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The Philosophical Implications

of.

The Poetic Impulse

in

Western Civilization

by

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Abstract

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Title : "The Philosophical Implications of the Poetic
Impulse in Western Civilization".

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Theme : The main theme of my thesis is that Spenglerian
analysis of western civilization as declining is cor-
rect, in that specifically western culture and civili-
zation is giving way, more and more, to a world culture-
pattern; but my thesis disagrees with his version of the
decadence of all art-forms today as part of a declining
culture, postulating rather that, specifically in the
arts of Architecture and film, there is enormous activity
of a creative nature. My thesis also quarrels with Speng-
ler's analysis of the relations existing between the ec-
onomic-forms of society and the art-objects produced by
that society. He states that the economic forms are the
product of the soul of the culture. I contend that the
art-products of the culture mirror the motivating drives
of the economic forces of the social group while in a
state of considerable interaction with them.

I have tried to present my thesis, with both positions
clearly stated, quoting Spengler at some length on the one
hand, and Lewis Mumford at an equal length on the other,
and with a supporting citation from Ruth Benedict's book,
"Patterns of Culture" on social patterns of a more primi-
tive nature.

Arrangement : My thesis is divided into four chapters, the
first serving as an introduction to the point-of-view and
thematic material of the whole work; the second and third
covering the recorded history of the motivating drives of
western historical periods, drawing from this material to
support my contention of the basic relationship existing
between the methods of production in a social group and
the art-objects produced by that group. In the final chap-
ter, I have attempted to sum up the inferences from the
historical chapters and to present my thesis and its main
position in some detail.

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Chapter One : Intreductory.

In this introductory chapter I wish to define, first, the terms and the limits of my investigation, and then to show the point of view from which I am approaching the whole subject of the poetic impulse as it has expressed itself in the works of man's hands, and in the movement of man's mind, in our western civilization.

By poetic impulse, I mean the tendency toward creating or making, which is an essential ingredient in the makeup of every person, varying in its degree of development from that of the genius who creates great art to that of the other-artist who re-makes the work of art by realizing it. It varies from the degree of poetic or creative ability required to synthesize the elements of scientific or artistic knowledge and emerge with a new scientific theory or a new object of art to that lesser but still vital degree of ability to make, and desire to make well, which is observable in any skilled workman.

I do not accept in my meaning of western civilization the minute Spenglerian distinction of civilization from culture, but use rather a duality, combining the two. For Spengler culture is the great etiologial drive producing the art, religion, mathematics, science, and philosophy of any period, the expression of the soul of the period. Whereas, for him, civilization is the residual product of this activity, and exists only in a period of cultural sterility and decadence. For the purposes of this thesis I mean civilization as a combination of these two aspects : as both the surging cultural impulse discernible in different stages of development, and the stable

products of these periods as they remain to us .

By the philosophical implications of these poetic or creative activities I mean their significance in man's complete living. I wish to integrate them with the knowledge available to us from a scientific analysis of society in terms of an economic, political, religious, linguistic, and in general, an anthropological study of culture. In this connection should be noted the semantic difficulties inherent in a discussion of abstractions such as these human values.

I want to show this impulse to creation not only in the various media of art-expression current in each period , but also in relation to the whole philosophical ethos of the stage of cultural development.

Here I will be , to some extent following Spengler's view of a culture-pattern as an exclusive whole; so that, though Greek and Roman, early Christian and Byzantine art-forms are considered, this is done largely with a view to showing their influence on the later emerging and typically western culture-pattern. From these comparative sources I intend also to draw inference supporting my thesis of a newly emerging and typically world culture-pattern.

I understand western civilization as beginning with the myths, ballads, and folk-arts and crafts of the northern barbarians of Europe, mixing with the fixed linguistic structure of the Latin language, and with the highly developed system of Roman law, and changing gradually until it 'appears indeed' in the Gothic cathedrals and the more individualized art of

of the later middle ages, and then flowers most richly in the period of Baroque, petering out in the more sophisticated decorative statement of the following centuries.

Spengler quotes Goethe's "Winckelmann" where he says of Velleius Paterculus :

"With his standpoint it was not given him to see all art as a living thing that must have an inconspicuous beginning, a slow growth, a brilliant moment of fulfilment, and a gradual decline like every other organic being, though it is presented in a set of individuals". 1.

Spengler then goes on to use this quotation to develop his own theory of culture-development with particular attention to that of the west :

"This sentence contains the entire morphology of art-history. Styles do not follow one another like waves or pulse beats. It is not the personality or will or brain of the artist that makes the style, but the style that makes the type of the artist...It is, as nature is, an ever new expression of waking man, his alter-ego and mirror-image in the world around. And therefore in the general picture of a culture there can be but one style, the style of the culture.... Gothic and Baroque are simply the youth and age of one and the same vessel of forms, the style of the west as ripening and ripened...The task before art-history is to write the comparative biographies of the great styles, all of which, as organisms of the same genus, possess structurally cognate life histories." 2.

From this preliminary statement Spengler proceeds with the stages of culture-development in the west, characterizing them in this way :

1.2. "(First) the timid, dependent, naked expression of a newly awakened soul still seeking the relation between itself and the world, presented as alien and unfriendly; examples being early Christian catacomb paintings; (second) the February of the arts, a presentiment of coming wealth of forms lies over the landscape...; (third) then follows the joyous mounting into the high Gothic. Being is understood. A sacred form-language has been completely mastered and radiates its glory; (fourth) Spengler, "Decline of the West", pps. 205-6, vol.1.

then fervent youth comes to an end, and contradictions arise: the Renaissance indicates a moment of resistance (in its return to Greek influence); (fifth) the manhood of the style-history: the culture is changing into the intellectuality of the great cities that will now dominate the countryside; the style is becoming intellectualized also... The artist appears and plans what formerly grew out of the soil, as at the beginning of Baroque with Michelangelo; (sixth) then comes the gleaming autumn of the style: once more the soul depicts its happiness, this time conscious of self-completion; (seventh) then the style fades out: the form-language of the Dresden Zwinger, honey-combed with intellect, fragile, is followed by the senile classicism of the Empire modes. The end is a sunset reflected in forms revived for a moment by pedant and eclectic: semi-earnestness and doubtful genuineness dominate the world of art. We today are in this condition- playing a tedious game with dead forms, to keep up the illusion of a living art." 3.

While accepting the genuine insight shown by Spengler in his culture-comparisons, it is still possible to quarrel with his thesis. I cannot accept the mystical basis of his thought and language, not his analogy of cultural with animal organisms. I do find the erudite comparisons of culture-patterns very illuminating and suggestive of the more basically effective factors which he neglects. But on the basis of these more finally analytical factors I cannot accept his thesis of the present decline of art.

I think a good case can be presented describing the present as a period of megalopolitan decadence, but I think such a case would be largely one surveying the superstructure of culture, rather than its more fundamental cultural values. The analysis of Marx and Engels shows the dependence of these

3. Spengler, op.cit., pps. 206-7, vol.1.

values on the basic economic aspect of society. I do not think that the acceptance of surface values will hold in the face of this clearly rational, non-mystical light.

I wish to challenge Spengler's analysis however, more on his own ground, as being fallacious historically. I am willing to accept his surprisingly acute intuitive grasp of the slow beginning, gradual development, and slow decline of all separate culture-patterns, including that of the west, but I see at the same time through the course of history a slow growth in the residual accretions of civilization resulting from these. It seems to me, too, that, with the rise of industrialized living, the very changes in method have produced a philosophical change, and that instead of being at the declining end of western culture, we are at the present going through the early mythic stages of a new world culture, with its arts typically expressive of folk-ways shown in the cinema and the radio, and with the period of beginnings gradually being replaced by more conscious individual expression within all the art-forms of this world culture-pattern.

The products of the typical mass-production method of this new world-society can be so distributed to make possible for the first time in the world's history a good life for every member of the community, thus creating an enormous market for the art-products also. The interdependence of trade and communications bring all the parts of that world society so close together, that along with the threat of a war so disastrous as to annihilate all human culture, we can see the hope of a peaceful

and cooperative world cross fertilized in its art-forms by impulses and knowledge from every part of its large society.

I wish to end my survey, in its last chapter, with an examination of the possibilities for the full development of this world culture-pattern, whose most unusual art-form (typical of the methodological changes in economic production) will be the enriched life of man. I would like to attempt an assessment of the possibilities for this full development of the poetic impulse in man under the two ideologies of world importance today : that of Capitalism, and that of Socialism; or more accurately, social patterns of a competitive type, and those of a cooperative type, to see to what extent these provide a matrix in which the fullest philosophical implications of man's creative impulse may be realized.

Chapter Two : The Pre-Period Of Western Culture.

The early pre-period of western culture begins with the arrival of the Greeks from the northern parts of Europe, their settling along the Aegean Sea, and their absorption of an already existent Cretan culture.

Cretan, or Minoan, civilization, as it is usually called, lasted from 3400 B.C. to 1200 B.C. There are three general divisions for this long period, based on archaeological findings: the early Minoan (3400-2100 B.C.) which began with the finding of copper and ended with the introduction of bronze; the middle Minoan period (2100-1600 B.C.) which was a period of enormous artistic production witnessed to by the discoveries among the ruins of Knossos - delicate Kamares ware in pottery, modern seeming architecture, a picture-writing of one hundred conventionalized signs left in records of government and business administration; the late Minoan(1600-1200B.C.) which saw the highest point of advance and saw also its incipient stages of decline, brought on partly it is thought by the unwarlike nature of the people who were no match for the invading Greeks.

However, before its decline, the influence of Cretan civilization had spread north into Greece as far as Macedonia. The cities of Myceae and Tiryns were still producing, as late as 900 B.C., art-objects of Cretan inspiration, and were for a long time the centre of a gradually declining Minoan-Mycenean culture.

The earliest Greeks came down into what is now Greece as barbarian conquerors, in what is accepted by many authorities as three distinguishable waves of arrival, first the Ionians, then the Achaeans, and last of all the Dorians. The Ionians, though

conquerors of Crete seem to have adopted its civilization, just as the later conqueror of Greece, Rome, adopted that of the Greeks. But the Ionians were in turn disturbed by the next wave of invasion by the Achaeans, who are known, from Hittite tables found at Boghaz-Keui, to have had a large and closely organized empire in the fourteenth century B.C. The last arriving wave, that of the Dorians, practically wiped out the remnants of Mycenaean civilization, weakened as it already essentially was by the wars between the Ionians and Achaeans.

By 900 B.C. the early Greeks had acquired the alphabet from the Phoenicians with whom they traded, and had reduced to writing their own spoken language. Homer, (d.c.800B.C.) wrote the "Odyssey" and the "Iliad" in this language, telling the legends remaining from the early Mycenaean period, which was already misty for him. The seige of Troy is the story-core of Homer's books, and Troy is known to have been destroyed in 1200 B.C. The epic poetry contained in these books was written for a still fighting aristocracy of Kings, councillors, and fighting-men, as later, in an equivalent period of development England produced "Beowulf", France the "Chanson de Roland", and Germany the "Nibelungenlied".

With Hesiod's poetry (d.c.750-700 B.C.) already a change has taken place. His work, comprising the "Works and Days" and a "Theogony" tells rather of the ordinary life of toil and religious devotion, of the peasant farmers of an agricultural society. In these early stories of Greek mythology can be perceived the essential attitude toward life of the Greek citizen of this coll-

ection of city-states, and of Greek culture in general. Even thus early, they were already accepting their gods as similar to men, not alien beings, only stronger and fairer and braver than men, embodying thus in the honour they paid them what has come to be accepted as the typical attitude of their civilization.

The tribal community whose battles were recorded in Homer's writings was followed by three further stages in the development of the city-state : a period of ascendancy by the nobles, or oligarchy, wherein the kings were deprived of their power; another period of struggle between citizens and nobles during which tyrants rose as champions of the citizens' rights; and a final stage marked by the emergence of a democratic government including all citizens. Sparta and Athens are the two most famous examples of this process of development, and certain curious comparisons can be made between the art-products of the two in terms of the differences known to have existed in their social organizations. The word "Spartan" remaining to us today properly describes the atmosphere of rigorous discipline, which made theirs almost an armed-camp or police-state in form and atmosphere, and left them non-productive in an artistic or philosophic sense.

By 500 B.C. the Athenian city-state had been re-organized by the successive reforms of Draco, Solon, and Cleisthenes, into one in which every citizen had a stake, taking an active interest in all aspects of public life, politics, religion, industry and commerce, science and art. These shared interests gave them

an intense local patriotism, shown in Aeschylus' play "The Persians" where the Greeks exult over the defeat of the huge Persian fleet at Salamis, 480 B.C. , which was made possible by the enthusiastic support given by the members of the city-states.

Five of these city-states were members of the Delian Confederacy along with some islands and Athens itself. For these member states, Attica, Beotia, Thessaly, Argolis, and Achaia, the general charge of foreign or external affairs was borne by Athens, which also gave a fresh impetus to every branch of their community living; the freedom and personal stake in the polis or city-state generated a great Athenian flowering in poetry, education, drama, historical literature, oratory, the plastic arts, science and philosophy.

Succeeding the epic genius of Homer and the homely stories of Hesiod came a new lyric poetry, recited in the homes of the now affluent cities to the accompaniment of the seven-stringed lyre, and taking on many different forms as it was used for different purposes : the elegy or lament, the personal lyric of Sappho of Lesbos, the choral lyric of the Dorians, the drinking songs made famous by Anacreon of Teos....

"When I drink wine
A god doth straight begin
To warm my soul within..."..... and Pindar's odes of

victory celebrating the Olympic games and other contests.

Greek education expressed a characteristic attitude in aiming at the production of intelligent human beings rather than at giving mere vocational preparation for earning a living.

This is evidenced by the careful guidance and planning for the education of the citizens in Plato's description of his ideal "Republic".

The sixth century B.C. also saw the beginnings of Greek drama, with the peasants' songs and processions of leader and chorus, in honour of the god of vegetation and life, Dionysius. These festivals were introduced into Athens under Cleisthenes, and there were given a more formal sequence, gradually developing into the tragic drama of Aeschylus, the first of the great tragic poets, who introduced a second actor in addition to the leader and the chorus. The Greek belief in law and order and the idea of justice permeates his plays. With Sophocles (d.406 B.C.) the introduction of a third actor to support the burden of the play takes place, and he, though still believing in divine order, begins to reject the idea of inexorable fate. His "Oedipus Rex" (or "Tyrannus") is usually accepted as the most perfect of Greek tragedies. Euripides used a less epic style than Aeschylus or Sophocles, and treated his characters as human beings in the chaotic tangles of human emotions, though still using mythological tales as plot or substance. "Medea", "Iphigenia", are still played today, and still meaningful as stories of human emotion, and Euripides' influence through the derivative Roman dramatist, Seneca, reached the Elizabethan theatre.

Comedy developed from the less formal and less inhibited aspect of the Dionysian festivals. Aristophanes (d.ca.385 B.C.) shows his comic vein and sceptical spirit in his satiric plays, "Clouds", "Frogs", "Birds", "Wasps", and in his treatment of the

wars between the different Greek city-states in such plays as "The Acharnians" and "Lysistrata".

The historical writings of Herodotus (d.424-5 B.C.) are rather the record of what happened to interest one bright man than the scientific analysis of current history written by the later Thucydides (d.ca.400 B.C.) in his book "The Peloponnesian War". His account was continued to 362 B.C. by Xenophon in his "Hellenica". Xenophon (d.355 B.C.) also wrote the "Anabasis", telling the story of the march of the 10,000 Greeks who went in 400 B.C with Cyrus the Younger to help him take the Persian throne from his brother; and also the "Memorabilia", in which are contained his reflections and his memories of Socrates.

The inclusion of the whole body of citizens in government made necessary an art of addressing and persuading them on important issues, as exhibited by such famous orators as Pericles, Themistocles, Demosthenes. Demosthenes(d.322 B.C.) was an especially powerful emotional speaker from whose speeches against Philip of Macedon the word 'philippic' has come down to us.

The civic nature of Greek art is admirably demonstrated by their architecture and sculpture which reach their highest expression in the temples, which were the civic as well as religious core of the city life. By a process of creative trial and error they arrived at such ideally harmonious proportions that western architecture is still copying them today instead of attempting their brave labour and producing our own equivalently beautiful and harmonious expression.

The core of the structure of the Greek temple was the cella, a small four-walled room for the statue of the local god, (Artemis for Ephesus, Athena for Athens) and entered from the pronaos or vestibule. The larger temples had columns to support the low-pitched gable roof, and the cella became an inner room hidden by their trunks. Some of the temples had columns only across the front (the prostyle), some across the front and back (the amphiprostyle), and some on all four sides (the peristylar).

It was the entablature of the temple however which gave the greatest chance for variety in the manner of treatment. This was the temple facade composed of the architrave or heavy cross-beams, the decorative band called the frieze, and the moulded cornices. The gable ends of the roof formed a triangle which was called the pediment, and which was used by the great artists of sculpture for enriched decoration.

