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André Malraux and the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs: A Bibliographic Essay

Mona Lisa's Escort: André Malraux and the Reinvention of French Culture. By Herman Lebovics. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999. 288 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8014-3565-X.

La Grande Pitié des monuments de France: André Malraux, débats parlementaires (1960/1968). By Michel Lantelme. Paris: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1999. 160 pp. 130 ff. ISBN 2-85939-548-2.

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Rarely have governments been privileged to undertake the responsibilities of cultural arbiter. Under the quixotic personality of André Malraux, France established the world's first ministry of cultural affairs, surveying theaters, museums, archaeological sites, and provincial cultural centers, among other cultural prerogatives. Since Malraux's death in 1976, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs has enjoyed a continuous presence in French national life.¹ Among its various achievements has been the cataloging of the nation's patrimony, including the plastic arts, or subventions for artists. Building upon a firm foundation long established since François I, French centralization has been instrumental in carrying out Malraux's policies. But it is Malraux who is profoundly illustrative of the power of the *belles lettres* in a nation's culture. Where else, except for the Czech Republic, could a literary figure rise to lead a nation's ideals? The studies under review evince the power of a single individual and address the phenomenon of a national endeavor to shepherd cultural ventures via the sensibilities of a single mind.

The first selection offers a veritable *entrée* into the ministerial mind of Malraux and his colleagues during his tenure as minister. Lebovics analyzes Malraux's ministry from a broader perspective in which larger issues of cultural and national identity loom critical to the life

of a nation that has undergone loss of empire and cultural hegemony. He traces Malraux's efforts to bring the French up to a higher level of cultural participation, efforts that are reflected against a field of conflicted realities. Massification of education, popular cultural media, compounded by technological seduction, obviated if not nearly neutralized Malraux's original intentions.² Considering France's tradition of artistic and literary patronage from François I's reign to the advent of the republics, Malraux did not achieve the grand dreams he never tired of espousing. Hampered by a budget that never reached 1 percent of national expenditure, Malraux still realized many remarkable achievements. From supporting artists, museum ventures, funding archaeological sites and historical monuments and restoration, music and *beaux-arts* pedagogical efforts were complemented by his insistence upon France's cultural significance. The *maisons de la culture* (provincial centers devoted to art and drama and replete with library and reading facilities), which inspired the hostility of the middle and upper classes and the alienation of the working class, were more frequented by students.³

For ten eventful years, Malraux was able to influence high politics and cultural stewardship through an equally adventurous corps of former colonial administrators who managed to bring innovative approaches to governmental duties. However, France and its increasing immigrant population and diversity redefined the meaning of being French, leaving the cultural definitions among the lower-brow activities generated by movies, popular literature, and increasing mass market tastes to offer greater inertia than Malraux could have anticipated. Yet the nation's patrimony—libraries, highbrow literature and reading, and museums—was seen as vital to the edification of all groups; from this end Malraux never wavered. The dream of a governmental authority setting the standard for aesthetic and literary consumption flies in the face of the realities of democratic largesse or preoccupations. Most telling is Lantelme's compilation of parliamentary debates concerning the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Here, in beautifully delineated argument, Malraux's oratorical talent, which alludes to aesthetic sensibilities, grand historical events, philosophical flourishes, and oracular pronouncement, meets the less passionate voices of governmental comportment. Lantelme's accompanying essay offers additional grounding for Malraux's often singular concerns. As de Gaulle's *homme de lettres*, Malraux's role assumed orphic dimensions, upon which later ministers, in a succeeding chronology of ministries, could expand their prerogatives beyond that envisioned by Malraux.

Complementing Malraux's tenure as minister were his own bibliophilic interests, which were grounded in his early youth when he

made a living as a buyer and seller of rare books and periodicals while he wrote fanciful stories and nascent art criticism. Later he became a regular contributor and editor for the Gallimard publishing house in Paris. Ever interested in literature and art, he became a reviewer and an editor for art publications, with appearances in *Nouvelle Revue Française*.⁴ By the end of his life he had cultivated a substantial library of world art and archaeology.⁵ Not surprisingly, he left a posthumous work devoted to a theoretical approach to literature, *L'Homme précaire et la littérature* (1977). In this work he offered the view that, as in art, there existed a *bibliothèque imaginaire* where writers created works that essentially influenced each other, as did artistic works.⁶ Writers learned to write by first writing through previous literature, much as he envisioned artists first copying previous masters and then forging ahead to claim new ground. The imaginary library is composed of the sum of literature in communion with itself, the implication being *ad infinitum*. Had he gained the prerogative to subsume the ministries for education, radio, and television, he would have been free to hypothetically dominate national venues for acculturation. Perceptively, Malraux foretold the growing influence of movies and audiovisual advances that provided for greater edification of the masses, as opposed to the mass market tastes that he held as anathema.⁷ As champion to the elite arts inherent in all world cultures, he espoused the use of mass media techniques to further his vision, having been versed in filmmaking during the Spanish Civil War.

