Making a Model for Analyzing the Contemporary Art World Based on the Clerical System of Religious World via Max Weber’s Sociology of Religion

Mehdi Qadernejad*1, Marzyeh Piravi Vanak2, Sadreddin Tahery3

1 . Ph. D. Candidate in Art Research, Art University of Isfahan, Iran.
2 . Art University of Isfahan,, Iran.
3 . Art University of Isfahan, , Iran.

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Abstract

Statement of the Problem : How does the spiritual system of religion affect the dominant paradigm of society? What are the factors which shapes the world of contemporary art? In which ways the institutional structures of contemporary art, such as the gallery, have shaped the shapes and forms of the art world?

GoalPurpose and Method: The main idea of this research is about the structure of religious world and its impact on the dominant idea of the era and their factors, actions, and the hierarchy of power. To understand this hierarchy and the development of spiritual apparatus, firstly, we consider the world of religious thought and its impact on the formation of hierarchy and the behavior of subjects investigate and in the next step, we consider the agents-institutions and their ratio with the dominant idea in the contemporary art world.

Conclusion: In this study, religion and art are considered as two homologous texts. Considering the role of institutions and its’s agents in the creation of the religious world, it seems that this route can be traced more correctly their,. It could be seen that here the Church and its spiritual apparatus have a great deal of association with the organizations and institutions of the world of art and its hierarchical construction. The church is like a spiritual apparatus, which systematically and organizationally looks for building patterns and practice method. The equivalent of it in the art world could be seen at the museum-gallery and be matched with it. The present research attempts to study the contemporary art world and its branches such as Iranian contemporarty art, through considering the issue of legitimacy and the role of the spiritual experts of the world of art in constructing and shaping all aspects of contemporary art and aesthetics through the exercise of this legitimacy. The methodology of this research is stemmed from the Weber’s sociology of religion and its special impression in analyzing of the clerical system of religion. We have analyzed and categorized our data based on this theoretical context.

Keywords: Max Weber’s Sociology of Religion, Spiritual Apparatus, Religious Experts, Art World, Gallery Institution.

* Corresponding author: mehdi.ghadernezhad@yahoo.com
09143816526

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Introduction
This study is an attempt to clarify how the dominant idea of the era is influenced by the world of religion and the constructive system of this world and adapting this pattern on the world of contemporary art. To this end, we have studied the Max Weber’s special approach to the sociology of religion. Where is the link location between the Weber’s sociology of religion and the position of this research, that is the world of art? Weber’s sociology refers to the role of religious forces and the relationship between religious beliefs and the acceptance of tasks and other aspects of human conduct in society. When we come to the art world, we can establish an identity between the role of religious forces and the strategy of Artists. The structure of the church and the religious organization are similar to the organization and institutions of the world of art and its hierarchical structure. By recognition and structuration of the patterns employed in the hierarchy of religion, it can be applied to the world of art. The purpose of this research is not to study the world of art and aesthetics, but we want to make an adaptation between the world of religion and the world of art and their agents based on the development of Weber’s vision and articulating of his votes on the religious world.

Research Background
The goal of this research is studying the structure of the contemporary art world and the spiritual apparatus governing on it. In studying the contemporary art world, Theories that are most used are: discourse analysis, Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of field or Reflection theories. Our intention in this study was going beyond the common studies in Iran’s academic atmosphere and to introducing a new approach. For this purpose, we have chosen Weber’s sociology of religion and its special viewpoint. Pierre Bourdieu’s “The Market of Symbolic Goods”, is the closest text to this kind of vision and approach to Weber’s sociology of religion. It is necessary to note that the present study is the first example of adopting such an approach in the study of art world by using of the Weber’s sociology of religion and its vocabularies and tools in the academic research space of Iran.

Research Method
This study consists of two parts: in the first part, our goal is the studying and recognition of the patterns and hierarchy of the construction and formation of the institution of art, and its intermediaries and contributory tools contributing to this process. We have constructed the theoretical framework and tools for studying and analyzing this section based on Weber’s sociology of religion and the methodological facilities that it gives us. The second part involves finding a way for studying the religious world through which it could analyze and deconstruct the art world which is the main goal of this study. In constituting of this section, also, we have used the Weber’s method in sociology of religion, especially in Protestant Ethics and the psychology of world religions.

