essay “Negro Sculpture” was published, Swiss artist Paul Klee declared, “Art does not reproduce the visible; rather, it makes visible”. The three presentations today explored, in different ways, the generative *forces* and *movements* in-and-around the works of art. I believe we can certainly link this approach to what has already been said by Mr. Okazaki, and by Mr. Sakuma in the introduction, about Alfred Gell’s anthropology of art.

For example, while some points had to be cut short, we find in Mr. Somé’s presentation the claim that the value and the reality of an artwork is substantiated by the sensations and the actions of its viewer who is affected by it. Here he also emphasized on the need of focal shift from the creator to the onlooker. Of course, I do not believe that it leads us to devalue the creativity of artist; rather, it leads us to focus on the creativity that is contained within the act of looking, including the creativity in the artist’s gaze.

Here, the words of Maurice Merleau-Ponty come back to my mind: “All perception, all action which presupposes it, and in short every human use of the body is already primordial expression”. Observation, or perception in general, regardless of what we may ordinarily think of it, is not a passive process of representation in our heads; rather, it is an active process of “making visible” through our bodily movements. And for this reason, any perception, as minimal as it may be, is always accompanied by some kind of affect.

As is well known, Spinoza defined affect (affectus) as “states of a body by which its power of acting is increased or lessened, helped or hindered, and also the ideas of these states” (Ethics, Part III, Definition III). Simplifying considerably, we can understand it as the changeable degree of body’s (and mind’s) “power of acting”, in the face of a given stimulus.

Indeed, in Mr. Somé’s presentation, the focus was put on the fact that the art objects like masks and sculptures are always animated in the movements of various people (viewers, dancers, musicians and so on) affected by them.

On the other hand, in Mr. Yanagisawa’s presentation, the focus was also put on the link

between the object and its power for action. But here, as Mr. Sakuma mentioned, the generative forces are, as it were, *implicated* within the form of the object itself.

Concretely, as Mr. Yanagisawa carefully pointed out, Fry's so-called "formalist" system is in no way rigidly set or, in other words, preconfigured. From my point of view, to reach the nexus of the issue, I believe that we must pay attention both to the form, but also to the *formative power* that are within the objects and that make them come into existence. This formative power breathes "life into the objects", in other words, it is the "rhythm" that Fry previously mentioned.

On the topic of rhythm, Fry mentions that it happens at several levels, whether it is in the repetition of components inside the work – lines, patterns, masses – or within the space of the work. And that might be there, in this repetition that creates variations and nuances, a repetition that is neither continuous nor homogenous, but instead a repetition where shifting occurs – what Mr. Okazaki called syncopated repetition – in any case, what seems important to keep in mind, is that to genuinely know the meaning of a work, mere "external" observation is not sufficient.

To really reach to sculpture, as Guillaume and Munro described, we must "follow a curve with the eye, feel a series of similar lines, planes or masses as a rhythmic succession". In other words, we must pay attention to the form of the work, yet commit ourselves beyond the form, and join in the formative power inherent to the object, just like entering into the "rhythm" of that. This process remains in the same spirit as the relation built between the object and the dancer that Mr. Somé talked about.

At the core of the rhythmic resonance of forces and movements thus produced, the "transmission of affect" that Fry talks about is produced. I will elaborate my thoughts later, but in Senghor's idea of "emotive sensitivity", which broadens the content around Fry's "formalism", we find an unexpected connection, close ties with the "participant observation" approach in anthropology

Now, as for Mr. Clarke's presentation, I will focus on his work about memory. Has he said himself in his introduction, the position taken by Mr. Clarke as an artist is that his practice is not just a symbolic representation of reality, but a practice that produces reality, or acts on reality itself.

The project "The Garden of Memory" left a strong impression on me. Leaving aside the exaggerated accounts that mass media and politicians lust for, this project instead stirs emotion with the intensity of a gesture "repeated a million times". Yet, I wondered what I could retain from this project.

That strongly reminded me of an excerpt found in *What is Philosophy?* a book written by French Félix Guattari, psychoanalyst, and Gilles Deleuze, philosopher:

"It is true that every work of art is a monument, but here the *monument* is not something commemorating a past, it is a bloc of present sensations that owe their preservation only to themselves and that provide the event with the compound that celebrates it. The monument's action is not memory but fabulation".