Malraux, one of the most speculative adventurers of the twentieth century, was both contemplative and a man of action. Born in 1901, this autodidact attended primary school and prepared for the *lycée* but never for the baccalaureate.⁸ A voracious reader, he cultivated a wide circle of intellectual acquaintances while growing up as a sensitive youth during the tragic events of World War I and evolved into a member of the "lost generation," railing against the cultural bankruptcy of the twentieth century. It was he who coined the term "absurdity" to describe man's existential condition. A professed agnostic, Malraux spent his life as adventurer, writer, art connoisseur, and statesman. Admired and hated as a young leftist and later as a Gaulliste, Malraux wrote novels, articles, and art commentaries that reflected his beliefs and view of human history. Often contradictory yet lyrically emotive, he captured the imagination of his audience through his considerable gifts as an orator and writer, defying conventions of all sorts, rigorous thought included.

An aesthete, Malraux devoted much of his life to art and literature, the pursuit of which constituted his major passion. What caused Malraux to glorify art? Why did he devote so much time and energy

to artistic contemplation? Did art have any hidden meaning for Malraux, the man immersed in exotic adventures, war, revolution, and politics? Without disparaging his political or ministerial commitments, an analysis of his metaphysical orientation in regard to his overwhelming inclination toward the aesthetic reveals the basis—an essentially spiritual one—within which he grounded himself. As an adventurer, Malraux went to Indochina and Africa to find archaeological treasures. As a soldier, he fought in the Spanish Civil War and during World War II in the French Resistance. As a statesman, he stood beside Gen. Charles de Gaulle and Gaullism, after having supported the Left during the twenties and thirties. Nowhere is his activism more pronounced than when he assumed the position of minister in charge of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs from 1958 to 1968. Malraux lived the life of a dandy until he traveled to Indochina in 1923.⁹ His novels *La Tentation de l'occident*, *Les Conquérants*, *La Voie royale*, and *La Condition humaine* drew from his experiences in Asia. Already aware of estrangement from France and Europe, his volatile experience in Asia firmly convinced him of his sense of the absurd and provided a necessary ground upon which his artistic speculation and later ministerial duties would grow.

As a leftist sympathizer during the thirties, Malraux participated in various conferences on artistic and literary freedom and traveled to the Soviet Union and Germany to express his views on artistic creativity and freedom of expression. Only his trips to Persia and Afghanistan and a strange quixotic search for the lost city of the Queen of Sheba in Saudi Arabia interfered with his personal crusade against the encroaching shadow of Fascism in Europe.¹⁰ In Spain he joined the Republicans, contributing to the leftist cause by establishing an aviation wing. Moreover, *L'Espoir*, both the novel and the film, was written and filmed during the actual period of hostilities. During World War II he participated in the Maquis with success: under the pseudonym of Colonel Berger, he organized and led the much celebrated Alsace-Lorraine Brigade to victory in the liberation of Strasbourg. After the liberation of France, Malraux aligned himself with Gen. Charles de Gaulle until the latter's death, as Gaullism became his principal political allegiance.¹¹

Throughout his career, Malraux's literary achievements paralleled his metaphysical thought. With each novel Malraux developed his conception of reality, which climaxed in *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg*, published in 1943. A penchant for revolutionary activity and adventure characterized the metaphysical scope of his novels. Not a technical philosopher, his *Tentation de l'occident* (1926) and *D'une jeunesse européenne* (1927) reflected his criticism of European civilization and society as