Research hypothesis
The clerical system of world of religion, shape and construct the ideas and actions of his subjects’ world through the text of religion and its clerical device, including its specialists and agents. We can apply this matter to art world.

The governing structure on the contemporary art gallery is best matched to the system governing the contemporary art world. Its spiritual apparatus and efforts for stabilizing authority and power by the spiritual apparatus of religion/ art are well seen in the gallery institution.

Theoretical Foundation
Max Weber’s Sociology of Religion
When Weber studies religion, he does not focus on religion “as the religion”; that is, his subject matter of study is not a concept that a theologian or historian of church perceive; but he wants to understand what the relationship is there between the religious beliefs with the acceptance of tasks and other aspects of
human conduct, especially with the economic aspects of it in the society. So, Weber’s main concern is the sociology of religion (Mowaqen, 1948: 30). For example about the religious reform resulted from Protestantism and its impacts, in Protestant Ethics, Weber says: “Given the enormous complexity of the interactions between material phenomena, the forms of social and political organization, and spiritual thoughts and themes of the age of reform, we must inevitably do research into the existence of certain ‘correlations’ between certain forms of religious beliefs and professional ethics and the points in which these correlations are evident. At the same time, we must, as far as possible, clarify the general direction of the religious movement’s influence on the evolution of material culture in the wake of those ‘correlations’. Only after that this matter becomes sufficiently clear, we can endeavor to evaluate this point that to what extent the historical development of the content of the modern culture is due to the religious motives and to what extent it is due to other factors” (Weber, 2012: 90).

Weber always investigates the role of ideas and thoughts. In his opinion, thoughts and ideas play a significant role in shaping some psychological characteristics, and based on these characteristics, the behavior of a particular personality type is formed. This personality type determines the behavioral patterns when it is fixed and religious organizations adopt it as their accepted type (Weber, 2015: 524). In his opinion, for understanding these relations and paradigms and their impacts on the minds of social actors, making a connection between these religious actions and the religious interest of those who produce and perform them is necessary (Swartz, 1996: 74), because those who produce and execute these ideas (experts and spiritual apparatus) are the expanding agents of the dominant idea. In every field like art field, this process is ongoing.

For example, in the case of capitalism and its relation to Protestantism, the task is serious and Weber begins with it his basic discussion on Protestant ethics. Weber asked what background of ideas led to an activity, that seemed to merely oriented to profit, the activity that turned to be a “beruf” for which the individual would feel morally responsible? (Weber, 2012: 75). Weber here intends to show the extent to which the “religious forces’ contribute to in qualitative formulation and quantitative expansion” of the capitalism spirit (Milner & Browitt, 2002: 63). According to Weber, the main goal should be discovering those psychological motivations that directing life based on religious beliefs and practices and make the individual to be obliged to them. For this purpose, Weber pays attention to the producers of the religious message, to the particular interests that quicken to them and to the strategies they use in their struggles (Bourdieu, 2011: 174). Determining and identifying these intermediaries plays an essential role in Bourdieu’s sociology of religion. Understanding Weber’s approach needs to understand this matter (the intermediaries and limits of their duty), and in the case of the world of art (especially contemporary art), for example, all of these models and intermediaries can be translated into its agents and be a subject-matter for a fundamental study.

**Structuration of subject’s identity through the relation between ideas and world images**

The problem of the structuring of religious identity can be understood and conceptualized through the relationship between the idea and world images that Weber describes them through the switchman metaphor, as well as what he conceptualizes it by the term differentiation and the dichotomy of the Prophet-Priest. According to Weber, the value perspectives are represented as “world images”. The foundation of social life lies in these world images; they create a kind of affirmation-based structure that articulates cultural identities. “Weber, according to the “switchmen” metaphor, explains further his conception of this “world images” and the relation between ideas and social interests: “world images” created by the “ideas” have determined, like the switchman, the paths through which action is driven.
and actualized by the dynamism of interests” (Owen, 2015: 156). The most important point is that world images created by the ideas are like intermediaries that shape the flow of alignment and identity. In other words, it can be said that “in certain critical points in history, a particular spiritual plan has been aligned with the pressure of a certain group of people who have some material interests” (Hughes, 2012: 284).