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the creation of a monument is not a retrospective

“commemoration”, but instead the creation of a new kind of reality through fabulation. “Fabulation” here is “to invent a story”, leading the way to a certain future. Thus, for that reason, this project becomes to that effect a call to future generations, in addition to being a project that promises to create future generations. In sum, the act of the monument creates, in itself, the future generations that will accompany that act. I understood the “place of remembrance” that Mr. Clarke has created with other groups as a real space for rigorous intervention with reality, in other words, as a “repository of sensations” that must be recalled and reprocessed.

Now, in addition to what I discussed on the three presentations, I would like to add one last remark, in connection with the theme of today’s symposium, that is to say, “Art and Affect”, and particularly on how the field of anthropology itself can be influenced by it.

Firstly, I would like to highlight the effervescent relationships that have been created between art and anthropology in recent years, for example, the collaborations between anthropologists and contemporary artists. In that sense, this includes the work of Mr. Clarke, but also the elaboration of works according to an ethnographic approach, or the creation of films by anthropologists.

Without limiting art as one object of study among others, it is as if anthropology had decided to extract from it a practical approach to learn knowledge, to make it an adjacent field of study, and to treat it as its equal. But of course, we can also say that the parallels between art and anthropology have not only begun to take shape these last few years. We can simply evoke Lévi-Strauss to understand that, and also Gell, whose anti-aesthetic notion of art made him a companion to Marcel Duchamp.

Thus, in that context, where could we look for this fundamental connection that exists between anthropology and art? Once again, it is the participant observation approach that emerges.

Renowned British anthropologist Tim Ingold claims that participant observation is definitely not just a simple data collection technique. According to him, it would instead be an ontological commitment, a way of “knowing from inside”. With further thought, this might seem obvious: we are able to see because we are an integral part of this world and, as one part of this whole, we cannot withdraw ourselves from a phenomenon that we are already taking part in. In other words, observation is only possible through participation in reality, in the target environment. We mention that participant observation in anthropology, before being a data collection method, is first and foremost a principle of participation in reality, in addition to being, from an academic standpoint, an ontological attitude. As I said earlier, I think that Fry’s notion of “formalism”, and Senghor’s expansion in creating his concept of “emotive sensitivity”, share fundamental overlapping points.

In fact, the attitude of “becoming acquainted with object” that Senghor talks about resembles in many ways the description we could give of an anthropologist doing participant observation. But on the other hand, would it not be instead the fusion through which the individual identifies with the object? Here, I think we could return to what was mentioned earlier by Deleuze and Guattari, and refer directly to the notion of “becoming” in anthropology.

Earlier, in his description of observing sculpture, Fry was suggesting that we had to pay attention to the form of the work, then commit ourselves beyond it, and join in the formative power inherent to the object. Similarly, the anthropologist’s participant observation, by his total participation

in the other's reality, is joining the formative forces and the movements that configure that reality. Otherwise, the anthropologist's work could only ever be a pale imitation, or representation of existing reality.

Based on Fry's concept of "transmission", the other's affect becomes mine. Thus, this would not be what Senghor described as a fusion, and identification between the individual and the object, but instead a rhythmic resonance produced by the confluence of forces and movements between them. In other words, we could consider that the fundamental base shared by anthropology and art is "becoming-other".

By the way, Deleuze and Guattari define the work of art as the traces of becoming, as a compound of the affects and the percepts experimented within that becoming. Art, while involving visual perception, can also arouse sensations. In that sense, we could say that any work, through the patterns of sensations and perceptions it creates, is an educational apparatus of sorts. For that reason, as it appears clearly in Mr. Clarke's presentation, I believe that art can become a focal point in today's politics.

Then, from another angle, could we say that ethnographic work can be artwork? Or could we say that an anthropologist can be an artist? I do not know exactly. But as an anthropologist, I wish to conclude my commentary by raising the issue that "the anthropology of affect" and "the anthropology of art" are not merely sub-categories of anthropology, but that they should perhaps be located at the very core of this discipline.