There are three usually accepted divisions or styles of classifying these temples, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, from their places of origin. In the early Doric which is the simplest the columns are plain heavy shafts rising from the temple base directly, and surmounted by a capital of a rounded band and a square block called the abacus; the original wooden roof construction was perpetuated in stone; that is, stone rafter ends called triglyphs were added, and these and the spaces between called the metopes were conventionalized in treatment, the whole effect being restrained and severe. By the close of the

5th century B.C. the more graceful Ionic was becoming the prevailing style. Ionic columns are usually taller, fluted, and slenderer, and the capitals more elaborate. The capital was composed of a pillow block carved in a double volute, a particularly graceful form. The entablature above is often broken by horizontal lines; the frieze becomes a flat surface devoted to the low reliefs of the sculptor. The Corinthian is an elaboration of the Ionic. The columns are still taller, and more fluted; the modified Ionic capital is more ornately decorated. The principle of entasis was used in all of these forms to curve subtly the vertical lines of the columns and the long straight lines of the bases of the temples, wherever the eye might imagine a sag.

The stiffly archaic sculptural decorations were very gradually beginning to change. By the 5th century B.C. there appeared the first of the great sculptors, Myron of Athens, the creator of the bronze "Discobolus"; among his successors were Polycletus of Argos (the bronze "Doryphorus" or spearbearer), and Phidias, the greatest of them all. They are represented today chiefly by poor contemporary copies of their best work, but still available are some important fragments. Among these is the work of Phidias on the pediments of the Parthenon (representing on the east end the birth of the goddess Athena, and on the west end the struggle of Athena with Poseidon for the possession of Attica) and his enormous frieze around the cella, 522 feet long, showing the Panathenaic festival and including over 300 figures, some of which were doubtless executed under his supervision.

After Phidias, Praxiteles is the accepted model of Greek excellence in sculpture. His "Hermes" unearthed at Olympia in 1877 is mutilated but the head, trunk, and thighs are intact and show his masterly ability.

Greek painting has suffered even more than Greek sculpture from the passage of time, and is known today chiefly through the vase paintings, which were presumably done rather by craftsmen than the great artists of the medium such as Polygnotus, Apollonius of Athens, Zeuxis, and Parrhesius.

The Periclean age brought enormous developments in technical ability and virtuosity of expression in all branches of artistic-civil activity. The building of the Parthenon, a peristylar Doric temple 101 ft. by 228 ft. built by Ictinius and Callicrates, the adornment of the whole Acropolis with the sculpture of such artists as Phidias, the drama of Sophocles and Euripides, the historical analyses of Thucydides, all express the great period of Athenian economic and political development.

In Philosophy the Greeks began by analysing reality and the nature of reality without recourse to revelation as explanation, their first major question being about the substance of the world, in which they posited different theories : Thales stating the prime substance to be water; Heracleitos stressing the flux-like nature of reality; while their second major question was that of order, or causality, first stated by Anaximander. Of this idea Russell says :

"There is a kind of necessity or natural law which perpetually redresses the balance; where there has been fire for example, there are ashes, which are earth. This con-

ception of justice - of not overstepping eternally fixed bounds - was one of the most profound of Greek beliefs. The gods were subject to justice just as much as men were, but this supreme power was not itself personal, and was not a supreme god." 4.

The rich flowering of the Periclean period saw, in Philosophy, the questioning spirit of Socrates, whose disciple was Plato. But the Athenians eagerly received also teachers from outside their city; indeed in Plato's dialogue, "Protagoras", Socrates wittily satirizes the eagerness of the young disciples listening so ardently to the visiting Sophist teacher. Pericles invited as a visitor to Athens the philosopher Anaxagoras from whom Socrates, in the Platonic dialogues, says that he first learned of the pre-eminent importance of mind, (nous), in creation. In the work of Plato, especially in his "Republic", Book Ten, the place of art in relation to the state was stated in one of its still existing forms - the usefulness of art as propaganda for a certain type of social order, and for the education and guidance of the desired type of citizen. Whereas Aristotle, in his "Poetics", concentrated rather on the craft aspect of 'making' in art. He uses as his fundamental premise that all art is imitative in character, the imitation being based in physiologic rhythms, and on what he thought of as an 'instinct' for imitation in man.

Russell sums up Greek achievement of genius in these words : "What they achieved in art and literature is familiar to everybody, but what they did in the purely intellectual realms is even more exceptional. They invented mathematics, and science, and philosophy; they first wrote history as opposed to mere annals; they speculated freely about the nature of the world and the ends of life, with-

4. Russell, Bertrand: "A History of Western Philosophy", New York, Simon & Schuster, 1945; pps. 24, 27.

out being bound in the fetters of any orthodoxy... Arithmetic and some Geometry existed among the Egyptians and Babylonians, but mainly in the form of rules of thumb. Deductive reasoning from general premisses was a Greek invention... They had a maxim, 'nothing too much', but they were in fact excessive in everything - in pure thought, in poetry, in religion, and in sin. It was the combination of passion and intellect that made them great. Neither alone would have transformed the world for all future time as they transformed it. Their prototype in mythology is not Olympian Zeus, but Prometheus, who brought fire from heaven and was rewarded with eternal torment.

If taken of the Greeks as a whole, however, what has just been said would be as one-sided as the view that the Greeks were characterized by 'serenity'. There were in fact two tendencies in Greece, one passionate, religious, mystical, other-worldly; the other cheerful, empirical, rationalistic, and interested in acquiring knowledge of a diversity of facts. " 5.

Hellenistic civilization begins when the great period of Greek philosophy and art had begun to peter out, when the Greek plastic arts had slowly developed into the richness of Phidias and then begun to deteriorate into the over-decorative, exemplified in this new period by the sculpture group, "Laocoon".

Hellenistic art and civilization in general really begins with the conquests of Alexander of Macedon, who subjected the states neighboring, and it extends to the time when these territories and all his empire were absorbed by the Roman Empire, 146, B.C.

The free democratic life of the city-state was over, even during the time when Plato and Aristotle were analysing its structure and value. Replaced by the empire of Alexander the emphasis of values shifted from the participation in the life of the polis, to the more individual value of the Stoic

5. Russell, op. cit., pps. 3, 21.

and Epicurean philosophy, retiring as they were from the hurly-burly of civic life to the "ivory tower" attitude noticeable at other similar periods in the development of other cultures.

However, during this period, one positive result was that of the spread of the already existing Greek culture far beyond the few city-states of the Greek peninsula as far as Asia Minor, the Tigris-Euphrates valley, Egypt, and finally to the new state of Rome then rising in the west. This spread forms a link between the classical culture of Greece and Rome.

This was a period of development in mathematics and mechanics rather than in 'art', producing as it did Euclid's thirteen books of "Elements", Apollonius of Perga's work on conic sections, and the work of Archimedes of Syracuse who demonstrated the laws governing the action of the lever and discovered, what came to be known, in hydrostatics, as the "Archimedean principle", that a solid body immersed in a fluid becomes lighter in proportion to the weight it displaces in the water.

The arts in the Hellenistic period had very different points of emphasis to that of the earlier and richer period of Greek art. They were more exaggeratedly decorative in conception and execution, as is shown in the previously mentioned "Laocoon" group, as in the Colossus of Rhodes, the Nike of Samothrace, the Venus of Milo, and in the Pergamene groups, "Dying Gaul" and "Gaul Slaying Wife and Self", commemorating the invasion of Thrace and Asia Minor by the Gauls, 279-8 B.C., when they were defeated by King Atalus of Pergamum.

Other Pergamene art^{is} shown in the remains of the temple at

Pergamum, excavated in 1878 & 86 and now in the Berlin Museum, and in their over-life-sized figures which influenced the sculptors of Rhodes.

Hellenistic architects used the true arch (with key-stone) and spread abroad over the then known world the charming Greek private dwellings which they copied, using their central court open to the sky surrounded by a colonnaded porch from which rooms opened. The new cities of the time were adorned with costly temples, baths, and libraries like the one at Alexandria, and theatres in which were performed the comedies of Menander, a writer who influenced the later Romans, Terrence and Plautus. Menander loved , and wrote about, the life of the Hellenistic city for its sophisticated inhabitants, while Theocritus wrote, for those who were bored with this, a new pastoral poetry, and the historian Polybius of Megalopolis wrote the "Histories", tracing the story of the Roman conquest from the Carthaginian war to the fall of Corinth in 146 B.C.

As we turn to the final phase of classical culture , with the period of Roman dominance, we can bear in mind what has been said of it by Jose Ortega y Gasset..."The Romans are the only people whose entire scroll of life can be unrolled before our eyes. With others the picture is fragmentary. Either we cannot see them born, or we have not seen them die..."

It is true of Roman civilization that we know its roots in Greece, and in Hellenistic transitional culture, that we have full records in familiar Latin of their active contributions to law and administration and language, and that we have records of

the processes accompanying their disintegration. From this documented history of their decadence we can therefore make certain deductions about our own somewhat similar period, with a dying and a beginning culture inextricably joined; and certain conclusions supporting my thesis will be made as we go on.

How Rome subjected the various peoples settled in the Italian peninsula - Italians, Carthaginians, Etruscans, Greeks, Celts - and appropriated their civilization, intensifying and extending it, becoming the centre of a wide cultural diffusion the influence of which has left traces to this day, is one of the great stories of history.

Having appropriated the Italian peninsula, destroyed Carthage in the Carthaginian wars, and turned to the east, Rome proceeded to slowly absorb it within the boundaries of a mighty empire : Corinth (146 B.C.), Greece itself, Macedonia, Pergamum, Syria, and finally Egypt (30 B.C.). In the north Gaul was conquered by Julius Caesar (58-49 B.C.), gaining as far north as Britain (56-55 B.C.).

Roman literature , like Roman culture generally, began with borrowings from the Greek, but had produced by the time of Plautus (d.184 B.C.) and Terence (d.159 B.C.) comedies of native ability which centuries later influenced Shakespeare, Moliere, and the *commedia dell' arte*, the popular comedy of the Italian Renaissance, though even before this the Saxon nun, Roswitha, (10th century A.D.) had imitated Terence in pious plays omitting anything of his style considered improper for her purpose which was didactic.

After the Punic wars , the basic small-farmer society of Rome was radically changed. The markets were drugged with cheap slave labour , captives of the many Roman victories, and unemployment of the poorer classes of citizens led to great social disturbances in the city of Rome where they flocked to see the "circuses" and to get the dole of grain which the state was forced to give them to prevent revolution. Some of the plebians became wealthy from the effects of increasing population and commerce and they resented the exclusiveness of the ruling patricians, and often provided leadership for their fellow plebs. The Senators of Rome gradually yielded power to them in the form of tribunes who were elected to represent the interest of the plebs. The senators could not then overrule these tribunes who had the power to veto the action of the consuls, and even to kill a magistrate who refused to take notice of their veto.

The Roman federation of city-states functioned peacefully on a principle of unity in diversity, with the allied states retaining their local administrative control and Rome assuming responsibility for matters of military policy affecting the whole.

But the conquest of extra territory in war poured plunder into Rome which under mined the moral fibre of the governing class, while the influx of gangs of slaves to work the great plantations, called latifundia, as has been noted ruined the free farmers on small holdings who could not compete against such monopolistic concerns.

The conflict between the "unemployed" who drifted into the city, and the senators who profited from these abuses, resulted in civil war. Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Caesar, were popular figures who, backed by the mob, demanded reforms. For the last hundred years B.C. there was continual strife between these rival opportunists whose ruthless ambitions ruined the welfare of the republic, while in themselves they expressed the change in values of the society which produced them.

The new Roman Empire established by the last of these, Augustus, by 27 B.C. had set up conditions of stability and peace which became known as the "pax Romana", lasting for two centuries and leading to enormous industrial and commercial activity, which in turn extended knowledge of the inhabited world.

The major philosophical positions of the Romans were those of the last Greek schools, Epicureanism and Stoicism. The first appealed to the sophisticated younger Romans, who accepted the freedom from fixed values which it gave them, based it was on the Atomism of Democritus which considered life but an accidental combination of atoms, permitting no permanent values of the Good as taught by the Platonic theory of eternally existing Ideas. Lucretius expressed this point of view in his "On the Nature of Things".

Opposed to this and accepted by the more serious typical spirit of Rome was Stoicism, whose essential idea of the equality of man is shown by the varying exponents who accepted it and taught its doctrines, Epictetus, a slave at one time, and Marcus Aurelius, Emperor of Rome.

Seneca stated its fundamentally moderate position in his "On the Brevity of Life", "On Anger", and "On Clemency", and in his plays, such as his "Medea", one of nine tragedies written in imitation of Euripides, whose later influence on the plays of the Italian Renaissance, and especially on the French Classicism of the time of Louis XIV, was important.

However the philosophical idea for which this late classical period is most famous is that of Neoplatonism, expressed most fully by Plotinus in his "Enneads" or "Nine Parts" which was published by Porphyry(d.304). This accepted the dichotomy implicit in Plato's "Theory of Ideas", and suggested two poles, one representing the "one" or God, and the other representing that of Matter, and lying between these extremes all things including man, whose soul partakes of the immaterial quality of God but whose body is material and gross. Their solution of this dualism was an ethical one, that man should turn his back on the material part of himself, subjecting and denying it, and turn towards the immaterial or God.

This was the most developed mysticism yet appearing in the west, and has had an incalculable effect on most subsequent religious and philosophical thinking. It was the medium from which sprang the medieval doctrine of the salvation of the soul through the mortification of the body. From it also came ideas current in the Middle Ages of the mystic vision, or ladder of perfection.

The literature of Rome is an eclectic one, deriving not only its matter from Greece but also many of its stylistic devices. Cicero is the most typical of their early writers,

displays the eloquence of oratory which was considered by them as by the Greeks one of the civic necessities. His most famous works are "Orations Against Catiline", "On the Orator where he discusses educational theory;" "On the State" and "On the Laws" in which he states his political philosophy; "On Old Age" and "On the Nature of the Gods" which contains his conception of Stoic ideas; and his "Letters" which treat of the affairs of an intelligent well-educated Roman of the last century B.C.

The most famous Roman poet is Virgil, whose exquisite mastery of his own language can conceal his intellectual indebtedness to the Greeks more readily than more obviously derivative writers. His best known work, "The Aeneid", which tells of the descent of Rome from the Trojan hero Aeneas, is familiar throughout European education in which it has long been used to inculcate the patriotic ideals of loyalty and courage. His "Eclogues" or pastoral poems are inspired by the pastoral poetry of Theocritus, and the "Georgics" tell in poetic vein of the realities of farm life.

Ovid(d. A.D. 17), though writing at about the same time as Virgil(d. 19 B.C.) shows in his work rather a picture of the lax morality and lack of purpose of sophisticated urban Roman society, than the virtues of a landed aristocracy living in separate small communities, and possessing a compact family life ruled over by the "paterfamilias".

Ovid's "Ars Amatoris" and "Metamorphoses" have exerted an enormous influence on the literature of Europe. The "Art of Love" though written in a cynical spirit to satirize the subject by giving it a pseudo-scientific treatment, was used seriously by

the writers of the medieval courtly romances, and his "Metamorphoses", telling the stories of the classical mythology, has been a source for Dante, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and many other artists and his mastery of style continues to please.

The historical writings of the Romans has been useful in bridging the gap between the late Hellenistic period and their own. Pliny the Elder, in his "Natural Histories" covers most of the field of extant knowledge; Pliny the Younger (d.114), a writer of considerably less intellectual content and extent, tells amusingly about the happenings of his day, one of the most interesting to us being his description of the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D.79 which destroyed Pompeii; Plutarch (d.120) in his "Parallel Lives" relates the major biographical events of 23 Greek and 23 Roman nobles and notables, and this has served since as a source for dramatic presentations of those characters by such writers as Shakespeare in his "Coriolanus", "Julius Caesar" and "Antony and Cleopatra"; Julius Caesar himself wrote an historical account of his "Gallic Wars" in order to justify himself and his actions in his campaigns; Livy glorified Rome in his "History of Rome from the Founding of the City", whereas Tacitus in his "Annals" (which begin with the principate of Augustus) and his "Histories" (which begin with A.D.68) shows the corruption of Roman society, and in his "Germania" describes the tribes of Germany, and in his "Agricola" recounts the exploits of his father-in-law who conquered Britain; this emphasis on morals was not as sternly followed by Suetonius in his "Lives of the Twelve Caesars" (from Julius Caesar to Domitian), who found a later imitator in the monk Eginhard of the 9th century, writing a "Life of Charlemagne".

More interested in satirizing the follies of Roman society than in recording their exploits were : Juvenal(d.135), exceptionally bitter in his ruthless delineations of the luxurious living of the upper classes, especially so in his satire on women; and Martial (d.104) whose writings may have inspired the lampoons of the Italian Renaissance; and Lucian of Samosate, whose "Dialogue of the Dead" and "Alexander the False Prophet" inspired or at least exerted some influence on the work of Erasmus, Voltaire and Swift

The ideal of Roman education has given us a word describing our own ideal of "humanism", since they attempted to make civilized men out of their young men, indicating this change by the name "humanus" given to the adult, and by the name "humanitas" given to the type of education.