Methodologically speaking, this is important that the distinctions made by Weber are after all dichotomies ... His methodological problem is to explain the differences between these two dichotomies, as well as their relations; he also wants to examine the conditions that cause the balance between the two dichotomies to be disrupted in favor of one of them (ibid). An event what occurs during a dialectical process. “During this tension and differentiation, something has become opposite to itself and has been dismissed from its soul. Like what happened to human reason. Every instance of foundational rationalization is inevitably condemned to create non-rationality “(Lowith, 2014: 93).

**Systematic apparatus of religion experts: similarity of postmodern institutions of the art world**

Weber considers this irrationality to be the essential element of the process of rationalization, and describes the problem of dichotomies in the context of this process of rationalization and disenchantment which is correlated to it. “The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all by the ‘disenchantment of the world” (Weber, 1946: 155). Secularization, rationalization, and disenchantment as its consequence, have led us to be subjected to the “Gods” which are at war with each other... (Abazari, 2010: 150). Our world is very similar to that of ancient paganism, with the difference that today’s gods-goddesses have been disenchanted. “We live as did the ancients when their world was not yet disenchanted with its gods and demons, only we live in a different sense. As Hellenic man once sacrificed to Aphrodite and once to Apollo, and, above all, as everybody sacrificed to the gods of city, so do we still today; only that the bearing of man has been disenchanted and denuded of its mystical but inwardly genuine plasticity” (Weber, 1946: 148).

This historical theme implies a set of ideas based on which the world is secularized or disenchanted ... Social activities and authority have become specialized and eventually the world has become meaningless with the decline of charisma, religion or magic. For Weber, the universe is predictable, but without a reliable goal, that is, without grand narratives (Lowith, 2014: 37). This world and pattern which Weber has drawn are very similar to the current postmodern world and the prevailing state of affairs. So, when we come to the contemporary world of art and study the formation of the ideas and the apparatus of the experts of this world, we understand more closely their similarities.

In such a situation, namely the domination of the administrative apparatus of rationality and the hierarchical organization and structure of agents and intermediaries, the specialization of professions and positions etc., the values have been individualized, and each individual must choose his own God. The bureaucratic apparatus of modern state is the same temple of the gods, to whom we are giving our sacrifice, and at the same time we are searching and setting up new gods within it by our hands. “The organized temple of the gods, like the rationalized magic, indicates the presence of systematic thinking and ultimately intellectual endeavor for theoretical or at least formal rationality” (Sadri, 2011: 93). This temple of gods is similar to the institution of art and its ruling spiritual apparatus (embodied in contemporary art in the form of museum, gallery, etc.). Like the “invisible academies” that have been constituted of administrative experts, they lead cultural politics and, consequently, affect the creation of art (Heinick, 2014: 94)

Weber’s goal is to discover the nature of these possible and distinct types of normal systems, their natural directions (and he sees it in the context of
the religious system). Bureaucracy is the practical definition of this normal system. The principle of administrative authority based on hierarchy and the normative pattern is seen in all bureaucratic structures, as well as in state and clerical structures and party organizations and large private enterprises (Weber, 2015: 226). The spiritual apparatus of religion and its hierarchy are no exception. The clergymen have everywhere tried to monopolize religion and introduce themselves as custodian of religious values. These values are given to the individual only through religious ceremonies and with the mediation of the clergy. Importantly, this clerical apparatus and hierarchical order have been established in religious institutions, especially in the structure of the church. This religious hierarchical organization pretends to be a rational and obeyable association, claiming that its authority is a monopoly (Ibid: 26). the church is opposed to the sect; the church and the sect, as the opposites, are the clerical apparatus and the religious institution of the priest-prophet dichotomy. The structuration of the religious community can be understood through the study of the opposition between these two. “Weberian sociology of religion has attempted to define the types of a religious congregation by distinguishing between the church and the sect as two modes of the social being of religion. The first type, the church, is the bureaucratic institution of salvation that is open to everybody, within which the Authority derived from the function of the priest is exerted. The second type, the sect, is a voluntary association of believers. Within this association, the dominant charismatic authority is dominant “(Hervieu-leger, Willaime, Brechon et al, 2016: 62).

