Abstract:

At times when the state is most unstable, it will initiate any program or policy that will try to reestablish that stability. This includes artistic initiatives, an alternative to other more openly forceful policies. Art is not merely a byproduct of a culture within an established state, but can be produced, encouraged, and used by that state as a mechanism in order to meet its own objectives. This study will look at the pattern in which states use art. Designed as an overview of the topic, this study will lay out critical and theoretical foundations, setting up the process for future studies that may take a more in depth and specified look at the subject. By first setting specific definitions to the key concepts of state and art, this study will outline the basic ways in which these concepts are connected. These theories will then be further explained, at times using specific examples to illustrate the argument. And finally, the theories will be used to evaluate two different cases in order to show their applicability.
Acknowledgements:

I’ve always enjoyed the study of politics and political theory. Art has always been a major part of my life. So, when I first heard of the state-led drum program in Ghana, I saw my interests conveniently and wonderfully collide. Many sleepless nights later, this study is the longwinded byproduct of that brief introduction.

I’d like to thank my advisor, Sheila Croucher, for all of her advice and guidance throughout this project; her constant enthusiasm will always be appreciated. Thanks to Pat Haney for his help from the calm beginning through the hectic end. I’ll always be thankful for Susan Kay’s help, advice, and listening ear. I want to thank the beautiful Megan Quinn and lovely Kelly Markle who I both blame and value for all this work. I greatly appreciate both Jason Lanter and that box of tissues in his top drawer. And, quickly, I want to thank all my fellow ereservers who’ve put up with my absence and presence in the past few months, my friends who for some reason still think I’m alright, my roommate, Colleen Goodman, for all the late night typing sessions and Prof. Della-Piana for unknowingly inspiring the entire project. Finally, I want to thank my parents for all their love and support through everything, including way more than just this project.

I’m not sure what impact this study will have on anyone who isn’t me, but it has been a pleasure, a highly stressful, time-consuming, and difficult pleasure, but pleasure nonetheless.
**Table of Contents**

Title Page 1
Abstract 2
Approval Page 3
Acknowledgments 4
Table of Contents 5

A Drummer in Ghana 7
Introduction 8
Definitions 8
The State 9
  Definition 9
  *The parallels between the definitions of “State”* 10
  *Understanding the definition of state through differing world views* 11
  Importance 12
Art 14
  *Outline of artistic categories, major sub-categories, and combinations* 16
The Connection 16
  *Brief outline of the following sections* 18
Purposes 18
  Infrastructure 19
  *Art used to Promote Infrastructure: Communist China in the 1980’s and 1990’s* 19
  Population 20
  Jurisdiction 22
  *Art used to promote population and jurisdiction: Neutral Switzerland of the 1930’s* 23
  Sovereignty 23
Times of Use 25
  Creation 25
  *Art used in the Creation of a State: Pre-State society of Israel* 26
  Establishment 26
  Maintenance 27
  Transformation 28
  *Art used in the transformation of a state: post-revolutionary Mexico in the 1920’s* 28
Artistic Initiatives 29
  Propaganda Art and Artistic Initiatives 29
  Commissioned Art and Adopted Art 30
  *Art Adopted by the State: New Zealand and The Lord of the Rings* 31
### Case Studies

- The development of Germany
- *The Cult of the Volk*
- Nietzsche's Übermensch
- *The rationalizations of Mann*
- Mein Kampf
- Summary
- France under Louis XIV
- *The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander*
- Versailles and the Gobelins
- The Academy
- Summary

### Conclusion

- *It's time to return to the villages of Ghana*

### Works Cited

- *Germany Case Study*
- *French Case Study*
A Drummer in Ghana:

Babatunde Olatungi had received his undergraduate degree and several doctorates through his education in the United States and was entering a career in diplomacy when he instead pursued a different kind of mediation, drumming. Supported by the state University of Ghana, he gathered his students around him. Slowly and deliberately, he taught them the importance of the drum to the culture of Ghana. “Music plays a central role in the ordering of society and the social formation of each individual,” they learned (Wisner, 3). Using native songs and dances from the different villages of Ghana, Olatungi was able to demonstrate the diverse cultural heritage of Ghana’s people. “Not every Ghanaian is a singer or a musician, but everyone understands and responds to the language of drums” (Wisner, 3).

This scene leads to a series of questions, the answers to which seem simple—at first. But, the answers soon get harder and more elusive:

But, what is the goal of this program?
To teach the songs and dances of other villages to all the villages in Ghana

Why would a government initiate such a program?
With the hope that the people will learn more and more about one another

What will this accomplish?
A sense of unity will be established among the villages

Why at this point in time?
Because there is no unity.

Why is unity needed?
Because . . .

Why use drums or music or some other art form?

Do other states initiate such programs?

Is it for the same reason?

Is there some sort of pattern?

However, it is those final questions that are the most valuable. If unity among the population is important in one state, then it may be important to other states. If music programs can create this unity, then other states may want to initiate similar programs. Or maybe they already have . . .
Introduction

One of the key functions of a state is to create and maintain stability. At times when the state is most unstable, it will initiate any program or policy that will try to reestablish that stability. This includes artistic initiatives, an alternative to other more openly forceful policies. Therefore, states will use specific kinds of art at different stages within their development to serve definitive purposes. Art is not merely a byproduct of a culture within an established state, but can be produced, encouraged, and used by that state as a mechanism in order to meet its own objectives. This study will look at the pattern in which states use art.

Designed as an overview of the topic, this paper will remain broad in its discussion. By laying out critical and theoretical foundations, this study will set up the process for future studies that may take a more in depth and specified look at the subject. By first setting specific definitions to the key concepts of state and art, this study will outline the basic ways in which these concepts are connected. These theories will then be further explained, at times using specific examples to illustrate the argument. And finally, the theories will be used to evaluate two different cases in order to show their applicability.

Definitions

It is important to provide clear definitions of the different terms and concepts involved within a study so that understanding and further discussion can take place using a single language. However, the meanings of “state” and “art” defy all forms of concrete definition. Few would dismiss their influence on history and human development, and because of this influence, they must admit that the concepts of “state” and “art” are not illusory and do indeed exist (Rosenau, 17). However, a single definition for these sources of
influence seems to be imperceptible.

One of the primary reasons that there is no single definition for “state” and “art” is because they have taken many forms throughout history. Their role has varied with each new manifestation (Bredin, 6-7). They become objects that people can recognize but can not describe in terms that encompass all of the variations available. Art is arguably a concept that was born with the beginning of human communication. Changing tastes and time have generally dictated the definition of art; however, broader definitions should include even those works that have been lost to censorship and destruction. State, on the other hand, seems to be a relatively new creation of the past few centuries. Although, the contested nature of this definition can be seen in the conflicts, both vocal and violent, that have occurred because different definitions determine who and/or what gets to be a state.

The State

Definition

The definition of “state” is debatable and even controversial. It is flexible at best and inexpressible at worst. The classic definitions include words such as legitimacy and power that lead to new discussions about those definitions. However, the new definitions have made little progress and continue to define this vague word with other vague words. On the other hand, the answer may lie in this ambiguity. As stated earlier, the primary reason that “state” is so indefinable is because each proposed example is different from the next. Therefore, the definition must include some commonality while allowing for differences.

The most common definition of state is derived not by its actions or purposes but by its components. One of the classic definitions is that of sociologist Max Weber who defines
states as a “human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (Weber). A legal definition was established in the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States. Article I of this agreement says that “the state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: (a) a permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government; and (d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states.” A more recent theorist, Michael Mann, defines a state as “a differentiated set of institutions and personnel embodying centrality, . . . to cover a territorially demarcated area over which it exercises some degree of authoritative, binding rule making, backed up by some organized physical force.” (Mann, 55). All of these definitions include four components that have remained parallel in the definitions through time.