well as his belief that the idea of progress had finally died and, with it, the perfectibility and refinement of man. Within this newly formed vacuum, Malraux was faced with a Nietzschean twilight world in which perennial values were lost and spiritual direction diffused. Even so, Malraux's metaphysical perception defied concrete analysis and rigorous explication. Analyses of Malraux's preoccupation with a metaphysical view of life and art have emphasized his development of a particular spirituality, culminating in a specially defined "aesthetic spirituality" based upon Malraux's conceptualization of art and civilization. Never an atheist, Malraux forged a *Weltansicht* of tragic sensibility toward the world. Although Malraux relinquished his Christian heritage, he maintained an essentially "spiritual" *Weltanschauung* until his death. Hardly a critic of any organized religion, Malraux viewed man's existence and life through a quasi-religious prism. Malraux's spiritual sensibility was such that it did not adhere to any recognizable theological system but was a sensibility that derived from a visceral feeling of the sacred in existence.¹² Malraux's novels and art commentaries were predicated upon the conception of *le sacré*; neither a rigid philosophical or theological concept, *le sacré* represented Malraux's view of the mystery of man's place in the universe.

A formidable stylist and an accomplished weaver of ideas and perceptions, Malraux used his talent nowhere more effectively than in his art commentaries and ministerial speeches, lyrical chimeras of his poetic sensibilities. However one extolled or derided Malraux's ideas on culture, one came to agree and perhaps accept his intuitive pronouncements with little regard for aesthetic propriety, or one abhorred Malraux's lack of concern for clarity and penchant for lyricism over rigorous analysis. Transcendence of the human condition could be achieved through artistic creativity and artistic contemplation. For Malraux, the artist became the archetypal adventurer of the spirit and the highest order of human endeavor was that of artistic creation, for art alone was the true manifestation of a civilization's relationship with the universe: "there is something far greater than history, and it is the persistence of genius."¹³ Creativity represented the *raison d'être* for humanity. Indeed, aesthetic spirituality had always been Malraux's primary interest, not simply after *Les Noyers de l'Altenburg* was written and *La Psychologie de l'art* began appearing in 1947, but throughout his life, culminating in the establishment of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

Hundreds of newspaper literary reviews have commented upon Malraux's literary work and covered his innumerable adventures and ministerial and political affiliations. Considerable controversy has engulfed Malraux's life and oeuvre, generating an abundance of

polemical commentary and stimulating the pens of antagonists and advocates alike. Various problems concerning his biography have thwarted systematic analysis, thus enhancing and embellishing his persona.¹⁴ Malraux's own secretive position concerning his biographical facts has resulted in more than enough speculation as to the true Malraux; however, his thought is beautifully outlined in his literary works, art commentaries, and ministerial speeches. For the intellectual or cultural historian, Malraux's metaphysical orientation lies *in situ*, awaiting delineation and analysis.

Without formal academic technical training in art history, aesthetics, museology, or librarianship, Malraux created his lyrical and subtle conception of cultural policy, the complexity of which precludes a rigorous technical and philosophical examination. A common problem for scholars has been the difficulty of grasping Malraux's poetic vocabulary. Strict methodological procedure is absent; thus what is most evident is that Malraux emerges as a lyricist. As his vision of humanity and cultural policy became more persuasive, purpose and delivery became synonymous. Malraux's antipathy for rigid scholarship and suspicion of the academy were nowhere better seen than in his ministerial duties and in his writings. Even though cultural critics, aestheticians, and art historians have in some cases bitterly criticized Malraux to the point of derision, Malraux should be understood according to the tradition of which he is a part. Not intent upon positing a technical philosophical, aesthetic, or art history, he attempted to present a certain spiritual-metaphysical view of cultural activity and humanity.

Artistic activity formed the crucible that allowed humanity a degree of significance; Malraux realized this and composed an "aesthetic spirituality" based upon this assumption. In a sense, the art commentaries, amplified by the oracular nature of his speeches, even those presenting budgetary concerns, are a refutation of deterministic historicist prescriptives.¹⁵ Not content with the twentieth-century conception of life, Malraux attempted to gather in his spiritual-metaphysical workshop all the major and minor vestiges of past civilizations of the world. In an effort to bring together artistic works, he attempted to create a vision of humanity through art that represented diverse cultural heritages: it became imperative to elicit the diverse heritage of the past and, in so doing, bring forth a sense of the high civilizational pursuits reflected by the art and literature of various ages and geographies that attest to humanity's greatness.¹⁶