Religious congregation, which represents the harmonizing spirit of the religious world and its hierarchical structure, is executed by its institutions and experts (Church-priest and sect-prophet). In the process of this harmonization and congregation, the authority and the application of their special legitimacy occur. The study of the opposition between the priest and the prophet is a study of two methods of exercising religious authority. In the art world, especially the (contemporary-postmodern) art today, this bureaucratic structure and order is identical with the realm of religion and the religious apparatus. The religion apparatus (Church) is the same institutions, foundations, galleries, and religious intermediaries (priest-augur), cleric - experts in the art world, the artist-critic, critic, curator. The will and the idea of the spiritual apparatus of art are exerting through intermediaries such as critics, art experts, curators etc. The position and duty of each one are also clear.

Apparatus of religion experts: dichotomy of prophet-priest

As noted earlier, the process of differentiation and the dichotomy that Weber refers to, has an important status for him; it can be seen almost at all levels of his intellectual system. Weber sees the task of sociology to find the right ways to go into the tensions than to ignore them (Abazari, 2010: 149). This path should be discovered. Adorno’s dialectics is also in this way, its task is not eliminating and ignoring, but showing contradiction.

Weber’s process of differentiation and the dichotomy is a kind of methodological tool in achieving a framework for the historical development of the religious experts’ apparatus. Weber’s frequent references to the tensions between prophets and priests are in line with the same distinction between layers and carriers of religious ideas. In the study and the structuration of the role and the relationship of the prophet-priest, the same role and opposition of the Enlighteners-Intellectuals is evident. There is a correspondence between the Intellectuals as the prophets and the enlighteners as the priests-augurs who are engaged in interpreting the prophet based on their own interests and maintaining domination. Enlighteners are more likely than intellectuals to look at ideas as tools. They tend to not criticize the rigorous ideas that serve their interests (Sadri, 2011: 106). As a result, enlighteners in any particular culture are “more comfortable and more indigenous” than intellectuals. But universal aspirations and
deconstructive reflections make intellectuals a “strange class” in all cultures. The prophet is practicing through his own personal talents; his work is intellectual, but the priest influences through the administration and in fact the apparatus and establishments and, of course, the interpretation of the prophet. The priests’ interests depended on maintaining the authority which have on the masses. The prophets wanted to establish a regime based on internal reflection; in contrast, the priests brought up a regime that converted obedience of the religious principles to a kind of ritual (Ibid.: 172). They act through an organized, established, and systematic cult. Overcoming the definition and scope of work and the will of the priests over the prophets can be seen in the dichotomy of the enlighteners-intellectuals. We examined these functions and tabulated in Table (1).

Table 1. Apparatus of Religious Expert’s. Authors.

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<tr>
<th>Apparatus of religious experts (similar in art world experts)</th>
<th>Prophets-intellectuals</th>
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The clearest adaptation of the religious world and art world based on Weber’s sociology of religion can be seen in Pierre Bourdieu’s study on the “Market of Symbolic Goods”. Following Weber, Bourdieu sees the sociology of religion as one of the dimensions of the sociology of power and analyzes religious discourse in relation to the religious interests of producers, distributors and recipients of this discourse. “In a very Weberian sense, a certain way of thinking produces a certain way of acting in the world” (Grenfell, 2004: 71). Bourdieu pursues Weber’s special vision on studying the religion world.

In “market of symbolic goods”, Bourdieu maintains without change that Weber’s conceptualization of the social change through the struggle between bureaucratic priests and charismatic prophets, and expands Weber’s paradigm. Thus, Weberian priests (academic painters) and prophets (modernist painters) are the producers of symbolic goods that compete for consumers among the laity. In any given religious field, this competition squares itself mainly between the orthodox hierarchy on the one hand and the head of heretics and his disciples on the other hand” (Rey, 2004: 331). The opposition between orthodoxy and heresy is a struggle for the monopoly of cultural legitimacy.