However, the typical manifestation of Roman genius was rather that of engineering and legal construction. Their architectural preferences were for an ornate version of the late Corinthian style, which is shown in the Flavian Amphitheatre, called the Colosseum, built to hold 50,000 spectators, and in the Pantheon, built in the first century A.D. so well that in the 1800 years following it has required very few repairs. The arch of triumph built to honour some returning hero is another very Roman form, for example, the Arch of Constantine.

Their sculpture consisted in making copies of Greek masterpieces, and it was these later discovered copies which influenced the sculptors of the Renaissance. The Romans left also a fine collection of portrait busts, from which some idea of the virtues they prized can be understood, as they were chiefly inspired by reverence for their forefathers.

Almost the only remaining examples of Roman painting are those discovered on the walls of Pompeii, which are similar in technique to the frescoes of the Renaissance painters of frescoes but there are many examples of the mosaic patterns with which they adorned their walls and floors.

Their engineering abilities took a more original form, which is shown in their buildings, and in bridges like the one still standing over the Tagus river at Alcantara in Spain, 150 feet high; in the aqueducts like that at Nimes in southern France where there are three arcades to carry a current of water at a height of 160 feet ; and in the building of their roads, examples still remaining in the Appian Way and the Sacred Way into Rome. These roads are made of several layers of stone and concrete, and surfaced with stones which are so well set, so well hewn and fitted together that wagons rolling over them hardly rattle.

In legal structure the Romans built as enduringly for posterity as in their roads. Theodosius II, in 438, codified the laws of the previous Christian emperors, and Justinian I, the Byzantine Emperor from 427-565, set down in logical form the whole body of Roman legal principle.

In sanitation and hospital care for their great armies Rome also made important contributions to human knowledge. The houses of Rome were provided with water from a central distributing centre, and of their sewage systems the most famous is the Cloaca Maxima. Celsus wrote his "On Medicine", and Galen (d.199) was very influential. He continued the idea taken from the Greeks

of the four humours, assigning to them these qualities and elements...

<u>Qualities</u>	<u>Elements</u>	<u>Humours</u>
Hot and wet	Air	Yellow Bile
Hot and dry	Fire	Blood
Cold and dry	Earth	Black Bile
Cold and wet	Water	Phlegm

which divisions later recur in medieval medicine and letters.

Medical knowledge from this time on began to shrink in its attention to actual anatomical studies and to expand its non-scientific aspects in attention to astrology and alchemy, with men dabbling in ideas of magic rather than in those of precise knowledge. The study of the Zodiac was supposed to reveal the stars' influence on human destiny, and the signs of the Zodiac were taken as exerting influence over different parts of the human body... Aries on the head, Taurus on the neck, Gemini on the shoulders and arms, Cancer on the breast, Leo on the flanks, Virgo on the bladder, Libra on the buttocks, Scorpio on the genitals, Sagittarius on the thighs, Aquarius on the limbs, and Pisces on the feet.

which also later influenced medieval thought.

Rome's chief personal contribution then to residual civilization was in her engineering triumphs, in her codified law, bequeathed in her universally used language, Latin, and in her spreading abroad the culture of Greece.

With the first century A.D. of the Christian era, population figures in Italy began to decline, and the strict home life and genius of the family of the early Romans disintegrated. Ovidian satire graphically shows this at the beginning of the century in his picture of the laxity of the traditional values. In political structure also there were changes. And economically

there appeared a form of monopoly landlordism, and control became more and more concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer large landowners, which was coupled with an increasingly crushing system of taxation which drove out the small landlord. The Pax Romana dissolved and the civil wars (235-285) proved disastrous, imposing as they did 26 emperors in 50 years. This confusion was aggravated by the plague, coming from Asia in 252 and decimating the population of the empire in the following fifteen years. The Diocletian reforms (284-305) staved off the complete disorganization of the empire for a while, but his idea of separating it in two, with two complete sets of officials, proved ruinously expensive. By 400 the State attempted to impress a permanent mold on its society in the hope of retaining stability by means of keeping all positions hereditary: colons were bound to the soil; curials, the municipal aristocracy, were forbidden to shirk their duties; and crafts were kept as hereditary occupations, no craftsman being permitted to leave his job; this final attempt at rigidifying social structure in the face of imminent social change is reminiscent of the fascist experiments we have been witnessing in Europe in the last 25 years.

But the government was unable to create the prosperity which alone would have ensured some measure of success to this idea, and it gradually disappeared everywhere - curials did refuse their appointed duties, colons did run away, and the state was not able to stop them. Civic life became paralysed, and the barbarian invasions met little resistance from the once mighty but now decadent Rome.

Early Christian art which partly overlaps this period of Roman decline was used to express a strictly monotheistic religion, denying the many gods and liberal attitudes of the classical culture of Greece and Rome.

Christianity took over some aspects of Neoplatonist theory and renounced the things of this life as valueless in terms of eternity, and in spite of persecution their numbers grew, since they regarded martyrdom as the supreme honour proving their faith, an attitude familiar to us today in the many martyrs to social theory who sacrificed their lives in the face of as severe persecution.

With the legalizing of Christianity by Constantine's Edict of Milan in 313 begins what can be called typical early Christian architecture. During the period of persecution distinctive Christian art was known however. The catacombs of Rome are important survivals of this phase of development, containing allegorical drawings from the old testament as wall decorations, and of 'orantes' or 'prayers'. The earliest form of above-ground Christian architecture was based on that of the Roman law-courts and the christian churches built at this period are called 'basilicas'. They had rectangular floor plans divided into three aisles each separated by a row of columns; at the end of the central aisle (called the 'nave') was a semi-circular 'apse'. The roof over the nave was higher than that over the side aisles, and in front of the church was an 'atrium', open in the centre and surrounded by a roofed colonnade. Churches of this type built in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries are still standing near

Rome, examples being those of St. Paul, Santa Maria Maggiore, St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, and San Clemente.

The Romanesque churches appearing soon in the early Middle Ages are very like these basilicas, and the later appearing Gothic (after 1200) are modifications of its typical style, another point in my complaint against Spengler's thesis of the exclusiveness of different cultures, and for my thesis that art residues from one period affect artists of other periods.

In 325 Constantine convoked the Council of Nicaea to purify the official doctrines of the Church, for there had appeared a form called Arianism, which threatened the supernatural basis of Christainity by asserting that Jesus was less than God though more than man, whereas the official position was that Jesus was coeternal with God and at the same time true man. The Nicene Creed was formulated and the Council upheld the orthodox view.

The Christian ideal led to certain fanatic rigours of asceticism in the lives of such hermits as St. Anthony of Egypt (d. 356) differing from those later monks who like St. Pachomius (d. 346) had organized a common rule whereby each hermit retained a separate cell but joined in common work, devotions, and reading of the gospel. St. Basil's Rule (d. 379) later brought together in this community life men of similar religious tendencies, wherein they worshipped, contemplated, read, and laboured in a prescribed manner. This was a fortunate development of the more individualistic tendency of the hermit, since the new monasteries where the religious communities lived became centres of learning and exerted an important conserving effect on medieval culture.

The early church writings, known as 'patristic' from the appellations given their authors, the 'apostolic fathers' and the 'church fathers', also exerted a directive influence on medieval, and through them, on modern ways of thinking.

Bishop Eusebius (d.339) gave the historical bases of the Church from its beginnings in the time of Jesus to his own day. Ambrose (d.297), an ecclesiastical executive, also introduced the liturgical hymn into the western church. Jerome (d.420) translated the Old and New Testaments from the original Hebrew into the Latin of the 4th century known as the Vulgate, and his version was that used throughout the Middle Ages. St. Augustine of Hippo (d.430) was a very influential writer. In his "Confessions" he wrote one of the first important autobiographies, telling descriptive incidents from his early life of dissolute behavior and disbelief in candid confession. His analysis of secular and spiritual matters in his "Civitate Dei" was important in setting the official church opinion on such matters. The works of all these church fathers was later used by Thomas Aquinas in his vast religious synthesis.

With the appearance of the barbarian tribes as important elements of European history we are nearing the emergence of western culture proper.

In the second century A.D. the Goths, and east German tribe, moved southward to the plains of fertile southern Russia where they learnt to read and write, borrowing the alphabet from the Greek and Roman settlements along the shores of the Black Sea, and passing it on gradually to the other Germanic tribes,

even as far as Scandinavia, employing inscriptions of the type known as 'runic' which date back to the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. The Goths were also converted to the Arian form of Christianity by Bishop Ulfilas (d.381) who had been educated in Constantinople. The Bible was translated into Gothic, the earliest extant monument of literature in any Germanic language, and Arianism spread to the other German tribes living along the Danube frontier of the Roman Empire: the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, Vandals, Suevians, Alamanni, and Lombards, so that many of these were Arian Christians before moving into the Roman Empire.

This move within the borders of the Empire was at first a gradual one, many individuals from the border tribes having been to Rome as hostages, visitors, or traders, and returning told of it in such attractive terms that it is felt by some historians that these tales were a convincing factor in the move within the borders. The Germanic tribes moved south it is believed partly because of the pressure of the nomadic Huns from the rear, partly because of the famine and flood conditions - and partly because of this attraction toward the richer life of Classic culture.

Inevitably in their encroaching movement the barbarians destroyed much that was valuable in this life that had attracted them, but it should be remembered that they also absorbed much, in the elements of law, and language. However in the 'dark ages' following these disruptive moves, in the period of medieval history preceding the 11th century, the city of Byzantium was to play the part formerly performed by Athens and Rome.

Byzantine literature was more influenced by that of Greece than by that of Rome; indeed so far influenced that a poet, Constantine criticizing his master, Leo the Philosopher, Archbishop of Thessalonica, wrote of the pagan gods of the Greeks as 'soul-devouring beasts' and condemning Greek literature because of this influence...

"Foul fare they, who the gods adore
Worshipped by Grecian folk of yore -
Amorous gods to passions prone,
Gods as adulterers well-known,
Gods who were lame, and gods who felt
The wound that some mean mortal dealt;
And goddesses, a crowd obscene,
Among them many a harlot queen;
Some wedded clownish herds, I trow,
Some squinted hideously enow...." 6.

In medicine the Byzantine doctors though occasionally using charms, carried on to some extent in the spirit of Galen, with Alexander of Tralles (525-605) making original observations on the diseases of dysentery, gout, biliousness and insanity, and Paul of Aegina (625-690) in his "Epitome" reviewing medical knowledge of his day, in pediatrics and obstetrics, in removing infected tonsils and breasts, and in operations for stone. Also the public health administration of towns was helped by the knowledge achieved by the Byzantine doctors in quarantining and and controlling contagious diseases like smallpox and diphtheria.

In architecture the Byzantine form is a modification of the cruciform basilicas of the western church, using the Greek cross, with gigantic domes surmounting them. This form spread from them to the Russian churches, and to the Arab mosques. The desire for ornate magnificence discernible in the most typical of the buildings of Rome is everywhere visible also in the By-

zantesque architecture... "Everywhere in it we find that love of stupendous luxury and of prodigious splendour which Byzantium displayed at every period of her history. In the decoration of the churches and the palaces it is always the same story - precious marbles, glittering mosaics, magnificent work in gold and silver, and wonderful hangings, all intended to enhance the beauty of the rites of religion, and the majesty of the imperial person; in public and private life nothing but sumptuous tissues shot with purple and gold, fine carved ivories, bronzes inlaid with silver, richly illuminated manuscripts, enamels, cloisonne in resplendent colours, gold and silver plate, and costly jewels. Whether, by decorating the walls of churches with the pageant of sacred history skillfully disposed, this art was intent on glorifying god, on expressing an article of faith, on interpreting the liturgical rites, or whether, to glorify the majesty of the sovereign, and to give pleasure to the court and the grandees, it was depicting in a more profane spirit subjects borrowed from classical history or mythology,

picturesque scenes dear to Hellenistic art, as well as historical paintings, representing the imperial victories, and portraits of the princes in their glory, everywhere we find that love of magnificence which even today makes us visualize Byzantium in a jewelled iridescence, in a shimmer of gold."

7.

This artistic activity of Byzantium is a hybrid one, with elements from Greece, Rome and the Mohammedan East; its culture is an urban one, alive with commercial, industrial, and administrative activity, and with the arts used as the embroidery appropriate to imperial magnificence.

Medieval civilization draws on this Byzantesque reservoir as it does on Greek, Roman, and Arab sources, which are more or less enfeoffed and become part of the life of the Celtic, Germanic, Slavic and other nomadic populations of Europe.

The predominant civilizing idea of the church, which encouraged a special attitude toward life was everywhere in Europe infused with the remnants of pagan practices, evidence of which is found in the ordeals by fire and water left from the days of King Athelstan in England for attesting innocence of the accused.

7. Diehl, Charles : "The Cambridge Medieval History", Macmillans, N.Y., vol.4, p.767.

A more intellectual acceptance of the ideals of Christianity is shown in this account , from Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation", of the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria in 627... "The present life of man, O King, seems to me , in comparison with that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of the sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storm of rain and snow prevail abroad : the sparrow , I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out another, whilst he is within, is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes from your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears to me, , but for a short space, but what went before, or of what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed."

8.

Christianity spread rapidly throughout the kingdoms of Europe, Russia on the east being almost completely Christian by 1000, leaving only the Finn and Lithuanian groups in an untouched pagan state.

One of the agencies of this transforming process was that of the monastic orders whose origins were described before. The Irish Christians were organized into monastic orders which sent teachers to Iona off the coast of Scotland to convert the Scottish and the northern English, and then, in the early 7th century, to convert the still pagan tribes of Germans in the Rhine valley. St. Benedict established his first monastery at Montecassino in 528, his Rule stressing the order of living, his object being to help monks who wished to live a systematically simple life, in religious circles.

The Church acted , as has been noted, as a conserving agency for culture in these dark days of disorganization before 8. Bede, op. cit., Everymans, London, pps. 35-36.

medieval civilization became clearly articulated. Their churchmen depended on the classics of Greece and Rome not only for learning their basic reading and writing from them, but also to derive fundamental attitudes to life therefrom. One of their number, St. Jerome, tells how, when he was once very sick, he had a vision... "Suddenly I was caught up in the spirit and dragged before the Judge's seat : and here the light was so dazzling and the brightness shining from those who stood around so radiant, that I flung myself upon the ground and I did not dare to look up. I was asked to state my condition and replied that I was a Christian. But He who presided said : "Thou liest; thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian. For where thy treasure is there will thy heart be also. "

Boethius (d.526), who is frequently read as an authority by later Churchmen, was a Roman scholar who lived at the court of the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric (d.532) and was later executed by the king on suspicion. Boethius was a well-educated man whose work of translating Greek classics into Latin made these available when the use of Greek was lost. His translations include Aristotle's "Categories" and "De Interpretatione", and his own original work included treatises on Arithmetic and music, one of which was later translated into English by Chaucer, and his widely read "Consolation of Philosophy". There is no evidence that he was a Christian.

Isidore of Seville (d.636), is another of the great figures of the early Middle Ages. He wrote an enormous encyclopedia called the "Etymologies", which included work on the seven liberal arts : grammar, rhetoric, and logic (trivium), geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music (quadrivium); as well as material on medicine, law, and theology. He believed that things could

be explained simply by the etymology of their names.

Around the Carolingian court, as in the monasteries, gathered men of letters. Included among these are the monk, Eginhard whose biography of Charlemagne has already been referred to, the teacher, Alcuin, who brought from England (where at this time York was the leading school of the Christian world) the handwriting which the English had improved by borrowing from Irish manuscript. This form is today called the Carolingian miniscule and was the predecessor of the type of medieval handwriting appearing at the end of the Middle Ages.

The typical literature of the period is that of the "hagiography" or saints' lives, some of which were written by Gregory the Great, pope from 590-604, in his "Dialogues" which he wrote to instruct and amuse the laity. His "Magna Moralia" was the fundamental work on theology studied throughout the period.

The Bayeux Tapestry which dates from 1120 shows the dawning feudal society of this earlier period. It is 231 feet long and 20 inches wide and typically in a fighting feudal society shows the Norman conquest of England. This early Medieval society is one of beginnings, or even of pre-beginnings, since Western Culture properly begins with the late Romanesque and Gothic. The life of this time with its three-fold estate-mold of nobility, clergy, and peasantry, organized into great manors modeled on latifundia of the last period of Roman great land-holdings, was one of too great insecurity, with too little contact of intellectual currents of one place with those of another, to allow of any polished or complete art-forms.

In literature it was rather a period of legend, equivalent culturally to that which is described in the Homeric epics. In the north there were the Arthurian legends, the early Viking Eddas, the stories of the German Valhalla in the Niebelungenlied, and the Finnish Lalvala. These all formed a matrix from which later and more intellectually developed arts were to draw source material. We see, at this time, what Spengler describes as "A crowd of 'art-makers' who all dance or mime or sing....it is only the higher art that becomes decisively an art 'before spectators' ".

Chapter Three : Western Culture and Civilization, Twelfth
Century to the Present.