Throughout Malraux's corpus of speeches and art commentaries, the solitary voice of Blaise Pascal seems to accompany the artistic creations themselves. Pascal's religious sensibility and perception

permeated Malraux's own spiritual sensibility. Beyond this, Pascal's metaphysical terror of a universe *sans dieu* was too unnerving to be ignored. Following in the French humanistic tradition, Pascalian man gave rise to Malraucian man, and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was the avenue to accomplish this. Without this development, Malraux's "aesthetic spirituality" might not have arisen from his religio-metaphysical quest. Man, thrown into the world alone, without certainty, must face his situation. Cultural activity, especially art, possessed religio-metaphysical dimensions that allowed for aesthetic speculation. Criticism of Malraux's art commentaries by technical art historical or aesthetic methodology would prove fruitless.¹⁷ As metaphysical implications of his thought paralleled his cultural interests, such a vision of national cultural policy and reality would be nurtured by a ministry capable of directing an increasingly disparate national culture in recapturing the grandeur of not only Western civilization but world civilization as well.¹⁸

As Lebovics and Lantelme have offered new light on the ministry, joining the growing scholarship on Malraux's nonliterary activities, questions pertinent to libraries, book culture in the main, museology, and mass media can be addressed. Malraux's intellectual and aesthetic orientation to politics and culture needs critical exploration. National policies of culture have been attempted in the past, notably by governments of the extreme Left and Right, often with exceedingly mixed results. Democracies, in which the celebration of the individual and freedom of expression are rooted, find such centralization difficult to accept without qualification. Malraux's own spiritual quest left a strong aura around later ministries that attempted to wrestle with cultural policies. Lebovics's contribution effectively concentrates this conundrum, while Lantelme situates the ministerial speeches firmly in the metacritical discussion of such policy.¹⁹ Mitterrand's massive building projects, of which the Bibliothèque Nationale de France is but a stellar example, has generated as much controversy as support. Malraux's efforts were a manifestation of the state's desire to centralize national institutions, be they economic, educational, governmental, or cultural, in which symbol or metaphor can become synonymous with the nation's identity.²⁰

French national policies germinate from lofty heights in governmental ministries responsible for ubiquitous aspects of life; when the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was born in the mind of an individual haunted by concerns loftier than most, it found manifestation in the idiosyncratic vision of a *belles lettres* writer. Since Malraux's tenure, the ministry has championed many cultural interests that transcend traditional paper and plastic media to embrace electronic media and

the attendant implications for mass media. Across the horizon is Malraux's dream of the imaginary museum and the imaginary library, where the sum total of humanity's cultural heritages arrives in confluence, melds and germinates, giving rise to new forms of consciousness. His quest for metaphysical significance found imperfect expression in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, where literate and plastic culture could be shepherded through albeit elitist pretensions for wider dissemination among a nation's population. To this ideal end, Malraux was dedicated, with measured success. Perhaps his interment in the Panthéon in November 1996, twenty years after his death, symbolized more than anything a nation's need to find and hold a sense of centeredness in cultural affairs.

Notes

1. For strong representative historical discussions of state and culture, consult Pierre Cabanne, *Le pouvoir culturel sous la V^e République* (Paris: Orban, 1981); Joëlle Farchy, *La fin de l'exception culturelle* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1999); Marc Fumaroli, *L'État culturel: essai sur une religion moderne* (Paris: Fallois, 1991); Jacques Rigaud, *L'Exception culturelle: culture et pouvoirs sous La Cinquième République* (Paris: Grasset, 1995); Philippe Urfalino, *L'Invention de la politique culturelle* (Paris: Documentation Française, 1996). For early historical documentation on the ministry beginnings, consult Geneviève Poujol, *La Création du ministère des affaires culturelles, 1959-1969* (Paris: Département des Etudes et de la Prospective du Ministère de la Culture et de la Francophonie, 1993); and Geneviève Poujol, *Eléments pour la recherche sur la création du ministère des affaires culturelles, 1959-1969 Annexes* (Paris: DEP, Communication, Grands Travaux, 1991). For general treatments of policy, see Kim Eling, *The Politics of Cultural Policy in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Robert Wangermée and Bernard Gournay, *Cultural Policy in France* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1991). For a sound introduction with analysis, see Geneviève Poujol, "The Creation of a Ministry of Culture in France," *French Cultural Studies* 2 (1991): 251-60. A study that frames cultural politics for the Mitterrand regime is David L. Losseley, *The Politics of Fun: Cultural Policy and Debate in Contemporary France* (Oxford: Berg, 1995); Claude Mollard, *Le Cinquième Pouvoir: la culture et l'état de Malraux à Lang* (Paris: Albert Colin, 1999) provides an excellent overview. Remi Caron, *L'Etat et la culture* (Paris: Economica, 1989), provides a thought-provoking introduction to France's centuries-long attempt to achieve cultural leadership through its system of centralization.