Bourdieu emphases that what is ultimately controversial for orthodoxy and its religious experts, or clerics, is the monopoly of the legitimate production of religious capital and the institutionalization of their domination in the religious field (Bourdieu, 1971: 305). In religion institution, the church presents itself as the ‘monopoly’ of legitimate distribution of ‘sacred goods’ (Sausen & Turner, 2011: 114). Thus “by defending cultural orthodoxy or the sphere of legitimate culture against competing, schismatic or heretical messages, which may provoke radical demands and heterodox practices among various publics, the system of conservation and cultural consecration fulfils a function homologous to that of the Church; according to Max Weber, it should systematically establish and delimit the new victorious doctrine or defend the old one against prophetic attacks, determine what has and does not have sacred value, and make it part of laity’s
faith” (Bourdieu, 1993: 122). Here, the prophet is comparable with the creator of art, the religious ideas with the cultural text, and “lay people” with the audience [of art] (Lash, 2011: 234). The church also acts as a mediator of legitimacy among heralds of religious ideas and “lay people”.

Findings

The findings of this study should be inferences from the text of the opposition and relation of the dichotomy of prophet-priest and the enlightener-intellectual, and the modifications and compromises that are made in this opposition (Weber explains this opposition and compromise as the opposition of the “taste-oriented” religiosity and “mass” religiosity). As mentioned above, the church is responsible for this harmony and modification. “The official and clerical authority of the Church always tries to organize the religion of the masses and set up those sacred values whose exclusive and official propagandist is the church itself instead of spontaneous and autonomous religious virtues and competences” (Weber, 2015: 326). This kind of ritualistic act is equal to the function of enlighteners-priests-clergy.

This is a translation, a simplification of concepts and ideas. In the “sociology of intellectuals”, Ahmad Sadri describes it as a “transmission belt” for the enlightener in the process of propagating ideas; in this way, the ideas generated by intellectuals are constantly re-shaped and simplified for general consumption (Sadri, 2011: 106). We find the equivalent of this function in the personality and work of the critic-artist, critic, and gallery-curator in the field of contemporary art. Thus, on the one hand, we have the prophet-intellectual-committed artist, on the other hand, the priest-enlightener, who attempts interpreting, organizing and normalizing the ideas. These positions and functions can be identified according to the classification given in Table (2), although our placements may still need further study and analysis. But the dichotomy and the opposition of the prophet-priest constitutes the main pattern of this study (Table 2).

Discussion

Contemporary art institution as a legitimizing apparatus

The role of the institution as the carrier and producer

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Table 2. Functions and Professions. Authors.
of ideas and the dominant discourse and the allocation of legitimacy in the contemporary art must be studied seriously. The whole system of the gallery is one of the main agents of this new and powerful structure. It seems that it is possible to create conformity between it and Weberian concepts such as bureaucracy, rationalization, preservation, allocation, authority, and legitimacy.