About projects

(1) Core Research Program : The Potential Value of Indigenous Knowledge in Managing Hazards in Asia and Africa: The Anthropological Explorations into the Linkage of Micro-Macro Perspectives 2

The Core Research Program of Anthropology has launched a new research project, entitled, The Potential value of indigenous knowledge in managing hazards in Asia and Africa, in April 2016, in response to various contemporary issues caused by globalization and modernization in these regions. This research topic reinforces ILCAA's mid-term and long-term goal: to contribute to resolving problems in Asia and Africa based on an accurate understanding of the problems, and to distribute the findings worldwide, thus addressing urgent issues in modern society.

Globalization and modernization have generated hazards and risks across the globe that cannot be fully understood from a Western-centric viewpoint. Virtually all aspects of human lives are being endangered by various conflicts, environmental changes, population changes (e.g., the issue of marginal villages), economic crises, and natural disasters, which are uncontrollable by humans. As this situation escalates, people have started to believe that they have the power to control political, economic, social, as well as natural phenomena with reason-based modern technology in the interest of humans. Though this fallacy has been met with widespread opposition, effective solutions are yet to be found.

To make a breakthrough in this current inert situation, this Core Research Program proposes reexamining the potential value of 'indigenous knowledge,' or the way of doing things unique to individual regions. As many anthropologists have revealed, people in Asia and Africa have shown great flexibility in handling their new realities in daily life by using their indigenous knowledge. However, indigenous knowledge, in its many forms, has so far only existed within isolated contexts and thus has not yet achieved academic status on a large scale. The main objectives of this research project are to investigate indigenous knowledge in Asia and Africa by using the theories and methods that have been established through our 'explorations into the linkage of micro-macro perspectives', the main theme of the Core Research Program of Anthropology, and by integrating the isolated knowledge of coping with hazards and risks into unified human knowledge. This knowledge can be verified in and adapted not only to Japan, but to anywhere in the world. The mission of the anthropologists committed to the Core Research Program is to pave the way to move indigenous knowledge from Asia and Africa beyond individual experiences and apply it in a wider range of contexts, by sharing the achievements of this research with people inside and outside of Japan, thereby contributing to resolving several issues in Asia and Africa.

(2) New developments in the research on emotions through anthropological fieldwork: With a focus on crisis

Objective of the study (Outline)

The objective of this study is to empirically elucidate the process of emotion generation by linking the theoretical view that “emotion,” in contraposition to reason, is at the base of the social nature connecting people, by using the methodology of anthropological field surveys, where problems are raised from actual fieldwork using researchers’ bodies and senses. Even in the midst of crisis situations such as disasters, conflicts, and terrorism, which have occurred frequently in recent years, people live in cooperation in order to maintain a stable life. This study aims to bring new developments to the research on emotions through the multidirectional examination of three aspects of various scenarios in Asia and Africa: the aspect of daily life, which is the foundation here; the aspect of crisis, where people get caught up in crises, both accidentally and passively; and the aspect of festivity, which is controlled actively.

(1) [Social and academic background of the study]

Since the end of the Cold War, some regions in Asian and African countries have experienced unprecedented economic growth, whereas natural disasters such as earthquakes and tsunamis as well as incidents such as civil conflicts and riots have frequently occurred in various areas. The so-called intensification of terrorism and the rise of antforeignism seen in Europe and the United States in recent years have contributed to amplifying worldwide anxiety and fear about being deprived of life, property, or the usual standard of living. The prevalence of these crises, which should be controlled by reason, is now demanding those in the humanities and social sciences, which were established on the premise of rational reason, to fundamentally shift their perspectives. What is drawing attention under such circumstances is “emotion.”

“Jodo,” in Japanese, has been debated as a subjective phenomenon of human beings, such as emotion and mood, and is represented by terms such as passion, emotion, feeling, affect, and sense in English. In modern Western philosophy, “jodo” (emotion) has been explored in opposition to reason, that is, passion that should be controlled, and “passion” is at the essence of it. Therefore, as researchers have pursued the subjectivity of human beings, characterized by free will and activeness since the modern period, they have tended to exclude “emotion” from their research, which is supposed to offer solutions to problems.