2. For a discussion of the evolving crisis in reading versus mass media, see Emmanuel Fraisse, ed., *Les Etudiants et la lecture* (Paris: PUF, 1993).

3. For penetrating analysis, replete with tremendous empirical data, see Jean-Jack Queyranne, "Les Maisons de la Culture" (thèse, Université de Lyon II, 1975).

4. See Walter Langlois, "Malraux, éditeur de livres d'art," in *André Malraux, unité de l'oeuvre, unité de l'homme*, ed. Christiane Moatti (Paris: La Documentation Française, 1989), 155-69, 7 au 17 juillet 1988 au Centre culturel international de Cerisy-la-Salle.

5. Malraux possessed over 2,024 tomes on art history, covering all periods and cultures. This library, housed at Documentation du Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, offers the researcher a rich source yet to be explored. See *Bibliothèque André Malraux: inventaire sommaire des publications sur l'art* (Paris: Editions du Centre Georges Pompidou, 1986).

6. See Jean-Pierre Zarader, "La Bibliothèque Selon Malraux," *Mélanges Malraux Miscellany* 23 (Spring-Fall 1991): 2-14; S. Doudet, "La Bibliothèque Imaginaire d'André Malraux: généalogie du discours esthétique" (thèse, Université de Montpellier III, 1999). Similar to *la musée imaginaire*, where artistic works interact in a realm where time is suspended. Over millennia and geography, art converses with other forms of art, genre, and so on, and creates ever rejuvenating relationships that provide corresponding metaphysical perspectives. Thus, ancient Egyptian art interacts with Greek or twentieth-century art and forms cubist art, and so on. Books and libraries interact with each other in a timeless realm to create new relationships that sustain civilization *ad infinitum*. Malraux's succinct thought on the imaginary library is introduced in "Néocritique," in *Malraux, être et dire*, ed. Martine de Courcel (Paris: Plon, 1976), 223-57.

7. See Philippe et François de Saint-Chéron, "Malraux et l'audio-visuel," *Cahier de l'Herne* 43 (1982): 355-63; Moncef Khemiri, "Malraux et l'audiovisuel: rêves de films d'art," *Revue des Lettres Modernes. 10 série Malraux* (1999): 95-110. Although Malraux celebrated the audiovisual if it sustained and creatively nurtured high civilizational values, he was suspicious of mass media and its leveling tendencies.

8. See André Vandegans, *La jeunesse littéraire d'André Malraux* (Paris: Pauvert, 1964) and especially André Vandegans, "Malraux, a-t-il fréquenté, les Grandes Ecoles?" *Revue des Langues Vivantes* 26 (1960): 336-40. Malraux never took the baccalaureate and, contrary to popular legend, did not "officially" enroll in the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, the Sorbonne, or the Ecole du Louvre.

9. In that year, Malraux left for Cambodia in search of archaeological treasures, hoping to sell them on the Paris market. In Cambodia, Malraux, his wife Clara, and his life-long friend Louis Chevasson attempted to pilfer archaeological materials and bas-reliefs from Banteai Srey. They were arrested upon their return to Phnom Penh and later were found guilty, although they were given suspended sentences and returned to France. Malraux returned to Indochina for an abortive experience as a journalistic critic of French colonialism as an editor for *L'Indochine Enchaîné*, realizing the futility of his crusade against the corrupt French colonial system, he returned to France. A highly detailed account based upon sources in Vietnam is Walter Langlois, *L'Aventure indochinoise d'André Malraux* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1967). Both Malraux's ill-fated archaeological escapade and his tenure as an editor with *L'Indochine Enchaîné* are brilliantly explored.

10. See André Malraux, "A la découverte de la capitale mystérieuse de la Reine de Saba," *L'Intransigeant*, 3 May 1934, 1-2; 4 May 1934, 102; 6 May 1934, 1-2; 8 May 1934, 1; 9 May 1934, 1-2; 10 May 1934, 1-3.

11. See Janine Mossuz, *Malraux et le gaullisme* (Paris: Cahier de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politique, Colin, 1970). Originally a dissertation, this study explores the political philosophy of Malraux's Gaullism, mainly within the context of Malraux's tenure as minister of culture.