The institution of the gallery and its clerical apparatus in contemporary art can be studied in light of Weberian concepts in the sociology of religion. For this purpose, all elements of the contemporary gallery building such as gallerist- dealer, curator, its editor, gallery artist etc. are the place of this study and in some way a research textbook to achieve the state of the contemporary art world. The problem of legitimacy has been situated at the head of this study and our research results on the gallery system. The institution and power are correlated to each other and invent their own functions and intermediaries. In Pascalian Meditations (2000), Bourdieu reveals that political power must justify itself through external legitimization. Power therefore appeals to social institutions for justification, recognition and legitimacy. In order to provide legitimate recognition, institutions must be recognized and legitimate themselves (Bourdieu, 2000: 104). Thus, the power wants artists and intellectuals’ granting and confirmation of the relative autonomy of institutions that provide its legitimacy. The art institution is structured and acts as a barrier zone. It became apparent that “the social effect of a work of art cannot simply be gauged by considering the work itself but that its effect is decisively determined by the institution within which the work functions” (Burger, 1974: 90). According to Peter Berger, though the neo-avant-garde artists’ view may “be avant-gardist”, their art has been institutionalized as an autonomous art. Thus, is why the institution of art would stays and remains even in art works whose intention apparently is to overcome the divisions between art and non-art. The art institution (museum-gallery) re-orientates and limits the values of unique art work. In the Function of the Museum (1973), Buren refers to the museum as “the frame and effective support upon which the work is inscribed/composed”, the art institution frames and compromises the (critical intentions of the) work of art: In fact, every work of art inevitably possesses one or several extremely precise frames (Buren, 1973: 68). Artists work within that frame, set the frame and are being framed. (Haacke, 2006: 55). This frame is museum or gallery or the places belonging to them. It is true that a museum is an empty space, and it is nothing in itself, it derives its meaning from what it hosts and displays to the public. The work of art is now framed by the museum (O’Doherty, 1976: 40). Museums and galleries as the main institutions of art in contemporary art, are specific contexts for art works and physical confrontation with artwork occurs there. The capacity of the museum to bestow “art-ness” (Duncan, 1995: 110) is an important factor. By placing the objects, bodies and events in brackets, the museum de-contextualized and re-contextualized them. But isn’t this one of the more important functions of museums, to kill things, to finish them off, to give them the authority and thus distance from people by taking out of their real everyday context? As Obrist say it is sort of a cemetery for art… (Obrist, 2008:120- 121). The material apparatus and functions of the institutions governing the (contemporary-postmodern) world of art, like the museum-gallery, according to table (3), can be corresponded to the spiritual apparatus of religion in Weber’s sociology of religion. In contemporary art, the institution of the church is equivalent to the institution of the gallery, and the clerical apparatus and its specialists are gallerist, curator and the critic (Table3).

In the institution of contemporary art, it may be said that the gallery-curator is of most importance. His legitimating power is actually a creative matter. In contemporary art, in many cases, essentially the existence or recognition of one thing as an “artwork” depends on its “curatorial” institutional and discursive foundations. An issue that was supposed to dispel the certainty of the institutions of contemporary art and questioning them ... but it has become itself the
rules of contemporary art (Akhgar, 2015: 145). As we can see, the similarity and accommodation between the new discourse of the world of art and the world of religion and its dominant clerical apparatus is best represented in the case of curator.

**Conclusion**

In his sociology of religion, Weber highlights the importance of the relationship between religious beliefs with the acceptance of tasks and other aspects of human behavior in the society, and shows that these relationships give shape to the human behavior in every world (religion-art). So, for reaching the reasons and results of these relationships, they have to be deconstructed. Accordingly, we can develop a, for any intellectual system, a hierarchical system and the classification of the historical becoming-development of the religious experts' apparatus (for example, the world of art and its clerical apparatus) for each intellectual system. An important point in this deconstruction is that the realm of religion should be understood as a symbolic system. That’s because Weber constantly reminds us that in order to understand the relationship between the fundamental religious ideas and its principles for life, we must carefully examine related religious texts as texts which are clearly resulting from the operation of the spiritual apparatus. In the studying the contemporary art world, like the world of religion (as Weber tells us), we also have to deal with some form of analysis of the text of the art system.

Here are the important points that Weber’s sociology of Religion and its conceptual-theoretical tools helps our research (contemporary art studies). In order to understand the hidden function of power resulted from this bureaucratic structure and its discursive apparatus, we must unconsciously examine the constitutive text of contemporary art and read and analyze it as the container of the ideas of the art world. It is necessary to reiterate that the gallery system in its entirety provides the best place for this study and analysis.

Considering the classification and analysis that Weber draws for us, our suggestion for analyzing contemporary art and the institutions governing on it in Iran is that firstly the hierarchical structure of the gallery system (similar to the church system) is to be studied; Galleries of Tehran such as the Homa and Shirin galleries and the activities done by them, like the annual of “New Generation Selections” (Montakhab-e Nasl-e Now), are good examples to implement our analysis.

In the second step, we should study the texts that constitute the discourse of contemporary art world-institution, that is, the texts created by academics, critics and curators (in the case of Homa and Shirin galleries and the annual of “New Generation selections”, the catalog of the annuals, which contains the structure of galleries and its hierarchy), texts that are the result of the operation of their clerical apparatus. By this way, the history and critique of Iranian contemporary art would be made and known.

**Reference list**