**Parallels between the definitions of “State”:**

**Infrastructure**
- Weber “legitimate use of physical force”
- Montevideo “government”
- Mann “differentiated set of institutions” and “some organised force”

**Population**
- Weber “human community”
- Montevideo “permanent population”
- Mann “personnel”

**Jurisdiction**
- Weber “force within a given territory”
- Montevideo “a defined territory”
- Mann “a territorially demarcated area”

**Sovereignty**
- Weber “monopoly of . . . physical force”
- Montevideo “capacity to enter into relations with the other states”
- Mann “authoritative, binding rule”

In order to move on with this study, a working definition must be established. The definition used will be consistent with the definitions already expressed; however, the
specific terms are deliberately broader so that, as previously stated, commonality is achieved while allowing for drastic differences from state to state. Therefore, a state is defined as that which contains all of the following: population, infrastructure, jurisdiction, and sovereignty. These four requirements best encompass the aspects that are necessary for a state to function as a state and to be recognized as a state by others. This definition has been most widely accepted both in common usage, international law, and academic discussion. People created the state in order to meet specific needs; therefore, the state would not exist without people to inhabit it. In order to manage its population and resources, a state needs a set of institutions that legislate and execute policy. The infrastructure, therefore, is the executor of state function. States must have defined, recognized boundaries that show the limits of its policy and influence whether this is the physical land within which the population lives or the legal extant to which the law of the state is applicable. Jurisdiction defines these influences and limits. Furthermore, a state must be able to act independently from outside influence. Sovereignty ensures the security of states and its components. By using a definition that relies on components, states can be comparable because all have these elements and yet seem drastically different as each component differs from one state to the other.

**Understanding the definition of state through differing world views:**

Within political theory, several “grand theories” describe the role of states in different ways (Neack, 14). The definition of state using the four different components can be adapted to fit within these differing theories.

**Realism:** This theory is based in the idea that the singular state will continually seek its own self-interests in order to survive generally employing some demonstrated use of power to ensure this survival. Therefore, a state is a group of citizens that will create institutions and structures to ensure the authority of their group at the expense of other groups. In terms of power, the components can be viewed as such:

- **Infrastructure:** the structures that create power
- **Population:** those who desire power
- **Jurisdiction:** the extent of state power
- **Sovereignty:** the idea that other states can not breech their power
**Idealism or Liberalism:** This theory focuses on the collaboration of many actors working together in order to ensure stability, recognizing the fact that cooperation is a means of meeting these goals. A state, then, is the collective effort of people to create a system with interacting organizations that will ensure the autonomy of one collection of people while hoping to improve all people. In terms of collaboration, the components can be viewed as such:

- **Infrastructure:** the collaborative system of organizations
- **Population:** those that desire improvement through collaboration
- **Jurisdiction:** the extent to which collaboration can ensure improvement
- **Sovereignty:** the autonomy of each state to enter into collaboration

**Economic Theory or Marxism**—This final theory views all state activities as byproducts of economic structures or as means to develop the desired economic goals of that state. The state is a set of institutions designed to control and organize the resources that produce the supply and meet the demand of the market. Therefore, in terms of economic development, the components can be viewed as follows:

- **Infrastructure:** the set of structures that organize and control the resources
- **Population:** the market
- **Jurisdiction:** all of the resources
- **Sovereignty:** the ability to employ the resources without external interference

This study, though somewhat pluralistic, will primarily lie within the realist assumption that states will use any means to ensure survival.

**Importance**

It is important to define “state” in order to facilitate discussions that may lead to new ideas concerning the future development of states. The questions “what is a state’s function?” “how does it develop?” and “why does it act in certain ways?” remain relevant questions that force scholars to continue their study of this concept. Many scholars have noticed an increase in discussion concerning states in the past few decades. One reason can simply be that discussion begets discussion, and state is the popular topic. Another is the emergence of new states and destruction of old states that followed events such as the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Rosenau, 25-6). “How best to strengthen weak states and prevent state failure are among the urgent questions of the twenty-first century” (Rotberg, 2). Understanding why a state fails may lead to methods for prevention (Rotberg, 2). Finally, the topic becomes an
interest as the powers of states have increased and decreased within the world arena (Rosenau, 26-7). Globalization, regionalization, international organizations, international corporations and other trends that seem to exist beyond the boundaries of states are in fact still products of the state. Globalization itself is still heavily dependent upon and influenced by states and the interaction of states (Shaw, 17). Moreover, the exertion of state strength as exhibited by the United States in recent events proves that states, state rights and state power are still issues that require further discussion.

A clear definition of statehood is also important to states themselves. If a clear definition is established, then a state can be recognized as such, and exert all the powers that derive from such a title and ultimately better maintain its stability. Firstly, the definition becomes the basis by which a state is able to interact with other states and be perceived as legitimate by its own citizens. This is clearly seen within international law created to govern multi-state organizations such as the aforementioned Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States which was set up by the Seventh International Conference of American States (Montevideo). A state must meet the correct definition in order to be supported by such international organizations as the United Nations or International Monetary Fund.

In addition, if a state understands its essential components, then it can focus on maintaining these elements (Rosenau, 37). A state must actively and continually attend to these components. If any of the four components of the state are severely challenged and the state does not attend to them, the state is in fear of collapse (Rotberg, 5-9). This challenge can be anything from a foreign military attack, to internal opposition, or simply popular cynicism and resentment to the current state system. Conversely, a state with components that are well-defined and properly maintained through deliberate attention experiences
overall stability with little fear of collapse and can be considered efficient, organized and powerful. A state that is characterized by strong, functioning components is a strong, functioning state.

\textbf{Art}

“Art,” even more so than “state,” is hard to define. Each new work of art has qualities that can be drastically different than previous works of art. Styles, genres and periods provide certain criteria for groups of works, but art can not be lumped into a “single class” (Bredin, 6 and 7). Furthermore, each new artistic movement hopes to redefine art, rejecting all previous standards and concepts (Bredin, 7). The technique, the material, the theme, the subject, the time period, the ideology, and any number of other criteria can be used to compare works of art, but this prolific list cannot be divided as conveniently as state components into different categories. There are simply too many variables to define art by its different components. It seems that, unlike states, the definition of art must rely on something other than components it possesses. Its definition must encompass both the existing works and genres and possible new developments, as well as including all of the differing elements.

A general definition of art by George Dickie describes art as having “two essential properties”: 1) it is an “artifact,” or manmade object, and 2) its status as art is conferred by the “art world” (Bredin, 7). The second property is the more controversial of the two. It becomes circular when a definition of “art world” is required. The authority of those conferring status is questioned as is the reason or rationale for conferring it. As Richard Wollheim points out, if the status is given for a reason, then it is the reason and not the art
world that defines art, or if there is no reason, the art world is essentially “meaningless” (Bredin, 8). T.J. Diffey argues that works of art should be considered art “independently of human decisions and human behavior towards them” (Diffey qtd. in Bredin, 8).

On the other hand, the first property or what constitutes art is rarely disputed. “All works of art are material,” meaning man created them to have a purpose; they were deliberately designed with a specific significance (Bredin, 3). However, unlike other more “typical” artifacts (tools, clothing, weapons, etc.) artistic artifacts are self-contained. Their inherent design satisfies its function, unlike, for example, a hammer that is little without added force and consequent impact. A painting, on the other hand, fulfills its purpose without addition or consequence. They are “aesthetic artifacts . . . experienced rather than used” (Bredin, 10). Aesthetics deals primarily with “sense perception” or how an object affects the judgment and emotion of a person (Bredin, 4). Therefore, art is an artifact designed so that its aesthetic quality performs its primary function. Art can be designed to influence, affect emotionally, or decorate; regardless this function is accomplished through inherent ability to affect those who experience it.

For clarity, art will be limited within this study to the conventional “fine arts” placed in three categories: literary, musical, and visual (Bredin, 9). These are the most traditional categories of art and all other categories will be treated as either subcategories (i.e. poetry as a subcategory of literary art) or combinations of categories (i.e. dance as a combination of musical and visual art). Literature refers to all text that meets definition of art, such as “poetry, novels, short stories, . . .” (Bredin, 117). It is a purely verbal art that relies on language to provide its aesthetic function (Bredin, 118, 134-7). Music refers to the “art of sound: the invention of formal organisation, manipulation and production of sounds aimed at
achieving an aesthetic effect” (Bredin, 162). Visual art uses shape, color, light, and dimension to portray its aesthetic qualities. The general visual (or plastic) arts include architecture, sculpture and painting.

**Outline of artistic categories, major sub-categories, and combinations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literary</th>
<th>Combinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td>Literary/Musical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prose</td>
<td>Lyrical Music</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Musical**

- Vocal
- Instrumental

**Visual**

- Painting
- Photography
- Sculpture
- Architecture

**The Connection**

The connection between states and art occurs when the definitions and functions of the two are considered. A state is made up of various components that must remain functioning and stable in order to ensure the state’s survival (Rotberg, 5). Art is an object whose inherent aesthetic design performs its primary function. This aesthetic design can be used as a tool to meet the purposes of those who design it. Consequently, a state can employ art as a mechanism to maintain its essential components.