However, from an international point of view, particularly since the 1990s, the term “affect” has led people in various academic fields to gain a new perspective by looking back at human beings based on “emotion.” This is the so-called “affective turn” (Clough, T. & J. Halley eds., *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, Duke University Press, 2007). Notable achievements have been made especially in natural scientific studies, such as in neuroscience and cognitive psychology; for example, Antonio R. Damasio (*Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain*, Chikua Shobo, 2010), by adopting the perspective of “body” in neuroscience, revealed that emotions are not physiological or

psychological phenomena within the brain, but they are dynamic phenomena emerging from the interaction between the body and the brain. Additionally, the discovery of mirror neurons has unraveled the basis of the ability that primates have to empathize with others at the level of nerve cells, demonstrating the possibility that mankind obtained sociality through empathy based on emotions before establishing social contracts based on reason.

In contrast to this, in the fields of humanities and social sciences, a new style of research has emerged, focusing on the fact that emotions are social phenomena that cannot be traced back to physiological responses or the minds of people. In other words, this is an attempt to understand emotions as “things that affect others or are affected by others”—that is, what Spinoza calls “*affectus*.” There, feelings and senses, such as delight, anger, sorrow, fun, pleasure, and displeasure, are regarded not as subjective but as intersubjective events, and the communality of emotions that expand beyond the bodies of individuals has been the focus of research. In political science or social science, such a viewpoint has been applied to the research on antirealism or nationalism, as well as to the research of mass media or social media, with great success.

However, in most of these studies in humanities and social sciences, where intersubjectivity is discussed, mutual subjectivity of research subjects is seen as a problem, and “research entities analyzing emotions of the research subjects from a rational perspective” have been placed outside the scope of intersubjectivity in many cases. In this respect, anthropology can make unique contributions to the research of emotions. In anthropology, fieldwork, not experiments or literature, is the methodological pillar. It is a technique that elucidates the reality of the field being investigated, based on the sum of the researchers’ bodies and senses existing “here and now.” Why is it important to be in the field in person? As revealed by natural science, the ability to empathize through the body is at the root of emotions. However, emotions do not only have an objective nature sought by natural science; they also have a nature that is produced through the taking of an internal observation approach, which allows us to see various dimensions, depending on perspectives. Therefore, it is important for observers to not only observe events from outside but also observe them in an “empathic” way from the inside by participating in the events themselves. However, we are not suggesting that a different body means a different perspective, or that there is an infinite number of events depending on perspectives. We believe that, by focusing on events that we can engage in together at a certain place, researchers can discover some sort of a common process of emotion generation in their experiences if the researchers themselves are there together in person. The objective of this study is to empirically illustrate that process from real-life situations.

With this vision, the principal investigator, Nishii, pursued in a unique fashion how to describe the ethnography of emotion generation from an internal perspective, and published the findings as a journal article entitled *Jikan no Jinruigaku: Jodo, Shizen, Shakaikukan* [Anthropology of Time: *Affectus*, Nature and Social Space] in 2011, and as a single-author book entitled *Jodo no Esunogurafi* [Ethnography of *Affecturs*] in 2013. In this study, we attempt to discuss these findings more theoretically in order to continue the research of emotions in an interdisciplinary and international manner.

(2) [What, and up to what point, we are going to reveal within the timeframe of this study]

First of all, in this study, researchers who have carried out long-term fieldwork at their investigation sites have been gathered together to elucidate the process of how emotions emerge beyond the level of individuals, from the following three aspects:

(1) Emotions during daily life: By focusing on the flows or the functions of emotions generated within social interactions, including occupational activities and everyday human relationships, we illustrate that seemingly rational decisions and actions are materialized through emotions.

(2) Emotions during crisis: In contrast to (1), we reveal the modes of emotions that emerge during unexpected events, such as natural disasters and conflicts. We focus on various aspects—not only the emotions experienced when people face actual crises but also the emotions leading to crises, and emotions for overcoming the crises.

(3) Emotions during festivities: Emotions constituting festive spaces, such as rituals, art, sports, and games, are not day-to-day emotions, which is the same as (2), but they need to be understood differently from (2), due to the way that they emerge or appear under predetermined conditions and rules.

In this study, we pay attention to the fact that emotions that appear in daily lives appear at a deeper level during crises, such as disasters and conflicts, and the fact that communality is established through emotions during extraordinary festivity scenarios, and put a spotlight on (1) day-to-day emotions from both (2) the aspect of crisis where emotions are aroused accidentally and (3) the aspect where emotions are generated actively. Through this multidirectional examination, we aim to elucidate the mechanism of how emotions emerging out of crises generate further crises, and the process of overcoming crises and recovering ordinariness.