One link between the Dark and Middle Ages was made by the Schoolmen, teachers who taught in the monastery and Cathedral schools. Of these the most famous early teachers were : Johannes Scotus, called Erigena because of his Irish origin, a man of powerful and original intellectual gifts, whose use of the Neoplatonist ideas shows the continuity of early philosophic thought. He died between 867 and 891. The famous Gerbert of Aurillac was born near the middle of the next century, visited Spain later in life and became steeped in the Arabic science still available there, wrote of its accumulation and was the first Christian writer to describe the arabic numerals. In 999 he became Pope Sylvester III and acted as a focus of encouragement for learning until his death in 1003. Intellectual and artistic stimulus was given also by the three Saxon Ottos, Otto I, who ruled from 936-973 and took over the idea if not the scope of Charlemagne's empire and undertook also to revive the Carolingian tradition of learned councillors; Otto II, 973-983; and Otto III, 983-1002, whose Empress Theophane was the daughter of the Byzantine emperor Romanus II, and brought with her Greek artists and workmen.

Gerard of Cremona (d.1187) was the translator of Aristotle's "Organon", and of the widely influential "Almagest" of Ptolemy. His English contemporary, Adelard of Bath, in 1116 translated the works of Euclid from the Arabic. John of Salisbury, d.1180 was one of the most elegant of the Latinist scholars produced by the cathedral school of Chartres, while St. Anselm, d.1107, was a Platonist who derived his platonism from Augustine of Hippo and

Boethius, and gave ontological proofs of the existence of God based on the Platonic Ideas in his "Monologium" and "Proslogium". One of the points on which the Schoolmen fought most bitterly was that of Universals. Abelard of Paris held to the theory that Universals exist only in the mind, the only external reality being that of things. This position was known as "Conceptualism", and was combatted by St. Bernard (d. 1153), who follows the platonic theory.

Near the end of the 12th and during the 13th centuries there appeared three intellectual giants : Albertus Magnus , (d. 1280), Thomas Aquinas, (d. 1274) and Roger Bacon (d. 1292). Albert the Great mastered the new Aristotelian learning made available by his predecessors and succeeded in combining it with Christian teaching in a way only exceeded in breadth by his student Aquinas. Albert was not taken in by the folklore of the popular "Beastiaries" of the time, but encouraged critical study of the natural sciences and drew definite boundaries between magic and science, saying : "The aim of the natural sciences is not merely to accept the statements made by others, but to investigate the causes which are at work in nature."

The sources of his student Thomas' work and thought show him to have been the most erudite of the erudite schoolmen. But his erudition was not left to collect dust in separate small cubby-holes in his mind, but was used rather to construct an enormous synthesis, "a severely philosophical and theological interpretation of the universe." 9.

9. T. Gilbey, "Poetic Experience; an introd. to Thomistic Aesthetic" London, Sheed & Ward, 1934.

Thomas had read his Aristotle completely and well. In his commentaries on Aristotle he used the translations from the Greek into Latin of William of Moerbeke rather than the Arabian translations then current. He used the Platonic theory of Ideas as interpreted by Augustine. He knew the philosophy of Boethius, of the contemporary and earlier Arabian and Jewish writers. He knew the scripture by heart. He had read the church fathers. : Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, John Damascene, Pseudo-Dionysius, Hilary of Poitiers, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, St. John Chrysostum, St. Cyril of Alexandria. He knew the earlier scholastics : Anselm of Canterbury, Rupert of Deutz, Bernard of Clairvaux, Gilbert de la Porre, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Joachim of Flora, Abelard, Alain de Lille and Peter the Lombard whose "Four Books of Sentences" collect the opinions of the Church Fathers on Christian teaching. Aquinas constantly quotes his contemporaries of the 13th century as "quidam", a certain one, though not all of these references have been identified. Also he quotes extensively from Horace, Ovid, Caesar, Cicero, Seneca, Terrence, Sallust, Livy, Strabo, and Valerius Maximus.

Thomas' method is sometimes that of the church fathers in his divisions into books and chapters, sometimes that of a sustained reasoning process, and sometimes that rigid mold of the scholastics fashioned chiefly by Alexander Halles, each subject being divided into questions, each question into so many articles; each article begins with a statement of objections, discusses various opinions, establishes the author's position, and closes with a solution of difficulties which that position may en-

counter. 10. For example, the "Summa Theologica" is divided into three parts, 38 treatises, 631 questions, 3000 articles, and 10,000 objections.

In considering Thomas' style, one must, if one knows it best in translation, make allowance for the interpolation of the translator between the reader and the original form of his thought. Thomas Gilbey in his book speaks of the "vastness of conception", "coherence of parts and impregnability of logic", and in Thomas' very words there seems to be a quiet clarity, a reverberation. In the Thomistic synthesis there is certainly a vastness of conception. Of its originality Brennan has this to say... "The fact is that Aquinas took the materials for his system from whatever source he could get them, so far as they lay open to him, and what he constructed was a coherent eclecticism welded into a unity by the pressure throughout its details of a single great ruling principle which he had won by permanent hard thinking, and held with the clearest consciousness of its implications. His title, therefore to originality is a real one." 11.

This single ruling principle Thomas states himself thus: "Nothing may be asserted as true that is opposed to the truth of faith, to revealed dogma. But it is neither permissible to take whatever we hold to be true and present it as an article of faith. For the truth of our faith becomes a matter of ridicule among the infidels, if any Catholic not gifted with the necessary scientific learning, presents as dogma what scientific scrutiny shows to be false." 12.

This gigantic edifice is built on the two-fold conviction that... "Our thought can know and attain being, the realm of the essences, causes, purposes and laws, that lie beyond the world of appearances... a conviction of the reality and knowability of the supersensory orders... and endless horizon of the supernatural, of the Christian mysteries revealed by God, an horizon that is even here on earth opened to man by means of the light of faith", and
13
the second half of this conviction is the objective nature of knowledge, based as it is on the sensory experience of human be-

ings. Thomas himself says... "That of which we are primarily aware is the external object, of which the species is the mental sign. Only secondarily can we speak of the intelligible species as a content of thought, in so far as the mind is reflexly active and contemplates its own activity, and thus also the species, as the principle of this activity". 14.

But though he gives us an objectively real reality as the basis of our conceptual knowledge Aquinas still assumes a subjective character for human thought... "That which we designate by names can be divided into three classes. The

first class comprises those things that are outside the mind in their entire being (e.g. stone, man)...the second class is formed of the things that exist only in our mind, as dreams, images of chimera, etc...To the third class belong those things that have a foundation in the reality outside the mind, but receive their own formal character from the activity of the mind. Such are the general concepts." 15.

Thomas defines being as existing, and affirms the reality of objects in the external world which we know through the operation of the senses and our reason, but the realm of the supernatural is known to us only through revelation and faith. Aquinas upheld the harmony between reason and faith against the Averroistic heresy started by Averroes of Cordova (d.1198) who claimed there could be no personal immortality, as the individual soul was a material thing, and consequently there could only be collective immortality through the continuing race of man as a whole; Averroes held also that there might be 'double truth', whereby a statement could be philosophically true and yet false from the standpoint of faith, or vice versa. Thomas contended that faith which was supra-rational cannot be proved or

disproved by reason, but is true because it comes from the high-

10.E.Pace, "Thomas Aquinas", vol.2 of "Library of World's Best Lit"

11.R.E.Brennan, "General Psych.", N.Y.Macmillans, 1937, pps.13-4.

12.Thomas Aquinas "De Potentia", written 1260-1268.

13.Brennan, op.cit.,

14.Aquinas, "Summa Theologica", I, q.85, a.2.

est truth, God, and is not against reason, since it cannot be false. Gilson characterizes his thought in these words...

"His thought, therefore, does not aim at achieving as economically as possible a superficial harmony wherein the doctrines most easily reconcilable with the traditional teaching of theology may find room, but he insists that Reason should develop its own content in full liberty and should set out its demands in their utmost stringency; the value of his philosophy does not lie in the fact that it is Christian but that it is true..In this lies the whole secret of Thomism, in the immense effort of intellectual honesty to reconstruct philosophy on a plan which exhibits the de facto accord o with theology as the necessary consequence of the demands of Reason itself, and as the accidental result of a mere wish for reconciliation." 16

The third great intellect of the 13th century is that of Roger Bacon who, as Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, attacked the idea of slavish acceptance of authority, which he declared to be a stumbling-block in science, for science can only be attacked profitably from the point of view of induction from observation, which he outlines in his "Opus Majus".

During the next two centuries , the 14th and 15th, the practice of Scholasticism gradually declined, though its intellectual mold was not completely broken then, and was not outgrown until Descartes(1650). With Duns Scotus and William of Ockham we see it beginning to doubt. William accepted the position of Abelard's "Conceptualism" - only individual things (res) exist, and general concepts (universalia) are only formed in the mind and, being subjective phenomena, have no existence out of the mind.

15.Thomas, I Sent. d. 19. q. 5, a. 1.

16.E.Gilson, "The Phil.of St.Thomas Aquinas", quoted in Grabmann's "Thomas Aquinas", pps.89-90.

The idea of immortality was also challenged by Averroes as has been mentioned, and in addition to these doubts there arose a new mystical pantheism which not only saw God in all things, but also averred that God was all things. The German mystics, Meister Eckhart (d.1327) and Thomas a Kempis (d.1471) saw man's supreme happiness in his unification with God, which the latter wrote about glowingly in a book much used by the church, "The Imitation of Christ".

But the drama of salvation of man's immortal soul was the unifying principle visible in all medieval thought. As Thomas Aquinas taught, the truth of religion could not be discredited by the truth of science or philosophy since in everything was visible this unity of purpose, the attainment of truth.

This unity of purpose is the striking trait in all the art-objects left from this period, as it is the most characteristic mental attitude of the writing of the age, and whether with Spengler, you call this principle one of Destiny, or with the more orthodox historians of culture, one of religious unity of purpose, it is the main idea with which one should approach the period from the 12th century onwards, when the disorder of the early feudal period (850-1000) was over, and the growth of population in general, and specifically the growth of urban population, had focussed the discovery of Greek science and philosophy, and the revival of the study of Roman law, on the complete enunciation of a new and different way of thinking and living.

Before going on to talk in detail of the development of

various arts through the stages of western culture to the present, I would like to supply here for reference a chart showing the "sequence of blooming of the main arts in (some) great cultures" taken from Sorokin's "Social Dynamics". The scores will seem arbitrary, as they ignore the parallel development in all the arts in periods of cultural richness. But in a survey of the stages through which the various arts pass from the point of view of content, Sorokin has a more valuable scale of his own, as is exemplified in the later quotation giving his critique of cultural fluctuation of form in music. (Note 18.)

Greece

Music.....750-600 B.C.
Literature.524-450
Architecture,500-430
Sculpture..450-350
Painting...430-350

Rome

Literature...86-25 B.C.
Sculpture....30-69 A.D.
Painting.....50-108
Architecture.60-138
Music.....466-495

Germany

Architecture..1130-1250 A.D.
Sculpture.....1400-1500
Painting.....1491-1559
Music.....1720-1880
Literature....1756-1850

England

Architecture..1272-1377
Literature....1573-1618
Music.....1600-1675
Painting.....1717-1763
Sculpture....1758-1787

Italy

Literature..1290-1333 A.D.
Architecture.1444-1564
Painting.....1472-1548
Music.....1560-1800
Sculpture....1500-1600

France

Architecture..1150-1350
Sculpture....1200-1250
Music.....1652-1700
Painting.....1760-1853
Literature....1779-1895."

17.

"The movement of medieval and modern music can be characterized from the standpoint of forms discussed as follows:

(1) On the highway of the great music, the medieval music during almost nine hundred years (from about the fifth century A.D. to the fourteenth) was either exclusively Ideational, or (from the 12th to the 14th) predominantly so.

(2) The Ideationality of this music was of the purest and most sublime.

17. Sorokin, op.cit., Vol.1 "Fluctuations of Forms of Art", 1937, American Book Co.

(3) Up to the end of the 11th century, Ideational music was almost the only grand music existing; after the end of that century there appeared the first signs of the mixture with Sensate, in the music of the troubadours, trouveres, and minnesanger, and other forms of secular music, which had acquired many traits of the Sensate. After that time, this stream of Sensate music - not without fluctuations - tended to increase, in the form of secular motets, madrigals, and later on, in the 'ars nova', and then in that of the symphonies, operas, musical comedies, and so on. The growing sensitization of music manifested itself in the Sensate musical mentality, in the rapid increase of Sensate music, in its technical forms, in its themes, in the occasions for which it was written, in the social events which it immortalized. In brief, in the inner nature as well as in the external traits.

(4) In contradistinction to some other forms of art, especially painting and sculpture, which attained the marvellous Idealistic phase in the 13 and 14th centuries, music seems to have reached the Idealistic stage somewhat later: around the 16th and 17th, and partly in the 18th (Palestrina, Vittoria, Bach, Handel, Mozart, and Beethoven) when these forms were wonderfully blended in resulted in the miracle of this music.

(5) After the beginning of the 19th C. the Sensate begins to dominate more and more radically. In the music of Wagner and other Romantics, it possibly reached its peak. After that and especially after the end of the 19th C. it began to show all the signs of disorganization, demoralization, and degeneration which has been continuing up to the present time. It witnesses on the one hand an utter degradation, vulgarization, "jazzing", and modernistic-impressionistic musical anarchy and impotency (in spite of the gigantic skill and technical complexity of many modern compositions); and on the other hand, it exhibits the first signs of the efforts to seek new, anti-Sensate forms of music. Thus schematically:

(a) The period from the fifth to the twelfth C. is that of the monopolistic domination of the pure sublime Ideational music; (b) the period from the 12th to the 15th C. is the time of the entrance of Sensate music, but still definitely in the secondary place; (c) the period of the end of the 15th to the beginning of the 19th C. was that of balance, of the Ideational and Sensate music; (d) the 19th C. is the period of decisive domination of Sensate music, and the closer we come to the 20th C. the stronger it becomes; (e) the present age is showing the first symptoms of recession of Sensate music... This reaction against Sensate music is very similar to that against Visualism in painting, sculpture and architecture." 18.

Sorokin goes on to substantiate these statements by considering individual works of musical art within each of these

18. Sorokin, op. cit., pps. 567-569.

periods : (a) Church chants, the Ambrosian, then the Gregorian, then religious hymns and psalmodies. Of these the most widely known today are the Gregorian chants, which consist of about 300 Introits and Communions , one hundred Graduals, one hundred Alleluias, twenty Tracts, and one hundred Offertories, in which we can still hear the church ideal of otherworldliness, in the lack of instrumental or technical adornment.

For (b) Sorokin cites the appearance of the songs of the troubadours and trouveres, and in Germany, of the minnesanger. This music though based on folk legends, is not folk-music, lacking its intellectual simplicity. This music was still highly symbolic but the complex and sensuously pleasing form and the subject of physical and Romantic beauty and love was new and secular, though the musical form employed was still very similar to the Chants , in the Chansons d'histoire, dramatique, de danse; in the reverie, the pastorelle, in the chansons courtoises, and debats.

The ideal of physical love and beauty which entered western art as a major motivating force in art for the first time with the appearance of the Provencal ballads has never since completely left it, and in many modified forms remains as one of the most important motivating forces in art-expression today.

Not only music itself showed this change in emphasis but the theorizers, the writers of musical aesthetics, also indicated this shift. The medieval theoreticians had followed the line of Boethius, whereas those of the next period : Guido d'Arezzo (ca. 1005), Walter Odington of Oxford, Adam de la Halle, (1240-1287) all show the new attention to musical detail of form

, to make it richer and more sensuously pleasing. The technical changes of the shift in emphasis are noted by Sorokin to be :

"After the 13th C. it becomes 'measured', quite a symbolic phenomena in its significance; it developed polyphony; it produced and developed counterpoint, the 15th C. being the 'golden age'; it introduced and cultivated the richest variety of rhythms; then developed harmony and 'vertical' writing instead of horizontal; began artistically to use intensity - piano, forte, etc.; achieved wonderful perfection in the use of chromatics, consonances, dissonances; tended to become more and more expressive; introduced and expanded and perfected instrumental music, and blended it with vocal; enlarged the scale of the choruses as well as that of the orchestra; combined the sound impression with the visual in form, colour, and motion... The trend was general for European culture." 19.

In Sorokin's section (c) secularization had proceeded so far as to be actually affecting church music itself, which was becoming increasingly instrumentally and technically developed, using Sorokin's term, increasingly 'Sensate'. Examples it is possible to list for this are numerous : Johann Sebastian Bach's "Mass", "St. Matthew Passion", "St. John Passion"; Palestrina's "Masses"; Beethoven's "Missa Solemnis", Mozart's "Requiem Mass", Berlioz' "Tuba Mirum". In line with this fact is the other that Bach, Mozart, Handel and Beethoven, to name the greatest, used similar themes and techniques in their religious and secular music. The increasingly ornate and theatrical music of section (d) following on this, is shown in the works of Wagner, especially in the dramatic use he made of the legend of the "Niebelungenlied". In this period developed also what Sorokin calls 'quantitative colossalism', shown in the gradual increase in the size of instrumental groups employed... "From seven singers in the 19. Sorokin, op.cit., pps. 572-3 .