States must be able to evolve and continually redefine themselves in order to meet the ever changing demands and challenges presented to them. Therefore, the state’s initiatives can be viewed as “politics of adaptation” (Rosenau, 37). These adaptations do not necessarily or only happen when a state is fatally threatened but during any changes that affect the components of a state (Rosenau, 41). It will use “resources to remain intact”
It will create structures to ensure stability (Rosenau, 37). Moreover, states will use established mechanisms to “advance their own conception of the state’s interest” which is essentially to remain operating in one form or another (Rosenau, 38).

An important means of state maintenance is communicating to both internal and external challengers the exact capabilities and functions of each state component. The aesthetic ability of art is one way to communicate these explanations making art a valid state mechanism. The functionality of art was first and foremost described by Giambattista Vico (Bredin, 80). He states, “Art, therefore, is the activity through which we participate in the process of creating history and creating the world” (Bredin, 79). Others have expanded on this ability of art to define and clarify. Alexander Baumgarten notes that art “is not purely and exclusively a state or condition of the senses, but a way in which, through our senses, we come to know the world more fully” (Bredin, 3). Social and political theorist, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, groups art with religion and philosophy as a way “in which the intelligibility of things is grasped by the human spirit” (Bredin, 87). Friedrich Nietzsche declares that “art is the most powerful way to justify existence: that it is the aesthetic that best makes sense of the world” (Bredin, 92). Even modern theorist, Umberto Eco points out that works of art are “‘epistemic metaphors’ of the culture from which they emerge and which they express figuratively” (Bredin, 90). Art’s ability to communicate to the senses and intelligence of men and define the world around it makes it an ideal mechanism for the state.

Art, then, can be employed with the purpose to strengthen the various components of the state. It will be used at specific times when those components are most challenged. And, there are specific categories that art can be divided into in order to better understand its source and the types of artistic initiatives employed. These purposes, times of use and
categories of artistic initiatives will be further developed and explained in the following sections.

**Brief outline of the following sections:**

*Purposes*
- Infrastructure
- Population
- Jurisdiction
- Sovereignty

*Times of Use*
- Creation
- Establishment
- Maintenance
- Transformation

*Artistic Initiatives*

*Sources*
- Commissioned Art
- Adopted Art

*Categories*
- Propaganda Art
- Artistic Institutions

**Purposes**

As stated earlier, clearly defining each of the state components becomes an essential step in maintaining stability and ensuring the existence of the state. The artistic initiatives that a state produces are designed to serve these specific purposes. Art is a mechanism to prevent or cope with disruptions and challenges to the state system (Rosenau, 37). In this sense, art can be applied to the direct maintenance of each state component. Art can be used to promote the legitimacy and capability of the infrastructure. It will be used to define the population possibly with the purpose of creating a single unified nation. The jurisdiction of a state can be described, illustrated and exemplified through art. And, the overall sovereignty of a state can be asserted through different artistic initiatives. The following will go into further explanation of the components and how art can be used to better maintain them.
Infrastructure

Infrastructure is composed of all the institutions and structures set up to organize and maintain the resources of the state. This includes all governmental and economical structures as well as the systems of communication and transportation that connect the population. This can vary by governmental system (democracy, monarchy, etc.) and economic system (capitalist, communist, etc.). It is the infrastructure that establishes the institutions and policies that ensure the security and stability of the other components (Rockman, 178).

Infrastructure becomes the functional component of the state. In this sense, the infrastructure must fulfill its function effectively in order to attain legitimacy within the eyes of the population (Rockman, 175). Two kinds of legitimacy exist: 1) nominal or *de jure* legitimacy which relies on legal means of definition and 2) actual or *de facto* legitimacy which is derived from the demonstrated ability to function efficiently. Of the two types, the latter is the more essential to maintaining stability and capability; however, having both is preferred. A nominally legitimate infrastructure will be strengthened if it seems efficient; while an actually legitimate infrastructure will be strengthened by becoming legitimate through law as well.

Art can accomplish both ends. Art can communicate to the population that the infrastructure is functioning efficiently and should be the legal executor of these functions. Therefore, art can be used to define the type of infrastructure that a state has and/or to promote the legitimacy of that infrastructure.

Art used to Promote Infrastructure: Communist China in the 1980’s and 1990’s

Because of different global and domestic events, the infrastructure of China was greatly challenged in the 1980’s and early 1990’s. Sudden shifts in domestic power and the
weakening of global Communism caused a domestic crisis as the infrastructure faced continual even violent challenge from the population (Guo, 167). Economic prosperity had been sustained under the Deng Xiaoping regime; however, “while promoting economic pluralism the Dengists refused to undertake political liberalization and wanted to keep the core of the Communist government system intact” (Ding, 2). Through the Deng administration and into that of Jiang Zemin, “there had been a crisis of confidence in the Communist system, and the government’s socialist-moral appeal had failed to produce positive results” (Ding, 140). Consequently, the state was forced to address this issue, employing multiple means to regain legitimacy. At times, military power was used, but demonstrations of force, such as that at Tiananmen Square, against public protestors, only served to exacerbate the problem. In addition, several artistic initiatives were employed in an attempt to connect the current government with state patriotism. This was done with the aim of proving the government’s legitimacy by showing governmental efficiency and loyalty to the state.

Later known as the Patriotic Campaigns, major propaganda initiatives were designed to legitimize the administrations as they took office (Guo, 167). After 1986 and the major student protests, leaders “urged that these projects be strengthened and that traditional and popular artistic means be used to win the hearts of educated youth” (Ding, 144). “[Party Central Propaganda Department] and the party’s Central Secretariat’s Research Center formulated a comprehensive action program for patriotic campaigns . . . elements of the program included how to make television programs and films out of ‘the Chinese heroic struggle against Western and Japanese imperialism” (Ding, 143). The Ministry of Education initiated a program within schools that required students and teachers to raise the state flag and sing the national anthem on a daily basis (Ding, 144). Other initiatives that were employed particularly under Jiang Zemin included concerts and exhibitions, films on television every day, the creation of the Shanghai People’s Artistic Theatre, and the promotion of writers to serve the Communist party and to serve the state (Guo, 167-9). By employing the use of art, the Patriotic Campaigns were able to connect the current regimes with state patriotism, making them seem legitimate in the eyes of the public.

Population

Population refers to all the individuals that are considered permanent inhabitants or citizens of a given state. The role that population plays within a state varies depending on that state’s infrastructure. For instance, in a democracy, governance belongs to the total population, while in a totalitarian dictatorship, only a single individual governs and the rest of the population is governed. Regardless, it is important for a state to retain a permanent population in order to function under any infrastructure.
In addition, the extent to which a population is unified varies from one state to another. In the discussion of states, it is important to note the difference between a state and a nation. A state refers to the various components that have already been mentioned, while a nation refers strictly to the population. A nation is generally characterized as a group of people that are homogeneous in ideals or ethnic considerations such as race, religion, language, culture or historical background. It is generally believed that the more homogeneous and united a population, the stronger the state; therefore, nation-states have become a popular goal in the construction of states. Two types of nations are identified: the civic nation and the ethnic nation (Zimmer, 174). A civic nation is created through the “internal cohesion from their member’s voluntary subscription to a set of political principles and institutions” and generally forms during or after the development of the other state components (Zimmer, 174). An ethnic nation is created by “a sense of self-identity determined by ‘natural’ factors such as language or ethnic descent” and generally forms from a shared culture dating historically before the other state components (Zimmer, 174). In either case, national identity is a “public project” that requires attention and definition through such state mechanisms as art (Zimmer, 174). Art can project a set of shared ideals in order to create a civic nation or a set of cultural similarities that help create an ethnic nation.

Many states have populations divided into many smaller factions. Instead of promoting the creation of a single nation, states can deliberately separate or reinforce the division of the population. This can be done in a constructive manner by promoting a sense of multiculturalism or multinationalism in which differing, though equal, groups cohabitate and cooperate in a single state. Or, this can be done in a destructive manner in which a hierarchy of groups is promoted in order to benefit one group at the expense of another. Art
can promote either cooperation or rivalry depending on the state’s definition of its population. In South Africa, for example, the state has transitioned from the negative promotion of hierarchical population to a positive multinational population. Their national anthem depicts this latter definition by using the four official languages of the differing groups, Nguni, Sotho, Afrikaner, and English. Art, therefore, is used to define the population according to the ideals that the state sees fit.

**Jurisdiction**

Jurisdiction refers to all of the resources over which the state’s infrastructure has authority. In many ways this refers to the physical territory that, as Weber defines it, form the “bounds of legitimate power” (Weber qtd. in Penrose). In addition, the territory forms a “symbiotic relationship” with the population as “The men make the State and the territory sustains the men” (Rousseau qtd. in Penrose). The territory in which the population resides and which the infrastructure seeks to organize and govern has been susceptible to change throughout history through war, imperialism, and the dissolution and creation of new states. “[A] given territory supports a given society and it requires the society’s care if it is to continue to do so” (Penrose). Art can be used to better define and demarcate the territory of a state enabling the state to retain the control over the specific area.