Second, we attempt to establish a social theory of emotions, which enables us to see the findings of these case studies in a unified manner. By particularly focusing on the nature of emotions that emerge within individuals, but expand beyond individuals, we will open a new perspective in the theory on communality and group formation. As is evident from the case of nationalism, the process of emotions generating communality beyond individuals can turn into the process of excluding others “emotionally.” Such ambiguity of emotions is also an issue that needs clarification.

(3) [Characteristic, anticipated results, and significance of this study]

The characteristic of this study is the fact that we are trying to open up a new area in the research of emotions that is centered around an anthropological, field-based methodology based on researchers’ bodies and senses, in light of insights from the humanities, which focus on the sociality of emotions, and scientific insight that sociality emerges from people’s physiological bodies and their ability to empathize. Because this study adopts an anthropological method of approaching emotions from people’s real-life situations, not from laboratories where emotions are controlled by reason, we believe that it will make unique contributions to the research of emotions. Such a study has

considerable significance, considering recent global events, where natural disasters and violent events frequently occur. Whether it be the expectations or joys of people who dream of further growth, or the anxiety or fear of people who live in a crisis situation, researchers who do not experience the situations and establish theories or create texts without actually being there physically and sensing the emotions, such as through ethnography, are not experiencing these emotions. They, more likely, serve as a channel that transmits to others the emotions of the people who do, in fact, experience them. It is said that mutual understanding with others requires “interaction.” The prevalence of violence without “interaction,” such as conflicts, terrorism, and antirealism, on a global level, raises fundamental questions about the “interactive” model of understanding others based on reason. This study, which pursues the possibility of understanding others through “empathy” of emotions, opens up the possibility of overcoming the modern pattern of thinking, where people primitively trust linguistic rationality.

Research plan and methods (Outline)

In this study, we adopt a two-group approach consisting of an investigation team engaging in case studies on the themes of life, crisis, and festivity, and the summarization team engaging in fundamental research of the theories of emotions. Techniques of ethology and statement psychology are incorporated within the activities of the investigation team, in addition to the common anthropological approach centered around participant observation. Thus, we aim to actively pick up emotions that have often been discarded as noises and turn them into useful pieces of information. Experts, not only in the field of anthropology, but also in the field of cognitive psychology, primatology, and theoretical life science joined the summarization team. Therefore, we theoretically unify the case studies of life, crisis, and festivity, in order to compile literature materials from each field (establishment of “Jodo Bunko”). The insights that the investigation team and summarization team obtained will be exchanged at plenary meetings, and the research findings will be transmitted in Japan, and globally, through international symposiums, workshops, and publications in journals.

1. Research structure

The Research Institute for the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (hereinafter, AA-ken) will be the core of the research structure. AA-ken is an institute that Nishii, the principal investigator, belongs to. In 2013, it established a joint research structure for dynamically understanding the actual world from the viewpoint of emotions, through the activities in the core research of the anthropology group established within the institute. In terms of fieldwork, which is the methodological pillar of this study, AA-ken has assumed the role of a hub for developing field investigation methods, accumulating investigation-related data, and connecting researchers, through the activities of a department called the “Field Science Research Planning Center,” established within the institute in 2006. In this study, we take full advantage of the human resources, networks, facilities, and information resources accumulated through these activities at AA-ken. For this study, particularly in terms of human resources, we divide the members into the

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investigation team, engaging in case studies of Asian and African countries, and the summarization team, engaging in the fundamental research of the theories of emotions.

The investigation team consists of nine researchers who have carried out long-term fieldwork in countries, such as Japan, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Madagascar, Niger, and Uganda.

Within this team, we also create sub-groups for each of the themes, (1) emotions in life, (2) emotions during crises, and (3) emotions during festivities, and organize study groups and symposiums.

As described in the objective of this study, we focus on how crisis situations, which are pressing issues of today, such as natural disasters and conflicts, amplify the functions of emotions in daily lives, and examine the process of emotion generation multi-directionally by combining (2) the aspect where people get caught passively and (3) the aspect where communality is established actively through emotions. For the reasons stated above, the following themes have been set up.