Gregorian chants of the Gregorian 'Schola', from four and twenty for Palestrina's music, from some thirty to sixty instruments in the regular orchestras of Bach and Mozart, the orchestras of the 19th and 20th C. have certainly grown to be colossal". 21. being normally from one hundred to one hundred and twenty in size. This same trend towards extremity in size is matched in one of extremity in the technically complex texture of the music, for example, in Stravinsky's "Sacre du Printemps", in Schoenberg's "Gurrelieder", or Strauss' "Sinfonia Domestica"; and also is matched by the gradually growing complexity and emotionality of the 'plot' material for comic and 'genre' music, in opera and musical comedy, and in the impressionistic music of Debussy. Finally, in the period of today, section (e), there is a rupture with the values of Sensate art in the reaction toward Ideational music of such men as Honegger and other 'Cubists in music'.

A similar development of the other arts, exhibiting these phases of (a) church or religious domination in theme and form; (b) of gradually growing secularization in both; (c) of a harmony established at different times in the different arts between the two forces; and finally, showing the (d) almost completely secular art of the present, will now be undertaken, in the order for each period : Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Literature. It is needless, perhaps, to point out that we do not follow here, exactly, the Sorokin scale of change, and that it is used rather to suggest the whole flow of change through this long period . The changes to be noted in terms other than his will be commented on from time to time, pointing out the interpretation of such change in terms of the point of view this thesis has been attempting to establish.

21. Sorokin, op. cit., pps. 583.

The earliest form of church architecture, borrowing from the Roman basilicas, was called Romanesque, and Churches in this style were constructed between 1000 and 1200 A.D. , among the most famous of which still extant are the Cathedral of Pisa, completed in 1093, and the Abbey Church of Cluny, consecrated in 1131.

The former of these, that at Pisa, displays the typical rectangular form with a nave and double aisles. A flat wooden ceiling covers the nave, but on account of the dangers of fire the aisles are covered only by stone vaulting, and there is a low dome where the nave and transepts meet. The nave is flanked by two rows of 34 columns each, and from these spring round arches constructed on the arc of the half-circle which help bear up the heavy masonry supporting the roof of the central part. A Bell Tower standing slightly behind the church sagged in time and has become known as the 'leaning tower' of Pisa.

The Abbey at Cluny was influential, since the order comprised an extensive group of monasteries, and helped promote cultural activity. The church was large, with the usual nave, double aisles and transepts, with an ambulatory around the choir and apse, and it boasted a spacious atrium. Over its main crossing there was a quadrangular tower.

The use of ribbed vaulting made it possible to rest the heavy roof on certain portions of the walls where there were clusters of columns, and in the later Romanesque churches it was thus possible to discard the tiny slit-like windows, and have wide windows in the clerestory and in the side walls of the aisles.

Gothic architecture derives from this Romanesque style, changing the arch from the arc of the half-circle to the typical pointed one, which enabled architects to lighten the weight of the roof, since on the previous half-circle principle there was a fixed relation always between the height of the roof and the distance between the walls.

The Gothic style also used the ribbed vaulting employed by the late Romanesque, which with the pointed arch and the use of columns permitted the raising of the roof to a very great height increasing the height of the derestory. The use of a group of columns or pilasters to support the roof left the walls available for decorative use in windows of great beauty which flooded the central portion of the church and the nave with light.

There are buildings extant which combine the features of the two periods, for example the Benedictine abbey church of St. Denis north of Paris, which still uses the round arches in the facade. Cathedrals also belong to this transitional period, those at Noyon, Chartres, Senlis being examples, with the transition becoming gradually more completely to Gothic by the year 1200. The dispersion of this type of architecture was facilitated by the fact that many orders of monks had head houses in France and carried the ideas to their local chapters, the Cistercians especially. But in each country the style developed its own unique features, the English having theirs set in lawns, with a spire rising from a central crossing, and massive towers as part of the facade; the Flemish being constructed of brick rather than the usual limestone; the Italian having a superabundance of decoration (ex. the cathedral at Milan); the Spanish producing another

unique variation by merging the Gothic with the local Moorish ; the Germans following the French most closely (ex. the Cathedral at Strasbourg, and the earliest parts of Cologne).

Gothic architecture (so-called because critics preferred the buildings of the Greco-Roman period and wished to disdain the values of what they considered early barbarian or "Gothic" art) is still visible in many fine public buildings : the town hall at Ypres, castles like those at Ghent and Venice, and others scattered over every country of Europe, and in many private dwellings like those lining whole streets of Bruges today.

Gothic as a style is also visible in the decorative sculpture and painting for the buildings of this period.

During the Romanesque period the cathedral decorations in the form of sculptured figures were not lifelike, being done usually without models, from memory or from other examples. But with Gothic, sculpture was used creatively as the principles of architecture had also been. A purely decorative use of naturalistic forms is found in their best work, and though the figures seem rather stiff they were done to stand in niches and to harmonize with the predominantly linear lines of the building. The treatment of the proportions, muscles, and features is given a very lifelike rendition. This treatment influenced the sculpture of Italy, in the work of Niccola and Giovanni Pisano (d1328) who carved panels for the pulpits of the cathedrals of Pisa and Sienna; and in the panels of Giotto for the campanile or bell-tower of the cathedral of Florence, the Church of St. Mary of the Flower; and in the sculpture on the bronze doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni in front of the Cathedral of Florence done by Andrea Pisano.

Painting at this period was also religious in inspiration, the first artists of northern Europe to make any personally noteworthy advance being the Flemish brothers, Jan and Hubertus van Eyck (d. ca. 1440) who made miniatures in books, gradually extending the size of the illuminations until they crowded the text off the page and in this we see the beginning of an independent form of painting apart from manuscripts. Their works in oils are the first successful use of this medium, especially so in the altarpiece, "The Mystic Lamb", preserved in the Cathedral of Ghent. Also in the paintings of donors of religious groups there begins a secular art of painting, of which Jan van Eyck's "Marriage of John Arnolfini" is a fine example. Continuing this line of Flemish artists were Rogier van der Weyden (d. 1464) and Hans Memling (d. 1494), the last of the group.

Italian painting in this early period was more influenced by the Greek painters who had come from Byzantium than by the more progressive Gothic spirit of Flanders. Florence took the lead in a development from this, combining with the Gothic spirit, first noticeable in the work of Cimabue (d. 1302 ?) and in that of his pupil, Giotto (d. 1336). In these paintings though the technique still shows the influence of the mosaic in the rigidity of line, the composition and details of the figures are more naturalistic. Cimabue's "Virgin Enthroned" in the Uffizi, and the Giotto frescoes on the life of St. Francis, at Assisi, and in the Bardi chapel in the church of Santa Croce in Florence, and those on the lives of the Blessed Virgin and Jesus in the Arena Chapel of the Cathedral at Padua, are the great works of this period.

The earliest medieval literature was influenced by the Latin, and indeed a great part of it, especially the religious and philosophical treatises, were written in Latin, but with the 11th century there was felt a wave of legend-inspired activity, resulting in literature written in the language spoken locally. In France, the chansons de geste, mentioned in the section on music, show the great new interest in secular narrative, using the ideals of a feudal fighting society. The most famous, "The Song of Roland", was written just after the first Crusade, (1096-1099), and tells the tale of Charlemagne's attempt to gain Spain away from the Mohammedans, of his eventual peace with Marsile, King of Saragossa, and of the treacherous Ganelon who plots Roland's destruction when he is left by Charlemagne to command the rear-guard as he leaves Spain. It concludes with the attack on Roland at Roncevalles. In the battle the virtues of courage and loyalty are descanted upon, especially loyalty to one's feudal lord, in this case the King... "Man for his lord should suffer great disease
Most bitter cold endure and burning heat,
His hair and skin should offer up at need.
22.

The Gothic spirit of devotion, already commented upon, is here expressed in more secular terms, as well as in the "Lay of the Cid" written in Spain about 1140.

With the 12th C. appears a new type of literature. The lays of the troubadours of Provence introduce a new theme in to the literature of western Europe, one still widely prevalent in its use today, that of Romantic Love. In this period the theme is idealized in the person on the "Lady" for whom the knight performed his knightly duty, dedicating it all to her.
22. C.K. Scott-Moncrieff, "The Song of Roland", Chapman & Hall, London, lines 1136-1138.

The lyrics written in this vein by the troubadours influenced the courtly romances which were beginning to be written, using the legends of Arthur, those of Troy, and others written on these as models. Chretien de Troyes' "Eric and Enide", "Yvain", and "Lancelot" are the first of these using the conventions of 'Courtly Love' : love inspired by the great physical beauty of the lady who according to the convention is always married to someone else, the earnest protestations of love and desire to serve the lady, her acceptance of the devotion and her testing of the knight's loyalty, and finally her intimate acceptance of the knight as her lover. These conventions are based partly on the serious interpretation of Ovid's cynical advice to lovers in his "Ars Amatoris". There are however appreciable differences in the conventions he sets out and those employed by the writers of the Courtly Romances, and these differences are important as they show the close relationship of literature to life. Ovid's description of love is as a degrading passion, and his conventionalizing the techniques of handling the situation was a method of satire, whereas the writers of the medieval romances held love to be an ennobling emotion, and the service to the lady enjoined on the lover the virtues of loyalty and chivalry.

The great writers of this period are Boccaccio and Dante in Italy, and Chaucer and Langland in England. There are others but to these four attention is called as illustrative of the typical romance, and as illustrative of the new concept of individuality, with literature leaving the stage of legendary epic, and speculating on the psychological realities of personality and bases of conduct.

Boccaccio's "Il Filostrato" is a romance in the style described, in which he states in his 'proem' that he is writing to counteract the pain of parting from his own 'lady', and to describe for her and for all the world the feeling he has, in the words of Prince Troilus to his love Criseyde. The "Decameron", "Wherein are contained an hundred stories in ten days told by Seven Ladies and Three Young Men" is a cycle of tales told by a group of young nobles to while away the tedium of being stranded in a country-house to avoid the ravages of the Plague, which is described with great realism in the 'proem'. This cycle was a model for Chaucer's great one, "The Canterbury Tales", and from Boccaccio's "Teseide" containing the legend of Thebes Chaucer translates with numerous additions in his 'Knight's tale'!

Boccaccio, like Dante, (his great and favourite exemplar), wrote in Italian as it was spoken in his day. Dante Alighieri, 1265-1361, is the writer who best fuses the values of religion, philosophy, observation of the life around him, the new theme of courtly love, into great works of art. In his "Vita Nuova" he idealizes the concept of courtly love, emphasising its aspects of devotion, inspiration and service, and leaving its aspect of physical intimacy untouched. In "De Vulgari Eloquentia" he states explicitly his views on the use of the mother-tongue in literature, showing the passing of the supremacy of Latin as the literary and scholarly language. Dante's greatest work, the "Divina Comedia" is written in a distinctive stanza, 'terza rima' or triple rhyme, and is divided into three parts, "Inferno", "Purgatorio", and "Paradiso". In it the Roman poet Virgil guides him through Hell, and there Dante sees the souls of the damned, and through

purgatory, finally giving place to Beatrice who guides him through Paradise, which section contains implicit in its survey the intellectual history of the Middle Ages.

Geoffrey Chaucer (d1400) also followed the model of the courtly romance, using in the early book of "Blanche the Duchesse" the poems of the French poet Guillaume Michaut and of the chronicler Froissart; translating the great medieval legend of the 'Rose' in his "Romaunt of the Rose"; retelling the story of Troy in his "Troilus and Criseyde"; translating the philosophy of Boethius in his "Boece"; and coming under the influence of the Italian writers later in his translations from Boccaccio, in his reading of Dante, and in his use of Ovid's mythological "Metamorphoses" as source material. The work of Chaucer's fully developed genius is his great series of tales, "The Canterbury Tales", which though perhaps suggested by Boccaccio's use of the device is so essentially original and creative that even the parts that start as translations have both their ideas and language so transmuted as to become peculiarly his own.

William Langland's "Piers Plowman" is the work of a moralist, picturing the social, political, and religious conditions of the time and expressing his discontent with life lived as it was, stressing its moral implications and urging men to the good life.

With the Renaissance we reach a period of looking back to the cultural achievements of Greece and Rome, shown first in the architecture of Brunelleschi in Italy, where he completed the dome of the city cathedral of Florence which had stood unroofed for a century, his solution being a roof 138½ feet in diameter, using an

outer dome Gothic in line, and an inner one saucer-shaped of stones fitted together, which was an emulation of classical building and yet an original creation meeting certain specific problems of design and structure. He also built the "Foundling Home" in Florence for the Silk Guild, the facade of which has a porch supported by a long row of Corinthian columns, in the intervals between which are Andrea Della Robbia's terra cotta "Bambini". Another feature of the architecture of the time was the domestic palace, like that of the Medici, built by Michelozzo di Bartelommeo (d.1472). Alberti also built in the style of the classical period using the Greek-cross plan with four equal arms instead of the commonly used rectangular cross-form for churches.

Following the style of the Medici palace was that built for the Farnese in the 16th C. by Antonio da Sangalle in Rome, and by Sansovina in Venice; and Donato Bramante (1444-1514) carried the tradition of classical influence further in his copy of the Roman Pantheon in the small round church of Tempiette near the Vatican. Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Bernini (in the 16th C.) all worked on the enormous structure of St. Peter's at Rome. The Roman taste for luxury and pleasure in the ornate was also copied, as is perfectly displayed in the works of Vincenza's master builder, Palladio (d.1580) who used what has become known as the 'Palladian motif', the use of smaller columns to carry the arches inward from the outer order of large columns, an example being the facade for the town hall of Vincenza.

In painting Italy also led in the establishment of new styles during this period. In Florence there were working Massaccio (d.1428)... "Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise"; Ucello (d.

1475) with a bizafre but plastically fused sense of design; Andrea del Castagna(d.1457).. "Last Supper"; Fra Filippo Lippi(d. 1469) using an exotic non-naturalistic colour and complex rhythm for example in his "Virgin adoring the Child"; Fra Angelica(d. 1455) whose chief value is literary not plastic; Piero della Francesca (d.1492) using a composition powerfully welded by colour, chiefly in cool blues, in his "Exaltation of the Cross"; Botticelli(d.1510), showing a rhythmic use of line in such paintings as "Allegory of Spring"; Leonardo da Vinci(d.1519) whose fine sense of composition is shown in the "Adoration of the Magi" and in his famous "Last Supper", but who was a scientist rather than a sensuously original colourist; Michelangelo(d.1564) who used his sculptural imagination in his accentuation of muscular contours; and Raphael(d.1520) who was a first rate virtuoso, but really an eclectic.

In Siena the tradition was one of exaggerated line, known sometimes as 'Sienese droop', shown in the lines of draperies, in the elongated whites of eyes and line of lids, and in the treatment of rocks in landscape. There was retained here Byzantine patterns which were converted into sinuous rhythms, by such artists as Duccio di Buoninsegna(d.1339) and Ugolino da Siena(d.1340) who resembles Duccio in his naive delicacy, but has more movement and brighter colour. --

In Venice the tradition is expressed in the phrase, "Venetian glow", mentioning their glowing use of colour in structural relation to light, and reaching a high state of pictorial art. This is shown in the work of such men as : Bellini (d.1516) whose per-

vasive atmospheric use of colour derives from Massaccio; Carpaccio (d.1525) whose "Dream of St. Ursula" shows him to be one of the greatest masters of space-composition; Giorgione (d.1510) in whose "Sleeping Venus" and "Two Prophets" is shown a lyric beauty merging all the elements of form; Titian (d.1576) using richly dappled surfaces of flesh in "Christ and Magdelene" and "Assumption"; Tintoretto (d.1594) whose "Artist's Portrait", "Paradise" and "Susanna at the Bath" show use of areas of colour in rich deep pools in contrast with areas of accentuated light; Paolo Veronese (d.1588) whose work has a jewel-like silvery enamelled texture; all of the Venetians indeed express the same mastery of space in composition as that displayed by the master-builders' use of the flying buttress, and the contrapuntal technique in the music of the period.

Continuing in the Flemish tradition in the north were : Petrus Christus (d.1473) whose "Marco Barbarigo" and "Deposition from the Cross" show fine colour relations and a sheen to textures; Dirk Bouts' (d.1475) "Entombment" and "Portrait of a man" having rich colour and linear design; Hugo van der Goes (.1482) using a line of reflected light to define contours; and Hieronymous Bosch (d.1516) who renders the essence of any plastic situation in satiric mastery. Other Flemish painters of the period following were: Gerard David (d.1523) who shows a predominantly linear pattern in his "Crucifixion"; Joachim Patinir (d.1524) .. "Baptism of Christ"; Adrian Isenbrant (d.1551) who shows a rich deep colour and fine compositional sense in his "Nativity"; Lucas van Leyden (d.1533), who used colour in relation to light in his "Man's Portrait" and "The Adoration of the Magi"; Pieter Brueghel (d.1569) who followed Bosch in his intense psychological realism, and used colour mas-

terfully in such landscapes as "Harvesters", and also used ordered space in such winter scenes as "Hunters"; Antonio Moro(d. 1578) adds to this Flemish technique some of the colour quality of the Venetians.