In addition, jurisdiction can refer to all property and circumstances over which the state exerts some form of authority. This can and generally does extend beyond the physical borders of a state’s territory. International business, media, transportation, and foreign military presence are just a few areas in which state jurisdiction can extend beyond physical borders. Art can be used to better define this more vague aspect of jurisdiction.
Art used to promote population and jurisdiction: Neutral Switzerland of the 1930’s

In 1939 the small country of Switzerland held a National Exhibition that was designed to assert the independence of this land of mountains using a slogan of “spiritual defense.” This promoted the idea that the Swiss population and state physical jurisdiction were intricately tied to the survival of the state. After remaining neutral in one of the greatest wars that Europe had ever experienced, Switzerland was once again forced to assert its separation from the countries around it. As economic depression and opposing political forces, particularly the threat of Nazism, endangered the structure of Swiss life, the need to define the territory and extent of Swiss influence became an urgent concern of the government.

The state’s initiatives focused on the tie of the people to the land. It was projected that the “survival of the Swiss nation-state is contingent on the will of its citizens to preserve it as a distinct political, historical and cultural community” (Zimmer, 185). A 1935 quote from a newspaper in Zurich declares, “We are the only typically Alpine state in Europe” (Zimmer, 185). The idea that Switzerland possesses a “national territory” became key; therefore art was used both to promote a united population and a strict definition of the Swiss territory (Zimmer, 186). Of particular note was the landscape art of Ferdinand Hodler which was praised by Swiss leader Hermann Ganz “for adding an overpowering force and magnitude to the Swiss landscape [and] enabling Switzerland to stand out as an independent entity against the countries which surround it” (Kaufman, 491). Other artists included Alexandre Calame and Francois Diday whose mountain painting was proclaimed as national art (Kaufman, 491). However, the most important initiative was the National Exhibition of 1939 discussed in the Parliament announcements of December 9, 1938 and Dec 14, 1938 (Zimmer, 191). What started as an industrial fair, ultimately exhibited cultural demonstrations as well. The best example is the towering statue, called “Ready for Defense,” of a citizen that is putting on his coat before leaving to defend his country in the state militia. This monumental heroification of a militiaman boldly embodies the idea of state survival through united population in defense of their territory.

Sovereignty

The components of jurisdiction and sovereignty are, in many ways, directly connected. If jurisdiction is the extent to which domestic influence reaches within the state, then sovereignty is the boundary to which foreign influence is kept out of the state. Sovereignty ensures the extent of jurisdiction. As previously stated, jurisdiction can extend beyond the physical boundaries of the state. International organizations and businesses as
well as international government and economic structures seem to challenge state jurisdiction. However, because these institutions are created and controlled by states, their role is still considerable. The amount of authority and influence that each state controls within these structures translates into conflicts of jurisdiction and sovereignty.

Sovereignty is essential to the existence of the state. The ability of the infrastructure to function, jurisdiction to endure, and population to inhabit the state, without outside intervention, relies on well-established sovereignty. Robert Jackson identifies two sources of sovereignty: 1) positive sovereignty relies on capable internal infrastructure to defend against external influence, while 2) negative sovereignty relies on external recognition (Clapham, 32). Although the first more dynamic source is preferred to the latter passive source, really all states must rely on a “combination of external recognition and domestic power” (Clapham, 32). Even those states with the most proactive sovereignty relied on international recognition at some point in their development (Clapham, 32).

Ireland is a state that has struggled and, to some extant continues, to struggle in order to maintain its sovereignty. To remember the Easter Rising of 1916, a primary battle in Ireland’s assertion of independence, several large format paintings are presented in Dublin’s General Post Office, a major fighting point within the battle. These paintings depict the heroic actions of Ireland’s people within this struggle. By asserting independent power through art, a state’s sovereignty can be defined and/or promoted. Art can be used to establish a state’s status at the international level, securing sovereignty through external recognition. In addition, art can promote the strength and capability of the infrastructure to defend against outside influence, creating positive sovereignty. “Since nothing less than survival is at stake, all states set aside resources for . . . assuring that their essential structures
The primary purpose of art in this context, then, is to define and strengthen the components that the state relies on for existence and stability.

**Times of Use**

The development of a state refers to the process in which a state is created and sustained throughout time. As stated earlier, the state must actively maintain its components as challenges arise. The ability to adapt and react to new or even threatening circumstances becomes a necessary capability of a state. The various components are continually challenged and altered. When one element is challenged, the entire state can become unstable and possibly dissolve. It is these times when a state must actively seek to define or redefine its components so that stability can again be achieved. Many times art is initiated at specific times in the development of a state. These times represent the instances when the various components are in the most need of definition or possibly re-definition. Art can be used to strengthen the particular component.

**Creation**

The creation of a state requires both the construction of the four state components and international recognition of those components. Art can be used in order to create a state by demonstrating the existence of all the various components within a group that has not yet been recognized as a state. Or, art can even be used to create the components within the group in order to achieve statehood. A particular art work or artist can be used to unite a group of people that will then want to create their own state. Specific ideals about infrastructure, such as the type of government or the best way to connect the population, can
be described through art before or even as it is formed. A specific territory based on historical precedent or current occupation can be promoted through art. And, finally, independence can be demanded or demonstrated through art leading to state sovereignty. Creation, then, can be achieved when art demonstrates that this pre-state collective has the components that qualify it for statehood.

Art used in the Creation of a State: Pre-State society of Israel

In 1931, the first mayor of Tel Aviv, Meir Dizengoffi, announced the importance of art to the pre-state society of Israel, “for the arts not only meet the supreme spiritual need of all human beings to aspire to beauty, but are a central link in the renaissance and independent creation of our national home in the Land.” (Trajtenberg, 228). Decades earlier, the Yishuv, which literally means settlement and became the title of the pre-state community of Jews in Palestine, was a growing society whose cultural aspect was thriving (Trajtenberg, 232). However, the actual state structure was not yet present. The society lacked a defined territory, internal organization and political sovereignty (Trajtenberg, 217). Therefore, it became the state’s primary goal to create these components.

In pre-state society art was viewed as a social imperative in order for society to develop towards a higher and more complex stage (Trajtenberg, 227). “The agreement among different [political] factions of the pre-state society regarding what kind of cultural products were necessary in order to establish what they defined as a normal society was coherent with the habitus of the agents of culture” (Trajtenberg, 230). This next stage of development was focused first and foremost on Europe. The artistic movements of Europe, particularly the Romantic movements, were used as models for similar movements in pre-state Israel (Trajtenberg, 219 and 230). “In other words, Jews settled in Palestine not to build an ‘Oriental’ society, but a quasi-European one” (Trajtenberg, 230). This was done in order to prove to Europe that this was a modern society equal to those in Europe deserving their support for state sovereignty and their aid in building a state infrastructure. In 1906, Bezalel, the first art school was founded, and later much support was given for a state museum (Trajtenberg, 228). And, in 1925, Yitzhak Frenkel established the first state sponsored art studio through the General Federation of Jewish Workers (Trajtenberg, 232). Although far more tragic events would be the ultimate catalyst for a Jewish state, the artistic efforts of the pre-state society are notable attempts at creating the state of Israel.

Establishment

Even after a state is formally created, there remains a volatile period when the state must deliberately strengthen its components. The acceptance of a state on both the domestic and foreign level can be promoted by art within an early period devoted to establishing the
state. An early demonstration of legitimacy is required to establish the state’s infrastructure. Population and jurisdiction must be clearly defined within a young state in order to attain and retain stability. Sovereignty remains a focus as the international community accepts and recognizes this new state. Initiatives, such as the establishment of a national anthem, just after the creation of a state, can help to establish the state, as was the case with East Timor. As the latest state to achieve formal recognition, East Timor is still undergoing a period of establishment in which it must actively prove the existence and stability of its various state functions. By immediately adopting a new national anthem, the state is effectively announcing its independence and viability.