12. Of the studies exploring this topic, consult these representative studies: Charles-Daniel Blend, *André Malraux: Tragic Humanist* (Columbus: Ohio State

University Press, 1963). Blend discerns a humanism while analyzing and giving weight to Malraux's literary talents. Jeanne Delhomme, *Temps et destin: essai sur André Malraux* (Paris: Gallimard, 1955). Delhomme's rigorous existential and philosophical analysis emphasizes Malraux's basic concepts surrounding a central theme, the human condition. Edward Gannon, S.J., *The Honor of Being a Man: The World of André Malraux* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957). Gannon's philosophical study attempts to align Malraux's religious sensibilities to a "religiosity" that is of metaphysical concern. Jean-Pierre V. M. Hérubel, "The Eternal Silence: André Malraux and 'Aesthetic Religion'" (Ph.D. diss., Kent State University, 1979). Hérubel attempts to place Malraux within a spiritual context while tracing the intellectual currents evident in Malraux. Another study confronted his "religious" aesthetics: Raphaël Aubert, *L'Absolut et la métamorphose: théologiques sur André Malraux* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1986). Joseph Hoffman, *L'Humanisme de Malraux* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1963). This study emphasizes Malraux's conception of humanism and culminates in "aesthetic humanism"; philosophical and literary aspects are considered. David Wilkinson, *Malraux: An Essay in Political Criticism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). This essay on Malraux's political philosophy emphasizes Malraux's humanism as a viable political framework. The difficulty with these studies is that humanism as a suitable working model is, indeed, ambiguous and not entirely suitable. Most important is the conspicuous absence of any study of the religious sensibility that animated Malraux's cultural policy. Additionally, Malraux stated this relationship as the most important for man: "our most profound relationship is with the metaphysical order" [notre relation la plus profonde est avec d'ordre métaphysique]. André Parrot, *Sumer*, Preface d'André Malraux, Collection L'Univers des Formes (1) (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 48.

13. "Il y a quelque chose de plus important que l'histoire, et c'est la constance du génie." André Malraux, "Ce que nous avons à défendre," *Arts*, 5-11 June 1952, 11.

14. See Jean Lacouture, *André Malraux: une vie dans une siècle* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1973). His principal thesis posits the view of Malraux as myth and as *le contemporain capital* to an age. *L'Antimémoires* illustrates the difficulty and complexity of sifting factual biographical material from literary exposition and license. As difficult as Malraux's "myth" is to elucidate, sound biographical studies have penetrated some of this *mythomanie*. Both popular and scholarly studies have attempted to establish a biographical framework: among the most accessible are (and remain) Jean Lacouture, *André Malraux, une vie dans le siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1973); W. G. Langlois, *L'Aventure indochoise d'André Malraux* (Paris: Pauvert, 1967); André Vandegans, *La Jeunesse littéraire d'André Malraux* (Paris: Pauvert, 1964); and Robert Payne, *A Portrait of André Malraux* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970). A solid introduction to Malraux's life and thought is Gaëton Picon, *Malraux par lui-même* (Paris: Écrivains du Seuil, 1974).

15. See the splendid André Malraux, *Discours prononcé à l'Assemblée Nationale 1945-1976* (Paris: Assemblée Nationale, 1996).

16. No systematic examination of Malraux's spiritual concerns vis-à-vis cultural policy has been forthcoming. For compelling forays into these spiritual dimensions, consult Brian Thompson, "La Communion des artistes: une religion de l'art," in Moatti, ed., *André Malraux*, 267-72; Robert S. Thornberry, "Questions esthétiques 1920-1930," in *André Malraux, l'homme des univers*, Colloque Grand Palais, December 1986, Comité National André Malraux, 1989, 125-32; Christiane Moatti, "Héritage et invention dans la création artistique," in *ibid.*, 145-53; Bettina Knapp, "Malraux critique d'art en quête du sacré," *Europe* 727-