The German style of this period drew its colour from the Italians, but still used the linear rigidity of the Byzantine in a charming naive quality shown in the work of: Stephen Lochner(d.1451), Barthel Bruyn(d.1555), Konrad von Soest(d.1404?), Bernard Strigel(d.1528) who begins to show an individual use of colour in unison with light and a sharp line; Mathias Grunewald (d.1530) whose "Crucifixion" and "Entombment" show a masterful use of space and colour; Albrecht Durer(d.1528) who creates a new form with his wonderfully subtle flowing colour shown in "Erasmus", "Girl's Portrait", the Berlin "Madonna" and "Head of Woman"; Lucas Cranach the Elder (d.1553) who did portraits with landscape backgrounds like his "Judgment of Paris"; Hans Holbein (d.1545) who ranks as a portrait painter and miniaturist with the greatest, as shown in such works as his "Erasmus" and his royal portraits.

The French primitive style was a fusion of the influences from Italy, Germany, Spain and the Flemish tradition, resulting in a form rooted in that of the miniaturists; in a colour not used structurally, but light and delicately ivory in tone; and in drawing which seems a survival of the Byzantinesque in its rigidity, visible in works like those of Francis Clouet(d.1572), Corneille de Lyon(d.1575), and in the brothers Antoine, Louis, and Mathieu le Nain.

The literature of the early fifteenth century shows the decline of medieval society and the emergence of the new bourgeoisie, and this was marked by a backward-looking at the fine ideals of chivalry whose motive power was almost exhausted, for example, the work of Malory whose "Morte d'Arthur" was very popular, and this excerpt from the "Book of Order of Chivalry" by the English printer Caxton which pleads for a return to the former ideals...

"O ye knights of England, where is the custome and usage of noble chivalry that was used in those days? What do ye now but go to the baynes and play at dice? And some not well advised use not honest and good rule against all order of knighthood. Leave this, leave it, and read the noble volumes of Saint Graal, of Launcelot, of Gawayne, and many more. There shall ye see manhood, courtesy, and gentleness. And look in latter days of the noble actes with the conquests as in King Richard's days Cour de Lyon, Edward the First, and the Third, and his noble sons, Sir Robert Knolles, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir John Chaundos and Sir Walter de Manny. Read Froissart. "...23.

There were critics of the other aspects of society who wrote, as did Erasmus, criticizing the education of the clergy; the Papal Bull "Execrabilis" (1460) put an end to the movement for reform within the administration of the church brought on by the preaching of such men as Wycliffe (d. 1384), and re-established papal authority; in the morality plays like the English "Everyman" abstract themes are dealt with, while the miracle plays allowed the expression of real experience within the pattern of the Bible stories. The most famous poet of this period is the Frenchman, Francois Villon (d. 1462?) whose striking Ballade written when he was to be hanged with four others because of his vagrant thieving life has been translated by Wyndham Lewis thus...

"Men, brother men, that after us yet live,
Let not your hearts too hard against us be;
For if some pity of us poor men ye give
The sooner God shall take of you pity.
Here are wee five or six strung up, you see,
And here the flesh that all too well we fed
Bit by bit, eaten and rotten, rent and shred,
And we the bones grow dust and ash withal;
Let no man laugh at us discomfited,
But pray to God that he forgive us all.

The rain has washed and laundered us all five,
And the sun dried and blackened; yea, per die,
Ravens and pies with beaks that rend and rive
Have dug our eyes out; and plucked off for fee
Our beards and eyebrows; never we are free
Not once to rest; but here and there still sped
Driven at its wild will, by the wind's change led,
More pecked by birds than fruits on garden-wall;

Men, for God's sake, let no gibe here be said,
But pray to God that he forgive us all." 24.

The age of change ushered in by the increase in trade and revival of the classical learning brought many new ideas to literature also, one of the most influential writers of the period being Niccolo Machiavelli (d.1527) whose practical guide for political conduct, "The Prince" written for the Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, shows a political realism which has seldom been equaled, and at the same time shows the humanist ideal of the cultured city-state life of Florence in his time. An English political idealist, in contrast to this, was Sir Thomas More' whose "Utopia" contains both a criticism of the state as it was and a description of an ideal state . The most significant writer of the French Renaissance was Francis Rabelais. From his early education in a monastic order which he entered at the age of seven and from which he ran away to study medicine at the university of Montpellier, Rabelais conceived a hatred for the medieval religious discipline of the church, and he wrote his great "Gargantua and

24. Wyndham Lewis, op. cit.

Pantagruel"(written in the ordinary French of the day) in a spirit of satire towards some of the evils of his day, using language so creatively that he greatly enriched the spoken language.

The "Ninety-five Theses" of Martin Luther (d.1546) attacked the practice still current for some time after this of selling indulgences, or pardons for sins, which Chaucer had^{de} pictured so well in his "Pardoner", and Luther's "Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the German State", written in German, and thoroughly understood by these princes, produced among them a wave of sympathy for his teaching about the relation of the spiritual and temporal estates, and a state-controlled church resulted in most parts of Germany. Though Luther was excommunicated by the Pope in 1521, Lutheranism continued to spread, especially among the peasants, to whom the doctrine of each man as his own 'priest' appealed, until the outbreak of the Peasants' War in 1525. In this Luther's other doctrine of the state-control of both spiritual and and temporal matters caused him to advise the nobles to put down the uprising with severity, thus checking the spread of Lutheranism among the peasants of S.Germany who remain Catholic to this day.

This idea, of the state-control of private religion, was contested by the Anabaptists, who were everywhere persecuted, their leaders being frequently burned at the stake.

The other influential protestant reformer of this time was John Calvin, whose "Institutes of the Christian Religion" was first published in 1536 and contained a systematic arrangement of the whole body of data about the Christian religion which he felt a Christian should know, emphasizing reading the Bible, as God's word.

The Catholic Church also conducted reforms at this time, with the formation of the "Society of Jesus" by Ignatius Loyola, (d.1556) whose "Spiritual Exercises" resembled Thomas a Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" in intent. The Jesuits were a select order many of whom were the confessors of Kings and Princes, and thus gained power for their society, though many went as missionaries to the Americas, China, India, and Japan. Reform within the church was carried on also by means of the Inquisition, which, under Pope Paul IV was so severe as to almost wipe out heresy in Italy. Pope Paul IV also published the "Index", a list of forbidden books, during 1555-1559.

There were other religious reformists among groups like the Puritans, who under their leader John Browne, left England, where they felt they were not free to worship as their consciences ordered them to, and followed Browne first to Leiden, and then later to the New World, sailing on the "Mayflower", and landing on the shores of America at Plymouth in 1620.

The Puritans, who were middle-class merchants, fought under their leader, Cromwell, against the King and the order of privilege, and were successful, the king Charles 1st, being beheaded in 1649, leaving Cromwell as Dictator until his death, when Charles the Second returned. During this period of Puritan control the theatres were closed and England lay under a religious pall, from which she has not fully recovered even today, the effects of repression of all artistic tendencies being more far-reaching, unfortunately, than those of a reverse situation.

Scientific changes were helping loosen the hold of religious unity in the west. From 1500 until the death of Newton

there was visible a steady increase in the systematic investigation of nature made possible by the inventions of such devices as the telescope, the microscope, the thermometer, barometer, pendulum, and micrometer. The significant men of this long line of scientists were Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, Harvey, van Loeuwenhoek, Huygens, Malpighi, and Newton. Their work helped lay the basis for the great material and intellectual changes of the next period.

To this next period the critical term, Baroque, is applied. This term was taken over from one of the figures of the classical syllogism, and has been used at different periods in criticism to mean quite different things, varying from the high praise of the period by Spengler as the Manhood of Western Culture to a term of contempt used chiefly of Italianate ornateness by the critics of the 18th century like Colin Campbell, and the English Ruskin of the 19th century.

Baroque, as applying to the sculpture and architecture of the period stresses the differences in the use of the Renaissance forms, which were infused here with a new spirit, of lavish ornamentation. In Italy the church of the Vatican was changed by the addition of an ornamented approach with a long colonnade and saints sculptured on the facade done by the artist Bernini (d. 1680) who also worked on the palace of the Louvre in Paris until he disagreed with Mazarin and returned home. In France working then in sculpture was Charles le Brun who did very decorative work. The Baroque style is shown perfectly in the Chateau of Versailles with its exquisitely laid out formal gardens, which was the work of the architect Mansart, who also built many graceful countryhomes of the period and designed the dome of the Invalides in Paris.

In painting the period was a rich one though its first distinctive exponents were known as a group as the 'mannerists', using as they did an eclectic style combining the Florentine, Umbrian, Mantuan, and Venetian traditions. The first Italian exponent was a Flemish artist, Denis Calvaert, (d.1619) who passed his technique on to his students, Ludovico Carracci (d.1619) and his nephews, Agostino and Annibale Carracci.

The first great Italian painter in the new Baroque tradition was Caravaggio (d.1609) whose "Entombment" shows the skill in use of chiaroscuro which foreshadows Rembrandt; while his fellow-artists, among whom were Guido Reni (d.1642), sometimes painted in the new style.

In Spain El Greco (d.1614), pupil to the Venetian Tintoretto, was working in a distinctly personal version of the new style, using long nervous lines with light and colour worked in to make a deliberately distorted pattern in the interest of his design. Also in Spain, Velasquez (d.1660) was working, who though he derives from the Venetians and the Flemish, painted in such an individual and subtle manner that he is difficult to classify.

In the Netherlands Salomon van Ruysdael (d.1670) was painting landscape around Haarlem, as shown in his "View of Haarlem", and following the line of the other Dutch genre painters, who derive partially from Caravaggio in their subject-matter of ordinary people doing ordinary things. This switch in subject to completely secular material is shown especially in the work of such an artist as Franz Hals, (d.1666) in paintings like his "Mad Baabe". Hals also had an enormous influence on succeeding

artists who used his brush technique. At Delft, Jan Vermeer used this characteristic intimate approach in his "Little Street", "View of Delft", "Young Woman with Jug" and "Lady with a Lute". In Amsterdam there was Rembrandt (d.1669) whose form is wholly characteristic and his own, though often imitated by lesser artists. The means he used consisted chiefly of a combination of light and shadow related to the outline so as to achieve a distinctness of contour so subtle that it is impossible to say how it was done. In Rembrandt an imaginative interpretation of the actual world reaches its perfect plastic expression, with complete avoidance of anything not capable of being rendered plastically, that is, in the medium he has chosen. He is at his best in such paintings as "Hendrickje Stoffels", "Old Man" and "Unmerciful Servant." In the south there were working Rubens(d.1640), and Van Dyck(d.1641). To conclude with the Netherlands , their Baroque architecture consists chiefly of public buildings like that in the town hall of Bolsward, and the Butcher's Hall in Haarlem.

In Russia, Peter the Great travelled from home to bring back his European knowledge in an attempt of Europeanize his country, building the city of St.Petersburg on the Neva, and introducing western dress, ideas, manners, and art, and by his death in 1725 Russia was within the European tradition.

In France were working the Painters : Poussin (d.1665), one of the great French colourists, integrating his colour and light and line; Claude le Lorrain(d.1682) who uses a pervasive colour and little detail in his "Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba" and in his "Landing of Cleopatra".

In literature during the period of civil war in France which accompanies the Reformation, there were two great writers, Jean Bodin(d.1596) and Montaigne(d.1592). Bodin's "Six Books on the State" recommended a strong monarchy as the most stable form of government, but asserted the necessity of the monarch's being subject to the laws. Montaigne's "Essays" are the sceptical opinions of an intelligent and honest man interested in every phase of life.

Later, after the accession of Louis XIV, the courtly atmosphere produced the comedy of Moliere(d.1673), which satirized the mannered court nobility, and the tragedy of Racine(d.1699) and Corneille(d.1684) which, based on the heroes of classical history, are more stately in subject matter, and more rigid in form. Also writing were Boileau, La Rochefoucauld, La Fontaine, Marie de Sevigne, Fenelon, and Blaise Pascal, whose "Pensees" contain reflections on Christianity.

In England the Age of Elizabeth was one of never-paralled literary brilliance, featuring as it does, near its beginning, the work of such men as John Lyly, Bacon, Hooker, Fox, and in its great period of full development the work of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Donne, Marvell, and , closing it, Butler, Bunyan and Milton, (d.1674). Among these are many who deserve the name of genius, and they are only the best known writers; there were many of the dramatists, who , like Webster and Chapman, would have fared more kindly if they had not been faced by the universal genius of Shakespeare.

The Baroque, then, was a period of great achievement, in

many of the individual art-forms, and was one of enormous aliveness in feeling. Its more ornate style has been termed "marinist" in Italy, after their poet Marini, "Gongorism" in Spain after Gongor, "euphuistic" in England after the "Euphues" of Lyly and, in France, "preciosite". It saw, during its course, the death of Italian social comedy in the "commedia dell' arte", and the emergence of its most typical art-form in the new art of the 'opera'. These first operas were really only performances of works meant simply to be sung rather than played, such as Palestrina's "Dafne" and "Euridice".

At Louis' court the manners of the rest of polite Europe were formed, and the masques and entertainments he provided for his guests stimulated the arts to almost the same degree that they exhausted his treasury. Here, for instance, appeared the first classical dancing, in refined variations on the social dancing of the country-side. The conventions for the classical figures of the ballet were laid down, and inspiration given to musical forms which often, today even, uses the dance forms of : pavanne, galliard, allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue, minuet, gavotte, bouree, rigaudon, chaconne, and passecaglia.

It was a period of a new spaciousness in living, using the new luxury of leisure, and its art was sometimes overblown with exuberance.

During the 16th and 17th centuries economic changes were taking place, world trade and manufacturing were increasing in scope, and were beginning to bring together money, or capital, which made a commerce in wealth possible; great trading compan-

ies were established, necessitating the formation of banking houses to supply them with credit for their operations; double entry book-keeping had recently been invented; in agriculture new and improved methods had made large land-holdings more profitable than ever, and a legalized dispossession of the peasants from their land was taking place in England, the now landless workers who drifted to the cities forming the labour-force for the new English factories.

Life was changing. The machines and methods for making things more quickly and more cheaply were being invented. In the textile industry Watt's steam-engine proved useful in operating Richard Arkwright's (d. 1792) water-frame spinning-machine. In America, Eli Whitney (d. 1825) invented a cotton gin which increased the production of cotton from 189,000 lbs. in 1791 to 2,000,000 in 1860 and 5,000,000 in 1900. In metal-working Cort's (d. 1800) process of 'puddling' made the pig-iron production of England jump from 48,000 Tons in 1740 to 8,000,000 in 1844. In the manufacture of tools, Maudslay (d. 1831) made an iron-lathe and a slide-rest which permitted measurements of 1/10,000 of an inch to be made; Wilinon, by boring cylinders for the steam engine helped its success; Josiah Wedgwood (d. 1795) produced machine-made vases of great beauty; and in distilling a vapour from coal to light his own home Murdock (d. 1839) produced a method for using illuminating gas in industry.

Life was changing also in its meaningful geographic scope. Transportation methods were invented to make travel easier and cheaper : McAdam (d. 1836) invented a method of surfacing roads

by elevating them and draining them before covering them with successive layers of finely crushed rock; Meaton (d.1792) and Telford(d.1834) built canals, the former the Forth and Clyde, the latter the Ellesmere connecting the Mersey and Severn rivers. Stevenson invented the the first successful steam engine which drew the first coaches on the Liverpool-Manchester Railway in 1830 carrying 600 passengers.Symington, in 1802 built the steam-boat "Charlotte Dundas", which was later improved upon by the American, Fulton, whose "Clermont" with a Watt steam engine operating its paddles travelled 150 miles up the Hudson River.

By 1800 England led the world in the development of mechanized industry. Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" laid down the accepted line of economic theory, with its political concomitant the 'laissez faire' attitude. Along with Ricardo, Malthus, and Bentham he enunciated the principles of what later was called "Liberalism", a justification for the rise of the new class of exploiter-capitalists, and gained for them greater representation in Parliament which had formerly been the exclusive 'club' of the land-owning class. Gradually even these parliamentary apologists were compelled to forsake their 'hands off industry' stand and pass legislations like the Factory Acts of 1802-33-44-47 and the Mine Regulations of 1819 regulating hours and conditions of labour.

This period is paralleled in its earliest stages by the Literature of the Age of Reason which in England was written by Pope in poetry, and Hume, Locke and Berkeley in philosophy; in France by Voltaire and Montesquieu, and the Encyclopedists, De Condillac, Diderot, and D'alembert. With the changes brought by

industrialization the picture changes in England where there is a reaction towards Romanticism in the Poetry of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats and Byron, and the novels of, first, Richardson and Fielding, and then those of Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and the Bronte sisters, of whom, Emily's "Wuthering Heights" shows the greatest poetic ability. This was followed in the works of Hardy, Samuel Butler, Arnold Bennett, ^{by} a more realistic treatment of the novel, turning towards rather than away from the industrial society of English life, and the ordinary life of the agricultural society which still existed in parts of England.

In America the novel passed through a similar period of Romanticism, shown in the works of Fenimore Cooper, and the social criticism of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin", succeeded by a period of great social realism shown in the novels of Dreiser and Sinclair Lewis, and of greater intellectual power shown in those of Henry James.