**Maintenance**

As the state faces threats and challenges, it must continually maintain itself by actively reinforcing the components that define and justify its existence. Art can be used for this occasion. War, depression, natural disaster, external conflict, and civil unrest are all examples of major challenges to the state components. As single or multiple components are threatened, the state must actively attend to each component in order to regain stability. Art that reestablishes the components as strong and functioning can be used to maintain the state. For instance, in 1956, as Great Britain was continuing to reconstruct after the challenges of WWII, former Prime Minister Winston Churchill finished his literary histories of the English-speaking peoples. Depicting the historic struggles of statehood, this epic narrative shows the durability of the British state. This literary example effectively demonstrates the stability of Great Britain’s state components during this period of maintenance.
Transformation

On the other hand, art is not used merely to retain the status quo. When a state undergoes radical changes, or redefines one of its basic elements, art can be used during this period of transformation. The inefficiency of past infrastructure can be exploited as the current infrastructure wishes to gain legitimacy. The population can be redefined to incorporate or exclude whole groups of people. Should the physical territory be altered, art can portray the new jurisdiction of the state. Or, the basis of sovereignty can be transformed from negative, assigned sovereignty through external recognition to positive, asserted sovereignty through the exertion of internal power. Art, in each case, can be employed to smooth or justify this transformation. Furthermore, art is used at specific times throughout the development of the state, as it grows and changes, to define or redefine the various state components.

Art used in the transformation of a state: post-revolutionary Mexico in the 1920’s

From 1910 to 1917, Mexico experienced a major revolution that produced a new state infrastructure. Replacing the constitution drafted during Mexico’s civil war, the new constitution of 1917 became a landmark in liberal-socialist state structure. Furthermore, this marked the end of the “Porfiriato,” the decades long reign of dictator Porfirio Diaz from 1884-1911. The first democratically elected president, Alvaro Obregón, entered office in 1920. In the decade that followed, under this new administration, muralist art would receive an unprecedented amount of state support with the hope that the state transformation would occur smoothly and with little resistance.

“[The] post-revolutionary period is characterized by the consolidation of political power and the rise of a centralized state” (Coffey, 9). However, the state wanted to employ any means to distance itself from the past administration. Based on new principles of socialist ideology, this government wanted to communicate to the public the transformation of the infrastructure from the corruption of the Porfiriato to the liberal government of Obregón. Murals became the primary genre because they, in theory, provided the most access to the population. The state celebrated “muralism as a proletarian art form, and avant garde practice that sought to bring the values of the recently fought Mexican Revolution to the people, and as such, a genuinely populist movement with a relatively unproblematic relationship to both governmental authority and the popular audience for
whom it claimed to speak” (Coffey, 10). In other words, the state was able to employ art to justify and legitimize the transformed infrastructure.

**Artistic Initiatives**

The art works, projects, organizations, collections and countless other instances of art used and initiated by the state span all genres, encompass all themes, and employ all styles. However, all of the initiatives can be placed into broad categories that represent the different sources and types of art used. There are two types of artistic initiatives that are employed by the state: propaganda art and art institutions; and two general sources of state art: adopted art and commissioned art. Propaganda and institutions divide the types of initiatives; propaganda is a single work while institutions refer to collections, projects and organizations. Commissioned art and adopted art refer to the two sources of the initiatives, commissioned from the infrastructure and adopted from the population.

*Propaganda Art and Artistic Institutions*

Propaganda art and artistic institutions refer to the types of artistic initiatives used. Propaganda art is any single art work that is used to promote a specific doctrine or influence a specific issue whether it derives from state policy or is adopted by the state. The Statue of Liberty stands as one of the most prominent propagandist works in the United States. Its message of inclusion and independence supports the ideals of the American state. Propaganda has many connotations, but it is simply a means to an end which can be applied to constructive or destructive interests (Rawnsley, 1). In other words, each individual work is designed to serve the interest of the state, and it is this interest that must be judged positively or negatively. The efficiency of propaganda is determined by its consistency with
policy or the state’s specific purpose at that point in time (Rawnsley, 31). Art institutions, on the other hand, are any groups, projects or organizations that are initiated by the state to produce, collect, or promote art. Institutions, like propaganda, are used to serve the purposes of the state. Museums, support groups, educational programs and collections that include art are all examples of artistic institutions. The vast projects and collections of the Smithsonian museums in Washington D.C. is an example of artistic institutions. This state run institution seeks to promote artistic endeavors as well as preserve artistic achievements within the United States.

Commissioned Art and Adopted Art

Art, as previously stated, is a human creation. Therefore, the creation of art comes from the population, the component that is composed of humans. However, artworks, institutions and projects can be directly initiated through policy originating in the infrastructure. Therefore, these two components become the sources of state initiated art.

Commissioned art, or art that has the patronage of the state, is any type of art work that is a direct product of state policy. This could be in the form of direct patronage for a particular artist or the commissioning of a specific work of art. Funding, support and direction from the government and state institutions are all different aspects of commissioned art. Each initiative will be created to serve the state’s purposes at specific times.

Adopted art, on the other hand, is any type of art that is not derived from state policy, but is later incorporated as endorsed state art. Adopted art refers to art work that was created without direct mandate from the infrastructure, but at some point is formally acknowledged and used to meet the purposes of the state. The source of this art is the population acting
independently of the state’s infrastructure. Individual artists and groups of artists design their art with or without the same purposes as the state itself. The state, in turn, will adopt this art, quite possibly changing the artist’s original purpose, to suit its own.

Because the infrastructure is the functioning part of the state, its primary goal is to organize and stabilize the other components of the state. It, then, creates and organizes the mechanisms designed to meet the purposes of the state, including art. It is either the direct initiator of art through patronage and commission, or the indirect source through the adoption of art created by the populace. Whether individual works or institutions are created through policy or initiated by the population and then adopted, they will be employed at any time the state wishes to strengthen the components that it needs to exist.

**Art Adopted by the State: New Zealand and The Lord of the Rings**

As a colony of Great Britain, New Zealand eventually attained independence with Britain’s support. However, tensions between the different cultural groups on the island and the struggling economy of this small country currently concern the state infrastructure and population. Post WWII population movements; the mobilization of ethnic and other minorities wanting political change; and the effects of globalization and regionalization are all reasons that New Zealand is finding it difficult to attain national unity and economic stability (Pearson, 91). Whether to focus on uniting the people by promoting an ethnic nation based on the shared experience of post British colonialism or promoting a civic nation based on the loyalty to New Zealand’s political and societal ideals remains an unresolved question (Pearson, 92-94 and 107). In addition, recent events such as the September 11th attacks have greatly affected the tourist trade, a large part of New Zealand’s economic structure.

In order to settle some of these issues, the New Zealand government has actively adopted the cinematic phenomenon, the Lord of the Ring films, as a means to promote both national unity and economic growth. As a sign of this adoption the “Te Papa, the country's leading museum, has an exhibition based on the epic” (Cohen). In addition, a government position, “the post of ‘Lord of the Rings’ Minister, [was created] to capitalize on--and increase--the economic and creative bounty sparked by the [movies]” (Christian Science Monitor). As homeland of the director and many of the cast and crew as well as the location of filming, New Zealand is using these films to “cash in” on the economic possibilities that they have presented to the country (Cohen). The struggling tourist industry now promotes the country as the home of Middle Earth, a reference to the films. And, several cities and towns are considering, most likely temporary, name changes that also reflect the names of places in the films (Christian Science Monitor). As a direct result of the growing film
industry “more than 7,000 new jobs were created” (Christian Science Monitor). With such structural growth, the state can now focus on national unity as well. The production of the films pulled labor from many different ethnic groups, and the symbolic use of the story line, which demonstrates how different races can work together for the good of all, is not lost on the state.

Case Studies

Theory is little more than speculation without application. One of the best ways to continue with this study is to isolate and explore specific theories. The primary purpose of this study is to provide a broad overview of the subject that can facilitate further, more in depth and applied analysis. Therefore, the next few sections will be devoted to case studies that illustrate and refine some of the main theories. First, a single state, Germany, will be used to demonstrate the different times in which art is used by describing the different literary works that have been employed to define the population. Then, a single time within the development of a state, the consolidation of power in 16th century France, will demonstrate the different categories of art were used to promote the established infrastructure.

The development of Germany

History has proven that states are not static, the form and content of their constituent components evolve through time. The basis of sovereignty shifts from simple recognition to proven ability in order to maintain independence. The borders that mark the physical jurisdiction of states undergo continual change through conquest, acquisition, negotiation and other means of land transference. Even the idea of population changes as states define and redefine who is a citizen of the state and who is not. “[History] is the temporal field in
which identities are constructed, contested and revised, as the time it takes to mark and remark and initiate meaning and expressivity: this history continues to witness the constant reinvention of identities, especially collective ones, through signs of distinction” (Berman, 3).