28 (November–December 1989): 199–205. The earliest scholarship attempted to frame this discussion: André Blanchet, “La Religion d’André Malraux,” *Etudes* 261 (June 1949): 289–306 and 262 (July 1949): 45–65; Pierre Meren, “Malraux: esthétique ou religion d’art?” *La Nouvelle Critique* 67 (July–August 1955): 11–126; Jean Onimus, “Malraux, ou la religion de l’art,” *Etudes* 280 (January 1954): 3–16. Even Malraux’s autobiography mirrors his life; see Joseph D. Gauthier, S.J., “The Religious Dimension in the Antimemoires,” *Kentucky Romance Quarterly* 16 (1969): 221–30. It is critical to understand Malraux vis-à-vis spirituality as cultural policy as he stated the purpose of his art commentaries when he said, in *La Métamorphose des dieux*, “Ce livre n’a pour objet ni une histoire de l’art—bien que la nature même de la création artistique m’y contraigne souvent à suivre l’histoire pas à pas—ni une esthétique; mais bien la signification que prend la présence d’une éternelle réponse à l’interrogation que pose à l’homme sa part d’éternité—lorsqu’elle surgit dans la première civilisation consciente d’ignorer la signification de l’homme” [This book is neither a history of art (though I am compelled to keep pace with time) nor a study of aesthetics but an attempt to discover the significance of the spark latent in man posed by eternity—profound for our civilization, the first to not recognize the significance of man] (56). Again, in 1974 in the preface to *L’Irréel* he maintained, “Comme mes romans, comme mes *Antimémoires*, comme *Les Voix du Silence*, *La Métamorphose des Dieux* traite essentiellement de la relation de l’homme e du destin” [Like my novels, like my *Antimémoires*, like *Les Voix du silence*, *La Métamorphose des dieux* essentially treats the relationship of man and destiny] (vi).

17. Malraux’s writing is flamboyant and given to a highly discursive and especially unsystematic style. Amorphously complex, this expressive quality does not necessarily detract from his thought, especially when one considers that perhaps both Malraux’s thought and style are synonymous. For studies concerning his art theories, see Pascal Sabourin, *La Réflexion sur l’art d’André Malraux: origines et évolution* (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1972); Violet M. Horvath, *André Malraux: The Human Adventure* (New York: New York University Press, 1969). See the following dissertation research: E. Lantonnet, “La Création artistique et le destin de l’oeuvre d’art d’après les essais d’André Malraux” (thèse, Université de Paris III, 1995); Judith Terrie Dotz Quintana, “The Development of André Malraux’s Ideas on Art” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1970); Guy Thomas Trail, “The Commerce of Art and Philosophy in Malraux” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970). See also Moncef Khemiri, *L’Esthétique d’André Malraux: de l’imaginaire de l’art à l’imaginaire de l’écriture* (Tunis: Publication de l’Ecole Normale Supérieure de Tunis, 1999). Malraux’s first systematic view of art was developed in *La Psychologie de l’art*, which appeared between 1947 and 1949 in three volumes: *Le Musée imaginaire*, *La Création artistique*, and *La Monnaie de l’absolu*. *La Psychologie de l’art* was published in Geneva and later reissued in Paris with fewer photographic plates and textual revisions as *Les Voix du silence* in 1951. *Les Voix du silence* expounded Malraux’s metaphysical philosophy of art as spirituality. Later, he developed his ideas from *Les Voix du silence* in *La Métamorphose des dieux*, which was published in 1957 and comprised three volumes. At the time of publication, only a second volume was to follow; instead, two did. The first was published in 1957 as *L’Inaccessible* (later changed to *Le Surnaturel*), revised and published in 1977; the second as *L’Irréel* in 1974; and the third volume, *L’Intemporel*, in 1976. *Les Voix du silence* is the repository for the boldest of Malraux’s aesthetic ideas. Herein artistic creativity was explicated. *Le Musée imaginaire* was developed, and the metaphysical

implications of art and artistic creativity were set forth and celebrated. *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* appeared as a three-volume study: volume 1, *La Statuaire*, 1952; volume 2, *Des bas-reliefs aux grottes sacrées*, 1954; and volume 3, *Le Monde chrétien*, 1954. Malraux's aesthetic interests included sculpture, even as ornamentation or supplementary to architecture, but rarely, if at all, architecture. *La Tête d'obsidienne*, published in 1974 as an exposition of his ideas on artistic creativity, with Picasso as the exemplary paradigm, emanated from the ideas set forth in *Les Voix du silence*. Artistic creativity as the *raison d'être* of man was the discovery of Malraux's quasi-religious adventure.