In France the same romantic tendency away from the reality of the bourgeoisie society surrounding them is visible in the poetry of the Symbolistes, Villiers de l'isle Adam, Mallarme, Verlaine, Laforgue, Ducasse, Paul Valery, Rimbaud and Baudelaire, divorcing their art from a life in which they could see no value, deriving greatly from the American poet Edgar Allen Poe.

In architecture this early period is called "Rococo", from the word 'rocaille' or rock-work, because of the prevailing artificial grottoes which the period affected. This style was seen characteristically in the decorations of rooms like the

one from the Palazzo Sagredo, on the Grand Canal of Venice, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In such rooms architecture, sculpture, painting, furniture, and even the light of the day are orchestrated into a whole. Other examples of the style are the Abbey of Rottenbuch in Austria, and the Zwinger in Dresden.

In painting the tradition was essentially French, being an exaggeration of the baroque of the court of Louis XIV, shown in the delicately tinted works of Watteau, Fragonard, Boucher, and the works of Chardin, whose slightly pitted and grainy surface and personal sense of composition had an influence on many succeeding painters.

In the painting of nineteenth century France prior to Impressionism there was a revival of classicism and a tendency towards the accentuation of line at the expense of the other elements, visible in the work of such artists as David, Ingres; and the histrionism of Delacroix. The work of social critics like Daumier in France and Hogarth in England closely parallels the work of the great novelists of the period, Dickens already mentioned, for England, and Flaubert, (d.1880), Zola (d.1902) and Anatole France (d.1924).

In Russia it was visible in the poetry of Pushkin, that a similar though delayed Romanticism was taking place in their literature, shown also in the novels of Turgenev, Gogol, and especially in the magnificent pictures of intensely human life in Dostoevski. In Germany it developed in Goethe's great drama "Faust" what Spengler calls the final perfected expression of the western or faustian soul, and was visible in the philosophy

of Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche, in the translations by Schlegel of Shakespeare's plays, and in the aesthetic criticism of Lessing. In Spain its earliest period produced the bitter social criticism of Goya's etchings of the Peninsular War. Everywhere in Europe this split between the values of the new industrialized society and the values not only of art, but those of 'humanity' itself, was visible, and is particularly evident in the two attitudes which it produced then, and which are still current in art today - that of turning from the false values of the life around the artist to an 'art for art's sake' attitude, and that of turning the denied value of art and humanity into a searching study of social conditions resulting in great novels and some fine social criticism.

Adding to the new inventions, developing the machine aspect of the new society, and, through improved transportation and communication methods, bring this 'one world' still more closely to a realization of its unity of purpose, were the mechanical achievements of the first half of the 20th century, in the work of such men as Thomas Blanchard (profile Lathe), Frederick Winsor (street lighting), Samuel Clegg (gas meter), Howe and Singer (sewing machine), Mergenthaler (linotype) and Lanston (monotype), Scholes (typewriter), Goodyear (vulcanization of rubber), Daguerre (film developing), Eastman (Kodak), Morse (telegraph), Lord Kelvin (Atlantic cable), Alexander Graham Bell (telephone), Marconi (wireless), Lee de Forest (radio), Edison (electricity), C.F. Jenkins (television), Ford (automobile), Wright Brothers (aeroplane), Liebig and Wohler (industrial chemistry), J.P. Morgan (financial organization), Karl Marx (socialism), De Gobineau (racism), Gatling,

Maxim, Colt, Du Pont, Krupp, Skoda, Armstrong & Vickers, and Schneider-Creusot (armaments), Galvani, Volta, Ampere, Ohm, (electrical science) Faraday (dynamo), Hetz, Helmholtz, Einstein, Manhattan Project (atomic fission).

Architecture, in this age of industry, received a new impetus, which in bearing out Spengler's own dictum that architecture is the first art affected by new beginnings of culture, supports my contention that this period is one of new beginnings culturally speaking. Its typical expression in the architecture of the 'new world' was the skyscraper of American business, towering more than 35 stories into the air and housing 5000 people; the enormous factories made necessary by mass production were sometimes real and exciting works of art in their solution of structural and personnel problems, as in the Van Nelle Factory at Rotterdam; the modern department store was treated in Germany and Sweden with imagination and beauty; the large dwelling units or apartment blocks have, in some Mexican examples, achieved a functional simplicity and grace; in the great power dams necessary for industrial city life again this is visible, as in the Boulder Dam, U.S.A. and that at Dnieperpetrovsk, blown up by the Russians in the face of the German advance in the recent war; and finally, the possible beauty of the private dwelling is shown in the designs of such men as Frank Lloyd Wright, and in the city planning of whole residential districts of such men as Mumford, LeCorbusier, and Neutra.

Sculpture is no longer used as a fundamental part of architecture, but significant activity has been going on since the time of Rodin by Epstein, Maillol, Lachaise, Degas, and in the

smooth abstracted shapes of Brancusi.

Painting has passed through various stages , one that equivalent to the Romantic poets in the Impressionism of Monet, Manet, Pissarro, Seurat, Sisley, Renoir, and some of the early Cezanne; another period of post-impressionism represented by the work of Cezanne, Gauguin, Degas, Puvis de Chavannes, Van Gogh, Modigliani, and Pascin; the work of individualists like Henri Rousseau, Utrillo, Soutine, Pouault, Chirico, and Chagall; the period of the 'Fauves' or 'wild beasts' led for a while by Matisse; In Italy Futurism; in Germany the expressionism of Klee, and the non-objective painting of Kandinsky; in France the Cubists led at first by Picasso and Bracque; in America the 'ash-can' school of realists ; other American artists like Winslow Homer, John Marin, Walt Kuhn, Max Weber and Yasuo Kuniyoshi who are more representational in form; and other still like Mondrian who have arrived at an almost complete abstraction from representational values; in Canada the romantic representationalism of the 'Group of Seven' and the more recent work of such men as Jack Shadbolt and Lionel Thomas, and such women as Emily Carr, and the young and still developing Molly Lamb; and finally the magnificent Mexican frescoists, Diego Rivera, Orozco and Siqueiros, who use their very old medium to make significant and very modern social comment.

In literature the new interest in language as expressive of ideas and associative images is creating a new form - the new sinewy poetic language of Eliot and Auden is matched in the art of the novel by the work of D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolff, Aldous Huxley and Christopher Isherwood; in Ireland, by the potent

influence of James Joyce in the novel, and William Butler Yeats in poetry; in France by the curiously precise intellectual reminiscing of Proust's explorations of time and the work of Gide; in the U.S.A. by the novels of such men as Ernest Hemingway, using a highly personal and muscular prose style; ^{by} the panoramic novel of social impact shown in Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath"; by the stuttering attempts at stylistic revision of Gertrude Stein; by the genre studies of such writers as Dos Passos, Farrel, and Faulkner; and by the short stories of Irwin Shaw, John O'Hara, William Saroyan, Damon Runyan, James Thurber, and Jean Stafford; and in Canada by the novels of one young Canadian which are, for a change, worth reading as literature, Hugh MacLennan. Other European novelists whose work in translation has been widely read and influential throughout the literate world are Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Gabriel Silone, Arthur Koestler, Jean Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Konstantin Simonov, and Stephan Zweig.

In criticism there are writing : Santayana, Dewey, Whitehead, Russell, Croce, Bergson and Cassirer in Philosophy; Mumford, Parker, Lipps, Spengler, and Maritain in Aesthetics; I.A. Richards, T.S. Eliot, Ivor Winters, William Empson and Herbert Read in Literary Criticism; Ogden & Richards, Tarski, Charles Morris, Korzybski and Hayakawa in Semantics; Watson, Dewey, Dashiell, Binet, Thorndike, Yerkes, Terman in Psychology; Freud, Adler, Jung in Psycho-analysis; and Toynbee, Pareto, Sorokin, Spengler, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Bernard Shaw, Edmund Wilson, and Wyndham Lewis in social and cultural analysis.

Literature in general has been affected by the influx of ideas and terminology from many other branches of human knowl-

edge. For example, in the 'stream-of-consciousness' technique of Joyce in the novel, and in the character analyses employed in the modern novel the psycho-analytic theories of Freud and his colleagues have been influential, as have the social theories used in the novel also. In poetry, the 'associationist' and 'imagist' psychological theories of poetic meaning of Richards and Empson, and the traditionalism of Eliot have mixed to produce a new verbal technique, and a new approach toward poetic expression, and its critical evaluation.

But it is in the realm of the film that the new values and techniques of our society are most clearly visible. The film is a cooperative technical undertaking, not the work of lonely genius, though the creative ability of the individual has found a highly personal outlet here also. A young critic of the film has had this to say about its position today, in a recent article in the Atlantic Monthly...

"The monumental comitragedies of Chaplin, the vigorous absurdities of Mack Sennett, Walt Disney's animated world of fantasy, and some memorable films from such directors as Von Stroheim, Murnau, Vidor, Ford, Milestone, Wyler -- in the long run these remarkably mature achievements for an infant art may balance the sins of tastelessness, unimaginativeness, and artistic-amorality a majority of American film makers have committed systematically for generations.

"These offenders have taken an instrument as sensitive, as delicately balanced, as capable of indescribable beauty and subtle emotion as the finest Steinway; they have set themselves before the largest audience in the history of the world -- and have proceeded to play chopsticks.

"For with half a century of motion-picture exhibition behind us it is high time we were honest with ourselves and our great machine for making art. Hollywood finishes at least one feature-length picture every day of the year, and six of the seven turned out are just plain chopsticks, the same tune everybody knows, repeated in a repeated series of repetitions.

"How can it be that the only nation in the world with a tradition of popular education produces 98 million moviegoers a week who happily keep on paying their two bits, four

bits, six bits (and sometimes three times that much) to see and hear chopsticks year in and year out ?

"What's the trouble ? Is it just that Hollywood is a low pressure area in our national culture ? It's not quite so simple as the easy conclusion that Hollywood's hierarchy is composed of a breed inferior to the general public. Instead, too often their short-comings lie in their reluctance to lift themselves above the lowest common denominator of public taste. How to raise the standard of all our mass-consumption arts is the basic problem; Hollywood is merely an outstanding and spectacular example. The aesthetic bankruptcy that puts "Stage Door Canteen" onto the All Time List of Box Office Champions (while films of less obvious attraction like "The Informer" and "The Ox-bow Incident" are lucky if they get their costs back), that permits tens of millions to enjoy movies that are false, shallow, and cliché-cluttered, is the same Idiot Muse that enables countless radio-listeners to submit uncomplainingly to the brain-crushing banalities of the soap operas and the routine terrors. Sex, not as defined by Hemingway but as dished up by Kathleen Winsor. Crime, not as penetrated by Destoevski but as batted out by Erle Stanley Gardner. Love, not as dignified by Tolstoy but as standardized, streamlined, and sweetened to taste (everybody's) in our radio-shows, love magazines and movies. Is this the price we have to pay for being not the best-educated people in the world but merely the most literate, with more leisure than we know what to do with, and so much money for recreation that the recreative pursuits must be geared to mass-production ?" 25.

The problem of art today, therefore, seems to me to be not one of decadence but one of direction. We have a sufficiently flourishing technical ability producing even the new art-forms of radio and film to say that we are in a period of cultural movement rather than one of turgidity. But the essential questions of direction and value are everywhere being posed by the situation not of the arts alone, but of human culture generally. I have attempted above a survey of western civilization, in terms of its motive forces, its main cultural movements and their residue in the arts, and its concluding phase pointing toward a new cultural upsurge, in the architectural activity noted above, and in the new ballad-art of the film. It remains to evaluate their possibilities for achievement today.

25. Budd Schulberg, op.cit., Atlantic Monthly, November, 1947.

Chapter Four : The Concept of Art in Relation to
the Economic Basis of Living, Examined,
and the Possibility For Free Creative
Development under the two Economic
Forms Current Today assessed.

The expression of the poetic impulse in the art-records we possess has been seen to mirror the process of cultural change. Greek art we have seen building on the remains of Mycenaean and Cretan civilizations; early Christian art, Romanesque and what is known as specifically 'western' art we have seen developing within the disintegrating Roman Empire; and similarly, I contend, the earliest expression of a new World-Art can now be seen emerging, within the still existent framework of typically 'western' art, and civilization generally.

Just as roots of much of this typically western art can be seen to be classical or semitic in origin, although completely enfeoffed within the western ideal, in a similar way, the signs of the new world civilization have developed within already existent forms...double-entry book-keeping being invented in the 15th century; manufacturing processes being first based on handcrafts; large business monopolies using the idea of the large land-monopolies of feudal Europe and decadent Rome; new industrial designs employing first the decorative traditional patterns, and only lately evolving their own completely functional formal expression. World-Art generally has thus evolved within the technical expressiveness created by western civilization.

We can trace, in the residual art-objects of different periods, the cultural changes in emphasis. The urbanization of Roman society with its attendant sophisticated Empire-values was derivative from the change in productive business and farming methods, and this change is visible in the artistic and engineering works expressive of the period: for example, in Ovidian

satire of previously accepted social mores; in the detailed and well organized system of Roman Law; and in the technical excellence and widespread development of the durable Roman Roads.

Similarly, in the feudalization of western (European) society with its change in the productive unit to the feudal estate and its acceptance of the idea of fealty to such a feudal lord, was typically expressed in the chivalric romances of the period; in the chamber music composed, during its last stages, for the small private orchestras of the feudal courts and in the part singing which accompanied or was interspersed among the instrumental music; in the transformation of the country-dancing of the peasants into the court-dance-forms previously noted; and in the decorative arts of the costumer, the armourer, and of those attendant arts of embroidery and tapestry-work.

The growth of the cities, the spread of trade, the concentration of the crafts in the city guilds, can also be seen to have influenced expression in the arts by increasing the rate of secularization of the subject-matter used and the formal patterns employed - in music, the popular performances of the early opera; in the musical accompaniment for the dance; in the drama, the gradual change from the miracle and mystery-plays to those of the rich and sophisticated Elizabethan theatre; in architecture, the building of such magnificent secular edifices as the guildhalls and town-halls; and in general, a change from the feudal chivalric and religious values to those of curiosity and the urge for knowledge is mirrored in the life of the period especially in the scientific enquiry of the whole age of the Renaissance -to-modern.

With the change in methods in the industrial revolution we arrive at similar perceptible changes in social values, and in art-expression in the emergence of bourgeois Romanticism and proletarian Realism.

If we can accept (with reservations) the Spenglerian theory of culture-patterns as exclusive wholes during their time of flowering, I think we must still see the process of culture in the whole world as a gradually expanding circle of influence, as a gradually more inclusive unit within which living together can become more meaningful and gracious, and that today we must see that there are only global limits to our culture, and that this presents an even more pressing necessity for social cooperation within that large unit, while at the same time it makes possible an enriched cultural expression.

My thesis is this : that Spengler's analysis of western culture (developing into Gothic, expressing itself most fully in Baroque, and declining in the following bourgeois decorative-ism) can be accepted as illuminating the superstructure of social values by showing the interrelationship of the cultural drives of the arts, sciences, mathematics, and philosophy of any cultural pattern. It does no less certainly pervert however, or ignore, the basic importance of methods of economic production, though he does note the surface effects of industrial change, which has largely resulted in the sterile art-forms which Spengler notes. But, and here is my main point of disagreement, Spengler ignores the basic changes wrought by those changes in method and sees the present as an extension of the exclusively western culture, decadent save for development in technics. In contra-

distinction to this, I see the present as a period of beginnings of a new culture, world-wide in scope, utilizing the media of art-expression developed within western civilization just as the west used the language and law of Rome, the religion of Jewish Christianity, the science and philosophy of Greece, and creating, as the west did, its own motive power, and its own typically expressive statement in the values inherent in good machine design, and in the new art-forms of radio and film.

My first and major point of contention is with Spengler's theory of 'the form-world of economic life' (which is the title of Chapter Thirteen of Volume Two) in discussing which he says: "All economic life is the expression of a soul-life". In terms of order this statement would seem to mean that Spengler feels that our 'soul-life', our creative genius, shapes visibly and expresses our economic modes. My point of view is a reversal of this.

My second point of contention is with the theory that culture is 'dying' today.

These two points of contention fit together in the following manner.

If the soul-life directs the economic, then the fact (as Spengler contends) that our soul-life is dying out with the gradual withering of our culture, should mean that economically speaking, western culture is equally disintegrating. And if he means only specifically 'western' culture and economic life, I feel that there is no objection to this statement. But since even Spengler himself admits in his schema of development that it is the late period of megalopolitan decadence (today)

in which economics flourishes, I feel this is an effort to fit in an important contradiction which shows the folly of his order and indicates the real order, from economic form-life to art- rather than his reverse pattern.

This point seems important to me. If the correct relation between the creative factor in man and the economic pattern of life can be established, this relation may be some basis for a meaningful prognosis for the future development of the creative arts within the two existent economic patterns of today.

Spengler's whole section on the economic form-life seems to me to be mysticism rampant, which though illuminating in its comparisons of culture-patterns, performs this act of illumination in such a deep purple romantic glow as to be suspect.....