No better example can be found of the continual evolution of states than Germany. In many ways, the development and evolution of Germany has exemplified and produced the most significant events of the world in the last 150 years. First, a major cultural push produced enough nationalistic fervor to later support a military campaign against one of the most unified states in the world. Then the unification of hundreds of principalities marked the establishment of Germany as a new major power in Europe and the Imperialistic world of the late 19th century. After suffering the devastation of WWI, attempts were made to maintain this weakened state, but eventually, a total transformation would lead to the most horrific display of state-led genocide in the twentieth century. Within this context, the definition of a German population has undergone drastic transformations and redefinitions. The literary art that expresses these transformations has been invoked countless times by a state structure that is continually trying to determine who it is.

The Cult of the Volk

The early 19th century was filled with artists, musicians and writers that were becoming disillusioned with the concept of pristine logic. Emotion and common human existence were given new attention, as was the idea that something more sublime lay in the every day village than in the loftiest marbled city. The Romantic cult of the Volk was born, and with it an interest in the stories expressed through the vernacular of the people and not
the vaulted language of the enlightened (Prawer, 12). Eventually, this love of the folktale would lead to the creation of a unified German people, brought together by the masters of language: the writers.

“The state was to be regarded, not as an unfortunate necessity, not as a machine or fire-insurance company, barely tolerated for its usefulness in preserving man from being robbed and killed by his neighbor, but rather as an entity with positive claims on man’s reverence and love, a community in which man could find fulfillment through identification with a greater whole” (Prawer, 11). The most significant contribution of writers to German political thought was the concept that states were born of nations and not necessarily the other way around (Prawer, 11). Therefore, they felt it was their duty to illuminate the past, creating a common history for all the German speaking peoples of Europe (Prawer, 11).

This idea of a German people was somewhat illusory because the historical origin of the people as well as their cultural activities such as religion and tradition varied from community to community. However, the German language, though varied in dialect, remained a unifying force for the peoples of middle Europe. The strategy of basing a nation on language was not unique to, but fully embraced by, the young lawyer Jakob Grimm, who spent his early writing years codifying how German differed from other languages of Europe (Prawer, 257). He developed an interest in folklore, which was encouraged by his relationship to fellow writer Achim von Arnim who also pursued the study. He felt these stories that were told in the vernacular could be used as evidence of a shared cultural heritage among the German-speaking people. Soon, Jakob, along with his younger brother Wilhelm, set out to collect hundreds of folktales that were, in general, written directly from an oral source (Prawer, 238). To much praise from the literary world, the brothers produced their
Kinder- und Hausmärchen (1812-15) collection that they felt expressed the language of a “creative ‘folk-soul,’ a Volksseele that brings forth songs and tales through a kind of spontaneous combustion” (Prawer, 13). The brothers explicitly wanted to preserve the language with no improvements or changes resulting in “an incantatory quality induced by the repetition of small groups of words . . . further shown by frequent use (and repetition) of direct speech, and the simple explanation of motives” (Prawer, 110 and 244).

Not alone in their work, the Brothers Grimm were joined by other folklorists such as Savigny, Görres, Arnim, Brentano, the brothers Boisserée and Ludwig Uhland that purposefully “sought out, studied and interpreted German folktales and folksongs, monuments of the history of the German language and of German law, medieval lyrics and epics, and the visual arts of the Middle Ages and the Dürer period” (Prawer, 12). These interests that were “directed towards the preservation of what was assumed to be the national Volkpoesie [folk poetry], were rather the culmination of that interest in folk literature as an expression of the true spirit of the nation which had originated with Herder” (Prawer, 98). The effect that these stories had on the elevation of the German language, which had been considered inferior to French and Italian even among the German scholars, was reflected also in the rise of German culture and unity as a whole. This creation of a unified culture that spanned the many principalities of middle Europe would directly lead to the unified front of the Franco-Prussian War. This, in turn, would culminate in the creation of a unified German state.

Nietzsche’s Übermensch

Following the violence and crowning victory of the German nation in the Franco-
Prussian war, the German Empire was formally recognized in 1871 with the coronation of German Emperor Wilhelm in the Hall of Mirrors of Versailles. The primary director of politics and state was not, however, the emperor, but his Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. He was the leading man in the military campaign, and recognition of the German state was accomplished largely through his pragmatic diplomacy, thereby securing sovereignty of the state. However, the primary issues that he had to deal with in order to firmly establish this state were the “tensions that arose within an empire formed through war and against the prevailing liberal spirit of the age” (Feuchtwanger, i).

The people of this new empire that had relied so heavily on the idea that the true nation-state derived from the common folk now witnessed the imposition of a military-based infrastructure. Tension arose between the liberal nation and conservative infrastructure; however, this new state could not definitively establish itself among the states of Europe until this destabilizing tension had been eased. Although Chancellor Bismarck had distinct ideas about the ethnicity and religion of the population, it was the ideological redefinition of “the ideal human” found in literature that became the most influential (Feuchtwanger, 103). The focus did not become the justification of the infrastructure to the people but the adaptation of the people to the infrastructure.

This new definition was found in the writings and ideologies of poet and philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. Although never directly mandated by the state, his ideas would quickly be adopted and propagated throughout German political thought. In his opinion, man should rise above the common drudgery and embrace the conflicting forces of logic and sensuality to create a super-human. The opposing qualities represented by the classic gods Apollo and Dionysus were described in Nietzsche’s *The Birth of the Tragedy*
originally published in 1872. These qualities were then described and united in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* to form a single identity: the Übermensch or superman. “Reflecting Darwin's theory of evolution, Nietzsche views man as only a transitional stage to something greater—the Superman” (*Zarathustra*). “The superior man affirms life in this world through aristocratic values based on pride, heroism, instinct, and strength. The superior man freely wills the constant development of his body, mind, and total personality” (*Zarathustra*). This philosophy was quickly adopted by German leaders to embody the perfect state citizen.

In many ways, Bismarck himself could be viewed as a superman through his ability to exhibit the pride and logical characteristics of an aristocratic diplomat as well as the strength and instinctual characteristics of a ruthless military commander. As this definition of the ideal man took root in German culture, the population began to accept the military structure that supported this image. This philosophy would have major impacts as the German nation and its leaders embraced this ideal and, in turn, distorted it by viewing other nations as essentially inferior.

*The rationalizations of Mann*

After the Great War of Europe, the victors viewed Germany as the primary cause of this tragedy. Heavy reparations from the war victors exasperated major challenges to the economic infrastructure. Loss of land changed the German territory. And, the sovereignty of the state was severely shaken due to imposed post-war provision that Germany was not to form a standing army. A democratic government, though infinitely flawed, was established through the adoption of a constitution. However, the Weimar Republic, as it was referred to, was immediately faced with the daunting challenge of maintaining this stricken state in order
to prevent complete collapse. Although surely devastated by the tragedy of a war, the population as a whole remained primarily intact. At least, this was what the state wished to believe. In order to perpetuate this belief and maintain the new democratic republican ideals of Weimar, the state called on one of the nationalist-cultural leaders, Thomas Mann, to address this nation.

Having established his literary name before and during the war, Thomas Mann was a well-known leader of the German literary world. He had always strongly advocated superiority of German culture over French and other “Western” cultures (Schoell-Glass, 110). Furthermore, Thomas Mann had undeniably supported Germany in the war securing nationalist support for him as a cultural icon (Berman, 26). He, then, was an apt voice for the state to use in order to calm the disheartened populace. His speech to an overtly anti-republic audience marked a general shift in ideology for Mann. Though he had remained purposefully apolitical before now, “almost against his will as he recalled later, he had, during the war and the years of the Weimar Republic, become a political figure” (Schoell-Glass, 109). This speech is generally viewed as the literary counterpart to the Weimar constitution attempting to maintain this republic that held little support from the population (Berman, 26-7).

Designed as rhetorical literature that would use the aesthetics of language and literary device to appeal to the senses and intellect of the audience, the speech relies on two strategies: it attempts to show the consistency of this government with past governments, and it attempts to show the population as essentially supportive of this government. The first is done by noting that complete transformation of a state can only occur through revolution, which never did occur. The “state has not been refashioned by a revolutionary process, and
it is therefore only consistent for Mann, the self-described conservative, to suggest that conservatives would do themselves a better service by participating in the political processes of the Weimar Republic than by opposing it from without’ (Berman, 28). He points out that it was really only a reshuffling of the previous leaders (Berman, 27). Second, he draws on two allusions to past writers, the German poet Novalis and the American poet Walt Whitman, to show the continuity of public support for this government. However, the use of the Romantic Novalis did very little to ease the minds of a public whose thought process had moved beyond the sensual nature of his poetry due to such later writers as Nietzsche. And, the allusion to an American only alienated the defeated population even further. Essentially the speech was a “plea for the intellectual’s duty to welcome and strengthen the new political forces--social democracy--of the new republic” (Schoell-Glass, 110). However, the plea was lost on disheartened ears and the attempt to maintain the current status of the state by appealing through literature would fail just as the current government would fail to prevent drastic transformation in the decades to come.