18. See André Holleaux, "Il y a deux ans mourait André Malraux: le Ministère des Affaires Culturelles," *Nouvelle Revue des Deux Mondes* 11 (November 1978): 354–61. With the knowledge and eye of a confidant, Holleaux captures Malraux's personality as one that was interested in the lowliest of functionaries but very disengaged from bureaucracy, hierarchy, and details. See André Holleaux, "André Malraux, ministre," in Moatti, ed., *André Malraux*, 327–37. Herein, Malraux emerges as the first political figure to support culture for the masses and the preservation of the nation's patrimony. An inviting and accessible overview is Constance Wesley Brooks, "André Malraux: Minister of Culture" (M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1977).

19. For a general sounding, see Edouard Morot Sur, "André Malraux et le discours politique culturel," *Revue André Malraux Review* 22 (1989–90): 165–80; Y. M. Garcin-Abou, "La Politique culturelle de Malraux" (thèse, Paris-I-Panthéon Sorbonne, UER de Sciences Politiques, 1984). Recent discussions surrounding the competition, construction, and *raison d'être* of the Bibliothèque de France provide ample permutations for book culture as well as shed light on the particularly French penchant for grand efforts.

20. The entire process, from idea, architectural rendition and competition, to construction of the library, became a politicized endeavor, fraught with acrimony. The controversy engendered factions from disparate perspectives, where even librarians were rarely consulted. So, too, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was an inspiration received from above. For this controversy, see Jack Kessler, "The Bibliothèque Nationale de France Project: Access or Expediency?" *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science* 26 (September 1994): 121–33; Roland Schaer, "Sur la politique culturelle de la Bibliothèque de France," *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France* 42 (1997): 18–22; Sylvie C. Davies and Ian M. Johnson, "The Mitterrand Library in Context: The Bibliothèque de France and Library Provision in France," *Libri* 48 (December 1998): 187–211; Sarah G. Wenzel, "From Revolution to Evolution: The Transformation of the Bibliothèque Nationale into the Bibliothèque Nationale de France through the Lens of Popular and Professional Reports," *Library Quarterly* 69 (July 1999): 324–38. Setting the recent library controversy into historical perspective, see Jean Favier, "The History of the French National Library," *Daedalus* 125 (Fall 1996): 283–91.

Select Bibliography

The rich scholarly literature on Malraux is enormous and has been growing since 1950. However, until recently it has been dominated by literary scholars. (Representative proceedings are *Colloque André Malraux: le livre dans la vie et l'oeuvre d'André Malraux*, Colloque de Strasbourg, 1986 [Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1988]; *Colloque de Cerisy, Centre Culturel International: André Malraux, unité de l'oeuvre, unité de l'homme* [Paris: La Documentation Française, 1989]; *Villa Medici, journal de voyage, spéciale André Malraux*, year 2, 4–5 December 1988 [Roma: Edizioni Carte

Segrete, 1988].) As other disciplines and approaches turn to serious examination of Malraux's varied life and career, the literature begins to reflect corresponding changes, as an international society has recently been established to promote all perspectives. (Amitiés Internationales André Malraux seeks to sponsor all approaches to Malraux studies, thus transcending literary foci to encompass all disciplinary activity.) This bibliography is necessarily selective and attempts to provide a balanced introduction to Malraux scholarship. Only monographs are included, as the periodical literature is specialized and large. (Two journals devoted exclusively to Malrauxian studies are *Revue André Malraux Review* [1969–] and selected issues in *La Revue des Lettres Modernes* [1954–]. An official organ projected to appear is *Cahiers des Amitiés Internationales d'André Malraux*. See John B. Romeiser, *André Malraux: A Reference Guide, 1940–1990* [New York: G. K. Hall, 1994] for additional articles.)

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- Hommage d'André Malraux à Jean Moulin*. 1964. Production: INA (ORTF).
- Les Antimémoires improvisés*. 1967. Réalisation: Roland Darbois, Roger Stéphane. Production: INA (ORTF).
- Discours d'André Malraux du 20 juin 1968*. 1968. Production: Télé France Nouvelle.
- André Malraux la légende du siècle*. 1972. Claude Santelli and Françoise Verny. Réalisation: Claude Santelli. Production: INA (2e chaîne).
- André Malraux l'action et la pensée*. 1973. Réalisation: Philippe Halphen. Production: INA (24 heures sur la Une).
- Les Métamorphoses du regard*. 1974. Réalisation: Clovis Prévost. Production: INA (Aimé Maeght, ORTF).
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