Investigation team

(1) Emotions in life: The team engages in investigative research on the flows and the functions of emotions that appear in day-to-day micro activities, such as occupational activities and everyday human relationships. Hideo Fukazawa (AA-ken), who specializes in social anthropology in the areas around the waters surrounding the Indian Ocean, and primarily Madagascar, assumes the coordinating role, and leverages years of experience of participant observation in local societies to elucidate the flows of emotions that exist behind day-to-day livelihood activities, such as agriculture and pasturage, together with Kaori Kawai, who specializes in ecological anthropology and the research of pastoralists in East Africa. Akinori Kubo (Hitotsubashi University), who promotes research that forms a bridge between cultural/social anthropology, STS (Science and Technology Studies), and scientific philosophy, joins the team as a research cooperator to address emotions that emerge in a situation where the IT industry and robot technologies are a part of everyday life.

(2) Emotions during crisis: Here, the theme is the emotions that appear during unexpected events, such as natural disasters and conflicts. Yutaka Sakuma (AA-ken), who specializes in economic anthropology and research of the African region, assumes the coordinating role to investigate how emotions emerge when people are faced with famines and land grabs on the southern edge of the Sahara. Ikuya Tokoro, who specializes in anthropology in the island areas of Southeast Asia, investigates the relationship between emotions and risk hazards, such as the Mindanao Conflict, which continues from the 1970s to the present, leading to the emergence of refugees and migrants. Hiromu Shimizu (Kyoto University), who specializes in research into cultural anthropology in Southeast Asia, delves into the theoretical side of the study, based on his experiences in the local community, in relation to the volcanic eruptions he has studied for about a quarter of a century.

(3) Emotions during festivities: Why do people have a feeling of awe for gods and nature? Why do people become fascinated with sports and music? Underlying these experiences are emotions. Under this theme, we closely study the similarities and differences of emotions, and how emotions are

purged and controlled, by focusing on festive scenes, where the emergence of emotions can be clearly seen. Yukako Yoshida, who specializes in cultural anthropology and the research of entertainment and rituals, assumes the coordinating role. Jun Takashima, who specializes in the science of religion, also joins to proceed with the study by incorporating philological investigation methods. Masahiko Togawa (AA-ken), who specializes in the anthropology of South Asia and the research of India and Bangladesh, also joins to explore how emotions work during the process, where ordinariness has been restored through religious practices following the crisis caused by a cyclone in 2007.

Theory team

The summarization team is organized to sum up the individual themes that the investigation team works on, to establish a new theory from a holistic viewpoint. The team gathers insights and knowledge of various fields outside anthropology to trigger discussions. Ryoko Nishii (AA-ken), who is the principal investigator on this study, and specializes in anthropology on Mainland Southeast Asia, assumes the coordinating role. Tadashi Yanai (Tokyo University), who is a pioneer of a new domain called image anthropology, and Kotaro Takagi (Aoyama Gakuin University), who specializes in cognitive psychology, join as co-investigators. Suehisa Kuroda (University of Shiga Prefecture), who specializes in primatology, and Yukio Gunji (Waseda University), who specializes in theoretical life science, join as research collaborators. We also hired an early-career researcher, who will be engaging in research that utilizes specialized knowledge, and will assume the assisting role of liaison and coordination among researchers, as well as performing other relevant tasks.

The theory team also engages in the task of systematically collecting literature written in Japanese, English, and French to establish “Jodo Bunko” (tentative name) in light of the fact that there has been an explosion in the amount of literature on emotions and feelings in the fields of natural science, humanities, and social sciences in recent years. This is an unprecedented attempt, even from a global perspective, and, upon completion, can be widely used by researchers in Japan, and in the world as a fundamental corpus of the research of emotions.

2. Research methods

The methodological pillar of this study is anthropological fieldwork. In specific terms, we use the method of ad lib sampling, which is used in ethology, to trace the details of the practical behaviors of people, engage in joint analysis of events = episodes together with the participants, and employ the technique of statement psychology, such as statement credibility assessment, in addition to common methods used in anthropological fieldwork, such as participant observation, interview/hearing surveys, videotaping, and recording. Through these methods, we will pick up behaviors that are not necessarily expressed linguistically, and emotions that appear during one-time-only accidental events. Members of each team exchange information closely, and engage in discussions under common themes. However, because areas that the researchers specialize in are diverse, and we believe it is desirable to take full advantage of such diversity when studying emotions, which are fundamental events for human beings, no joint field investigation will be conducted in one area.

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