*Mein Kampf*

There can be no better example of literature defining a population than the infamous mantra of Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*. “From the beginning he drew the discontents of all sections of the population into a single national context in the spirit of his later slogan ‘Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer’ [one people, one state, one Commander]” (Taylor, 184). The need to convince the population that political revolution was necessary was both described and promoted within this work (Taylor, 184). And the fact that the people must adhere to and enforce the strict definition of population that was described in the essay was also
inherent. Thus, this literary work did two things: describe the “true” people and their actions and tell those people to enforce this definition and do those actions, making it somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Hitler’s definition of the population is clearly defined in the first volume of Mein Kampf, “Chapter XI: Nation and Race” (Mein Kampf). It’s important to understand that the simple analogies and logical conjectures used throughout this work are essentially aesthetic means of nullifying opposition within the audience. By comparing different races of people to different species of animal and drawing on some of the social evolution theories that had been developed in the 19th century, the work clearly makes the case that certain races are superior to others. And, the mastery of language and symbolism of language within the text, which would have significant appeal to the people of Germany, also helps to convey the message that the writer wishes to present. For instance, Hitler points out that within the German language, there exists a single word, pflichterfüllung, that means the “fulfillment of duty” demonstrating the more honorable nature of the Germans as compared to other races that have no such word (Mein Kampf). Within this text, the future Führer makes it clear that the population of the state, not only should be, but is of the Aryan race.

Later in the text, the actions that should be taken to ensure the true population of Germany become explicit. “1942 . . . marked the launching of the ‘final solution’ to the Jewish question--the eradication of all the Jews in Europe” (Taylor, 229). Through these actions, Hitler was not only able to change the definition of the true German population, but also transform the entire state so that it would reinforce this definition. Though this extreme redefinition of state population was explicit in the literary work of Hitler, the response to later actions surprised many. “It was all in Mein Kampf--for those, both inside and outside
Germany, who troubled to read it. Whatever else in that book seemed too preposterous to be given a moment’s thought, the events of the 1930’s could have left no doubt that on this subject the policy was being put into terrible practice. But again the majority chose to look the other way” (Taylor, 229). Eventually the world would recognize this transformation of Germany into the machine that would kill millions in the name of the Nazi party and Adolf Hitler resulting in the first, truly global war.

Summary

Overall, its clear that literature has played an important role in defining population in the different stages of development for the German state. Creation of the state became possible when the folktales, gathered by such proponents of statehood as Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, unified the many German-speaking people. As described in the poetry and essays of Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, new ideologies about what man is and should be helped to establish the state as sovereign and functioning after its conception. Furthermore, writers and literature were used in an attempt to maintain the tentative state structure of the Weimar Republic; however, with the failure to convince the population to become citizens of a democratic republic, a complete transformation of the state was able to occur, and its literature made the exact definition of the state population very clear. Even today, as the current population of Germany was once divided into two states, then unified, then incorporated into a larger, ever growing supra-state infrastructure, Germany is still struggling and attempting to define its people.
France under Louis XIV

The idea of a centralized state was first pursued by King Philip II of Spain. It, then, “was adapted to French political purposes by Cardinal Richelieu” (Flemming, 434). However, there is no better example of a centralized state than France under the reign of the Sun King, Louis XIV (Flemming, 434). “Louis XIV was in a uniquely powerful position; after 1661 indistinguishable from the state, he embodied in his person not just the private but the public, not only the idiosyncratic and the temporal, but the universal and the timeless” (Duro, 189). In the course of his reign, Paris became the “intellectual and artistic capital of the world” and, France was to take the lead in the budding states of Europe (Flemming, 407). Even the powerful church held little sway over this king, ordained by God alone. “All this led, of course, to the concept of the arts as important aids to the cult of majesty and as the creator of the myth that by divine right the king could do no wrong” (Flemming, 407).

At this period of state development, when France made the final transition from rural, feudal state to the most centralized state that Europe ever produced, the different artistic initiatives were employed for one purpose: to promote the majesty and grandeur of the king. “With Louis XIV the aristocratic phase of the baroque [style] became state policy, as everything about the king was calculated to suggest grandeur” (Flemming, 407). In his own words, Louis was the state: “L’état, c’est moi.” The people and resources of the land were there to serve him only. He was the sole legislator, executive and judge of the state that answered to no other earthly being. Therefore, art had to visually support this fact. “For Louis XIV the main function of the arts was to provide an appropriate setting for his person and his court and to record his actions and the glories of his reign” (Blunt, 15). From 1661 to the death of the king’s trusted aid, Jean Baptiste Colbert, in 1683, the use of art by the state
was dominated by two factors: “the taste of the king and more particularly his ideas on the function of the arts in an absolute monarchy--and the ability of Colbert and [Charles] Lebrun . . . to give these ideas practical expression” (Blunt, 15).

The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander

In 1661, the boy who had been molded and groomed to one day be the ultimate authority of France, was officially ordained as King. To mark the occasion, painter Charles Lebrun was commissioned to create a piece that would capture the splendor of the event. Painted in the king’s presence in Fountainbleau, “The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander” (1661) was designed not only as a fitting coronation gift, but also a herald of this new king. By equating Louis to the great conqueror of ancient time, Alexander the Great, the world was forced to pay attention (Duro, 76).

Charles Lebrun was one of the most important artist of the time period and would eventually become Louis’s leading decorator at Versailles (Duro, 76). Masterfully capturing the legendary moment when Alexander entered the tents of the defeated Darius, Lebrun filled every aspect of the painting with significance. Within the scene, the women, who at first mistook Lieutenant Hephaestion on the far left as Alexander, have shifted their admiration to the true conqueror whose surprised, magnanimous expression accepts their praise with grace. The scene that he decided to paint seemed “to Lebrun as a particularly appropriate representation of royal majesty at this time, as Louis XIV was at that moment formulating his plan to rule France alone, and was surely already aware of the excesses of his minister Fouquet” who can easily be connected to Hephaestion in the painting (Duro, 80).

As Paul Duro points out, this painting should be viewed within three different
contexts: the spectator, the patron, and the artist (Duro, 80). For the artist, it was important to articulate convey the significance of the scene through skillful manipulation of the gestures and expressions of the characters as well as providing the right colors and structure of the painting to clarify the subject. In addition, the painting “offers the spectator the opportunity to pass in review this high point in the career of a monarch” (Duro, 80). “In investing Louis XIV with the authority of history Lebrun reduces the gap between subject and representation to insignificance: Louis XIV becomes history. In this Louis was an active participant, making no distinction, in the representation of his own life, between reality and allegory--we might say that Louis is already Alexander” (Duro, 82). The importance of the painting to Louis, the patron, lies in its ability to connect himself with a historical figure that will reflect a sense of legitimate leadership through demonstrated accomplishment. “In the life of Alexander, Louis XIV found the means to project his authority beyond his own person and participate in the authority of one whose actions were woven into the fabric of history” (Duro, 82). Louis and Lebrun will continue to project this image in the epic depiction of “L’Histoire d’Alexandre” painted on the ceilings of Versailles (Blunt, 17).

Versailles and the Gobelins

After his coronation, Louis saw fit to demonstrate the true centrality of the state by commissioning an immense project: the construction of Versailles. Although he was advised by Colbert to stay in Paris, making the capital city the true center of the state as Philip II did for Spain in Madrid, Louis XIV felt the need to move his residence outside the crowded city into a new palace over which he had complete control (Flemming, 410-1). The beautifully
constructed Louvre was in the heart of a city that Louis viewed as essentially medieval and already encumbered with its own history and ideology (Duro, 188). “Louis XIV chose to represent his authority by identifying himself totally with France . . . inscribing his action onto a permanent site—the château and grounds of Versailles—which could then be read as a projection of royal authority” (Duro, 188). In other words, by moving himself outside the already established city and creating a palace almost from the ground up, there can be no mistake that he was the true center of the state and able to create and transform the state as he saw fit. “With Versailles, Louis XIV transformed his reign into allegory and offered the spectator the visualization of the structure of the absolutist state” (Duro, 188).