"Man", he says, "has listened-in to the march of Nature and made notes of its indices. He begins to imitate it by means and methods that utilize the laws of the cosmic pulse...The stock of such discoveries grew and grew. Often they were made and forgotten and made again, were imitated, shunned, improved. But in the end they constituted for whole continents a store of self-evident means - fire, metal-working, instruments, arms, ploughs, boats, houses, animal-taming and husbandry...On this foundation, now rises the higher Cultures, expressive in quality and colour and passion of the whole soul of these major entities. It need hardly be said that Classical Man, who felt himself and his environment alike Euclidean, set himself a priori in hostile opposition to the very idea of technique...Very different is the Faustian technics, which with all its passion of the third dimension and from earliest Gothic days, thrusts itself upon nature, with the firm resolve to be its master. Here and here only, is the connection of insight and utilization a matter of course. Theory is working hypothesis from the start...The Faustian inventor and discoverer is a unique type. The primitive force of his will, the brilliance of his visions, the steely energy of his practical ponderings must appear queer and incomprehensible for anyone at the standpoint of another culture, but for us they are in the blood...They listened to the laws of the cosmic pulse in order to overpower it. And so they created the machine as a small cosmos obeying the will of man alone...As the horse-powers run to millions and millions, the numbers of the population increase and increase on a scale that not other culture thought possible. This growth is a product of the machine." 25.

25. Spengler, op.cit., pps. 500-506.

Spengler sees three stages in the development of the economic form-life : that of production, the mode of the peasant; that of trade, the mode of the middleman; and one between these two, a preparatory stage, or economy of technics which he calls the mode of the crafts, industries and callings. But nowhere does he see a group who could be called a 'working-class', saying :

"In actuality there is an almost uncountable number of purely serving activities in workshop, and counting-houses, office and cargo-deck, roads, mines, fields, and meadows; ; ; . All these things are quite incapable of being compared among themselves...farm-labourers, bank-clerks, and tailor's hands live in perfectly different economic worlds". 27

I have quoted Spengler at this length to make clear the sense in which I have accused him - the essential romanticism of his thought. To my way of thinking he ignores the basic issue in his schematic presentation. One could say, rather, that there are these stages...Individuals, making a living
Groups, making a living and then go on to specify the ways in which the livings are made as

- Marauding Societies
- Hunting, and Fishing Societies.
- Hunting, Fishing, and Agricultural societies.
- Hunting, Fishing, Agric., and Trading Societies.
- Hunting, Fishing, Agric., Trading, and Industrial Soc.

and then finally, note the method of economic organization used as.....Group cooperation, for group use
Some group cooperation, for the profit of certain parts of the group, in a competitive economy.

This difference in the basic motivations of the whole group would, I feel, affect the way every stage of cultural activity developed; on the one hand allowing for the full development of every member, and on the other, enforcing only partial or distorted development on the majority of the group.

To support this contention I would like to cite in evidence the culture-analyses made by Ruth Benedict and published in her book, "Patterns of Culture", in which she tells of the cultural habits of many groups, among them the contrasting Dobuan and Trobriand groups, off the southern shores of eastern New Guinea..."The Dobuans amply deserve the character they are

given by their neighbours. They are lawless and treacherous; every man's hand is against every other man. They lack the smoothly working organization of the Trobriands, headed by honoured chiefs and maintaining peaceful and reciprocal exchanges of food and privileges. Dobu has no chiefs. It certainly has no political organization. In a strict sense it has no legality. And this is not because the Dobuans live in a state of anarchy, Rousseau's 'natural man' as yet unhampered by the social contract, but because the social forms which obtain in Dobu put a premium on ill-will and treachery and make them the recognized virtues of their society." 28.

My point here is to show how in a primitive social group of the agriculture-with-a-little-fishing-variety, the ownership or non-ownership in common of the land and seed yams can make radical differences in the customs arising from this, to me, primary difference between themm.....

"The jealousy and suspicion", Miss Benedict goes on, "the fierce exclusiveness of ownership that are characteristic of Dobu are all in the foreground of Dobuan marriage, but it is impossible to give them full weight until we have considered also their manner of life in other respects. The motivations that run through all Dobuan existence are singularly limited. ..In themselves they have the simplicity of mania. All existence is cut-throat competition, and every advantage is gained at the expense of a defeated rival...the good man, the successful man, is he who has cheated another of his place." 29.

"There is no casual coming and going in Dobu. A path leads around the outskirts of each village, and those who are privileged to approach so near, skirt the settlement by this path. As we shall see, after their father's death, the children of the men of the village have not even this privilege of approach. If the father is still living, or if it is the village of their spouse, they may enter by invitation. All others pass around by the path. They may not stop. Not even religious ceremonies, nor harvest feasts, nor tribal initiations, call the

people together promiscuously, for Dobu does not specialize in such occasions. In the centre of the village a graveyard takes the place of the open communal dance-plaza of the Trobriands". 30.

This seems to point to the central agency of economic forms as determining the other values of a social group, while in a state of considerable activity with them, as the modes of the economic life become more complex.

It may well be that, owing to our inadequately realized system of cooperation (in our existing 'Dobuan' international condition) , the final end of western civilization will not be the gradual withering process in reaction to the gradual birth of a world civilization-pattern but that it may come with a conclusive explosive gesture, wiping the slate clean again for another long struggling period of cultural beginnings, if it does not annihilate all culture and life, but as Dewey has remarked this entails too great a degree of social waste. In his "Human Nature and Conduct", he comments on the phrase 'history as a process of re-barbarization' as cultures change, saying that today this is too expensive a process as there are fewer 'new' peoples left to perform the function of breaking-up what he calls 'cultural arterio-sclerosis', and especially so, since we possess the tool of cultural longevity in universal education. But , Dewey criticizes...."The weight of adult custom has been thrown upon retaining and strengthening tendencies toward conformity, and against those which make for variation and independence....And yet the intimation never wholly deserts us that there is in the unformed activities of childhood and youth (those which work toward exploration, discovery, and creation,) the possibilities of a better life for the community as well as for individuals here and there."

31.

28,29,30...Ruth Benedict, op.cit., pps.120-1,130-1,122-3.

31.Dewey, op.cit., pps.96-99.

There would seem to be more hope for the type of educational process , whose possibility Dewey mentions, in a society where it is not to the vested interest of a powerful group to retain unchanging culture-patterns. It seems to me that in a cooperative society in which adequate provision had been made for the utilization of all the capacities of all people there would be an enormous fund of active creative ability which could be called upon for this continual improvement of the community(the world) as a whole.

A planned economy of this sort, in which all the important resources of the country are owned by the country and operated in its interests as a whole exists today, at least in embryo, in Russia, France, Jugo-Slavia, Mexico, and England. In the absence of reputable and objective criticism of their progress in the arts we can only hope that they do progress.

However, a book published recently of some use in this respect is the 'Seven Soviet Arts', written by a non-Russian who is anything but subservient to what is known as 'the party-line' since he does question the amount of intellectual censorship , and it does seem to be a rational evaluation of the opportunity of the artist and the direction which the arts are taking. It does not present overwhelming evidence of genius but it sketches in the extremely complex organization involved in offering the educational facilities to students, in supporting journeymen and apprentice artists while they practice their art, and for employing the mature artist as a major social contributor, not a mere decorator or entertainer. The book gives some idea

of the scope of the possibilities in government sponsored artistic and scientific activity, and it illuminates the reason why such a project as the U.S.A.-sponsored WPA was so inevitably wasteful, since the 'consumer' of the art-objects it produced had not been interested in them, and remained to a large degree untouched by this work of social reconstruction.

The arts typically affected by a process of change toward a world civilization are those of architecture and communication. This is a functional manifestation since the new machines of the period had to be stored or housed in factories, the new goods sold in stores, the newly concentrated commerce carried on in huge office buildings and banks, and the new classes of industrial workers housed in private dwellings and apartment buildings. Here, can be seen the beautiful possibilities and sordid actualities of industrial design. The best of this new architecture was, and is, built to fulfil a specific need, and not to provide outlets for the expression of purely decorative ideas. And in this we can see the significant difference pointed out by Mumford in his "Technics and Civilization" in the section devoted to the "Aesthetic Assimilation of the Machine". The industrial problems can be met in terms of aesthetically pleasing design - the Van Nelle Factory at Rotterdam demonstrates that - but no longer are the designs expressive of the trait of 'conspicuous waste' evident in the lovingly elaborated hand-carved details of the Gothic cathedrals. These buildings are rather illustrative of the new and equally typical trait of 'conspicuous economy' evident in all good machine design.

We do see, therefore, today, that world culture is emerg-

ing everywhere on the globe in the new methods of machine-production, and in communication. The very technique of that production imposes a certain ideal upon it, that of uniform economy, and it is my purpose to see how well that ideal is expressible in terms of the art of collectivist and competitive economic organizations .

Mumford says that whether our political or economic organization admits the fact or not our machines in their very essence are communist. They are made to produce goods or other machines whose typical characteristic is their standard uniformity. No longer, he maintains, is it possible with aesthetic honesty, to produce goods imitating the 'unique' quality of the hand-made. Today it is rather possible to produce beautiful as well as functional objects whose uniformity of design makes possible their mass production, as improved means of communication and distribution make possible their mass consumption in the markets of the world.

A reasonable usage of this potentiality would result in the release of enormous stores of human energy now devoted to the sterilities of advertising the quality-graded material possessions which denote for their owners membership in class respectability. . Everyone everywhere could have readily accessible every material object required for an enriched and gracious living.

But this involves the acceptance of a planned production, to avoid waste , and planned distribution to avoid shortages, and this involves production for use and not for profit. Such a theory is visibly not operating on this continent.

In this connection, Mumford's analysis of the economic pro-

cess is so clear and significant that I give it at some length..

"The permanent gain that emerges from the whole process is in the relatively non-material elements of culture, in the social heritage itself, in the arts and sciences, in the traditions and processes of technology, or directly in life itself, in those real enrichments that come from exploitation of organic energy in thought and action and emotional experience, in play and adventure and drama and personal development - gains that last through memory and communication beyond the immediate moment in which they are enjoyed. In short, as John Ruskin put it, "There is no wealth but life", and what we call wealth is in fact wealth only when it is a sign of potential or actual vitality." 32.

In outlining what he considers the essential processes in relation to life and energy, Mumford is rather more rational than I have found Spengler to be, and he names these elementary processes : "Conversion, production, consumption, and creation", and analyses the direction of each thus...

"In the first two steps, the energy is seized and prepared for use for the sustenance of life; in the third stage, life is supported and renewed in order that it may wind itself up onto higher levels of thought and culture (fourth), rather than being short-circuited back into the first preparatory

stages.. The amount of energy available for the final process depends upon (1) how much energy is converted by agriculture and technics at the beginning , and (2) how much energy is effectively applied and conserved in transmission. Even the crudest society has some surplus. But under the capitalist system the main use of the surplus is to serve as profits which are an incentive to capital investments, which in turn increase production. Hence the two massive and recurring facts in modern capitalism, an enormous over-expansion of plant and equipment; second, an excessive diversion of energy and manpower into sales-promotion and distribution. Other means of utilizing this surplus , such as education and cultural bequests of various philanthropists, relieve some of the burden of our inane waste from both the individual and industrial society; but there is no capitalist theory of non-profit making enterprises and of non-consumable goods. These functions exist accidentally by the grace of the philanthropists; they have no real place in the system... The problem of capitalism is essentially not to satisfy needs but to create demands." 33

My thesis, is that machine-society of today has produced, from the attendant activities to which it gives rise, a new-minted version of the humanist-concept, of man's central value as the de-

signer of the machine, the consumer of the productive capacity , and the creative maker or user of the leisure time it affords. In capitalism, as Mumford has shown, conclusively I feel, this valuation of man is not evident, neither in the organization, nor in the ends, or direction, of the development.

The lack of valuable relation between art and the other aspects of man's life in capitalist society is shown by the sterile conceptions of an 'art-for-art's-sake' elite, separated from the real and functional aspects of modern life by a revulsion from the fraudulent values encouraged by competitive production, and visible in the work of the different 'schools' or 'isms' of this dilettantist approach to the plastic arts , and poetry, especially; in Dada-ist and Surrealist focus on the sub-conscious part of man's living, in the poetry of the Symboliste school which devotes itself exclusively to exploring personal experience as separable from the social being of man.

If this form of more or less functionless art seems wasteful, there is an even lower category into which the artist falls under the capitalist-pattern of living; he may become the slave-decorator of the lives of the 'idle rich' and the almost equally blank lives of the capitalist-poor. This form of slavishly 'bad' art, if it can be called art at all, takes many forms, usually known today as the 'business' of Entertainment, all of the forms equally recognizable by a vulgarity of conception and execution considered necessary for commercial success. The art-forms of the film and radio, because of their wide popular basis , and the complete divorcement which has occurred between the lives of people and

32 and 33. Mumford, "Technics and Civilization", pps. 377-8, 374-5-7.

any meaningful art, is peculiarly susceptible to this form of vulgarization, as has been previously noted. The magazine and other communication arts share it also, and it is sometimes appallingly apparent in the fields of clothing and housing, though there a last vestige of functionalism does usually dictate decorum if not originality or beauty. These last two coming closer to the actual living of people, though they may be distorted, are themselves influenced by the use made of them, and, essentially ugly, badly designed and constructed homes and clothing fused with the lives and personalities of living people become more bearable than the excesses of the less-tied artist working completely outside the framework of values of life today.

It is still possible to produce good art within this framework as it always possible, but the conditions do not make for the regular or in any sense frequent production of such art. For one film like "The Grapes of Wrath", made from living ideas and a vital problem, we have hundreds of pointless comedies; for one novel like "Ulysses", which remains meaningful in its most experimental use of language, we have hundreds of inadequate copyists; for one magnificent Frank Lloyd Wright home, too many copies of anachronistic designs; for one Gershwin melody, expressing the jazzrhythms of his time, too many sentimental ditties; for one factory making furniture from creative machine-designs, too many mail-order houses mis-using the same techniques to produce copies of 'antique', and therefore 'respectable' designs; and for one radio series like Norman Corwin's "One World" report on his world-trip, too many peurile gag-shows and soap operas.

And the really pernicious thing about all this is that it is perpetuated by being passed on (in the form of required habitual responses, inadequate education, and art-misinformation) to the future in the lives of our children.

We have perfected many exquisite art-forms capable of significant use in the leisure made increasingly possible by technological advances. Knowledge of, and active participation in , these art-activities must be made increasingly available to wider circles if these art-forms are not to die out. It has been relevantly stated that the mechanization of art, and the spreading 'spectator' group able to listen or watch this mechanized process and the decreasing amount of participation in the process of art by amateurs, causes less vital and discriminating criticism of the creative processes, and may even lead to the cessation of the creative motive.

This danger can be seen in almost every art which has become more or less available to a less discriminating public who have no knowledge of the technical aspect of their pleasure, and is making a really artistically aware public a narrowing rather than a widening reality. So that though we can see the increased possibilities for significant living today, we can also see the dangers of the process of mechanization. Can we control this manifestly possible riches, or are we like Dukas' 'sorcerer's apprentice' going to be completely deluged by its unleashed demonic power ?

The philosophical implications of this question are realized by artists today. There are always , in all periods, rare intellects who use their intellectual abilities meaningfully. And

in many artists working today these artistic gifts are being used with honesty and difficulty to express the positive values of the present , and critically to assess our social situation, and it is in their work that the new cultural pattern I have been describing can be seen evolving. Witness to this there is in some plenty...the previously mentioned "Grapes of Wrath" of Steinbeck; Clifford Odets' film, "None But The Lonely Heart"; Diego Rivera's revolutionary use of frescoes; English architectural designs for new schools built during recent bombardments; and the work of the Chinese literary artists in aid of their country's enormous educational needs.

We can hope that some universally adopted scheme of cooperative living will outlaw war, by rendering it unnecessary; will abolish advertising by banishing want; and will make possible the creative participation in living by everyone everywhere which is necessary if we are to fully realize the implications for an enriched living we have seen to be possible in our stage of technological advancement.

I would like to conclude with an enunciation from Diego Rivera's "Portrait of America".....

"The social development of our time is a continuous accelerated march towards collectivization...Tomorrow, architecture, the mother of all the plastic arts, will be rationalized, will slough off the leprous scales of its traditional ornamentation and vomit the useless trumpery and horrible gingerbread adornments from its walls, in order to substitute for these a dwelling whose bright walls are splendidly illuminated by great spaces of glass and light - a dwelling suitable to the cerebral functioning of civilized man who has conquered himself by means of the machine he has built."

Epilogue : " Society is indeed a contract...But the State ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement...to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties.....
It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. And, as the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

Edmund Burke.

Appendix A. : Bibliography, covering the field of the primary sources, and critical studies, of which my reading has consisted.

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evaluating their significance.

Appendix B. : Major Epochs in Western Art; from Sheldon
Cheyney's " A World History of Art".

4000 B.C.
3000
2000
1000
500
A.D.
500 A.D.
800
1000
1100
1200
1300
1400
1500
1600
1700
1800
1900
2000 A.D.

-- Today —

- Eclectic —

- Renaissance —

-- Romanesque ... Gothic —

-- Byzantine —

- Roman —

-- Greek —

-- Aegean —

— Prehistoric { Egyptian
Babylonian
etc. }

Major Epochs in Western Art.

(From Sheldon Cheney.)