Originally built by Louis XIII as a hunting lodge, Versailles was now the “seat of the court and centre of the State administration” (Blunt, 16). Louis LeVau began the construction with the addition of two new wings for the King and Queen. However, upon his death, the task was given to Jules Hardouin-Mansart who would oversee all architectural aspects of the project (Blunt, 16). As the new home of the entire French court that would also house all visiting dignitaries, the grandeur of the palace was on a scale larger than any other architectural construction that Europe had produced. The planning of gardens, pools, pathways and surrounding environment were planned more like a city than a mere palace showing that this project was more than a single work, but rather an institution that employed hundreds of different workers and required dozens of different kinds of art. And, above all, every aspect had to point directly to the splendor of the king himself. “The Versailles Palace, in the broader political sense, was not so much a monument to the vanity of Louis XIV as it was a symbol of the absolute monarchy and the outstanding example of aristocratic baroque architecture . . . It represented a movement away from a feudal, decentralized government
toward a modern, centralized state” with Louis as the exact center of that state (Flemming, 413).

In order to meet the huge order for furniture, sculpture, tapestries and other decorative objects for Versailles, a new institution, the Gobelins, was created to fulfill this need (Blunt, 16). The Gobelins, under the direction of Charles Lebrun would become the largest producer of artistic works, second only to the Academy Painting and Sculpture. Every room, painting, and piece of furniture had to reflect the majesty of the king. As Gérard Sabatier notes, “the creators of Versailles were not decorators, but messengers” (Duro, 189). One of the primary motifs of the palace played upon the identification of Louis as the Sun King. For instance, the seven rooms that made up the primary apartment depicted the seven known planets of the heavens and their associated mythological god. This is a direct allegory that portrayed Louis not only as Apollo, god of the muses, but as the sun itself, the most significant body in the heavens. While much of the legendary furniture made of silver and extravagant decorative pieces were lost through time to meet the financial needs of the state, the immediate effect was not lost on visiting leaders who provided a myriad of accounts that reveal the awe in which Versailles was received.

The Academy

In addition to the massive project of Versailles, Louis took his role as “protector of the muses” seriously and immediately focused attention on the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture (Flemming, 410). The Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture had originally been formed in 1648 under a “group of artists” that wished to become the authority of art, its definition and use (Blunt, 15). However, Louis was quick to exact control over this
institution. “Both Louis XIV and his minister Colbert believed that art was much too
important to be left exclusively in the hands of the artists” (Flemming, 435). Therefore, in
1663 the trusted Lebrun was put in charge in order to reorganize the Academy in order to
meet the needs of the state (Blunt, 15). The Academy was quickly restructured to train
painters and sculptors under the “correct doctrine about the arts” (Blunt, 16). “Approved
principles were taught and theoretical and practical knowledge communicated by lectures,
demonstrations and discussions” (Flemming, 435).

The relationship between the Academy and the king remained somewhat tense as the
Academy desired to have artistic authority based on its own merit. However, more “often
than the Academy would have preferred, acceptance was won through the application not of
superior logic or principles but through the use of force underwritten by its royal protectors.
. . [In] reality few of its successes . . . were entirely without the support of those who wielded
political power” (Duro, 19). Though completely loyal to the king, even Lebrun viewed royal
patronage more as a means to an end than the true reason for art (Duro, 82). However, as the
ultimate authority, Louis, as with everything else, retained his control over the Academy.
“After all, Louis would have regarded Lebrun as an able lieutenant but little more, and in his
dealings with the Academy no one, Lebrun included, could have doubted that artists were
Louis’s servants, allowed freedom and privilege so long as they obeyed his commands”
(Duro, 82). Throughout his reign, the Academy was able to produce enormous amounts of
independent art due to the aid of royal patronage, but the duty to the king was always the first
and foremost purpose of this institution. “[In] an address to the academy he once remarked,
‘Gentlemen, I entrust to you the most precious thing on earth, my fame’” (Flemming, 409).
Summary

Because of all this attention, France no longer needed to look outside its borders for artistic innovation. “France was no longer subservient to the dictates of Rome in matters of taste, but was establishing its own standards and indeed preparing to create a style which was to dominate Europe” (Blunt, 15). With expert command, Louis ruled art and used it to serve his own purposes as he did everything else. “With the king as principal patron, art inevitably became a department of the government” (Flemming, 407). Single works of art were used to connect the king to historically legitimate leaders. Commissioned works demonstrated the complete centrality of the state. Institutions were adopted and created in order to meet the needs of the infrastructure. By isolating a specific time in the development of the state, it becomes clear that different types of art were successfully employed by the state, embodied by King Louis XIV of France, in order to meet the singular purpose of supporting the established infrastructure, the king himself. With the aid of art, Louis XIV and the infrastructure of France were effectively one in the same, and they answered to no one. “Pompous and pretentious though [this] portrait [of art] may be, it formed part of the illusionism of a period that strove to make such abstractions as the divine right of kings, absolutism, and the politically centralized state seem real to the senses” (Flemming, 407).

Conclusion

It becomes clear that art, then, is no mere byproduct of an established state society. Like all other state initiatives, art is a mechanism. It is a tool that is used to maintain the different components of state structure in order to preserve the state from collapse. Used at specific times during state development, in which the various components are most
challenged, categorical artistic initiatives are employed with the purpose of directly promoting or clearly defining a specific component. States may not be able to completely prevent collapse if mechanisms are used inappropriately. “That is, states are always on the edge of collapse in the sense that their essential structures are rooted in human orientations and relationships that are susceptible to variation and, thus, can, under certain circumstances, fluctuate beyond the limits necessary to their maintenance” (Rosenau, 37). However, deliberate attention to these structures can ensure the stability required to maintain the existence of a functioning state. Art is an effective means to this end.

It’s time to return to the villages of Ghana:
Major independent movements occurred in the immediate post-WWII era of Ghana. Under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the Convention People’s Party, Ghana eventually achieved independence in 1957. The borders were determined by combining the British and German colonies within the region. Five major ethnic groups live within the state along with dozens of other minor groups. Although major political transformations occurred in the following decades, Ghana seems to be in a period of relative stability (Ghanaweb).

However, the different components are still challenged by the foreign and domestic pressures that surround them. The infrastructure has recently begun to rely on international organizations that not only hinder sovereignty, but weaken the legitimacy of the infrastructure within the eyes of the population (Ghanaweb). The population remains divided along ethnic lines, and the validity of the borders are continually questioned. Then, enters the drummer.

The first questions have already been answered, but the final still demand resolution. The answers are drawn from the theories that dictate the use of art by states.

Why is unity needed?
Unity among the population is needed in order to prevent major challenge or collapse of this critical state component.

Why use drums or music or some other art form?
Art is an effective tool in this maintenance, because it has the ability to affect the senses of the audience through its aesthetic qualities.

Do other states initiate such programs?
Other states have and continue to initiate such programs.

Is it for the same reason?
They initiate these programs for much the same reason: to maintain the four major components that constitute a state.

Is there some sort of pattern?
These initiatives will occur at specific times in state development when the components are most challenged.

Therefore, Babatunde Olatungi is no mere wandering drummer. He is part of a larger desire of the state to maintain and strengthen the components that constitute the state of Ghana. His music unites the people by providing a shared culture among the different ethnic groups. He helps establish the jurisdiction of the state both by traveling the extent of the state, as well as drawing his music from the different regions within the state. Moreover, the effectiveness of the infrastructure to maintain the state components is demonstrated through this musical initiative. These drums play a vital role in the construction and maintenance of the state system.

“And drums to have a language. The talking drum is a traditional Ghanaian drum and the sounds it makes mimic the ten sounds of the Ashanti language. Other drums, as well, use the same tones and, while it is not quite the same as gossiping with a neighbor, news travels from village to village by drum. Dancing, too, is a language. The movements have meanings and the dances themselves usually have a function to play in community life, either social or ritual. And, too, drummers and dancers “converse.” The dancer listens to the drum and changes his or her steps to match the drum. Or the drummer will become impassioned by a dancer and play what the dancer calls for . . . its call is irresistible” (Wisner, 3).

This study has shown that art is used by states in order to maintain the components that are vital to that state. However, the effectiveness of art as a mechanism has yet to be fully examined. Using the methods and theories established in this study, further case studies will demonstrate the effectiveness of art as it is applied to specific situations. For instance, a comparison can be made between the use of art to promote an ethnic nation and a civic nation, or centralized infrastructure and republican infrastructure. Art has been used by the state throughout history requiring a study on its use and effectiveness through the different artistic eras and periods of state evolution. Furthermore, the effectiveness of art as compared to other state mechanisms, such as military force and economic device, is a relevant subject as states attempt to maintain their structures. While the number of examples may be countless, the effort to understand how, why and when art is used remains a worthy subject.
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